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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRE
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in Dublin

AN

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE IRISH,

TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED

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

THE IRISH CHURCH;

AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,

STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

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1829.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

Death of Colman Stellain—St. Colman Hua Fiachra—The priest Failan or Foilan—Priest Ernan—Cronan of Roscrea—Erection of the monastery of Roscrea—Priest Commian—Camin of Iniskeltra—St. Abban—Supposed to be two Saints of that name, one living in the fifth and the other in the sixth and seventh centuries—Monastery of Ros-mic-treoin founded by St. Abban—St. Gobnata—St. Pulcherius or Mochemoc—founds the monastery of Liathmore—several miracles ascribed to him—Death of St. Pulcherius—St. Mochelloc—St. Manchan of Menodrochit—supposed to be the same as Munchin of Limerick—St. Aidus bishop of Kildare—Dachua or Mochua Luachra—Conang O' Daithil, bishop of Emly—Baithan abbot of Clonmacnois, said to have been a bishop—Segenius abbot of Hy succeeded by Suibhne—Suibhne succeeded by Cumineus Albus or Cummin the White—St. Mura or Murus governed the monastery of Fathen-Mura—Bachull-Mura preserved as a relique—St. Monenna founds the nunnery of Fochard—Brighde—appoints Orbila or Servila abbess at Fochard,

and retires to near Slieve Gullin, where she erects a church—said to have gone into North Britain and erected seven Churches there—said to have gone into England where she was known by the name of Movenna or Modwenna—St. Conchessa—St. Athracta—St. Fechin—erects the monastery of Fore in the Co. Westmeath—St. Aileran the Wise—he is sometimes called Helerzn, Aircran, or Erceran—Ultan abbot of Clonard, and Colman Coss and Cumin, both abbots of Clonmacnois, carried off by the plague that raged in the year 665—Colman successor of Finan in Lindisfarne—Dispute relative to the observance of Easter renewed—a synod held for the purpose of deciding this controversy—In this synod Colman supports the Irish mode of observing the Easter festival, and Agilbert and Wilfrid the Roman practice—The decision of the synod in favour of the Roman observance—The dispute about the tonsure also decided in the synod in favour of the Roman fashion.

SECT. I.

RETURNING now to Ireland, and endeavouring to follow the order of time as well as I am able, I have first to observe that Colman, Stellain, abbot of Tirdaglas, and seemingly the immediate successor of Mocumin, (1) died in 624 or 625. (2) Whether or not he was the Colman mentioned among the priests of the third class of saints, (3) it is impossible to determine, as several other Colmans were distinguished at that period by their sanctity, (4) and particularly St. Colman Hua-Fiachra, a descendant of prince Fiachra the brother of Neill Neigillíach. (5) He was contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, (6) and seems to have been abbot, and perhaps founder, of the monastery of Seanbotha in the territory of Hy-kin-

selagh, situated at the foot of the mountain, called in Irish *Suighe Lagen*, that is, I believe, Mount Leinster at the borders of the now counties of Carlow and Wexford. (7) Of his further transactions or the year of his death we have no account. His memory was revered at Seanbotha on the 27th of October, the anniversary of his death. (8) An uncertainty, similar to that relative to the Colman of the third class, occurs also with regard to the priest Failan or Foilan, who also is reckoned among them. He was neither Foillan the brother of St. Fursey, nor the Foillan, who is said to have accompanied St. Livin to Brabant; whereas none of the Irish saints, who removed to the continent, are named in that catalogue. (9) Besides many other saints of this name, (10) there was Failan or Foilan son of Aidus a Munster prince, (11) perhaps the Aidus, who was a young man in the time of St. Senan, (12) and whose posterity ruled in Iveagh a part of the now county of Cork. (13) If so, this Failan might have belonged to the period of the third class, and have been the Failan, who is called the son of an Irish dynast, and said to have been baptized and educated by St. Coemgen or Kevin. (14) But, in the want of distinctive circumstances, no decisive opinion can be formed. In the same third class we meet with a priest Ernan. I think there can be no doubt, that he was the same as Ernene son of Crescen, who, as Adamnan says, (15) was famous and greatly known throughout all the churches of Ireland. Ernan was a servant boy in the monastery of Clonmacnois, when Columbkil visited it about the year 590. He was endeavouring to touch the hem of his cloak, when the saint, perceiving what he was about, took hold of him and placed him before his face. On the bystanders observing that he ought not to take notice of such a troublesome boy, he desired them to have patience, and giving him his blessing said to them; "this boy, whom ye now despise, will henceforth be

very agreeable to you, and will improve from day to day in good conduct and virtue ; and will be gifted by God with wisdom, learning, and eloquence.” (16) It is a misfortune, that very little is known concerning this eminent man. He was, in all probability, a native of the vicinity of Clonmacnois. It was there he went through his studies and with great proficiency. (17) He is called in some Irish calendars Ernene of Rathnui in Hi-Garchon, (Rathnew in the county of Wicklow) whence it seems that he governed some establishment in that place. His memory was revered there on the 18th of August ; (18) and his death is assigned to the same year as that of Fintan Munnu, viz. A. D. 634 (635). (19)

(1) See Chap. x. §. 13. Not. 239.

(2) The Annals of Innisfallen have A. 624. The † Masters A. 625. (*ap. AA. SS. p. 247.*) Usher says, (*p. 968 and Ind. Chron.*) A. 634. I suspect that 634 has been substituted by mistake for the 624 of the Innisfallen Annals, which are usually very correct.

(3) See *Chap. xiv. §. 8.*

(4) Colgan, omitting other Colmans, mentions (*AA. SS. p. 247*) Colman son of Comgell, who died in 620 ; (but he was probably a bishop, see *Not. 22. to Chap. xiv.*) Colman Huabardan, abbot of Clonmacnois, died in 623 ; Colman, abbot of Glendaloch, died in 659, &c. There was a Colman Cass, abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 664 (665). See *AA. SS. p. 90.* These and other Colmans belonged to the period of the third class. Harris has (*Monasteries*) a St. Colman, who, he says, founded the monastery of Disert-Mocholmoc in the county of E. Meath, and in the sixth century. Of this Colman I can find no further account. Archdall places it in Westmeath, four miles S. W. of Mullingar, and calls it *Dysart*. He adds, that a house for Conventual Franciscans was *afterwards* founded there. Mr. Carlisle (*Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, ad loc.*) makes Archdall say, that this Franciscan establishment was founded by St. Colman. Archdall was not so ignorant as to commit such an unchronological blunder. Surely Mr. Carlisle ought to know, that there were no Franciscans for hundreds of years after the times.

in which Archdall supposed Disert-Mocholmoc to have been founded by Colman.

(5) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 141.

(6) We read in the Life of St. Maidoc; (*cap.* 58) “*Alio die cum S. Moedoc iter ageret, occurrit ei in via S. Colmanus filius Fiacrii*” (*i. e.* de stirpe Fiacrii).

(7) In the same Life it is stated (*cap.* 26.) that St. Maidoc was on some occasion at the monastery of Seanbotha. It is not said that the abbot was Colman; nor is any abbot's name mentioned. But, as in our Calendars he is constantly called Colman of Seanbotha in Hykinselagh, it may be fairly concluded that he was abbot there; and, on comparing the circumstance here mentioned with the passage just quoted, it is plain that he was there in St. Maidoc's time, and that Seanbotha was not far distant from Ferns. Archdall (*ad loc.*) says that it is now unknown. This much, however, is, I think, certain that it was near Mount Leinster, and, in all probability, at the county of Wexford side. In the chapter (26) above referred to it is placed “*juxta radices montis, qui dicitur Scotice Suighe Lagen, id est Sessio Laginensium.*” That this was the mountain now called *Mount Leinster*, appears not only from its very name, which corresponds to the Irish *Suighe Lagen*, but likewise from its proximity to Ferns.

(8) *AA. SS.* p. 141.

(9) *Ex. c.* not even Columbanus of Luxeu, Fiacre, or Fursej, notwithstanding their great celebrity. Usher says, (*p.* 967) that he would have supposed Foillan, brother of Fursej, to have been the one of the third order, were he not called a bishop. (See *Chap.* XVI. §. II.) But, even were it certain, that he was only a priest, he would not have been named in the catalogue, and for the reason above assigned.

(10) See *AA. SS.* p. 104.

(11) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 799.) surnames this Aidus, or Hugh, *Daman*, al. *Bennan*. He does not represent him as king of all Munster. Keating says, (*Book* 2. p. 35. *ed.* A. 1723.) that Aodh or Hugh Bennain, *king of Munster*, died during the reign of the monarch Suibhne (Sweeny) Meann. If so, he must have died between 615 and 628. (See *Chap.* XIV. §. 1.) But the king of *all* Munster, who died between these years, was Fingen, the successor of Aodh Caomh. Fingen died in 619. (*Not.* 59 to

Chap. xiv.) It may be, however, that Aodh Caomh lived until the reign of Suibhne Meann. If Aodh Bennain was king of all Munster he must, as far as I can find, have been the same as Aodh Caomh, a son of whom might without any anachronism be placed among the saints of the third class. Yet the surname *Bennain*, as also that of *Daman*, seems to indicate that they were different persons; and Aodh Bennain was probably only a petty king or dynast. Instead of calling him with Keating, or his translator, *king of Munster*, he ought, perhaps, rather be called a *Munster prince*.

(12) See Life of St. Senan at 8 March, *cap* 22.

(13) Iveagh or Ivagh was a part of Carbery. Smith's *History of Cork*, Vol. 1. p. 31.

(14) See Usher, p. 1068.

(15) *Vit. S. C. L.* 1. c. 3. *al.* 2.

(16) Adamnan, *ib.*

(17) Columbill is introduced, (*ib.*) as saying of him; "In *hac vestra* congregatione grandis est futurus profectus."

(18) The Martyrologium Tamlact, has at 18 Aug. "Erneus filius Gresseni de Rath-nui in regione de Hi-Garchon." The Calendar of Cashel at the same day adds, that his festival was kept also at Kill-Droigneach in Idrone. (*Tr. Th.* p. 373.)

(19) Annals of Roscrea. See *Tr. Th. ib. ad AA. SS.* p. 8, and compare with *Not.* 83. to *Chap.* xv. Usher also has affixed his death to 635. (*Ind. Chron.* from the Annals of Ulster.) He was mistaken, as already remarked, (*Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv) in confounding him with other Ernans.

§. II. After Ernan is mentioned Cronan, who, I should be greatly inclined to suppose, was Cronan of Roscrea, were there not some reason to think, that the latter was a bishop. (20) Be this as it may, Cronan, called of Roscrea, was a native of Ele (Ely O'Carrol) in Munster. (21) His father was Odran of the sept of said territory, and his mother Coemri of that of Corcobaschin, a district in the West of the now county of Clare. Cronan, when arrived at a proper age for embracing the religious state, taking along with him his maternal cousin Mobai, (22)

went to visit some holy men in Connaught, and stopped at a place called *Puayd*, (23) where he was soon joined by several pious persons, with whom he led a monastic life. After some time he left that place, and went together with *Mobai* to Clonmacnois, where he did not remain long. Next we find him erecting several religious houses, in one of which at *Lusinag* (24) he spent a considerable time. Leaving given up this establishment to some monks, Cronan returned to his own country and erected a cell near the lake or marsh called *Cree*, which cell was called *Sean-ross* or *Seanruis*. (25) He was in this place about the time of the death of *St. Molua* of Clonfert-molua; for it is related that this saint in his latter days visited Cronan at *Seanruis*, and demanded of him the sacrifice, or holy Eucharist, which he might take with him. Cronan gave it to him, and *Molua* recommended his monastery to his protection. (26) The monastery of *Roscrea* was not as yet established; and accordingly its foundation cannot be assigned to an earlier date than about 616. (27) How long Cronan remained at *Sean-ross* is not recorded. The cause of his leaving it was this. Some strangers, who had come to pay him a visit, were not able to find it out, and in their wanderings remained a whole night without food or roof to shelter them. This so displeased Cronan, that he determined on quitting that lonesome and too much retired spot, and removed to the high road, where he erected a large monastery, which in course of time gave rise to the town of *Roscrea*. (28) Here he spent the remainder of his life, employed in good works and most highly esteemed. On one occasion he protected by his prayers the people of *Ele* against the fury of the *Ossorians*. On another he appeased *Fingen*, king of *Munster*, who was bent on punishing most severely the people of *Meath* on account of some horses, that had been stolen from him, and had already marched with an army for that purpose from

Cashel as far as Ele. (29) This king had a great veneration for the saint, whom we find, when very old and blind, on a visit with him at Cashel. When returning to Roscrea, Cronan was accompanied by the king in person and the chief nobility, &c. of the whole country. Not long after, having blessed his people of Ele, and received the divine sacrifice, he died on a 28th of April (30) in, according to every appearance, some year of the reign of said king Fingen, and consequently not later than A. D. 619, or, at the lowest, 626. (31)

(20) Ware, touching on the Life of Cronan, (*Writers L. 1. c. 13. al. 15.*) calls him *bishop*, otherwise *abbot of Roscrea*. Yet Colgan states, (*AA. SS. p. 303.*) that we do not read of his having been a bishop. I suspect that Ware's motive for giving him that title was, that Roscrea was formerly an episcopal see, and his thence supposing that it was such as early as Cronan's time. Of this, however, I believe he could not have adduced any proof. The Bollandists, who have published his Life at 28 April, observe that in a MS. *Florarium* they found him called *bishop*. They were inclined to think, that he really was one. and that he was the bishop Cronan mentioned by Adamnan. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. XI.*) I grant them, in opposition to Colgan, that Cronan was old enough to be a bishop before the death of Columbkille. But there are circumstances, to be mentioned lower down, which prove, that, if he ever was a bishop, he was not so until after it. The Bollandists feeling the weakness of that conjecture, lay down as almost certain, that he was the priest Cronan of the third order; and in fact it is difficult to suppose, that so celebrated a saint would have been omitted in that catalogue, as would be the case, unless he was the Cronan reckoned among the priests. In his Life, which is a respectable and very circumstantial document, he is called only *abbot*, without the least allusion to his ever having exercised episcopal functions. On the whole it appears exceedingly probable, that his being called *bishop* in after times was a mistake founded, as above observed, with regard to Ware, on the circumstance of Roscrea having become an episcopal see.

(21) That district, or at least a part of it, is, as often observed, now comprized in the King's county.

(22) We read in the Life of Cronan; "Mater S. Cronani, et S. Mobai mater, et mater S. Mochonnae tres germanae sorores fuerunt." Of Mobai little else is known. As to Mochonna, he might have been the abbot of that name, who seems to have governed a monastery somewhere in Leinster and was living in the time of St. Coemgen. (See *AA. SS.* p. 565.) But, as there were other St. Mochonnas about that period, this point must remain undecided.

(23) *Prope gurgitem Puayd.* Whether the author meant by *gurgitem* a pool or a gulf, I cannot determine; nor can I find any place in Connaught called *Puayd*.

(24) In the barony of Garrycastle, King's county.

(25) "Cellam itaque prope stagnum Cree—aedificavit, quae cella Seanross nominatur." (Life of St. Cronan. See also Usher, p. 969.) I have observed elsewhere, (*Not.* 73 to *Chap.* XII.) that th's *stagnum*, or marsh, *Cree* was probably what is now called the bog of Monela. Archdall (at *Roscrea*) says that Cronan built that cell in an island of Loughkee. But Loughkee or Loughkay is in the county of Leitrim far from Cronan's country. I suppose that, being puzzled by the name *Loughcree*, he guessed at that of *Loughkee*.

(26) In the Life of St. Molua, *al.* Lugidus or Lugidius, is the following passage; "Venit (Molua) ad S. Cronanum de Ruis-cree, *sedentem tunc in cella Senruis*, et postulavit ab eo sacrificium, quod secum portaret; et dedit ei Cronanus. Cui Lugidius ait: Tecum relinquo locum meum, ut eum a persecutoribus defendas." In said Life Cronan is called only a *priest*; and hence it appears that, if Cronan ever became a bishop, it must have been after the death of Molua, and consequently several years after that of Columkill. Thus we see that he was not the bishop Cronan mentioned by Adamnan. (Compare with *Not.* 20.) Molua's applying to Cronan for the blessed Eucharist, and taking it with him, was in conformity with the ancient practice of holy persons sending it to each other in token of communion and brotherly love. Thus as far back as the times of St. Irenaeus, and earlier, the Popes used to send it to bishops even of far distant churches.

(See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. L. 5. c. 24.* and Bingham, *Origines, &c. Book xv. ch. 4. sect. 8.*)

(27) This is the earliest date (see *Not. 100 to Chap. XII.*) marked for Molua's death, before which, we may be sure, Roscrea was not founded. Therefore Harris was wrong in assigning said foundation to the sixth century.

(28) In his *Life* it is said, that "magnum monasterium aedificavit; et ibi crevit clara civitas, quae vocatur *Ross-cree.*"

(29) The ancient Meath was contiguous to Ele.

(30) Where did Archdall find, that Cronan died on the 10th of May? The *Life* has 23 April.

(31) Cronan's death is mentioned just after the account of his return from Cashel. Fingen is said to have died in 519. (See *Not. 39 to Chap. xiv.*) Yet, on comparing what is there observed concerning the beginning of the reign of his successor Failbhe Fland, it may be conjectured that he did not die until about 626. Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 303.*) that Cronan was alive in 625. The Bollandists go still further, pretending that he might have lived until after 640. For this statement they had no authority whatever, except a very unfounded conjecture of their own, that, in case of his having been a bishop, he might have been the bishop Cronan mentioned with Thomian and others in the letter of the Roman clergy written in 640. We have already seen (*Not. 91 to Chap. xv.*) who this Cronan was; nor could Cronan of Roscrea, even if then alive, and whether bishop or priest, have been among those to whom said letter was directed; whereas they were all northerns, and he a southern. Had the Bollandists known the time of Fingen's reign, they would not have imagined that Cronan could be alive in 640. Archdall had no right to refer to Usher as if assigning Cronan's death to the beginning of the seventh century. All that Usher says is, that he survived Lugidus *al. Molua.*

§. III. The priest Cronan of the third class, if different from the saint now treated of, might have been Cronan of Maghbile, or the Cronan son of Silni, of whom as much as is known has been already touched upon. (32) That Commian, another priest of said class, was the learned Cummian author of

the Paschal epistle (33) is exceedingly probable, and, I should think, certain, were there not reason to believe, that this Cumnian was the same as Cumin Facla, who is said by some to have become a bishop, although on very doubtful authority. (34) But there were, in those times, other distinguished persons of that name, one or other of whom might have been meant by the author of that catalogue. (35) Who Coman was, whose name appears just before that of Commian, I cannot well discover. He could not have been the Coman of Ferns, who lived until 678, but was perhaps the Comman called by Adamnan a *respectable priest*. (36) I am greatly inclined to think that, notwithstanding an apparent difference in the names, Coman of the third class was the celebrated Camin of Iniskeltra or Iniskeltair. (37) Nothing can agree better than the times; for Camin flourished in the first half of the seventh century. He was of the princely house of Hy-kinselagh by his father Dima, and half brother of Guair king of Connaught by his mother Cumania. Little else is recorded of him, (38) until he retired to the island of Iniskeltair in Loughderg, a lake formed by the Shannon. Here he led a solitary and very austere life, but after some time was obliged to erect a monastery, on account of the numbers of persons, that resorted to him for instruction. Although of a very sickly constitution he seems to have closely applied to ecclesiastical studies and wrote a commentary on the Psalms collated with the Hebrew text. (39) This saint died in 653, (40) on the 25th, or, as some say, the 24th of March. His memory was so much respected, that the monastery of Iniskeltair became very celebrated, and was considered as one of the principal asylums in Ireland. His immediate successor, as abbot, was, I believe, Stellan. (41) Of the priests of the third class there now remain only two to be treated of, Fechin and Airendanus; but chronological order requires our deferring their history for a while.

(32) *Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv.

(33) See *Chap.* xv. §. 7-8.

(34) See *ib.* *Not.* 54.

(35) *Ib.* *Not.* 53.

(36) Usher searching for Coman of the third class says, (*p.* 968) that Coman of Ferns was perhaps the Comman called by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 19.*) *honorabilis presbyter*, whom Usher seems to have supposed the same as Coman of the class. But, as Coman of Ferns did not die until 678, how could he have belonged to said class, which lasted until only 665? (See *Chap.* xiv. §. 8.) Supposing the Comman of Adamnan to have been different from Coman of Ferns, which is very probable, he might have been the priest Coman of the list. It is true that Adamnan speaks of him as having conversed with him. This conversation might have occurred, when Adamnan was young and some years before 665. Adamnan was born about the year 625, and must have been younger than Comman, who, as he tells us, was maternal nephew of Virgnous, who, after governing Hy for 25 years, died in 623. Colgan treats (at 18 *Mart.*) of a Comman, who is called *bishop* in Irish calendars without any mention of his see, and strives to show that he was the same as the priest *ap.* Adamnan. If so, he must have become a bishop after Adamnan had written his work, and lived until after the death of Columbkil. Colgan has nothing but vague conjectures on this point, and mixed with such inconsistencies, that it is not worth while to make any further remark on what he says, except that this bishop Comman, whose see he was not able to discover, is said to have died in 676 (677). Usher, although he had spoken of Coman of Ferns as a priest, and having always remained so, as appears from his having thought he might have been the Comman of Adamnan, yet in his *Ind. Chron.* (*A.* 678) calls him the bishop of Ferns. Ware also reckons him among the bishops of Ferns, but places his death in 675, merely, I believe, on conjecture, and because he knew that in the year 678 the see of Ferns was occupied by Dirath, who succeeded Maldogar in 677. It is more than probable that they were mistaken in making him a bishop, owing to their having met with a bishop of that name (the one of Colgan) and thence confounding him with Coman of Ferns. In a list of the bishops of that see in the 7th century (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 564.) no Coman appears, nor according to the succession there marked would there have been room for him.

(37) An interchange of vowels frequently occurs in the spelling of Irish names. Thus we find *Commion* for *Cumnian*, *Cummin* or *Cumin* for the same, *Aedh* for *Aodh*, &c. *A* is often used for *O*, and vice versa. *Fraech*, for *Froech*, *Faïllan* for *Foïllan*, &c. Thus *Camin* might have been written for *Comin*, or *Cumin*. It is probable that this diversity of spelling arose from a provincial variety of pronunciation, and was adhered to in writing for the purpose of distinguishing persons, whose names were the same, particularly if such names were very common. Yet I acknowledge that there is a difficulty with regard to applying these observations to the particular case of *Camin* of *Iniskeltra*; for the *Calendar of Cashel* states, that he was otherwise called *Canin*, a name truly different from *Coman*. Yet as his original name seems to have been *Camin*, and *Canin* only a surname, this objection is not sufficient to overthrow the proposed conjecture. In a copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* in the library of the *Dublin Society* his name is written *Cumine*.

(38) *Colgan* has endeavoured (at 25 *Mart.*) to give some account of *Camin*. He observes that there are some Irish poems in praise of him, but so intermixed with fables, that he could not make any use of them towards clearing up his history.

(39) *Usher* says (*p.* 972) that he saw a part of this work, which was very carefully distinguished by various marks. At the top of each page was the collation with the Hebrew text, and at the outward margin were added short scholia or notes. It was, according to general tradition, in *Camin's* own handwriting. *Colgan* also saw a part of it, the same, I suppose, as that mentioned by *Ware*, *Writers at Camin*.

(40) *Annals of Innisfallen* as referred to by *Usher*, *Ware*, and *Colgan*. In the copy above mentioned (*Not.* 37) the year marked is 651.

(41) *Colgan* observes, (*AA. SS. p.* 17.) that *Stellan*, abbot of *Iniskeltra*, flourished about 650. *Archdall* (at *Iniskeltair*) by changing *flourished* into *died*, makes *Stellan* die three years before *St. Camin*. This is not the only occasion, in which he has substituted *dying* for *flourishing*.

§. iv. One of the most famous Irish saints is *Abban*; but scarcely any thing can be more con-

fused or unchronological than the accounts, that are given of him. Were we to believe what we read in his so called *Life*, (42) it should be admitted that he was born in the fifth century and lived until about the middle of the seventh. It might be suspected, that there were two St. Abbans, one who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries, and another belonging to the sixth and seventh; and that their transactions have been confounded together. But on considering the circumstances related concerning him in the Irish calendars and other documents, and comparing them with said *Life*, it is evident that our old writers knew only of one saint Abban (43) although the compiler or compilers of his Acts did not scruple to make him much more ancient than he really was. Passing by what is said of his relationship to St. Ibar, and some other similar stories, this much is clear that Abban was born some time in the sixth century. His father was Lagnen of the house of Hua Cormac or Dal Cormac in Leinster, derived from Cucorb, (44) who had been king of that province. His mother's name was Mella, who is said to have been a sister of St. Coemgen. (45) The earliest account I meet with of Abban's transactions, that appears tolerably authentic, is his having founded the monastery of Ros-mic-treoin, or Old Ross, some time in the sixth century. (46) A heap of other monasteries is attributed to him, particularly in the now counties of Wexford and Cork. (47) The greatest part of them is unknown, and I have not the least doubt, that several of them were not founded by him. (48) Two nunneries have been also ascribed to him, Kill-aibhe in East Meath, where he is said to have placed as abbess St. Segnic or Sincha (49); and Borneach, now Ballyvourney, six miles W. of Macroomp (co. Cork). This nunnery belonged to St. Gobnata, whose memory is to this day greatly venerated in that country. (50) But Abban's chief establishment was at Magharnoidhe,

somewhere, it seems, in the now county of Wexford; (51) and in this place he spent the latter years of his life. He is said to have been, when a young man, in Great Britain. (52) This is, I dare say, as ill founded as the story of his having been three times at Rome, and, on the third, ordained priest there by Gregory the great. (53) Abban is said to have preached in Ely O'Carrol, and to have there obtained a grant of some land, which he retained for religious purposes. (54) Many other circumstances are related concerning him; but they are so intermixed with fables, that it would be a useless task to endeavour to unravel them. He died at Magharnoidhe on, as some say, a 16th of March, or, according to others, a 27th of October. (55) As to the year of his death, it is impossible to discover it; nor can even the period of it be precisely ascertained, although it is probable that it was the early part of the seventh century. (56)

(42) Colgan has published this farrago at 16 Mart. It is very long. The apparent author of it speaks (*cap.* 24.) of himself as being the grandson of a man, whom St. Abban had baptized. Hence Colgan concludes, that the author lived in the latter end of the seventh century, or beginning of the eighth. But, unless we must suppose that he told a falshood, (for no author of that early period could have put together such a mass of inconsistencies) that passage belonged to some ancient Life of Abban, whence it was copied by the compiler of the one now extant, which appears to be a sort of patchwork collected from various sources. Part of it, at least the two first chapters, seems to have been composed somewhere out of Ireland. The Bollandists have omitted the Life of Abban at 16 March, promising to give at 27 October a dissertation, in which they would inquire, whether there was only one St. Abban or two, viz. a priest Abban and an abbot Abban who lived at different periods. (See *Tom.* 2. for March, *p.* 418.) Their reason for putting off that dissertation to the 27th of October was that, while some Calendars mark the festival of St. Abban at 16 March, others assign it to 27 Octo-

ber; and in fact this is the day, on which it is said in his Life that he died.

(43) The Bollandists imagined that there might have been two Abbans, and thus, I suppose, (for I do not know whether their promised dissertation has been published) thought they might explain what is said of St. Finnian of Clonard having been baptized by Abban, that is, a priest Abban, (see *Chap.* ix. §. 8. and *Not.* 120.) who might have been different from the abbot Abban of later times. But from the manner, in which this pretended baptism is mentioned in the Life of Abban (*cap.* 29.) and its being added that, many years after, Abban visited Finnian when the latter was an abbot; together with the title of *venerable* given to Abban in the part of Finnian's Acts where said baptism is mentioned; it is plain that the Abban meant in that account was no other than the famous abbot Abban. They might also have thought, that said priest Abban was really nephew to St. Ibar, the disciple of St. Patrick, by his sister Mella, as stated in the Life. But the fact is, that said Mella, as we have it on better authority, was sister to St. Coemgen, who flourished in the sixth century. But how could they have reconciled what is said of Abban having been son of Cormac, king of Leinster, (*Life, cap.* 3.) with his having baptized Finnian? For this Cormac died in 535 (536). Now, if Abban baptized Finnian, he must have been born, at the latest, in 450, as he is said to have been a priest at the time, and Finnian is represented as having been baptized very soon after his birth, which, at the most moderate computation, cannot be placed later than 480. Abban, being then a priest, must have been at least 30 years old. Are we to believe, that Cormac, who reigned only 9 years, had Abban born to him 85 or rather 86 years before his death? I do not make these remarks as if I believed that even the real Abban was son of that king Cormac, but to show what contradictions are contained in said Life, and that they cannot be explained by the supposition of two Abbans. I am surprized that Usher, who met with these contradictory statements, could have swallowed the stories about Abban having been nephew to Ibar, &c. particularly considering his hypothesis as to Finnian having been born about 460. (See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* ix.) For in this hypothesis Abban should have been born not later than 430. Usher

knew only of one Abban, and exerted his ingenuity to reconcile those stories with some sort of chronological truth. For this purpose he assigned (*Ind. Chron.*) to A. 490 what is said of Abban having been sent, when twelve years old, to the school of his uncle Ibar. But he overlooked the circumstance of Finnian's baptism by Abban, and indeed so much so that he affixed to the same year 490 Finnian's departure for G. Britain. Accordingly he must have considered what is said of that baptism as a fable; and he had an equal right to reject other parts of that spurious history. The fact is that in putting it together the author or authors wished to make it appear, that Abban was connected with many of the most eminent persons of the Irish church; and and thus they brought him in contact with Ibar and even with St. Patrick, with Finnian, Columbkil, and so on until they make him associate with St. Molingus, who lived in the 7th century and died in 697. Then, to account for these transactions of his, we are told that he lived more than 300 years!!! In short that Life is a shameful composition, similar to the sort of Life drawn up for Kieran of Saigir. There is not a word about Abban in any document worthy of credit relative to the times of St. Patrick, Ibar, or St. Brigid.

(44) *AA. SS. p. 625, seqq.* See also O'Flaherty, (*Ogyg. p. 293*) who makes Cormac son of Cucorb. According to a genealogy *ap. Colgan (ib.)* he was his grandson. Cucorb lived in the second century. In Abban's Life it is said that he was son of Cormac king of Leinster, that is, the Cormac who was king in the sixth century. (See *Not. prec.*) But Colgan shows that this is a mistatement. Abban was not the son of either a king or a Cormac. He was of the race of Hua Cormac, that is, a descendant of the above mention Cormac. The compiler of the Life changed *Hua-Cormac* into *king Cormac*.

(45) Maguir *ap. AA. SS. p. 626.* Colgan, who would fain keep up the fable of Abban having been nephew to St. Ibar, strives to show that Maguir was mistaken. But still he was not able to prove, that Mella was sister to Ibar, as said in the Life. In other documents Abban's mother is called *Cooinech Abbadh*. What was her name is of very little consequence; and it is sufficient to know,

that there is no authority worth attending to for the story of her having been a sister of Ibar.

(46) We read in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, “ S. Molua visitavit S. Evinum abbatem in regione Kinnselach non longe a flumine Berbha in monasterio. Rosmactreoin, quod *sanc-tissimus senex Abbanus fundavit*, habitantem.” (See also Abban’s Life, *cap.* 26.) As St. Evin died about 600, (See *Chap. xiv.* §. 3.) that monastery must have been established prior to said year. In this passage Abban is called an old man, and might have been really so at the time of the foundation of that monastery, if it took place not long before 600. But it is probable, that *senex* was merely an epithet, by which he used to be distinguished, as he seems to have lived to a great age, and that it is not there used as indicating that he was actually old, when he founded said monastery. I do not find it mentioned by Archdall, although he has so many others, that never existed; nor do I think it certain, that Abban was the founder of it. (See *Not.* 46. to *Chap. xiv.*)

(47) Besides Rosmactreoin, are mentioned Druin-chain-celjaigh, Camross, Maghar-Noidhe, Fion-magh, and Disert-Cheanan in Hy-Kinselagh, that is, in or near the county of Wexford; Kill-Abban in E. Meath; another Kill-Abban in Hua Muiredhuig, *al.* Hua Midhe in a northern part of Leinster, I suppose the present county of Louth, in which was a district called Hy-Meith; (see Harris, *Antiq. ch.* 7.) Kill-achaid-conchinn in Corcaiduibhne in the West of Munster; (probably in Kerry rather than in the county of Cork, where it is placed by Harris, *Monast.*) Kill-cruimthir in Hy Liathain; (now comprizing the barony of Barrymore, Cork, and some other tracts.) Kill-na-marbhan near the town called *Briggobhain*, now *Brigoon* within a mile of Mitchelstown; (see Smith’s Cork, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 353.) (Cluain-ard-Mobecoc and Cluain-Findglas in Muskerry, county of Cork; Cluain-conbruin in the plain of Femin between Cashel and Clonmel; and three more in one plain in Connaught called *Magh-ce*, or *Trindi*, *al.* *Magh-elle*, which Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 622.) places in the county of Galway.

(48) Except some of the monasteries said to have been founded by St. Abban in Hy-kinselagh, (his own country) and the two Kill-abbans, I do not find sufficient authority for attributing to him any one of the others above mentioned. Kill-achaid-conchinn,

is said in *Abban's Life*, (*cap.* 20.) to have been after its foundation denominated from an abbot Finan. Perhaps it was called Killfinan. There is a place in Kerry called Killfin. As that monastery was very probably in Kerry, it might have been in this place. Who the Finan here mentioned was, we are not informed. Colgan conjectures that he was St. Finan called of Kinnitch. (Kinnitty in the King's county) where he was abbot about the latter end of the sixth century, but not in the year 557, as Archdall states. This conjecture is not improbable, whereas this Finan was a native of Corcadiubhne, (Ware, *Writers L.* 1. c. 13. al. 15.) the territory, in which the monastery of Kill-achaid-conchinn was situated. Might the barony of Corkaguinny in Kerry be the same as the ancient Corcadiubhne, or, at least, a part of it? (Beauford was greatly mistaken (*Anc. Topogr. of Ireland*) in making Corcadiubhne the same as Hy-Liathain, which was in the East.) Finian had been a disciple of St. Brendan of Clonfert, (*Tr. Th.* p. 380) and, it seems, of St. Senan of Inniscatthy, to whom he is said to have been related. (*AA. SS.* p. 529.) In fact a Finan is particularly mentioned among the disciples of Senan. (*ib.* p. 525.) I suspect that he, not Abban, was the founder of Kill-achaid-conchinn. Why should it have, as stated in *Abban's Life*, borne the name of Finan, not of Abban, had it been founded by the latter? Finan was a native of the country, in which it was situated, a country, which I doubt whether Abban ever visited. As to the name *Kill-achaid-conchinn*, that is, *the cell of the field Conchinn*, it was relative to the spot on which the monastery stood; but how this spot came to be called *Conchinn*, would scarcely be worth inquiring into, did not Colgan say (*AA. SS.* p. 622) that it got this name from a holy virgin Conchenna, whose memory was revered there on the 28th April. But it was, at least, originally, a monastery for men; and I suspect that Colgan had no other authority for his statement than his having found a St. Conchenna marked in the Calendars at said day, different from two other Conchennas, one of whom was called the *daughter of Kellaigh*. I suppose that the having met with the name *Kellaigh* was Archdall's motive for changing *Kill-achad-conchinn* into *Killeigh*, and hence placing this establishment not far from Youghall in East Munster, instead of the West, where it really was. Then he adds, what is not to

be found either in Abban's Life or any where else, that Abban placed Conchenna there as abbess.

Next comes Kill-cruimthir, which seems not to have been merely a cell or church belonging to a priest, the name signifying *Priest's cell or church*. Colgan's opinion was (*AA. SS. p. 622*) that it got its name from a priest Fracch, whose memory was revered in that neighbourhood, particularly at Kill-chile, (Kilcully, I suppose, in the North Liberty of Cork) near which Kill-cruimthir was situated. Why then attribute it to Abban? or why make him the founder of Kill-na-marbhan, the *cell or church of the dead*, near Brigoon? The tradition of that district is that the church of Brigoon was erected by a saint Finachan, (*Smith's Cork, vol. 1. p. 354*) whose staff, as supposed to be, was kept there. This seems to indicate that this saint was a bishop, and Smith says that, according to Colgan, Brigoon was once an episcopal see. I cannot discover where Colgan has said so. He makes mention (*AA. SS. p. 584.*) of a St. Finnichan or Finchan, who was in the sixth century bishop at a place called Druimenaich, but does not tell us where it was. Perhaps it was in the now county of Cork, where we find several places with names almost exactly the same, *ex. c.* Dromanagh or Drumanagh in the barony of Duhallow. Archdall (at *Brigowne*) makes Abban the founder even of Brigoon itself. But Brigoon was neither a church nor a monastery. It was a town at the time that Abban is supposed to have erected Kill-na-marbhan. He misunderstood the following words in Abban's Life (*cap. 20.*) "*Juxta civitatem Briggobhainn cellam, quae dicitur scotice Ceall-na-marbhan, id est, Cella mortuorum, aedificavit.*"

In the case of Cluain-aird-Mobecoc, or, as Archdall calls it, Kilbeacan, we find a palpable fraud. The very name *Mobecoc*, that is, *my dear Becoc* or *Becan*, (like *Moedoc, my Edoc* or *Edan*) shows that its founder was the celebrated St. Becan of the royal blood of Munster, of the Eugenic line, and brother to St. Corbmac, (see *Not. 111* to *Chap. XII.*) St. Evin of Old Ross, and other holy men. We read in the Life of Corbmac; (at *26 Mart. cap. 2*) *Sanctus Becanus, in Munnonia remanens, monasterium de Killbecain, alias Cluain aird-Mobecoc erexit, et sanctissime rexit.*" The compilers of Abban's Life seem to have been well aware of what is asserted in this passage; for, to patch up the

matter, they allow (*cap.* 20.) that St. Becan resided there until his death, and pay him the highest encomiums for the extraordinary austerity of his life, and the miracles, which he wrought. They tell us that he used to sing the whole Psalter every day, whether dry or wet, warm or cold, by the side of a stone cross in the open air outside the monastery. St. Becan lived in the sixth century, as appears from his having been a brother of St. Evin. Keating (*B. 2. p.* 22.) makes him contemporary with Columbkill and the king Diarmid son of Cervail. His memory was revered on the 26th of May. (*A 4. SS. p.* 755.) As to Cluain-Findglas, Cluain-Conbruin, and the three monasteries in Magh-Cé or Magh-elle, concerning which nothing is known, it would be a waste of time to make any inquiry about them.

(49) See *Not.* 94 to *Chap.* xiv. If this nunnery was founded by Abban, why call it *Kill-Ailbhe*? The very name shows, that not he but one Ailbhe was the founder of it.

(50) Smith, *Hist. of Cork, Vol. 1. p.* 193. Colgan treats of St. Gobnata at 11 February, the day on which her name appears in the Calendars, although Smith says that her patron day is the 14th of said month. She is said to have been a descendant of Conar the great, a famous king of Ireland, some of whose posterity lived in Muskerry, (Cork) where St. Gobnata was born. What Smith has about her having been said to be a daughter of O'Connor Sligo is contrary to every statement I have met with; for she was certainly a native of the South. At what time she lived I do not find; nor can its being said that she got Borneach from St. Abban afford any help towards discovering it. What right had Abban to a place in Muskerry, the residence, and, at least in great part, the property of Gobnata's own family? In the various calendars, in which she is mentioned, and very circumstantially, there is not a word about Abban, and the story of his having founded Borneach is on a par with others already animadverted on.

(51) Magharnoidhe, as it is called in Abban's Life (*cap.* 32.) is otherwise named *Maghirnenina* (*ib. cap.* 26.) Archdall says (*ad loc.*) I know not on what authority, that it was near the river Barrow, and probably in the parish of Whitechurch. Elsewhere (*Addenda, p.* 820) he makes it the same as Maudlinton near Wex-

ford. It is odd that a place, which is said to have been once a considerable town, should be so little known at present.

(52) There is a story in the *Life* (*cap. 12. seqq.*) about Abban having gone to the South of Britain with St. Ibar and others, and of their having stopped for some time at a city called *Abbain-dun*, or *Dun-Abbain*, meaning, it seems, Abingdon. Then we are told, that they there converted the king, queen, and all the inhabitants, who until then had been pagans. This is too silly a fable to merit a serious refutation. For, supposing for a while that Abban lived in Ibar's, time, this conversion should have taken place before the year 500, in which Ibar died. The kings of that period in South Britain were Anglo-Saxons. Now who has ever heard that any Anglo-Saxon king became a Christian before 500, or for very many years after? This intention of the author of this fable seems to have been to insinuate, that Abingdon got its name from St. Abban; and Colgan strives to show, that such was really the case. Camden mentions (*Vol. 1. Col. 160.*) a tradition, accordingly to which Abingdon was denominated from an Irish hermit, named Abben, that lived there. Usher quotes (*p. 1007.*) from Simon's history of the abbots of Abingdon (published in the *Monasticon Anglicanum, Tom. 1.*) an account of the origin of its name, in which it is attributed to an Aben, of a consular family, who, having escaped from the fury of Hengist, led there the life of a hermit, and afterwards retired to Ireland, where he died. (See also *Ind. Chron. ad A. 461.*)

(53) The first of these pretended expeditions to Rome was in company with St. Ibar, and therefore prior to A. D. 500. As the third was in St. Gregory's time, *ergo* about 600. This is chronology with a vengeance! And Abban was ordained by Gregory at a time when, following these notable stories, he should have been, at least, 120 years old. And then he returned to Ireland, and set about founding monasteries. Usher, having swallowed these fables, endeavoured to give them some air of probability by affixing (*Ind. Chron.*) Abban's death to 599 during the pontificate of Gregory. But this will not do; for according to the *Life*, Abban must have lived for many years after Gregory's death.

(54) The place said to have been granted to Abban is called *Rath-Becain*. (*Life, cap. 21.*) I cannot find it under this name. Colgan thrusts in a monastery there, although not mentioned in

the Life. This pretended monastery is, I suppose, that which is placed under the name of Kill-Abbain, by Harris in the King's county, of which Ely O'Carrol now forms a part. He seems to have thought that Hua Muiredhuig, in which was a Kill-Abban, might have been in that country; but as being in North Leinster, it must be placed more to the North, perhaps in the now county of Louth. (See above *Not.* 47.) Harris's Kill-Abban of the King's county is called by Archdall *Kilbian*. That the Kill-Abban of Hua-Muiredhuig was really founded by St. Abban appears not only from its name, but likewise from its being expressly mentioned in the Calendars, (*AA. SS. p.* 624.) together with Magharnoidhe, as a monastery, in which his memery was particularly revered.

(55) The latter date is that given in his Life and in some Calendars. It seems to be founded on better authority than the other, which was probably the anniversary of some translation of his reliques.

(56) Allowing that Abban lived to a great age, (see *Not.* 46) not the monstrous one mentioned in his Life, this period answers for what is said of his having been nephew to St. Coemgen, acquainted with Columbkil, Brendan of Clonfert, and other saints of the sixth century, as also with Fintan Munnu, who lived in 635. As to his connections with St. Moling of Ferns, who died in 697, I believe they are as fabulous *a posteriori*, as those with St. Ibar are *a priori*.

§. v. St. Pulcherius or Mochoemoc flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries. (57) He was nephew to St. Ita by his mother Nessa of the Nandesi sept, and son of Beoan a native of Connaicne in Connaught, (58) who having left his own country was settled in Hy-Conall-Gaura, (in the West of the county of Limerick (59) where Pulcherius was born. What was the year of his birth is not known; but it could not have been later than 550; for it is related that he remained for 20 years under the care of St. Ita, who died in 570. Being well prepared for the ecclesiastical and monastic state he went, with her consent and approbation, (60) to place himself under

the direction of St. Comgall at Bangor. Here he distinguished himself so much, that Comgall, considering him fully qualified to preside over others, advised him to form a religious establishment for himself, wherever the Lord might direct him. Pulcherius then returned to Munster, and, being introduced to the chieftain of Ele, (Ely O'Carrol) was offered by him his own residence for the purpose of changing it into a monastery. This offer was declined by the saint; but he accepted the grant of a lonesome spot in a thick forest, to which he gave the name of *Liathmore*, (61) The time of this foundation is not mentioned; but it was probably about or not long after the year 580. (62) Some time after, that chieftain having died, Ronan his successor intended to expel Pulcherius from his territory, and went with a party of soldiers for that purpose towards the monastery at a time that the saint was offering the holy sacrifice; but, when arrived there or near it, he was struck by the hand of God so that he was unable to stir from the spot where he was. He then became sorry for his intention, and sent word to Pulcherius, requesting that he would come and relieve him from his situation. This message was not delivered to Pulcherius until he had finished not only Mass but likewise Tierce. He said that he would not go out of the monastery until after the celebration of None. When this was over, he visited Ronan, and giving him his blessing freed him from the awkward state he was in. Thenceforth a great friendship existed between them, and, after Ronan's death, the saint was very fervent in his prayers for the repose of his soul. (63) At a later period Failbhe Fland, king of all Munster, being displeased with Pulcherius for not allowing some horses of his to graze in the field belonging to the monastery, ordered the chieftain of Ele to drive him out of that country. Pulcherius went to Cashel to expostulate with him on this subject. The king received him in a very insulting

manner, and was instantly seized with violent pains in one of his eyes and deprived of the use of it. The courtiers having supplicated Pulcherius to procure him some relief, he blessed some water, on which being applied to the eye the pains ceased while the blindness still continued. On the following night the king had a vision during his sleep, in which he thought he saw from his castle on the Rock of Cashel the plains both to the North and South of the city covered with all the saints of Ireland, and was told by a venerable looking old person that they had assembled in defence of Pulcherius, and that he and his posterity would be destroyed in case of his not complying with the saint's request. Accordingly the king on the next day sent for him and granted him what he demanded. (64) Pulcherius was henceforth held by him in great veneration; and we have seen (65) how he induced him to submit in the case of St. Colman of Doiremore. Several miracles are attributed to Pulcherius, among others his having cured of blindness a holy virgin named Cainer. (66) The celebrated Dagan was in his younger days a disciple of Pulcherius; (67) as was also one Cuanchean, whose history is very little known. (68) Besides St. Caineach and St. Colman of Doiremore, Pulcherius was intimate with St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, St. Lachtean of Achad-ur, a St. Finnbar, and St. Luchern, who had been his fellow students at Bangor, (69) as likewise with St. Mofecta, *al.* Fechean (70) and the holy bishop Fursaeus. (71) St. Pulcherius must have lived to a very great age, if it be true that he did not die until 656. (72) This much is certain that his death occurred on a 13th of March. (73)

(57) Colgan and, after him, the Bollandists have published the Life of St. Pulcherius at 13 *Mart.* It is acknowledged to be very ancient by the Bollandists, who thought it might have been written by one of his disciples. The original name of this saint

was *Coemh-ghin*, that is, *handsome born*; but St. Ita changed it into *Mochoemoc*, my Choem or Coemh, which has been latinized into *Pulcherius*.

(58) *Conmaicne* was the name of various districts in Connaught, chiefly in the county of Galway.

(59) See *Not. 6. to Chap. xi.*

(60) Life of Pulcherius, *cap. 9.* It is probable that St. Ita did not long survive the departure of Pulcherius. She is not mentioned in the sequel as alive.

(61) It was, as we read in the Life, (*cap. 16.*) exactly four miles distant from bishop Colman's monastery of Doiremore (See *Not. 41 to Chap. xiv.*) These places are now in the King's county.

(62) That it was founded in the sixth century is evident from its having existed in the time of St. Cainech of Aghaboe, who visited Pulcherius when settled there. Cainech died in 599. It existed also in the time of St. Fachnan, as appears from the Life of Pulcherius, *cap. 30.* Passing over other arguments, such as its having been founded about the same time with Clonfert-Molua, (*ib. cap. 11.*) we find Pulcherius governing it as abbot 14 years before the death of Colman, son of Feraidhe, prince of Ossory. (*ib. cap. 30.*) Now this Colman died in 602. (See *Not. 49 to Chap. xii.*) Therefore Harris was wrong in assigning its foundation to the seventh century.

(63) Life, *capp. 17-18.* (64) *Ib. capp. 20-21.*

(65) *Chap. xiv. §. 3.*

(66) Life, *cap. 36.* Colgan thought she might have been the St. Cannera, daughter of Fintan, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua as a relative of his. She must not be confounded with the St. Cannera of St. Senan's time. (See *Not. 19 to Chap. x.*)

(67) See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.*

(68) See *Not. 215 to Chap. xiv.*

(69) Life, *cap. 11.* St. Lachtan, *al. Lacten* or Lactan, is treated of by Colgan at 19 *Mart.* He was of the illustrious house of Corpre Musc, of Muskerry, Cork, one of the sons of Conar the second formerly king of Ireland. He is called by some the son of Torben, and, by others, of Corpre the son of Nuachar. He founded a great monastery at Achad-ur, *i. e. Green field* (not

Green-ford, as Archdall says) near or at the place where Treshford now stands in the county of Kilkenny. It is related in the Life of St. Carthag of Lismore, that, while this saint was still at Rathen, Lactean moved by pity for the distressed state of his community, brought him a present of thirty cows, one bull, two herdsmen, and some utensils. He is called in various martyrologies a bishop, but, says Colgan, whether at Achad-ur or elsewhere is not sufficiently clear. If he was a bishop, I believe Achad-ur was his see, as I find him constantly called *Lactan of Achad-ur*. He died on the 19th of March, A. D. 622 (623.) Harris places the monastery of Achad-ur in the Queen's county; but Archdall, who has it in Kilkenny at *Freshford*, is more correct, as appears from the name *Aghour*, by which a prebend in that place is still called. Colgan has confounded this saint with the abbot Lactean, who was a contemporary and neighbour of St. Senan of Iniscatthy. (See *AA. SS. p. 525.*) But this Lactean cannot be supposed to have lived down to 623. He was a different person, and was, I am sure, the Lactean or Lachtin, from whom the church of Lis-lachtin in Kerry, not far from Iniscatthy, got its name. Colgan has also confounded him with Lacten, who succeeded St. Molua at Clonfert-molua. For this he had no authority, except the mere similarity of name. There were Lactens or Lactans enough to succeed Molua without removing the one of Achad-ur to Clonfert-molua, of which no mention occurs in the calendars, where treating of him. St. Finn bar, another fellow-student of Pulcherius, was not, as Colgan justly remarks, the Finnbar of Cork, who, as is evident from his Life, was never a disciple of Comgall. It is probable that he was the Finnbar, who governed a monastery in Inisdamhle an island in the Suir, (Little island, I suppose, not far below Waterford) between, as Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 630.*) the country of the Desii and Hy-kinselagh. Of this Finnbar I can find nothing further except that his memory was revered on the 4th of July; (*ib. p. 597.*) whence it is plain that he was different from St. Finnbar of Cork, whose festival was kept on the 25th of September. I do not find this monastery of Inisdamhle in Harris, nor even in Archdall. Might Inisdamhle have been the same as Inis-leamhnacta, where there was a monastery, in which Pulcherius spent some time, as we read in his Life, (*cap. 34.*)? The situation favours this conjecture;

for Inis-leamhnacta is described (*ib.*) as in the southern part of Ossory not far from the arm of the sea, into which the Suir empties itself. Colgan has confounded this place with Inislannaght, where a celebrated Cistercian abbey was founded some centuries after the death of Pulcherius. (See Ware, *Ant. ca.* 26 at *Tipperary.*) Inislannaght lies far from Ossory and still farther from the sea, being some miles to the West of Clonmel. It is now called *Inislounagh* or *Inislough*. Harris and Archdall have not only followed this mistake of Colgan, but add, what he has not, that Pulcherius founded a monastery at Inislannaght or Inislounagh. For this there is no authority whatsoever, except its being related that he passed some time at Inis-leamhnacta. But might he not have been there on a visit? This is all that the text authorizes us to admit. I am greatly inclined to think, that he had gone to that place for the purpose of seeing his friend Finnbar, and that Inisleamhnacta was no other than Inisdamhle. If different places, they were, at least, not far asunder. As to Luchern, Colgan (*ib.*) makes him the same as Luctigern abbot of Inistymon. But Luctigern was a disciple not of Comgall but of Ruadan of Lothra. (See *Not.* 21 to *Chap.* xi.)

(70) *Life, cap.* 31. Colgan thought that Fechean was the famous St. Fechin of Fore, of whom hereafter. But the times do not answer. Fechean is stated to have been in company with Pulcherius, Cannech, and Molua of Clonfert-molua at one and the same time. This must have been prior to the close of the sixth century, as appears particularly from Cannech having been one of the party. Now Fechin of Fore was too young at that period to rank with those venerable abbots. He lived until 667, and died not of old age but of a plague. It is highly probable, that Fechean was the abbot Fechean, who is spoken of as having lived for some time with St. Senan of Inniscattly; (*AA. SS.* p. 525.) but of whom I cannot discover any precise account.

(71) *Life cap.* 33. It can scarcely be doubted, that by this bishop Fursaesus was meant the great St. Fursey of Peronne. He flourished in Ireland in the early part of the seventh century at the same time with Pulcherius, and both of them lived in Munster. This is an additional argument in proof of St. Fursey having been a bishop. (Compare with *Not.* 96 to *Chap.* xv.)

(72) The 4 Masters assign his death to 655 (656). Following this

date he must have been, at least, 106 years old at the time of his death. He did not go to Bangor, at the latest, until 570; for St. Ita was still alive when he set out for it. As he was then 20 years of age, we cannot place his birth later than 550. Colgan remarks on a silly Irish verse, in which he is said to have lived 14 years above 400, that it ought to be read 14 above 100; and thus the whole age of Pulcherius would have been 114 years. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. at Pulcherius 13 Mart.*) approved of this conjecture, but afterwards in a note to the Life of St. Cronan of Roscrea (at 28 April) retracted this approval, giving us a conjecture of their own, viz. that in said verse is to be read 14 past 40; and hence they concluded that he lived only about 55 years, and in their supposition that he was born in 550, died about 605. Their argument in favour of these fine positions is, that, as they say, they found no transaction of his life later than the sixth century. But did they not find that Failbhe Fland was king of Munster during the life time of Pulcherius? Now this prince did not reign until, at the earliest, A. D. 619. (See *Not. 39 to Chap. xiv.*) Were it not for the assertion of the 4 Masters I should place the death of Pulcherius either in the time of that reign, which ended in 634, or soon after it; whereas in his Life I meet with nothing, that belongs to a later period.

(73) On this point the Calendars, Annals, &c. agree with the Life.

§. vi. St. Mochelloc, of whom I had occasion to make mention elsewhere, (74) belonged to these times, having died very old in some year between 639 and 656. He is usually called Mochelloc of Cathuir-mac-Conchaidh, once a town in the now county of Waterford. (75) It is said that he was a relative of St. Finan of Kinnity. (76) I find him honoured with the title of bishop, but, I suspect, on weak authority. (77) Besides some establishment at Cathuir-mac-Conchaidh, the foundation of the church of Kilmallock is usually attributed to him, and the name *Kilmallock* is supposed to be a contraction of *Kill-mochelloc*. (78)

St. Manchan abbot of Meno-drochit (79) died in

652. (80) He was surnamed the *Wise*, and enjoyed a great reputation. (81) Some writers make him the same as Manchan abbot of Mohill in the now county of Leitrim; (82) but there is reason to think, that they were different persons. (83) Manchan the *wise* was, I believe the same as the Manchan, or, as vulgarly called, *Munchin*, who is supposed to have been the first bishop of Limerick. For this supposition there is no sufficient authority; (84) and, as far as I can discover, it rests on no other foundation than that Manchan the *wise* founded, perhaps, a monastery where Limerick now stands, or that the first church in that place was dedicated in his name. Of the identity of Munchin of Limerick with Manchan the *wise* a stronger proof need not be required than that his festival is kept on the 2d of January, the day assigned to the memory of Manchan the *wise* in all the Irish calendars. (85) There is not the least hint, in any old document relative to our Church history, of this Manchan having been raised to the episcopal rank; but the veneration in which he was held at Limerick, and the circumstance of its oldest church bearing his name, gave rise at a late period to the opinion of his having been a bishop. Mistakes of this kind have occurred not only in Ireland but likewise in other countries.

(74) *Chap.* 1. §. 12.

(75) §. See *ib.*

(76) Acts of Mochelloc at 26 March. Of this St. Finan see above *Not.* 48.

(77) Mochelloc is not called bishop in any of the Irish calendars quoted by Colgan.

(78) Keating says that Mochelloc erected the church of Killmochelloc. Colgan calls this place a town, meaning, it seems, Kilmallock. Hence Harris and Archdall ascribe a monastery at Kilmallock to St. Mochelloc.

(79) It is now called *Mundrehid* and is in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queen's county. The tract, in which it lies, was for-

merly called *Disert-chuillin*. There was an abbot Lasren in this place, who died A. D. 600. (*Tr. Th. p. 376.*)

(80) Annals of Ulster, and Usher, *p. 970.* and *Ind Chron.*

(81) The author of the work *De Mirabilibus S. Scripturae*, of which hereafter, takes particular notice (*L. 2. c. 4.*) of the death of Manchan, or, as the present text has, *Manichaeus*, as one of the wise men of Ireland. He places it in the last year of the eleventh (reckoning from the beginning of the world) cycle of 532 years, which, according to his chronological principles, was the same as A. D. 652. (See Usher, *p. 970.*) From the name *Manichaeus* Usher (*ib.*) seems to have concluded, that Manchan's real name was the Hebrew *Menaham*, which has been changed into *Manichaeus*. But Colgan maintains (*AA. SS. p. 332.*) that *Manchan* is a diminutive of the Irish *Manach*, a monk, and means *a little monk*. He observes, that there were many persons in Ireland called *Manchan*, *Manchen*, or *Manchin*, and, all names of the same import. *Manichaeus* is, as he justly remarks, probably a corruption of *Manchanus*; and it will be seen, that other Irish names have been corrupted in the text of that work. St. Manchan was, in all probability, the same as the *holy and wise man named Manchen*, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Mulua of Clonfert-molua as a survivor of his. (See Usher, *p. 969.*)

(82) Usher seems to have been of this opinion. He had (see *p. 969.*) a Life of St. Manchan of Mohill, said to have been written by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, in which Manchan was called a Canon regular of St. Augustin and stated to have flourished in the year 608. But there were no such Canons regular in those times. He is there called also patron of seven churches. It is said that ever since said year glebes, lands, fiefs, tythes, &c. were granted to the establishment of Mohill. This account smells of a period much later than 608; for neither fiefs nor tythes were then known in Ireland. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26*, at *Leitrim*) makes him the same as Manchan of Mene-drochit, and so does Archdall, (at *Mohill*) as appears from his assigning his death to 652.

(83) In the Irish Calendars quoted by Colgan at 14 *Febr.* where he treats of Manchan of Mohill, they are spoken of as distinct persons. Manchan the *wise* is mentioned at 2 January, while the one of Mohill appears at 14 February. This is a strong

proof that they were different, although, I will allow, the only one; for very little is known concerning these Manchans, notwithstanding the great esteem, in which the one, surnamed *Wise* was held. Colgan says that, in want of authentic documents to prove the contrary, he must consider them as different persons.

(84) Ware (*Bishops at Limerick*) says, that St. Munchin, son of Sedna, was the first bishop of that city. He does not refer to any authority, nor had he any except a passage of a genealogical hagiology, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 332.*) in which among five Manchans is reckoned *Manchinus Lumnichensis filius Sednac.* But this Manchin or Manchán is not called a bishop, although a Manchán mentioned just before him is marked by that title. I do not find either in the Irish calendars or annals any Manchán bishop of Limerick, nor even one called *of Limerick.* It is very probable that Manchán the *wise* was son of Sedna, who is said to have been a descendant of Cormac Cas king of Munster, and the founder of the Dalcassian line of princes. As Thomond, in which was comprized the country about Limerick, was the patrimony of this race, it is natural to suppose that Munchin son of Sedna was greatly revered in that territory, of which he was probably a native. And thus it can be easily accounted for, why there was a church in Limerick called by his name, without recurring to the unauthorized hypothesis of his having been bishop there. Ware acknowledges, that he was not able to find any account of Munchin's successors at Limerick until about the beginning of the twelfth century, and elsewhere (*Antiquities, cap. 29 at Limerick*) says, that it is a very difficult point to ascertain who Munchin of Limerick was. He mentions the opinion of those, who make him the same as the Mancenus, who, according to Jocelin, was left in Tirawley by St. Patrick. We have already seen, (*Chap. v. §. 12. and ib. Not. 118.*) that this pretended Mancenus of St. Patrick's times was no other than Manchán of Meno-drochit. But even if he were different, and if there was a Manchán in Tyráwley at that early period, how has it come to pass, that neither in Joceline nor in the Tripartite is a word to be found about said Manchán having become bishop of Limerick, although the latter work is particularly minute as to St. Patrick's proceedings in the now county of Limerick? The fact is, that in St. Patrick's days there

was neither a town, nor, I dare say, a village, nor monastery in the place where Limerick is situated. Ware touches also on the opinion, that Munchin was the same as Munchan of Mene-drochit, which, strange to think, he supposed to be less probable than the other. But he assigns no reason for his having thought so. O'Halloran pretends (*History, &c. B. VIII. ch. 7.*) not only that Manchan was bishop of Limerick soon after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, and that he had been employed in Connaught, but likewise that, before he became bishop, he was abbot, and the first, of Muingharid (Mungret) near Limerick. O'Halloran confounded Mungret with Mene-drochit, notwithstanding their being most clearly distinguished by Colgan, Harris, &c. &c. The first abbot of Mungret, at least on record, was Nesson, who died in 552. (See *Chap. XI. §. 6.*)

(85) See *AA. SS. p. 333.* In Ware's *Antiquities (cap. 29.)* the first of January is mentioned, by mistake, for the festival of St. Munchin, instead of the second. This mistake has not been corrected by Harris.

§. VII. As to the real bishops of these times, besides those of the third class of saints, and Carthagh of Lismore, Dagan, Colman of Doiremore, Colman or Columban of Clonard, Diman of Connor, &c. &c. already treated of, some others are mentioned, the accounts of whom are, in general, very imperfect. St. Aidus or Hugh, surnamed Dubh, bishop of Kildare, died in 638. (86) He is said to have been king of Leinster, and, on resigning his kingdom, to have become a monk, and afterwards bishop. Yet it seems more probable, that he was merely of the blood royal of that province. (87) The day of his death is uncertain. Dachua, or rather Mochua Luachra, a native of Munster, who is called by some only *abbot* of Ferns, and died on the 22^d of June A. D. 652 (653) (88) was likewise a bishop, (89) and the immediate successor of St. Maidoc. (90) Tuenoc also, who succeeded Dachua, and died in 662 (663) was not only abbot but bishop of Ferns. (91) A St.

Aidan, who is said to have been maternal brother to Aidus, son of Anmiraeus, the king of Ireland, who was killed in 599, (92) is spoken of as bishop of Glendaloch. (93) If so, he may be supposed to have succeeded St. Molibba (94) some time in the first half of the seventh century. St. Thomian, archbishop of Armagh, died, as already seen, (95) in 661, and was succeeded by Segen, who held the see for 27 years (96) In the same year died Conang O'Daithil, bishop of Emly. (97) One or other of three bishops of Clogher mentioned by Colgan might have been there in these times; but which of them cannot be determined. (98) Bithan, who succeeded Aidhlog-Mac-Caimin, (99) as abbot of Clonmacnois, is said to have been also a bishop. (100) He was of a family called *Hua Cormaic*, and native of Conmaicne-mara, in Connaught. (101) Baithan died in 663; (102) and his memory was revered on the first of March, apparently the anniversary of his death. Some other bishops and holy men are mentioned as belonging to this period; but scarcely any thing is known concerning them except the years of their death, (103) further inquiries would be useless.

(86) Colgan has endeavoured to give some account of this bishop at 4 January; but it is very unsatisfactory.

(87) There was not in the early part of the seventh century an Aidus king of Leinster. The king Aidus who died in 591, according to the 4 Masters, could not have been the bishop, whose death they assign to 638. And yet they tell us, that the bishop had been king of Leinster. Colgan strove to explain this contradiction, but, as Harris observes, (*Bishops at Kildare*) with little success. It is therefore probable, that some mistake has occurred with regard to the title given to Aidus, and that, although of the royal family of Leinster, he had not been a king. Colgan conjectures that he was the bishop Aidus son of Moelodran, a member of that house.

(88) 4 Masters and Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(89) Colgan speaks of him (*Tr. Th. p. 564.*) as bishop of Ferns. A regular see had been established there; and St. Mairdod, although raised to it, still continued to govern the monastery. The same system was, in all probability, followed by his successors.

(90) Usher and Ware, as will be seen hereafter, were mistaken in making St. Moling the second bishop of Ferns. Of Mochuan Luachra more will be seen, when treating of St. Moling.

(91) See *Tr. Th. p. 564.* and Harris (*Bishop at Ferns*).

(92) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.* (93) *AA. SS. p. 306.*

(94) See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.* Were we to believe some genealogists, who make Aidan a brother of Etchen the ordainer of Columbkille, we should rather suppose him a predecessor of Molibba. From such loose materials nothing authentic can be deduced.

(95) *Chap. xiv. §. 12.*

(96) *Tr. Th. p. 292-294.* and Ware at *Armagh*. It is probable, that this prelate was the Segen, who was a priest in the year 640. (See *Not. 91 to Chap. xv.*)

(97) *AA. SS. p. 150.* The Annals referred to by Colgan have *A. 660*, that is, 661. Yet Ware (at *Emly*) has retained *A. 660*, although he might as well have retained it for Thomian of Armagh, whose death is marked also at 660 in the Irish annals. Harris was right in adding "or 661." Conang O'Daithil is mentioned as comorban (successor of St. Ailbe in the *Life of St. Molagga, cap. 19.* Whether he was the person, who is called in the *Life of St. Pulcherius (cap. 35.) archbishop of Emly*, I am not able to decide. Probably he was, if it be true that Pulcherius lived until 655. This title of *archbishop of Emly* is very remarkable, as appearing in a tract so ancient, and shows that the bishops of Emly enjoyed a sort of pre-eminence over the other bishops of, at least, Munster. (Compare with *Not. 67 to Chap. vi.*) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 598.*) that some of our calendarists place the *Natalis* of Conang O'Daithil at the 23d of September.

(98) See *Not. 5 to Chap. xii.*

(99) Aidhlog Mac-Camain died in 652. Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(100) Colgan in his short account of Baithian (at 1 *Mart.*) refers to only the *Martyrologium Tamlaclense* for his having been a bishop, observing that in other calendars he is called merely

abbot. This, however, does not prevent his having been raised to the episcopacy.

(101) *Conmaicne-mara* means the Conmaicne near the sea. Harris says, (*Bishops, at Baitan, Clonmacnois*) that it was the same as the barony of Ballynahinch in the county of Galway. Thus he supposed it to have been confined to the tract now called *Connamara*; but the ancient Conmaicne-mara seems to have extended to the North of the barony of Ballynahinch; for, as Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p. 437.*) the island of Inisbofinde (Ennisbofin) is represented as lying off its coast.

(102) This is the date assigned by the 4 Masters. It has been retained by Ware and Harris, although, I dare say, it ought to be understood as 664.

(103) Colgan has (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) from the 4 Masters; A. 658 died St. Comin bishop of Antrim, and on the 17th of May in said year, St. Sillan bishop of Devenish. A. 659. St. Daniel, bishop of *Kinnagaradh*, 18 January. Instead of *Kinnagaradh* we ought, I believe, to read *Killgaradh*, now Oran in the county of Roscommon, where St. Patrick is said to have founded a church. (See *Chap. v. §. 10.*) St. Laidgen, a monk of Clonfert-molua, who had been educated there by the abbot St. Lactan, was a man of extraordinary sanctity, and his memory has been most highly respected. He died in 660 (661) *AA. SS. p. 57.* Archdall was wrong in making him abbot of that house. He was only a monk.

§. VIII. Segenius abbot of Hy, who died in 652, (104) was succeeded by Suibne (Sweeny) son of Curthri, of whom I find nothing recorded except that, having governed for more than four years, he died in 657 (105) The successor of Suibne was Cumineus Albus or Cuman the *white*, who has been often mentioned already, and who, as we have seen, (106) must not be confounded with Cummian the author of the Paschal epistle. Let it suffice to add in this place, that he was son of Ernan a brother of the above mentioned abbot Segenius, and accordingly a descendant of Fergus the grandfather of Columbkill. (107) Cumineus died after an administra-

tion of twelve years, on the 24th of February, A. D. 669 (108)

To the Columbian order is said to have belonged St. Mura, whose name has been latinized into *Murus* and *Muranus*. He governed the monastery of Fathen-Mura, now Fahan in Inishowen, of which he was most probably the founder. (109) Mura was a descendant of Neill Neigilliach by his son Eugene, and great grandson of another Eugene who died in 565. His father's name was *Heradach*, and his mother's *Derinilla*. (110) He flourished in the first half of the seventh century, and seems to have died some time before 658. (111) His memory, which is revered on the 12th of March, has been held in great veneration, particularly by the O'Neill family, who considered him as their patron saint. His staff, called *Bachull Mura*, was and is, perhaps, still preserved as a relique. St. Mura wrote a metrical Life, in Irish, of Columbkil. (112) His monastery flourished for many centuries, but is at present only a parish church in the diocese of Derry.

(104) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 12. The 12th of August was marked for his commemoration. (*Tr. Th.* p. 498.)

(105) Usher, p. 702. He has five years for Suibne's administration. This must be understood as reckoning in round numbers. For Suibne died on the 11th of January, and accordingly, counting from the 12th of August 652 (the day marked for Segenius) was abbot only four years and nearly five months. Colgan treats of Suibne at 11 January, but except the little now stated, gives us nothing particular concerning his history.

(106) *Not.* 70 to *Chap.* xi.

(107) Acts of Cumineus at 24 *Febr.* The far greatest part of what follows in these Acts, which were patched up by Colgan, belongs not to Cumineus Albus but to Cummian the writer of the Epistle, Colgan having confounded them together.

(108) All the Irish calendars, quoted by Colgan, agree in marking the 24th February as the day of his death. The Ulster An-

nals and the 4 Masters assign it to A. 668, *i. e.* 669. See also Usher, *p.* 702.

(109) See *Not.* 116. to *Chap.* xi.

(110) Mura's Acts at 12 *Mart.*

(111) The 4 Masters and Colgan *Tr. Th.* (*p.* 510. and *AA. SS.* *p.* 334.) assign the death of St. Kellach abbot of Fathen-Mura to A. D. 657 (658). Instead of 657 Archdall has (at *Fahan*) by mistake, 637. Kellach must have been a successor of Mura, and consequently, unless we are to suppose that Mura resigned the government of the monastery, a survivor of his.

(112) See Acts, and Harris, *Writers.*

§. ix. St. Monenna is reported to have founded a nunnery at Fochard Brighde, the birth place of St. Brigid, (Faugher in the county of Louth) about, as some say, the year 630. (113) But her history is so confused that it is impossible to ascertain the precise time of this foundation. It is plain that Monenna has been confounded with another person of the same or a somewhat similar name. (114) The account given of her, in a work called her Life, is that she was of the great sept of the Conalls of Conail Murthemhni (the country about Dundalk) and Clan Conall in the now county of Down. Her father was Maughteus, prince of that sept and ruler of an extensive territory stretching from Iveagh to the neighbourhood of Armagh. (115) Having governed for some time 150 virgins at Fochard she appointed Orbila, *al.* Servila, abbess of that establishment, and retired to near Sliev-Cuilin or Sliev-Gullen in the county of Armagh, where she erected a church, which has been called Kill-sleve-Cuilin, that is, the cell of Mount-Cuilin. (116) Next we are told, that she went to North Britain, and erected seven churches in various parts of that country, one of which was at a place called *Lanfordin*, where she died during the life time of Columkill. (117) This does not agree with the hypothesis of her having founded the nunnery of Fochard about 630, as

Columbkil was dead long before that time. But other accounts bring her to England, where she was known by the name of Movenna or Modwenna, and greatly distinguished in the seventh, or, as some writers maintain, in the ninth century. Amidst these jarring statements I am not able to form any decisive conclusion. (118) St. Conchenna, who was either abbess or, at least, a member of the nunnery of Kill-sleve, died in 655, and her memory was revered on the 13th of March. (119)

There is good reason to think, that the celebrated St. Athracta or Attracta (120) lived about these times, or somewhat earlier. The statements relative to her are indeed so contradictory, that the period, in which she flourished, cannot be precisely ascertained. According to some accounts she was contemporary with St. Patrick. (121) But we find her spoken of as living in the times of St. Corbmac, brother of St. Eviu, (122) and consequently in the sixth century. (123) St. Nathy, that is, according to every appearance, Nathy of Achonry, who lived in the same century and probably during some part of the seventh, is also mentioned as a contemporary of hers. (124) On these grounds it may be fairly concluded, that St. Athracta belonged to the same period. She is said to have been the daughter of Talan of a princely family of Dalaradia in Ulster, (125) and brother of St. Coeman of Aird-ne-Coemhain, a consanguinity which it would be difficult to reconcile with her having been a native of Ulster. (126) Whatever were her family connexions, St. Athracta presided over a nunnery called Kill-athracta (Killaraght) near the lake Techet, now Lough Gara in the county of Sligo. (127) Her memory was revered there on the 11th of August, the day marked for her festival in the Irish calendars; but in some foreign martyrologies her name appears at the 9th of February. (128)

(113) Usher says (*Ind. Chron.*) that the virgin Monenna flourished in 630. Hence Harris deduced that she founded the nunnery of Fochard in that year. Archdall has 638, an erratum, I suppose, for 630. Harris calls her Monenna, *al. Darerca*. This is a mistake. It was Darerca, who is said to have lived in St. Patrick's times, that was surnamed *Moninne* or *Monenna*. (See *Not.* 181. to *Chap.* III.) Usher observes, (*Pr.* p. 824.) that Conchubran, the writer of *Monenna's Life*, perhaps confounded her with Darerca, owing to the latter's surname *Moninne*. This is indeed very probable; for Conchubran (see *ib.* p. 705.) makes her contemporary with St. Patrick, and afterwards speaks of her as having been in Scotland during the times of Columbkil. Usher thinks that, instead of Columbkil, it would have been more correct to have said, Columba bishop of Dunkeld in Scotland, who lived several years later.

(114) The Monenna of Conchubran is called by others Modvenna, a native of Ireland, who was, in the seventh century, famous in England. She is said to have been the instructress of St. Ositha an English virgin and saint. From Usher's own observations (p. 707) concerning the times of St. Ositha it would appear that Monenna or Modvenna did not, as he calculates, flourish as early as 630. On the other hand some of the transactions of Darerca, surnamed Monenna, who died in 518, have been attributed to the one simply called Monenna. To add to this perplexity, several writers maintain, that St. Modvenna lived not in the seventh but in the ninth century. Of this more lower down.

(115) See Usher, p. 705 and 1036.

(116) It has been seen, (*Chap.* VIII. §. 9.) that the church and nunnery of Kill-sleve-Cuilin is usually attributed to Darerca, surnamed Moninne, who died in 518. This was also Colgan's opinion, while, although placing this Darerca at that early period, he held that she was different from the one supposed to have been sister to St. Patrick. (See *Not.* 181 to *Chap.* III.) Usher was inclined to think, (*Ind. Chron. ad. A.* 630.) that the foundress of said establishment was the Monenna of the seventh century. But the common opinion appears better supported. Besides the 4 Masters, who call Darerca, that died in 518, abbess of that place, (see *AA. SS.* p. 190.) there is a passage in the *Life* of St. Endas of Arran (*cap.* 8.) in which Darerca, *al. Moninne* is stated to

have been in her nunnery of Bell-slebi (Kill-sleve) during the life time of that saint. Now Enda flourished in the beginning of the sixth century, and, at most, did not outlive the middle of it. On the whole it seems certain that the nunnery of Kill-sleve existed long before that of Fochard.

(117) Thus far Conchubran *ap.* Usher, *p.* 706, who gives the names of those seven churches, and observes that Lanfortin was near Dundee. Conchubran having erroneously called Columbkil an archbishop, Usher remarks that Columba the first bishop of Dunkeld was probably the person, in whose time Moninna died. Thus her death might have been as late as about 640.

(118) Conchubran, as far as I can discover, (for I know nothing of his work except from Usher's extracts) makes no mention of St. Monenna having been in England; nor does it appear that he thought her the same as St. Modwenna. Usher and several English writers make no distinction between them, and apply to Modwenna what Conchubran has concerning Monenna. That there was a celebrated Irish virgin Modwenna in England cannot be called in question. Camden says, (*col.* 613, Gibson's *ed.*) that "Modwenna an Irish virgin, famed for her wonderful piety, built a nunnery near Pollesworth" in Warwickshire. And (*col.* 641) he speaks of her as having been near Burton on Trent, Staffordshire. I do not find him stating the period, at which she was in these places. Usher thought it was in the seventh century, because Modwenna is said to have instructed St. Ositha, whom he assigned to said century, as have also Baronius and others. He acknowledges that Ositha flourished in the latter part of it; and hence, as observed above (*Not.* 114) it may be collected, that Modwenna was not distinguished as early as 630. But other writers assert, that Modwenna lived in the 9th century, and even in the second half of it. Their system is exhibited and followed by Cressy, (*Church History, &c. B.* 28. *ch.* 2.), who tells us 1. that Modwenna was the daughter of *Nangtheus* of Tirconnel. He mistook the name *Maughteus* of Conchubran for *Nangtheus*. Another mistake is that of *Tirconnel* instead of the Conalls' country in Louth and Down. Camden has fallen into it, but was corrected by Usher (*p.* 1036). 2. Cressy has the nunnery of Fochart, &c. and then says, that Modwenna erected another at Celliscline, *so called from the multitude of cells*. This is a droll

blunder; *Celliscline* &c. instead of *Kill-sleve-Cuillin*, the cell of Mount-Cuillin. As to the origin of this nunnery, it is well known, that whoever was the Monenna by whom founded, (see *Not.* 116) it existed long before the ninth century. 3. Modwenna, on the invitation of Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, went to England, taking with her Achea her disciple and relative—is entrusted with the care of Editha the king's sister, and founds the nunnery of Pollesworth. 4. Leaving the direction of Pollesworth to Achea and Editha she went to the small island of Andresey, (Andrew's island) where she erected a church in honour of St. Andrew, and near which was afterwards founded the Benedictine monastery of Burton. 5. Modwinna had also a disciple named Ositha, concerning whose times Cressy here changes a former opinion of his. For he had, (*B.* 17. *ch.* 15.) with Baronius, placed her in the 7th century, but now removes her to the ninth. 6. Modwenna returned to *Celliscline* in Ireland, and died there after having requested that her body should be interred in Andressey. This request was complied with through the care of the great Alfred; but the body was in a following age removed to the monastery of Burton. From this narrative, compared with Conchubran's account, the reader will be able to understand the epitaph on St. Modwenna's tomb at Burton, as in Camden (*col.* 641.) and Usher, *p.* 1036.

Ortum Modwennae dat Hibernia, Scotia finem,
 Anglia dat tumulum, dat Deus alta poli
 Prima dedit vitam, sed mortem terra secunda,
 Et terram terrae tertia terra dedit.
 Aufert Lanfortin, quam Terra Conallea profert;
 Felix Burtonium Virginis ossa tenet.

St. Modwinna's death is here placed at Lanfortin, where Conchubran says that Monenna died, in opposition to the statement given by Cressy.

(119) This is all that I can find worthy of consideration as to St. Conchenna in what Colgan has about her at 13 *Mart.* The 4 Masters have for her death *A.* 654, which, I suppose, ought to be understood 655. They call her St. Conchenna of Killsleve, without adding the title of abbess. As Killsleve was the same as Kill-sleve-Cuillin, of which in the preceding notes, we have here

a proof that this nunnery existed long before the ninth century.

(120) Colgan has endeavoured to compile the Acts of this saint at 9 February. They consist chiefly of fragments of a bombastic Life, written, as he thought, by a Cisterian monk of the abbey of Boyle, and consequently not before the latter end of the twelfth century. He justly observes, that it was not commendable either for style or close attention to truth.

(121) See *Chap. v. §. 10.*

(122) Life of St. Corbmac, *cap. 17.* at 26 March.

(123) See *Not. 111.* to *Chap. XII.*

(124) Acts of St. Athracta, *cap. 13.* In the same chapter Keannfaelaid is said to have been king of Connaught during her time. Colgan, not finding any king there of this name before about 670, thought that, instead of a king of all Connaught ought to be understood a dynast of some part of it. But in said Acts Keannfaelaid is expressly stated to have ruled the whole province, "*tenens totum eius (Connaciae) principatum universalliter.*" The author certainly meant the well-known king of all Connaught. Yet we are not bound to believe, that Athracta lived as late as his reign. That author cared so little about anachronisms, that he places her also in the times of St. Patrick. Concerning Nathy of Achronry see *Chap. XII. §. 3.* That he he was the Nathy alluded to in Athracta's Acts is sufficiently clear from his having lived in the district, in which her nunnery was situated, viz. Lugne or Luggia, of which the barony of Leney in the county of Sligo forms a part. Nathy of Achonry, which is in said barony, is the only saint of that name, that flourished in Lugne.

(125) *AA. SS. p. 281.*

(126) See *Not. 141* to *Chap. XII.* If Athracta was, whether sister or not, contemporary with Coeman, we have an additional argument in favour of her having lived in the sixth century; for Coeman is said to have been brother to St. Coemhgen of Glendaloch.

(127) See *Chap. v. §. 10* and *ib. Not. 95.*

(128) In the foreign calendars her name is spelt *Tarachta* or *Tarahata*. No St. Tarachta is mentioned in any Irish document; and hence Colgan justly inferred, that she was no other than St. Athracta. The Bollandists (at 9 *Febr.*) do not controvert his

opinion. They have scarcely any thing about St. Athracta except what they took from him, and follow him even to her having flourished in the 5th century, to which period they assign also Coeman of Airdne-Coemhain. It appears that they did not examine the history of either of these saints with much attention.

§. x. St. Fechin, (129) who is the first named among the priests of the third class of Irish saints, was a native of the territory, in which St. Athracta had her nunnery, that is, of Lugne. (130) Bile, or, as afterwards called, Bile Fechin, in the barony of Leney, is stated to have been the place of his birth. His father was Coelcharna a descendant of Eochad Fionn brother to the famous king Con of the hundred battles, and his mother Lassair of the royal blood of Munster. (131) When fit to be sent to school, Fechin was placed under St. Nathy or Nathi of Achonry, in whose monastery he remained until he made a considerable progress in learning and piety. How long he continued there we are not correctly informed. According to one account he staid with Nathi, until he was ordained priest; (132) but according to another, which appears more consistent, he left that school several years before he was ordained and went to that of some other holy man. (133) Having finished his studies, and being raised to the priesthood, he left his own country for the purpose of leading a retired life, and arriving at Fobhar, now Fore in the county of Westmeath, stopped there, being very kindly received by the proprietors of that place. Here he erected a monastery, to which such numbers of persons were attracted by his reputation, that after some time his community consisted of about three hundred monks, (134) who, as well as their holy abbot, subsisted on their own labour, (135) and were sometimes reduced to great penury. (136) Some other monasteries or churches are attributed to St. Fechin; but, with the exception of one or two of them, I greatly doubt whether they

were of his foundation. (137) That he established a religious house in the island of Immagh near the coast of Galway (138) cannot be questioned. The inhabitants were still Pagans when Fechin, taking with him some of his monks of Fore, undertook their conversion. At first he met with great opposition, and the people were so obstinate that they refused to supply him and his companions with even the necessities of life, so that two of them died of want of food, whom, however, the Almighty was pleased, through the saint's intercession, to bring again to life. But Guaire, king of Connaught, being apprized of their distress, sent them abundance of provisions. (139) When setting about the construction of a monastery, the islanders threw their implements and utensils into the sea, which, it is said, were driven back on land. At length Fechin succeeded in bringing all of them over to the Christian faith, and baptized them. Their zeal became so fervent, that they consigned themselves and their island to him as their master and superior. (140)

(129) Colgan has published (at 20 January) two Lives of St. Fechin. The author of the first was Augustin Magraidin, who died in 1405. The second, which is more copious and circumstantial was compiled by Colgan and his assistants from three different Lives of Fechin written in Irish.

(130) See *Not.* 124.

(131) *AA. SS.* p. 143.

(132) *Second Life, cap.* 8. In this Life Nathi is represented as living for some time, apparently not inconsiderable, after Fechin, already a priest, had founded some monasteries. If so, Nathi must have lived to a great age; for he was a grown up man before the death of Finnian of Clonard, (see *Chap.* xii. §. 3.) that is, before 552. Now it can scarcely be admitted that Fechin, who died of a plague in 665, was born earlier than between 580 and 590, or that he could have been a priest prior to between 610 and 620. Supposing then Nathi to have been alive after Fechin had established monasteries, he would have lived until, at least, 620; whence it would follow that he was very old when he died.

(133) In the first Life we read (*cap.* 6.) that Fechin was still a boy, “*bonae indolis puer,*” when he removed to another school. His going to this school was very probably owing to Nathi’s death, which may be conjectured to have occurred about the beginning of the seventh century. What school it was, or who was that other holy man, is not mentioned in the Life. He was most probably Fintan Moeldubh. (See *Not.* 174. to *Chap.* xii.) Colgan has a fable concerning Fechin having been a disciple of Kieran of Clonmacnois, as if a man, who lived until 665 could have been the scholar of one that died in 549. Yet this story is perhaps founded on truth misunderstood. Fechin might have been at the great school of Clonmacnois, which used to be called Kieran’s school or college. From its having been said that he studied there it might have been imagined that Kieran himself was his master. Whether the times answered or not was a point not inquired into.

(134) First Life, *cap.* 10. Second, *cap.* 9. In a hymn for the Office of St. Fechin we read ;

Dehinc fuit monachorum
Dux et pater *trecentorum*
Quos instruxit lege morum
Murus contra vitia. Amen.

Archdall (at *Fore*) has swelled the number to three thousand, and refers to Usher, who in the very passage referred to (*p.* 1195. or, as in the London *ed.* 500.) reckons only three hundred, quoting the lines now given from the hymn.

(135) First Life, *cap.* 10. and 14.

(136) *Ib.* *cap.* 11. and Second Life, *cap.* 36.

(137) It is said in the second Life, (*cap.* 8.) that Fechin prior to his going to Fore erected a noble church as Eas-dara (Ballysadare, co. Sligo;) another at Bile, where he was born, together with a monastery called Kill-na-manach, *i. e.* *cell of the monks*; and three churches, *viz.* of Druimratha, Killgarvan, and Edarguidhe, *al.* *Ecclas-roog*. In the first place I have to observe, that not one of these foundations is mentioned in the first Life, and that it gives us plainly to understand that the monastery of Fore, in which he

presided over 300 monks, was Fechin's first establishment. As to Eas-dara, the most we are bound to admit is, "that he built a church there. It is true that the monastery of that place possessed some land called *Tearmann Fechin*, *i. e.* the sacred ground of Fechin; but it does not follow that he founded the monastery, or that it was he that obtained the grants, by which it was enriched. Fechin's system, as appears from his conduct at Fore, was one of poverty and different from that of procuring estates for his establishments. If the monastery of Ballysadare had been founded by him, this would have been stated in the second Life as well as the erection of the church, in the same manner as the monastery at Bile is expressly mentioned besides the church. To account for the name *Tearmann Fechin*, it is sufficient that the church of Ballysadare, to which a monastery was afterwards annexed, had been denominated from St. Fechin as its founder; or that, what is at least equally probable, that both the church and monastery, by whomsoever founded, were dedicated to him.

That the church of Bile and the monastery of Killnamanach were not founded by Fechin seems almost certain, not only from their not being spoken of in the first Life, but from its being expressly stated that, as soon as he was ordained priest, he withdrew from his own country. Had he formed these establishments, among his relatives, would they not have been hinted at, and some reason assigned for his leaving them? It is no argument to say, that Bile was called *Bile-Fechin*; for the circumstance of his having been born there sufficiently explains the reason of that surname. In the passage of the second Life relative to these places the monastery of Killnamanach, as far as I understand it, is represented as at Bile. Colgan, however, seems (*IA. SS. p. 143.*) to distinguish them as differently situated. Perhaps this was the case; for we find a Kilnamanagh not far indeed from Bile but yet in a place distinct from it. Harris and Archdall make them different places; but they had no right whatsoever to assign a monastery to Bile, in the supposition of Killnamanach having been situated elsewhere. In this case there remains for Bile merely a church, according to the second Life, which is the only authority that can be produced for these pretended foundations of Fechin.

These writers have changed also *Druimratha* into a monastery, although in said *Life* it is called only a church, nor does *Colgar* speak of it otherwise. It was the same as *Drumratt* in the barony, not, as *Archdall* says, of *Lency*, and near *Ballysadare*, but of *Corran* in the same county of *Sligo*. *Archdall* mentions *St. Enan* as having been at *Drumrath*; but this saint, who was earlier by many years than *Fechin*, belonged to *Drumrath* in *Westmeath*. (See *Not. 27 to Chap. xii.*)

In like manner *Harris* has without any authority placed an abbey at *Kilgarvan*, which he supposed to be in the county of *Sligo*. *Archdall* who with *Colgan* calls it *Kilnagarvan*, is more correct. He speaks of it as only a church, and so it is called in the second *Life*, as likewise by *Colgan*, (*AA. SS. p. 143.*) who says, that it is a parish church in the district of *Coistealbach*. *Archdall* is right in placing it in *Mayo* and in the barony of *Gallen*. At present it goes by the name of *Kilgarvy*. It is situated very near the barony of *Leney* in *Sligo*. Its old name *Kill-na-garvan* indicates, that its founder was not *Fechin* but one *Garvan*.

Edarguidhe is omitted by *Harris* and *Archdall*. All that *Colgan* says of it is, that it was an oratory, somewhere, I suppose, in *Lugne*.

In the second *Life* (*cap. 19.*) *Fechin* is spoken of as being in *his* monastery of *Cong* (in *suo* monasterio de *Cunga*) in the now county of *Mayo*, barony of *Kilmaine*. I suspect that *suo* has been inserted without sufficient authority. In the first *Life* there is not a word about *Cong*, an omission very strange indeed, if that celebrated monastery had been founded by *Fechin*. Among the many abbots of *Cong* I do not find one called his *comorban* or successor. *Ware* says, (*Antiq. cap. 26. at Mayo*) that the monastery of *Cong* was founded by *Donald* son of *Aed*, or *Aidus*, and grandson (not nephew, as in the English translation) of *Anmirech*, that is, *Domnald II.* king of *Ireland*, who died in 642. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*) He assigns this foundation to A. D. 624; *Harris* adds, or 635. Whence *Ware* derived this information I cannot discover. He observes that *it is said*, that *Fechin* was some time abbot there. For this, *it is said*, there is no other foundation than the *suo* of the second *Life*. *Colgan* has (*AA. SS. p. 151.*) a *St. Molocus* of *Cong*, whose name is in the calendars at 17 April. It is very probable that, although this monastery might have been

erected at the expense of king Donnald, Molocus was its first abbot. He was the saint, whose name used to be joined to that of Cong, as we see in Colgan's Topographical Index (*ib.*) at *Cunga*. Such junction of names is generally indicative of the saints, who were either the founders, or the first distinguished in the monasteries or churches, to which their names are annexed.

In the same Life (*cap. 22.*) a monastery in Ard-oilen, one of the Arran isles off the coast of Galway, is attributed to Fechin. This is evidently a mistake; for besides its not being mentioned in the first Life, it is well known that the patron saint of Ard-oilen was a St. Coemhain, insomuch so that from his name it was formerly called *Ara-Coemhain*, and its monastery and principal church were called *Kill-Coemhain*. (See Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 715.* and above *Not. 141. to Chap. XII.*) In what Colgan has (*ib.*) concerning Ard-oilen, although he treats of it very minutely, the name of Fechin is not even hinted at. Harris, however, follows the story of the second Life; and Archdall, to compromise the matter, says that Kill-Coemhain was founded by Fechin. Why rob St. Coemhain of this foundation? Archdall goes farther than the Life, which does not ascribe Kill-Coemhain to Fechin, but exhibits him as erecting a nameless monastery in Ard-oilen, as if there might have been two in that island. But the fact is, that there was only one, the founder of which was Coemhain. Another mistake (perhaps of the press) in his account of Ard-oilen is the confounding of Coemhain with Columb.

Another pretended foundation by Fechin, is that of Tulach-Fobhuir, supposed to be near Naas. This place is mentioned in the second Life, (*cap. 32. seqq.*) but it is not stated that a monastery was erected there. Colgan, when reckoning these establishments of Fechin, assigns neither a monastery nor a church to Tulach-Fobhuir. All that is said of it is, that a king of Leinster made a grant of it, together with its inhabitants, mill, and the adjoining district, to St. Fechin. Would Fechin and his monks of Fore have been poor and distressed, were they possessed of that fine estate? *Tulach-Fobhuir* means a landed property belonging to Fore, which this monastery acquired in its days of splendour, but certainly not in Fechin's time. Notwithstanding no mention being made of a monastery, Harris has placed one there, and has been

followed by Archdall, who was not able to give any account of it.

(138) Colgan says that, instead of the distinguished monastery of Immagh, in his time, there was only a parish church there, of which St. Fechin was the patron, as also of the island. It was in the diocese of Tuam. I do not find the name, *Immagh*, used at present. This island is, I suppose, that now called Inismain in the bay of Galway, and a rectory in said diocese.

(139) Usher fell into a huge mistake, (*p.* 1195. or, as in London *ed.* 500) with regard to Guaire or, as called in Fechin's Lives, Guari. He thought that he was king only of the island of Immogh, and thence placed him among the persons converted to christianity by Fechin. Usher had read in the first *Life*, (*cap.* 12) “*Cumque rex terrae, Guari nomine, quod factum fuit audisset, victum copiosum cum suo calice viro Dei et suis transmisit.*” He supposed that by *rex terrae* was meant the king of the island; a mighty king indeed! But that phrase is relative to the province of Connaught, in which Immagh was comprized. Had he seen the second *Life*, in which the same circumstance is related, (*cap.* 22.) and where king Guari is called son of Colman, Usher would have been more correct. Even the context, as in the first *Life*, might have taught him that Guari was somewhat more than king of Immagh. But, not being well versed in the provincial history of Ireland, he seems to have known little or nothing about this celebrated and pious king of Connaught, whom we have often met with already, *ex. c. Chap.* XIV. §. 11.

(140) Second *Life*, *cap.* 22. According to the first (*cap.* 12.) it would seem that the grant of the island was made by king Guaire. Be this as it may, said grant must be understood not as if Fechin became proprietor of the whole island, but that he was considered as the chief director, and, we may say, magistrate of the inhabitants. It is on this occasion that in the second *Life* Fechin is introduced as erecting another monastery in Ard-oilen. (See *Not.* 137.) But in the first, although the transactions in Immagh are equally detailed, there is nothing about his passing over to Ard-oilen; and he appears as if having returned from Immagh directly to Fore.

§. XI. Among the many transactions, in which

Fechin is said to have been engaged, it is related that, on occasion of Domnald II. king of all Ireland having marched with a great army into the country of the Southern or Meath Nialls for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of their principality, they applied for protection to the saint, who happened to be then at a place called Tibrada, where, perhaps, he had some small establishment. (141) Fechin complied with their request, and acted so powerfully on the king's mind as to induce him to desist from any further proceeding against the Southern Nialls, between whom and the king he procured a perfect reconciliation. His influence was very great with the kings and princes of his time. An instance of it is given in the case of a young man named Erlomhan, whom Moenach, king of Munster, immediately discharged from prison on perceiving that Fechin wished for this act of grace. (142) Erlomhan afterwards embraced the monastic state under Fechin. In like manner he obtained from the joint kings of Ireland Diermit II. and Blaithmaic (143) the liberation of one Aedus or Aedan, a brave military man, who, on being dismissed from prison and given up to Fechin, went with him to Fore, where he became a monk. Several holy men are mentioned as united in friendship with Fechin, for instance Coeman or Co-main Breac, abbot of Roseach in Meath, (144) Ultan of Ardbraccan, Fintan Munnu, Ronan son of Berach, (145) and particularly Mochua abbot of Ardsleine. (146) Fechin's life was one continued course of austerity, and he was so fond of solitude that he often used to retire from his monastery either of Fore or of Immagh to lonesome situations, passing his time in prayer, fasting, and other mortifications, and taking no food except now and then a little bread and water. Many miracles have been attributed to him; but the accounts of them are, in general, so intermixed with fables, that I shall not attempt to elucidate them. (147) This great saint died on the 20th

of January A. D. 665, of the dreadful pestilence that raged all over Ireland. His memory has been most highly respected, and the monastery of Fore, which continued down to the time of the general suppression, was greatly celebrated, (148) and in the course of ages became very splendid and wealthy. (149)

(141) This place is mentioned in the second *Life*, *cap.* 34. Harris (at *Westmeath*) assigns a monastery there to Fechin, and so does Archdall, who calls it *Tippert*, in, he says, the half barony of Fore. Thus it would be not far distant from the monastery of that name. Colgan also places (*AA. SS.* *p.* 143.) a monastery at Tibrada in Westmeath, but, not being able to give any account of it, conjectures (*ib.* *p.* 242.) that it might be Tibrad Ultain in that country where a church existed in his times. This is, I suppose, the *Tippert* of Archdall, who says that it is now a chapel. But even admitting that it was formerly a monastery, why attribute it to Fechin, rather than to Ultan, whose name it bore? There is nothing in the *Life* to show that he had a monastery at Tibrada, except the mention made of a person there, who had the care of the provisions. It may be, however, that there was a cell in that place dependent on the great monastery of Fore.

(142) Erlomhan's mother had applied to Fechin to assist her in procuring his liberation. He gave her a gold torques, which he had received as a present from Moenach, for the purpose of purchasing from him her son's release. On recognizing it, and as coming from Fechin, Moenach returned it to her, and at the same time discharged Erlomhan. (Second *Life*, *cap.* 37.) Fechin had spent some time at Cashel (*ib.* *cap.* 14.) probably with this king, who was son to Fingen, and died, as Colgan observes, in 660.

(143) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 1.

(144) *AA. SS.* *p.* 140. He died on the 14th of September, A. D. 614, *i. e.* 615, as Usher states (*Index Chron.*) Archdall calls Roseach *Rosse*, and places it at about a mile South-east of Tara.

(145) Ronan was abbot of Drumshallon in the county of Louth, and died of the great pestilence on the 18th of November in 665. (*AA. SS.* *p.* 141.)

(146) Second *Life*, *cap.* 44 and 49. Colgan was not able to

give any account of this St. Mochua or of Ardsleine ; nor has Harris or Archdall a monastery in that place. I believe it was at or near Slane in Meath, *Ardsleine* meaning the *height of Slane*, and am greatly inclined to think, that Mochua was the same as Cronan son of Silni. (See *Not.* 91 to *Chap.* xv.) It is well known, and remarked by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 304.) that *Cronan* was the same as *Mochua*. This alone is not a proof of identity ; but as Cronan son of Silni is reckoned among the illustrious men, who died in 665 ; (*ib.* p. 150. and Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) and as, according to said Life, the person, called Mochua of Ardsleine died about the very same time with Fechin in that year ; and as the name, *Mochua*, does not appear in the list, given in the Irish annals, of the distinguished victims of the pestilence, it seems to me highly probable that Mochua of Ardsleine was no other than Cronan, the son of Silni. He must not be confounded with Mochua or Cronan, abbot of Balla in the county of Mayo, who had been a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, and died in 637. (See Colgan *AA. SS.* at 30 *Mart.*)

(147) One of these strange accounts is relative to a Tirechan, who had gone to Rome, and whose mother applied to Fechin, who was then at Cashel, to procure his returning to her. It is said that, through the saint's command, Tirechan instantly appeared before him in that city. (Second Life, *cap.* 14.) This is a perverted statement of a probably real fact, viz. that Fechin sent an order to him to come back to his mother, which Tirechan immediately complied with. Colgan thought that this was the celebrated Tirechan, who became a disciple of Ultan of Ardraccan, afterwards a bishop, and, as some say, Ultan's successor in that see ; and who wrote the Memoirs of St. Patrick so often quoted by Usher. The times agree very well ; for Ultan, who died in 657, was contemporary with Fechin. If Colgan's opinion be correct it may be justly supposed that Tirechan, the writer, was a native of Cashel or of its vicinity. The name of St. Tirechan is marked at the 3d of July.

(148) Usher observes (*p.* 966.) that Fore was called *Baile-Leabhair* or the *town of books*, whence it appears that learning was much cultivated there. Some of its abbots were bishops ; but Harris had no right to suppose, that it was at any time a regular episcopal see.

(149) See Archdall at *Fore*.

§. XII. In the latter end, viz. on the 29th of December, of said year, died of the same pestilence St. Aileran surnamed the *Wise*. (150) His name is sometimes written *Heleran*, *Aireran*, or *Ereran*. He was very probably the priest Airendanus of the third class of saints, (151) and who alone, of those mentioned in it, now remains to be sought for. Very little is known relative to the history of Aileran, except as far as concerns his writings. This much is certain, that he presided over the great school of Clonard, (152) not as abbot or bishop, but as principal professor. A tract written by him is still extant, in which the mystical meaning of the names of our Saviour's progenitors, as in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is treated of. (153) Although small, it exhibits, besides a great share of ingenuity, very considerable biblical and theological learning. Aileran wrote also a Life of St. Patrick, or at least, some Memoirs concerning him. (154) This work is lost, (155) as likewise some treatise of his on St. Brigid. (156) He is referred to (157) as having given an account of the proceedings of St. Fechin in the island of Immagh; but it cannot be hence concluded that he drew up, as some have thought (158) an entire Life of that saint.

It might be conjectured that Aileran was the author of the three books *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*. (159) The times agree very well; for, by whomsoever written, he was employed on their composition in the year 655. (160) The learning displayed in this work is such as to render it worthy of being attributed to Aileran. But it seems more probable that the author was a monk either of Clonmacnois or of Cork. (161)

Among the many persons carried off in said year, by the pestilence are reckoned also Ultan, abbot of

Clonard, and two abbots of Clonmacnois, Colman Cass and Cumin. (162)

(150) *AA. SS. p. 140.* and Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(151) Usher having (*p. 967*) proposed a conjecture whether Airendannus was the same person as Aileran, adds, “or was he rather Aired,” who is mentioned by Capgrave as contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, Usher says that Aired lived in a place called *Airdsinnaidh*. In the *Life of Maidoc* published by Colgan, which, however, has no mention of Aired, it is called (*cap. 8*) *Ardrinnygh*, and spoken of as near Mount Beatha, or Slieve-Beagh in the part of Monaghan adjoining Fermanagh. Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 216.*) that St. Aired’s name is in some calendars at 26 August.

(152) *AA. SS. p. 140.*

(153) It has been published by Sirin among the *Collectanea Sacra* of Fleming, and republished in the *Bibliotheca patrum*, *Tom. 12. Lyons, A. 1677.* Its title is, *Interpretatio mystica progenitorum Christi*, and it consists of two parts, in the former of which the signification of the names is inquired into and shown to contain prophetic allusions to Christ; for instance “Abraham, *pater excelsus.*” The author then applies the meaning to our Saviour by referring to the prophecies concerning him, such as that of Isaias; *Vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis, &c.* Thus at *Isaac* he writes; “In *Isaac gaudium*, dicente Angelo ad pastores, *ecce annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, &c.* The second part, which consists of moral explanations deduced from said significations, is imperfect as it ends with *Eliacim* and two or three words about *Azor*. Usher (*p. 966.*) makes mention, from Sedulius the younger’s *Collectaneum on Matthew*, of this tract under a very apposite title; *Typicus ac tropologicus genealogiae Christi intellectus, quem sanctus Aileranus Scottorum sapientissimus exposuit.*”

(154) See *Chap. III. §. 5.*

(155) We have seen, (*ib. §. 4.*) that Colgan was mistaken in attributing to Aileran or Eleran what he calls the *Fourth Life of St. Patrick.*

(156) In the prologue to the sixth or metrical *Life of St. Brigid* (See *Not. 18 to Chap. VIII*) we read;

“ Scripserunt multi virtutes virginis almae
 Ultanus doctor, atque *Eleranus* ovans, &c.”

(157) First Life of Fechin, *cap.* 12.

(158) Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 140. Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Aileran.*)

(159) This very learned work, which had been erroneously attributed to St. Augustin and printed among his works in the early editions of them, may be seen in the Appendix to the third volume of that of the Benedictines. It is an abridgment of the history of the Bible, intermixed with a multitude of theological and philosophical disquisitions, tending to elucidate it, and clear away the difficulties that occur. In the first book the sacred history is treated of as far as it is given in the Pentateuch; in the second down to the end of the Old Testament; and in the third that of the New. The style is good and clear; and the author was well acquainted with general history and the ancient philosophy.

(160) The author having observed (*L. 2. c. 4.*) that Manchan the Wise, or, as his name appears in the printed text *Manichaeus*, died in the last year of the eleventh cycle of 532 years, that is A. D. 652. (see above *Not.* 81.) adds that the third year of the twelfth cycle was that, in which he was writing. It was therefore 665. Hence it is clear, that Manchan the *Wise* of Mendrochit was not, as some writers have imagined, the author of the work *De Mirabilibus*, &c. for nothing is more certain than that he died in 652. (above §. 6.) and Ware was right (at *Manchinan*) in rejecting this opinion.

(161) Prefixed to the work is a dedication beginning with these words; “ Venerandissimis urbium et monasteriorum episcopis et presbyteris, maxime *Carthaginiensium* Augustinus per omnia subjectus optabilem in Christo salutem.” The author then adds, that he had been ordered by his superior *Eusebius*, who died in the interim, to undertake this work; and towards the end of said dedication makes mention of Bathan as one of these, apparently the *Carthaginiensium*, whom he is addressing, and a master of his. He mentions also another of his masters *Manchinanus al. Manchianus* “ Ab uno enim *vestrum*, id est, Bathano, post patrem *Manchinanum* si quid intelligentiae addidi,” &c. That *Car-*

thaginensium is an erratum is sufficiently plain, unless we should suppose that it refers to Lismore that is, to the institution of St. Carthagh. But other circumstances do not agree with this conjecture. It is probably a mistake either for *Chuanensium* or for, what comes nearer to it, *Corcagiensium*. In the former supposition we have Clonmacnois, of which the abbot Aidhlog or Aedhlog died in 652 (above *Not.* 99), a time well corresponding with that of the injunction to write laid upon the author. If the name *Aedhlogus* was in his text, a continental transcriber might have softened it into *Eusebius*. As to Bathan, there is no difficulty; for the superior of Clonmacnois at the time of the author's writing was a Bathan or Baithan. (See § 7.) Yet there are strong reasons for supposing that this author belonged rather to Cork. Among the learned men of St. Fimbar's school I find Eulangius or Eulogius, and Baithan. (*AA. SS.* p. 630 and 750) *Eulogius* might have been easily changed into *Eusebius*. The times correspond; for these persons flourished in the first half of the seventh century. It may be some corroboration of this conjecture that the author seems to have lived not far from the sea. He often speaks of the various sorts of tides, calling the greater ones, or the spring tide, *Malina*, and the lesser ones *Ledo*. His mentioning Manchinanus affords us no assistance in this inquiry; as there is no hint that he belonged to the community of which the author was a member. This Manchinanus was most probably Manchan the *Wise*, whose name appears elsewhere in the work, corruptly written *Manichaeus*. From the manner, in which our author speaks of Manchinanus, it seems that he had been a pupil of his before he went to study under Bathan, or that Manchinanus had written something on the Scriptures, by which he was assisted in his researches. There was in those times another Manchanus or Manchinanus (for they are the same name) who was surnamed *Leth*; but nothing is said of his learning, and all that I find concerning him, is, that he died of the pestilence in 665 (*AA. SS.* p. 332.) and that he seems to have been abbot of Laithmore. (See the Litany of Aengus, *ib.* p. 539.) The chief difficulty in this question arises from the name *Augustinus*, under which the author appears in the printed text. No person of that name, a very rare one of old in Ireland, is spoken of in our history as living in the times that the work was written. It is, in all probability, a

corruption of some Irish name latinized, perhaps *Aengussius* or *Eugenius*. Did other circumstances agree, I should suspect that it was written by mistake for *Aileranus*. That the author was an Irishman and composed his work in Ireland is self evident. Besides his having been connected with Bathan and Manchinanus, who were certainly Irishmen, his noticing in a particular manner (*L. 2. c. 4.*) the death of the wise Manichæus or Manchan, is a proof of it. Treating (*L. 1. c. 7.*) of how certain animals could have made their way into islands, he asks; "Who, for instance, would have imported into *Ireland* wolves, stags, wild boars, foxes," &c.? Why mention Ireland preferably to any other island, unless he was living and writing there? The Benedictine editors say, that he was either an Englishman or an Irishman. For his having been an Englishman they could not alledge a single argument; nor does he ever speak of England. Had they known that *Bathan* and *Manchinan* were downright Irish names, they would not have thrown out this conjecture; nor, had they been better acquainted with Irish history and topography, would they have said that, instead of *Carthaginensium*, the original word was perhaps *Cantuarensium*, or *Cambremsium*, or *Kilkeniensium*. There was no monastery at Kilkenny in the author's times; and as to the name it is much more unlike *Carthaginensium* than *Corcagiensium*, and even more than indicating other names Irish monasteries, *ex c. Clonardenisum, Clonmacnoisensium, &c.* The conjecture as to *Cantuariensium* and *Cambremsium* is set aside by the fact, that the author was addressing Irish monasteries. In a notice to the reader premised to an edition of this work (*ap. Opp. S. August. Tom. 3. Basil. A. 1569*) it is ignorantly observed, as if to show that the author was neither English nor Irish, that there are no wolves, wild bears or foxes in either England or Ireland. But we had, in his days, plenty of wolves and wild boars in Ireland, and we still have foxes.

(162) *AA. SS. p. 150.* This pestilence is called by Irish writers *Buidhe Chonnnull*, *i. e.* the yellow jaundice, and appeared in Ireland on the first of August, A. D. 664. It seems to have begun earlier in England, where, as Bede relates (*L. 3. c. 27.*) having depopulated the southern parts it penetrated into the Northumbrian province and swept away a vast number of people. He adds that it raged also in Ireland; and it is said that only a third part of the inhabitants survived it. A very extraordinary

eclipse of the sun had occurred in that year, not on the third, as Bede says, but on the first of May, as marked in the Annals of Ulster, which add, that during the summer the sky seemed to be on fire. (See Usher, *p.* 948. *seqq.* and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 664, and also Colgan's *Ind. Chron.* to *AA.* 55).

§. XIII. In the preceding year, that is 664, was held the celebrated conference at Whitby concerning the Paschal question and some other points of ecclesiastical discipline. Colman had succeeded, in 661, (163) Finan in the see of Lindisfarne, having been sent from Ireland for that purpose. (164) He was very probably a native of Connaught, and apparently of the now county of Mayo. (165) He was a monk of the Columbian order, and had, we may suppose, spent some time at Hy. (166) But at the period of his appointment to Lindisfarne he seems to have been living in Ireland. (167) Not long after Colman's arrival in Northumberland the controversies relative to Easter time and to some other ecclesiastical matters, were again revived and carried on with greater warmth than they had been even during the incumbency of Finan. (168) This was owing chiefly to the exertions of Wilfrid, who, after having spent part of his early years among the Irish at Lindisfarne, had gone to Rome, where he became perfectly acquainted with the Roman computation and other practices, and afterwards received the tonsure at Lyons according to the mode followed at Rome. (169) On his return to England Wilfrid had an opportunity of displaying his zeal for the Roman observances, having acquired the friendship of Alchfrid, son of king Oswin, and who, jointly with his father, ruled the Northumbrian kingdom. Alchfrid was instructed by him in ecclesiastical learning, and became so much attached to him that he made over to him the monastery of Rippon, (*Inhrypam*) having turned out the monks, to whom he had already granted it, because they refused to

change the Irish practices for the Roman. (170) Meantime Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, (171) accompanied by a priest Agathon, came to Northumberland, and, at the request of Alchfrid, ordained Wilfrid priest in his newly acquired monastery. A discussion having occurred there concerning the Paschal computation, the tonsure, &c. it was agreed upon that a synod or conference should be held, for the purpose of terminating these disputes, in the monastery or nunnery of Strenaeshaleh, (Whitby) which was then governed by the abbess Hild. It was attended by the two kings, Oswin and Alchfrid; by Colman with his Irish clergy; and by Agilbert with the priests Agathon and Wilfrid. This party was supported by Jacob and Romanus, (172) while Hild and her community, together with the venerable bishop Cedd, (173) were on the side of Colman.

(163) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(164) Bede writes; (*L. 3. c. 25.*) “ Defuncto autem Finano, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, *et ipse missus a Scottia*”, &c. That by *Scottia* he meant Ireland, as he always does, is too clear to require further demonstration, and will be seen from the sequel. His saying that Colman was sent from Ireland ought perhaps to be understood not as if he went straight from Ireland to Lindisfarne; for Bede elsewhere seems to state, that he proceeded thither from Hy. On occasion of mentioning his coming to that island after he left England, he writes, (*L. 4. c. 4.*) “ Venit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad prædicandum verbum Anglorum genti *destinatus*.” But as Hy was considered as an Irish island and inhabited by Irish monks, Bede might in a general way have said, that Colman was sent from Ireland. Speaking of Finan’s mission, he has; (*L. 3. c. 17.*) “ ab Hii *Scottorum insula* ac monasterio *destinatus*.” Yet his words *unde*, &c. may be well explained as relative merely to the order for his undertaking the care of Lindisfarne having emanated from the monastery of Hy, whose abbot was the general superior of the whole Columbian order, of which Colman was a member. This, I think, is the true meaning of Bede, and it appears to be con-

firmed by his saying not that Colman *returned* to Hy, but that he *came* to it. On the other hand, when mentioning his going to Ireland, Bede uses the word, *returned*; “in Scottiam *regressus est—Reverso patriam Colmano;*” and expresses his departure from England by the phrase *going home, abiens autem domum.* (See *L. 3. c. 26.*) Hence it is fair to conclude, that Colman’s home, before he was sent to Lindisfarne, was not in Hy but in Ireland.

(165) The only proof, but it is a strong one, of this position or conjecture is, that Colman, on his return to Ireland, went straight to Connaught, and formed a monastery in the island of Innisboffin off the coast of Mayo, and afterwards another at Mayo. Why prefer this part of Ireland to any other, unless he had lived there before he went to England? Bede, who mentions these establishments, and who tells us that Colman *went home*, seems to point out that country as his home. Colgan strives (*Tr. Th. p. 382.*) to make it appear probable that Colman was the same as Columban of the Briun family, who is spoken of by Adamnan (*Vit. S. C. L. 2. c. 16.*) as having been at Hy in the time of St. Columba, and then a young man. His mighty argument runs thus; Colman was a Connaught man; *atqui* the Briun or Hy-briuin race were of Connaught; *ergo*, &c. On this wretched mode of arguing he builds his hypothesis, which elsewhere (*ib. p. 488.*) he delivers as certain. How could he have imagined that Colman of Lindisfarne was an immediate disciple of St. Columba? Had he been so, and the same as said Columban, he could not, in the most favourable supposition, have been less than 20 years of age at the time of St. Columba’s death in 597. Thus he should have been 84 years old, when he was appointed to the arduous duty of governing the great diocese of Lindisfarne, comprizing an entire kingdom. If that Columban of the Briuns had been raised to this see, would Adamnan have neglected to record his promotion? Much more might be observed on this strange hypothesis, were it worthy of further animadversions.

(166) Of this point I do not find any positive proof. Yet it is very probable; whereas it is natural to think, that the abbot and other superiors of Hy would not have appointed him to Lindisfarne, had they not been personally acquainted with him. In

the fabulous Life of St. Gerald of Mayo it is said, that Colman became abbot of Hy. Colgan endeavours (*Tr. Th. p. 382 and 488.*) to support this absurdity, which, however, he acknowledges elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 602.*) to be very very doubtful. What time could be found for Colman's abbacy? The succession and times of the abbots of Hy are perfectly well known. Cumineus Albus was abbot when Colman was sent to England, and since the year 657. (Above §. 8.) And what makes the matter worse, in said Life Colman is made the immediate successor of St. Columba, although it is very probable that he was not born at the time of this saint's death.

(167) See *Not.* 164.

(168) See *Chap.* xv. §. 14.

(169) *Fleury L.* 39. § 35.

(170) *Ib.* and *Bede L.* 3. c. 25.

(171) Agilbert was a native of France, but for the sake of studying the Scriptures had spent a considerable time in Ireland. Bede mentioning (*L. 3. c. 7.*) his arrival in Wessex says; " Venit in provinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine Agilberctus, natione quidem Gallus, sed hunc legendarum gratia Scripturarum in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus." Agilbert became afterwards bishop of Paris.

(172) See *Chap.* xv. §. 14.

(173) See *ib.* §. 15.

§. XIV. The debate was opened by the king Oswin, who entertained no partiality on the subjects to be treated of, and had been rather favourable to the system of the Irish, by whom he had been instructed and baptized. He observed that, as they all equally served God, and expected the same kingdom of heaven, it was right that they should, in like manner follow the same observances, and that it was fit to institute an inquiry which was the true tradition, and that this should be adhered to by them all. He then directed his bishop Colman to speak first, who said; " The Easter, which I observe, I have received from
 " my elders, who have sent me hither as bishop; and
 " all our fathers, men beloved by God, are known to
 " have celebrated it in the same manner. It is that,
 " which, as we read, was celebrated by the blessed
 " Evangelist John and all the churches, over which

“ he presided.” On this latter point Colman was mistaken, as has been already remarked. (174) After some other observations by Colman the king called upon Agilbert to state his practice, and on what authority it rested. He requested that Wilfrid, who was of the same opinion with himself, might be allowed to speak in his stead, as he could not express his sentiments as clearly by means of an interpreter as Wilfrid could in his native tongue. For this debate was carried on in Irish and Anglo-Saxon, Cedd serving as interpreter between both parties. Then Wilfrid, by order of the king, thus addressed the assembly. “ The Easter, which we hold, we have “ seen celebrated by every one at Rome, where the “ blessed apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suf- “ fered, and were buried. We have seen it also in “ every part of Italy and France, that we have tra- “ versed. It is observed, and at one and the same “ time, in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, and, in “ short, by the whole Christian world, except by our “ adversaries and their accomplices, the Picts and “ Britons.” On Colman’s appealing again to the authority of St. John, Wilfrid answered by allowing, that St. John retained, indeed, the Jewish Pasch, whereas in the commencement of the church it was thought expedient not to immediately reject all the practices of the Mosaic law. On the contrary, St. Peter, looking to our Saviour’s resurrection on the day next after the Sabbath, followed a rule different from that of St. John. “ But after all,” added Wilfrid, “ what has your system to do with St. John’s? “ He celebrated the Pasch on the 14th day of the “ first month without caring on what day of the “ week it fell ; while you never celebrate your Easter “ except on a Sunday, so that you do not agree “ either with John or Peter, nor with the Law or “ the Gospel.” Wilfrid was very correct in these remarks on Colman’s erroneous position as to the practice of St. John, but far from being so in what

he has at some length concerning the Paschal regulations established by St. Peter. He supposed that the Paschal system at Rome in his time was the same as that, which had always prevailed there from the commencement of its church. This was a great mistake, as has been shown elsewhere ; (175) and it is unnecessary to trouble the reader with this part of Wilfrid's discourse.

(174) *Not. 24 to Chap. xv.*

(175) *Chap. xv. passim.*

§. xv. Colman then alleged the authority of Anatolius as having laid down, that the Paschal days were from the 14th inclusive, to the 20th of the first moon. To this Wilfrid replied that the day, called by Anatolius the 14th, was in reality the same as that, which the Egyptians reckoned as the 15th. But he would not have been able to prove this assertion. (176) Colman had asked, whether it could be supposed that their most revered father Columba and his holy successors, who followed the Irish system, entertained bad sentiments or acted contrary to the Scriptures ; men, whose sanctity was proved by miracles, and whose example and rules he endeavoured to adhere to in every respect. Wilfrid acknowledged that they were holy men, and that, as they were not acquainted with the true paschal system, their not observing it was of little detriment to them. " And," he added, " I believe that, had they been " rightly informed on the subject, (177) they would " have submitted to the rules proposed to them, in " the same manner as they are known to have ob- " served the commandments of God, which they had " learned. But you and your associates certainly " commit sin, if after having heard the decrees of " the Apostolic see, nay of the universal church, and " these confirmed by the holy Scriptures, (178) you " disdain to follow them. For, although your fa- " thers were saints, is their small number from a cor-

“ner of an island in the extremity of the world (179)
 “to be preferred to the whole church? And, how-
 “ever holy and great performer of miracles your
 “Columba was, could he be preferred to the most
 “blessed prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord
 “has said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I*
 “*will build my church, and the gates of hell shall*
 “*not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee*
 “*the keys of the kingdom of heaven?*” The king
 then said: “Is it true, Colman, that the Lord has
 thus spoken to Peter?” He answered that it was.
 The king added: “Can you show that so great a
 power was granted to your Columba?” No, replied
 Colman. The king continued: “Do you agree on
 “both sides, that this has been said principally to
 “Peter, and that the Lord has given to him the keys
 “of the kingdom of heaven?” “Undoubtedly” was
 the general answer. The king then concluded:
 “Now I tell you, that this is the gate keeper, whom
 “I will not contradict, and whose decrees I wish to
 “obey as far as I know and am able; lest on my
 “arrival at the gate of the kingdom of heaven
 “there should be no one to open it for me, as he,
 “who holds the keys, would be against me.” Thus
 the question was decided, and the assembly at large
 declared in favour of Wilfrid. (180)

(176) See *Not. 1. to Chap. xv.* Smith observes, (*Appendix to Bede, No. ix. p. 703.*) that Colman was perfectly right in what he stated concerning the rule of Anatolius, and that Wilfrid's answer was unfounded and good for nothing.

(177) Fleury remarks (*L. 39. §. 36.*) that Wilfrid seems not to have known, that St. Columbanus understood the subject very well. He thought that the Columba, whose example was alleged by Colman, was Columbanus of Luxeu, who was certainly fully instructed on the state of the question. (See *Chap. XIII. §. 4.*) But the Columba meant by Colman, as also by Wilfrid, was Columbkil of Hy. This is a mistake very easily fallen into on reading Bede's narrative, unless particular care be taken to recollect, that Colman had

been a monk of Columbkil's institution. As *Columba* and *Columbanus* were the same name, (see *Not. 1. to Chap. XIII.*) and as the latter observed the Irish method equally with the former, I am not surprized that Fleury made this mistake. I fell into it myself, in the hurry of writing some years ago; (*Introduction, by Irenaeus, to the Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church, p. cxliv. Dublin, 1809.*) but at that time I had no idea of undertaking this work, or of being obliged to dip deep into the ecclesiastical history of Ireland.

(178) Wilfrid here assumes grounds, which he had no claim to. Where did he find it ordered in the Scriptures to prefer the Alexandrian cycle of 19 years, then followed by the Romans, to that of 84 years used by the Irish, and for a long time by the Romans themselves, or to that of 532 years, which also had prevailed at Rome? Or where have the Scriptures determined on what day of the first moon Easter should be celebrated, or even that it should be celebrated at any time? But, it may be said, Wilfrid's meaning was, that the Alexandrian, or new Roman, rules were more conformable to the account given of the time of our Saviour's resurrection inasmuch as it took place after the 14th day. If the paschal day were to be determined by what we read in the Gospel, it would follow that Easter could never be celebrated earlier than on the 16th day, as had been the practice at Rome; (see *Chap. xv.*) whereas, the Friday of the passion having been the 14th, the Sunday of the resurrection was the 16th. Now Wilfrid maintains that the 15th was the first regular day for the solemnity of Easter, (see *Bede L. 3. c. 25.*) and insists upon it as if it were a rule of faith; and another great stickler for the Alexandrian method, Ceolfrid (or rather Bede, who seems to have been the chief author of Ceolfrid's letter) inveighs against those, who waited for the 16th (See *Not. 27. to Chap. xv.*) Yet the fact is, that, were Easter day to be fixed according to the Gospel history, the 16th should have been waited for; and thus Wilfrid and his adherents, instead of following the Scriptures as they supposed, were acting against them as much as the Irish, who thought that Easter might be celebrated on the 14th. But it was never made a general rule of the Church to make Easter day correspond exactly with all the circumstances of the time of the Resurrection; and accordingly it was not

thought necessary to attend to the whole interval, that elapsed between it and the Passion.

Wilfrid speaks also of decrees of the universal church in favour of his system. Where did he find them? There were such decrees against the Quartadecimans, and ordering that Easter should be always celebrated on a Sunday. The Irish observed these decrees, and were far from being Quartadecimans. But there was no decree enjoining the whole church to adopt the Alexandrian cycle and rules. Those of the general councils of Nice and the first of Constantinople contained no such order; and, if they had, the Roman church itself would have been long guilty of disobedience, whereas it opposed said cycle until about the middle of the sixth century. When the clergy of Rome in their letter to Thomian, &c. (see *Chap. xv. §. 11.*) speaks of a heresy concerning the Pasch as reviving in Ireland, it is plain that they misunderstood the question, imagining that some of the Irish followed the condemned system of the Quartadecimans. The practice indeed was, in Wilfrid's time, very general against Colman's party, which had been already diminished by the secession of the Southern half of Ireland. But practices, however extensive, are not alone sufficient for constituting an article of faith. (See Veron, *Regula fidei Catholicae*, §. 4. No. 4.) Even at that time the whole of the Alexandrian method was not adhered to in some parts of the continent, (See *Not. 27. to Chap. xv.*) Colman and his associates were certainly very blameable for persisting in a practice so contrary to that of the far greatest part of Christendom, and, in itself, of so indifferent a nature. Their only apology is the extreme veneration entertained by them for the memory of Columbkil. On the other hand it is surprising, that such men as Wilfrid and Bede could have considered this question as one of doctrine, of faith, of vital importance. It was a dispute of mere astronomical calculation, similar to that between the abettors of the Gregorian or new style and those of the old one. Neither faith nor morals were in any wise connected with it. As long as the old style continued to be followed in these kingdoms, our Catholics used, with the Pope's consent and permission, to celebrate Easter and the other festivals of the year at times different from those, in which they were observed at Rome and elsewhere. Would this have been allowed, were the fixing of

of Easter time, &c. considered as appertaining to faith? So far from an adhesion to the Irish cycle and rules having been supposed at Rome to be indicative of heresy or schism, some of its greatest supporters, after the disputes concerning it had begun, *ex. c.* Columban of Luxeu, and, even after admonitions from Rome had been received against it, *ex. c.* Aidan of Lindisfarne, are held there as saints; and the two great men now mentioned are particularly named in the Roman martyrology.

(179) The island meant by Wilfrid seems to be Hy, as that in which Columba and his successors, the fathers referred to by Colman, had lived.

(180) Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*

§. XVI. It had been intended to treat in this conference concerning also the mighty question relative to the clerical and monastic tonsure; but the king's declaration, which implied that he would follow the Roman practices in all points, prevented the necessity of discussing it. Yet there existed great disputes about it; (181) and Wilfrid's party looked upon it as a matter of primary importance. The Romans themselves thought little about it; and I do not find that in any of the admonitions from Rome, or of the complaints of the missionaries, the tonsure is at all mentioned. But their ultra-orthodox English converts made vast noise about it, thinking that nothing was good or could be tolerated except what was practised at Rome. This is not the place to enter largely into the origin and varieties of the ecclesiastical tonsure. (182) The difference between the Roman one, as used since the times of Gregory the great, and that of the Irish, consisted in this, that the Romans shaved or clipped very close the crown of the head, leaving a circle of hair all around, (183) while the Irish shaved or clipped only the fore part of the head as far as both ears, allowing the hair to grow at the back between them. The English advocates for the Roman tonsure maintained, that it was practised by St. Peter, and

gravely asserted that the Irish one was that of Simon *magus*. Where they met with this notable discovery, I am not able to tell; yet this was the terrible ground, upon which it was reprobated; (184) for as to various modes of the tonsure, they were allowed to be, in general, harmless things. (185) But the fact is, that neither St. Peter nor Simon *magus* had any tonsure either circular or semicircular; and the Irish and the Roman ones were equally innocent and blameless. The English disputants constantly supposed, that every ecclesiastical practice observed at Rome in their times, had been established by St. Peter. How or at what particular time the Roman tonsure originated, no account remains; but the Irish seem to have received theirs from St. Patrick (186) who had seen it observed by some monks of the continent. (187) And hence it is easy to understand, why they were so strongly attached to it. Yet it yielded at last, although not as early as the period we are now treating of, to the Roman fashion; and its dissolution proceeded, hand in hand, together with that of the Irish paschal system. For, as soon as any party of the Irish or their adherents adopted the Roman cycle and rules, they received at the same time the Roman tonsure, as had been done by the Southern Irish since about the year 633.

(181) Bede says; (*ib. c.* 26.) “*Nam et de hoc (the tonsure) quaestio non minima erat.*”

(182) Smith, on occasion of treating of the tonsural dispute (*Append. to Bede, No. 9.*) has an excellent dissertation on the tonsure in general. The reader may consult also Fleruy, *Institut. au Droit Eccles. Part. 1. ch. 5.* and Bingham, *Origines, &c. B. VII. ch. 3. sect. 6.* It is now universally admitted, that until some time in the fifth century there was no tonsure peculiar to the clergy, and that it meant nothing more than the clipping of the hair so as to wear it short, a practice followed by all Christians both lay and clerical. As the term *corona* was, after the introduction of the

tonsure now understood, applied to it on account of its round form, some writers, for instance Bellarmine (*Tom. 2. L. 2. De Monachis, cap. 40.*) have argued, that it was meant by the *corona sacerdotalis*, which is often mentioned by the ancients. St. Jerome writing to St. Augustin says; “Fratres tuos dominum meum Alypium, et dominum meum Evodium, ut meo nomine salutes, precor *coronam tuam.*” But this *corona* was usually relative only to bishops, and it became a technical phrase to address them by *coronam tuam*, or *vestram*, as we would say, *your honour*. (See Bingham, *B. 2. ch. 9. sect. 4.*) Of the numberless passages, in which it occurs, there is not one that indicates an allusion to the tonsure. This phrase is constantly used as meaning dignity or honour, and seems to have been introduced to mark the power of bishops, in the same manner as the royal crown does that of kings. Thus Alypius in a letter to Paulinus: “Ad venerandum *socium coronae tuae* patrem nostrum Aurelium ita scripsimus.” Paulinus and Aurelius were both bishops; and what can *socium coronae tuae* signify except a partnership in episcopal authority? Its being used in Holy writ as expressive of glory, or of whatever causes respectability, authorized the application of it to bishops. We read in *Proverbs*, xvii. 6. *Corona senum filii filiorum*; and St. Paul writing to the Philipians calls them (iv. 1.) his *crown*, inasmuch as their good conduct added dignity to his character. That St. Jerome did not mean by *corona* the ecclesiastical tonsure is evident from the well known passage of his Commentary on Ezechiel xliv. 20. where he says, that “we ought neither to have our heads shaved as is done by the priests and worshippers of Isis and Serapis, nor on the other hand to wear our hair long, a fashion peculiar to luxurious persons, barbarians, and soldiers; but the priest’s face should indicate a decent demeanour, without making the head bald with a razor or clipping the hair so close as to make it appear as if shaven, allowing our hair to grow so as to cover the skin.” This mode, recommended by St. Jerome, was indeed a sort of tonsure; but it was not peculiar to the clergy. That, which afterwards became a distinctive mark of the clerical order, originated, in all appearance, with some monks, chiefly of the East, who, in sign of repentance and affliction, had their heads shaved, either entirely or in part. The Greek monks used to shave the whole head, or, at least, to clip all the hair quite close to the skin. Julian the apostate, when pretending in

the reign of Constantius to be a real monk, had his hair clipped in this manner. Others had their heads only half shaved or shorn, that is, from the forehead to the back of the head. St. Paulinus of Nola says (*Ep.* 7.) of the monks of his time, that they were “*casta infortitate capillum ad cutem caesi, et inaequaliter semitonsi, et destituta fronte praerasi.*” Hence it appears that, at least in the Western church, there was no determined or prescribed form of the monastic tonsure, then the only one, about the beginning of the fifth century. From the monks the tonsure, whether of one sort or another, gradually passed to the secular clergy, partly through the circumstance of monks having been raised to high stations in the church, yet still retaining their practices, some of which were imitated by their subordinate clergy; and partly owing to the monasteries having become seminaries for the education of persons intended for holy orders, and who, while residing in them, used to observe their regulations.

(183) This tonsure is still practised by some religious orders, and is much larger than that usually observed by the secular clergy in Catholic countries. The surrounding circle of hair is that, which was, strictly speaking, called the *corona*, and was, when mystical interpretations were introduced, supposed by some to represent the crown of thorns placed on the sacred head of our Saviour. Others have exhibited it as an emblem of the royalty of the Christian priesthood.

(184) In Ceolfrid's letter we read; “*Tonsuram eam, quam Magum ferunt habuisse Simonem, quis, rogo, fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet?*” Aldhelm and others allege the same tremendous charge. (See Usher, *p.* 924.) Ceolfrid adds another lamentation on the Irish tonsure not exhibiting a perfect *corona*, being defective at the back of the head. An unknown wiseacre advanced, that the author of the Irish tonsure was a swine herd of king Leogaire, pretending that St. Patrick had said so. (Usher, *ib.*) Bravo!

(185) In the same letter it is said, that “*tonsurae discrimen non noceat quibus pura in Deum fides et charitas in proximum sincera est; maxime cum nunquam Patribus catholicis, sicut de Paschae vel fidei diversitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae differentia legatur aliqua fuisse controversia.*” Ceolfrid and his assistant Bede knew that the Greek tonsure differed from the Ro-

man, as exemplified in the case of Theodore, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, by Bede himself (*L. 4. c. 1*) ; for Theodore, while a monk, had his whole head shaved and wanted the *corona*. Bede says that this was the tonsure of St. Paul. I wish he had told us whence he derived this piece of information.

(186) In the catalogue of Irish saints (*ap. Usher, p. 913.*) it is said that the first class, which began with St. Patrick, had one only tonsure, from ear to ear, *ab aure usque ad aurem*, viz. which went over the fore part of the head. The second class also observed it and no other ; but the members of the third class had not a uniform practice, some of them having the *corona*, (as the Romans had) and others the *caesaries*, that is, their hair growing at the back of the head over the neck. We find in the sixth canon of the synod called, of St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserminus, (see *Chap. VII. §. 3.*) a clause ordering that all clergymen should be tonsured in the Roman manner. Admitting that the remainder of said canon was drawn up in that synod, this part of it is evidently an interpolation thrust in by some stickler for the Roman tonsure. It is easy to see, that there was a contest about the form of the tonsure at the time it was written. Now in St. Patrick's days no such contest existed in any part of the world ; and it is more than probable, that during the pontificate of Celestin I. when our Apostle was at Rome, the tonsure, called the Roman, was not used there. (See Fleury, *Instit. au Droit, &c. Part 1. ch. 5.*) It is strange that Usher allowed himself to be led astray by that spurious clause so as to lay down, (*p. 924.*) that the tonsure first introduced by St. Patrick was really the one known by the name *Roman*. Had it been prescribed by him, the Irish would not have dared to substitute another in place of it.

(187) It is a mistake to suppose, that the semicircular tonsure was peculiar to the Irish and Britons. St. Paulinus, who was a native of Gaul and died in 431, the year next before St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland, speaking of some monks whom he knew, describes their tonsure just as we might that of the Irish. He says that they were half tonsured, and the fore parts of their heads shaved ; *semitonsi et destituta fronte praerasi*. (See above *Not. 182.*)

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colman not agreeing with the decision of the Synod respecting Easter, resigned the See of Lindisfarne—is succeeded by Tuda—Eata appointed bishop of Lindisfarne—Colman took with him to Ireland some of the bones of St. Aedan, and left the rest at Lindisfarne.—Venerable Bede's testimony in favour of Colman and his predecessors at Lindisfarne—Several of the nobles and others of the English at this time resorted to Ireland for education—Colman, on leaving Lindisfarne, took with him all the Irish, and about 30 of the English monks of that establishment—goes to the island of Inisbofinde, now Innisboffin—erects a monastery there—founds a Monastery at Maigh-eo or Mayo for the English monks, and leaves the Irish in the island—resides in Inisbofinde himself until his death in the year 676—Diermit and Blathmac, joint monarchs of Ireland, die of the pestilence in 665, and are succeeded by Seachnasach, who being killed in 671 is succeeded by Kennfoelius—Kennfoelius killed by his successor Finnacta, who after a reign of 20 years, was killed at the battle of Grelachdolla in 695—St. Molagga founds a monastery and school at Tulachmin—dies there—St. Finan the Leper—governs a monastery at Swords—is the reputed founder of those of Inisfallen and Ard-Finan—St. Cudberet or Cuthbert, said to be an Irishman—Egfrid, king of Northumberland, sends an expedition into Ireland—they land on the East coast between Dublin and Drogheda—destroy churches and monasteries, and carry away many captives—this injustice done by Egfrid, in revenge for the shelter given to his brother Alfrid by the Irish—Alfrid succeeds Egfrid in the kingdom of Northumberland, and is called on by Adamnan abbot of Hy

to restore the captives and property carried off from Ireland by Egfrid's pirates—Failbe, abbot of Hy—Adamnan again visits Alfrid—Another Adamnan, a priest—Mailduff or Mailduf, an Irishman, an eminent teacher at Malmesbury, the first name of which was Ingeborn—A monastery founded here by Mailduf, from which the place was called Maildufsburg, since changed into Malmesbury—Dagobert, son of Sigebert king of Austrasia, educated in Ireland—after his return to Austrasia patronizes several Irishmen, amongst which were SS. Arbogast and Florentius—Theodatus or Deodatus—Hildulph or Hidulf—Eberhard or Erard—and Albert—all natives of Ireland, accompanied Florentius to the Continent, and became famous there—St. Wiros of Ruremond an Irishman—St. Dysibod accompanied by several persons leave Ireland, and go into Germany—Sidonius (Sedna) an Irishman went to Rome with St. Audeon or Owen, archbishop of Rouen—St. Kilian Apostle of Franconia—assisted in his labours by Coloman and Totnan who accompanied him from Ireland—St. Cataldus or Cathaldus, a native of Ireland—Donatus, a brother of St. Cataldus, reckoned among the bishops of Lupiae or Aletium, now Lecce—Maldogar bishop of Ferns dies, and is succeeded by Dirath—St. Coman and other Irish saints—St. Cera or Chier and five other virgins apply to St. Fintan Munnu for a situation to establish a nunnery—Tech-telle—Killchore or Kilcrea a few miles from Cork—St. Ossan—revered at Rath-ossain, near the West gate of Trim—St. Becan of Clonard—Segen archbishop of Armagh dies, and is succeeded by Flan Febhlor—St. Moling, otherwise called Dayrchell, bishop of Ferns succeeded by the bishop and abbot Killen—St. Egbert and several ecclesiastics who had been educated in Ireland, undertook missions to the Continent—Willibrord,

or Vilbrord, and Suidbert with several others sent from Ireland to preach the Gospel in Friesland—Adamnan, abbot of Hy—Synod of Flan Febhlan and Adamnan—Canons of Adamnan—St. Aidus or Aedh bishop of Sletty—Colga abbot of Lusk—St. Killen abbot of Saigir—St. Mosacra, founder and abbot of Tegh-sacra, since called Tassagard, and now Saggard—and St. Machonna, all attended the synod of Flan Febhla.

SECT. I.

COLMAN, although silenced by the king's logic and its approval by the assembly, did not renounce his Irish practices, but resigned the see of Lindisfarne, *alias* York, in the same year 664, which was the thirtieth from the commencement of the episcopacy of the Irish in the Northumbrian kingdom, Aedan having governed that see for seventeen years, Finian ten, and Colman three. (1) He was succeeded by Tuda, who had studied in the southern half of Ireland, and had been ordained bishop there. In consequence of his having lived in that part of Ireland, Tuda observed the Roman practices as to the tonsure (2) and the Paschal computation. He had come from Ireland during the administration of Colman, whom he assisted in his pious labours. After his appointment he lived but a very short time, having been carried off by the great pestilence; and after his death the see was re-established at York. (3) Yet Lindisfarne was not quite abandoned; for, although none of the Irish monks chose to remain there, some of the English ones did, over whom was placed an abbot Eata, a disciple of Aedan, who, it is said, had been recommended for that purpose by Colman to the king Oswin, who was very fond of Colman. Eata was, some years after, appointed bishop of Lindisfarne, which thenceforth continued

to be an episcopal see in itself. Colman on leaving that place, and setting out for his home in Ireland, (4) took with him a part of the bones of St. Aedan, and left the remainder in the church of Lindisfarne. "How disinterested," continues Bede, "and strict in their conduct he and his predecessors were, the very place, which they governed, testified. On his departure very few buildings were found there except the church, and not more than were absolutely necessary for civilized life. They had no money, possessing only some cattle. (5) If they received any money from the rich, they immediately gave it to the poor. For there was no necessity of collecting money, or of providing habitations, for the reception of the great of this world, who never came to their church, except for the purpose of prayer and hearing the word of God. The king himself used, when occasion required, to come with only five or six attendants, and to depart as soon as he had finished his prayers in the church. And if it should happen that they took some refreshment, it was merely that of the simple and daily fare of the brethren, with which they were content, requiring nothing more. For the entire solicitude of those teachers was to serve God, not the world; to cultivate the heart, not the belly. Consequently the religious habit was at that time in great veneration, so that, to whatsoever place a clergyman or monk might come, he was joyfully received by all as a servant of God; and should he be observed travelling on a journey, the people used to run up to him and bending their necks received his blessing with gladness, and diligently listened to his exhortations. On Sundays they flocked with eagerness to the church, or the monasteries, for the sake, not of refreshing their bodies, but of hearing the word of God; and if any of the priests should arrive in a village, the inhabitants immediately assembling, took care to ask

“ them for the word of life. For the priests them-
 “ selves, and the clergy in general, had no other
 “ view in going to the villages than to preach, bap-
 “ tize, visit the sick, and, in short, the care of souls.
 “ And so little were they infected with the plague
 “ of avarice, that they would not, unless compelled
 “ by powerful personages, accept of lands or pos-
 “ sessions for constructing monasteries. This sys-
 “ tem was in all its parts observed for some time
 “ after in the churches of the Northumbrians.” (6)

During the time that Finian and Colman pre-
 sided over this vast Northumbrian diocese, many no-
 bles and others of the English nation were living in
 Ireland, whither they had repaired either to cultivate
 the sacred studies, or to lead a life of greater strict-
 ness. Some of them soon became monks; others
 were better pleased to apply to reading and study,
 going about from school to school through the cells
 of the masters; and all of them were most cheerfully
 received by the Irish, who supplied them *gratis* with
 good books, and instruction. (7)

(1) Bede, *L. 3. c. 26.* It is remarked by Simeon of Durham
 that the pontificate of the Northumbrian province, comprizing
 York, was held for 30 years by the bishop of Lindisfarne. Be-
 sides Aedan, &c. he mentions Tuda. See *Not. 107* [to *Chap.*
xv.)

(2) Bede (*ib.*) writes of Tuda; “*Habens juxta morem provin-
 ciae illius coronam tonsurae ecclesiasticae, et Catholicam tem-
 poris paschalis regulam observans.*” Fleury, having misunderstood
 this passage, exhibits (*L. 39. §. 37.*) Tuda as tonsured like the
 Irish, *but yet* observing the Roman rules for Easter. This was
 not the meaning of Bede, whose words, *juxta morem provinciae
 illius*, are relative not only to the tonsure but likewise to the pas-
 chál computation. By *the custom of that province* he alluded to
 the difference, that existed between the practices of the Southern
 Irish, whom he calls *Scottos Austrinos*, and those of the Northern,
 who still adhered to the old Irish modes, which the former had
 many years before renounced. And what renders his meaning

quite clear is his saying, that Tuda had the corona, *coronam tonsuræ ecclesiasticæ*. For *corona* was the exclusive name of the Roman tonsure, whereas in the semicircular form, such as practised by the northern Irish, there was no *corona*. (Compare with *Notes* 183-184 to *Chap.* xvii.) Wharton adds (*Anglia Sacra* *Tom.* 1, *p.* 693) to Bede's *Scottos Austrinos* the words, *seu pictos*. This is a very unlearned addition. Bede never confounded the Picts with the Scots, Besides, does not Bede expressly state, that Tuda had come from Ireland? The Scots, among whom he had studied, followed the Roman practices; but *all* the British Scots of those times adhered to the Irish ones.

(3) The king Oswin placed on the see of York, in preference to Wilfrid, Ceadda, a brother of bishop Cedd, and a disciple of Aedan of Lindisfarne as likewise an imitator of his virtues and pastoral zeal. Oswin still retained a great partiality for the Irish and their disciples. (See Bede, *L. 3. c. 28.* Eddis' *Life of Wilfrid*, and Fleury, *L. 39. §. 37.*)

(4) See *Not.* 164. to *Chap.* xvii.

(5) Bede's words are; "Nil pecuniarum *absque* pecoribus habebant." They are translated by Fleury (*ib.*) as if those holy men had neither money nor cattle. But the particle *absque* conveys, I think, the meaning, which I have given. It is difficult to suppose, that they had not, at least, some cows and sheep, were it merely for being supplied with milk, which was much used by the Irish monks, and wool, of which they made their garments.

(6) Bede, *L. 3. c. 26.* This interesting account may be considered as descriptive of the practices and rules of the Irish monks and clergy in general, and hence we may judge what little credit is due to the stories of some hagiologists, who talk of great estates granted to our monasteries and churches in those and even earlier times.

(7) Bede having observed that the great pestilence raged also through Ireland, *Hiberniam quoque insulam*, adds; (*L. 3. c. 27.*) "Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt, alii magis, circumeundo per cellas magistrorum, lectioni operam dare gaudebant; quos omnes

Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant."

§. II. Colman departing from Lindisfarne took along with him all the Irish and about thirty of the English monks belonging to that establishment. On his way towards Ireland he went first to Hy, where he seems to have remained but for a short time. Thence he proceeded to the small island called Inisbofinde, (8) now Innisboffin, in the ocean, off the barony of Morisk and county of Mayo. Here Colman erected a monastery, (9) in which he placed the monks, both Irish and English, who had followed him from Lindisfarne. Some time after, a disagreement having occurred between the parties, (10) Colman thought it adviseable to separate the members of the respective nations, and, having found a spot fit for the establishment of a monastery at Magh-eo, now Mayo, purchased it from a nobleman its owner, with a condition annexed that the monks to be placed there should pray for him. The monastery being, with the assistance of said nobleman and the neighbouring inhabitants, soon completed, Colman removed the English monks to it, (11) leaving the Irish in the island. "This monastery," adds Bede, "is still possessed by English residents. For it is that, which having become a large one is usually called *Muigh-eo* (12) and, better regulations having been received there, contains a distinguished congregation of monks, who, being collected from England, live by their own labour in great strictness and purity under a canonical rule and abbot." (13) Of Colman's further proceedings I find no account except that he seems to have resided chiefly in Inisbofinde (14) until his death, which occurred on the 8th of August (15) in the year 676. (16)

(8) *Inisbofinde* means, as Bede has rightly observed, (*L. 4. c.*

4) the *island of the white cow*. This Inisbofinde must not be confounded with an island of the same name in Lough-ree (that of St. Rioch,) as has been done by Smith, (*Not. ad loc.*) who followed one passage of Usher, without taking notice of another, in which he corrected himself. (See *Not.* 176 to *Chap.* VIII.)

(9) According to Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) this monastery would have been founded 664. Yet the Annals of Ulster, quoted by himself (*p.* 964.) assign the sailing of Colman to Inisbofinde, and his founding a church there, to 667, and are followed by Colgan, (*AA SS.* *p.* 423.) If this date be true, we must suppose, that Colman remained much longer at Hy, than Bede seems to indicate, or than Usher supposed. For according to Bede, (*L.* 3. *c.* 27.) the year 664 was that, in which Colman left Lindisfarne, and it cannot be believed, that he was mistaken on this point. Either then the Ulster annals are wrong, or it must be allowed that Colman and his companions tarried about three years in Hy, waiting perhaps until the great pestilence should totally subside. Archdall, following Colgan, places the foundation of Inisbofinde, or, as he calls it, Bophin island, in 667.

(10) Bede states that the Irish, whom, as usual, he calls *Scotti*, went in summer and harvest time from the monastery to various places, which they were acquainted with, *per nota sibi loca*, and that on returning in winter they wished to partake in common of the articles which the English had prepared during their absence. This was thought unfair and gave rise to the disagreement. It is plain that the places visited by the Irish monks were in Ireland, and, we may suppose, chiefly their native ones as being well known to them. It may also be justly conjectured, that they were principally in Connaught, the province nearest to Inisbofinde. Will it be now pretended, that the *Scotti* of Lindisfarne were British or Albanian Scots?

(11) Usher, adhering to his supposition, which is indeed very probable, of Colman having returned to Ireland soon after his departure from Lindisfarne, assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the foundation of the monastery of Mayo to A. 665, and is followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Mayo.*) Yet it might have been at least a year later; for it took place after the winter, in which the dissension occurred, and after the monks had spent at least one summer in Inisbofinde. It is hard to think that they could have been well

settled there in that of 664, and it seems more probable that the winter next prior to the establishment at Mayo was that of 665, coming 666. Archdall also has (at *Mayo*) followed Usher as to A. 665, a very awkward computation on his part, whereas he places the foundation of Inisbofinde in 667. (See *Not.* 9.) Did he not know, that this establishment was prior to that of Mayo?

(12) In the old editions of Bede we find, instead of *Muigh-eo*, *Invigeo* which Usher has, p. 964. But he observes, (*Ind. Chron.* A. 665) that the true reading is *Muigeo*; and so it appears in Smith's edition. It is evident, that *Invigeo* was an erratum of a transcriber, who mistook *M* for *In*; and Archdall had no right to say, that Mayo was sometimes called *Invigeo*.

(13) Bede *L.* 4. c. 4. By saying, that the English monks of Mayo had adopted better regulations than they had at first; *conversis jam dudum ad meliora instituta omnibus*; he alluded to their having received the Roman cycle, &c. which, as will appear from what will be seen hereafter, they did as early, at least, as the year 716. Colgan pretends, (*AA. SS.* p. 605.) that this monastery was of the Benedictine order, and asserts, I am forced to say, most ignorantly, that even Colman belonged to this order, and that the monks of Hy had already received its rule from ages. He confounds subsequent ages, in which Hy adopted Benedictine regulations, with much older ones. How he could have imagined that Colman was a Benedictine may appear unaccountable; but he found that Trithemius, Yepes, and some other Benedictine writers had said so, and had made all the Columbians Benedictines. This was enough for honest Colgan, who believed almost every thing that he met with in books, without caring whether what he found in one were, or not, in opposition to what he read in others. The fact is that, wherever the Irish system, maintained by Colman, prevailed, there were no Benedictines; and Wilfrid was, as he boasted of it, the first that introduced the Benedictine rule into the Northumbrian kingdom after the departure of the Irish (See *Not.* 237 to *Chap.* XII.) If Colman had been a Benedictine, would he have opposed the Roman practices as to Easter, &c. which were strictly adhered to by that order not only in Italy, where it originated, but in England and

every where else? Or would the English monks, who followed him to Ireland, have done so, had they been Benedictines? Poor Archdall, in obedience to Colgan, has (at *Mayo*) followed these strange mistakes.

Usher observes, (*p.* 964.) from the book of Ballymote, that in Adamnan's time, about the latter end of the seventh century, there were 100 Saxon (English) saints at Mayo. From the English establishment in that place it has been called *Maigh-eo na Sasson*, *i. e.* Mayo of the English. It became in course of time a very respectable town and the see of a bishop, but is now reduced to a petty village, situated a few miles to the S. E. of Castlebar, in the county to which it gives its name.

(14) In the Ulster annals (*ap.* Usher, *p.* 964) he is called bishop of the Island of the White cow, that is, Inisbofinde, where also the 4 Masters (*ap.* *Tr. Th.* *p.* 383.) place him as bishop.

(15) 4 Masters, *ib.*

(16) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the Ulster annals. which have 675 (676). The 4 Masters (*ib.*) assign it to 674 (675). Archdall in his blundering account of the monastery of Mayo speaks of Colman, as if he lived until 697. He confounded the year of Colman's death with that, in which Usher, and after him Colgan, supposed, erroneously indeed as will be seen hereafter, that St. Gerald of Mayo died.

§. III. Among the distinguished persons, that died of the great pestilence in 665, were the joint kings of all Ireland, Diermit II. and Blathmac. (17) They were succeeded by a son of the latter, Seachnasach who, having reigned six years, was killed in 671. After him his brother Kennfoelius or Kennfoelaid was raised to the throne, which he held only four years, having fallen in battle, A. D. 675, fighting against Finnacta his paternal first cousin, and son of Donchad. Finnacta succeeded him, and reigned 20 years until he was killed in the battle of Greallachdolla in 695. (18)

One of the Irish saints, who survived that mortality, was St. Molaga. (19) He was born in the territory of Feramugia, a part of the now county of

Cork, (20) of poor but pious parents, and is said to have been baptized, when an infant, by St. Cummin Fada. (21) Molaga received his education in his own country and, having distinguished himself by his piety and learning, established a monastery and school at a place there called *Tulach min*. (22) He is said to have afterwards visited other parts of Ireland, particularly Connor in Ulster, and even to have passed over to North Britain, and thence proceeded to Wales, where he spent some time with St. David. But this visit to St. David is quite inconsistent with the rest of his history, and with the respective times, in which they lived. (23) Molaga seems to have had some establishment in the district near Dublin, now called Fingall. (24) At length he returned to *Tulach-min*, where he died on a 20th of January in some year subsequent to the time of the great pestilence and consequently later than 665. His festival used to be celebrated on the anniversary of that day at *Tulach-min*, and at a place called *Lann-beachaire* in Fingall. (25) He must not be confounded with other saints of the name of *Molaga* or *Molocus*. Whether he was the *Molagga*, from whom *Timoleague* (*Teach-molaga*) in co. Cork got its name I cannot determine, as I do not find that he ever lived in that place. St. Finan, surnamed *Lobhar*, or the Leper, from his having been afflicted for thirty years of his life with some cutaneous distemper, flourished in these times. (26) He was a native of Heli, (Ely O'Carrol) then a part of Munster, and of an illustrious family. It has been strangely said that he was a disciple of Columbkil, and placed by him over the monastery of Swords. (27) But Finan was not, in all probability, born until after Columbkil's death, and his having been mistaken for a disciple of this saint was caused perhaps by his having been, as may be conjectured, a monk of the Columbian order. He certainly governed a monastery at Swords, which he was, most probably, the

founder of. (28) Two other monasteries are constantly attributed to him, *viz.* the celebrated one of Inisfaithlen or Innisfallen (29) in the lake of Killarney, and that of Ardfinan, the *high place of Finan*, in the county of Tipperary. (30) Finan spent some part of his life, apparently as abbot, in the monastery of Clonmore, which had been founded by St. Maidoc of Ferns. (31) But the house of Swords was that, in which he seems to have chiefly resided, (32) and where it is probable that he died. (33) Yet, if it be true that he was buried at Clonmore, as one account states, (34) it must be allowed that this was the place of his death. Be this as it may, St. Finan died during the reign of Finnacta, monarch of Ireland, and accordingly some time between 675 and 695. (35) The day of his death was very probably a first or second of February, (36) although in every martyrology, both Irish and foreign, in which he is mentioned, his name is affixed to the 16th of March. (37)

(17) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(18) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part 3. cap. 93.* The English translator of Ware has made Finnacta a nephew of Aidus or Hugh Slani. But he was his grandson; for his father Donchad was brother to Diermit II. and Blathmac, and consequently son to Aidus Slani. The translator, instead of rendering the *nepos* of Ware's original by *grandson*, mistook it for *nephew*.

(19) Life of St. Molaga, *cap. 22.* Colgan translated this Life from Irish into Latin, and published it at 20 January. He laments that in several parts it is imperfect.

(20) Feramugia is called at present Roche's and Condon's country. The name is still retained in that of the town of Fermoy.

(21) Life, *cap. 7.* Concerning Cummin Fada see *Chap. xv. §. 8.*

(22) I cannot find in the country about Fermoy any place now called by this name. In Molaga's Life some other places, which

I cannot discover, are mentioned as having been in those parts, *ex. c.* Liathmuine, which is represented as a famous town.

(23) St. David did not live later than A. D. 593. (See *Chap. ix. §. 9.*) How then could Molaga, who was alive after 665, have been the abbot of a monastery before David's death? And, what comes still nearer to the point, we are told that Molaga was baptized by Cummin Fada, who was not born until 592. (*Chap. xv. §. 8.*) How can this agree with Molaga's being acquainted with St. David?

(24) It is said in the *Life*, (*cap. 17.*) that Molaga placed a swarm of bees at a town in Fingall, and that said town was thence called *Lann-beachaire*. *Lann* or *Llan* means in Welsh what Kill does in Irish: and *beach* is the Irish name for a bee; so that *Lann-beachaire* is the same as *Bees-church* or *Bees-cell*. It is added that these bees were derived from those, which St. Modomnoc had brought from Wales to Ireland. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 5.*) Whatever we may think of this story, the memory of St. Molagga was certainly revered at *Lann-beachaire* in Fingall, as appears not only from his *Life*, but likewise from the *Calendar of Cashel* at 20 January. How that place is now called I cannot discover.

(25) *Life, cap. 22.* (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(26) Colgan has endeavoured to put together the Acts of St. Finan at 16 March. They are very scanty and uncircumstantial. The Bollandists at said day have published a short tract, called a *Life of Finan*, which they got from Fitzsimon. It was written by some Englishman after the settlement of the English in Ireland, and is, though praised by the Bollandists, a wretched little compilation crammed with fables. It has the story about Finan having been placed at Swords by Columbkille.

(27) See *Not. 109.* to *Chap. xi.*

(28) See *ib.* for Archdall's bungled account of this monastery. Ware makes no mention of it; but Harris has followed the unproved opinion of its having been founded by Columbkille.

(29) Ware, having been led astray by the story of Finan's discipleship under Columbkille, assigns the foundation of Innisfallen to the sixth century, as does also Harris. Archdall, treating of this monastery, has some blunders as usual. He makes Finan a son of Alild king of Munster, and disciple of St. Brendan, for which he refers to Colgan. Now Colgan, following several old

writers, constantly calls Finan the son of Conall, who was a descendant of the famous Alild Olum, a king that lived some hundreds of years before Finan was born. As to his having been a disciple of Brendan, Colgan has not a word about it. It is mentioned also in the meagre account of Finan in Butler's *Lives of Saints*, following the Bollandist Life, in which one Brendan is said to have taught Finan. Archdall adds, that Dichull, son of Nesson, was abbot of Innisfallen in 640. On this point he is not quite so much to blame, except that he had not even Colgan's authority for marking any precise year. Colgan happenig (*AA. SS. p. 92.*) to touch upon Dichull, one of the sons of Nesson, confounded the Inisfaithlen, now Ireland's eye, (see *Not. 61. to Chap. xi.*) with the Inisfaithlen or Innisfallen of Kerry. But at 15 March, where he treats expressly of the sons of Nesson, he has guarded against this mistake.

(30) Harris and Archdall, following the mistake of Finan having been a disciple of Columbkil, assign this foundation to the sixth century.

(31) See *Chap. xiv. §. 10.* In the sketch of Finan's Life, *ap. Butler*, it is strangely stated, that he built the monastery of Clonmore.

(32) The Irish calendarists in enumerating the monasteries belonging to Finan always mention Swords first; thus in the Calendar of Cashel at 16 March we read; "S. Finanus Lobhra filius Conalli—de Surdo, et de Cluainmor Maidoci in Lagenia, et de Inis-faithlin in lacu Lenensi, de Ard-finain." In the account *ap. Butler* Swords is omitted!

(33) It is related in the Life of St. Maidoc, (*cap. 62.*) that there was a man, named Finan, who had lived 30 years in the northern part of Leinster, and that on the day of his festival (31 January) this saint, accompanied by St. Brigid, appeared to Finan in a vision and announced to him that he was to be called out of this world within a day or two. Colgan observes, that in an Irish Life of Maidoc this Finan is called *Finan Lobhar*, and it seems very probable that he really was the St. Finan we are treating of. But Clonmore was not, as Colgan states, the place where the vision is said to have occurred, as it was situated not in the northern but in the southern part of Leinster. If Finan the leper was the person meant in this narrative, as appears almost

certain, the scene of the vision was undoubtedly Swords, a town in North Leinster; and consequently, according to this account, it was there that St. Finan, died, and on the 1st or 2d of February. Following the same supposition, viz. that Finan the leper was the person here alluded to, we have an additional argument to show, that he lived at a later period than that assigned by Ware and others; for he is represented as alive after the death of Maidoc, *i. e.* after the year 632. (See *Chap.* XIV. §. 10.)

(34) Colgan quotes from a little Irish poem on the church of Clonmore a passage, in which it is said that the body of St. Finan the leper was resting in that place. He attributes said poem to St. Moling of Ferns. If composed by this saint, there can be no question about the place of Finian's burial, and consequently death; I say, *consequently death*, because, had he died elsewhere, *ex. c.* at Swords, or, as some have said, at Ardfinan, it is not to be supposed that the monks of these establishments would have given up his *entire* remains to that of Clonmore. But what authority have we for believing that St. Moling was the author of that poem? It was, I dare say, the composition of a monk of Clonmore, perhaps at a late period, who, in honour of his monastery, wished to make it appear, that among the innumerable reliques preserved there (see *AA. SS. p.* 277.) was the *whole* body of St. Finan. It is probable that a part of his remains was to be found in that collection, which might have been the case, although, as seems most probable, he died and was buried at Swords. That St. Moling was not the author of the poem, is sufficiently plain from the allusions in it to certain disputes concerning the place where the reliques collected by a St. Onchuo were deposited. At what period this St. Onchuo lived, cannot be discovered, at least from the vague and confused account of him patched up by Colgan at 8 February. If he was contemporary with Finan the leper, as Colgan says, it would have been easy to know in St. Moling's time (the 7th century) where he had left his collection of reliques, and the disputes on this point could not have then existed; or if, as appears much more probable, he lived at a later period than either Finan or Moling, he could not have been mentioned in a poem written by the latter.

(35) Colgan says (Finian's Acts) between 674 and 693, following the 4 Masters, who mark these years for the reign of Finnacta.

But their date 674 is the same as the 675 of Ware and others; and their 693 is the same as 694, a date differing only by one year from that of other writers. Archdall boldly lays down, (at *Clone-more*) that Finian died in 680. Where he found this date, he does not inform us. Yet (at *Swords*) he makes him die before 563, or, at least, before the close of the sixth century. Bravo! (See more *Not.* 109 to *Chap.* xi.)

(36) See *Not.* 33.

(37) Colgan justly remarks, that this can be easily accounted for in consequence of the 1st of February being St. Brigid's day, and the 2d that of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. We may therefore suppose that, to avoid a collision, the festival of St. Finian was transferred to 16 March.

§. iv. The great St. Cudberet, or Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, was, according to several distinguished writers, born in Ireland; (38) but it is very probable, that he was rather a native of the Northumbrian kingdom, and of that part of it which is now comprized in Scotland. The name *Cudberet*, if however it was his original one, indicates a Northumbrian, not an Irish origin. It is certain that, when a very young man, he lived in a district to the North of the Tweed at no great distance from the river. (39) While charged with the care of a flock of sheep and watching in prayer, Cuthbert had a vision on the night of the death of St. Aedan of Lindisfarne, in which he saw the soul of this saint wafted by Angels to heaven. (40) He immediately determined on retiring into a monastery, and chose for said purpose that of Mailros, situated on the bank of the Tweed, the prior of which was then Boisil, a very holy man, and the abbot Eata, (41) a disciple of St. Aedan. Cuthbert was one of the monks, whom Eata took along with him to the new monastery of Inhrypum or Rippon, which he erected on ground granted to him by the prince Alchfrid, and from which they were expelled some time after by the same prince, because

They refused to abandon the Irish practices as to Easter and the tonsure. (42) Having returned to Malross, Cuthbert was, in consequence of the death of Boisil, which occurred about 661 (43) appointed prior of that monastery in his stead, and held that office until 664 or 665, (44) when he was removed to Lindisfarne by his abbot Eata, who was then abbot of this place also. (45) Here Cuthbert was employed likewise as prior, and continued as such for several years, until, wishing for a solitary life he withdrew, in 676, to the small island of Farne out in the sea some miles distant from Lindisfarne. But I shall not encroach further on the ecclesiastical history of England, to which that of this great saint principally belongs, (46) than to observe that he was, as it were, dragged out of that island in 684 by king Egfrid in person, bishop Frumwine, and many others, for the purpose of being raised to the episcopacy; consecrated at York in 685 and placed over the see of Lindisfarne; and that he died on the 20th of March A. D. 687 in the island of Farne, to which he had again retired a short time before his death. (47)

In the same year that Egfrid king of Northumberland (48) prevailed on Cuthbert to quit the island of Farne he sent, yet some time earlier in the year, an expedition under a commander of the name of *Beret* against some parts of the Eastern coast of Ireland, particularly that of Bregia, or the country extending from Dublin towards Drogheda. These marauders spared neither churches nor monasteries, and carried away many captives besides a considerable deal of plunder. It is difficult to account for this wanton attack upon an unoffending people, an attack replete with ingratitude, as the Irish had been exceedingly friendly to the English and used to treat them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. (49) A modern writer, who stops at nothing that may suit his purpose, says that Egfrid was urged to

this act by the clergy, whom he is pleased to call *Romish*, that is, the clergy who had adopted the Roman practices as to Easter, &c. (50) For this atrocious charge there is not the least foundation, and it is in direct opposition to the circumstances of the times; and to the conduct and feelings of the then advocates of said practices. (51) The only reason, that can be guessed at, which Egfrid might have had for being displeas'd with the Irish nation, was the shelter granted in Ireland to his brother Alfrid, who having gone thither after the death of king Oswin, applied himself to the ecclesiastical and other studies, and became very learned in every respect. He remained among the Irish during the whole reign of Egfrid, after whose death he was recalled to Northumberland, rais'd to the throne, and govern'd his kingdom, for many years with consummate wisdom and ability. (52)

(38) Usher, Ware, Colgan, Harris, &c. held this opinion. Bede, beside what he has about him in his Ecclesiastical history (*L. 4.*) has left us two Lives, one in verse, the other in prose, of St. Cuthbert, or as he calls him Cudberet, without mentioning the place of his birth. In Capgrave's collection, *alias* that of John of Tinmouth, there is a Life of this saint, in which he is expressly stated to have been an illegitimate son of an Irish king, who, having murdered another king, called Muriardach, ravish'd his daughter. Colgan in a note to this Life (*AA. SS. ad 20 Mart.*) says, that this Muriardach was Murchertach Mac-Erca, who is known to have suffered a cruel death; but is puzzled to account for his being the grandfather of Cuthbert, who was not born until about a hundred years later. For Murchertach Mac-Erca was killed, at the latest, in 533 or 534. (See *Chap. ix. §. 13.*) Hence Colgan conjectures, that Cuthbert's mother was not daughter, but either grand-daughter or great grand-daughter of said Murchertach. Then we are told, that the infant, the fruit of that violation, was baptized by the Irish name, *Nulluhoc*, that is, *moaning*; because, as Colgan explains it, his mother moan'd and wept for the injury she had received. It is added, that some time after she pass'd over

to North Britain, taking with her the boy, whom thenceforth we find called *Cuthbert*, without being informed how he happened to get this name.

Ware (*Writers at Cuthbert*) has a different statement, according to which Cuthbert was born at Kells in Meath, or, as some have said, at Kill-mochudrick (Killmacudd), four miles distant from Dublin, and was the son of an Irish petty king. It is then said that Sabina, the mother of Cuthbert, going to Rome on a pilgrimage, left him in the monastery of Mailros, &c. thus accounting for his arrival in Britain. This story of Sabina, &c. is in direct opposition to Bede, who represents Cuthbert as a lad tending sheep on the mountains, probably of Berwickshire, when, in consequence of a vision, he determined on repairing to that monastery. In the *Life ap. Capgrave*, Sabina is said to have been the wife of king Muriardach, and accordingly would have been, following that narrative, the grandmother, not the mother, of Cuthbert. But neither Ware's nor Capgrave's account rests upon any sufficient authority, and it is easy to perceive that they were stories made up for the purpose of bestowing on the saint a royal descent, while it is clear from Bede that he was not entitled to it.

In another work (*Antiq. cap. 29. at Kenlis or Kells*) Ware says, that the great ornament of Kells was Cuthbert, who was born there, as a writer of his *Life* states out of Irish authorities. (See also Harris, *Bishops*, p. 138.) He adds that this tract was in the Cottonian library under *Vitellius*, D. xiv. 8. We find it in Mr. Planta's catalogue under *Titus*, A. II, 134. entitled, "*De ortu et vita B. patris Cuthberti libellus de Scoticis, i. e. Hibernicis auctoribus collectus.*" It is the same as that, which Usher call (*p. 945*) the *Acts of our Cuthbert extracted from Irish histories*, observing that it appeared about the year 1160. I dare say that those extracts agree in substance with the accounts above given from the *Life ap. Capgrave* and from Ware. But their being found in that Cottonian tract does not add much to their authority. Ware (*ib.*) repeats, that some maintain, that Cuthbert was born at Kill-mochudrick. This is asserted in the *Annals of St. Mary's-abbey of Dublin*, in which (at *A. 684.*) the most Rev. father Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, is mentioned with this addition; "*de Hibernia nato in oppido Kilmacrohuick.*" There was a church in that place de-

dedicated to his memory, and whence was derived the name *Kill-mocudrick*, that is, the *church of my (mo) Cudrick*, or Cudberet. This circumstance was, I suspect, the only foundation of the opinion that he was born there.

It is, however, remarkable that many old English and Irish writers, treating of Cuthbert, makes him a native of Ireland and that his name appears in the Irish calendars, as if he had been really so, although, as there marked, he lived in *Saxonia* (England) (See *AA. SS. p. 695. seqq.*) The Bollandists, while at *St. Cuthbert* (20 March) they leave this question undecided, yet at *St. Wiro* (8 May) seem to acknowledge, that Cuthbert was born in Ireland.

(39) According to Bede (*Life, &c. cap. 4.*) Cuthbert was, before he entered any monastery, employed in tending sheep on certain mountains, which, as appears from the sequel were in the country, in which Mailros was situated. Simeon of Durham adds (*D. of Dunelmensi Ecclesia, cap. 3.*) that Cuthbert was then near the Leder, now Lauder, a river in Berwickshire, that flows into the Tweed. Hence Mabillon (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 882.*) and others deduce, that Cuthbert was a native of that neighbourhood. This conclusion may appear not absolutely justified by the premises; for from Cuthbert's living, even when a boy, in that country, it does not necessarily follow that he was born there. But until some stronger arguments than those we have seen be produced to show, that he was in his boyhood removed thither from Ireland, the balance of probability remains in favour of Mabillon's opinion. That Cuthbert was a native of Britain seems to be confirmed by a passage of Bede's Preface to the metrical Life, where, having mentioned several great saints, by whom other countries had been enlightened, coming to Cuthbert the light of Britain, he uses the word, *genuit*:

————— hujusque Britannia consors
 Temporibus genuit fulgur venerabile nostris,
 Aurea qua Cudberetus agens per sydera vitam
 Scandere celsa suis docuit jam passibus Anglos.

(40) Bede's *Life of Cuthbert, cap. 4.* St. Aedan died on the 31st of August A. D. 651. (See *Chap. xv. §. 14.*)

(41) Bede, *ib. cap.* 6. and *Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 27.* Concerning Eata see above §. 1. It is strange that Fleury (*L. 40. §. 43*) places Mailros in the country of the Mercians, notwithstanding Bede's positive assertion that it was on the bank of the Tweed, and its being a well known place in Scotland near the town of Melross about 10 miles West of Kelso, and consequently very far distant from Mercia, which comprized the central parts of England.

(42) Bede's Life of Cuthbert, *cap.* 7. 8. (Compare with *Chap. xvii. §. 13.*) From this narrative it is evident, that the monks of Mailros were of Irish institution and followed the Irish system. Therefore Mabillon was mistaken (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 878*) in asserting that Cuthbert had received not the Irish but the Roman tonsure. This had been said before in an anonymous Life of Cuthbert; but the Bollandists justly suspect, that the passage relative to it is an interpolation.

(43) Smith (in a note to Cuthbert's Life, *cap.* 8.) shows, that Mabillon and the Bollandists were wrong in assigning the death of Boisil to 664.

(44) Smith (*Note to Life, &c. cap.* 16.) follows Simeon of Durham, who says that Cuthbert was removed to Lindisfarne in 664. This was the year, in which Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne. In the Life *ap. Capgrave (cap. 24.)* it is said that this removal occurred 14 years after Cuthbert had put on the monastic habit in 651. Thus it should be assigned to 665.

(45) See above §. 1.

(46) Were it certain that St. Cuthbert was a native of Ireland, I should think myself authorized to enter more fully, than I have done, into his history. But it appears to me more probable that he was not. If he was an Irishman, why did he not follow Colman on his return to Ireland, as *all* the Irish of Lindisfarne did? To this, however, it may be replied, 1. that Cuthbert was then not at Lindisfarne but at Mailros; and 2. that those, who make him a native of Ireland, represent him as so very young, when carried over to Britain, that he could scarcely have retained a recollection of it. Why, it may be asked, was the memory of Cuthbert so much celebrated in Ireland, were it not the land of his birth? I answer that this was owing to his connexions with the Irish of Northumberland, his being a member of their esta-

blishments, his having observed their practices, &c. In like manner Gildas and St. David of Wales were greatly revered in Ireland on account of their intercourse with the Irish.

(47) See Bede, *Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 28. 29.*

(48) Egfrid succeeded his father Oswin in 670. Bede, *ib. cap. 5.*

(49) Bede writes; (*ib. cap. 26.*) “Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 684 Ecgfrid rex Nordamhymbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bereto, vastavit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam; ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis.” We have seen above (§. 1.) with what extraordinary kindness the English, who went to Ireland for their education or other purposes, used to be received there. Bede’s words with regard to the devastation of Ireland are not to be understood as if he meant all Ireland; nor would the short time, during which it lasted, have been sufficient for a general overrunning of the whole kingdom. The expedition was merely piratical, and was confined chiefly, if not solely, to the territory of Bregia. The people were taken unawares, but fought, as Bede (*ib.*) observes, as well as they could. This act of piracy is mentioned in the Irish annals, at the very year marked by Bede, and as having occurred on the coast and plains of Bregia. The 4 Masters have; “In the year of Christ 683 (684) and 10th of king Finnacta, the territory of Magh-breagh (plains of Bregia) was laid waste, in the month of June, by the Saxons, (English) who spared neither the people nor the clergy, and carried off to their ships many captives and much booty.” (See *Tr. Th. p. 385.*) Hence it is clear that this devastation was a partial one, and of short duration, having taken place only in June. Hence also we find, that it was prior to Cuthbert’s leaving the island of Farne, which, as is known from Bede, (*ib. cap. 28.*) occurred just before the winter of 684.

(50) The reader will easily perceive, that this writer is Dr. Ledwich. These are his words: (*Antiq. &c. p. 66.*) “Not content with this triumph (the result of the conference of Whitby) the Romish clergy urged Egfrid, king of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance, a few years after, on the dissident Irish, an harmless and innocent people,” &c. Whether the Doctor was the inventor of this story or not, I am not able to decide; but this

much I can state, that it is a shameful falsehood. He talks of a few years between the conference at Whitby, and the expedition against the Irish coast. But the reader will please to recollect, that the conference was held in 664, whence there elapsed full twenty years until said expedition took place.

(51) The paschal and tonsural disputes had subsided in Northumberland long before 684, in consequence of the departure of Colman and his Irish companions. The principal ecclesiastics of that time in said country had studied chiefly under Irish teachers, for instance Eata, who was bishop of Lindisfarne in that very year. Such men could not have entertained any hostility to the Irish nation; nor were they over-zealous against Colman's party, having belonged to it themselves in their younger days. Wilfrid, the great advocate of the Roman practices, was then in disgrace, and having been, some years before, driven from his see and imprisoned by Egfrid, was obliged to live out of the Northumbrian kingdom, to which he did not return until after this king's death. Bede, so far from hinting that any clergyman excited Egfrid to this proceeding, highly condemns his conduct, and informs us that the very reverend father Egbert, an English holy priest, who, although living in Ireland, observed the Roman Easter, &c. had advised him to the contrary. Egfrid's defeat and death in the following year, when fighting against the Picts, was considered as a judgment of God against him for his unjust aggression on Ireland. (See Bede *L. 4. c. 26.*) Egbert now mentioned, and whom we shall meet with hereafter, had been in Ireland since before the breaking out of the great pestilence in 664, during which he resided in a monastery, called in Irish, *Rathmelsigi*. (Bede, *L. 3. c. 27.*) Smith in a note to Bede (*ib.*) makes Rathmelsigi the same as Mellifont in the county of Louth, for no other reason, it appears, than that the syllable *Mel* is found in both names. But there is no account of any monastery at Mellifont until the 12th century. Colgan makes mention (*AA. SS. p. 793.*) of a monastery Rathmilsidhe, where had been a St. Colman, different however from Colman of Lindisfarne, and in his *Ind. Topogr.* (calling it *Rathmilsige*) places it in Connaught without telling us in what part of said province. Mr. Lingard speaks (*Angl. S. Church. ch. XIII.*) of Egbert as living near the eastern coast of Ireland. His reason for so doing

was, I suppose, that he relied on Smith's authority as to Rathmelsigi.

(52) This Alfrid, or as Bede sometimes calls him, *Aldfrid*, was an illegitimate son of Oswin, and older than Egfrid, who however, on account of his legitimate birth, was preferred to him as fit for the throne. We must not, as some writers have done, confound him with Alchfrid, the friend of Wilfrid, who ruled, as king, a part of Northumberland in the lifetime of his father Oswin. (See *Chap. xvii. §. 13.*) The names are different; and Alchfrid, besides having been a legitimate son, died before his father. (*Note of Smith to Bede, L. 5. c. 19*) On the accession of Egfrid, Alfrid, either through compulsion or indignation, went over to Ireland, and being out of the reach of his brother, and enjoying abundance of leisure, gave himself up to useful studies, in which he became a great proficient. William of Malmsbury writes; (*De Gestis Regum, L. 1. c. 3.*) "Is (Alfridus), quia rothus, ut dixi, erat factione optimatum, quamvis senior, regno indignus aestimatus, in Hiberniam, seu vi seu indignatione, secesserat. Ibi, et ab odio germani tutus, et magno otio literis imbutus, omni philosophia animum composuerat." Bede says of him, (*Life of Cuthbert, cap. 24*) that he had studied a long time among the Scots (Irish) in their islands, alluding, it seems, not only to Ireland but to various small islands, either in the ocean or in lakes, in which they had monasteries and schools, and that he was very learned in the Scriptures, *vir in Scripturis doctissimus*, (*Eccl. Hist. L. 4. c. 26.*) adding, that, when placed on the throne, he nobly re-established, at least in great part, the Northumbrian kingdom, which had been much weakened in consequence of the defeat of Egfrid by the Picts. Harpsfeld, treating of his return to Northumberland, describes him (*Hist. Eccl. Angl. Sec. vii. cap. 27.*) as having improved himself so much by his studies, particularly sacred, in Ireland, that he became highly qualified for being placed at the head of a state. (See also Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) *Cambrensis eversus*, p. 128.

§. 5. Alfrid was king of Northumberland, when in the year 685, or 686, Adannan, then abbot of Hy, was sent to that country for the purpose of recovering the captives and property, which had been

carried off by Egfrid's pirates. His application was successful, as might be expected, considering that Alfrid could not but be attached to the Irish, and was, besides, the personal friend of Adamnan. (53) This great man was abbot of Hy since the year 679. His predecessor Failbe had succeeded Cumineus Albus, who died in 669. (54) Concerning Failbe I find nothing particular related, except that he was a native of Tirconnel (Donegal) and son of Pipan, a descendant, in the male line, of Conall Gulbanus the ancestor of Columbkil; that, after his promotion to the administration of Hy, he visited Ireland once or twice; and that he died in 679, on the 22d of March, the day marked for his festival in the Irish calendars. (55) Adamnan, who succeeded him in said year, (56) was likewise a descendant, in the same line, of Conall Gulbanus, and son of Ronan. (57) From his consequently having been of the race of the Northern Nialls it may be fairly concluded, that he was a native of Tirconnel, or of some district not far from it. The time of his birth is doubtful; but it was not later than the year 628. (58) Of his younger days I cannot find any distinct account; but there can be no doubt of his having received his monastic education either in Hy, or in some other monastery of the Columbian institution. He was abbot of that of Raphoe, founded perhaps by himself (59) before he was raised to the government of the whole Columbian order. We find Adamnan again on another visit, two years later, that is, about 687 to the same king Alfrid. (60) He visited him also several years afterwards, as will be seen lower down. There was another Adamnan in these times, who, although perhaps of Irish origin, lived constantly in Britain, and was distinguished for the sanctity and austerity of his life. He was a priest and monk of the monastery of Coludi, now Coldingham in Scotland. (61)

Some time before the period we are now treating of Mailduf, or rather Mailduf, (62) an Irishman,

became eminent as a teacher in the place now called Malmsbury. Its former name was Ingebbone or Ingebourn. Mailduf, pleased with the situation, lived at the foot of the hill as a hermit, but afterwards, to supply his wants, set up a school, which was not long after changed into a small monastery. At what precise time he formed this establishment, I do not find recorded; but it must have been several years prior to 675, in which the celebrated Aldhelm, the most distinguished of his scholars, became abbot there. The monastery being greatly enlarged by Aldhelm, who had received the tonsure and habit from Mailduf, gave occasion to the name of the place being soon changed into *Maildufsburg*, (63) whence has proceeded the modern name *Malmsbury*. Some writings have been attributed to Mailduf, whether justly or not, I shall not undertake to decide. He died either in 675, or some short time previous to it. (64)

(53) Adamnan, making mention (*Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 46.*) of his visits to Alfrid, calls him his friend, and speaks of this visit as his first one after Egfrid's war. O'Flaherty (MS. note to Adamnan, *ib.*) referring to Tigernach's annals assigns this visit to A. D. 686. The 4 Masters have 684, that is, 685, and mark it as the eleventh year of the reign of Finnacta. It was that, in which the dreadful plague, mentioned by them at said year, broke out, the commencement of which is affixed by Florence of Worcester to 685. (See *Tr. Th. p. 385.*) Adamnan having observed, (*loc. cit.*) that this plague raged when he was on that visit, and that the continent of Europe and the islands *Scotia et Britannia* (Ireland and Britain) were laid waste by it, except the parts of North Britain inhabited by the British Scots and the Picts, who, he thought, were preserved from it by the intercession of St. Columba. He visited Alfrid more than once on some subsequent occasions; but this, his first embassy, was either in the latter end of 685 or in the beginning of 686.

(54) See *Chap. xvii. §. 8.*

(55) At this day Colgan has given us as much as he was able

to collect concerning Failbe. He rejects various lies of Dempster relative to him, among others that of his having written certain tracts attributed to him by that impostor. Harris might have saved himself the trouble of drawing up an article for Failbe as an Irish writer.

(56) Usher, *p.* 702. and *Ind. Chron.* at 679.

(57) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 480. It is remarkable that, for more than two centuries from the foundation of Hy, almost all its abbots were descended from Conall Gulbanus, thus connected, more or less, by relationship with Columb-kill, and belonging to the line of the northern Nialls. See Colgan *AA. SS.* *p.* 408-450-719.

(58) Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 385.) that, according to the Roscrea and some other Annals, Adamnan was born in 624. This, as will be seen, does not agree with what is said of his age at the time of his death.

(59) See *Not.* 112. to *Chap.* xi. As Adamnan was particularly revered at Raphoe, as the patron saint of its monastery and church, it is certain that he had been closely connected with that place, and that, if not absolutely the founder, he was, at least, abbot there. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 506.) expressly calls him *abbot of Raphoe*, before he was promoted to Hy. Adamnan was the person, by whose name the succession at Raphoe used to be distinguished. Thus Malbridg, who died archbishop of Armagh in 926, is called a *comorban* (successor) not only of St. Patrick, but likewise of Adamnan, inasmuch as he had been abbot (not bishop, as Harris states, (*Bishops*, *p.* 270.) of Raphoe, before he was raised to the see of Armagh. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* *p.* 386.) I strongly suspect that St. Eunan, who is usually called the first bishop of Raphoe, was no other than Adamnan; not that Adamnan was ever a bishop; for, were he so, he could not have become abbot of Hy; but that he was the ancient patron saint of that place before it became an episcopal see. Colgan never mentions this St. Eunan, nor could Ware discover any account of him. The first bishop of Raphoe, that we meet with, was Malduin Mac Kinfalaid, who died about 930. (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 509.) These observations are not indeed sufficient to show, that Adamnan has been changed into St. Eunan; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that the festival of the saint, called Eunan, is kept on the 23d of September. Now this was the very

day, on which Adamnan died, and on which his memory was revered not only at Raphoe, but in many other churches. The name, *Eunan*, is, I allow, not favourable to the conjecture of his identity with Adamnan; but there might have been some reason for this variation of names, and a person better versed in the Irish language than I am might perhaps find some analogy between them.

(60) Adamn. *Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 46.*

(61) Bede treats of this Adamnan of Coludi, (*Hist. Eccl. L. 4. c. 25.*) and after him Colgan (*AA. SS. 31 January*) who acknowledges, that he was not able to decide whether he was an Irish or British Scot. In fact, there is nothing to make it appear, that he was rather the one than the other. All that Bede says in regard to his country is, that he was *de genere Scottorum*. Coludi, where he lived about A. D. 679. belonged at that time to the Northumbrian kingdom.

(62) The name is spelled *Mailduf* by Bede (*L. 5. c. 18.*) and by Leland, *Collect. III. 158.* (See Smith, *Not. to Bede ib.*) It was, I believe, originally *Moeldubh*, a name not uncommon among the ancient Irish. Its being written *Mailduf* was owing, I dare say, to William of Malmesbury, who in the *Life of Aldhelm* (*ap. Wharton, Anglia Sac. Vol. 2.*) treating of *Mailduf*, writes; “*Id (the monastery of Malmesbury) quidam, qui alio nomine vocatur Meildulf, natione Scotus, eruditusque philosophus, professione monachus fecerat.*” Hence Camden has called him *Mailduf*, giving it a termination rather Saxon than Irish.

(63) *The town of Mailduf.* It was known by this name as early as the times of Bede, who calls it (*L. 5. c. 18.*) *Maildufi urbem.*

(64) It was soon after the death of *Mailduf* that Leutherius bishop of Winchester gave in 675 the site of Malmesbury to *Aldhelm*. (See *Monastic. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 50.* and Smith, *Not. to Bede, L. 5. c. 18.*) Concerning *Mailduf* see more in Camden, (*col. 103.* Gibson's ed.) Usher (*Ep. Hib. Syll. ad Ep. 12.*) Ware and Harris (*Writers at Maildulph*).

§. vi. Alfrid was not the only foreign prince, who in those times was sheltered in Ireland. Dagobert, son of Sigebert II. or III. king of Austrasia, had

been sent, when a child, to a monastery in Ireland after his father's death about the year 655 by Grimoald mayor of the palace. (65) The monastery, in which he was placed, is said to have been that of Slane. (66) Wheresoever it was, Dagobert remained in Ireland until about 670, when he was recalled to his own country, and received a part of Austrasia from Childeric the second. (67) On the death of Childeric he became in 674 sovereign of all Austrasia by the name of Dagobert the second, and ruled that country until he was assassinated in 679. (68) After his return to Austrasia we find some distinguished Irishmen in that country, particularly St. Arbogast and St. Florentius; and it would seem as if they had either accompanied him from Ireland or went to Alsace about the same time that he was recalled. (69) Be this as it may, Arbogast, who is usually called a Scot or Irishman, (70) was living retired at Suraburg, where a monastery was afterwards erected in honour of him, (71) when he was raised by this king Dagobert to the see of Strasburgh about 674. (72) Besides being a very holy man he is said to have possessed a considerable share of learning, and to have written some ecclesiastical tracts. (73) He died on the 21st of July in 679, and was succeeded in the same year by his friend and former companion Florentius. (74) That Florentius was a Scot, or Irishman, is universally allowed. (75) He had come from Ireland together with Arbogast, (76) and took up his abode in the forest of Hasle in Alsace near where the river Bruscha flows from the Vosges. (77) Here was founded a monastery either by him, or for him by Dagobert, (78) by whom he was greatly esteemed. It is said that he restored her sight and speech to a daughter of that king. While bishop of Strasburgh, he founded, according to some accounts, the monastery of St. Thomas in that city for the Scots or Irish. (79) Having governed the see

of Strasburgh for eight years, St. Florentius departed this life on the 7th of November, A. D. 687. (80)

Among the persons, who accompanied St. Florentius from Ireland, is mentioned a Theodatus, or Deodatus, (81) of whom I cannot discover any authentic account. The celebrated St. Deodatus bishop of Nevers, who lived in those times, and, having resigned his see, retired to Alsace to lead there a monastic life, (82) was indeed a particular friend of St. Arbogast; (83) but there is no reason to think, that he was a native of Ireland. It may be conjectured, that the Deodatus, bishop of Toul, who by the direction of Dagobert II. accompanied St. Wilfrid of York to Rome in the summer or autumn of 679, (84) was perhaps the one, who had come from Ireland. We find a bishop Deodatus, whose memory was revered in the monastery of Latiniacum or Lagny, and who, as that was an Irish establishment, (85) may be supposed to have been an Irishman. (86)

(65) According to Mabillon (*Annal. Ben.*) Sigibert died in 655; others say, somewhat earlier. It was very soon after his death that Grimoald got Dagobert, then very young, shorn by Didon bishop of Poitiers, and sent him to Ireland, spreading a report of his death.

(66) Archdall at *Slane*. I do not find this mention of Slane any where else. Archdall seems to refer to Mezeray, *Histoire*, &c. who, as far as I could discover, merely says that Dagobert was placed in some very retired monastery, without naming any one in particular.

(67) See *Abregé Chron.* at *Dagobert II.* Mabillon observes, *Annal.* &c. ad A. 672) that Dagobert had returned to France before the death of Grimoald, *i. e.* before 671 or 672.

(68) According to *L'Art de verifier les dates* (Tom. 1. p. 547.) Dagobert II. became king of all Austrasia in 674, and was killed in 679. Mabillon also has (*ib.* at A. 680. p. 52.) for his death 679, and marks the 23d of December as the day of it. He adds that Dagobert was revered as a martyr at Stenay, the

capital of the dutchy of Bar. Although Mabillon in the course of his work calls this prince Dagobert the *second*, yet in the General index to *Tom. 1.* he appears partly as the *second*, and partly as the *third*. This mistake of the framer of said index is apt to confuse a person searching in it for the transactions of this Dagobert. The king or half-king called Dagobert the *third*, belonged to the 8th century. (See *L'Art, &c. Tom. 1. p. 548.* and *Abregé, &c. at Dagobert III.*)

(69) In the Acts of St. Florentius (*ap. Surius 7 November*) we read; “Cum Dagobertus rex ad regni Francorum gubernacula sederet, sanctus Florentius, cum beato Arbogasto, Theodato, et Hildulpho, e Scotia venit in Alsatiam.” The Dagobert here mentioned was the second, not Dagobert the first his grandfather, with whom he has been often confounded; whence, as Mabillon remarks, several religious establishments, founded during the reign of the second Dagobert, have been assigned to that of the first.

(70) Gaspar Bruschius (*De German. Episcopat. Epitome, p. 55.*) makes Arbogast a native either of Aquitain, or of Ireland, “*etsi sint qui ex Hibernia ortum affirmant.*” But Mabillon (*Annal, &c. at 667*) speaks of him positively as an Irishman, “*Arbogastus origine Scottus.*”

(71) Mabillon (*ib. at A. 676. p. 533.*) says that this monastery was erected, *ob meritum S. Arbogasti*, during the reign of Dagobert II. Suraburg was in the diocese of Strasburgh, and near the Sura, or Saur, a river that flows into the Moselle not far from Treves.

(72) See *Gallia Christiana, Tom. v. col. 182*, where it is stated that Arbogast flourished about 673, and was appointed bishop of Strasburgh by Dagobert II. Hence, and from what Mabillon has, it is plain that Bruschius, who is followed by Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Arbogast*) was wrong in assigning Arbogast's promotion to 646. Bruschius, in whose time the history of Dagobert II. was scarcely known, supposed that the Dagobert, friend of Arbogast, was the first king of the name. But even in this hypothesis he fell into another mistake; for Dagobert I. was dead before 646, and accordingly could not have been the king by whom Arbogast was appointed.

(73) See Ware and Harris, *loc. cit.*

(74) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. v. col. 781. 782. Bruschius was mistaken in assigning the commencement of Florentius' incumbency at Strasburgh to the year 663. That it was in 679, is clear from its being known that Florentius, having held that see for eight years, died in 687.

(75) Bruschius, Mabillon, and the *Gallia Christiana* agree on this point.

(76) See *Not.* 69.

(77) *Acts of St. Florentius*. Hasle is now called *Haselae*, and lies at two leagues distance from Molsheim in Basse Alsace.

(78) See Mabillon, *Annal.* &c. at *A.* 676. p. 533.

(79) Mabillon, *ib.*

(80) *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. v. col. 783.

(81) See *Not.* 69. (82) See Fleury, *L.* 39. §. 45.

(83) Mabillon, *Annal.* at *A.* 667.

(84) See *Acta Bened. Sec.* 3. p. 186. and Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 4.

(85) See *Chap.* xvi. §. 9-10.

(86) The Bollandists observe, (at 3 *February*) that they have found in old copies of Usnard's Martyrology this Deodatus thus mentioned; "*Latiniaco Natalis S. Deodati episcopi*," and quote Molanus, who says that the reliques of Deodatus, Maldegarius, and others were removed to that place. They did not know who this Deodatus was, but thought, and I believe justly, that he was different from St. Deodatus of Nevers. Whether he was the same as Deodatus of Toul, I will not pretend to decide; but it is very probable, that he was a native of Ireland.

§. VII. As to Hildulph, or Hidulf, who also is said to have gone with Florentius from Ireland to Alsace, (87) it is exceedingly difficult to form any decided opinion concerning him. We have no account of any distinguished person of this name at that period except Hildulph bishop of Treves, who, quitting his see, is stated to have retired about 676 to the Vosges and there founded a monastery. (88) He was apparently the Hildulph supposed to have accompanied Florentius; and it can scarcely be doubted that they were contemporaries. (89) But it is very uncertain

whether Hildulph of Treves was a native of Ireland ; for, according to some accounts, he was a Belgian, and, according to others, a Bavarian. (90) If it be true that he was a brother of St. Erard of Ratisbon, as has been very generally said, (91) it will follow that he was an Irishman. Hildulph had, perhaps, a brother named *Eberhard* or *Erhard* ; but it may be doubted whether he was the same as Erard of Ratisbon. (92)

Be this as it may, St. Erard, although younger than Hildulph, was living in his times ; and accordingly I may be allowed to give some account of him in this place, (93) notwithstanding the contest that has been carried on as to the century, in which he flourished. Some old writers assign his times to the seventh and the beginning of the eighth, while others represent him as flourishing during the reign of Pepin father of Charlemagne, consequently in the second half of the eighth century. Although I dare not pretend to decide on a question, which very eminent men have left undetermined, (94) the former opinion appears to me more probable and better supported by such circumstances of the times as seem sufficiently authentic. And I cannot but think that the confusion, which has taken place on this point as well as on that relative to St. Hildulph of Treves, has proceeded chiefly from Pepin Hiristall, mayor of the palace, and his son Charles Martel, having been mistaken for king Pepin, grandson of the former Pepin, and his son Charlemagne. That St. Erard was a native of Ireland can scarcely be called in question, unless we are to reject the authority of almost all the writers, who have treated of him. (95) It is stated on respectable authority, that he was bishop of Ardagh before he left Ireland. (96) Having resigned his see he went to the continent, and joined himself to St. Hildulph or Hidulf, who was then living retired in the Vosges, (97) and with whom he is said to have remained for a considerable time. From that country he went to Bavaria to

preach the Gospel, without attaching himself to any see as bishop. (98) Happening to be on some occasion near the Rhine, Erard baptized Odilia the infant daughter of the duke Etico or Atticus, who, having been born blind, became gifted with sight, through the prayers of Erard, in the very act of her baptism. (99) After this he returned to Bavaria, and stopped at Ratisbon, where, after having led a most holy life and wrought many miracles, he terminated his earthly career on an 8th of January. (100) This saint was canonized by Pope Leo IX. in 1052.

(87) See above, *Not.* 69.

(88) Fleury, *L.* 39. §. 45.

(89) Several writers assert, that Hildulph of Treves flourished in the seventh century, and died very old in 707. Yet Baronius and others, who are followed by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 36. seqq.*) place him about the middle of the eighth. Mabillon maintains, (*Annal. &c. at A. 667.*) that he was before the times of Charles Martel, that is, before 714.

(90) In some Lives of St. Hildulph he is said to have been a Nervian, *Nerviorum claro ortus genere.* (See Bollandus at *St. Erard, 8 January,* and Colgan *AA. SS. p. 37.*) The Nervii were a people of Belgium, inhabiting the country about Tournay, or, as some think, Haynault. In one of those Lives Bollandus found *Nierniorum*, instead of *Nerviorum*, and thought it might have been a mistake for *Hiverniorum*, i. e. *Hibernorum*. But according to a Life published in the *Acta Ben. Sec. 3. Part. 2.* Hildulph, or, as there called, Hidulf, was a native of Bavaria, and born at Ratisbon. This is, I am sure, a mistake founded on the false supposition that St. Erard, who in said Life is represented as a brother of his, was a native of that city. For his Irish origin we have, besides the Life of St. Florentius, the author of which in all probability alluded to the Hildulph of Treves, two Lives of St. Erard, an Office of this saint from the Breviary of Ratisbon, and some German historians quoted by Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 38.* If he was a native of Ireland, his original name was, I dare say, *Hilduf* or *Hiduf*.

(91) That Hildulph of Treves and Erard were brothers is positively stated in the Lives of Erard, Office, &c. mentioned in the preceding note.

(92) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. ad. A. 671.*) that an Eberhard or Erhard was said to have been brother to Hildulph, and elsewhere (*ib. ad. A. 667.*) that he was *perhaps* the same as Erard bishop of Ratisbon. Everhard, the supposed brother of Hildulph, was the first abbot of Ebersheim near Schelestad in Alsace, a monastery founded by Duke Etico or Atticus, father of St. Odilia, some time it seems in the second half of the seventh century. Ebersheim is supposed to have got its name from this Erhard or Eberhard, as if it meant the *mansion of Eberhard*. (Mabillon, *ib.*) Another account states, that Ebersheim signifies the *boar's habitation*, as being the place where, as we are told, a wild boar killed a son of Dagobert II. who was brought to life again by St. Arbogast. That Erard of Ratisbon lived for some time with Hildulph, when retired in the Vosges, is stated in two breviaries of Augsburg, and in one of Wurtzburgh; (*AA. SS. p. 32.*) but nothing is said of their having been brothers. Nor is there any thing in them or in his Lives about his having been abbot of Ebersheim. It is also to be observed, that Erard of Ratisbon is never called *Eberhard*, as appears from the etymologies of his name given in the documents, in which he is expressly treated of. From what has been now said, it may be conjectured, that, if Hildulph had a brother named *Eberhard*, he was different from Erard of Ratisbon.

(93) Bollandus had published three Lives of St. Erard at 8 January, two of which have been republished by Colgan at said day, besides extracts relative to him from breviaries. He had three other Lives, short ones, which he thought unnecessary to publish. Harris has (*Bishops at Ardagh*) a good summary of Erard's Acts; but he ought not to have called Conrad a *Montepuellarum*, (a place in Germany) one of Erard's biographers, *Conrad of Montpellier*.

(94) Bollandus (*Comm. pr. ad Vit. S. Erardi, 8 Jan.*) has not undertaken to fix the times of this saint. Mabillon complains (*Acta Ben. Sec. 3. part 2. p. 470.*) that the history of Erard, his times, &c. is equally confused and intricate as that of St. Hildulph. Yet, although he did not take the trouble of inquiring into it, he must have been inclined to think, that Erard belonged to the seventh century; whereas he was of opinion that Hildulph, in whose times Erard is generally allowed to have lived, did not

survive the early part of the eighth. (See *Not.* 89.) Colgan maintains, (*Appendix at St. Erard 8 Jan.*) that Erard flourished in the reign of Pepin or of Charlemagne, and strives to answer the arguments to the contrary. But it would be easy to show, that, whatever may be thought of his proofs, his replies are very unsatisfactory.

(95) In the first Life of Erard, written by one Paulus or Paululus in the eleventh century, we read (*L. 1. c. 1.*); “*Erhardus qui gloria fortis interpretari potest, Narbonensis gentilitate, Nervius civilitate, genere Scoticus fuit.*” Instead of *Narbonensis gentilitate*, alluding to his having been of a family settled at a place called Narbon, some other Lives or legends, not published by Colgan, have, “*Narbonae in Scotia natus.*” Colgan conjectures that this place was the same as Ardboe or Arboe in the county of Tyrone, formerly a town of some note. I suspect that *Narbon* is a corruption of *Nardach*, that is, of *Ardach* or *Ardagh*, where Erard is said to have been bishop. The *N* prefixed is a contraction of *na, of*; so that *Narbonensis* signifies of *Arbon*, and *Nardachensis*, if it was the original reading, would mean of *Ardagh*, in the same manner as *Nendrumensis* means of *Antrim*. (See *Not.* 187 to *Chap.* VIII.) As to *Nervius civilitate*, perhaps the author intended to say, that Erard had spent some time in the territory of the Nervii, (see above *Not.* 90.) in which there were some Irish establishments. In the Life written by Conrad nothing more is stated than that his country was Scotia, that is as Conrad explains himself (*cap.* 2.) Ireland, or *Scotia major*. In some German calendars, and in two breviaries of Augsburg together with one of Wurtzburgh, he is called *natione Scotus*. According to the breviary of Ratisbon he was born in the ancient Scotia or the island of Ireland; *Erhardus in veteri Scotia seu Hibernia insula oceani natus*. Raderus (*Bavaria Sancta, Tom.* 1.), Brunerus (*Rerum Boicarum L.* 5), and other German writers, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 38. *seqq.*) agree on this point that Erard was not only a Scot but a Scot of Ireland. In opposition to all these testimonies there is no authority worth mentioning except that of St. Hidulf’s Life published in the *Acta Bened.* (see *Not.* 90.) in which Erard is said to have been born at Ratisbon. For this statement there is no foundation whatsoever, unless it should be argued, that, because Erard spent the last years of himself and

died in that city, it was therefore the place of his birth. What could have induced so many German writers of Erard's Lives, compilers of breviaries, historians, &c. to deprive their country of the honour of having produced a saint so highly revered there as Erard was, unless they had incontrovertible proofs of his having been born elsewhere? Hence it is plain, that the author of that Life of Hidulf was as wrong in making Erard a native of Ratisbon as he was in assigning to it the birth of even Hidulf himself. Bollandus, having deeply studied this subject, states, as the most probable opinion, that Erard was an Irishman.

In several of the documents now mentioned Erard's name is spelled *Erhard*, following the genius of the German language; and hence the author of the first Life etymologizes it into *gloria fortis*; for *Er*, in German, signifies *honour*, and *hard*, or *hart*, is *strong*, *hard*. Passing by this and some other etymologies of *Erhard*, the real name of the saint seems to have been *Erard*, a name, as Colgan observes, not uncommon in Ireland.

(96) Besides the authority of the breviary of Ratisbon, Raderus, and Brunerus, we have for this statement that also of Hundius, *Catalog. Episc. Ratisbon.* (See Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 35.* and 39-40.)

(97) First Life of Erard, *L. 1. cap. 2.* second Life, *cap. 2.* Breviaries, &c. From the circumstance of Erard having been with Hidulf in the Vosges it seems almost certain, that he flourished in the seventh century; for this was, in all probability, the period, during which Hidulf retired to that country, as appears from its being stated on very good authority that he arrived there before the death of St. Deodatus of Nevers, who, as has been seen, had also retired to Alsace, and whose death is universally allowed to have occurred about 679. (See Colgan *AA. SS. p. 36.* Fleury, *L. 39 §. 45.* and compare with *Not. 89.*) It is said in the Breviary of Ratisbon, that Erard went to Rome straight from Ireland; but this cannot be reconciled with the series of his transactions, as related in the other documents. The journey to Rome must have been after his arrival in Germany.

(98) Several writers have called Erard bishop of Ratisbon. This is denied by Hundius, Raderus, and others, although they allow that he spent a good part of his time in that city and died there. Mabillon observes, (*Acta Ben. Sec. 3. part 2. p. 470.*)

that Erard's name does not appear in the catalogues of the bishops of Ratisbon, and that it is a mistake to make him bishop of that see. As to a story of his having been bishop of Frisingen or of Treves, it is not worth attending to.

(99) According to some accounts Hidulf was joined with Erard in baptizing Odilia, or, as better known, St. Odilia. Be this as it may, we have here another very strong argument to show, that Erard lived before the times of king Pepin. Bollandus states (*Comment. &c. at St. Erard*) that Etico was the son of Leudesius and grandson of Erchinoald, (the mayor of the palace and friend of St. Furseý) who died about 660. Etico married Bersroinda during the reign of Childeric, that is, Childeric the second, king of Austrasia and afterwards of all France, who was killed in 673. (See *Abregé, &c. at Childeric II.*) This king had made Etico duke of Germany, who accordingly resided at Ehenheim and Hohemburg. St. Odilia his daughter was the person baptized by St. Erard and St. Hidulf. From these circumstances Bollandus justly concludes, that this baptism, &c. were prior to the times of king Pepin and Charlemagne.

(100) *AA. SS. p. 35.* The Breviary of Ratisbon and HUNDIUS state, that he died during the reign of Pepin father of Charlemagne; but this cannot agree with other circumstances, particularly the baptism of Odilia, not long after which his death occurred. Pepin's reign did not begin until 751, while, on the other hand, the birth of Odilia was not later than about 700. Therefore instead of *king* Pepin, I think we should say, Pepin mayor of the palace, Pepin Heristall, who had held that office from about 688 until 714, and was the father of another Charles, *i. e.* Charles Martel. It is right to observe, that this Pepin had governed Austrasia with almost sovereign authority since about 680. (See *Abregé, &c. at Thierry III.*)

§. VIII. Whatever difference of opinions there may be in regard to Hildulph or Hidulf having been a brother of Erard, there is scarcely any as to his having had a brother called by foreign writers Albert. The names of the two brothers St. Erard and St. Albert (101) go hand in hand together, and the latter is not less constantly stated to have been a

native of Ireland. His real name was probably *Ailbe*, (102) and he is generally said to have been, prior to quitting his country, archbishop of Cashel, which must be understood as to his having been bishop of Emly. (103) It is stated, that he left Ireland, together with Erard and others, and that he accompanied him to Germany, whence they are said to have gone to Rome. (104) Having remained there some time, Albert, on Erard's returning to Germany, continuing his pilgrimage proceeded to Jerusalem, where Gillapattrick, one of his companions, died. How long he stayed there we are not informed. Returning to Germany he lost John, another of his followers, at Saltzburg, and on arriving at Ratisbon found that Erard had, some short time before, departed this life. Not wishing to survive him he prayed to God to take him out of this world; and his petition was listened to soon after. Albert's remains were deposited at Ratisbon in a tomb, only seven feet distant from that of his brother Erard.

To the times of Pepin Heristall, during whose mayoralty the saints now treated of seem to have flourished, belonged to St. Wiros, of whose having been a native of Ireland I find no reason to doubt. (105) Even the Irish family, of which he was a member, is mentioned; for he is stated to have been the son of Cuan, son of Lugid, &c. of an ancient family settled in Corcobaschin, (in the now county of Clare) and that, from which was sprung St. Senan of Inniscatthy. (106) Wiros is said to have travelled to Rome and to have been there consecrated bishop. It is added, that on his return to Ireland he governed for a time some see (107) which he afterwards resigned for the purpose of leading a more retired life. He went to France, where he was most graciously received by Pepin Heristall, (108) who held him in great veneration and used to confess to him barefoot. Pepin assigned to him a habitation at *Mons Petri*, now Odilie-berg in the

diocese of Liege. This was the place where St. Wiros died on an 8th of May; (109) but in consequence of its collegiate church having been transferred to Ruremond, the saint's remains were removed hither in part, and hence he is often called St. Wiros of Ruremond, while another part of them was preserved at Utrecht. (110)

(101) Colgan treats of St. Albert also at 8 January, not because he knew what was the day of his death, or even what day his memory was revered, but on account of its being assigned for St. Erard, with whom the German writers usually associate St. Albert, joining them together in their inquiries into the history of these two holy brothers. Of those writers Conrad is the only one, who making mention (*Life of St. Erard, cap. 2.*) of Albert, whom he calls Adalbert, seems to speak of him as not having been a brother of Erard. Colgan had no *Life* of this saint, but has endeavoured to make up his Acts as well as he could.

(102) This conjecture of Colgan is indeed not improbable. *Albert* was a name well known in Germany, and the transition to it from *Ailbe*, a name to which the Germans were not accustomed, was easy and natural. We find similar inflections in the names of several Irish saints and teachers, who in old times resorted to the Continent.

(103) The passages of various authors, who agree in calling Albert archbishop, or, at least, bishop of Cashel, may be seen in Colgan at *Albert*. But, as he remarks, there was neither an archbishop nor bishop of Cashel in Albert's times, supposing him to have flourished even as late as the eighth century. He therefore conjectures, that Albert or Ailbe might have been originally called archbishop of Munster, and, if so, that his see was Emly, the prelates of which were sometimes called *archbishops*. (See *Not. 97. to Chap. xvii.*) In this hypothesis Albert or Ailbe would have been Ailbe the second of that see. He might have been there between Conang O'Daithil, who died in 661, (see *ib.*) and Conamail M'Carthy, who died in 707. But as Cashel became in later times the metropolitanical see of Munster, the writers referred to supposed that Albert had been archbishop there.

(104) Conrad says (*Life of Erard, cap. 2.*) that Albert went

with Erard from the Vosges to Bavaria, and Roderus states that Albert did not go to Rome until after he had spent some time in Germany. (Compare with *Not.* 97.)

(105) The Bollandists have St. Wiro at 8 May. Bollandus, who wrote the prefixed commentary was inclined to think that he might have been a native of North Britain rather than of Ireland. But in the *Life*, published by his continuators, the island Scotia, that is Ireland, is expressly called Wiro's country; "*Scotia uber sanctorum patrum insula*;" and we find it again called an island, *ex. c.* in the words, "apud incolas ejusdem *insulae*." It is there said that he imitated Patrick, Cuthbert, and Columba, the pillars of *his* country. And what still more proves this point, we find a bishop Wiro in various old Irish documents and calendars, who was in all appearance the same as the St. Wiro known in the continent. (See *AA. SS.* p. 542) Mr. Lingard says, (*Angl. S. Church*, ch. 13. *Not.* 12.) that Alcuin in the poem, *De Pont. Ebor.* v. 1045. calls Wiro an Anglo-Saxon. Now in said poem, which, by the bye, was not written by Alcuin (see *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* III.) there is not a word about Wiro at that verse, nor, as far as I can find, in any other part of it.

(106) *AA. SS. ib.*

(107) It has been supposed by some persons unacquainted with the state of Ireland in Wiro's times, that he was bishop of Dublin. Suffice it to say, that Dublin had no bishops in those days. Foreigners were very apt, since Dublin became the capital of Ireland, to assign to it some of our bishops that had removed to the Continent, of whose real sees they had no account.

(108) See Bollandus at *St. Wiro*. As Pepin was not invested with great power until about 680, (see *Not.* 100) Wiro's arrival in France must have been later than this year.

(109) The year of his death is not known. Harris says (*Bishops of Dublin*, at *St. Wiro*) that he died in 650. He took this date from a marginal note in Surius; but it is certainly a much too early one, as appears from the preceding note. Many of the dates marked in Surius's edition of the Lives of Saints are merely conjectural.

(110) Bollandus, *loc. cit.*

§. IX. We read in the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, at the years 674, and 675, that Ireland was

then full of holy men, and that St. Dysibod, having given up his episcopal functions, went, accompanied by several persons, from Ireland to Germany. (111) He is said to have been of a noble family, and gifted with great genius. Having been raised to the episcopacy, and officiated as bishop for some years, he left his own country, Ireland, and after ten years peregrination and preaching, stopped in the diocese of Mentz. There, together with three companions, he erected a habitation and an oratory on the side of a mountain. Several persons flocking to him, particularly Benedictine monks, a monastery was established there, (112) in which the rule of St. Benedict was observed. Dysibod did not embrace it himself, as he led a stricter life than it required. Yet the monks refused to submit to any other person but him as their abbot. He is said to have died in the 81st year of his age, on an 8th of July. (113)

About the same time that St. Dysibod went to Germany there was living in the territory of Rouen an Irish monk, named Sidonias (Sedna), who formed a monastery on some ground granted to him by Theodoric, or Thierry III. king of Burgundy and Neustria. He went afterwards to Rome with St. Audeon or Ouen, archbishop of Rouen, in the year 677. Sidonius died on a 14th of September, at which day his name is marked in the calendars. His monastery became, in course of time, a cell belonging to the house of Fontanelles, and the adjoining village of St. Saens has been called from his name. (114)

(111) “*Hibernia insula sanctis viris plena habetur; de qua beatus pater noster Dysi'odius, episcopatu abdicato, cum plerisque sociis egressus hunc locum inhabitavit, et divinis laudibus hic se a fidelibus venerari apud Deum promeruit.*” Mabillon observes (*Annal. Ben. ad. 674.*) that what is here said of Dysibod was perhaps inserted by Dodechin the continuator of Marianus' chronicle. This seems very probable; for Dodechin was abbot of the monastery of St. Dysibod, and could have used the phrases, *our blessed*

father, this place, and here, with greater propriety than Marianus, who did not belong to that establishment, although he spent his last years not far from it, as it was in the diocese of Mentz. The Life of St. Dysibod, which Surius has at 8 July, was written by the abbess St. Hildegardis, and as if by revelation, in the year 1170. Much of it is mere common place narrative.

(112) Mabillon states (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 674) that this monastery was in the diocese of Mentz, and county of Spanheim, one mile distant from the monastery of Spanheim, and two from that of Creutznac.

(113) Mabillon observes, (*ib.*) that, according to the martyrology of Rabanus, the *Natalis* of St. Dysibod was celebrated in the neighbourhood of Mentz on the 6th of September. Rabanus, he adds, calls him simply a *confessor*, without adding the title of *bishop*. But his being represented as such in the chronicle of Marianus is a good reason for believing that he really was so. As to the story of his having been bishop of Dublin, it appears no where except in Wilson's Anglican martyrology. What has been remarked concerning St. Wiro (*Not.* 107) is applicable to this case. We may also pass by Dysibod's having been author of a tract attributed to him by Dempster. (See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Disibod.*)

(114) See Mabillon (*ib.*) and compare with Fleury, *L.* 39. §. 54.

§. x. The celebrated bishop and martyr St Kilian the apostle of Franconia, flourished in these times. (115) That he was a native of Ireland is universally admitted; (116) but we have no account of the part of it, to which he belonged. He was of an illustrious family, and, having embraced the monastic life, (117) is said to have governed some monastery, of which, however, I do not find any particular mention. Having distinguished himself by his sanctity and great ecclesiastical learning, he was raised to the priesthood, and afterwards to the episcopacy. (118) Notwithstanding his being very much beloved by his clergy and people, a wish for attaining a greater degree of perfection induced him

to visit foreign parts, and accordingly taking with him some companions, among whom are named Coloman (119) a priest and Totnan a deacon, he went over to the continent and proceeded on his journey until he arrived at Wurtzburg in Franconia. Liking the situation, he determined on fixing his abode there ; but, being anxious to preach the Gospel to the people of that country, who were still pagans, he thought it necessary to apply to the Holy see for permission to do so, hoping that the then Pope, John V. would not refuse it to him. (120) On his arrival at Rome he found that John was dead, but was very kindly received by his successor Conon. This occurred either late in the year 686, or early in 687. (121) Conon finding him well qualified for the mission both by the purity of his faith and his learning, gave him every requisite faculty for that purpose. (122) Kilian then returned to Wurtzburg, accompanied by Coloman and Totnan, who assisted him in his apostolical exertions. He was fortunate enough to convert and baptize Gozbert, duke of that country, whose conversion was followed by that of a great number of his subjects. Geilana, to whom Gozbert was married, had been the wife of his brother. Although Kilian disapproved of his keeping her as his wife, he thought it advisable to be silent on this point, until Gozbert should be well confirmed in the Christian faith. The time being come when Kilian found the duke fit for receiving further instruction, he told him that one thing was still requisite for his being quite acceptable in the sight of God, *viz.* that he should part with Geilana, whereas their marriage was unlawful. Gozbert answered, that this was the most difficult point as yet proposed to him by Kilian ; but that, as he had already renounced many things for the love of God, he would also quit Geilana, although she was very dear to him ; adding however, that, being then hurried to proceed on a military expedition, he should

defer until his return the arrangement and execution of his design. After his departure Geilana, who was informed of what had passed between him and Kilian, became determined on revenge, and seizing on a convenient opportunity sent at night one of her men (123) to put him and his companions to death. Kilian, Coloman, and Totnan were singing the praises of the Lord, when the assassin arrived. They made no resistance, Kilian exhorting his brethren to receive the wished for crown of martyrdom, and were immediately beheaded. During the same night their remains were hastily thrown into the ground, together with their clothes and pontifical ornaments, the sacred books, cross, &c. This martyrdom occurred in 689 on the 8th of July, at which day the names of St. Kilian and his companions are marked in the Roman and other martyrologies, and Kilian is particularly revered at Wurtzburg as its patron saint. (124)

When Gozbert returned to Wurtzburg, he inquired for the servants of God. Geilana said that she did not know what was become of them. But the whole matter was soon discovered; for the assassin, running about in all directions, complained that Kilian was burning him with a dreadful fire. Gosbert, calling together his Christian subjects, asked of them how that unhappy man should be treated. A person present at the meeting, who had been suborned by Geilana, proposed that he should be left at liberty, for the purpose of trying whether the God of the Christians would avenge the death of the martyr, which if he do not, we will, said this wisacre, worship the great Diana as our forefathers have done. This proposal was agreed to; and the assassin, being let loose, got into a phrenzy and tore himself with his teeth until he expired. It is added that Geilana was seized with an evil spirit, which tormented her so much, that she died soon after. The remains of the holy martyrs were found in 752

(125) by St. Burchard, bishop of Wurtzburg, and removed by him to a great church, which he had erected in that city.

(117) Canisius has published (*Antiq. lect. Tom. 4. al. Tom. 3. part. 1.*) two Lives of St. Kilian: one rather large, the author of which he conjectured to be Egilward a monk of St Burchard's monastery near Wurtzburg, who lived, according to some writers, in the 11th century: the other shorter, but more exact, by an unknown author. The former is also in Surius (at 8 July) and has been republished by Messingham (*Florilegium, &c.*) and others: the latter was preferred for republication in the *Acta Bened. Sec. 2. p. 991* particularly as various interpolations have been foisted into the larger one.

(116) It would be useless to collect the many testimonies, that might be adduced on this point. In the large Life Kilian's country is thus described: "Scotia, quae et *Hibernia* dicitur, insula est: maris oceani, foecunda quidam glebis, sed sanctissimis clarior viris: ex quibus Columbano gaudet Italia, Gallo ditatur Aleman-
nia, Kiliano Teutonica nobilitatur Francia." Rabanus and Notker, in their martyrologies, say that he came from *Hibernia Scotorum insula*; Marianus Scotus has *Hibernia insula*. These and other passages to the same purpose, such as from Bellarmine, Serarius, &c. may be seen in Messingham, *Floril. p. 324. seqq.* Among the more modern writers it is sufficient to mention Mabil-
lon and Fleury.

(117) It is said in St. Kilian's Office in the Benedictine breviary, that the monastery in which he professed the monastic rule was that of Hy. Trithemius also calls him a monk of Hy, *monachus Huensis in Hibernia*; but this appears to be only conjectural. According to the large Life Kilian could not have been a monk of Hy; for it is stated that he became superior of the very monastery, in which he had made his profession. Now it is well known that he was never abbot of Hy. Trithemius' meaning was perhaps, that Kilian belonged to the order of Hy, although living in Ireland. It is odd, that Burke (*Office of St. Kilian*) makes him a Benedictine, which, omitting other observations, he could not have been, were he of the order of Hy.

(118) According to the short Life Kilian was a bishop before he

left Ireland. And in an old chronicle, quoted by the abbot Thadaeus of Ratisbon (see Messingham, *Floril.* p. 324.) he is spoken of as a bishop, prior to his setting out for the Continent. This statement has been followed by Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 35. But, as will be seen lower down, other accounts represent him as having been consecrated bishop at Rome.

(119) In some documents, relative to St Kilian, Coloman is erroneously called *Colonat*.

(120) At this part of Kilian's transactions the author of the large *Life*, or rather some interpolater, introduces the fable of Ireland having been under an apostolical censure on account of the Pelagian heresy, and accordingly of the necessity Kilian was under of going to Rome for the purpose of being absolved from it. To what has been already observed on this subject (*Not.* 95 to *Chap.* xv.) I shall here add, that there is not the least allusion to such a censure in the other and more correct *Life* of Kilian; nor among the old authors, *ex. c.* Rabanus, Notker, Marianus, Scotus, &c. some of whom mention his having got permission to preach from the Holy see, is there a word about this story of Irish Pelagianism. Nothing relative to any general censure or interdict laid upon Ireland appears in Bede, and the only charge brought forward, yet still unaccompanied by ecclesiastical censure, against any considerable portion of the Irish people, was on the ground of their Paschal and tonsural observances. How could the people or clergy of Ireland be supposed to lie under an interdict, while such crowds of Irishmen were, as was well known at Rome, instructing the continental nations; while Furseus, Foillan, Livinus, Arbogast, Florentius, Wiro, &c. preached the Gospel to them without any previous absolution from censures? National interdicts, or general censures of the kind alluded to, were scarcely known at that period; nor is there any historian or canonist, who, in his inquiries into the origin of interdicts, has ever alleged this pretended Irish one as a specimen of them. (See Fleury *Instit. au Droit, &c. Part 3. chap.* 21.) I shall waste no further time on this silly fable, except to observe that the passage, in which it is contained, is to all appearance an interpolation.

(121) The death of John V. and the accession of Conon have been assigned by some writers to 687: but Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad*

A. 687.) maintains that John died in 686, and was succeeded by Conon in the same year on the 21st of October.

(122) In the large Life it is said that Conon raised Kilian to the prelacy, *in praesulatus officium constituit*; so that he might exercise functions peculiar to bishops. The author's meaning seems indeed to be, that Kilian was consecrated bishop by Conon, and so it has been understood by several writers. This is very probably a mistake, founded on the circumstance of Kilian having received from the Pope certain extraordinary powers, with which bishops are not usually invested, such as that of erecting episcopal sees, and other privileges requisite in the case of a new mission, such in short as those which Gregory the great had granted to Augustin towards the formation of churches in England. His having obtained such privileges at Rome might have easily led to the supposition, that it was there also that he was consecrated. But we have better authority for believing, that Kilian was a bishop before he left Ireland. (See *Not.* 118.)

(123) Some accounts state, that Geilana sent two assassins. This is a matter of no consequence. It is somewhat singular, that Rabanus and Notker, in opposition to every other account, attribute the order for murdering Kilian, &c. to Gozbert.

(124) Although St. Kilian is called the patron of Wurtzburg, Mabillon, (at Kilian's Life, *Acta Ben. Sec.* 2.) Fleury, (*L.* 40. §. 38) and Basnage (Preface to Kilian's Acts in his edition of Canisius, *Tom.* 3. *Part.* 1.) deny that he was bishop of that city, as its see was not established until many years later in the eighth century. Colgan had said (*AA.* 88. *p.* 331.) that, although he was bishop of all Franconia, he was not of Wurtzburg. Yet Marianus Scotus (*ad.* A. 687) expressly calls him *bishop of Wurtzburg*, and so he is named in the chronicles of Sigebert and Rhegino, and by many other writers, some of whom, *ex. c.* Notker, add that he was its first bishop. This question is easily settled; for it is not doubted by any one, that Kilian was a bishop, nor that, although he preached and exercised episcopal functions throughout Franconia, his chief residence was at Wurtzburg. He was not indeed immediately succeeded by any bishop there; whereas from the time of his martyrdom about fifty years elapsed until St. Burchard was appointed bishop of that city. But had this interval not taken place, and if there had been a bishop fixed there immediately

after the martyrdom, Kilian would have been universally called bishop of Wurtzburg and its first bishop. What is the reason why some old sees are considered as fixed and regular in preference to places, in which bishops have presided? It is no other than that in the former there has been an uninterrupted succession of bishops, which was not the case with regard to the latter. The question therefore is one of mere words, and it is an affectation of canonical precision to say, that St. Kilian was not bishop of Wurtzburg. He lived there not as a hermit or in a retired manner, as, for instance, St. Erard had at Ratisbon, but as a bishop actively employed in practising episcopal duties; and this was surely enough to authorize the old writers, who treat of him, to give him the title of *bishop of Wurtzburg*, and *first bishop* of that see, whereas no bishop had ever resided there before him. Serarius observes, (*Notes to St Kilian's Life up. Messingham, Floril, &c. p. 328.*) that the ecclesiastical monuments of Wurtzburg point him out as its bishop, and joins those, who call him its *first bishop*. St. Kilian is spoken of as also an author, but, I suspect, on weak grounds. (See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Kilian.*)

(125) See Pagi, *Critica*, &c. *ad A.* 689. and Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 14 February, where he treats of the translation of the remains of St. Kilian and companions.

§. XI. St. Cataldus or Cathaldus, (126) whose history has been already touched upon, (127) flourished, I believe, in these times, that is, in the latter half of the seventh century. It has been strangely supposed that he lived in the second; (128) but from the accounts, however confused and mixed with fables, that are given of his transactions, it is evident, that he must have lived at a much later period. As to his having been a native of Ireland, there can be no question; (129) and Munster is mentioned as the province, to which he belonged. (130) The very town, in which he was born, is spoken of; some say it was Raschau, and others Catandum, (131) both which in our times can scarcely be guessed at, except that they were, particularly the latter, supposed to have been not far distant from Lismore.

It is said that his father was named *Euchus* (Echu), and his mother *Achlenna*, or *Athena*. He studied at Lismore, where after some time he became a professor. (132) His lectures are stated to have been attended by a great number of students from various countries. (133) The times, in which Cataldus was thus employed, cannot be precisely ascertained; but they were undoubtedly later by several years than 633, about which time the Lismore establishment was founded by St. Carthag. (134) Cataldus, besides instructing others, edified them by his extraordinary piety. He is said to have erected a church at Lismore in honour of the Blessed Virgin mother of God. (135) It is added, that some how or other he incurred the displeasure of a king, (136) who ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon. The king soon repented of this violent measure, and, to make some amends for the injury Cataldus had sustained, is stated to have made him a grant of a district, which had belonged to a duke or chieftain recently dead, whose name was *Meltridis*. (137) This must be understood with such limitations as the discipline of those times, particularly in the Irish church, required, and can mean no more than that the king assigned to him some land for endowing a church at Rachau, of which place Cataldus was immediately appointed bishop. (138) This was probably about the year 670. (139) Having governed that see for some time he is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on his preparing to return thence to Ireland, to have been admonished in a vision to proceed to Tarentum. According to certain strange stories he found, on his arrival in that city, almost all the inhabitants immersed in paganism; (140) but this monstrous assumption is quite irreconcilable with the times of St. Cataldus. It is, however, very probable that vices, although not amounting to idolatry, prevailed there at that period, in consequence of the revolutions and vicissitudes of

that country. (141) The saint, having landed at some distance from the city, cured on his way to it a woman, who had been deaf and dumb, and on entering the city relieved a man from blindness. He was immediately taken notice of, and preaching to the inhabitants was listened to with great attention. Not long after he was unanimously appointed to the see of Tarentum, which he governed for many years with great wisdom and zeal. The year of his death is not known; but it appears that the day was an 8th of March. (142) It would be unnecessary to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, in which this saint is held at Tarentum and elsewhere, and on the great number of miracles, which are said to have been wrought at his tomb. (143) A curious prophecy relative to the state of the kingdom of Naples about the latter end of the 15th century, and the times of Ferdinand of Arragon, the French invasion, &c. has been attributed to St. Cataldus; but it is evidently a forgery made up on the occasion of those troubles, and has nothing to do with the real history of the saint. (144)

St. Donatus, a brother of Cataldus, is reckoned among the bishops of Lupiae, or Aletium, now Lecce, (145) a noble city of the kingdom of Naples. It is said, that these holy brothers lived together as hermits for some time near a small town, now called San Cataldo. (146) Concerning St. Donatus I can find nothing further, unless we should admit the fiction of Dempster that he was author of one or two books. (147)

(126) The name is spelled in both these ways. The original name of this saint was, as Colgan observes, *Cathal*, or *Cathald*, an appellation very common in Ireland, now softened into *Cahal* or *Cahill*. According to our pronunciation of the letter *t*, the old Irish would not have written *Catald*.

(127) *Chap. i. §. 3.* Colgan, omitting the *Cataldias* or poetical Life of St. Catalaus by Bonaventure Moroni, has published (at 8

March) the prose Life in two books by his brother Bartholomew, besides a short account of him from Petrus de Natalibus, and an office of St. Cataldus from the breviary of Tarentum or Taranto. Usher treats largely of this saint, *Prim. p. 751. seqq.* The account given of him by the Bollandists is at the 10th of May, the festival of his *Invention* and *Translation*.

(128) John Juvenis says, in the preface to his History of Tarentum, that Cataldus was at Tarentum in the year 160, but elsewhere he places his arrival there in 166. According to the Life by Barth. Maroni his entry into Tarentum was about 170. Other writers assign his times to about 500. (See Usher, *p. 759*, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 560.*) Ughelli, in his account of St. Cataldus, (*Italia Sacra, ad Tarentini Archiep.*) merely relates the stories of Juvenis and Petr. de Natalibus. They are not worth the trouble of refutation.

(129) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, pretended that Cataldus was born in Scotland. His lies and contradictions on this subject have been well exposed by Usher (*p. 753.*) and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 561.*) The Bollandists, while they admit that every circumstance tends to show, that Cataldus was a native of Ireland, yet, as if to display their ingenuity, throw out a conjecture that he might have been from Ragusa. And why? Because it had been said that the name of the place, in which he was born, was *Rachau*, and that he was sometimes called *Cataldus Rachau*. Then they ask; might not Rachau have been the same as *Rausium* or *Ragusium*? But those, who thought that Rachau was the birth-place of Cataldus, say that it was situated in Munster in Ireland; and as to Ragusa, the Bollandists themselves observe, that Ragusa did not exist until it was formed out of the ruins of *Epidaurus*, which had been destroyed in the 7th century. Not only the Maroni in their Lives of Cataldus, but Juvenis, Petrus a Natalibus, Philip Ferrarius, and many other writers, besides various martyrologies, and Offices of St. Cataldus, all agree in making him a native of Ireland. (See Usher and Colgan, *loc. cit.*) And it is to be observed, that in every passage relative to this point his country is called *Hibernia*, or the island *Hibernia*, the equivocal name of *Scotia* not being even once used.

(130) Barth. Maroni (Life, &c. *L. 1. c. 1.*) calls it *Mononia*, for which Colgan has justly substituted *Momononia*. In some old

Offices of St. Cataldus it is written *Numenia*, which has been corrected in a Roman edition into *Mononia*. (See Usher, *p.* 754.)

(131) According to the Office *ap.* Colgan, and others referred to by Usher, (*ib.*) with which Juvenis agrees, the saint's native town was Catandum. Maroni says, (*loc. cit.*) that by some he was made a native of *Rachau*, but observes that the former is the more probable opinion, and that the latter was seemingly founded only on the saint's being surnamed *Rachau*, which, he adds, ought to be understood not as if Cataldus had been born there, but as relative to his having been bishop of *Rachau*. Colgan has some conjectures as to the situation of these places; but they are far from satisfactory. With regard to Catandum, his supposing (*AA. SS. p.* 544.) that it might have been a Baile-Cathal, or Cathel's-town, in the county of Tipperary might be admitted, were it called, as indeed it is by P. de Natalibus, *Cataldus*, so as that it had the same name as the saint. There is a place called Ballycahill in said county at the borders of the baronies of Kilmemana and Kinelogurty. But, besides its being far distant from Lismore, the name of the saint's native spot is usually written *Catandum*. As to *Rachau*, which, Morani says, was formerly a city of some note in Munster, Colgan thought the real name was *Rathan*, observing that there were three places so called in the Nandesi country, in which Lismore is situated, and that one of them is now called *Sen-Rathan*, or Old *Rathan*. This must, I am sure, be the same as *Shanraghan* in the barony of Iffa, county of Tipperary. According to the Irish sound of *th*, *Rathan* is the same as *Raghan* or *Rahan*. It is really probable that *Shanraghan* or Old *Rathan* is the place meant by *Rachau*, particularly as it is within a short distance of Lismore, not far from which *Rachau* is represented to have been situated. If, instead of *Rachau*, we should read *Rachan*, (*u* and *n* being often interchanged in MSS.) the probability would be still greater. Although Colgan's conjecture as to *Rathan* for *Rachau* is worthy of attention, yet Burke, when republishing (*Officia propria*, &c.) the Office of St. Cataldus from the *AA. SS.* ought not to have thrust into the text *Rathan*, instead of *Rachau*, which Colgan has preserved. This is not the only alteration he has made in said Office *motu proprio*, and without any sufficient authority.

(132) Life by Barth. Moroni, *L. l. c. 4.* and Office.

(133) In the Office we read; “Adolescens (Cataldus) liberalibus disciplinis eruditus ad eam brevi doctrinae excellentiam pervenit, ut ad ipsum audiendum Galli, Angli, Scoti, Theutones, aliique finitimarum aliarum regionum quamplurimi Lesmoriam convenirent.” Bonaventure Moroni has described this conflux in the following verses;

“Undique conveniunt proceres, quos dulce trahebat
Discendi studium, maior nam cognita virtus,
An laudata foret. Celeres vastissima Rheni
Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri:
Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boemos
Albis, et Arverni coeunt, Batavique frequentes,
Et quicumque colunt alta sub rupe Gebennas.
Non omnes prospectat Arar Rhodanique fluenta
Helvetios; multos desiderat ultima Thule.
Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem
Lesmoriam, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos.”

(See Usher, *p. 755.*)

(134) See *Chap. xiv. §. 14.* Not few years must have elapsed from the foundation of Lismore until Cataldus began to teach there. He had studied himself in that school and spent some years at it, before he became qualified to be a professor. In his time Lismore was well known in foreign countries, which its reputation could not have reached all of a sudden.

(135) Life, *cap. 4.* Office, &c. Colgan observes, (*AA. SS. p. 555.*) that among eight churches, that were in Lismore in his time, there was one under said title.

(136) P. de Natalibus makes him king of all Ireland. But, if there be any truth in the matter, he must have been rather a king of Munster. The same author as well as Moroni and others assign a very silly cause, not worth mentioning, for the king's displeasure.

(137) It can scarcely be doubted that Meltridis, as he is called by the Italian writers, was the same person as Moelochtride, a chieftain of Nandesi, who had granted to St. Carthagh the ground for his monastery of Lismore. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 14.*) There

is every reason to think, that Moelochtride survived St. Carthagh, who died in 637, and, it is highly probable, even his own son Bran-finn, who was killed in 666. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 561.) Now supposing that he lived until about 670, we have the period, at which Cataldus was raised to the episcopacy. The name *Mel-tridis* has been mistaken by some writers as that of the Duke's territory. There was no principality so called in Ireland.

(138) In the saint's Life, &c. it is ridiculously stated that, having obtained this wonderful grant of a whole principality, he divided it into twelve bishoprics, and raised Rachau to the rank of an archiepiscopal see. Burke, perceiving the absurdity of this fable, has, in his edition of the Office, changed the bishoprics into parishes and the archiepiscopate into a simple bishopric.

(139) See *Not.* 137.

(140) This story might agree well enough with the supposition of Moroni and others, that St. Cataldus arrived at Tarentum about the year 170. But as the hypothesis is false, so are its concomitant parts. It is odd, that Burke has retained this tale, whereas he lays down, erroneously indeed, that the saint died about 492. How could he have imagined, that Tarentum, or any other city of southern Italy, was at that period almost devoid of Christians?

(141) The Goths had been driven out of Tarentum in the sixth century by the Greeks, who in their turn were expelled by the Lombards under Romoald, duke of Beneventum. (See Paulus diaconus, *De Gestis Langobard.* L. 6. c. 1.) According to Bollandus and Muratori, (*Rer. Ital. Scriptor. Tom. 1. p. 490.*) Romoald ruled the dutchy of Beneventum from 671 to 687. It was, I think, during this interval that St. Cataldus arrived at Tarentum.

(142) Some writers say it was on 8th of May; but the archives of the church of Tarentum and other authorities have the 8th of March. (See *AA. SS.* p. 559.)

(143) The second book, which is rather large, of Barth. Moroni's work is full of accounts of these miracles.

(144) Whoever wishes to know more about this pretended prophecy may consult the Life by Barth. Moroni, L. 1. and Ware and Harris, *Writers at Cataldus.* Dempster, in his usual way, took it into his head to ascribe to him also a *Book of Homilies.*

(145) See Ughelli, (*Italia Sac. ad Aletini sive Lupienses Episcopi*) who quotes J. Ant. Ferrara and Jul. Caes. Infantinus for Donatus having been bishop of that city. Following the fable of Cataldus having been at Tarentum in the second century, he accordingly assigns his brother Donatus to the same period. He speaks of Lupiae and Aletium as one and the same place; but Baudrand (*Lexic. Geogr. at Lupiae*) states that the ancient Lupiae was a maritime town some miles distant from Aletium, or Lecce, and that is now called *La Rocca*, although, as he observes, others think that it was the same as San Cataldo, likewise at some miles distant from Lecce. Be this as it may, the see named *Lupiensis*, is now at Lecce. Barth. Moroni (*Life of St. Cataldus, L. 1. c. 11.*) makes mention of Donatus as being said to have been the first bishop of Lupiae and a brother of St. Cataldus. Juvenis also relates the same tradition; (see Usher, *p. 760.*) and we find it likewise in Philip Ferrarius (*Catalog. &c. at 22 October*). As to the name, *Donatus*, no object can be derived from it; for the Irish used to latinize *Donagh* into *Donatus*.

(146) Moroni, *ib.* Juvenis has swelled the time of this eremitical life up to 14 years, observing that San Cataldo lies within ten miles of Otranto. (Usher, *ib.*)

(147) See Usher, *ib.*

§. XII. While this swarm of holy and learned men were teaching and edifying foreign nations, some persons, distinguished for sanctity or ecclesiastical rank, died in Ireland. Maldegar, bishop of Ferns, the immediate successor of Tuenecc, (148) departed this life in 677, and was succeeded by Dirath, who held that see until 691. (149) In the same year died a St. Coman or Comman, whose memory was revered on the 18th of March, and who is called a bishop in various Irish calendars, but of what see is not mentioned. (150) Another Coman, surnamed *of Ferns*, and erroneously supposed by some to have been bishop there, (151) died in the following year 678. (152) To this year is assigned the death of Colman abbot of Clonmacnois, (153)

as also that of Kennfael, abbot of Bangor, whose memory was revered on the 8th of said month. (154)

The holy virgin St. Cera, *alias* Chier, died in 680. (155) She is said to have been the daughter of one Duibhre, and of an illustrious family of Muskerry in the now county of Cork. It is supposed that she was the St. Chier, who, together with five other virgins, applied to St. Fintan Munnu, when residing in Heli (Ely O'Carrol) for a situation to establish a nunnery, and to whom he is said to have assigned the place, where he had lived himself, afterwards called Tech-telle. (156) That St. Cera spent some time in this place I do not find any sufficient reason for denying; (157) but it is very doubtful whether she got it from Fintan Munnu, or whether he had ever resided there. (158) How long she remained in Heli we are not informed. Returning thence to her own country she founded a nunnery, called, from her name, *Killchree*, now Kilcrea, (159) a few miles S. W. from the city of Cork, which she governed until her death. The reputation of this saint was very great, and her festival was kept at Kilcrea not only on the 5th of January, the anniversary of her decease, but likewise on the 16th of October, as a day of commemoration. Russin, son of Lappain, a *comorban*, or successor of St. Barr of Cork, and who was in all probability a bishop, departed this life in 685. (686) (160)

St. Ossan, whose name is in the Irish calendars at 17 February, in some of which he is called a bishop, died in 686 (687). He is said to have been a descendant of king Leogaire; and his memory was revered at Rath-ossain, a place named from him near the west gate of Trim. (161) The death of St. Becan of Clonard is assigned to the 16th of April, A. D. 687 (688). (162) I do not find him stiled

bishop or abbot ; but he was probably either one or the other.

(148) See *Chap.* xvii. §. 7.

(149) Four Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 564. According to their practice of anticipating the Christian era, they assign the demise of Maldogar to 676, and that of Dirath to 690.

(150) See *Not.* 36. to *Chap.* xvii. (151) See *ib.*

(152) Usher, p. 968, and *Ind. Chron.*

(153) Archdall at *Clonmacnois.* (154) *Idem* at *Bangor.*

(155) Colgan, treating of this saint at 5 January, has, from the Irish annals, A. 679. *i. e.* 680 for her death.

(156) Archdall places Tech-Telle or Teaghtelle in the county of Westmeath, because Colgan says that, from having been in Heli, it afterwards was comprized in the western Meath. But by *western Meath* Colgan, and the older writers whom he quotes, understood not only the present Westmeath, but likewise the King's county, in which Tech-Telle ought to be placed, whereas no part of Heli ever extended as far as what is now called Westmeath. Tech-Telle, or the house of Telle, got its name from St. Telle, son of Segen, who was contemporary with Fintan Munnu, and accordingly lived in the early part of the seventh century ; and whose memory was revered on the 25th of June. (See *AA. SS.* p. 15. and 713.) Archdall has for this saint another Teach-Telle at Teltown in the county of East Meath. And why? Because Colgan, speaking of him (at p. 713 *ib.*) places Teach-Telle in Midia, or Meath in general. But he had elsewhere (p. 15.) observed, that the part of Midia, in which Teach-Telle lay, was the western ; and we have just seen that it was in the tract now called the King's county. It is plain, on comparing the passages of Colgan, that he knew of only one Teach-Telle. As to Teltown, a place not far from Kells to the East, there is no reason to think that it owes its name to any saint, and it is more than probable that it is the same, at least in part, as the ancient Tailten, celebrated for the sports held there in former times. (See *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* v.)

(157) She is stated to have been in that place before it was occupied by St. Telle. The only difficulty is that Telle flourished before the death, in 635, of Fintan Munnu. But St. Cera seems to have been young at the time she is said to have been there.

Supposing that this was about 625, her having lived until 680 contains nothing contradictory or unchronological.

(158) See *Not.* 78. to *Chap.* xv.

(159) Colgan, in the Acts of this saint, which he has endeavoured to patch up, pretends that she had founded the nunnery of Kilcrea, before she went to Heli. The only reason, that appears for this position, is that he thought, and indeed very strangely, that she was the St. Ciara who is mentioned, in the Life of St. Brendan of Clonfert, as a holy virgin, contemporary with him, and living in *Muscrighe Thire*. He confounded *Muscrighe Thire* with the *Muskerry* of Cork, not recollecting, as he often does elsewhere, that the former was the tract now called Lower Ormond in Tipperary, whereas the latter was known by the name of *Muscrighe Mitine*. This is not the worst part of his hypothesis; for he knew that St. Brendan was dead since 577. And yet he would fain make us believe that a person, who lived until 680, was a distinguished saint in his days. To enable us to swallow this anachronism, he says she might have reached the age of 130. Harris was so led astray by this stuff, that he assigned the foundation of Kilcrea to the sixth century. Archdall says nothing (at *Kilcrea*) about the time of this foundation; but (at *Teachtelle*) he introduces St. Cera building an abbey, as he calls it at *Teachtelle*, before the year 576. Passing by these absurdities, I shall only add that, if there was a St. Ciara or Cera in Brendan's time, she was different from the one of Kilcrea, and that she belonged to Lower Ormond. Colgan observes that, besides the St. Cera of Kilcrea, three other holy virgins of the same name are mentioned in the Irish calendars.

(160) 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 150. Ware has not Russin among the bishops of Cork, but Harris has.

(161) See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 366.

(162) *Ib.* p. 406. As the date 687 is taken from the 4 Masters, it may be concluded that it was the same as 688. Yet Ware and Harris (at *Bishops of Meath*) have retained 687.

§. XIII. Segen, archbishop of Armagh, having held that see for 27 years, (163) died on the 24th May, A. 688. (164) and was succeeded by Flan Febhla, son of Scanlan, whose incumbency lasted

for the same number years. Dirath, bishop of Ferns, whose death is assigned to 691, had for successor St. Moling, (165) who is said to have been otherwise called *Dayrchell*. (166) He was a native of Hykinselagh, in Leinster, (167) and his genealogy has been traced to the royal house of that province. (168) According to some accounts he was a disciple of St. Maidoc of Ferns. If so, he must have been very young at that time, as St. Maidoc died, at the latest, in 632. Having embraced the monastic life, he founded a monastery at Aghacainid, or, as called from his name, Tegh-Moling, now St. Mullen's, near the Barrow in the county of Carlow. The precise time of this foundation is not known, but it was probably about the middle of the seventh century. (169) He governed this establishment for many years, part of which he is stated to have spent at Glendaloch, until he was raised to the see of Ferns in 691. (170) We find him under the title of *archbishop* of Ferns, inasmuch as the sort of precedency, which king Bran-dubh had procured for that see, still continued annexed to it. (171) In the year 693 he induced Finnacta, the monarch of Ireland, to exempt the province of Leinster from the tribute of oxen, with which it had been burdened from a very long period of time. (172) Some prophecies, relative to the kings and affairs of Ireland, have been attributed to St. Moling. (173). He died on the 17th of June, 697, (174) and has been considered as one of the principal saints of Leinster. (175) His successor at Ferns was, it appears, the bishop and abbot Killen, who lived until 714. (176)

(163) See *Chap. xvii. §. 7.*

(164) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Armagh*). Colgan has from the martyrology of Donegall, *A. 687, i. e. 688.* Harris has strangely misrepresented his words (*Tr. Th. p. 294*) on this point, stating that he places Segen's death in 686, in consequence of his having followed a *faulty copy of the Psalter of Cashel.*

Now the fact is quite the reverse. Colgan found the date 686 (687) in the 4 Masters, but preferred that of 687 (688); and the reason he assigns for this preference is, that in the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh, taken from the Psalter of Cashel, 27 years are allowed for the incumbency of Segen. Thence he concludes that, as Segen became archbishop in 660 (661), his death ought to be placed in 687 (688). So far then from complaining of a *faulty copy* Harris ought to have told his readers, that one of the chief authorities for the date 688 assigned by Ware, and, before him, in substance by Colgan, is that very Cashel catalogue, which may be seen, *ib.* p. 292.

(165) Usher (*Incl. Chron. ad A.* 670.) calls St. Moling *second* bishop or archbishop of Ferns. This is a mistake, which he would have avoided, had he not published his *primordia* before Colgan's works appeared, in which the true succession of the prelates of that see is to be found (See *AA. SS.* p. 223. and *Tr. Th.* p. 564.) It is strange that Ware, notwithstanding his having these works before his eyes, followed Usher's mistake. He seems to have misunderstood a passage of St. Moling's Life, in which we read that, being conducted to Ferns, he was appointed archbishop of the see of St. Maidoc. It adds, that it had been determined by Bran-dubh, king of Leinster, that the archiepiscopacy of that province should be annexed to Ferns (See Usher, p. 864.) Ware perhaps imagined, that Bran-dubh was still alive, when Moling was raised to the see, and might have been thus induced to place him there next after Maidoc, who died in 632. But Bran-dubh was dead since 602. (See *Chap.* xiv. §. 10.) But, as I have not the Life of St. Moling, which Ware had, I will not deny that there may be something else in it, upon which he founded his opinion. Yet I find that Colgan, who also had a copy of it, reckons several bishops of Ferns between him and Maidoc, without even hinting that in said Life he is any wise spoken of as Maidoc's next successor. According to Colgan, Maidoc was succeeded immediately by Mochua Luachra. (See *Chap.* xvii. §. 7.) Yet he observes (*AA. SS.* p. 219.) that in an Irish Life of St. Maidoc this Mochua has been confounded with St. Moling. Colgan proves that this is a palpable error. In the first place they were from different parts of Ireland. Moling was a native of Leinster, and Mochua of Munster. 2. Mochua died in 652

(653), and Moling in 697. Next we find their names marked at different days in the calendars; that of Moling being at 17 June, whereas Mochua's is at the 22d of said month. That Mochua was the immediate successor of St. Maidoc is evident from what is related in this saint's Life, *cap.* 37. It is there stated, that St. Maidoc, being about to cross a certain ford, said to his charioteer that the person, who would open for them the entrance to it, would sit in his see after himself. A number of students, among whom was Mochu, as he was afterwards called, were at that time amusing themselves near the ford, when on the saint's coming up Mochua ran and opened the passage to it. He then with great humility said to St. Maidoc; "O holy man of God, I wish to go along with you and to live under your discipline." The saint asking him whence he was, and what was his name, he answered; "I am from Munster, and of the people who inhabit Luachra, and my name is *Cronan*. The saint then said; "Henceforth you shall be called Mochua Luachra, (my Chua or Cronan, the names being the same) come then and follow me." Accordingly Mochua went off with St. Maidoc, and remained with him as long as the saint lived. His progress in piety and learning was so great, that St. Maidoc appointed him as his successor to the see of Ferns. We have already seen, (*Not.* 84. to *Chap.* vi. and *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* xi.) that Luachra was a territory comprized in the now county of Limerick, and probably stretching into Kerry. Mochua is sometimes called *Dachua*; but as Colgan observes, there is no difference between these names.

(166) Ware, *Bishops at Ferns*, and *Writers*, L. 1. c. 13. *at.* 15.

(167) Ware, *ib.*

(168) See *AA. SS.* p. 219. Colgan observes that the mother of St. Moling was from Luachra; and this he assigns as the reason for his being sometimes named *Moling Luachra*.

(169) Harris was grossly mistaken (*Monasteries*) in assigning this foundation to the sixth century. How could he have imagined that St. Moling, whom he admits to have lived until 697, had been an abbot before 600!

(170) In consequence of following the erroneous hypothesis of St. Moling having been the second bishop of Ferns, Ware assigns his accession to A. D. 632. If this were true, his incumbency

would have been an extraordinary long one, whereas, according to Ware himself, he did not die until 697. But how account for that see having been held in the interval by Mochua Luachra, Tuenoc, &c.? To shove off this difficulty, Ware tells us that St. Moling had resigned the see *long* before his death. Where he found this information I cannot discover, nor could he, I believe, have adduced any good authority for it. He thought, however, that such must have been the case, as otherwise it would be impossible to reconcile the accession of St. Moling in 632 and his death in 697 with the fact of there having been four other bishops of Ferns in the mean time.

(171) See *Not* 135. to *Chap.* xiv.

(172) See O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, Part 3. cap. 56.

(173) Ware and Harris, *Writers*.

(174) The 4 Masters (*ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 223) have *A.* 696. *i. e.* 697.

(175) *Ib.* p. 610.

(176) See *ib.* p. 223.

§. xiv. In these times several zealous and learned English ecclesiastics, who had studied in Ireland and there practised the monastic life, undertook missions to the continent, which were set on foot chiefly by St. Ecgberet, or Egbert. (177) This holy man intended to reach Friesland, by sailing round Great Britain, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel in that country; but, in consequence of a violent storm, which, before he embarked, drove the ship on shore, and conceiving that he was ordered by the Almighty to proceed to the monasteries of Columbkil's institution, he desisted from his enterprize, and remained in Ireland. In his stead Vickberet, who was to be a companion of his, and who also had spent many years in Ireland, undertook it in 690, and preached for two years in Friesland, but with so little advantage that he returned to his retreat in Ireland. (178) St. Egbert, still not despairing of success, appointed to that mission Willibrord or Vilbrord, a very holy priest, who was then in Ireland, where he had been for twelve years, (179) and gave him eleven com-

panions, (180) the most celebrated of whom was Suidberet. Having sailed from Ireland in the year 692, (181) they preached with great success in Friesland, being protected by Pepin Heristall, who had conquered part of that country from its duke Rathbod. (182) About the same time, two English priests, both of whom happened to be called *Herwald*, and who had lived many years in Ireland, went thence on a mission to the country of the old Saxons in the North of Germany; but, soon after their arrival there, they were put to death. (183)

Adamnan, abbot of Hy, who had come to Ireland in 692 (184) on a visitation of the monasteries subject to his jurisdiction, returned to it in 697. (185) It must have been on this occasion that the synod, called that of Flan Febhla, archbishop of Armagh, and Adamnan, was held. (186) There are extant certain decrees, usually termed the *Canons of Adamnan*, and which are chiefly relative to some meats improper for food, together with a prohibition of eating such of them as contain blood. It is said that they were passed in this synod; (187) but it can scarcely be supposed, that its labours were confined to matters of such little consequence as these Canons are relative to.

(177) See above *Not.* 51.

(178) Bede, *L. 5. c. 9.* and Fleury, *L. 40. §. 47.*

(179) See Alcuin's *Life of St. Willibrord*, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 433.*

(180) Bede, *L. 5. c. 10.* This number of twelve missionaries was fixed upon in imitation of several Irish saints, who, when proceeding on missions, took along with them twelve assistants, following the example of our Saviour, who appointed twelve apostles. Thus Columbkil was accompanied to Hy by twelve persons, and Columbanus took with him the same number to France. Several other instances of this practice are mentioned by Colgan. *AA. SS. p. 436.* In like manner Egbert, the framer and director of the Frisian mission, sent his twelve co-operators to that country.

(181) See Smith's *Notes* to Bede, *L. 5. c. 9-10*. Usher assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) this expedition to 693, and Fleury (*L. 40. §. 47.*) to 690; but Smith's dates are more correct.

(182) Bede, *L. 5. c. 10*. It does not belong to me to inquire into the situation or present denominations of the country called by Bede *Fresia*, as these points do not form any part of Irish history. On them the curious reader may consult Smith, *Notes, ib.* For the same reason I shall not enter on the further proceedings of St. Willibrord and his companions.

(183) Bede, *ib.* Mr. Lingard says, (*Angl. Sax. Church, ch. 13.*) that the two Hewalds were brothers. Had they been so, Bede would not have omitted to mark it. Nor had Mr. Lingard a right to make them disciples of Egbert. We read indeed in Bede's martyrology, (at 3 October) that they came with St. Willibrord to Germany. But this cannot mean, that they belonged to the party of the eleven assistants given to him by Egbert; for Bede (*Histor. &c. ib.*) expressly distinguishes them from that party. And Mr. Lingard himself represents them as distinct from it, and as not having left Ireland until after it had arrived in Friesland. Its being stated in the martyrology, that they came to Germany with Willibrord, if however there be not some mistake in the text, must be understood as to their having come about, or soon after, the time of his arrival there. That they were not disciples of Egbert, is evident from the manner in which Bede speaks of them in his history, *ib.* Having made mention of Egbert but a few lines before, and related how he sent Willibrord and his companions to Friesland, he then states that certain two priests, *duo quidam presbyteri*, named *Hewald*, following their example, &c. Would he have written in this manner, had they been disciples of Egbert? On the contrary, he speaks of them as persons apparently unknown to him. Mr. Lingard, not content with this unfounded supposition, tells us that they set out on their mission *with the permission and benediction of their teacher* (Egbert.) Now of this *permission*, &c. Bede has not a word, as he certainly would have had, were the matter true. This gentleman would fain make his readers believe, that all the English clergymen, monks, and students, then in Ireland, were under the care of Egbert and instructed by him. If such were the case, he should indeed have had a monstrous great establishment. But the fact is, that there is no reason to sup-

pose, that Egbert governed any monastery or religious house in Ireland. Bede, who is the best authority on this subject, as having been his contemporary, (for he survived him only about six years) although he makes mention of him very often, never calls him an abbot or head of an institution. He represents him as a holy priest zealous in teaching and giving good advice, (see *L. 3. c. 27.* and *L. 5. c. 22.*) but does not say a word about his having been a superior of any establishment. He calls Vickberet a companion of his, (*L. 5. c. 9.*) that is, not a constant one, whereas Vickberet led the life of a hermit, (see *ib.*) but as one of those, whom he had induced to join him in his intended mission to Friesland. Alcuin says, (*Life of St. Willibrord*) that not only Vickberet but likewise Egbert spent his time in solitude, attending to contemplation and the service of God; “*dulcissimos supernae contemplationis fructus seculo nudus, Deo plenus, solitaria quiete hauriebat conversatione.*” He adds, that Willibrord, who went to Ireland in the 20th year of his age, because he heard that scholastic erudition flourished there, “*quia in Hibernia scholasticam eruditionem viguisse audivit*, attached himself to Egbert and Vickberet, by whose conversation he was greatly improved in piety and virtue. But as to the learning, which he acquired during twelve years study, Alcuin attributes it to the instruction not of these his two friends, as Cressy states (*Church hist. &c. B. 20. ch. 6.*) mistranslating his words, but of others, whom he calls *excellent masters both of holy religion and sacred reading*, and that these were Irish teachers he expressly states in the second book of said *Life*, *ex. c.* just after the beginning;

“*Quem tibi jam genuit foecunda Britannia mater
Doctaque nutritivt studiis sed Hibernia sacris,
Nomine Willbrordus.*”

And again in *ch. 33.*

“*Ut dudum cecini, foecunda Britannia mater,
Patria Scottorum clara magistra fuit.*”

Egbert's sending Willibrord and others on the Friesland mission proves nothing more than that his influence was great, particularly over his countrymen; and as to Willibrord he had an especial

claim on him, as he was one of his chief directors in the practice of piety. Bede says, (*L. 3. c. 27.*) that Egbert was very serviceable both to the English and Irish, &c. among whom he lived, (for he never returned to Britain) by the example of his life, his assiduity in giving instruction (*instantia docendi*), his freedom in reproving, and his charity in giving alms out of what he used to receive from the rich. The *instantia docendi* is relative merely to his zeal in preaching, catechizing, &c. and cannot be understood of his having been abbot or superior of any particular establishment; for Bede represents him as then mixing with the various nations, among whom he reckons even the Picts, not those of Britain, but such of them as Egbert met with elsewhere, for instance in the Western Isles, in which he spent a great part of his later days. For it is to be observed that, after he gave up his intention of proceeding to the continent, he withdrew from his retreat, and moved from place to place, instructing the people and visiting chiefly the Columbian monasteries. (See Bede, *L. 5. c. 9.*) On the whole there is not the least foundation for supposing, that Egbert governed a great school resorted to by English students. The monks, students, &c. from England were, exclusively of the establishment formed for them at Mayo, (above §. 2.) dispersed throughout various monasteries and schools in different parts of Ireland. (See §. 1.) Their numbers were so great, that they excited the jealousy of Aldhelm, and induced him to write his angry, macaronic and ridiculous letter (*No. 13. in Ep. Hib. Syll.*) to Eahfrid, or Eadfrid, who had been one of them, and who afterwards became bishop of Lindisfarne. Among other complaints he says, that whole fleet-loads of English students used to sail to Ireland. "*Hibernia, quo catervatim isthinc lactores classibus advecti confluunt.*"

(184) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* (185) Usher, *ib.*

(186) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 473*) that he had the Acts of this synod, and that it was attended by forty *antistites*, that is, bishops or abbots, as he explains himself in *Tr. Th. p. 218*. In the former place he assigns it to *A. D. 695 (696)*; but in the latter he states that it was held *about* said year. I wish he had published these Acts.

(187) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 382.*) mentions the Canons of Adamnan as part of the Acts of said synod. They are eight in

number, and may be seen in Martene's *Theasaur. Nov. Anecd.* (Tom. 4. col. 18). They are of very trifling import, except inasmuch as they show, that the practice of abstaining from blood, according to the Apostolic precept, (*Acts xv. 29.*) continued to be observed in Ireland as late as the times of Adanman. The second canon runs thus; *Pecora de rupe cadentia, si sanguis eorum effusus sit, recipienda. Sin vero, sed fracta sunt ossa eorum, et sanguis foras non fluxit, refutanda sunt.* Others of them contain rules with regard to using or not using the flesh of animals, that had eaten *morticinum, i. e.* the carrion of animals that died of themselves. In the eighth the owner of a horse or beast grazing in land annexed to a town, which may have wounded or hurt a person belonging to said town, is ordered to pay a fine to the injured person.

§. xv. Among the fathers, who composed said synod, I find the name of St. Aidus or Aedh, bishop of Sletty, who died in 699, (188) and whose name is in the Irish calendars at the 7th of February. (189) This was the Aidus, to whom a writer, called *Mac-cuthenus*, addressed his *Life of St. Patrick*, of which only some fragments remain. (190) Colga, abbot of Lusk was also one of them. (191) Concerning him nothing further is recorded, except that he was the son of one Moenach. (192) Another of the members of that synod was St. Killen abbot of Saigir, who is called son of Lubne, and whose memory was revered on the 12th of April. (193) It was attended also by St. Mosacra, the founder and abbot of the monastery of Tegh-Sacra, (*the house of Sacra*, this being his original name) which is stated to have been not far distant from Tallagh or Tallaght in the county of Dublin. It was afterwards called *Tassagard*, now contracted into *Saggard*. St. Sacra or Mo-sacra is said to have been of an illustrious family, and the son of one Senan. He governed for some time also the monastery of Finn-magh in Fotharta, apparently somewhere near Wexford. (194) It is said, that he had been likewise

abbot of Clonenagh; (195) but I suspect, that he has been confounded with another person of the same name. (196) The year of his death is not known; but he must have lived until after the holding of the synod in 679. The day marked for it is the third of March. A Mochonna, who subscribed the acts of said synod under the title of *Antistes Dorensis*, is supposed to have been abbot of Derry. (197) He must not be confounded with St. Mochonna, called of *Dore-Bruchaise*, who died in 688 (689). Mochonna of Derry was a very holy man, and lived until 704 (705). His name is marked in the calendars at 8 March as the anniversary of his death. (198)

(188) *Tr. Th. p. 218.* The 4 Masters have A. 698, *i. e.* 699.

(189) *AA. SS. p. 221.*

(190) Usher, *p. 818.* Concerning this Maccuthenus Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p. 218.*) three conjectures. 1. That he might have been the same as Mocomthemne, one of the twelve persons who accompanied Columbkil to Hy in the year 563. But this cannot, as he acknowledges, be reconciled with the circumstance of Maccuthenus having been contemporary with Aidus of Sletty. 2. That he was Cucumneus, surnamed the *Wise*, who, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died in 746, or, as the 4 Masters state, in 724; and who wrote a hymn in honour of the blessed Virgin. By prefixing the particle *Mo* to his name he would have been called *Mocucumneus*. Although this name is very unlike *Maccuthenus*, and there is some difficulty as to the times, yet Colgan prefers this conjecture to the others, and it is the only one of them, that Harris relates (*Writers at Maccuthenus.*) Now the third conjecture is far better than it, and I think, the true one. It is, that *Maccuthenus* is only another name for Adamnan, who, it is well known, wrote a *Life of St. Patrick*. (See *Chap. III. §. 5*) He was the grandson of one Tenne and accordingly was sometimes called *Hua-Tenne* or *Mac-ua-Tenne*, a descendant of Tenne. In the passages of the Tripartite history of St. Patrick, where the older writers of the saint's Acts are mentioned, he is surnamed *Hua-Tenne*. The name *Maccuthenus* is plainly *Mac-ua-Tenne*

latinized. As there is no account or tradition in Irish history of any Maccuthen, biographer of St. Patrick, different from Adamnan, it appears to me quite clear that the only difference on this point consists in the surname having been sometimes used instead of the proper name, as was frequently the case among the ancient Irish. I need not remind the reader, that Adamnan and Aidus were contemporaries and acquainted with each other.

(191) Colgan, *Ind. Chron. A.* 695. *ad AA. SS.*

(192) See *AA. SS. p.* 382. (193) *Ib. p.* 473.

(194) Concerning Fotharta see *Not.* 138 to *Chap.* 1.

(195) Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) quotes Colgan as if assigning the death of the abbot Mosacra of that place to *A.* 650. Colgan says no such thing, nor indeed could he, as he knew that Mosacra was present at the grand synod more than 40 years after that date.

(196) Among the documents referred to by Colgan (*AA. SS.* at 3 *Mart. p.* 454.) where he treats of St. Mosacra, are the Calendar of Cashel and the Martyrology of Donegal, in both of which he is called abbot of Clonenagh, and is stated to have lived in the time of Neill Glandubh king of Ireland. Now this king did not begin to reign until the 10th century. It is therefore probable, that the Mosacra of Clonenagh was different from the one of Tegh-sacra.

(197) Colgan, having observed (*AA. SS. p.* 566.) that there were many places in Ireland, whose names began with *Dore* or *Doire*, from the oak forests in which they were situated, thinks that Doire, where this Mochonna was abbot, was Derry, inasmuch as it was the most celebrated of them all, and accordingly it was not necessary to join to the signature *Dorensis* its additional name *Chalguigh*. Had Mochonna belonged to any other Doire, its distinguishing name would have been added. Accordingly he reckons him (*Tr. Th. p.* 503.) among the abbots of Derry.

(198) *AA. SS. p.* 566. Yet Colgan elsewhere (*Tr. Th. p.* 503. and 506.) says that his memory was revered on the 3d of May.

CHAPTER XIX.

Longsech—Congall Kennmagar—Fergal, son of Malduin—Fogartach Hua Cernach—Kineth and Flahertach successively monarchs of Ireland—SS. Herlog or Hierologus, and Colman bishops of Lismore—Theodoric or Turlough king of Thomond, retires from the world and receives the monastic habit from St. Colman—Foundation of the see of Killaloe—St. Flannan its first bishop—Monastery of Killaloe founded by St. Molua Løbhar—St. Aidan brother of St. Flannan—Adamnan, abbot of Hy, again sent on an embassy to Alfrid king of Northumberland—adopts the Roman mode of observing the Paschal festival—persuades several of the Northern Irish to do so—Death of Adamnan—succeeded as abbot of Hy by Conan Mac Failbhe—St. Maoldobhorchon bishop of Kildare—Lochan Meann, surnamed the wise—Great conflagration at Kildare—Conamail Mac Cartiaig bishop of Emly dies, and is succeeded by Cellach—Death of St. Caide or Caidin bishop at Hy—Succession of several abbots of Hy—The priest Egbert sent from Ireland to Hy, prevailed on the monks of that establishment to receive the Roman Paschal Cycle—Death of Dunchad abbot of Hy—Folchua mac Dorbene abbot of Hy—People of Hy expelled by Nectan or Naitan king of the Picts—St. Cale-Christus—St. Cronan bishop of Lismore—Colman ó Liathan—St. Adamnan bishop of Rathmuighe—Monastery of Mayo possessed by the English—St. Segrelia Virgin—St. Samthanna and other holy virgins—Death of Suibhne archbishop of Armagh—St. Foeldooar bishop of Clogher—Reign of Aodh Ollain and other Irish monarchs—Deaths of SS. Manchin of Tuaim-greine, Cormac bishop of Trim, &c.—Feargal or Virgilius bishop of

Saltzburg—St. Alto a companion of Virgilius—Deaths of Moelimarchan and other holy bishops and abbots, from A. D. 747 to A. 787.—St. Hemelin, St. Mono, St. Rumold and other Irish Saints who flourished in the Continent—Deaths of Ferfugill bishop of Clondalkin and others.

SECT. I.

FINNACTA, monarch of Ireland, who fell in battle *A. D.* 695, (1) was succeeded by Longsech, a grandson of Domnald the second (2) by his son Aengus. Having reigned nine years (3) he was killed, together with three sons of his, fighting against Kellach, son of Ragall, king of Connaught. Congall Kennmagar, who was also a grandson of Domnald II. by his son Fergus, and consequently a first cousin of Longsech, was then raised to the throne in 704, and held it for seven years, when he died suddenly in 711. (4) Congall's successor was Fergal, son of Malduin, and great grandson of Aidus Huaridni or Huanriodnach. (5) He reigned eleven years, and was killed at the battle of Cath-Almain by Murchad, son of Bran, king of Leinster, on the 11th of December, *A. D.* 722. (6) Next after Fergal was Fogartach Hua-Cernach, son of Niell, and great grandson of Diérmít II. (7) Fogartach reigned only one year and some months, having lost his life in 724, fighting against Kineth, who succeeded him as monarch of Ireland. Kineth was a son of Irgalach, and grandson of Conang, a nephew of Diérmít II. After a reign of three years he was killed in the battle of Drum-chorcain, *A. 727*, (8) by Flahertach, son of king Longsech, who, having ruled retired seven years, (9) for in 734 to a monastery in Armagh.

St. Hierlog, whose name has been hellenized into *Hierologus*, was bishop and abbot of Lismore in the latter end of the seventh century. I find no-

thing further concerning him, except that he died on the 16th of January in 699. (10) He was succeeded, both as abbot and bishop, by St. Colman, a native of Ibh-Liathain, (11) and son of Finbar who belonged to the illustrious house of Hua Beogna, dynasts of that country. Colman has been called also *Mocholmoc*, that is, *my Colman*. (12) He had embraced the monastic life at Lismore, where he distinguished himself by his piety and learning. His incumbency lasted only about four years, as he departed this life on the 22d of January, A. D. 703. (13) St. Colman is said to have been already bishop of Lismore, when he was visited by the Dalcassian prince Theodoric, or Turlough, king of Thomond. He was the son of Cathal, and grandson of Aodh or Aidus Coemh, (14) who had been king of all Munster and brother to St. Molua-lobhar. (15) Theodoric had ruled his kingdom for some time, and was the father of several children, among whom was St. Flannan of Killaloe, when he determined on retiring into a monastery. Accordingly he repaired secretly to Lismore, and received the monastic habit from St. Colman. As this saint was then a bishop, (16) Theodoric must have been far advanced in years as that time; for his father Cathal is said to have died in 625. (17) Notwithstanding his age, which, according to this date could not be less than 75 years, it is related, that he employed himself at Lismore in breaking rocks and making a convenient road up to the monastery. It is added, that, with the permission of Colman, he afterwards returned to his kingdom for the purpose of repairing the ravages it had undergone. (18) It is probable, that this pious prince died not long after his return to Thomond, and he is said to have been buried in the church of Killaloe. (19)

(1) See *Chap.* xviii. §. 3.(2) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 1.

(3) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. 3. c. 93.* Ware, (*Antiquities cap. 4.*) says, 8 years.

(4) This is the year marked by O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware has *A. 710.* But they agree as to the seven years of Congall's reign, Ware having placed its commencement in 703.

(5) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(6) Ware, *ib.* This date comes to the same point with the computation of O'Flaherty, who allows eleven years from the reign of Congall, reckoning from 711, while, according to that of Ware, it lasted twelve.

(7) See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*

(8) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware has, in 728, thus allowing four years for the reign of Kineth.

(9) Ware says, *six* years. His computation and O'Flaherty's agree as to the termination of Flahertach's reign in 734, whereas he assigns the beginning of it to 728, which O'Flaherty places in 727.

(10) 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 155.* Their date 698, *i. e.* 699.

(11) Ibh-Liathain, or the territory of the O'Lehans was, as already observed more than once, in the now county of Cork. Colgan, treating of this St. Colman at 22 January, marks its situation in a very clear manner by stating, that it lay between Cork and Youghall.

(12) Colgan remarks that *Colman* and *Colmoc* are the same name, being both diminutives of *Colum* (or *Colm*) contracted for *Columba*. In like manner another St. Colman, who was contemporary with the one of Lismore, and whom Colgan calls Colman of Lann, got also the name of *Mocholmoc*. As the history of Colman of Lann is exceedingly obscure, I shall avail myself of this opportunity merely to mention what Colgan has endeavoured to pick up concerning him at 30 March. 1. He was a native of a part of Ulster, called *Hi-Guala* or *Gaill-fine*, perhaps the Gal-len hills in the county of Tyrone. 2. He governed three monasteries or churches, *viz.* Cambos, now Camus, a monastery in the diocese of Derry, which had been founded by St. Comgall of Bangor (see *Not. 201. to Chap. x.*); a church, either in the diocese of Down or in that of Dromore, at a place called *Lann-Mocholmoc*; and another, apparently in the diocese of Dromore,

at a place called *Linn-Huachaille*. 3. He died on the 30th of March, A. D. 699, *i. e.*, 700. Colgan adds, that he was maternal brother of another St. Colman, son of Luachain, and known by the name of *Colman of Lann-mac-Luachain* in Meath, whose name is in the calendars at 17 June.

(13) The 4 Masters and Colgan have A. 702, the same as our 703.

(14) *Ogygia*, Part. 3. c. 83. p. 389.

(15) See *Not.* 98. to *Chap* XII.

(16) It is expressly stated in the Life of St. Flannan, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 154.) that Colman was bishop of Lismore when called upon by Theodoric.

(17) The 4 Masters, referred to by Colgan (*ib.* p. 149) assign the death of king Cathal to A. 624 (625.)

(18) See Colgan (*ib.* p. 154.) from the Life of St. Flannan.

(19) Ware, *Antiq.* cap. 29 at *Killaloe*; and Harris, *Bishops*, at said place.

§. 11. To these times, that is, to the latter part of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth century, ought, I think, to be assigned the foundation of the see of Killaloe. Its first bishop was St. Flannan, who, according to every account, was a son of the above mentioned king Theodoric. (20) He could not have been a disciple of St. Molua, (21) who was undoubtedly dead before Flannan was born. But it is very probable that he studied in the monastery of Killaloe, which seems to have been founded by the St. Molua surnamed *Lobhar*, or the leper, who was his great grand uncle. Hence he might have been called a scholar of St. Molua, in consequence of having been a student of the house, which was known by the name of that saint. At what precise time he became bishop of Killaloe is not known; but it must have been many years later than the period which some writers have assigned for it. (22) It is said that Theodoric, the father of St. Flannan, endowed this see with ample revenues:

(23) but whether it was founded before that prince retired to Lismore, or after his return to his kingdom, I am not able to determine. Nor can I find how long it was held by St. Flannan, nor in what year this saint died. (24) His festival is kept on the 18th of December. A St. Aidan, whose history is still less known, is said to have been a brother of his.

(20) Colgan had a Life of St. Flannan, which he intended to publish at 18 December, as had also Ware, who quotes the beginning of it in his first book of *Writers*, cap. 13. al. 15. They were different works, as appears from the disagreement between the words adduced by Ware and those, with which the Life extant at Louvain in Harris's time began, and which was undoubtedly the one referred to by Colgan. These words are; "*Flannus itaque ejusdem Theodorici regis filius.*" (See Harris's addition to Ware, *loc. cit*) They are quite different from those given by Ware. Yet he calls Flannan son of king Theodoric, following, we may be sure, the authority of the Life, which he had.

(21) Ware says (*Antiq. cap. 29.* and *Bishops at Killaloe*) that Flannan was a disciple of the abbot St. Molua, who lived about the end of the sixth century, for some time at Killaloe, which from him got its name. He speaks of St. Molua in general, so that a person may think that he meant the celebrated Molua of Clonfert-molua. But as far as I am able to judge, the Molua of Killaloe was, although contemporary with him, a different person, and the same as Molua Lobhar. (See *Chap. XII. §. 7.*) Flannan could not have been a disciple of either of them; not of Molua Lobhar, who, as above seen, was a grand uncle of his father Theodoric and, in all probability, did not survive the sixth century; nor of the other Molua, who died soon after the commencement of the seventh. (See *ib.*) Nor was he born before this century was pretty far advanced; for, as his father was, when at Lismore, during the episcopacy of St. Colman, and consequently about A. D. 700, still able to work at making roads, &c. he cannot be supposed to have been at that time more than eighty years of age. Accordingly Flannan's birth must, at the earliest, be assigned to between 640 and 650.

(22) According to Ware (*Bishops at Killaloe*) Flannan was consecrated at Rome by Pope John IV. in 639. Harris and others have followed him without any examination. Whether Flannan was ever at Rome I shall not stop to inquire, although I must observe, that Colgan in a long list (*AA. SS. p. 900.*) of Irish saints, who travelled to Rome, has not Flannan among them, as he certainly would, had he found such a circumstance related in the Life, which he had in his hands. Ware must have taken it from the other Life; (see *Not. 20.*) but it is to be recollected, that some of our hagiologists have sent to Rome several Irish saints, who never were in that city. As to John IV. and *A. 639*, I cannot but suspect, that in Ware's document no particular year was mentioned, and that the Pope was named *John* in general without the addition of any number. Ware might have thought that he was the fourth of that name, in consequence of his supposition that St. Flannan was a disciple of St. Molua, and consequently flourished in the early part of the seventh century. As John the fourth was the earliest Pope John of said century, he was the fittest for Ware to fix upon. He then laid down the year 639, thinking that John was then Pope. In this, by the bye, he was mistaken; whereas John was not consecrated until very late in 640. (See *Not. 88. to Chap. xv.*) Had Ware not been wrong as to the period in which Flannan flourished, he would have looked to Pope John V. in 686. or to John VI. in 701. Whether Flannan was consecrated, or not, by a Pope called John, it is certain that he could not have been a bishop either in or about 639, a time, at which it is more than probable he was not as yet in the world. (See *Not. prec.*)

(23) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29* and Harris, *Bishops at Killaloe*.

(24) On these points Ware and Harris are silent. Colgan has scarcely a word about St. Flannan, except at *AA. SS. p. 154.* where he calls him bishop of Killaloe.

§. III. Adamnan, having returned to Hy after the synod held in 697, was again sent by his Irish countrymen as legate or ambassador to his old friend Alfrid, king of Northumberland, some time, it seems, in the year 701, or 702. (25) On this occasion he was urged by some persons to receive the

Roman Paschal computation, &c. (26) Examining the subjects in question, and observing the Roman practices, he became persuaded that the Roman cycle was preferable to the old Irish one, and had no objection to whatever other observances were followed in England. (27) While on this embassy, Adamnan presented to Alfrid his work on *the places of the Holy land*, &c. (28) On his return to Hy he endeavoured to introduce there, and in other places subject to its jurisdiction, the Roman computation, but was not able to bring the monks over to it. He sailed to Ireland apparently in the latter part of 703, and exerted himself to induce the Northern Irish to adopt that computation, and was so far successful as to persuade almost all of them to do so, with the exception of those, who were immediately under the controul of the monastery of Hy. (29) Adamnan remained in Ireland until after the Easter of 704, which he celebrated at the time prescribed by the Roman cycle. Then returning to Hy he lived only for a short time after, as he died on the 23d of September in the course of said year, (30) and in the 77th of his age. (31) Adamnan has been justly considered as one of the fathers of the Irish church, (32) and his memory was held in great veneration, particularly at Raphoe. (33) Besides the *Life of St. Columba*, the *Treatise on the Holy land*, and the *Life of St. Patrick* under the name of Maccuthenus, this great and good man is said to have drawn up a Monastic rule. (34) Some other tracts have been attributed to him, concerning which I am not able to form any opinion. (35) Adamnan was succeeded, as abbot of Hy, by Conain Mac-Failbe, who governed the order for six years. (36)

(25) Bede, who mentions this embassy, (*L. 5. c. 15.*) does not mark the year; but Smith, following Matthew of Westminster, assigns it to 701. Perhaps it was rather in 702, about two years before Adamnan's death.

(26) The abbot Ceolfrid in his letter to the Pictish king Naiton (*ap. Bede L. 5. c. 21.*) relates a conversation, which he had at that time with Adamnan concerning the tonsure, and praises him as a man of admirable prudence, humilty, and religion.

(27) Bede, (*L. 5. c. 15.*) who observes, that Adamnan was a good and wise man, and most deeply versed in biblical knowledge, *scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus.*

(28) Bede (*ib.*) calls it *De Locis sanctis*, and (*cap. 16-17.*) has some extracts from it. Besides an old edition of this tract, (see Ware and Harris, *Writers at Adamnan*) there is a later one in *Act. Benedict. (Sec. 3. Part. 2.)* Adamnan composed it on information, which he received from Arculf a French bishop, who had been in Palestine and other parts of the East; and who, returning by sea, was driven by a storm to the western coast of Britain. Having visited Adamnan he was very kindly received by him, and on relating his adventures and every thing remarkable, that he had observed in those countries, was listened to with great pleasure by Adamnan, who put to paper in a regular form the substance of his narrative.

(29) Bede, *ib.* Dr. Ledwich is very angry with Adamnan for having recommended the adoption of the Roman cycle. At *p. 66*, amidst a heap of falshoods, he says that Adamnan apostatized, and (at *p. 412.*) blames him for having brought over most of the *Southern monks to Rome*, whom he represents as ignorant and bigotted. What mountains does this pseudo-antiquary raise out of trifles! Am I to tire the reader with over and over reminding him, that there was no question of religion properly understood, that is, of faith or morals, between the Anglo-Romans and the Irish, and that, notwithstanding their not celebrating Easter at the same time, or using the same tonsure, they maintained ecclesiastical communion together? Adamnan was as much in communion with Ceolfrid and the other advocates of the Roman practices before he received their Paschal cycle as he was after he agreed to it. Why then talk of apostatizing or changing religion, as this ignorant Doctor is constantly plaguing us with? Adamnan's adopting the Roman cycle, which our Doctor must allow to be far more correct than the Irish one, no more implied a change of religion than the conduct of the church of England

in having, after too long a delay, received the Gregorian style. Will the Doctor say, that the English Protestant church by so doing *went over to Rome*? If in proceedings of this sort there be any *going over*, according to his phraseology, from one religion to another, this church was guilty of a much greater apostacy than Adamnan had been. For it *went over to Rome* not only as to the festival of Easter, but likewise with regard to those of the whole year round, Christmas day and its concomitant festivals, Lady days, the feasts of Apostles, Martyrs, &c. I am really weary of this nonsense, which Usher, Prideaux, Smith, and others, who have written on the Paschal question, would have been ashamed to mention as indicative of a difference of religion, while on the contrary they show that the Irish cycle had been derived from Rome, (see *Chap. xv*) and which no learned Protestant of this day would disgrace himself by laying any stress on. The Doctor, while enforcing these fooleries, was not content with bungling in theology; but he must bungle also in history. He says that the monks, brought over by Adamnan, were those of the South of Ireland. Now he ought to have known, that not only the monks but all the clergy and people of the South had received the Roman computation of Easter full seventy years before Adamnan prevailed on the greatest part of the Northerners to agree with them. (See *Chap. xv. §. 6.*)

(30) The Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and of the 4 Masters agree in assigning the death of Adamnan to A. D. 703, that is, 704. Smith was therefore wrong (at Bede, *L. v. c. 15.*) in marking it at 702. He reckoned only one year from that in which he supposed that he was on his last embassy to Alfrid; (see above *Not. 25*) but it is plain from Bede's account of his subsequent proceedings, that a longer time must have elapsed between said embassy and Adamnan's death. Instead of the month of September, which the 4 Masters and Colgan have, (*Tr. Th. p. 499.*) Usher at A. 704. (*Ind. Chron.*) has October. This is probably a typographical mistake; for not only in the Irish calendars, but likewise in the Benedictine, the festival of St. Adamnan is marked at the 23d of September.

(31) 4 Masters and Colgan *loc. cit.* Keating says (*History, &c. B. 2. p. 45. ed A. 1723.*) that Adamnan died aged 77 years. It is very probable, that this is a mis-translation instead of 77th

year. According to these statements, Adamnan must have been born not in 624, (see *Not.* 58. to *Chap.* xviii.) but in 627 or 628.

(32) See Alcuin's lines, *Not.* 56. to *Chap.* 11.

(33) See *Not.* 59. to *Chap.* xviii. (34) *Tr. Th.* p. 471.

(35) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Adamnan*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia Vindicated*, ch. 10.

(36) Usher, p. 702. and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 704. Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 499.) calls Conain *Conamal*, and tells us, that his memory was revered on the 11th of September.

§. iv. St Maoldobhorchon, bishop of Kildare, died in 705, on the 19th of February. (37) Nothing further is known, as far as I can discover, concerning this prelate, nor of his predecessors since the time of Aedh Dubh or *black*, about A. D. 638, unless it may be supposed that some persons, who are called only abbots of Kildare, were also bishops, such as Lochen Meann, surnamed the *Wise*, who died in 695, and Forannan, whose death is assigned to 698. (38) The clergy of Kildare is said, but on doubtful authority, to have been violently persecuted by the king Congall Kennmagar, for what cause I do not find mentioned. (39) This is most probably a misstatement founded on the circumstance of a great conflagration, that laid waste Kildare in 709 during that king's reign, and in which we may suppose that many clergymen lost their lives. (40)

In these times Conamail Mac-Cartaig (M'Carthy) was bishop of Emly. He died in 707 and was succeeded by Cellach (Kelly), who held that see until 718. (41) St Caide or Caidin, who was bishop at Hy, died in 711; and his name is in the calendars at 24 October. (42) To the preceding year, 710, is assigned the death of Conain Mac-Failbe the abbot, (43) who was succeeded by Dorben, surnamed the *long*, a descendant of Conall Gulbanus. (14) Dorben governed Hy until 713 in which year he died on the 28th of October. (45) His immediate successor

was, I believe, Dunchad, (46) son of Kenfoelaid, and grandson of the monarch Malcovus or Moelcova, consequently of the favourite line of Conall Gulbanus. (47) Dunchad was superior of a Columbian monastery at Kill-lochuir, a maritime town in the S. E. part of Ulster, (48) before he was raised to the government of the whole order. He was still abbot of Hy, when in the year 716 the holy priest Egbert (49) went thither from Ireland, and at length induced the monks of that establishment to receive the Roman paschal cycle and tonsure. (50) Thenceforth Egbert continued to reside for about 13 years in Hy until 729, when he died at a very advanced age on Easter Sunday, the 24th of April, after he had celebrated the festival in the morning together with the brethren. (51)

From the year 716 we find nothing further with regard to those controversies, as far as the Irish were concerned, either at home or abroad.

(37) *Tr. Th. p.* 629. from the 4 Masters, whose date is 704, *i. e.* 705. Ware observes (*Bishops at Kildare*) that others place his death in 708.

(38) *Tr. Th. ib.* I have added, as usual, a year to the dates. See also Harris (*Bishops at Kildare*) and Archdall at said place. Lochen's festival was kept on the 12th of January or 12th of June, and that of Forannan on the 15th of January,

(39) Keating has this story (for it probably deserves no better name) in his second book, *p.* 46. It cannot agree with what is recorded by old writers as to the prosperous and peaceable reign of Congall. O'Flaherty quotes (*Ogyg. Part 3. cap.* 93.) an old Irish distich, translated by him into Latin, in which his government over Inisfail (Ireland) is represented as a happy one of seven years; "*Cuius Inisfaliae septennis fausta potestas.*" And O'Halloran (*History, &c. Book ix. ch.* 5) observes, that Congall K. is called by Giolla Moduda, a writer who died about 1148, a beneficent prince, during whose time there was neither battle nor contest, adding that he died in peace after a reign of seven years. Keating's story was picked up by that superficial writer Campbell

(*Strictures on the History of Ireland, sect. 6. p. 98*) who, not satisfied with repeating what Keating has, *viz.* that Congall persecuted the church and burned the secular and regular clergy at Kildare, adds that he was a pagan. And why? Because, as he says, “ a deed so atrocious could scarce have been perpetrated by Christian men.” Did, not to go beyond Irish history, Campbell never hear of an Earl of Kildare, who, about the year, 1495, set fire to the cathedral of Cashel for the purpose of burning the archbishop Creagh, whom he supposed to be within it? Nor of an Earl of Inchiquin, who at a later period, after storming said cathedral, put to the sword, amidst heaps of other persons whom he found there, many clergymen dragged from even under the altar? Indeed it is but too well known, that men called Christians, have not scrupled to burn and destroy the clergy. Campbell wished to show that not only Congall but likewise the bulk of the people, at least in Kildare, were then pagans. Now supposing that Congall was guilty of that atrocity, why charge the inhabitants of Kildare as his accomplices? If he ever perpetrated it, he was supported not by them but by an army brought from elsewhere. To imagine that Congall was a pagan is a most ridiculous conceit. We have seen that his ancestors were, for several generations, Christians, and some of them very pious ones. He was a grandson of king Domnald II. (above §. 1.) the prosperous prince who had been blessed by Columbkil. (See *Not. 206. to Chap. xii. and Not. 7. to Chap. xiv.*) Congall was undoubtedly educated in the Christian religion, and to suppose that he apostatized to paganism is a gross absurdity, as if the people of Ireland, and its numerous clergy and monks would have raised a pagan to the throne, or quietly submitted to an avowed infidel at a time when the whole nation was Christian. Had any of our kings of that period been guilty of such apostacy, the Irish annals and histories would teem with accounts of it. They do not contain a word of the kind; and the last insance of paganism, which I find recorded in them, is that of the islanders of Immagh, who were converted by St. Fechin. (See *Chap. xvii. §. 10.*)

(40) This conflagration is assigned by the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 629.*) to A. 708. *i. e.* 709. merely in these words “ *Kildare devastated by fire.*” As it happened during the reign of Con-

gall, some wiseacre might have thought that he was the incendiary.

(41) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(42) *Tr. Th.* p. 499. from the 4 Masters, who have *A.* 710, the same as 711. Concerning the bishops, that resided in Hy, see *Notes* 234 and 235. to *Chap.* xi.

(43) Usher, p. 702. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. ib.*) have 708 (709).

(44) The 4 Masters, and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* Instead of Dorben, Usher, (p. 702. and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 710.) places, next after Conain Mc. Failbhe, Dunchad, with whom he terminates his list of the abbots of Hy. Colgan follows the 4 Masters, and observes (*AA. SS.* p. 745.) that it is a mistake to make Dunchad the immediate successor of Conain. It seems that Usher did not meet with Dorben's name in the Annals of Ulster, by which he was guided; and consequently he might not have known that he was abbot of Hy. The omission of his name in said Annals can be easily accounted for, as nothing remarkable occurred during his administration. This Dorben was, in all probability, the Dorbeneus, who wrote a copy of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and added at the end (see Colgan's edition) a request, in which he conjures those, who may wish to transcribe it, diligently to collate their manuscript with that which they took it from, and begs the reader's prayers for himself.

(45) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 499. Their date is 713, which must not be changed into 714. For, as O'Flaherty remarks, (*MS. note, ib.*) Dorben's death was according to Tigernach's Annals, on a Saturday, on which day the 28th of October fell in 713. In his *Ogygia vindicated* O'Flaherty says, (*chap.* 10.) that Dorben died in 713. He adds that he ruled Hy only five months. This is in direct opposition to the 4 Masters, and to every other authority I have met with.

(46) The account (*ib.*) of the succession to Hy after Dorben is rather confused. The 4 Masters throw in Foelchus between him and Dunchad. But, as Colgan observes, some of their dates, relative to the accession of Foelchus, are evidently wrong. Besides they have this same Foelchus again as abbot of Hy after Dunchad, who died in 717, and assign his death to 720 (721.) Hence it appears, that their interposing him between Dorben and

Dunchad is founded on some mistake. In a MS. note (*ib.*) probably written by Conry, Dunchad is placed immediately after Dorben's death in 713.

(47) See *Tr. Th.* p. 480. and *AA. SS.* at 24 *Mart.* p. 744, where Colgan has made up some *Acts* of Dunchad.

(48) *AA. SS. ib.* From the description, which Colgan gives of Kill-lochuir as a place frequented by mariners, who considered Dunchad as their patron saint, its lying on the eastern coast, &c. I think it must be the same as Killough in the county of Down.

(49) See *Chap. xviii.* §. 13.

(50) Bede *L. 5. c. 22. al. 23.* To what he has concerning this agreement having taken place in 716 under the abbot Dunchad Usher adds (*p.* 702. and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 716.*) from the Annals of Ulster, that it was entered into on a Saturday the 29th of August. Prideaux (*Connection, &c. Part 2. B. 4.*) sums up the matter in these words; “ In the year 716 Ecgbert, a pious and learned “ presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years “ in his studies in Ireland, which was in that age the prime seat of “ learning in all Christendom, coming from thence to the monas- “ tery of Hy proposed to them anew the Roman way, and having “ better success herein than Adamnan—brought them all over “ to it.”

(51) Bede, *ib.* Having stated that Easter fell in that year on the 24th of April, he observes that it was never before celebrated at Hy on the corresponding day of any year. In this he was right; for, according to the old Irish cycle, it could not have been put off as late as the 24th of April. (See Smith's *Dissertation.* &c. No. 9, *App.* to Bede.)

§. v. Dunchad died in 717 on the 25th of May, (52) the day on which his festival was usually kept, although it seems that his memory was revered in some places on the 24th of March. The immediate successor of Dunchad at Hy was, as well as I can find, Foelchuo Mac-Dorbene, who lived until 721. (53) To the year 717 is also assigned a curious circumstance, which has not as yet been sufficiently explained. It is the *expulsion of the family of Ia beyond the Dorsum Britanniae* (Drum-albin) by the

king Nectan. (54) *Ia* is generally supposed to mean the island of Hy; and *king Nectan* was certainly the same as Naiton the Pictish king, who had received the Roman cycle, &c. since 710, and to whom the abbot Ceolfrid had written his learned epistle. (55) For the reign of Naiton, *al. Naitan*, or *Nectan*, began in 710 and continued until 725. (56) But by the *family of Ia* we cannot understand the monks residing in Hy, (57) whereas Nectan had no jurisdiction over that island, as it belonged not to his but to the Scottish kingdom in Britain. (58) Or if by some chance, which by the bye cannot even be guessed at, he had got possession of Hy, how could it be said that he *expelled* its monks *beyond* Drum-albin? In this case he would, instead of expelling them, have brought them over to his own kingdom, which lay to the N. and N. E. of those mountains, and was separated by them from the Scottish, to which Hy was adjacent, lying to the South and South-West. (59) There is not a word in any old document, either Irish or British, of any expulsion, dispersion, or persecution of the resident monks of Hy in those times; and that they remained undisturbed in 717, and until after the reign of Nectan, is evident from the circumstance of Egbert having lived quietly among them from 716 to 729. Therefore the *expulsion of the family of Ia* means nothing more than that Nectan sent out of his kingdom some Columbian monks, *that is*, of the family or order of Hy, and made them cross Drum-albin on their way to the Scottish territories. What was his reason for this proceeding it is difficult to conjecture. It has been supposed that some Columbians, stationed in Pictland, refused to submit to the general orders he had issued for the adoption of the Roman cycle, &c. and that in consequence he expelled them from his kingdom. (60) But why wait until 717 to thus rigorously enforce said orders, which had been published in 710, or, at the latest, early in 711? If

the cause of the expulsion of those monks in 717 was their opposition to the Roman practices, it will follow that they disobeyed not only the king, but likewise their superiors of Hy, who had received them in the preceding year. That such was the case it is difficult to believe; (61) and some other reason must be looked for, why Nectan was displeased with those monks. The probability is that they arraigned his conduct on some matters of a different nature, and that he was dissatisfied with their freedom of remonstrance. (62) Nectan does not appear to have had any dispute with the abbot or monastery, whereas during his reign and after it the abbot continued to exercise his usual ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the countries inhabited by his subjects the Northern Picts. (63) From what has been hitherto stated it is clear, that it is a most absurd mistake to suppose, that the monks expelled by Nectan were those, who inhabited the island of Hy. (64)

(52) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 499 and *AA. SS.* p. 745. The year marked by the 4 Masters is 716, which was also that of the Ulster Annals justly changed by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) into 717. Besides such change being authorized by the usual chronological system followed in both these Annals, there is a particular reason for it in this case; whereas it is known from Bede, &c. that the year, in which the monks of Hy, then governed by Dunchad, received the Roman cycle, &c. was 716, and on the 29th of August. Now, as Dunchad died on a 25th of May, instead of *A.* 716, we must read *A.* 717.

(53) See 4 Masters and *Tr. Th. ib.* and compare with *Not.* 46. The Annals of Ulster (in Johnston's Extracts after *Antiq. Celto Norm.*) after mentioning the change of Easter at *A.* 715 (716) place at said time the accession to Hy of Faolan M'Dorbene (or Foelchus) Thus it would seem, that Dunchad resigned the administration some months before his death, as I find stated in a MS. note to *Tr. Th.* p. 499.

(54) Usher p. 702. and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 717, from the Annals of Ulster.

(55) See Bede, *L. 5. 21. al. 22.*

(56) Chalmers, *Caledonia, vol. 1. p. 206.*

(57) Usher seems to have been of that opinion; but he had not sufficiently inquired into the subject.

(58) See *Not. 146 to Chap. xi.*

(59) See *Not. 151. to Chap. xi.*

(60) Of this opinion is Mr. Chalmers, who says, (*Caledon. Vol. 1. p. 397.*) that Nectan expelled many of the Columbians, who officiated among the Northern Picts, and adhered to their ancient practices. Bede observes, (*L. 5. c. 21. al. 22.*) that Nectan, or Naiton, promulgated his command for the observance of the Roman computation of Easter, immediately after he had agreed to it himself, and accordingly in the year 710, or very soon after it. (See Smith's notes, *ib.*)

(61) Bede, who was living in these very times, and is very minute in every thing relative to the reception of the Roman cycle, &c. speaks (*ib.*) in glowing terms of the unanimity, with which it and the Roman tonsure were submitted to by *all* the clergy and *monks* throughout the Pictish provinces, without as much as hinting at any opposition.

(62) Keating states (*B. 2. p. 46.*) that "Nectan expelled from his dominions a convent of monks, who presumed to reprehend his conduct, and by that means excited discontent among his subjects." That he meant the same expulsion as that of the Annals of Ulster is clear from his placing it in the year, in which was fought the battle of Cloch-Mionuire between the Britons and Dalriadans (of Britain), which is assigned in said Annals to A. D. 716. *i. e.* 717. (See Johnston's *Extracts, &c.*)

(63) Bede, who brought down his Ecclesiastical history to A. 731, that is, six years after the death of Nectan, makes mention of this jurisdiction as existing at the time he was writing it. (See *ib. L. 3. c. 4.* and compare with *Not. 234 to Chap. xii.*)

(64) Dr. Ledwich says, (*Antiq. &c. p. 66.*) "by the instigations of Ceolfrid, abbot of Girwy, Naitan, king of the Picts, expelled the Culdees from Hy. This happened A. D. 717." As to his pretended *Culdees*, by whom he meant the monks of Hy, we shall see elsewhere. Had he merely stated that Naitan expelled the monks from Hy, we might consider his assertion as the mistake of one, who had not studied the subject. But his adding

that this was done by the instigations of Ceolfrid shows a peculiar malignity and indifference about truth. Upon what authority could he found this charge? The only account we have of any correspondence between Nectan and Ceolfrid is that of the letter written by the latter, which still exists at full length, and which does not contain a syllable of instigation against the monks of Hy or any other Columbians. Is it because Ceolfrid, in said letter, instructed Nectan as to the Roman cycle, &c. and thereby contributed to his adoption of them? Was this an instigation or instigations to persecution? If Ceolfrid excited the king to punish the monks of Hy, why was his vengeance delayed from 710, in which the letter was received, until 717? Or will the Dr. pretend that it was in the very year 717 that Ceolfrid instigated him? He may, to be sure, invent what stories he thinks fit for his purposes; but he ought, at least, to make them appear not quite improbable. So then in 717, the year marked by the Dr. himself, Ceolfrid prevailed upon Nectan to expell the monks from Hy. Pray, for what? It could not be for the reason meant by our antiquary, viz. their adhesion to the old Irish practices; for, as Ceolfrid well knew, they had exchanged them in 716 for his favourite Roman ones. What then was their crime? Surely the Dr. cannot be so stupid as to think that Ceolfrid and Nectan fell foul of them, because they had come over to their own party. His moans on the downfall of the seminary of Hy, which, he says, expired on this occasion, are absolutely nonsensical. That seminary neither expired at that time, for it flourished for centuries after, nor did it change its tenets, unless the time of celebrating Easter and the form of the tonsure are to be considered as dogmas of religion.

I cannot but here animadvert, although it does not appertain to Irish history, on a similar false assertion of the Doctor, (*ib.*) viz. that Aldhelm, who flourished in the latter part of the seventh century and died early in the eighth, "excited Ina, the West Saxon king, against Gerontius prince of Cornwall, because he and his subjects preserved the faith at first taught them." Upon what foundation he could build this falshood it is difficult to conceive, unless he alluded to the epistle written by Aldhelm to Gerontius, in which he endeavoured to prove that the Britons were wrong in adhering to their Paschal cycle, &c. But what has this to do with the wars between Gerontius and the West Saxons under their king

Ina? Or where can it be found, that Aldhelm excited Ina to carry them on? The Doctor, with unblushing audacity refers to Cressy, who has quite the reverse of his assertion. For Cressy, after giving a translation of Aldhelm's epistle (*B. xix. ch. 17.*) observes, that the Saxons did not use any violence against the Britons; and, speaking (*B. xxi. ch. 10.* the very part of his work pointed out by Ledwich) of the war between Ina and Gerontius, has not a word about Ina's having been urged on by Aldhelm, while, on the contrary, he states that it is not easy to know the cause of the quarrel, and that Gerontius was the aggressor, who, he adds, perhaps thought he might take Ina unawares as being then employed in acts of piety. Of all writers in the world the Dr. should not on this occasion have directed us to Cressy.

§. VI. This would be the place to treat of St. Rudbert or Rupert, bishop of Worms and afterwards of Saltzbourg, who died in 718, were there any reason to believe that he was a native of Ireland. But, as it is certain that he was not, and very probable that he had no Irish connexions, (65) I shall leave an account of him to the ecclesiastical historians of France and Germany.

St. Cele Christus, or Christicola died in 722. (66) He was a native of Ulster, and is said to have belonged to a branch of the Nialls. Having left his own province, he went to a western part of Leinster, called *Hidonchadha*, where he erected an oratory, which from his name has been called *Kill-cele-chriost*. It is said that he travelled with some other persons to Rome. In several Irish calendars his name is marked at the 3d of March with the title of *bishop of Kill-cele-chriost*. He had a brother named Comgall, who was abbot of Both-chonais in Inishowen, and whose memory was revered there on the 4th of September (67)

In these times the archbishop of Armagh was Suibhne or Sweeny, the successor of Flan Febhla, (68) who died in 715 on the 24th of April. (69) Suibhne was son of one Cronnmail, and held the

see for 15 years, as he lived until 730. During his incumbency some distinguished men departed this life at Armagh; in 721 Colman surnamed *Huamachensis*, who wrote some Acts of St. Patrick; (70) in 726 Eochod Mac-Colgan, an anchorite of that city; in 727 Ferdornach, a scribe or writer; and in 728 Dochuma, surnamed Bolgan, an anchorite. (71)

St. Cronan, bishop of Lismore, who was probably the immediate successor of St. Colman, (72) died in 718, and his memory was revered on the first of June. (73) Next after him we find in that see Colman O'Liathain, a celebrated doctor, who died in 726, (74) and, I dare say, on a 25th of July. (75) To the same year 726 is assigned the death of St. Adannan, bishop of Rathmuighe in Dalriada, (76) a part of the now county of Antrim, and also that of Dachonna, bishop of Connor. (77) In said year died St. Manchen of Leighlin, who was, in all probability, at least abbot there; a St. Colman of Telach-uallen, perhaps Tullihallen, a place in the county of Louth; and a St. Bree, surnamed the *Wise*. (78)

(65) Colgan has (at 27 *Mart.*) from among other Lives of St. Rupert, published by Canisius, a very fabulous one, in which this saint is said to have been baptized in Ireland by St. Patrick, to have gone to the continent with St. Erentrudis, and one Trudbert, whom it calls sister and brother of his, and to have died in 623. It would be very strange that a person, baptized by our Apostle, could have lived until this year; and Colgan's substituting in this case a Patrick junior for the great one, is a pitiful evasion not worth attending to. And who will believe that *Rudbert*, &c. were the names of persons born in Ireland? The Bollandists not only rejected this Life, but observe (at said day) that they would not even mention it, had it not led astray Colgan and Le Cointe in his *Annal. Eccl. Fr.* They have given us two other Lives of St. Rupert, which appear tolerably correct, and in which there is not a word about Ireland, nor of what is said in the faulty one (fol-

lowed on this point by several writers) concerning this saint having been of the royal blood of Ireland as well as of France, to which latter hereally belonged. In the *Acta Bened.* (Sec. 3. Part. 1.) there is a short but very ancient and correct Life, in which neither Ireland, nor its blood royal is even hinted at. Yet I will not deny that St. Rupert might by his maternal line have been connected with some Irish princes; but it will not hence follow that he should be reckoned among the Irish saints. Mabillon (*ib. Elog. Histor.*) shows that he died in 718. The Office of St. Rupert, patched up by Burke, (*Offic. propr.* at 27 March) but which is not used in Ireland, is taken from the fabulous Life and from Colgan's conjectures. It is odd, that among the authorities mentioned at the head of this Office we find the name of Bollandus, *i. e.* the Bollandists, notwithstanding the scornful manner in which they speak of that Life. As to St. Erentrudis, who was a niece, not sister, of St. Rupert, and to Trudbert, whoever he was, I need not tell the reader, that their history has nothing to do with Ireland.

(66) 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS.* at 3 *Mart.*) where he treats of this saint. Their date is 721, *i. e.* 722.

(67) See Colgan, *Acts of Cele-Christus, ib. p.* 454.

(68) See *Chap. xviii. §. 13.*

(69) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh.*

(70) *Tr. Th. p.* 172 and 294. See also *Chap. III. §. 5.*

(71) *Ib. p.* 294. Colgan prefixes *saint* to all their names. I have added a year to each of his dates.

(72) See above §. 1.

(73) *AA. SS. p.* 303. Colgan has from the 4 Masters *A. 717* (718). Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Lismore*) have confounded Cronan of Lismore with Cronan, son of Nethsemon, of whom Colgan treats at 9 February, (*p.* 302. *seqq.*) and who, he thought, was the bishop Cronan that paid a visit to Columbkil in Hy. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. xi.*) He expressly distinguishes him from Cronan of Lismore and for a very just reason, *viz.* that their times were far different. It is therefore strange that Ware, who had the *AA. SS. loc. cit.* before his eyes, and where he found mention made of the son of Nethsemon, could have fallen into such a mistake, which cannot be accounted for except by his having read too cursorily what Colgan has about these Cronans. Archdall

(at *Lismore*) has only a part of Ware's mistake ; for he does not call Cronan of Lismore *son of Nethsemon*, but he says that he died on the 9th of February. Now this day is assigned in the calendars not to his death but to that of the son of Nethsemon.

(74) *AA. SS. p. 149.* and *Ind. Chron. ib. ad A. 725. i. e. 726.*

(75) Colgan, when mentioning the death of Colman O'Liathain, does not give us the day of it, or of his commemoration. Yet he might have easily found either one or the other in the Calendar of Cashel, which he quotes *ib. p. 155.* This calendar has at 22 January Colman Hua Beogna of Lismore, that is, the older Colman, of whom above §. 1. Then at 25 July it has Mocholmoc or Colman O'Liathain a comorban or successor of St. Mochudda (Carthag) of Lismore. Colgan very oddly imagined that these two Colmans were but one person, viz. the Colman of 22 Jan. and that the 25th of July was a second festival, perhaps of translation, &c. in honour of him. I do not know what reason he could have had for thinking so, except that the Colman at 25 July was called *Mocholmoc*, which name was often given to the older Colman. But surely every St. Colman might have been called *Mocholmoc.* (See *Not. 12.*) That in said calendar two distinct Colmans were meant is evident not only from the difference of the days marked, but still more from the former being surnamed *Hua-Beogna*, and the latter *O'Liathain*, the very Colman that died in 726. Whether the 25th of July was his *Natalis*, *i. e.* the anniversary of his death, or a day of commemoration, I cannot decide ; but, considering the usual practice in the calendars, it is more probable that it was the *Natalis.*

(76) *AA. SS. p. 377.* and *Ind. Chron. ib. ad A. 725 (726).* Concerning the see of Rathmuighe, which was very ancient, see *Chap. vii. §. 6. Not. 58.* and *Not. 256. to Chap. x.*

(77) *AA. SS. Ind. Chron. ad A. 725.* Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Connor*) have retained this date, but might have safely changed it into 726.

(78) 4 Masters and Colgan, *ib.*

§. VII. Foelchuo or Faolan Mac-Dorbene, abbot of Hy, who, according to one account, died in 721,

(79) and, according to another, in 724, was succeeded by Killen or Killin, surnamed *fada* or *long*. (80) Concerning this Killen I can find nothing particular, except that he is said to have died in 726. (81) The next abbot, whom we meet with after him, was another Killen, surnamed *Droichtheach*, who lived until about 750.

To the year 727 is affixed the death of Aelchu, abbot of Clonard. (82) It is not improbable that he was also bishop of that place. At least his predecessor Dubdan O'Foclan was, being expressly styled bishop and abbot of Clonard, and who died in 717. (83) In the same year 727 died St. Muredach, bishop of Mayo, and son of Indrect, who is supposed to have been one of the Indrects kings of Connaught in those times. (84)

According to some writers St. Muredach survived St. Gerald called *of Mayo*; but it is more than probable that he died before him. The history of St. Gerald is extremely confused, and interspersed with monstrous fables. (85) This much is certain that he was an Englishman, and superior of the establishment, which Colman, after his return from Lindisfarne, formed at Mayo for the English, who had followed him to Ireland. (86) If Gerald was one of those, who left Lindisfarne together with Colman, (87) he must have been very young at that time; for Colman's departure from that place was in 664, and Gerald lived until 732. Supposing him to have been in 664 only about sixteen years old, it may be admitted that he belonged to that party; but as the persons who accompanied Colman are spoken of as men and actual monks, (88) it is much more probable that Gerald came over to Ireland on some later occasion; whereas the monastery of Mayo continued to be resorted to by English and students for a long time after Colman's death. (89) Gerald is said to have, on his arrival in Ireland, and before he was placed at Mayo, presided over some monks at *Eliteria*,

(90) which, if this be true, was probably a cell belonging to the house of Mayo. According to this statement, he could not have been one of Colman's first English followers, who, as is well known, were *all* fixed by him in said house. At what time he became superior at Mayo is not known; and it probably was not prior to the seventh century. (91) His death is assigned on the best authority to A. D. 732, (92) and, according to several concurrent accounts, to the 13th of March. (93) In some Irish documents St. Gerald is called *bishop*; but it is very doubtful whether he was entitled to this appellation. (94)

(79) 4 Masters, as above *Not.* 53.

(80) It is stated in the Annals of Ulster (Johnston's *Extracts.*) that Killin-fada succeeded Faolan Mac Derbene in 723 *i. e.* 724.

(81) The 4 Masters and Colgan *Tr. Th.* p. 499. Their date 725 may, as usual, be supposed the same at 726.

(82) *AA. SS.* p. 407.

(83) *Ib.* I have added a year to the dates thus given.

(84) *AA. SS.* p. 605. The 4 Masters assign Muredach's death to 726, *i. e.* 727. Archdall (at *Mayo*) without any authority, instead of *Bishop*, calls him *abbot*.

(85) Colgan has published (at 13 *Mart.*) a Life of St. Gerald from a MS. of the monastery of the Island of all saints in Loughree, the author of which he thought was perhaps Augustin Magraidin. But it is clear from some genuine tracts written by Magraidin, he could not be the author of this barbarous stuff. The Bollandists, in their observations (at said day) on St. Gerald, justly declare it to be full of nonsense and intolerable. Besides many fooleries it abounds in anachronisms.

(86) See *Chap.* xviii. §. 2.

(87) That he was one of them is stated in the so called Life of St. Gerald, and hence Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26.) places him among them. But he omits the ridiculous fable of Gerald having been abbot of Winchester, as if there were Columbians in that city, and of his having brought along with him, in Colman's suite, three brothers of his, and three thousand other worthy Englishmen.

The latter part of this nonsense has been copied by Archdall (at *Mayo*.) Now we know from Bede (see *Chap.* xviii. §. 2.) that Colman was followed by only about thirty Englishmen to Ireland.

(88) See Bede, *L.* 4. c. 4.

(89) See Bede, *ib.* and above *Chap.* xviii. §. 2 *Not.* 13.

(90) *Life*, *cap.* 7. Colgan observes (*AA.* SS. p. 693.) that there was in the diocese of Tuam, to which that of Mayo has been annexed, a chapel called *Kill-an-elitheir*, that is the cell of the pilgrim or foreigner, and that this might have been what in the *Life* is called *Eliteria*. It was perhaps a cell depending on Mayo, as was probably also a church in same diocese called *Tech-Sasson*, the house of Saxons or Englishmen.

(91) If we could place any confidence in the *Life*, Gerald would have been abbot of Mayo before the death of Adamnan; for it states (*cap.* 15.) that he was, when presiding there, visited by him. But, even admitting that such a visit took place, it will not follow that he was abbot before the 7th century; for Adamnan was in Ireland as late as the year 703 (see above §. 3.) during which he might have called upon Gerald. Colgan remarks (*AA.* SS. p. 604.) that Gerald's name does not appear among those of the persons, who attended the synod of 697, (see *Chap.* xviii. §. 14.) although that of Egbert, likewise an Englishman, does. His object was to show, that Gerald was then dead; but, as he was undoubtedly alive at that time and for many years after, Colgan ought to have concluded that Gerald was not as yet an abbot or much distinguished in the year 697.

(92) The *Annals of Ulster*, in which he is called *Geralt pontifex Saxonum Campi Heo* (Magh-Heo), place his death in 731, *i. e.* 732, to which year it is affixed also by Tigernach in these words; "Pontifex Muighe-heo Saxonum Garailt obiit." It is singular that Usher, having quoted these authorities, (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 697.) has preferred to them that of the lying *Life* of Gerald, in which we are told that after his death Adamnan of Hy governed the church of Mayo constantly and *indefatigably* for seven years, until returning to Hy he died there himself. Hence Usher argued that, as Adamnan died in 704, Gerald's death ought to be assigned to 697. But how could he have believed, that Adamnan totally neglected the government of Hy and of the whole Columbian order for seven years, and confine

himself to the monastery of Mayo? Or did he not recollect that Adamnan spent a considerable part of that period in Northumberland, and afterwards in Hy striving to bring over his monks to the Roman cycle, &c. (above §. 3.) and accordingly could not have been *indefatigably* employed at Mayo? Colgan, who scrupled to doubt of what the Life states, followed Usher, adding an argument, which proves nothing more than that Gerald was not abbot of Mayo in 697. (See *Not. prec.*) As to Archdall's bungling (at Mayo) concerning Gerald having not died, but succeeded Colman in 697 (See *Not.* 16 to *Chap.* xviii.) and then placing Adamnan after him, is too slovenly to be honoured with animadversion. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 604.) have Gerald's death at *A.* 726 (727); but their authority is not equal to that of Tigernach or of the Ulster annals. The Bollandists, perceiving that it was ridiculous to make Adamnan of Hy successor of Gerald, suspect that he might have been confounded with another Adamnan. But, as the monastery of Mayo was in those times purely English, it is not easy to believe that any of its abbots was then an Irishman, as an Adamnan would have been. And it is useless to endeavour to prop up any part of that absurd fable.

(93) 4 Masters, Calendars, &c. (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 604.)

(94) Some calendars, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) give him the title of bishop; and we have just seen (*Not.* 92.) that he has been called *pontifex*. Yet in the Life, notwithstanding the great things said of him, he is styled merely *abbot*. The 4 Masters say no more of him than *St. Gerald of Mayo*. According to their statements he could scarcely have been a bishop; for they place his death in 727, the very year to which they assign that of St. Muredach, whom they expressly call *bishop of Mayo*. Surely there were not two bishops there at the same time. Bede, speaking of the monastery of Mayo, as it was circumstanced when he was writing his history, and accordingly down to 731, says (*L.* 4. c. 4.) that the English monks lived there under a canonical or regular abbot. He has nothing about their having among them a bishop, although, in all probability, Gerald was their abbot at the time of his making this observation. I am inclined to think, that his having been called *pontifex*, pontiff of the English, gave rise to the supposition of his having been a bishop. But why did not Tigernach or the compilers of the

Ulster annals plainly call him *episcopus*? The title, *pontifex*, has been often used in an equivocal manner, and sometimes in the same sense as *president* (See Spelman, *Gloss.* and Ducange, at *Pontifex* and *Pontificium.*) It may be, that, as the English were strangers in Ireland, the abbot of Mayo enjoyed some particular privileges as protector of his countrymen.

§. VIII. A holy virgin, named Segretia, is mentioned as having been sister of St. Gerald, and hence some modern writers have concluded that she presided over a nunnery at Mayo. But we have not sufficient authority for either of these statements. (95) That there was a St. Segretia or rather Segnetia in those times, somewhere in Ireland, I do not mean to deny; and we find some other holy women, who were distinguished in the early part of the eighth century, such as St. Samthanna abbess of Clonebrone (96) in the now county of Longford; St. Sebdanna abbess of Kildare, who died in 727, and the next abbess after her St. Affrica, who lived until 739, (97) to which year is assigned also the death of a St. Conchenna daughter of one Kellaigh Chuallan. (98) As scarcely any thing further is, as far as I can discover, known concerning them, an attempt at unravelling their history would be useless.

Suibhne, archbishop of Armagh, having died on the 21st of June in 730 (99) was succeeded by Congus, who held the see for 20 years. He was a native of a place or district called Kinell-Anmire, (100) probably somewhere in Ulster. Congus was a man of learning, (101) and, when archbishop, wrote a poem, in which he exhorted Aedh or Aidus Ollan, king of Ireland, whose confessor he was, to punish Aedh Rony, king of Ulster, for having sacrilegiously attacked and pillaged some churches of the diocese of Armagh. (102)

St. Foeldovar, bishop of Clogher, died in 732 on the 29th of June. (103) He is the first prelate of that ancient see whose times are well known next

after St. Tigernach. (104) St. Tola, bishop of Clonard, died in 734 on the 30th of March, the day on which his anniversary was commemorated. (105) This saint was of the illustrious family of the Galengi, (106) and son of one Dunchad. He led for many years the life of a hermit at a place called from him *Disert-Tola*, and situated either in the southern part of the ancient Meath, or northern part of ancient Munster, and consequently in the now King's county. (107) Afterwards he was raised to the see of Clonard, but in what year is not recorded. It has been said that he was bishop also of Kildare. That this is a mistake may be safely concluded from as much as is known of his transactions. (108) In these times we find a bishop in the small island of Rechran (Rachlinor Raghlin) off the coast of Antrim, Flann son of Kellach. He died in 735, and his memory was revered on the 17th of July. (109) During this period an Irish bishop, named Cumian, who at a very advanced stage of life had retired from Ireland to Bobbio, where he spent his last 17 years in the monastic state, and in a most exemplary manner died there on a 19th of August, aged 95 years and 4 months. He was buried at Bobbio during the reign of the Lombard king Luitprand, which lasted somewhat more than 31 years until 744. This king had such a veneration for Cumian, that he got his tomb adorned with precious stones. It is not known to what part of Ireland he belonged. (110)

(95) It is said in the Life of St. Gerald (*cap.* 15.) that Segretia his sister died, together with one hundred of her nuns, of the great pestilence, *viz.* that of 664; but it is not stated in what place, and her death is mentioned as having occurred while he was at Eliteria, and before he went to Mayo. How could a sister of Gerald have been an abbess before A. 664, or is it to be believed that he was superior of any establishment in Ireland at a time prior to his having set a foot in this country? Colgan observes (*Not. ad loc. p.* 603.) that he could discover nothing re-

lative to this Segretia, unless she was the same as St. Segnetia of a place called *Domnach-Keine*, whose *Natalis* was marked in some calendars at 18 December. Yet afterwards (*p.* 605.) partly in complaisance to Gerald's Life, and partly through conjecture, he makes mention of St. Segretia or Segnetia, with her 100 virgins, as having died at Mayo on an 18th December. He forgot that a little before he had told us that St. Segnetia belonged to *Domnach-Keine*. On those notable grounds Harris has made up a nunnery founded at Mayo in the seventh century by St. Segretia, and has been followed by Archdall.

(96) See *AA. SS.* *p.* 347.

(97) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 629. I have added a year to its dates. In the Ulster annals the death of St. Affrica or Afreca of Kildare is assigned to to A. 744 (745.)

(98) *AA. SS.* *p.* 607.

(99) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 294. and Ware, *Bishops at Armagh*.

(100) Ware (*ib.*) has understood the *Kinell-Anmire* of *Tr. Th.* as the name of a man, from whom Congus was descended, or as Harris has it, leaving out *Kinell*, from whose stock he was sprung. But the words, "*De Kinell Anmire oriundus fuit*," seem to point rather to a district than to a man; and there were several tracts in Ireland, whose names began with *Kinell*. It is true that its original meaning was progeny or clan; but it came to be used for the territories, in which such clans lived *ex. c.* *Kinell-Conail*, *Kinell Enda*, &c. in like manner as the Irish word *Clann* (children, family, &c.) whence *Claneboys*, *Clanrickard*, &c. *Kinell-Anmire* may certainly be explained by *Clan of Anmire*, and I will not object to the supposition that Congus was a member of that clan. But who said *Anmire* was I cannot tell, unless perhaps was meant *Anniræus* formerly monarch of Ireland.

(101) Congus is called (*Tr. Th. ib.*) a scribe, a title given in Ireland, as Colgan observes (*ib.* and *p.* 631.) to men of letters, professors, and particularly to authors. See also Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 17.

(102) *Tr. Th.* *p.* 294. Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh and Writers*.

(103) 4 Masters and *AA. SS. p. 742.* Their date is 731, *i. e.* 732.

(104) We have seen (*Not. 5. to Chap. XII.*) that with regard to old times, no attention is due to the registry of Clogher, which has been followed by Ware.

(105) Colgan treating of St. Tola (at 30 March *p. 793.*) quotes the 4 Masters, who assign his death to 733 (734). As to the day of it, which was omitted by them, he does not (*ib.*) expressly mark it, only observing, that his memory was revered on the 30th of March; but elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 407.*) we read, according to his printed text, that Tola died on the 3d of March. This must be a typographical error for 30; whereas Colgan states that he has taken from the calendars of all the obitual days, the *Natalis* of the several saints, whom he names in this part of the *AA.* Now all the calendars, referred to by him at *p. 793,* have Tola's name only at the 30th of March, and it is plain that Colgan considered it as his *Natalis.* This mistake of the printer (one of the thousands, which have greatly injured Colgan's works,) led astray Ware, (*Bishops at Meath*) who accordingly assigned Tola's death to the 3d of March. Besides this mistake Ware fell into another, for which Colgan is not to blame, although he professed to follow him; for, instead of 733, which Colgan has every where for the death of Tola, he, or his printer, has given us 732.

(106) The family of the Galengi inhabited, I suppose, some of the districts called Galenga or Gallen. There was a Gallen or Galian, which comprized a very great part of the Queen's county and of the counties of Carlow and Kildare. Considering the situation of the place, in which, as will be just seen, St. Tola commenced his career, it is not improbable that he was a native of that territory.

(107) Colgan observes, that the Calendar of Cashel places Disert-Tola in Meath, while, according to every other authority, it was in upper Dalcassia, that is, the northern part of Munster. He justly remarks that it lay perhaps at the boundary of both provinces. In former times Meath and Munster met each other in what is now called the King's county, which has been made up of districts that belonged to these provinces. That Disert-Tola was in the now barony of Garrycastle in said county may, I think,

be deduced from the circumstance, related by the 4 Masters at *A. D.* 1034, of Carten lord of Dealbhna having been killed by some of his subjects when entering the church of Disert-Tola. This Dealbhna was, in all probability, the one sur-named *Eathra*, the M'Coghlan's country, or barony of Garrycastle. (See Harris, *Antiq. ch.* 7. and Seward at *Dealbhna.*)

(108) In St. Tola's *Acts* at 30 March, in which Colgan collected every thing that he could find concerning him, Kildare is not even mentioned. In the passage of the 4 Masters relative to him, there quoted at full length, he is called bishop only of Clonard. The calendar of Cashel has "*St. Tola of Disert-Tola;*" the martyrology of Donegall, "*St Tola bishop and anchoret, of Disert-Tola.*" But in no calendar whatsoever is he said to have belonged to Kildare. Yet at *p.* 407. we find *and of Kildare, et de Kill-dara*, added to the words, *bishop of Clonard.* It is plain that *Kill-dara* has slipped in, instead of *Disert-Tola.* Hence proceeded the mistake of Ware and Harris, who (*Bishops at Meath and Kildare*) make him bishop not only of Clonard, but likewise of Kildare. To show still further that they were mistaken, I may add that in the very minute catalogue, which Colgan has, (*Tr. Th. p.* 629.) of the bishops, abbots, &c. of Kildare, from the beginning down to the 13th century, no St. Tola is reckoned among them.

(109) *Tr. Th. p.* 509. The year there marked from the 4 Masters is 734. *i. e.* 735.

(110) Colgan has this bishop Cumian at 12 January. His reason for treating of him at said day was his having conjectured that he might have been Cumian of Antrim, whose name is in the Irish calendars at said day, and whose death is assigned to *A.* 658. For this conjecture he has not even the appearance of an argument, nor is it consistent with Cumian's having died at Bobbio on a 19th of August, and during the reign of Luitprand, which did not begin until many years after 658. He observes that among all the St. Cumians, bishops or otherwise, not one of them appears in the Irish calendars at 19 August. This is not to be wondered at, whereas the Cumian of Bobbio died far away from Ireland, and all that is known of him is contained in the following epitaph, which our old hagiologists probably never heard of. and of which I have given the substance.

Hic sacra beati membra Cumiani solvuntur,
 Cujus caelum penetrans anima cum Angelis gaudet.
 Iste fuit magnus dignitate, genere, forma.
 Hunc mittit Scotia fines ad Italicos senem ;
 Locatur et Bobio, Domini constrictus amore,
 Ubi venerandi dogma Columbani servando
 Vigilans, ieiunans, indefessus sedule orans,
 Olympiades quatuor, uniusque circulo anni,
 Sic vixit feliciter, ut felix modo credatur.
 Mitis, prudens, pius patribus pacificus cunctis.
 Huic aetatis anni fuerunt novies deni,
 Lustrum quoque unum, mensesque quatuor simul.
 Ac pater egregiè potens intercessor existe
 Pro gloriosissimo Luitprando rege, qui tuum
 Pretioso lapide tumbam decoravit devotus.
 Sic ut manifestum alnum ubi tegitur corpus
 — est hic dominus Cumianus episcopus
 Quartodecimo Calend. Septemb. fecit Joannes Magister.

Colgan would fain refer the words, *Quartodecimo Calend. Septemb.* not to the death of Cumian, but to the day on which John Magister worked at the epitaph. This would be a strange mode of explaining the days marked on such monuments, nor would it have occurred to Colgan, did he not think it odd that Cumian's name is not in the Irish calendars at 19 August. Mabillon, touching incidentally on Cumian, (*Annal. &c.* at *A. 722.*) understood the *14 Calend. Sept.* as relative to his death, observing at the same time that in the calendar of Bobbio his festival was assigned not to that day *i. e.* 19 August, but to the 9th of June. His adding that Cumian spent more than 20 years in that monastery is, I think, a mistake founded on his having reckoned the four Olympiads as each consisting of five years, a mode of computing, which he had erroneously followed in making up the age of St. Columbanus. (See *Not. 69 to Chap. XIII.*)

§. ix. Flahertach, monarch of Ireland, who, as we have seen, (111) retired in 734 to a monastery in Armagh, was succeeded by Aedh or Hugh IV. sur-named Ollain, son of the king Fergall. He reigned

for nine years until he was killed in the battle of Kells A. D. 743, fighting against Domnald, who was then raised to the throne. This Domnald, the third monarch of his name, was son of Murdach a great grandson of Colman prince of Meath, who was a son of the monarch Diermit I. Having reigned 20 years, Domnald went on a pilgrimage to Hy, where he died late in 763. His successor was Niell Fras-sach, or the *cloudy*, a brother of Aedh Ollain, who after a reign of seven years retired to Hy, became a monk there, and lived until 778. The next monarch was Donnchad, or Donagh, a son (born in 733) of Domnald III. He ascended the throne in 770, and held it for 27 years. His reign is remarkable for its having been that, during which the Danes began to infest the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. (112)

The Church history of Ireland during these reigns presents us with a much smaller number of persons distinguished by sanctity or learning, and of interesting facts, than we have met with in former periods. Yet notwithstanding the scanty accounts, that remain of those times, owing either to a neglect in recording transactions or to the destruction and loss of documents, it is certain that ecclesiastical discipline and learning of every sort, such as was cultivated in the eighth century, continued to flourish in this country. Detailed accounts of many holy and learned men of this period cannot be given; but there is no doubt of such, and far from few, persons having adorned it.

A St. Manchin, abbot of Tuaim-gréne (Tomgrany in the county of Clare) died in 735 (736). (113) Aractac, who, although called only abbot of Ferns, was perhaps bishop there, died in 738. (114) To A. D. 742 is assigned the death of St. Cormac bishop of Trim. (115) He is said to have been of the royal house of the Nialls; and his name appears in various calendars at the 17th of February as the anniversary of his death. (116) Three brothers of

his are spoken of; Rumond, a very wise man and deeply skilled in history and antiquities, who died in 743; Baitellach, abbot of Trim, whose death is marked at A. D. 752; and Ossan a priest, the year of whose death is not known. St. Coman, or Comman, author of a Monastic rule, which was extensively followed in Connaught, died in 743, or according to another account in 746. (117) I find him called bishop of Roscommon, (118) where an episcopal see existed during the middle ages; and, as that place, in all appearance, got its name from this St. Coman (119) it is highly probable that he was its first bishop. (120) His memory was revered on the 26th of December. (121) In these times there was a bishop, and apparently the first, at Fore, St. Suarle or Suarlech, who, having succeeded the abbot Dubdaboren in 736, was afterwards raised to the episcopal rank and lived until the 27th of March, A. D. 746. (122)

(111) Above §. 1.

(112) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. III. cap. 93*. See also Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4*. Their accounts as to those kings agree in substance, except that Ware reckons the reign of Donnchad from the year 778, in which Niell Frassach died in Hy, while O'Flaherty makes it begin in 770, the year of said king's withdrawing to that island. And hence instead of 27 years, which O'Flaherty has for his reign, Ware counts only 19. I must here caution the reader against a typographical error in the margin (*ib.*) of the English translation of Ware, in which, instead of 797, the year of Donnchad's death, we find 787. The dates of the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) relative to all those kings are different from O'Flaherty's; but we may be certain that his are the most correct.

(113) *AA. SS. p. 332*.

(114) *Ib. p. 223*. I have changed the date 737 of the 4 Masters into 738. In the 3d *Index, ib.* Arectach is called *bishop* of Ferns. This may have been merely a mistake of the compiler.

(115) Colgan at 17 February, (*p. 361.*) where he treats of this

saint, calls him Cormac *junior*, as if there had been an older Cormac bishop of Trim in the fifth century. That this is a mistake has been shown already (*Chap. VIII. §. 12.*) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan place Cormac's death in 741 (742).

(116) Although in said calendars Cormac, *bishop of Trim*, is expressly mentioned at 17 February, Colgan, in consequence of his supposing that there was an older Cormac also bishop there, has some doubts as to which of them this date belonged. But, as he was mistaken on that point, these doubts are unfounded. At said day the calendars have indeed another Cormac, who was not bishop of Trim, but archbishop of Armagh. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 12.*)

(117) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 791.*) have *A. 742* (743). Ware (*Writers at Coman*) quotes the Annals of Boyle for *A. 746.*

(118) *AA. SS. p. 405.*

(119) We have seen (*Not. 146 to Chap. XII.*) that there is no sufficient reason to admit, that there was a St. Coman at Roscommon in the sixth century, as some writers have supposed.

(120) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 405.*) calls Coman not only bishop, but likewise founder of the church of Roscommon.

(121) *Ib. and p. 791.*

(122) *AA. SS. p. 772 at 27 Mart.* The date from the 4 Masters is 745, *i. e.* 746.

§. x. Albuin, *alias* Wittā or Wittan, one of the fellow labourers of St. Boniface in Germany, and who in 741 was appointed by him bishop of Bura-burg near Fritzlar in Hesse, (123) is said to have been a native of Ireland. (124) The only objection I find to this position is, that, if his original name was *Wittā*, he would seem to have been rather an Englishman. But it may be conjectured, that his real name was *Albuin*, which, to please the German ears, was changed into the corresponding Saxon *Wittā*, *white*. (125) Be this as it may, scarcely any thing else is known concerning him, except that he died on a 26th of October, and has been called the apostle of Thuringia. (126) It is

certain that there were at that period Irish missionaries preaching the Gospel in Germany together with St. Boniface. One of them was the celebrated Virgilius, who afterwards became bishop of Saltzburg, and whose real name was most probably *Feargil*, or perhaps *Feargal*. (127) To what part of Ireland he belonged, or of what family he was, I cannot find any account, except its being said that he was of noble extraction. (128) Having greatly distinguished himself by his piety and learning, (129) he was raised to the priesthood, and, apparently soon after, set out for the continent as a missionary. He had arrived in France before the year 746, (130) where he was most graciously received by Pepin, son of Charles Martel, and as yet only mayor of the palace. (131) He is said to have remained with Pepin, who was greatly attached to him, for two years, at Carisiacum, a princely residence near Compeigne, on the Oise, and thence to have proceeded to Bavaria then governed by the duke Otilo or Odilo, to whom he was strongly recommended by Pepin. This was probably about the year 745. Virgilius was in Bavaria when his disputes began with St. Boniface, whose jurisdiction then extended over that country, as well as over many other parts of Germany. The first instance of them occurs in 746, occasioned by a theological question, to which the ignorance of a priest gave rise. This priest, not understanding Latin, used in administering baptism to say these words; “Baptizo te in nomine *Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sancta*” instead of *Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. Boniface, being informed of it, ordered Virgilius and Sidonius, a companion of his and probably also an Irishman, (132) to rebaptize such persons as that priest had undertaken to baptize. They refused to obey, justly maintaining that the baptisms performed by him were valid, and, to protect themselves against any exercise of Boni-

face's power, gave a full account of the whole matter in a letter which they wrote to Pope Zachary.

(123) See *Epistol. Bonifac.* No. 131, 132, and Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 42. §. 22.*

(124) Trithemius (*De viris illustribus Ord. Ben. &c.*) states, that he had been a monk in Ireland, and that thence, leaving his sweet native country, he passed over to Germany, where he converted numbers of pagans, and became bishop, &c. Arnold Wion (*Lign. Vits.*) calls Albuin an Irishman, and as Trithemius also says in one place, a monk of Hy, who went to Germany, &c. Hence several other authors, among whom Serarius (*Ber. Mogunt. L. 3.*) Usher (*Preface to Ep. Hib. Syll.*) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 610.*) Ware and Harris (*Writers at Albuin*) have considered him as undoubtedly a native of Ireland.

(125) Even admitting that the original name was *Vitta, Witt* or *Wittan*, it might have been an Irish name, although not meaning *white* in the Irish language. His English companions, finding that in their tongue it was like *white*, might have latinized it into *Albinus*.

(126) See *AA. SS. p. 610.*

(127) The Irish *Fear*, sometimes contracted into *Fer*, has in latinizing of names been not seldom changed into *Vir*. For *Fear* in Irish signifies *man*, as *Vir* does in Latin. Thus an abbot of Hy, whose name is constantly written in Irish *Fergna*, is called by Adamnan *Virgnous* through, as Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 451.*) a Latin inflexion. In like manner *Virgilius*, which I find (*ib. p. 800*) given also to an abbot of Aghaboe in the 8th century, and (*ib. p. 107*) to one of Tirdaglas in the 10th, was no other than *Feargil*, or probably *Feargal, Fergal*, now *Ferral*. That the *Virgilius*, who was in Germany during the time of St. Boniface, was the same as the one, who was afterwards raised to the see of Saltzburg cannot, with any sufficient degree of probability, be called in question. His having disagreed with him on some points, in which by the bye *Virgilius* was right, and his being denounced by him to Pope Zachary, is no proof that he was not the holy and learned *Virgilius*, who, after that Pope's death, was considered worthy of being promoted to the episcopal order. Fleury, however, treats of them as two distinct *Virgils*; but Mabillon (at the *Life of St.*

Virgil, *AA. Ben. Sec. 3. part 2.* and *Annal. Ben.* at *A. 747* and *756.*) makes them the same person, and so does Basnage in his edition of Canisius, (*Ant. Lect. Tom. 3. part 2. p. 273.*) I scarcely need add, that Baronius, Usher, Ware, and a crowd of other writers were of the same opinion. Yet Pagi (*Critica &c. ad A. D. 746.*) has endeavoured to show, that the Virgil, with whom Boniface had some disputes, was different from the great bishop of Saltzburg. But, as will be soon seen, his arguments are far from conclusive.

(128) A Life of St. Virgilius has been published by Canisius (*Tom. 3. part 2. Basnage's ed*) and afterwards by Messingham (*Florileg, &c.*) and Mabillon (*Act. Ben. Sec. 3. part 2.* It was written in the 12th century, and consists of two parts; the first biographical, but short, meagre, and inaccurate; the second on miracles wrought at his tomb in various times. This Life begins with these words: *Beatissimus igitur Virgilius in Hibernia insula de nobili ortus prosapia,*" &c. The account given in it of his transactions prior to his being placed on the see of Saltzburg is very imperfect, and that part of his history must be collected from other documents.

(129) All accounts agree, that besides being very religious he was exceedingly learned. In the Life it is said that he might have been considered the most learned among the learned men of his time and climate, meaning, I suppose, the western world. By Bruschius he is styled *vir pietate et doctrina clarus.* He is spoken of in like manner by Hundius and other German writers.

(130) Pagi, *Critica, &c. ad A. 746.*

(131) Some writers have said that Virgilius, on his arrival in France, was received by King Pepin. But this must be understood in a loose sense, inasmuch as Pepin, from being mayor of the palace, was afterwards raised to the throne in 752. Pagi (*loc. cit.*) and Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 756.*) took care to style Pepin only *mayor of the palace* at the time of Virgilius' reception at his court. According to the unchronological manner, in which his arrival in France and his subsequent proceedings until he was consecrated bishop of Saltzburg are related in the Life, it would seem as if he had not been in that country until after 760. Not only Ware and Harris, (*Writers at Virgil*) but likewise Fleury, (*L. 44. §. 3.*) in consequence of following said Life, fell into a great

mistake on this point. Besides calling Pepin *king* at the time of his first receiving Virgilius, they supposed that the saint was not in the continent more than about four years prior to 766, or 767, to each of which years his consecration at Saltzburg has been most erroneously assigned. It will be seen lower down, that he was a bishop many years earlier. But from what is said in the *Life*, and which they copied from it, concerning Virgilius having gone from Pepin's court to Saltzburg in the time of Otilo, duke of Bavaria, these writers ought to have guarded against that mistake; for, as Pagi (*ib.*) observes, Otilo died in 748.

(132) Mabillon says, (*Annals, &c.* at *A.* 747) that Sidonius had perhaps come from Ireland with Virgilius. This is a very probable conjecture; for *Sidonius*, latinized from *Sedna*, frequently occurs as the name of distinguished Irishmen in those ages. Where did Harris find, (*Writers at Virgil*) that this Sidonius, the fellow labourer of Virgilius, was archbishop of Bavaria? It is plain that he was only a priest, and so he is titled in a letter of Pope Zachary, written in 748.

§. XI. The Pope was astonished at the proceeding of Boniface, and immediately wrote to him, expressing the pain he felt at his having issued an order for the rebaptizing of those persons. He cautions him never to act in that manner again, whereas, although the priest's Latin was bad, the baptisms performed by him were valid, and unattended with any circumstances that could authorize the rebaptization of those, whom he had baptized. (133) It seems that Boniface was hurt at Virgilius' having written to the Pope, and consequently treated him with harshness. It has been said, but I suspect without foundation, that Virgilius went on this occasion to Rome. (134) It is certain that he was in Bavaria in 747 and the following year. For in one or other of these years, I believe the former, Boniface denounced him to the Pope, alleging various charges, some of which cannot be easily guessed at. (135) The first was that he used to speak ill of Boniface, because, said Boniface, I have shown that he erred

on Catholic doctrine. But on what point or points Virgilius erred, we are not informed. Another charge was that, conversing with the duke Otilo, he used to sow seeds of hatred between him and Boniface. To these vague accusations he adds, what he must have picked up from false report, that Virgilius said that he was *authorized* (136) by the Pope to obtain the diocese of a deceased bishop, one of the four whom Boniface had ordained in that country. But these are trifles, compared with the horrible crime, of which Virgilius was guilty, by maintaining that there was another world and other men under the earth, that is, under the part of the earth trodden by Boniface. Zachary in his answer, written in 748, passing over the two first charges, denies that he had empowered Virgilius to obtain a diocese, and says that, in case it be proved that he held the doctrine of there being another world and other men under the earth, (137) a synod should be convened, and Virgilius expelled from the church. He adds, that he was then about sending a letter to the duke (Otilo) concerning Virgilius, for the purpose of citing him to appear before himself, and, if convicted of error, of condemning him according to the canons. Then he tells Boniface, that he did not forget what he had written to him (on some other occasion) concerning Sidonius and the *aforesaid* Virgilius. (138) What complaint Boniface had made against them is not stated. Perhaps it was that they were not as obedient to him as he would have wished. Zachary says that he had written a threatening letter to them; and subjoins that Boniface will be believed preferably to them, and that, as he observed above (with regard to Virgilius), he will summon them to appear before the Apostolic see. Whether either Virgilius or Sidonius were actually summoned to attend at Rome, or went thither, or which of the parties was believed in preference to the other, we are not informed; but matters must have been compromised, and a recon-

ciliation have taken place, whereas henceforth nothing whatsoever can be discovered relative to those disputes. (139) Virgilius was abbot of St. Peter's monastery at Saltzburgh before the death of Duke Otilo, (140) which occurred in 748, and seems to have continued in that situation, until he was appointed bishop of said city by Pope Stephen the second and the king Pepin in 756. (141)

(133) This letter of Pope Zachary is at No. 134. of the *Epist. Bonifac.* and may be seen in the *Bibl. Patr. of Lyons, Tom. 13.* Usher has it in *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 16* It begins thus; "Virgilius et Sidonius, *religiosi viri*, apud *Baioariorum* provinciam degentes, suis nos litteris visitarunt."

(134) Pagi holds (at *A. 746*) that Virgilius, *i. e.* the one, whom he distinguishes from the bishop of Saltzburg, went to Rome in said year. His only argument is that in a letter, of which more may be seen directly, of Zachary to Boniface, written in 748, a charge against Virgilius is mentioned, viz. that he said "quod a nobis esset *absolutus*—diocesim obtinere. Pagi explains *absolutus* as signifying *dismissed*; whence he concluded that Virgilius had been at Rome. I think it more probable that *absolutus* must in that passage be understood as meaning *empowered* or *authorized*, according to an acceptation introduced in the middle ages. Thus we find *absolutio* used for *power, liberty, licence*; and *absolutionem facere* for granting power or faculties. It was with reference to this occupation, that Zachary made use of the phrase *absolutus*; for it seems clear from what we read in the same letter a few lines higher up, that he had not as yet seen Virgilius. Alluding to charges brought against him by Boniface, he says that he does not know whether said Virgilius was called a priest, *nescimus si dicatur presbyter*. How could this be, had Zachary been acquainted with Virgilius at Rome? In a former letter (see *Not. prec.*) he called him a *religiosus vir*, that is, a man charged with religious functions, such as he might have been without being a priest, for instance, were he only a deacon. At the time, at least, when Zachary wrote the latter, Virgilius was abbot of the monastery of St. Peter at Saltzburg; but Boniface had not informed the Pope of his rank or situation. I must not dissemble

that also Mabillon thought (*Annal. Ben. ad. A. 747.*) that Virgilius *i. e.* he who afterwards became bishop, went to Rome and returned thence to Bavaria in said year 747. He likewise must have been led astray by the word, *absolutus*.

(135) These charges are known only from Zachary's answer to Boniface *No. 140. ap. Epist. Bonifac.* and 17. in Usher's *Sylloge*. Mabillon supposed (*Annal. &c. ad A. 756.*) that Boniface was displeased with Virgilius, because he had come to Bavaria with recommendations from Pepin, and not by order of Boniface himself, and that he was taken great notice of by the duke Otilo, to which he adds that perhaps Virgilius was not very submissive to him. All this may be true, and joined with the opposition of Virgilius on the baptismal question is fully sufficient to explain why Boniface became so angry with him.

(136) See *Not. 134.*

(137) It is universally admitted that the opinion maintained by Virgilius was no other than that relative to the Antipodes, an opinion founded on the sphericity of the earth, and which in our days even school-boys are acquainted with. It was new to Boniface; for in those times geographical and philosophical learning was not as much cultivated in other parts of the West as in Ireland. His mode of stating that opinion might have misled a Pope even more learned than Zachary, and induced him to think, that Virgilius held that there was a second species of men inhabiting another world distinct from the earth. That Virgilius entertained no such extravagant notion is clear from there not having been any further proceedings on this subject; a circumstance which cannot be accounted for except on this principle, that Virgilius communicated a correct statement of his opinion to Zachary, who accordingly found it to be harmless.

(138) "*Pro Sidonio autem et Virgilio supradicto presbyteris, quod scripsit sanctitas tua, agnovimus.*" It is odd that here he calls not only Sidonius but likewise Virgil a priest, although some lines before he had said, that he did not know whether that same Virgilius was called one. (See *Not. 134.*) Unless there be some error in the text, the reason of this discrepancy must be that in a letter of Boniface concerning Sidonius and Virgilius jointly, and which was different from that in which he brought the above mentioned charge against Virgilius in particular, he gave them the title of *priests*, which he omitted in the other, when com-

plaining of Virgilius alone. By Virgilius Zachary meant throughout the whole letter one and the same person, as is evident from the word *supradicto*.

(139) One of Pagi's arguments to show that the Virgilius, who was accused by Boniface, was different from St. Virgilius of Saltzburg, is, that, in the saint's Life no mention is made of these disputes. But surely he must have known that in works of that kind, particularly such as were made up in the dark ages, silence was usually observed with regard to quarrels between holy men. In fact, the so called Lives of saints, written in those times, are in general panegyric discourses rather than biographical tracts, and every thing is omitted that might throw the least reflection on the conduct of the saint at any time of his life. And as to that of St. Virgilius, Pagi was well aware that it is very imperfect. Among many other circumstances, it has nothing about Virgilius having been abbot at Saltzburg for many years before he was made bishop. It is odd that Pagi, who allows that both his Virgils were in Bavaria in 746, and thenceforth during the disputes with Boniface, did not consider that the Virgilius engaged in them, was, as appears from Zachary's letter of 748, the confidential friend of duke Otilo. Now Pagi himself states that Virgilius, who became bishop of Salzburg, was the one who had been recommended to him by Pepin, and who was afterwards a great favourite. According to his hypothesis we should admit that both the Virgils were greatly esteemed by the duke and quite intimate with him. What necessity is there for such suppositions, unsupported by any thing we find in Pope Zachary's letters, or by the authority of any old document? Pagi seemed to think, that the Virgilius, who was accused by Boniface, was an obscure person of little note; but if he had well examined the letter of 748, he would have found that he was considered at Otilo's court as a man of high consequence.

(140) Mabillon, *Annal. B. ad A. 756*.

(141) Mabillon (*ib.*) shows that this is the true date of Virgilius' appointment to that see, and observes that he was the immediate successor of John, who died in said year 756. Pagi contends (at *A. 746*) that he was bishop of Saltzburg as early as about this year, and it is on this supposition that he chiefly, and

indeed solely, (for his other arguments are good for nothing) grounds his assertion that the bishop was different from the Virgilius, who had disputes with St. Boniface. This should certainly be allowed, were it true that his episcopacy began about 746, whereas it is self-evident that the person accused by Boniface, and suspected of error by Zachary in 748, was not a bishop. Pagi's only argument for making Virgilius a bishop so early is founded on a very ancient epitaph on him, which he met with in Mabillon's *Analecta*, Tom. 4. In it we read, among other lines ;

“ Quique regebat ovans præsantis culmina sedis
Ferre *quater-denos* caris cum fratribus annos.”

Pagi understands the almost forty, *quater-denos*, years here mentioned, as all relative to the episcopal incumbency of Virgilius at Saltzburg. Now, as he died 785, Pagi places the commencement of it in about 746. But Mabillon, who has published said epitaph not only in the *Analecta*, but likewise in the *Annal. B.* (at A. 785) has drawn no such conclusion from it ; for, as above observed, he assigns that commencement to A. 756. And did Pagi imagine, that the old breviaries, *ex. c.* that of Passau, and various writers, where stating that Virgilius was appointed bishop by Stephen the second, and on the postulation of Pepin, when king of the whole French monarchy, were all wrong ? Stephen's pontificate did not begin until 752, the very year in which Pepin was crowned king. To return to the epitaph, the fact is that Pagi was mistaken in his interpretation of it ; for the quoted lines can very well, and, unless equally good documents are to be all rejected, must be explained as relative not only to the years, during which Virgilius was bishop of Saltzburg, but likewise to the previous ones while he governed St. Peter's monastery. Thus it is true, that he was invested with ecclesiastical authority in that city during near forty years, there being every reason to think that he was abbot of St. Peter's as early as 746. As to the opposite extreme of those, who have put off the episcopacy of Virgilius until 766 or 767, it is scarcely worth mentioning ; and let it suffice to observe that Pope Stephen II. by whom he had been instituted, was dead since 757. Harris (*Writers at Virgilius*) fell into a monstrous blunder as to the dates of some of his transactions. Not content with following Ware's

mistake in assigning his consecration as bishop of Saltzburg to 767, he adds, among other inaccuracies, that it was during his episcopacy that he had his controversies with Boniface. Poor Harris did not know, that Boniface suffered martyrdom in 755, and accordingly was dead before even the real date (756) of the episcopacy of Virgilius. Ware himself, although not chargeable with this huge mistake, was very inconsistent in, on one side, supposing that Virgilius had not left Ireland until about 763, (see *Not.* 131) and, on the other, in saying that he and Sidonius wrote a letter to Pope Zachary against Boniface. It is true, as we have seen, that they wrote to Zachary; but this very circumstance ought to have taught Ware, that Virgilius was in the Continent long before 763, whereas Zachary died in 752. There is a ridiculous story, mentioned by Usher, (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No.* 16) of Virgilius having been a bishop before he left Ireland, and of his having gone over to Germany at the same time with St. Kilian of Wurtzburg. It is too absurd to merit refutation; and it is well known that St. Kilian was dead since 689. (See *Chap.* xviii. §. 10.)

§. XII. It is said that Virgilius, although named to that see, and exercising episcopal jurisdiction, deferred his consecration for almost two years, until at length, urged by the other bishops of the province and the clergy and people of his diocese, he submitted to it; and that in the mean time Dobda, or Dobdagreus, a bishop who had accompanied him from Ireland, exercised the necessary episcopal functions in his stead. (142) Some writers have supposed that Dobda was a Greek; but this is, I believe, a mistake originating in the name *Dobda-greus* having been changed by a copyist into *Dobda Grecus* or *Graecus*. (143) According to some accounts, Dobda was placed as bishop at Chiem (Chiempsee in upper Bavaria) by the duke Otilo, and established there a school, which was frequented by a great number of students. (144) Of the further proceedings of St. Virgilius we shall see more hereafter; but chronological order does not allow a continuation of his history in this place. About the same time that he

arrived in Bavaria we find another distinguished Irishman in that country, St. Alto, who has been called a companion of his. (145) He is stated to have been of a very illustrious family, and to have arrived in Bavaria about 743. (146) There he lived for some years as a hermit in a forest about midway between Augsburg and Munich. The fame of his sanctity reached the ears of Pepin, to whom that country was subject, and induced him to make him a grant of a part of the forest, about the year 750, for the purpose of erecting a church and monastery. This grant was very probably made through the interference of St. Virgilius, for whom Pepin, both when mayor of the palace and when king, entertained the highest regard. Alto immediately set about clearing the ground, and, assisted by the people of the neighbourhood, succeeded in completing a monastery and church, which was dedicated by St. Boniface. This monastery was, from Alto's name, called *Alto-munster*, afterwards corrupted into *Alt-munster*. The memory of this holy man was revered on the 9th of February, the anniversary of his death, the year of which is not known. Some tracts have been attributed to him, but on authority not worth attending to. (147) Among other Irish missionaries of this period in Bavaria is reckoned Declan, who is said to have died at Frisingen on, it seems, a first of December. (148)

(142) These particulars are related in the Life of St. Virgilius, and in one of St. Rupert. In the former the bishop, that officiated instead of Virgilius, is called *Dobda*; in the latter, *Dobdagreus*. He is represented as having come from Ireland together with Virgilius; and, if it be true that he got a bishopric from the duke Otilo, this may be admitted, whereas Otilo died in 748.

(143) Hundius in his *Catalogue of the bishops of Saltzburg*, has *Dobda*, or as he calls him, *Dobdan*, a Greek. From him Usher took what he has on this point, (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No. 16.*) and from Usher others have picked it up. *Dobda* would have been a very odd name for a native of Greece, but it was

common in Ireland, being the same as *Dubda*, of which many instances occur in old times particularly as a part of compound appellations. We have already met with *Dubda-borend* abbot of Fore, and *Dubdan O'Foelain* bishop of Clonard. There was a *Dubda-lethe* archbishop of Armagh in the latter end of the eighth century, a *Dubda-lethe*, abbot of Killskire, &c. A person, not accustomed to Irish names, might have easily changed *Dobda-greus* into *Dobda-graecus*; and hence most probably was derived the notion of that bishop having been a Greek. That there were formerly some Greek ecclesiastics in Ireland is clear from there having been, as Usher (*ib.*) observes, a Greek church at Trim, and which was so called as late as his times; but there is not sufficient proof to show that *Dobda* was one of them. Dr. Ledwich, having made mention (*Antiq. p. 172.*) of *Dobda* or *Dobdan* as a Greek, adds to what Usher touched upon, and as if to outstrip him in learning! that *Virgilius* had learned the doctrine of the *Antipodes*, &c. from *Dobdan* and other lettered Greeks and Orientals. Then he says that *Virgilius* must have read *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Proclus*, and *Stobacus*. Yet many a one has held the doctrine, as he terms it, of *Antipodes* without having read *Plutarch*, &c. Next he observes that this “demonstrates the attachment of the Irish to the Greek school and fathers above the Roman.” Pray, were *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, &c. fathers of the Church? Or had the question concerning the *Antipodes* any thing to do with theology? But the Doctor, when he gets upon his hobby horse of Greeks and Orientals, knows nobounds. He was not aware that *Pope Zachary*, who was so much attached to *Boniface*, whom the Dr. would call a Romanist, and who said he would believe him preferably to *Virgilius*, was himself a Greek. How could it happen that he had not some partiality for an Irishman, for a member of that nation, which preferred the Greek schools to the Roman? To be serious, there was no difference in those days between said schools either theological or philosophical, except that the Greeks were, in general, more skilled in the philosophy of the times. The Irish collected information from whatever quarter it could be found in; they studied the works of both Greeks and Latins in every department of knowledge; and it is certain that they were at that period very well versed in Greek learning, and undoubtedly much more so than any other people of Western Europe.

(144) Hundius, *loc. cit.* If Dobda was named to that see by Otilo, he must have been there as early as 748. But Hundius' chronology is perhaps as incorrect on this point as on that relative to Virgilius, whom also he makes bishop of Saltzburg in Otilo's time, adding that he was consecrated in 767, to which year he assigns likewise the opening of Dobda's school and apparently his appointment to Chiem.

(145) In the Acts of St. Alto, which Colgan has endeavoured to make up at 9 February, Brunner is quoted as stating (*Annal. Boior.*) that Alto had accompanied Virgilius, "*ex eiusdem comitatu.*" This was perhaps founded merely on the circumstance of Alto's having been in Bavaria at least as early as Virgilius.

(146) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 743. Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p.* 302.) that *Alto* was rather a usual name in Ireland, as appears from old genealogies. St. Brendan of Clonfert was grandson of one Alto, and accordingly was surnamed by Adamnan *Mocu-Alti.*

(147) Dempster, besides striving to make Alto a Scotchman, because he is said to have been born in *Scotia*, as if the *Scotia* of those times were not Ireland, has forged the names of certain books as written by him, which, observes Colgan, nobody else has a word about.

(148) See *AA. SS. p.* 302. and Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No.* 16.

§. XIII. To the year 747 (149) are assigned the deaths of the following distinguished and pious ecclesiastics; Moelimarchan, bishop of Ectrum; (150) Nuad or Nuadat, abbot of Clones; Cuangus, surnamed *Mac-dall*, a man of eminent sanctity and learning, and abbot of Liethmore, where his festival was celebrated, together with that of the founder St. Pulcherius, on the 13th of March; (151) Colman surnamed *Britannicus*, apparently from his having spent some time in Britain or having been a British Scot, son of one Foilan, and abbot of Slane; Fursey or Fursa, abbot of Lecan, now Leckin in Westmeath; Losclag, surnamed *Wise*; Eochod of Killtoma, somewhere in said district; (152) Keledulass of

Devenish ; and Macoge of Lismore, who was perhaps bishop of that see.

In the following year 748, and on the third of July, is said to have died Killen Droichtheach, abbot of Hy. (153) He was succeeded by Failbe, the second abbot of that name, concerning whom I find nothing particular, except that his death is assigned to the 10th of March A. D. 755 ; that he was then in the 87th year of his age ; and that he was succeeded by Sleben, son of Congal, of the race of Conall Gulbanus. (154)

Congus, archbishop of Armagh, having governed the see for 20 years, (155) was on his death in 750 succeeded by Kele-Petrus, a native of Hi-Bressail, now Clanbrassil in the county of Armagh, whose incumbency lasted until 758, when he died and had for successor Ferdachrich son of one Suibne. (156) Flahertach, who had been king of Ireland, and became a monk at Armagh, died there in 761. (157) In the same year died Tola, abbot, and perhaps bishop, of Ardraccan ; as also Folachtach, abbot of Birr ; Loarn, abbot of Clonard ; Kellbil, abbot of Cluain-bronich ; (158) and Alild, abbot of Mungret ; concerning all of whom nothing further is known.

In these times flourished St. Melle or Meila, the mother of two holy men, Cannech, a priest, and Tigernach, an abbot. (159) Having lost her husband, she determined on leading a religious and retired life. Tigernach had just erected a monastery, close to the lake Melge (Lough-Melve in the county of Leitrim), which he made over to her, proceeding himself to another place. Melle here collected a number of pious females, whom she governed as abbess for many years. There is no account of the precise time of her death ; but it appears to have been prior, by some years, to 787. She is mentioned twice in the Calendars, viz. at the 9th and 31st of March, under the name of *St. Melle of Doire-Melle*,

that is, the oak grove of Melle, by which appellation that nunnery has been distinguished.

(149) 4 Masters, and Colgan *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.* Their date is 746, *i. e.* 747.

(150) Colgan's text has *Episcopus Ectrumensis*. I cannot find a place called *Ectrum*. It is very probable that *Ectrumensis* is an erratum for *Endrumensis* or *Aendrumensis*, and that Antrim was the see of this bishop.

(151) Colgan gives a short account of St. Congus at 13 March, *p.* 607.

(152) See Archdall at *Kiltoma*.

(153) The 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th.* (*p.* 500) have 747 (748). Smith (*Append. to Life of St. Columba*) refers to the Annals of Ulster as placing this Killen's death in 751. In Johnston's Extracts from said annals I do not find even his name mentioned.

(154) 4 Masters and *Tr. Th. ib.* Their date 754 (755) for Failbe's death does not agree with the Annals of Ulster, which, as they appear in Johnston, make mention of Suibhne as abbot in 753 (754). It is also to be observed, that according to his reading there would be no room for the abbot Sleben, whom the 4 Masters and Colgan make the immediate successor of Failbe and next before Suibhne. I suspect that Johnston mistook the text of said Annals, and that he confounded Sleben with his successor Suibhne. Thus, instead of *Suibhne*, as abbot in 754, we ought to read *Sleben*.

(155) See above, §. 8.

(156) 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th. p.* 294. I have added, as also Ware has done, a year to their dates.

(157) *Ib.* The year there marked is 760, *i. e.* 761.

(158) In the Topographical Index to *AA. SS. Cluain-bronach* is marked as the same place with Clonbrone in the county of Longford. But *Cluain-bronach* must have been different from it, whereas at Clonbrone there was only a nunnery. *Cluain-bronach* was probably the same as *Cluainbraoin* near the town of Louth, where the memory of a St. Dichuli was held in veneration. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 115.) Archdall would have done better, had he assigned Kellbil to this place rather than to Clonbrone, where he has him in a list of abbesses. It may perhaps be

said, that Colgan does not expressly call him an abbot ; but, as he uses the word, *abbot*, just before, when naming Loarn, it is difficult to suppose that this title was not meant as applicable also to Kellbil. In like manner we find in the passage, where those persons are mentioned together (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) as having died in 760 (761), that Tola is not called either abbot or bishop ; yet elsewhere (*ib. p. 793.*) Colgan gives him the title of *antistes* of Ardbraccan.

(159) Colgan has a short and imperfect account of St. Mella at 31 March. He thinks that St. Cannech, her son, was the same as the Cannech, whose name is in the Calendars at said day.

§. XIV. Ferdachrich, who, as we have seen, became archbishop of Armagh in 758, held that see for about ten years, and dying in 768, seemingly in the month of May, (160) was succeeded by Foendelach, or Foennelach, (161) the son of one Moenach. Sleben, abbot of Hy, died in 763 ; and his memory was revered on the 2d of March. His successor was Suibhne the second, who governed the Columbian order until 768, or, according to some, 772, the year of his death. This Suibhne's name is in the calendars at 22 June. (162) He had been in Ireland on, as may be supposed, a visitation of the Columbian monasteries in 767. (163) St. Aedgen, bishop of Fore, died in 767 (164) after which I do not find any bishop named from that place until about 100 years later. St. Himelin, a native of Ireland, who is said to have been a near relative of St. Rumold of Mechlin, is supposed to have died during this period and the reign of Pepin, which ended in 768. (165) Himelin was returning from Rome, when being much fatigued and very thirsty he stopped to rest a while at Vissenack, a village near Thenac (Tillemont) in Brabant. It is related that having met a servant maid of the curate of that place, who was bringing water from a neighbouring fountain, he asked her for a drink of it, which she refused to give him, because her master had en-

joined her not to let any one put his lips to the vessel on account of a pestilence then raging in that vicinage. At length, however, being earnestly requested by Himelin, who assured her that her master would not be displeased, she allowed him to take a drink. On her returning home and placing the vessel before the curate, he found that, instead of water, it contained wine. Astonished at this prodigy, and being informed by the servant maid of the person she had met with, he immediately ran in search of Himelin, who was continuing his journey. Having overtaken him, and knowing him to be a saint, he induced him after much solicitation to stop at his house and take some refreshment. When it was time to retire to sleep, Himelin refused to lie on a comfortable bed prepared for him, and stretched himself on some bare straw in a barn, where being oppressed by illness he remained for two days, and, having received the rites of the Church from his host, expired on the third. He was buried at Vissenack, where his remains were, and probably are to this day, held in great veneration. The anniversary of his death is marked in various calendars at 10 March, and without any ecclesiastical title annexed to his name, (166) whence it would seem that he was only a layman. Yet in one account of this saint I find him called a priest. (167) St. Mono, who is styled the martyr of Nassonia might be supposed to have been killed during the reign of Pepin. He went from Ireland (the then Scotia) to Arduenna, the forest of the Ardennes, but at what precise time I do not find recorded. He lived there alone for a long time; yet it is said that he was a disciple of Saints Remacle and John Agnus, bishops of Maestricht, the former of whom spent the last years of his life in the monastery of Stevelo in the Ardennes. He erected a church at Nassonia (as it is called in Latin) a place two miles distant from the monastery of St. Hubert, in the

diocese of Liege. He was killed by robbers on an 18th of October, and buried in his own church, to which after his death king Pepin assigned tithes. John Agnus placed there a community of clergymen, who were afterwards called canons. (168) But, if it be true that St. Mono was a disciple of St. Remacle, perhaps at Stavelo, he must have been killed before the reign of Pepin, which began in 752. For St. Remacle died several years before the end of the seventh century; and it is difficult to think, that a disciple of his could have reached the times of king Pepin. Perhaps Pepin the king has been confounded with his grandfather Pepin de Herstal mayor of the palace, who died in 714.

(160) Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Armagh*. Their saying that Ferdachrich died in May is, I believe, founded only on Colgan's stating, (*Tr. Th. p.* 294.) that more would be seen concerning him at 18 and 31 May. This is a matter of little consequence, and it is more important to observe that Colgan, following the 4 Masters, assigns his death to A. D. 771 (772). Ware took his calculation from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel, (*ib. p.* 292.) which allows only ten years for the incumbency of Ferdachrich, the counting of which from 758 brings us to 768. Its authority is certainly the more respectable of the two; and from it also we know that Ferdachrich was really archbishop of Armagh, although the Ulster annals and the 4 Masters call him merely *abbot*.

(161) Ware and Harris from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel. In that of the 4 Masters and Colgan, instead of Foendelach, the next marked after Ferdachrich is Cudisniscus, whom the Psalter places third in succession after Foendelach. Of the confusion, that occurs as to the succession at Armagh for several years henceforth, we shall see hereafter.

(162) 4 Masters and Colgan, *Tr. Th. p.* 500. I have added, as usual, a year to their date 762 for Sleben and 767 for Suibhne. The Annals of Ulster in Johnston's Extracts assign the death of Suibhne to 771 (772).

(163) Ulster Annals *ap.* Johnston.

(164) *Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.* It has 766. *i. e.* 767.

(165) In one of the short accounts of St. Himelin, published by Colgan at 10 March, it is said that he flourished in the times of Pepin, when king of France. As the death of Himelin followed very soon after he was supposed to flourish, that is, after he was known in Brabant, it may be fairly concluded that it occurred during the reign of Pepin. Molanus, however, states that he lived until that of Charlemagne.

(166) In said calendars he is called simply *Confessor*, for instance in the *Martyrol. Anglic.* which at 10 Mart. has; “*Depositio S. Himelini Confessoris, qui in Hibernia natus,*” &c. Ferrarius merely says; *Erat autem natione Hibernus, S. Rumoldo episcopo Propinquus*; without any allusion to his having been in holy orders.

(167) One of the little tracts, called by Colgan *Lives of St. Himelin*, begins with these words; “*Beatus Himelinus confessor et sacerdos Deo dignus, &c.*” It may be seen also in the Bollandists at 10 March.

(168) Molanus, *Natales sanctorum Belgii* at 18 October. It is very strange that in Ware’s Annals (at *the reign of king John, ch. 4.*) Mono is spoken of, as if he flourished in the 13th century. Surely the king Pepin lived some centuries before that time. As Ware refers to Molanus, it is impossible that he could have affixed his account of St. Mono to that period; but it seems that those, who collected his posthumous papers, having found it among them, and not knowing where to place it, assigned it at random to the reign of king John. There is extant an old Life of St. Mono; but I have not been able to meet with it. In Butler’s *Lives of saints* (at 18 October) St. Mono is said to have lived in the 7th century, and to have been a Scotchman. The former position is, I believe, right; but the latter must be qualified according to the acceptation of the name *Scotus*, which in those times generally signified *Irishman*. As to there having been a St. Mono’s church in Scotland, this is of no consequence; for in that country there were churches also of Columba, St. Kieran, &c. who were not Scotchmen, as now understood.

§. xv. St. Rumold, commonly called of *Mechlin*, was distinguished in these times. That he was born in Ireland is usually admitted, and there seems to be

no doubt that he was a bishop before he left his country. (169) It is a mistake to say, that he was bishop of Dublin; for that city had not as yet bishops in those days; but, as has been already more than once observed, some foreigners, not acquainted with Irish history, were wont in latter times to give to some of our bishops, whose sees were not known, the title of *bishop* or *archbishop of Dublin*, for instance, in the cases of St. Livinus, St. Disibod, &c. (170) According to certain vague accounts Rumold was the son of an Irish prince or king, and heir to his father's principality. (171) Be this as it may, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and after some time was raised to the episcopal rank. Being struck with a wish to visit the tombs of Apostles and Martyrs he set out for Rome, and travelling through England and France preached on various occasions during the course of his journey. At Rome he spent the greatest part of his time in holy places amidst the remains of saints, and became inflamed with an ardent thirst for martyrdom. Having been, as is said, admonished in a vision to return to the West, he left Rome with the Pope's benediction, and arriving at Mechlin was most kindly received by Count Ado. This Count, who was married to a lady named Eliza and had as yet no children, requested the prayers of St. Rumold that God might please to grant him one. The Countess was in due time delivered of a son, who was baptized under the name of Libertus, and afterwards became distinguished for sanctity. In gratitude for this favour Ado granted to Rumold, for the erection of a monastery, a place called *Ulmus*, from the number of elms growing there. The saint, being now settled in that country, was indefatigable in preaching the Gospel, not only at Mechlin but likewise throughout the neighbouring districts, and with such great success that he has been justly styled the Apostle of the Mechlinians. While sedulously engaged in this good work, two assassins, one of

whom he had reprov'd as guilty of adultery, conspired against him, (172) and put him to death on the 24th of June, A. D. 775. (173) To conceal their crime, they threw his body into a river; but it was soon discovered and honourably interred by Count Ado in a church or chapel, named from St. Stephen, which Rumold had erected at Ulmus. In process of time it was removed to a church in Mechlin, dedicated to his memory, long since and still the cathedral and metropolitan church of that city, where it is preserved in a splendid shrine. Although St. Rumold was killed on the 24th of June, yet, on account of that being St. John the Baptist's day, his festival has been affixed to the first of July. Many miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb; and it is unnecessary to enlarge on the great veneration in which his memory has been held.

(169) I have not been able to meet with the Acts of St. Rumold written by Hugh Ward, a learned Irish Franciscan of Louvain, and published after his death by his confrere Sirin in 1662. Could I have the perusal of them, I should hope to find something, that would help to clear away the rubbish, that appears in some accounts of this saint. The lessons of his Office at the first of July, compiled by Burke (*Offic. Propr. &c.*) consist in great part of silly fables, picked up here and there, some of which may be seen in Harris' account of St. Rumold at *Bishops of Dublin*. These lessons are much less correct than those of the Office, taken from the breviary of St. John Lateran, which is read in Ireland. The tract, called the *Life of St. Rumold*, and published in the enlarged edition of Surius (*Cologne, A. 1618*) at 1 July, is, as far as it goes, apparently rather exact. I say, *as far as it goes*, because it is a mere panegyric discourse, which had been pronounced on the festival of the saint by an abbot Theodoric of the monastery of St. Trudo or St. Tron, who was living in the year 1100. It omits many circumstances relative to the history of St. Rumold, such as, for instance, his having been a bishop, although it is universally allowed that he was one. As to his having been a native of Ire-

land, Theodoric is very explicit ; for, although he calls the saint's country *Scotia*, he tells us that it was the island *Scotia*, separated by the sea from Britain, the island in which there are no serpents ; and, to make the matter still plainer, he adds the well known words of Solinus descriptive of Ireland. The Martyrology of Mechlin brings St. Rumold from that part of *Scotia*, which is now called *Ireland*, subjoining that he had been archbishop of Dublin ; and hence as well as from other documents Molanus justly argued against some persons, who taking advantage of the name *Scotia* strove to make him a native of the now Scotland, that he was an Irishman and a Scot of the original *Scotia*. The words of said martyrology have been copied into the Office of the Lateran breviary, with this only difference that, instead of *archbishop*, it has *bishop*. But we shall soon see, that Rumold was neither one nor the other of *Dublin*. The opinion of his having been a native of Ireland was so universally admitted, that the learned Pope, Benedict xiv. in a letter written to the Catholic bishops of Ireland, (August 15, 1741) reckons him among the great Irish saints, such as Columbanus, Kilian, Virgilius, &c. who either propagated the Catholic faith in foreign countries, or illustrated it by their blood. (See Burke's *Hib. Dom.* p. 21.) It is worth observing, that this letter was written many years after the Bollandist Sollerius (at *St Rumold's Acts*) threw out some conjectures to show, as that Pope was certainly aware of, that St. Rumold was an Anglo-saxon who had embraced the monastic state at Mayo, and that having heard of the progress of St. Willibrord, &c. in Belgium, he went to that country, and thence, to be qualified for the mission, to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop ; that he then returned to Belgium, &c. This hypothesis may appear rather ingenious ; but how is it to be reconciled with the constant tradition of the church of Mechlin and the testimony of every older writer that has treated of this saint ? It is mentioned, but not adopted, in *the Gallia Christiana, Tom. 5. ad Ecclesia Mechliniensis*.

(170) Ware has judiciously omitted those pretended bishops of Dublin, prior to the eleventh century ; but Harris has foisted them into his additions. I must here observe that some modern writers are not sufficiently cautious in distinguishing Ware's original work from Harris' interpolations. Thus I find in a note at *St. Rumold* in *Butler's Lives of Saints* (1 July) Ware's *Bishops*

referred to for an account of this saint. Now Ware has not given any account whatsoever of him; and, instead of Ware's name, that of Harris should have appeared in said note. We have just seen, that the martyrology of Mechlin places St. Rumold at Dublin. To this first mistake has been added another, viz. that he succeeded there one Gualafer, (meaning perhaps Gallagher) by whom he is said to have been baptized. Molanus has this story, and from him Burke (*Office, &c.*) and Harris (*Bishops at Dublin*) have borrowed it. In the Lateran Office there is no mention of this bishop Gualafer, &c. Nor is there any thing in this Office of what Burke has concerning St. Rumold having been consecrated in the *cathedral of Dublin* by Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury! What cathedral could there have been at that period in Dublin? or who has ever heard of an archbishop of Canterbury coming over to consecrate bishops in Ireland?

(171) Molanus says that old documents of the church of Mechlin make him son of a king David, meaning, I suppose, *Dathy*, an Irish name, which by persons writing in Latin has been sometimes changed into *David*. Burke (*ib.*) tells us, that this David was king of Dublin, and that his queen was Cecilia, a daughter of a king of Cashel. This is all very fine; but Theodoric and the Lateran breviary, omitting the names of St. Rumold's parents, merely state that he was of the royal house of Ireland and by right of succession heir to a throne.

(172) Theodoric states, that their motive was to get the money, which they thought the saint possessed of, and adds that they had been attendants of his. Probably they supposed that he must have had some money about him towards forwarding the object of his missions.

(173) This is the year assigned for the martyrdom of St. Rumold by Molanus, Usher, Pagi, &c.

§. XVI. During this period we meet with a bishop at Mayo, St. Aidan, who died in 769, (174) and after whom we do not find another there for some centuries. Whether a Ronan, called of Lismore, who is said to have died in 763, was bishop or not, there does not appear any sufficient authority for determining. (175) If he was bishop of Lismore,

he is the last who appears there, as such, for more than 200 years, although it cannot be doubted that a regular succession was kept up in that distinguished see. To *A. D.* 775 is assigned the death of Fulcharta or Fulartach, bishop of Clonard, (176) who in some Irish calendars is stated to have been the same as St. Fulartach, son of Brec of an illustrious family of Ulster, and who had lived as a hermit at a place, called from him *Disert-Fulartach*, in Hifalgia, now Ophaly in the county of Kildare. This is indeed very probable, although some have made a distinction between them, allowing, however, that both of them belonged to the eighth century. (177) According to said calendars the memory of St. Fulartach, one and the same, was revered on the 29th of March. Senchai, bishop of Emly, died in 778; (178) and in the following year St. Algnied, bishop of Ardbraccan, whose name is marked in some calendars at 8 March. (179) Ferdornach, whom I find reckoned among the bishops of Tuam, is said to have died in 781. (180) To 783 is affixed the death of two bishops of Kildare, one after another, Lomtul and Snedbran. (181) In these times there was a bishop at Cluain-dolcain (Clondalkin) near Dublin, St. Fergusill, concerning whom nothing further is known except that he died in 785, and that his festival was kept on the 10th of March. (182) To the same year is assigned the death of three eminent abbots, Murgal of Clonmacnois, Virgilius of Aghabo, and Fethach of Louth, Slane, and Duleek. (183)

(174) *AA. SS.* p. 606. The date of the 4 Masters is 768 (769).

(175) Ware and Harris have Ronan, (*Bishops at Lismore*) but without letting us know where they found him, or giving us any proof of his having been a bishop.

(176) Ware (*Bishops of Clonard at Meath*) has omitted this Fulartach of the eighth century; but the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 787.) who are followed by Harris, make express

mention of him, placing his death in 774 (775). He was, I believe, led astray by the list of Finnian's successors at Clonard, given in *AA. SS.* p. 406. where the bishop Fulartach is placed next after Senach, who died in 588, and omitted where he ought to be, viz. at A. 775. This is plainly one of the innumerable mistakes that appear in Colgan's printed text. Ware, being not aware of it, has Fulartach immediately after Senach, leaving him out elsewhere. Harris took care to avoid this mistake, and, instead of mentioning Fulartach next after Senach, brought him down to his real times, viz. the eighth century.

(177) The 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS.* at 29 *March*, p. 787, where a short account is given of Fulartach son of Brec, assign his death (for their words cannot be referred to any thing else) to A. 755 (756) while they place that of the bishop of Clonard in 775. I am inclined to think, that on this point their authority is inferior to that of the old calendars.

(178) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

(179) *AA. SS.* p. 568. The 4 Masters have his death at 778, *i. e.* 779.

(180) Ware in his general treatise on the bishops of Ireland has Ferdornach at *Tuam*, but not so in his older tract on the archbishops of Cashel and Tuam. Where he met with him I cannot tell. Colgan seems to have known nothing about him, as appears from *Tr. Th.* p. 308. where, endeavouring to make out as many ancient bishops of Tuam as he could, he makes no mention of Ferdornach.

(181) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th.* p. 629. I have changed their date 782 into 783. At the same year they have the death of Muiredach *abbot* of Kildare, whence we see that there were abbots at Kildare different from its bishops.

(182) *AA. SS.* p. 577. The date of the 4 Masters is 784 (785). Before this saint's time there was a monastery at Clondalkin.

(183) *Ib.* p. 800. and *Ind. Chron.*

CHAPTER XX.

History of St. Fergal, or Virgilius, resumed and finished—Clemens and Albinus, Irishmen, arrive in France—Albinus sent as Ambassador from the Emperor Charlemagne to the Pope, a different person from Alcuin—Monastery of Verden established in Saxony for the Scots or Irish—Patto, an Irishman, second bishop of Verden—Irish extend their missions to Iceland—St. Sedulius said to be bishop of Dublin, and to have died in A. D. 786—Colga, Coelchu or Colcu, the wise, presides over the school of Cluain-mac-Nois—corresponds with Alcuin—St. Moelruan bishop of Tallagh—Succession of Archbishops of Armagh, and of other Irish bishops—First invasion of Ireland by the Danes—St. Findan—visits France, Italy and Switzerland—his great sanctity—is adopted as their patron by the monks of Rhignau—Succession of Donnchad and other Irish monarchs—Irish Clergy obtain exemption from attending the kings on military expeditions—Fothad lecturer of Armagh—Aengus the Hagiologist—his Festilogium—he is called Ceile-De—Became abbot of Clonenagh—and was raised to the episcopal rank—Various works of his—Succession of archbishops in Armagh—and abbots in Hy—Death of St. Blathmaic, martyred in Hy by the Danes—Deaths of various holy and distinguished persons in Ireland—Dungal, an Irishman—his two Epistles to Charlemagne—writes against Claudius, a Spaniard, bishop of Turin, who had removed the images and crosses from all the churches in his Diocese—Claudius bishop of Turin supposed by some learned men to be an Irishman—Gildas—Deaths of bishops of various sees in Ireland—Metropolitan rights of the see of Armagh extended all over Ireland—Deaths of several learned and holy men.

SECT. I.

ST. Virgilius, bishop of Saltzburg, (1) soon after his being in possession of the see, consecrated a basilic in that city in honour of St. Stephen, in which he placed an abbot and monks taken from the monastery and church of St. Peter, which was still considered as the cathedral. (2) Some time after he repaired this monastery, of which he had been abbot, and enlarged the cell of St. Maximilian, which had been built by St. Rupert the first bishop of Saltzburg. He established another cell at Ottinga, which was endowed by Count Gunther, at whose expense it had been erected. But his chief work in this respect was a great basilic, which he got constructed and dedicated in the name of St. Rupert, which, having removed that saint's remains to it, he constituted the cathedral. This holy bishop did not confine himself to accommodating his flock with places of worship, but likewise, as became a true pastor, was assiduous in preaching, instructing, and propagating the Gospel. Karastus, a son of Boruth, the Sclavonian duke of Carinthia, and Chetimar a nephew of Boruth were in those times detained as hostages in Bavaria, where, at his request, they were baptized and educated as Christians. On the death of Boruth, Karastus became duke of that country, and, having died in the third year of his rule, was succeeded by Chetimar, who was very religious and had with him as instructor Majoranus a priest, who had been ordained by St. Virgilius. Chetimar had a great respect for the monastery (St. Peter's) of Saltzburg, owing, in all appearance, to his having studied there in his earlier days, under the direction of its learned and holy abbot, and used to make some presents to it every year as tokens of a sort of homage. Some time after he was raised to the dukedom of Carinthia he requested Virgilius, then bishop, to visit his territories and confirm his subjects in the

faith. It being then out of his power to comply with the duke's wish, he sent to that country Modestus, a bishop, together with some priests, a deacon, and other inferior clerks, authorizing him to consecrate churches, perform ordinations, &c. Modestus spent the remainder of his life in Carinthia, and after his death St. Virgilius was again requested by Chetimar to proceed thither. But in consequence of intestine troubles, by which the dutchy was agitated, he was prevented from visiting it, and sent, in his stead, Latinus a priest, who was soon after, owing to civil broils, obliged to leave it. The saint, however, kept a fixed eye on Carinthia, and during the administration both of Chetimar and of his successor Watune supplied it with priests and other clergymen. Thus the Carinthian church was established, and St. Virgilius has been justly called the Apostle of that province.

Towards the end of his life the good bishop undertook a general visitation of his vast diocese, for the purpose of eradicating whatever remnants there might be of idolatry, and of strengthening his flock in the belief and observance of the Christian religion. He was every where welcomed and received with the greatest attention by crowds of all descriptions, and during his progress consecrated churches, ordained clergymen, &c. In this visitation was comprized Carinthia, through which he proceeded as far as the frontiers of the Huns, where the Drave joins the Danube. Perceiving that his dissolution was near at hand, St. Virgilius returned to Saltzburg, where, having celebrated the sacred mysteries, and being seized with a gentle illness, he breathed his last on the 27th of November, *A. D.* 785. (3) Some tracts have been attributed to him; (4) but whether he was an author or not, he has been most highly celebrated for learning. Nor was he less esteemed for his piety and fulfilment of his pastoral duties; (5)

and it is stated that many miracles have taken place at his tomb in Saltzburg. (6)

(1) See *Chap. XIX. §. 11.*

(2) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 756.* He says that Virgilius consecrated the basilic of St. Stephen in the first year of his ordination. This would have occurred after the 15th of June, the day of his ordination or consecration, in 756, or, if it be true that he deferred his consecration for some time, (see *Chap. XIX. §. 12.*) in a later year.

(3) Mabillon, (*ib. ad A. 785.*) and Pagi (*Critica, &c. ad A. 785.*) have proved from certain Annals of Ratisbon and other documents, that this was the real year of the saint's death. Therefore Fleury was mistaken (*Hist. Eccl. L. 44. §. 3.*) in assigning it to 780, which date he took from the *Life of St. Virgil*, according to one edition; for another has *A. 784.* But both these dates are wrong.

(4) Ware (*Writers at Virgilius*) makes mention of a *Discourse on the Antipodes*, but does not tell us where it exists. He adds that Virgilius is the reputed author of a Glossary quoted by Melchior Goldast.

(5) Alcuin, in his encomium on St. Virgilius (*Poem. No. 231.*) has among other lines;

“ Egregius praesul meritis et moribus almus,
 Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia primum,
 Instituit, docuit, nutritiv—————
 Sed Peregrina petens —————
 Vir pius et prudens, nulli pietate secundus.”

(6) The second part of his *Life* contains an account of a great number of these miracles.

§. II. About the year 772, as far as I am able to judge, two very celebrated Irishmen, Clemens and Albinus, as he is usually called, arrived in France. For it appears from good authority, that they were in that country not only prior to the arrival of Alcuin, but likewise a short time after

Charles, known by the name of *Charlemagne*, became sole sovereign of the whole French monarchy, as he did in the latter end of 771 by the death of his brother Carloman. The whole matter is stated in a very clear manner by a writer of the ninth century, who relating the transactions of Charlemagne (7) has the following narrative at the very beginning of his work. “When the illustrious Charles “*began to reign alone* in the western parts of the “world, and literature was every where almost forgotten, it happened that two Scots of Ireland came “over with some British merchants to the shores “of France, men incomparably skilled in human “learning and in the holy scriptures. As they produced no merchandise for sale, they used to cry “out to the crowds flocking to purchase; *If any “one is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us and “receive it; for we have it to sell.* Their reason “for saying that they had it for sale was that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles and not to take any thing gratuitously, they “might rouse them to the acquisition of wisdom, as well as of objects for which they should give value; “or, as the sequel showed, that by speaking in that “manner they might excite their wonder and astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often that an account of them was conveyed either “by their admirers, or by those who thought them “insane, to the king Charles, who, being a lover “and very desirous of wisdom, had them conducted “with all expedition before him, and asked them if “they truly possessed wisdom, as had been reported “to him. They answered, that they did, and were “ready in the name of the Lord to communicate it “to such as would seek for it worthily. On his inquiring of them what compensation they would “expect for it, they replied that they required nothing more than convenient situations, ingenious “minds, and, as being in a foreign country, to be

“ supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having
 “ heard their proposals, and replete with joy, kept
 “ them both with himself for a short time. After
 “ some interval, when obliged to proceed on a mili-
 “ tary expedition, (8) he ordered one of them whose
 “ name was *Clemens*, to remain in France, entrust-
 “ ing to his care a great number of boys not only of
 “ the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling
 “ and low ranks of society, all of whom were, by
 “ his orders, provided with victuals and suitable ha-
 “ bitations. The other, *by name Albinus*, (9) he
 “ directed to Italy, and assigned to him the monas-
 “ tery of St. Augustin near Pavia, that such per-
 “ sons, as chose to do so, might there resort to him
 “ for instruction. On hearing how graciously the
 “ most religious king Charles used to treat wise men,
 “ Albinus (10) an Englishman took shipping and
 “ went over to him,” &c. (11)

(7) This writer was a monk of St. Gall in Switzerland, and hence he is commonly called *Monachus Sangallensis*. His two books, *De gestis Caroli M.* are in Canisius' *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 2. Part 3.* Basnage's ed. They were addressed to Charles the fat, and consequently written between 884 and 888. Melchior Goldastus, Usher, and many others, have supposed that he was the celebrated Notker Balbulus. This, however, is not quite certain. Mabillon, a great judge in matters of this kind, calls him (*ex. c. Annal. B. Tom. 2. p. 67.*) the *anonymous* monk of St. Gall, and Muratori (*Annali di Italia*) designates him merely by the title of *Monaco di S. Gallo*, the monk of St. Gall, for instance at A. 781. But this question does not affect the antiquity or authority of this work.

(8) From what will be seen lower down it appears most probable that this was one of his expeditions against the Saxons, either that of 775, or the one of 776.

(9) The words, *nomine Albinus*, (by name Albinus) are in the printed text of the monk of St. Gall, as edited by Canisius, but are omitted in Duchesne's edition among the *Rerum Francicarum Scriptores*. Colgan in his long dissertation on Clemens (at 20

March) which comprizes also an account of his companion, says that they are wanting in various MSS. He contends that the real name of said companion was not *Albinus* but *John*; and so he is called by Vincentius Bellovacensis and some others, whose authority is not worth attending to, as appears from their joining with Clemens also Alcuin and even Rabanus Maurus. And there is good reason to think, that they mistook John Scotus Erigena, who lived many years later, for the companion of Clemens, whom they accordingly called *John*. Or might it be that the companion of Clemens had both names? Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. L. 5. Rex 65.*) calls him *Johannes Albinus*, and would fain make him a Scotchman on account of the surname *Albinus*. He might as well have pronounced Alcuin a Scotchman, as he also assumed the name *Albinus*. If, as indeed I think highly probable, Clemens's companion was called *Albinus*, this might have been either his original name, or, if a surname, given to him on account of his fair hair or complexion. Perhaps his Irish name was *Finnbarr*, *Finan*, or *Finian*, which, by retaining its signification, was latinized into *Albinus*. As to the name *John*, prefixed by Buchanan to *Albinus*, I suspect that he took it from Hector Boethius, or some one of those writers, who followed Vincentius Bellovacensis. Not content with representing *Albinus* as a British Scot, he thrusts in also Clemens as such, notwithstanding the positive assertion of the monk of St. Gall, the oldest and best authority, that he and his companion were Scots of Ireland. On these and other pretensions in favour of the British Scots J. P. Murray has justly remarked, (*De Britannia atque Hibernia sec. a vi. ad x. litterarum domicilio, in N. Commentar. Soc. R. Gotting. Tom. 2.*) that Buchanan went quite too far; "Sed nimia Scotiae suae aperte tribuit eximius vates, cum istam litterarum elegantiam, cumque *Albinum* illi tribuerit."

To return to the words, *nomine Albinus*, it is very probable that they were not in the original text of the monk; for several writers, when copying his narrative, have them not, while they closely follow the remainder of his text. (See their passages *ap. Colgan on Clemens, &c.*) Muratori observes, (*Annali, &c. at A. 781. and Antiq. Ital. medii aevi, Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) that the name of Clemens's companion is not precisely known, whence it is clear that he did not consider said words as written by the monk.

But, allowing them to be an interpolation, it does not follow that they are wrong; for the person, who inserted them, might have known from other sources that *Albinus* was the name of the companion of Clemens. He did not confound him with Alcuin, who also was named *Albinus*, and who appears immediately after in the text as clearly distinct from the other *Albinus*.

(10) He was the celebrated Alcuin, who took the more classical appellation of *Flaccus Albinus*, not, as some have called him, *Albinus Flaccus*. (See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. Tom. 2. p. 186.*) In what the author adds about the manner of Alcuin's having become acquainted with the king Charles, and his having been a disciple of Bede, there are some mistakes, which it is not my business to correct.

(11) Brucker (*Hist. Phil. Tom. 3. p. 586.*) took it into his head to reject as fabulous a great part of this narrative. There are certainly some fables in the additions made to it by Vincentius Bellocensis, Hector Boethius, Arnold Wion, &c. and by those who talk of the University of Paris as founded by Clemens. But taking it as given by the monk of St. Gall, I can perceive nothing fabulous or inconsistent, nor does Brucker give us any proof of his assertion. Perhaps he thought there was something ridiculous in the cry of those two learned men that they had wisdom to sell, as if the stiff and guarded style of our days, were observed at all times and by all nations. They alluded to the traffick that was going on between the merchants and the assembled people, and, not having any usual article of commerce, announced that what they had to dispose of was wisdom. We find very many expressions of a similar kind in the Scriptures, particularly in *Proverbs*, which exhibit wisdom as the most valuable of commodities, and in which people are invited to partake of it. Clemens and his companion were well acquainted with such phrases, and seem to have had an eye to them in their manner of addressing the crowd. Yet Brucker does not deny that these persons came to France, and states (*ib. p. 629.*) that Clemens was of great help to Alcuin, and that he was diligent and skilful in establishing the schools of France and Italy. Tiraboschi goes much farther than Brucker; for he endeavours to prove, (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana, Tom. 3. L. 3. cap. 1.*) that the whole business is a fable, and that there were no such persons in existence. He had laid down a po-

sition that no teachers were sent by Charles to instruct the Italians, who, he says, were not then in need of foreigners for that purpose. But, whether they were or not, might not the king have given literary situations to foreigners in Lombardy as well as in France, where nobody denies that he did? Many a foreigner have I known teaching in Italy at a period of its enjoying high literary splendour; and I myself have had the honour of holding a Professor's chair in that very city of Pavia, where Tiraboschi would not allow that a Scotchman, as he calls him, (for he seems not to have known that the Irish were called Scots) taught in the eighth century. He opposes Gatti, who in his history of the University of Pavia adhered to the monk's narrative, abuses Denina for having said that Charles placed two *Irishmen* over schools in Italy and France, and expresses his surprize that this was admitted by Muratori. But, if such a man as Muratori allowed it, Tiraboschi, who was vastly his inferior on points connected with the history of the middle ages, need not have been ashamed to acknowledge it; and it is but too true that literature was in a very low state at that period in Italy, and for a hundred years prior to it, as is avowed and lamented in the letters of Pope Agatho and the synod of Rome written in 680 to the emperor Constantine. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 40. §. 7.) The literary glory of Italy, both ancient and modern, is founded on so solid a basis, that a native of that beautiful country and land of genius may, without any disparagement to it, confess that it has had, like many other parts of the world, its days of darkness, owing to the irruptions of barbarians, by whom both they and Italy have been desolated. And it is a childish vanity to strive to uphold a nation's character of any sort at the expense of historical truth. Muratori was not guilty of it; for he allows and proves, (*Antiq. Ital. Sc. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) that in Italy learning had greatly declined in the time we are now treating of. It might be expected, that Tiraboschi would have adduced some proof of his assertion; but he gives us none except his saying that it would have been a strange thing to offer to sell learning to persons who came to buy merchandize. This I have already explained. He adds, that the whole matter depends on the authority of the monk, to whom, however he gratuitously pays the compliment of not having invented it. Who then was the inventor? Tiraboschi ought to have perceived, that

this supposition strikes against himself; for in this case the history of the two Irishmen must have been spoken of before it was related by the monk. Is it to be imagined, that he would have announced, within about 70 years after the death of Charlemagne, as facts, circumstances, which there were persons still alive to show the falshood of, if not true? Or, that he would have related them, if doubtful, to a sovereign the great grandson of Charlemagne? Or that he would have ventured to be so particular as to state that the teacher sent to Pavia got the grant of the monastery of St. Augustin? He must have known, that every monk of that celebrated establishment, which has existed for ages, could have contradicted him unless the matter were universally acknowledged. Tiraboschi objects, that the monk of St. Gall is the only writer of those times, who has left an account of those proceedings. Be it so; but did he suppose that writers were as numerous in that period, or as minute in recording facts, as they are at present? Many facts are received as historical upon authority much less contemporary and explicit than that of the monk of St. Gall. Besides, as will be seen, he is not the only writer of those days, who has furnished us with some account, at least, of Clemens. Some other desultory doubts will be considered lower down.

§. 3. From this account it is plain that these two Irishmen were in France before Alcuin (the English Albinus) waited on King Charles in that country, and consequently prior to 781. (12) But as their arrival is stated to have occurred when Charles began to reign alone, we may justly conclude that it was earlier by eight or nine years. An Albinus, a favourite of Charles, is mentioned as one of the ambassadors, whom he sent to Pope Adrian in 773, and who was undoubtedly different from Alcuin, with whom Charles was not yet acquainted. (13) It is probable that he was the Irish Albinus, who as well as Clemens appear, from the manner in which the king treated them, to have become great favourites of his. And following this supposition, it may also be conjectured, that he continued as an inmate in the palace until he was sent on that embassy. (14)

But, whether the companion of Clemens was the ambassador or not, he could not have been placed at Pavia until either the latter end of 774, or after said year, it being that in which Charles got possession of that city. (15) Concerning his subsequent transactions nothing further, that can be depended upon, is known, except that he taught at Pavia, (16) but how long we have no account of. It has been said, that he died there; and some writings have been attributed to him, which, however, cannot at present be distinctly pointed out. (17)

It is stated that, when Charles returned from his expeditions, he ordered the boys, whom he had left under the care of Clemens, to appear before him, and had them examined in their classical studies. Finding that those of the inferior orders had made wonderful progress, while the nobles had made none at all, he solemnly declared that he would have no consideration for the difference of ranks, and that nobility alone should not be a road to preferment, whereas he was determined to grant favours and places solely according to learning and merit without distinction of persons. (18) Where Clemens kept his school, is not ascertained, although some writers have said that it was at Paris, and others would fain make us believe that he was the founder or first teacher of its university (19) The history of Clemens has been greatly confused by the name of *Claudius* being prefixed by certain late authors (20) to his real name, and by his having been strangely confounded with Clemens, a bishop of Auxerre, who was dead many years before he arrived in France. (21) He was alive and still teaching in the year 802, (22) and perhaps survived Charlemagne, as indeed must have been the case, if, as appears very probable, he was the Clemens who drew up a Life of that sovereign. (23) There are extant under his name some grammatical collections, but whether they have been printed or not I am not able to tell.

(24) Several other tracts have been attributed to him, but most, if not all, of them, without foundation. (25)

(12) This was, as Mabillon shows, (*Annal. &c. ad A. 781.*) the year, in which Alcuin first stopped in France. Charles had met him in Italy, and took such a liking for him, that he induced him to promise that he would call upon him on his return from that country. Alcuin did so, and soon after his arrival in France got from the king a grant of two abbies. Some years later he proceeded to England, where he remained until 792, or the beginning of 793, when he returned to France and there spent the remainder of his life. It is therefore a mistake to suppose, as several writers have done, that Alcuin was not settled in France before 792. It was, I believe, in consequence of this mistake that Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigned the arrival there of Clemens and Albinus to *A. D. 791*, thinking that it was not long prior to that of Alcuin.

(13) See Mabillon, (*Annal. &c. ad. 773.* Anastasius Bibliothecarius, from whom we have an account of this embassy, says of Albinus that he was *deliciosus ipsius regis*, that is, a favourite and one whom the king was very fond of.

(14) The monk of St. Gall says, as we have seen, that Charles kept the two learned Irishmen with himself for a short time. Supposing that their arrival in France was in 772, and perhaps late in that year, they were probably living with him until some time in 773.

(15) Muratori, making mention (*Annali, &c. at A. 781*) of the arrival of Clemens's companion at Pavia, does not mark the year of it, merely observing that it was after 744. It was very probably almost immediately after said year, as Charles in his zeal for promoting literature may be supposed to have lost no time in supplying his new subjects of Lombardy with a good school. Add that Albinus is stated to have been sent to Pavia just at the time that Charles was setting out on a military expedition. Now among his various expeditions we find one in 775, and another in 776, both against the Saxons. It may be objected to what I have said concerning Clemens and Albinus having arrived in France as early as about 772, that their arrival must have been later, whereas the

monk of St. Gall seems to place Albinus' departure for Pavia just after the *short* time that he and Clemens had spent with the king in his residence, and accordingly, as Albinus did not go to Pavia until about 775, ought to be assigned to about 774. But we are not bound to understand the monk's words, as if he meant to say that they remained in the palace until the very time that Albinus was ordered to proceed to Pavia. He states indeed that it was subsequent to that of their living with the king, but does not tell us that it was immediately so; and there is nothing to prevent our supposing, that they had left the palace, and were teaching somewhere in France, two or three years prior to the departure of Albinus for Pavia.

(16) Muratori (*ib.*) merely says, that under this able master learning began to revive at Pavia. The story of his having been the founder of the celebrated university of that city is not worth the trouble of inquiring into. Muratori was wrong in making him and Clemens Benedictine monks. They certainly were not so before they arrived in France, for there were no Benedictines then in Ireland; nor does it appear, that they were monks at all. Albinus might have become a Benedictine after he got the grant of the monastery of St. Augustin, so called, instead of its former title, *St Peter*, from its containing the remains of the great bishop of Hippo. But whether he did or not we are not able to ascertain.

(17) Ware (*Writers at Albinus*) ascribes to him some epistles as extant. I wish he had told us where they are to be found. He was also inclined to make him the author of certain *Rhetorical precepts*, which Buchanan says he saw under the name of his *John Albinus*. (See *Not.* 9.) If Buchanan and Ware meant the treatise or dialogue on Rhetoric published among the works of Alcuin, it is clear that they were mistaken; for said treatise was undoubtedly written by the English Albinus, that is, Alcuin himself. As to an Epistle said by Hoveden (*Annal. ad A.* 792) and other English authors to have been written by an Albinus against the second Council of Nice concerning image worship, the Irish Albinus had nothing to do with it; and it is plain that Hoveden, &c. meant Alcuin; for they state that it was written in England, and that Albinus, its author, brought it thence to the king Charles. By the bye I may remark, that no such epistle was written by Alcuin; (see Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 792.) but it is

probable, that Hoveden, &c. mistook the Caroline books on the question of images, in the composition of which Alcuin was perhaps concerned, (Mabillon, *ib. ad A.* 794.) for an Epistle, which they supposed to have been drawn up by him in England.

(18) See in the monk's *De Gestis*, &c. just after the above narrative.

(19) Colgan has (at 20 March) collected on these points a heap of rubbish, which is now exploded by every man of learning. The monk of St. Gall has nothing about the place, in which Clemens taught. But Vincentius Bellovacensis and others have added that it was Paris, as if that city had been the usual residence of the king Charles, whereas it is well known that it was not. And as to the foundation of the university, it is laughable to observe, with what ardour it has been disputed whether the so called founder were Clemens or Alcuin. That the latter was not is a clear case; for it has been proved not only by Du Chesne, the editor of his works, but likewise by Mabillon, (*ad A.* 802) that he never taught at Paris. Whether Clemens had a school there or not, is of little consequence; but this much is well known, that there was no such thing as a university there in those times, nor even the embryo of one until about the end of the eleventh century. (See the *Encyclopédie* at *Université*.)

(20) Ware observes, (*Writers at Clemens*) that, as well as he could discover, Bale (not *Bede* according to a shameful error in the English translation, which Harris has avoided) was the first who prefixed *Claudius* to the name of Clemens. A Claudius, of whom we shall see elsewhere, flourished during the reign of Lewis le Debonnaire, and has been reckoned by Vincentius Bellovacensis and some followers of his as one of four pretended founders of the university of Paris. These writers have not Clemens among said founders, although some of them on other occasions say that he taught at Paris. Other authors of this notable stamp, looking for those founders, mention Clemens without naming Claudius. To patch up the business, it occurred to somebody, that Clemens and Claudius might be considered as one and the same person; and thus, sometime in the 16th century, the learned Irishman appeared under the double name of *Claudius Clemens*. Upon these blunders Tiraboschi built up an argument, which he thought of great weight. He urges that certain writers call the Irish

teacher *Claudius Clemens*; now, as he shows, Claudius was a different person; *ergo* there was no such man as Clemens. This is really bad logic; as if the mistakes and confused conjectures of such late authors could overturn the assertions of one of the ninth century. If the monk of St. Gall had prefixed the name *Claudius* to *Clemens*, such a mode of reasoning would be allowable; but whereas he has not done so, why fling out against his authority the nonsense of persons that lived hundreds of years later? Then, adds Tiraboschi, these writers, when treating of Clemens, contradict each other. Well, and where is the harm of it? Surely there can be nothing more illogical than to conclude from the contradictions of modern writers, that persons, whom they treat of inaccurately, never existed. Were such a critical rule admitted, what history would be safe, even that of the distinguished men of Greece and Rome? Had Tiraboschi been able to prove, which indeed he has not attempted, that the monk contradicted himself or any other writer of his times, there would be a fair field for disputation; or if those, who maintain that Clemens and his companion were Irishmen and taught in France and Italy, founded their positions merely on such late and confused authority as that of Vincentius Bellovacensis, &c. his objections would be worth listening to. But as this is not the main authority resorted to on the question, such exceptions are quite nugatory and out of place; nor will any sort of quibbling avail against the monk's narrative until, what can never be done, it shall be proved that he was not author of it. Yet we may observe that it would be very extraordinary, that, besides Vincentius, a multitude of writers, among whom Wyon, Gaguin, Claude Roberti, should have said so much about Clemens and his comrade, if they had not been in France during the reign of Charlemagne.

(21) Colgan (at 20 March) has endeavoured to support the fable of our Clemens having become bishop of Auxerre; but Ware and Harris, (*loc. cit.*) have cautioned the reader against it, and indeed justly; for, not to quote other authors, Mabillon (*Annal. &c. Tom. 2. p. 63.*) makes it clear, that Clemens of Auxerre died about 738.

(22) In an ancient catalogue of the abbots of Fulda, quoted by Brower (*Notes to the poems of Rabanus*) we read that Ratgar, who was one of them, on the occasion of sending Rabanus and

Hatto to Tours there to study under Alcuin, directed others, among whom Modestus and Candidus, to Clemens the Scot for the purpose of being instructed in Grammar, that is, in classic branches of learning then comprized under that name. Ratgar became abbot of Fulda in 802, and just after his accession sent those students to France. (See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad A.* 802.) To a loose question of Tiraboschi, *Who was Clemens?* we may now answer, that, although we do not know who were his father and mother, he was the learned Irish Scot mentioned by the monk of St. Gall, and whose reputation was so great that young men were sent from Germany to his school.

(23) Wolfgang Lazius in his Commentaries on the Roman commonwealth quotes this Life by Clemens. See Usher, Preface to *Ep. Hib. Syll.* and Ware at *Clemens*.

(24) Usher (*ib.*) observes, that they are quoted by Melchior Goldast.

(25) Possevin and others, who are followed by Colgan, have, in consequence of confounding Clemens with Claudius, made him the author of various works, which have been usually ascribed to the latter. It is odd that Colgan refers even to Ware for several of them as if written by Clemens, although Ware had distinguished him from Claudius. It may be, however, that, owing to said confusion, Claudius has been supposed the author of some tracts, written perhaps by Clemens.

§. iv. After the same king Charles had founded the new bishoprics of Minden and Verden in the old Saxony, *A. D.* 786, as is usually supposed, (26) a monastery was established for the Scots, that is, at least chiefly, the Irish, at a place near Verden, called *Amarbaric*, over whom was placed Patto a countryman of theirs. (27) Patto is stated to have become bishop of Verden after the death of its first bishop St. Suibert, and was succeeded at *Amarbaric* by Tanco, also a Scot and, in all probability, an Irish one, who likewise was raised to that see as its third bishop. (28) After him are mentioned Cortilla or Nortyla, and three others as abbots of *Amarbaric*, under the last of whom, Harruch of the same

nation, that monastery is said to have been destroyed. (29)

Prior to these times, and most probably much earlier, the Irish had extended their missions even to Iceland, which they called *Thule*, or *Tyle*, and which, it seems, they had a knowledge of as far back as the fifth century. (30) Whether it was inhabited at that early period it is difficult to determine; (31) but it is certain, that it contained inhabitants long before the time assigned by some writers for its first population. (32) At whatsoever time Irish missionaries first visited that island, there can be no doubt of some of them having been there in the eighth century, (33) and it may be justly laid down, that this mission was kept up until the arrival of the Norwegians, who by expelling the Irish clergy put a stop to it. (34) If religious men from Ireland had got in those days as far as Iceland, we are not to wonder at finding others of them settled in the Orkneys and the Shetland isles. (35) I cannot discover any particular account of such of them as were the chiefs of these northern missions, or who might have been distinguished for peculiar sanctity or learning; but nothing can more strongly prove the zeal of the Irish clergy of those times, for the conversion of infidels, than their proceeding so far northward for the purpose of disseminating the saving truths of the Gospel.

(26) Fleury, *L.* 44. §. 20. The Bollandists (at *St. Patto* 30 *Mart.*) quote a chronicle of Verden, which assigns the foundation of that see to 786. Its first bishop was Suibert or Suitbert, who is said to have been an Englishman, and must not be confounded with St. Willebrord's companion the bishop Suitbert, who died in 713.

(27) Colgan, treating of *Patto* (at 30 *March*) maintains that he was an Irish Scot. This is very probable, although in the accounts given of him, chiefly by Albert Crantz, (*Hist. Eccl. Saxoniae*) he is called simply *Scotus natione*. But as the Irish

were more generally known in those times by the name *Scoti* than their colonists of Britain, the probability is in favour of Colgan's opinion. N. Britain was not then, nor for a very long time later, called *Scotia*; and accordingly, when we find a Scot or Scots spoken of by old writers, it is to be presumed that they meant natives of Ireland, unless something be added to indicate that such persons were British Scots. Bede was very particular in this respect; for wherever he touches upon the affairs of these Scots, he designates them as the *Scots, who inhabit Britain*. (See *ex. c. Hist. &c. L. 1. c. 34* and *L. 5. c. 23*.) The English families settled in Ireland from the reign of Henry II. were during many generations called *English*; but who, on finding a person of that period called an *Englishman*, would not conceive that he was a native of England, unless it were added that he was an Englishman of Ireland. Colgan adduces an argument, which, if uncontradicted, would leave no doubt as to Patto having been an Irishman. Having found that he was said to have been abbot of Amarbaric *in his own country* before he went to Germany, he observes that there was no such place either in Ireland or Scotland, and that, instead of *Amarbaric*, we ought to read *Armagh*. On this the Bollandists (at *St. Suibert, 30 April*) remark, that Amarbaric seems to have been rather near Verden, and that a monastery was founded there for the Scots, of which Patto was abbot, before he succeeded, as is said, Suibert in the see of Verden. According to this supposition it is a mistake to place Amarbaric in the country, whence Patto came. Mabillon is still more explicit on this point. He says, (*Annal &c. at A. 796*) that the monastery of Amarbaric, not far from Verden, was founded by Suibert, who placed Patto over it, and that, after a succession of five or six abbots, it ceased to exist. Mabillon gives to the monks of that establishment the general name of *Scots*, by which the Irish were then universally understood. But this does not prevent our supposing, that some British Scots might have belonged to it, as well as to the many other monasteries founded in those times throughout Germany by or for the Scotch-Irish, who considered the British Scots as their kinsmen, and were well disposed to receive them into their institutions. Whoever is tolerably acquainted with the state of the British Scots of that period, the narrow limits within which they were confined,

their wars against the Picts; the want of religious establishments on a large scale, must immediately perceive, that those swarms of learned and pious men, called *Scots*, who flockēd to the Continent in those times and during a long subsequent period, could not, generally speaking, have come from the small part of N. Britain then possessed by the Irish colonists, and that, at least, the great majority of them were the old Scots or Irish. When Walafrid Strabo, who lived early in the ninth century, observes, (*Vit. S. Galli L. 2. c. 46.*) that the custom of visiting foreign countries was become a sort of second nature to the Scots, he plainly means the natives of Ireland; for he introduces one of them, who had been left sick in St. Gall's monastery, and who was still alive in his time, as imploring the saint, who appeared to him in a dream, to relieve him as being a countryman of his. And, wherever else in said work Walafrid makes mention of Scots, he alludes to no others than the Irish, as, for instance, *L. 1. c. 20.* where St. Gallus, whom he every where represents as a native of Ireland, is spoken of as *de gente Scotorum*. (See also his Preface.) At the period we are now treating of, the Northumbrian kingdom comprized a very great part, and the best, of modern Scotland; and accordingly, as the inhabitants were not then Scots, it cannot be pretended that many of the eminent men, called *Scots*, who resorted to the Continent, might have been supplied from that country after having been educated in the schools of Mailros, &c. in said kingdom. The Picts were still distinct from the Scots; and, besides their having had no learned men among them, except foreigners, chiefly Irish, (see Pinkerton, *Pref. to Vit. Antiq. SS. &c.*) no one will imagine, that their country might have furnished some of those numberless persons, whose fame, under the name of *Scots*, resounded all over Western Europe. Will it be said that the Scots of Argyle and some neighbouring districts were alone numerous and enlightened enough to send out such crowds of learned and holy men? But what schools had they? Except Hy, which, as often observed, was an Irish school, they had none, I mean a respectable one; nor is there a trace of any such school in the territory of the British Scots until much later times. There were indeed some small monasteries or cells; but no mention occurs of any learned establishment. (See Chalmers, *Caledonia, Vol. 1. chap.* on the

Introduction of Christianity.)— Those Scots were welcome to the school of Hy, which, we may be sure, was frequented by several of them; but is it to be supposed, that all the so called Scots, who visited England, France, Germany, &c. had been educated at Hy, or that the Irish Scots, belonging to that house, and who, by the bye, were the far greater number, all staid at home, while none but the British ones went to foreign parts? If Hy were the only establishment, whence the travelling Scots of either nation derived their learning, it should have been ten times as large as it was, considering the multitudes of them that emigrated. The truth, however, is that a very considerable portion of these missionaries, &c. had studied in Ireland, which abounded in great schools, such as Armagh, Bangor, which sent out Columbanus, Gallus, and their companions; Lismore, whence St. Cataldus; Clonard, Clonmacnois, Ross, (co. Cork,) Emly, Kildare, Clonenagh, &c. &c. Neither St. Fursey and his companions, nor St. Livinus and others, whom it would be tedious to enumerate, had been members of the monastery of Hy. Next it is to be recollected that the great missionaries, who had really belonged to it, were Irishmen, such as Aidan, Finan, and Colman of Lindisfarne. In those times the British Scots were too much engaged in striving to extend their frontiers, and too poor to apply much to learning; and it was not until after they got possession of the Pictish kingdom in 843, that they set about establishing religious houses and schools on a somewhat extended scale. The Scottish establishment at Dunkeld was not begun until 849; that of Brechin was very late in the 10th century; and the schools of Dumblane and Abernethy, although perhaps earlier, were not formed until a late part of the period comprized between 843 and 1097. (See Chalmers, *ib. chap. on the Ecclesiastical history of said period.*)

I have been induced to enlarge on this subject, in consequence of having observed, that several continental writers, some of whom were otherwise very learned men, seem to have supposed, that such Scots as distinguished themselves in foreign countries during the seventh, and down to the eleventh or twelfth century, were generally from North Britain, unless some circumstance or indication may happen to occur, which points out Ireland as the land of their birth. Such distinguishing marks do indeed constantly

occur; and hence we find that other writers frequently remind the reader, that such and such Scots were from the old Scotia, that is, Irish Scots. Molanus, Philip Ferrarius, Sirmond, Fleury, and many more, particularly German authors, were very careful on this point, while the writers, above alluded to, leave the name *Scot*, or *Scots*, as they found it in old documents, without cautioning the reader that the persons so denominated were really Irish. And hence it has come to pass that some late authors of a minor class, writing in the modern languages of Europe, and copying from the Latin works of said writers, are wont to translate *Scoti*, not adverting to its old signification, *Scotchmen*, *Ecossois*, *Scozzesi*, &c. so as convey to the uninformed an idea that they were uniformly natives of N. Britain. But had the true state of the British Scots in the seventh, eighth, and thence to, at least, the eleventh century, been generally known, the name *Scoti*, applied to persons during that long period, would be presumed to mean *Irishmen*, in case there do not appear some special reasons, founded on the context, &c. to show that they were British Scots. If the Bollandists had been well acquainted with the history of these Scots, they need not have been as scrupulous, as we sometimes find them, in their doubts of whether this or that Scot of, *ex. c.*, the eighth century, were from Ireland or the modern Scotland. What I have hitherto stated on these points will help to elucidate the history of several eminent Irishmen, whom we shall meet with in our progress.

(28) The Bollandists (at *St. Suibert*, 30 April) suspect that Patto was not bishop of Verden, and that the immediate successor of Suibert was Tanco.

(29) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 796.*) There is no distinct account of the precise times of those abbots or of such of them as became bishops of Verden. What Colgan has about them at *St. Patto* (30 Mart.) is, as to the chronological part, very incorrect; and it will be sufficient to observe, that all of them flourished after A. D. 786.

(30) See *Chap. VIII. §. 8. Not. 91.* This is not the place to enter into the celebrated question concerning the Thule so often mentioned by Grecian and Roman writers; but it is certain that Iceland was the island which the Irish called *Thyle* or *Inis Thyle*, *i. e.* the island of Thyle. Not only our old historians are unanimous on

this point, (see Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 242.) but the geographer Dicuill is particularly explicit with regard to it, as, for instance, in what he says concerning the length of the summer days in Thyle, his denying that it was surrounded with ice, and his observing that the frozen sea was one day's sail more to the North.

(31) Playfair (*Geography*, Vol. III. p. 114) says, that Iceland was inhabited as early as the 5th century; but from what is stated (see above *Chap.* VIII. *ib.*) of St. Ailbe's intention to proceed thither for the purpose of leading a life unknown to the world, it may perhaps be conjectured that it was then destitute of inhabitants. This, however, is at most conjectural; for St. Ailbe might, notwithstanding its containing some inhabitants, have found places enough in the island, where he could have remained quite sequestered from them.

(32) The Icelandic historian, Arngrim Jonas, pretends that it was not inhabited until *A. D.* 874, when it was occupied by the Norwegians. Independently of historical documents, which prove the contrary, it is difficult to suppose that, while so many small islands of the Northern ocean were peopled long before that time, Iceland should have remained uninhabited, particularly as its climate was formerly much more temperate than it has become in the course of ages, and its soil was then much better and more fruitful than at present, besides the advantage of a passage to it not being impeded by ice. It was the Thule of the Romans, as there is good reason to believe, and was certainly inhabited at a far earlier period. But, setting aside this controversy, Arngrim himself supplies us with a proof, that it was peopled prior to the arrival of the Norwegians; for he acknowledges the well known fact, that the Norwegians found there sacred utensils, which had been left by Irish Christians, whom, he says, the ancient Icelanders called *Papa* or *Papas*. Pray, who were those old Icelanders, that were able to give some account of the Irish *Papas*? He must have meant the Norwegian settlers of 874. But, if they were the first inhabitants of the island, what could they have known of said *Papas*? Had he told us that they discovered the name *Papa* or *Papas*, by means of some inscriptions found there, or had he made mention of the Irish books left by the *Papas* in Iceland, he would have been more consistent with himself. His saying that they were probably fishermen is a poor evasion; for, if

so, why should they have left those sacred utensils in an uninhabited country? Unless he supposed that said Papas perished there; but then he tells us that the Norwegians found no traces of any habitation whatsoever. How could this have been, if the Papas had, on landing there, remained for some time in the island, as they surely must have intended to do? Otherwise why bring on shore articles necessary for the celebration of divine service? Passing by these inconsistencies of Arngrim, another Icelandic writer, Ara Multiseius has (*Sched. de Islandia, cap. 2.*) a clear account of the whole matter. Having observed that, when Ingolfr, the Norwegian, arrived in Iceland, it was in great part covered with forests, he adds, “that there were then Christians “there, whom the Norwegians call *Papas*, and that they afterwards quitted the country, because they did not like to live with “heathens, and left behind them Irish books, bells, and staves. “Thence it was easy to perceive that they were Irishmen.” On this statement we may observe, that the Irish, who were settled there at the time of the Norwegians taking possession of the island, did not, in all probability, leave it voluntarily, but were expelled by those same pagan Norwegians; for otherwise they would have taken along with them their books, &c. Nearly in the same manner are these circumstances stated in the book, called *Land-nama-boc* (*ap. Johnston, Ant. Celto-Scand. p. 14.*) in which we read; “Before Iceland was inhabited by the Norwegians, “there were men there whom the Norwegians call *Papas*, “and who professed the Christian religion, and are thought to “have come by sea from the West; for there were left by them “Irish books, bells and crooked staves, and several other things “were found which seemed to indicate that they were West-men. “These articles were found in Papeya towards the East and in “Papyli.” See also Von Troil, (*On Iceland, Letter IV.*) As to the crooked staves, they were of that kind, which the ancient Irish had a particular veneration for, viz. those, which had belonged to holy bishops, abbots, &c. and which used to be adorned with gold, precious stones, &c. Such was the famous staff of St. Patrick, that of St. Mura, and many others, which were considered as most valuable relics, so that it was usual, even until a late period, to swear by them.

According to the above accounts, those Irishmen, who had

lived in Iceland, were called *Papa* or *Papas*, by the Norwegians. This might seem to have been a name invented by the old Norwegians for them, because they were in communion with the Pope. But it is more probable, that it was that, which was used by themselves, signifying *clergymen*. Instances occur in our history of not only bishops but abbots being called *Papa*. (See *Not.* 214. to *Chap.* x.) In a note to *Ara* (*p.* 13.) those *Papas* are stated to have been ecclesiastics. The districts or places in Iceland, bearing the names *Papeya* and *Papyli*, afford a strong proof of this supposition; for it is sufficiently clear, that they were so called from having been inhabited by the Irish *Papas* before the arrival of the Norwegians. It is thus that, as Barry, (*History of the Orkneys*, *p.* 115.) following Pinkerton, thinks with great appearance of truth, the persons called *Papae*, whom the Scandinavians found in the Orkney Islands on their arrival in the ninth century, were the Irish clergymen settled there, who, as they spoke a different language, and were of an appearance and manners different from those of the other inhabitants of said islands, might have been considered by the Scandinavians as a distinct nation. Besides other indications, he observes that many places in these islands were called *Papay* or *Paplay*, which, considering their retired and pleasant situation, and the venerable ruins which some of them contain, seem to have been residences of clergymen. There are two whole islands known by that name, *Papay Stronsay* and *Papay Westray*, which are remarkable for ruins, and bear strong marks of having been clerical or monastic property.

(33) Dicuill, who has been mentioned already, says in his book, (*De mensura provinciarum orbis terrae*) that *thirty* years, prior to the time of writing it, he had got an account of Thyle (Iceland) from some clergymen, who had returned from it after having spent there from the first of February to the first of August. (See Usher, *p.* 868.) Dicuill flourished in the late part of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. (Ware, *Writers*, at *Dicuill*.) Usher places him (*p.* 729.) among the writers of the seventh; but as he was living at the time of the Northmannic, or as they are commonly called, Danish piracies, on account of which, he says, (see Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.) *several small islands about our island of Ireland have not at present as much as*

an anchoret in them, he must be assigned to the period, after which said piracies began off the Irish coasts, and which was somewhat later than 790. The date of Dicuill's work is now well known; for Mr. Walckenaer has published it together with *Récherches Géographiques et Phisiques* on it, Paris, 1814. According to his copy, Dicuill dates his work in 825. Accordingly the thirtieth previous year, in which he had conversed with the clergymen returned from Iceland, will bring us back to about 795. Nor is there any the least hint or any other reason to make us think, that they were the first missionaries, who had gone from Ireland to that country. It seems that the clergymen, who used to be sent on that mission, were occasionally relieved by others from Ireland after a certain period of service.

(34) See *Not.* 32.

(35) As to the Orkneys see *ib.* We have observed already, (*Chap.* xi. §. 14.) that Irish missionaries are said to have been in those islands as early as the times of Columbkil. Dicuill states, that in the Hethlandic, that is, the Shetland isles, there were living Irish hermits since about 100 years prior to the time of his writing. (See Usher, *p.* 729.)

§. v. St. Sedulius, abbot, and, according to some, bishop at Ath-eliath, now called Dublin, is said to have died in 786. (36) If he was really a bishop, he is the only one that Dublin can lay claim to before the eleventh century; (37) and it is clear, that it was not a regular episcopal see until said century. This, however, does not prevent our admitting, that Sedulius was raised to the episcopal rank, in the same manner as many abbots, distinguished for their merit, used to be in Ireland without attaching permanent sees to their places of residence, and as his neighbour and contemporary, Ferguill, was at Clondalkin. (38) Nothing further is known concerning this St. Sedulius, than that he was the son of one Luat, and departed this life on the 12th of February. A very learned and holy man, Colga, *alias* Coelchu, Colcu, (in Latin *Colcus*) surnamed the *Wise*, presided in these times over the great school of Clonmacnois.

(39) He was of the family of the Hua-Dunechda, and had, it seems, studied at that school. Through his great application, particularly to the Epistles of St. Paul, whom he venerated as his patron, he acquired such a degree of ecclesiastical knowledge that he was looked upon as the most learned man in Ireland, and was styled the *Scribe* or doctor of *all the Scots*. His piety was equally great, and accordingly he was raised to the priesthood. At what time he began to teach at Clonmacnois, we are not informed; but he remained there until his death in 792, on, it seems, the 20th February, the day at which his name is marked in the calendars. He left some tracts, one of which, of a devotional kind, has been preserved.

(40) This distinguished man was undoubtedly the lecturer and blessed master Colcu, with whom Alcuin carried on a correspondence, and who had an extraordinary respect for him, as appears from one of his letters to Colcu, which is still extant. (41)

After giving him some news relating to the state of the continent, he styles him *most holy father*, and calls himself *his son*. (42) He then mentions one Joseph as an humble servant of Colcu, who, as well as all his other friends then living in France, was serving God in a state of prosperity.

(43) Next he tells him that an unfortunate quarrel had broke out between king Charles and the Mercian king Offa, and that it was said that he himself was to be sent to England for the purpose of negotiating a peace between them, as in fact he was in 790, not long after his writing this letter. (44) He requests Colcu's prayers, that God may protect him, whether he should go or not, and laments that he had not received any letter from him for a considerable time.

Alcuin adds an account of some presents, which he had forwarded to him, such as oil, then a scarce article, to be distributed among the bishops; a certain sum of money, partly from the king Charles, and partly from himself, for the brethren (of Clonmacnois); another sum, not so large, from them also, and from

another person, for the Southern brethren of *Baldhunnega*; (45) and some small sums for certain anchorets; requesting that all those persons may pray for himself and for king Charles.

(36) The date of the 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 315.*) is 785, *i. e.* 786.

(37) The 4 Masters call Sedulius only *abbot*; but the *Martyr. Tamloct.* and Marian Gorman give him the title of *bishop*. Ware (*Bishops of Dublin*) omits him, whereas, according to the old documents of that church, Donat, who lived in the 11th century, was its first bishop. Yet Harris has admitted him, as well as others for whom there is much less foundation. Burke (*Office of St. Rumoldus*) goes still further, telling us, what it would be hard to guess where he found, that Pope Stephen III. on St. Rumoldus' resigning into his hands the see of Dublin, made it over to Sedulius. This is a patched up story, not worth refutation; for how can it be proved, that St. Rumold ever held said see? (See *Chap. XIX. §. 15.*)

(38) See *ib. §. 16.* It is not improbable, that Sedulius' promotion was in consequence of the death of Ferfugill in 785, as it was requisite that there should be a bishop somewhere in that neighbourhood to exercise the necessary episcopal functions. Perhaps both of them were only *chorepiscopi*.

(39) Colgan has the Acts of St. Colga at 20 Feb. *p. 378. seqq.*

(40) Colgan had a copy of it under the title of *Scuap chrabhaigh, Scopa devotionis, or Sweeping brush of devotion*. He represents it as a collection of most fervent prayers, breathing extraordinary piety. Ware (*Writers*) has overlooked Colga, but Harris has not.

(41) This letter was published by Usher from two very ancient MSS. of the Cottonian library, in the *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 18.*, and thence republished by Colgan among the Acts of St. Colga or Colcu. It is headed, "*Albini magistri ad Colcum lectorem in Scotia*"; then comes the address, "*Benedicto Magistro et pio patri Colcu, Alcuine humilis Levita salutem.*" Harris (*Writers, p. 51.*) fell into a monstrous mistake in attributing this letter to the Irishman, called Albin, the companion of Clemens, of whom we have treated above. He might have learned not only from the address of it, but likewise from Usher and Colgan, to whom he strangely refers the reader, that it was written by Alcuin.

(42) It is not to be concluded from these and other similar expressions in the letter, that Alcuin had studied under Colcu. For it does not appear, that he had ever been in Ireland. But, as the reputation of both of them was very great, they had heard of each other, and entered into a correspondence. A person might call another *Master*, or *Doctor*, and himself *his son*, without having been under his direction. Mabillon concludes (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 790*) from the highly respectful manner, in which Colcu is addressed and spoken of by Alcuin, that he must have been a very distinguished man. He then conjectures, that he was perhaps a teacher in Hy. Had he looked into Colgan's *AA. SS.* a work, which he seems to have been little acquainted with, he would have easily found, that Colcu belonged to Clonmacnois. On this point Mabillon imitated some older Benedictine writers, who, when at a loss with regard to the places, whence some celebrated Irishmen had come, usually recur to Hy, as if that were the greatest of all the Irish schools. Now, from at least the times of Adamnan, it was far from being so, and, although it did not cease to flourish, seems to have been much inferior to some in Ireland, particularly those of Armagh, Clonmacnois, Lismore, Bangor, and Clonard.

(43) This Joseph, who is mentioned in Alcuin's works, (see *Letter 67.*) had been a scholar of Colcu, as appears from a letter written to him by Alcuin, which Usher found in the MSS. whence he took that to Colcu. (See *Ep. Hib. Recens. ad. No. 18.*) In it Alcuin says to him; “*Your master Colcu is well.*” Alcuin had got this information from Ireland, and most probably through a letter from Colcu himself. His adding *your* to the word *master*, plainly shows that he meant more than giving the title of master, in general, to Colcu, and that Joseph had studied under him. Hence it may be justly inferred, that Joseph was an Irishman. Colgan enumerates (*AA. SS. p. 381.*) several persons of said name distinguished at that period in Ireland. It was probably through that Joseph, or some of the other friends of Colcu spoken of by Alcuin, who also appear to have been personally acquainted with him, and consequently are to be presumed natives of Ireland, that an epistolary intercourse took place between those two great men.

(44) See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad. A. 790.* Accordingly the letter was written about two years prior to the death of Colcu

which occurred in 792. For the date, 791, marked by Colgan from the 4 Masters, must, following the usual rule, be considered the same as 792.

(45) In Colgan's edition, among other errata, this name is spelled *Balthuminega*, and, in a note, *Baldhunnega*, both which have been copied by Harris (*Writers*, p. 51.). Colgan conjectured that it ought to read *Bailechuinnig*, so as to mean a town or place of St. Cannech, perhaps Kilkenny or Aghaboe. But, besides the great difference between *Baldhuinega* and *Bailechuinnig*, or rather *Bailecannich*, as Colgan in framing this new name should have spelled it, Alcuin's calling the brethren of that place *southern* ought naturally to be understood as referring to a part of Ireland more to the south of Clonmacnois than is either Aghaboe or Kilkenny. I can scarcely doubt that *Baldhuninega*, *the town or place Dhuninega*, was the same as Lismore, the old Irish name of which was *Dunsginne*, (see *Not.* 195. to *Chap.* xiv.) or *Dunsginna*. A copyist, unacquainted with the Irish language, might have easily made a mistake in writing this name. Lismore was greatly resorted to by English students; (see *Chap.* xiv. §. 14. *Not.* 197.) and it is probable, that Alcuin's reason for sending money to that establishment was to show his gratitude for the attention, with which his countrymen were treated there.

§. VI. St. Moelruan, abbot and bishop at Tallaght, or Tallagh, about five miles from Dublin, who died on the 7th of July A. D. 788, (46) is also to be reckoned among the learned men of those times, and was one, and probably the first, of the authors of the celebrated martyrology called *Tamlactense*, or of Tallaght. (47) Concerning his transactions I can find nothing further except that he governed his monastery according to the primitive rules of monastic discipline, and had for several years among his monks the great hagiologist Aengus.

Suibhne the second, abbot of Hy, who died either in 768 or 772, (48) was succeeded by Bressal, son of one Segen, whose administration lasted until 797, the year of his death. (49) During it died at Hy, in 787, Artgal, son of Cathald, who had been king of

Connaught. Resigning his crown in 779 he became a monk, and in the following year retired to Hy, where he piously spent the remainder of his life. (50)

In these times there seem to have been various contests for the see of Armagh. Foendelach, who is said to have become archbishop in 768, (51) is stated to have held it only three years, although we are told that he lived until 795. (52) Next after him is mentioned Dubdalethe, whose incumbency lasted fifteen years, (53) and accordingly, reckoning from 771, the year of his accession, ended in 786. Next after him are mentioned Arectac, who ruled only one year, (54) and Cudiniscus who held the see four years and consequently until 791. (55) He was succeeded by Conmach, to whom are assigned fourteen years. (56) As to the succession in other Irish sees there is a deplorable vacuum in the history of this period, with scarcely any exception, saving that of Emly. Cuan, who was bishop there, and in all probability the immediate successor of Senchai, died in 784 or 786; (57) and next after him we find in that see Sectabrat, who lived until 819. (58) Instead of a succession of bishops in some of our distinguished sees we are furnished with that of abbots in said places, for instance at Ferns and Kildare, (59) although it is difficult to think that the line of bishops was interrupted. (60)

(46) 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS. p. 583.* I have added a year to their date 587. They call him *bishop*, as does also Colgan, (*ib. p. 741.*) although elsewhere he gives him only the title of *abbot*.

(47) The title of this work, which Colgan represents as excellent, and the most copious he ever met with of that kind written in any country, is *Martyrologium Aengusii filii Hua-obhlenii et Moelruani.* Aengus, of whom hereafter, lived for some years in the monastery of Tallaght under Moelruan. As they both belonged to that place, Colgan has, with good reason, called it *Tamlactense.* (See *AA. SS. p. 5. and 581.*) It might have been

composed jointly by both of them, or what seems more probable, had been first undertaken by Moelruan, and continued by Aengus, who, from his name being placed first, seems to have written the greater part of it. He adds that a *Martyrologium Tamactense* is mentioned by an old Scholiast on the *Festilogium* of Marian Gorman, and that there is every appearance of its having been the same as that entitled, *Aengus*, &c. Concerning it more will be seen lower down.

(48) See *Chap. xix. §. 14. Not. 162.*

(49) See *Tr. Th. p. 500.* Smith in his catalogue of the abbots of Hy (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) inserts, between Suibhne and Bressal, a St. Muredach as abbot, because he found him called by the 4 Masters *prior* of Hy. He ought to have known that the priors of Hy were different from the abbots. The office of prior, which is kept up to this very day in large monasteries, is inferior to that of abbot. It is like that of a vice-president. Muredach died in 778.

(50) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. ib.* I have added a year to their dates.

(51) See *Chap. xix. §. 14. and ib. Not. 160. 161.*

(52) The Psalter of Cashel (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.*) allows three years for the incumbency of Foendelach. But the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 294.*) who, instead of him, make Cudiniscus the immediate successor of Ferdachrich, assign his death to A. 794 (795) after observing that he had a contest concerning the see, first with Dubdalethe and afterwards with Gormgal.

(53) Ware (*Bishops at Armagh*) from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel.

(54) See said catalogue *ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.* Ware has Affiat or Arectac. But in the now mentioned catalogue there is no Affiat. The Ulster annals and the 4 Masters call him *bishop* of Armagh, and state that he died on the same night with Arectac Hua-Foelain *abbot* of Armagh, in 793 (794.) According to this account, Arectac was not bishop, unless we should suppose that, having held the see for some time, he was pushed out by Affiat, and reduced to the situation of abbot. As to his dying in 794, it does not agree with the Psalter, which allows him only one year's incumbency, and consequently terminating in 787, except we are to admit a similar supposition, *viz.* that he was deprived of the see

some years before his death. It is, however, useless to endeavour to reconcile these jarring accounts, and I shall leave the whole matter as it is given in said Psalter.

(55) It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the disagreement with regard to the order of succession, the Ulster annals and the 4 Masters assign the death of Cudiniscus to *A. D.* 790, *i. e.* 791, the very year to which the above catalogue leads us for the close of his incumbency. Harris in his additions to Ware (at *Cudiniscus*) has a strange jumble of dates. Although he says with Ware, that the Annals of Ulster place his death in 791, he assigns his accession to 794, and his demise to 798. Where he found these dates, nobody, I believe, would be able to tell.

(56) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel.

(57) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*. For Senchai see *Chap.* xix. §. 16.

(58) Ware, *ib.*

(59) For the series of abbots there and elsewhere see Archdall. It will not be expected that I should transcribe them. It sometimes happens, as often remarked, that the same persons are sometimes called *abbots* and sometimes *bishops*; but it is not to be thence presumed that every one, who is called abbot, *ex. c.* of Ferns, were also bishops there. We have seen (*Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xix.) an *abbot* of Kildare clearly distinguished from two *bishops* of said place, who died in the same year with him. Our annalists were usually attentive to give the title *bishop* to such abbots, as were really both abbots and bishops.

(60) I suspect, however, that such an interruption might have occurred in less distinguished sees or places, owing to the singular practice in Ireland of raising persons to the episcopacy here and there without confining such promotions to old established sees, or places where there had been bishops in former days. The appointment of a bishop in a new spot might have prevented the regular continuation of others in a contiguous place, which had bishops before. For instance, there were some bishops at Cork in the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet after Selbac, who died in 773, we do not meet with another there until about the middle of the tenth. The succession might have been interrupted in consequence of the episcopal dignity being conferred on some abbots in the neighbourhood.

§ VII. The year 795 is stated by some writers to have been that, in which the Scandinavian freebooters, vulgarly called Danes, first infested the coasts of Ireland, and particularly the small island of Rechrann or Raghlin, which they laid waste. (61) To that year I first assigned the death of an abbot of Rechrann, St. Feradach, son of Segen, (62) which might have been occasioned by the proceedings of those marauders. Inis-patrick, now Holmpatrick, was plundered and devastated by them in 798. (63) In one of those early piratical expeditions, and probably the first of them, a sister of St. Findan was carried off by a party of those Northmen, who had landed somewhere on the coast of Leinster. For Findan was a native of that province, (64) and it was there that his father, who was a military man in the service of a Leinster prince, resided. (65) On being sent by his father to the Danes for the purpose of redeeming his sister, he was near being detained as a prisoner; but, as some of the party remonstrated on the unfairness of thus treating a person who had come on such an errand, he was allowed to return home. Some time after, through the treachery of certain enemies of his, he was inveigled to go on an excursion near the sea, whence, it appears, his habitation was not far distant, and there fell into the hands of some of those Norman pirates, and, after various vicissitudes, was taken to the Orkneys. Having stopped near one of its uninhabited islands, several of the pirates landed there and allowed Findan to accompany them. Here he seized an opportunity of slipping away from his Norman companions, and concealed himself under a rock, until the vessel sailed from that place. Thinking that there was an inhabited country not far distant, and having examined every outlet for three days, living on herbs and water, he determined on entrusting himself to Providence, and promised that, if God should preserve him, he

would renounce all worldly pursuits, and spend the remainder of his life in holy pilgrimage. He then committed himself to the waves, and swam until he reached land, on reconnoitring which he saw houses and fires at no great distance from the shore. This country was probably some part of Caithness in North Britain. (66) After two days he met some persons, who conducted him to the bishop of a neighbouring town, by whom he was very kindly received. This bishop had [studied in Ireland, understood the Irish language, and kept Findan with him for two years. Findan, however, wishing to proceed on his intended pilgrimage, left that place with the bishop's permission, and taking with him some companions passed over to France, visited St. Martin's of Tours, and, travelling on foot, at length arrived at Rome. Having remained there for some time, he went to Switzerland, and stopping there spent four years in a clerical state with a nobleman, (67) on the expiration of which his superior in the monastery of Rhinaugia or Rhingaw, (68) got him made a monk in the 51st year of his age. The time assigned for Findan's monastic profession is *A. D.* 800, a date, which does not agree with that marked by some authors for the first Danish attacks on the coasts of Ireland, but which, however, we have not sufficient authority to set aside. (69) After five years of monastic observance in the community, he became a recluse in a cell adjoining the church and monastery, where he remained for 22 years, practising the most extraordinary austerities, particularly as to fasting. These were, in all probability, the last years of his life, and accordingly his death ought to be assigned to *A. D.* 827 (70) Some remarkable circumstances are related as having occurred to this saint on the festivals of St. Patrick, (71) St. Brigid, St. Columba (Columbkil), and St. Aidan (of Lindisfarne); and

certain Irish sentences, which he heard in visions on these occasions, are repeated in his Life. The sanctity of Findan was reputed to be so very great, that the monks of Rhingaw, although the monastery was not founded by him, adopted him as their patron (72) ; and his memory is revered there on the 15th of November. (73)

(61) Ware, (*Antiq. cap.* 24.) referring to the Annals of Ulster. Usher has (*Ind. Chron.*) these Danish depredations at *A.* 795, but does say that they were the first. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 510.) assign a devastation of Rechrann to *A.* 790 (791.) This date would, in the supposition that the Danes attacked other parts of the Irish coasts in the same year, agree with the history of St. Findan, of which a little lower down, better than that of the Ulster annals. O'Flaherty follows Ware, (see *Ogygia, Part 3. cap.* 93. at *king Donnchad.*) Usher was mistaken in adding to the devastation of Rechrann in 795 that of the greatest part of Ireland; a statement, which he took from a vague passage of Carodoc of Lancarvan. (See *Pr. p.* 958.) It is clear from what Ware has collected on this part of our history, that the Danes did not penetrate into the interior of Ireland until several years later.

(62) Four Masters and *Tr. Th. p.* 510.

(63) The Ulster annals (*ap. Johnston, App. &c.*) have ; *A.* 797 (798) *Inis-patrick wasted by the Gáls.*

(64) In his Life he is called a Scot, and a citizen of the province of Leinster, “ *Findan genere Scottus, civis provinciae Lagenensis.*” This Life may be seen in Melchior Goldast's *Rerum Alemannicarum Scriptores, Tom. 1. p.* 318. *seqq.* or, according to another edition, *Tom. 1. p.* 203. *seqq.* Although imperfect, it contains a very good account of this saint's transactions, and is written in a clear, sensible, and rational manner. The author lived not long after Findan, for he mentions a person still alive in the monastery of Fore (*in Fovariensi monasteris*), to whom the saint had related a vision that he had. (See *cap.* 8.) This person must have seen Findan in Switzerland, but afterwards returned to Ireland. And it appears that the author was also an Irishman, although, at the time of his writing, a monk in Switzerland. Besides his seeming to hint, that he had been in the mo-

nastery of Fore, he quotes several Irish passages. But I find no reason for making him, as Ware does, (*Writers* at 9th century) a companion of Findan.

(65) Colgan, who was much inclined to make our saints sons of kings, calls (*AA. SS. p. 355.*) Findan, or as he spells the name, *Fintan*, an Irish prince. Ware (*ib.*) says that he was the son of a Leinster prince. This is a strange assertion for an author, who refers the reader to the *Life* published by Goldast. In it we find quite the reverse; for not only is Findan called a *citizen* of Leinster, but his father is represented as a military man, *miles*, under a prince of that province, who was at variance with another Leinster prince. Which of them was his master, or whether he belonged to North or South Leinster, we are not informed.

(66) There are some small islands in the southern Orkneys, or in the frith of Pentland, which may also be comprized under the general name of *Orcaedes* (Orkneys), from one of which a good swimmer might make his way to the mainland of Scotland. Or the land, which Findan arrived at, might have been one of the larger islands. Yet from other circumstances it seems more probable, that the tract alluded to was in Caithness.

(67) In the *Life* it is said, that he remained four years with a nobleman *in clericatu*. Does this mean that Findan acted as chaplain to a nobleman? If so, he was already a priest. But I think that the passage ought to be understood of his leading a clerical life, preparatory to holy orders, or to the monastic profession, while residing with that nobleman.

(68) Rhingaw, *alias* Rheinau, is an abbey near the town of said name in the district of Thorgaw in Switzerland. Ware (*Writers*, at 9th century) was wrong in making Findan the founder of it. He was only one of its first monks. The founder was, according to Goldast, the Count Wolfchard of Kyburg, who was, in all appearance, that nobleman, under whom Findan spent four years, and, perhaps, the same as the person called its senior or superior. Mabillon, (*Annal. &c. ad A. 800.*) admitting that Wolfchard was the founder, states that its first abbots were Wichramn, Wolwin, and Antwart, under one or other of whom, he says, was placed Findan.

(69) This difficulty has been noticed by J. P. Murray, *De Britan. atque Hibern. &c. Nov. Comm. R. S. Goetting. Tom. 2.* and

De Coloniis Scandicis, ib. Tom. 3. The number of years, that intervened between Findan's being carried off by the Danes and his becoming a monk in 800, leads us to an earlier date than 795. Not to reckon the time that passed from his seizure to his escape from the Orkneys, he spent two years with the good bishop before he set out for France. For his journey through that country and Italy to Rome, his delay in said city, and his journey thence to Switzerland, another year, at the least, must be allowed. Add the four years, which he passed with the worthy nobleman previous to his monastic profession, and it will be found, that, supposing the date 800 to be correct, Findan was captured before 795, and that the Danes began to infest the Irish coasts earlier than is stated in the annals of Ulster. Now there are very good reasons for believing, that said date is correct. The writer of the *Life* was almost contemporary with Findan; (see *Not. 64.*) he lived in the monastery of Rhingaw, and had access to its documents, among which there was undoubtedly a precise account of the holy man's transactions, time of profession, &c. and accordingly ought to be considered as a very credible witness on these points. The only evasion, that may be guessed at against the truth of the date 800, is, that a transcriber might have mistaken it for some other. But of this some proof should be adduced; and I do not find that any one has undertaken to do so. Said date is followed by Mabillon (*Annal. ad 800.*); and it is somewhat odd that Ware, who had Fintan's *Life* before his eyes, did not hesitate to lay down the year 795 as that of the commencement of the Danish aggressions on our coasts; and that Usher, who also had said *Life*, has affixed (*Ind. Chron.*) Findan's captivity to that year. I am strongly of opinion that Ireland was annoyed by the Scandinavians some years earlier, although the annals of Innisfallen assign their first appearance on our coasts to said year 795; and we have seen (*Not. 61.*) that the 4 Masters bring them to Rechrann in 791. If that, or even 792 was the year in which Findan was taken, no difficulty will remain as to what we read of his further proceedings, and his having become a monk as early as *A. D. 800.*

(70) See Mabillon, *Annal. at A. 827.*

(71) What will Dr. Ledwich say, on hearing that the festival of St. Patrick was kept at Rhingaw in the *beginning* of the ninth

century. Will he still maintain, that he had not been heard of until the *middle* of it?

(72) The author of the Life calls him *our patron*.

(73) *AA. SS. p. 355.*

§. VIII. Donnchad, king of all Ireland, having reigned 27 years, (74) and left an example of great piety and repentance, (75) died in 797, (76) and was succeeded by Aidus, *alias* Aedan, *alias* Hugh, surnamed *Ordnidhe*, a son of the king Niell Frassach. This Aidus was the fifth monarch of that name. (77) During his reign, which lasted 22 years, the ravages by the Scandinavians became more frequent and dreadful. In 798 they attacked the coasts of Ulster, (78) and in 802 set fire to the monastery of Hy, (79) on which occasion many of the monks were consumed in the flames. They again entered Hy in 806; and such was the extent of their fury that the number of its members was reduced to 64. (80) In 807 they effected a landing in Ireland, and penetrating as far as Roscommon destroyed it, and laid waste the surrounding country. (81) But in 812 they were defeated with great slaughter by the Irish, and forced to fly and return to their own country. (82) About 815, or, as some say, 818, the famous Norwegian Turgesius, of whom more will be seen hereafter, made his first invasion of Ireland. (83) The king Aidus Ordnidhe, having become a great penitent, (84) lived until 819, (85) and had for successor Conquovar, a son of king Donnchad, who is said to have reigned fourteen years. (86) The next king was Niell Calne, son of Aidus Ordnidhe, who after a reign of thirteen years was drowned in the river Calluin, (87) when 55 years of age, in 846. (88) He was succeeded by Mel-seachlain, whose name has been latinized into *Malachias*, a nephew of king Conquovar by his brother Malronius. His reign lasted sixteen years and some months; and his death is assigned to A. D. 863.

(89) After him reigned Aidus, or Aedan, VI. surnamed *Finnliath*, and son of king Niell Calne. He held the throne for sixteen years, until his death in the monastery of Druin-iniscluinn (Drumshallon) A. 879. (90) His successor was Flan Sinna, son of the king Melseachlain, who reigned for about 37 years, and accordingly until 916. (91)

(74) See *Chap. xix. §. 9.*

(75) Four Masters, and *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(76) Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) and O'Flaherty (*Ogygia, Part III. cap. 93.*) Ware says that, according to some accounts, he was killed in battle fighting against Aidus or Aedan, his successor, a circumstance not mentioned either by the 4 Masters or O'Flaherty. Ware adds as certain, that two sons of Donnchad were afterwards killed contending for the monarchy against the said Aidus.

(77) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 448.*) calls him Aidus the sixth, in consequence of his having added a unit to the number of every king of that name, beginning with Aidus, son of Anmireus, in the sixth century, whom he calls Aidus the *second*, while by others he is called the *first*.

(78) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24.* He says that in 798 they infested Ulster; but this must be understood as relative to the coast. and to partial landings; for from what follows it appears, that there was no general landing, and that they did not advance far into Ireland until 807.

(79) Annals of Ulster, *ap. Johnston at A. 801 (802)*, and 4 Masters (in *Tr. Th. p. 500.*) who mention an earlier conflagration of Hy in 797 (798).

(80) Annals of Ulster, *ib. ad A. 805 (806).* Smith (*App. to Life of St. C.*) says, that in this havock 68 monks were killed by those foreigners (Gâls).

(81) Ware *Antiq. cap. 24.* and Annals of Ulster, *ib.*

(82) Eginhard, who is quoted by Usher (*p. 731.*), has at *A. 812*; "Classis Nordmannorum Hiberniam Scotorum insulam aggressa, commissoque cum Scotis praelio, parte non modica Nordmannorum interfecta, turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est." The same date and account are given by the chroniclers Rhegino and Hermannus Contractus. See Ware, *ib.* who adds. that.

according to the Irish histories, the Danes were about these times defeated in two engagements. One of them was, in all appearance, fought in 811, at which the Ulster Annals, calling it 810, mark, a slaughter of the Gáls in Ulster.

(83) Ware *ib.* O'Flaherty (*Ogygia, Part. III. cap. 93.*) says, that Turgesius arrived in 815, and that thenceforth the so called Danes began to be settled in Ireland. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns his arrival to 818; for thus his words must be understood, whereas elsewhere (*p. 860*) reckoning the 30 years of the tyranny of Turgesius he makes *A. 848* the last of them. But the date 815, or about it, suppose the beginning of 816, is probably more correct; and Usher seems to have had no other reason for marking 818, than his having read in Giraldus Cambrensis that Turgesius devastated Ireland for *about 30 years*, which Usher explained as *exactly 30 years*. Then finding that, in all probability, the last year of that persecution was 848, he reckoned back merely to 818. Yet the *about 30 years* of Giraldus may be well supposed to have been really 32 or 33; and Ware and O'Flaherty had, we may be sure, some good reasons for the date 815. For, although Ware mentions 818 as given, by some (meaning, I think, Usher), yet he first lays down 815, or about it.

(84) See *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(85) Ware *Antiq. cap. 4.* and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.* Ware adds, that, according to some, he lived until 820.

(86) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware allows him only 12 years, and places his death in 832, while O'Flaherty assigns it to 833.

(87) This river, which flows near Armagh, is now called *Callen*. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) say that, from having been drowned in it Niell was surnamed *Calne*.

(88) O'Flaherty, *ib.* Ware agrees with him as to this king's death in 846.

(89) Ware (*Ant. cap. 4.*) has *A. 862*. He observes, that Mel-seachlain was buried at Clonmacnois.

(90) Ware, having placed the accession of Aidus VI. in 862, says that he reigned almost 17 years, and thus comes to the same point with O'Flaherty in assigning his death to *A. 879*. He was mistaken as to the situation of Druim-iniscluinn, where the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 448.*) tell us that this king died. It was not in Tirconnel, as he says, but in Conall-murtheimhne, and in the

now county of Louth, about three miles from Drogheda. (See *Tr. Th. p. 174.* and Archdall at *Drumshallon.*) Owing to the name *Conall* appearing in the denomination of those two territories, they have sometimes been confounded together.

(91) O'Flaherty (*ib.*) gives this king 37 years; Ware (*Ant. cap. 4.*) has 36 years, six months, and five days, adding that he died at Talten (famous for its sports) aged 68. Yet he affixes his death, as well as O'Flaherty, to *A. D. 916.*

§. ix. During the reign of Aidus Ordnidhe, and in the year 800, the Irish clergy obtained a privilege of the greatest importance. The practice, so fatal to ecclesiastical discipline, of compelling bishops and abbots to attend kings in their military expeditions had crept into Ireland. Aidus having, on occasion of a quarrel with the people of Leinster, laid waste that province, was determined to proceed still further against them, and for that purpose raised in that year a great army from all the other parts of Ireland, and of all descriptions, not excepting even the clergy. Among others he was accompanied by Conmach, archbishop of Armagh, and Fothadius a most learned and holy lecturer and writer of said city, celebrated for his knowledge of the Canons, on which account he was called *Fothadius de Canonibus*. The army being arrived at the frontiers of Leinster and Meath, the clergy began to complain of their being forced to perform military duty, and applied to the king for an exemption from it. He answered, that he would agree to whatever should be decided on this point by Fothadius, who accordingly drew up a statement, in which he maintained that the clergy ought not to be charged with a service so unbecoming their profession, and which produced the wished for effect. (92)

Fothadius is said to have presented a copy of this tract to the hagiologist Aengus, from whom he had received on this occasion a copy of one of his works,

viz. the *Festilogium*, which he had just completed. This celebrated man, who, as we have seen, had spent some years with St. Moelruan of Tallaght, (93) was of an illustrious family descended from the ancient princes of Dalaradia in Ulster. His father was Aengavan, the son of Hoblen; and accordingly Aengus has been usually distinguished from others of that name by the addition of the surname *son of Hua-Hoblen*. He embraced the monastic state in the monastery of Clonenagh (Queen's county) under the holy abbot Moelatgen, (94) and made great progress in piety and learning. He was wont to spend a great part of his time in a lonesome spot not far distant from Clonenagh, and which from him has been called *Disert Aengus*, where he occupied himself in reading the psalms and in constant prayer. His reputation for sanctity becoming very great, he wished to withdraw from the scene of it and to hide himself in some place, where he was not known. Having heard of the strict and exemplary manner, in which St. Moelruan governed his monastery, he determined on placing himself under his direction, and set out for Tallaght.

(92) See the 4 Masters, at *A.* 799 (800) *ap. AA. SS. p. 583*, and Harris, *Writers at Fothadius*.

(93) Above §. 6. Colgan has the *Acts of St. Aengus* at xi. March.

(94) According to the 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 582.*) Moelatgen died in 767 (768) and his memory was revered on the 21st of October.

§. x. When arrived there he concealed his name and whatever clerical rank he had been raised to, and requested to be received as a novice. (95) It is said that he was employed for seven years in the most laborious avocations, such as reaping, threshing, &c. His humility and the austerity of his life were so remarkable, that he was called *Cele-De* or *Ceile-De*,

that is, a servant or companion of God. (96) At length his rank and acquirements were discovered by Moelruan in consequence of his having assisted one of the school boys of the monastery in preparing his task, at which he had been either dull or negligent, and who was afraid of being punished by Moelruan. The boy hid himself in the barn, where Aengus was working, who, taking compassion on him, helped him so well that he was enabled to go through his task to the great satisfaction of his master, (97) who, surprized at this change, pressed the boy to tell him how it had come to pass, and, although Aengus had cautioned him to be silent, compelled him to relate the whole circumstance. Moelruan, who had hitherto considered Aengus as an illiterate rustic, flew to the barn and embracing him complained of his having so long concealed his character, and expressed his deep regret for the humble and abject manner, in which he had been hitherto treated. Aengus, throwing himself at his feet, begged pardon for what he had done. Henceforth he was held by him in the greatest consideration; and it is probable that he remained at Tallaght until Moelruan's death in 788. He became afterwards abbot, apparently, of Clonenagh or of Disert-Aengus, or probably of both places, (98) after he had returned thither from Tallaght. Aengus was raised also to the episcopal rank, without leaving the monastery or monasteries, which he governed. (99) He died on a Friday, the eleventh of March, but in what year is not recorded, (100) and was buried at Clonenagh.

Several works are attributed to this saint. He is named as one of the authors of the very copious Martyrology of Tallaght, (101) which, it seems, he began to labour at jointly with St. Moelruan after he was recognized by him. Whether he finished his part of it during Moelruan's life time it is difficult to ascertain; but the present text of this martyrology

shows, that it has been augmented by some later writer or writers. Besides its containing the festivals of Aengus himself and of Moelruan, it has those of other holy persons down to the close of the ninth century. (102) From that large work, as far as it went in his time, Aengus is stated to have extracted his *Festilogium*, a small calendar written in Irish verse, in which he mentions at each day only some principal saints, and which he used for his private devotion with regard to them. (103) He composed another work on the saints of Ireland, divided into five small books; 1. containing the names of 345 bishops, 299 priests and abbots, and 78 deacons; 2. entitled of *Homonymous saints*, or saints of the same names, by some of which, *ex. c. Colman*, an extraordinary number was called; (104) 3. the *Book of sons and daughters*, giving an account of holy persons born of the same parents, &c. 4; the maternal genealogy of about 210 Irish saints; 5. a collection of litanies, in which are invoked groups of saints, among whom are included several foreigners that died in Ireland. (105) This work is sometimes called *Saltuir-na-rann*, that is the Metrical or Multipartite Psalter. (106) There is another *Saltuir-na-rann*, a poetical work, written also by Aengus, comprizing the history of the Old Testament, which he put into the form of prayers and praises to God. (107)

(95) Harris (*Writers at Aengus*) says that he was received as a *lay brother*. Colgan indeed, from whom he took his account of Aengus, seems to have thought so; for he represents him as a *conversus*, the term by which a lay brother is usually distinguished from a clerical one. But, if this was Colgan's meaning, he was certainly mistaken; for the distinction between clerical and lay monks or brethren, as it is now understood, was not known in Ireland at that period, nor, it seems, any where until the eleventh century. (See Fleury, *Discours septieme sur l'Hist. Eccl. and Instit. au Droit Eccl. Part. 1. ch. 25.*) In older times some monks, it is

true, were raised more or less to the clerical rank, and the number of such promotions appears to have increased with the course of ages ; but there was not as yet any radical distinction of classes in the religious institutions, so as that one of them was perpetually debarred from any ecclesiastical promotion, and destined to toil in the fields and elsewhere as subordinate to the other, and, in fact, as servants of the clerical or higher class.

(96) Toland pretends, (*Nazarenus, Letter II. sect. 3.*) that the surname *Ceile-De* given to Aengus indicated an office or particular sort of profession, and that he was one of that sort of clergymen, who have been afterwards called *Culdees*. But Aengus was a monk, whereas the *Culdees*, as will be seen elsewhere, were the secular canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches, such as we call prebendaries. It is a palpable mistake to suppose, that they were a monastic order. The title *Ceile-De*, as applied to Aengus, had nothing to do with them, and it is more than probable, that in his time there was not as yet any such institution as that of those so much talked of *Culdees*. Aengus's surname was peculiar to himself, unless it should be supposed that all, that is said of his having been a monk, &c. is false. Many Irish names began with *Ceile*, *Cele*, or, with the corresponding word *Gilla*, followed by that of our Saviour or some saint. Thus we find *Cele-Christ*, *Cele-Peter*, *Gilla-Patrick*, &c. *i. e.* servant of Christ, &c.

(97) It is thus, I think, that the anecdote related in Aengus' *Acts* ought to be understood. The boy's improvement is indeed stated as miraculous, and as a supernatural consequence of his having slept for a while on the bosom of Aengus. But it can be well accounted for without recurring to a miracle.

(98) Another Aengus, who was almost contemporary with this saint, and who has left an elegant poem in praise of him, from which Colgan derived a great part of his *Acts*, hints that he was abbot at Clonenagh, and also at Disert-Aengus. Colgan observes, that his hints are stronger as to the latter place. But the matter can be easily settled. As they were near each other, both lying in the barony of Maryborough, Aengus might have been abbot of the two establishments ; and that of Disert-Aengus, which commenced with himself, may be considered as a cell to the old and great monastery of Clonenagh. Archdall (at *Clonenagh* and *Disert-*

enos, Disert-Aengus) has inverted the order of the transactions of Aengus. After making him found an abbey at Disert-Aengus he sends him to Tallaght, where, he says, he died. Now it is clear from his *Acts*, that he was no more than a simple monk, when he removed to Tallaght; and as to the place of his death, it was not Tallaght; for, as we find in said *Acts*, he was buried at Cloneagh. The Aengus, panegyrist of the saint, seems to have been, as Colgan justly conjectures, the abbot Aengus, surnamed the *Wise*, of Clonfert-molua, who died in 858 (859). (See *AA. SS.* p. 582.)

(99) In various Irish calendars he is expressly styled *bishop*. Considering the Irish practice of promoting eminent abbots to the episcopacy, we need not look for any other see for him than one of the above mentioned monasteries.

(100) There being good reason to think that Aengus survived the year 806, Colgan conjectures that the year of his death was either 819, 824, or 830; whereas in each of them the 11th of March fell on a Friday.

(101) See above *Not.* 47.

(102) Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c.* p. 365) strives to show, that this martyrology was first written in the 9th century, because it has the names of Moelruan, Aengus and other later saints. It is true that, considered in its present state, it was not completed until even the end of that century; but does it follow that Aengus and Moelruan had no share in drawing it up? He adds, that in its second preface it cites the martyrology of St. Jerome. Here the Doctor is wrong; for this martyrology is quoted not in any preface to the martyrology of Tallaght, *alias* that of Aengus and Moelruan, but in the second preface to the *Festilogium* of Aengus. (See *AA. SS.* p. 581.) He then tells us that the martyrology called *of St. Jerome* was not known until about the ninth century; but might not *about the ninth century* be implied to take in part of the eighth, prior to Aengus having been engaged in any of these works? The Doctor says that Launoy has proved, that this martyrology was fabricated about the ninth century. Now in the passage, which he refers to, Launoy has not even attempted to prove it; and all that he says, is that the martyrology called *of St. Jerome* cannot be proved to have been written by that saint on any authority prior to the reign of Charlemagne. But the Doctor cares nothing

about inaccuracies or misquotations, provided he could make the reader believe, that martyrologies are not to be depended upon. Yet Launoy was, in the little he has said, mistaken; for the martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, or rather to Eusebius and St. Jerome, as quoted by Aengus, is mentioned more than once by Bede, who lived many years before Charlemagne. Thus he cites (*L. 2. in Marcum, cap. 26.*) *Martyrologium Eusebii et Hieronymi vocabulis insignitum*; and (*Retract. in Act. Ap. cap. 1.*) states, that Eusebius is said to have been the author, and Jerome the translator. (See more in Bollandus' *General Preface, cap. 4. §. 4. at 1 January*). That Eusebius compiled a sort of martyrology is certain; (*ib. cap. 1. §. 3.*) and the learned Bollandists Henschenius and Papebrochius (*Prolog. ad Martyrol. Bed. at March. Tom. 2.*) were inclined to think, that it was not only translated, but likewise augmented by St. Jerome. Be this as it may, it is well known that what is now called the *Martyrology of St. Jerome* was not written by him; but it is supposed to have been originally compiled not long after his time, and is considered by many very learned men to be the oldest extant. D'Achery has published it, (*Spicileg. Tom. 4.*) and in his *Monitum* states from Henry Valois, that it was used by Gregory the great, and existed many years earlier. Since those times some names have been added to it, such as that of Gregory himself, which D'Achery has marked in Italics. Among them is that of St. Patrick, and perhaps the Doctor had heard so, on which account he wished to decry its antiquity. Much more might be said on this subject, were this the place for doing so. Meanwhile the reader may consult also Tillemont. *Hist. Eccl. Tom. XII. at St. Jerome, art. 144.*

(103) Besides the constant tradition of this tract having been written by Aengus, and his having presented a copy of it to Fothadius in 800, as asserted by the Scholiast on it (*AA. SS. p. 581.*) it is to be observed, that in the first preface king Dunnchad is spoken of as not long dead at the time the author was writing or had finished it. Dunnchad died in 797.

(104) *AA. SS. ib. and Preface.*

(105) Colgan (*ib. p. 539*) gives a specimen of these litanies, in which Aengus invokes Roman, Italian, Gallic, British, English, and even Egyptian saints, whose remains he represented as in Ireland, specifying the very places.

(106) Under this title Colgan says (*ib. p. 582.*) that it appears in some old Irish MSS. and that he got a part of it with the inscription, *from Saltuir-na-rann composed by Aengus Cele-De.* He observes that the latest saint mentioned in it is St. Tigernach, son of St. Mella, and founder of Doire-melle, (see *Chap. XIX. §. 13.*) who died abbot of Kill-achad, in the now county of Cavan, on the 4th of November, A. D. 805 (806). (See *AA. SS. p. 796.* and Archdall at *Killachad.*) This is a strong proof of the assertion that Aengus was the author of this work.

(107) Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 582.* Harris (*Writers at Aengus*) says that some ascribe to Aengus a *Psalter-na-rann*, a miscellany on Irish affairs. Aengus wrote no such work, and his only *Psalter*, or *Saltuir-na-rann* were those above mentioned. Harris got his information either from Toland, or from some one who took it from him. In his *Nazarenus (Letter II. sect. 3.)* Toland says that Aengus wrote a *chronicle*, entitled *Psalter-na-rann*. This is a lie invented by that impious writer, who did not wish to let it be known, that Aengus was chiefly employed in treating of saints, and that he used to invoke them. And (*ib. Chap. II. §. 8.*) he tells a still more monstrous lie, viz. that the Irish used not to pray to saints. Now there is nothing more clear in our ecclesiastical history than that the ancient Irish were in the habit of invoking them. Dungal, a most learned Irishman of these times, defends this practice against Claudius, as will be seen lower down. Brogan, who in the seventh century wrote a life of St. Brigid in Irish verse, (see *Not. 18. to Chap. VIII.*) often invokes her in the course of it, concluding with these words; “ There are two holy virgins in heaven, who may undertake my protection, Mary and St. Brigid, on whose patronage let each of us depend.” See also, to omit many other proofs, Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col. L. 2. c. 45.* The practice was so general in Ireland, and so well known to learned men, who have dipped into our history, that Usher in his *Discourse on the Religion of the ancient Irish*, found it expedient not to touch on the invocation of saints.

(108) Ware, *Bishops at Armagh.* He took this date from the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 294.*) who have *A. 806, i. e. 807.* making no mention of the *fourteen* years, during which Conmach held the see according to the catalogue of the *Psalter of Cashel.* (Above §. 6.) Ware’s reason for omitting these years must have

been his inability to reconcile the date 807 for his death with that of 791 for the death of Cudiniscus, whereas between them there were *sixteen* years. And indeed I do not know how they can be reconciled.

§. XI. Conmach, archbishop of Armagh, died suddenly in, it is said, the year 807, (108) and was succeeded by Forbach, son of one Gorman, and a scribe and lecturer of Armagh. He was a native of Kinel-Torbach, or Hua-Kellach in the territory of the Bregenses, an eastern part of Meath, and held the see only one year. (109) His successor was Nuad, (110) called of *Loch-uama*, (a lake in some part of Breffny) either from his having been born near it, or from his having led the life of an anchoret in its neighbourhood. (111) He afterwards presided over a monastery until he was raised in 808 to the see of Armagh, which he governed for somewhat more than three years, until his death on the 19th of February, *A. D.* 812. (112) Not long before, *viz.* in 811, he made a visitation of some part of Connaught, and on that occasion relieved some churches there from an annual offering, which used to be made to that of Armagh. (113) Next after him we find Flangus, son of Longsech, to whom thirteen years are assigned, and who died in 826. (114) Bressal abbot of Hy, who died in 797, (115) was succeeded by Conmach, a man of great learning, whose death is assigned to the following year (116) The next abbot was Kellach, son of Congal, who lived until 811. (117) He was, in all probability, the founder of the church and monastery of Kells in the year 807, (118) after the dreadful havock caused in Hy by the Danes in 806. (119) His successor Diernit carried off the shrine and remains of St. Columba to the mainland of North Britain in 817, lest it should fall into the hands of those pirates. (120) The time of Diernit's death is not recorded; but he was still abbot of Hy, when St. Blaithmaic was killed there

by the Danes in the year 824. This saint was a native of Ireland and heir to a principality; (121) but in opposition to his father and others, among whom are mentioned a bishop and some abbots, he withdrew from the world, and became a monk and afterwards an abbot. Blaithmaic had an ardent desire to visit some foreign parts; but was prevented by his friends and companions from leaving Ireland. At length he passed over to Hy, where he was not long when a party of Danes approached the island. As he was anxious to receive the crown of martyrdom, he determined to remain there, whatever might come to pass, and by his example induced some others to stay along with him, advising those, who did not wish to encounter the impending danger, to make their escape. While celebrating mass, attended by his intrepid companions, the Danes rushed into the church, and, having slaughtered the bystanders, came up to him and asked for the precious metals, within which were contained the holy remains of St. Columba. These, having been brought back from North Britain, had been concealed under ground; but Blaithmaic did not know in what particular spot. Accordingly he answered, that he did not know where they were, adding that, if he did, he would not point them out to the Danes. They then put him to death on the 19th of January, A. D. 824. (122)

(109) On this point the 4 Masters agree with the Cashel catalogue. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p. 294*) that his memory was revered on the 16th of July, that is, the anniversary of his death. (See *AA. SS. p. 373.*)

(110) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Armagh*) call Nuad son of Segen. This is a mistake founded on a cursory reading of the *Acts of Nuad of Armagh ap. AA. SS. 19 Febr.* Colgan happens to mention among other Nuads, one who was son of Segen, and who was killed by the Danes in 844, and observes, what Ware has

strangely overlooked, that he must not be confounded with the archbishop, who died many years earlier.

(111) Nuad's *Acts*, cap. 2. Colgan observes that the lough or lake *Uama*, i. e. the lake of the cave, is in Western Breffny or O'Rourke's country, the now county of Leitrim, and that it sometimes flows back into the cave, whence it issues.

(112) *Acts*, cap. 5. The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows three years for the incumbency of Nuad; but these must be understood with the addition of some months, reckoning from, as Colgan (*ib.*) observes, the death of Torbach on the 16th of July, A. 807 (808) to 19 February A. 811 (812).

(113) The date given by the 4 Masters for Nuad's journey to Connaught is 810, that is, 811. Yet Ware and Harris have, without any motive, retained 810. The English translator of Ware has spoiled his text by misplacing the date, 810, and making him appear as stating that Nuad's incumbency began in said year.

(114) The 13 years for Flangus, *alias* Mac-Longsech, are marked in the Cashel catalogue, (*Tr. Th. p. 292*) and the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 294*) place his death in 825 (826), which agrees well enough with the catalogue, if we suppose that some delay occurred between the death of Nuad and the accession of Flangus. But they speak (*ib.*) of Artrigius, as bishop of Armagh in 822 (823). This has puzzled Ware and Harris; for how could Flangus have governed for 13 years, if Artrigius was the bishop in 823? And from the manner in which these prelates are placed by the 4 Masters, it would seem as if, according to them, Artrigius were bishop before Flangus, although they assign his death to 833. O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ad Tr. Th. p. 294.*) says that Artrigius was perhaps coadjutor bishop in 823 to Flangus, who, he maintains, lived until 826.

(115) Above §. 6. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 500.*) that he was commemorated either on 18 May or 30 September.

(116) *Tr. Th. ib.* It has A. 797, i. e. 798. Conmach's name is in the *Martyrol. Tam lact.* at 10 May.

(117) *ib.* Its date is 810 (811). Kellach's memory was revered on the 1st of April.

(118) See *Not. 107. to Chap. xi.* (119) Above, §. 8.

(120) *Tr. Th. p. 500.* The 4 Masters' date is 816 (817.)

(121) The *Acts* of St. Blaithmaic, written in verse by his con-

temporary Walafrid Strabo, may be seen in Colgan's *AA. SS.* at 19 *January*. Walafrid says, "Strabus ego, misit quem terra Alemannica natu—Scribere disposui de vita et fine beati—Blaithmaic, genuit quem dives Hibernia mundo," &c. And alluding to his birth, he writes; "Regali de stirpe satus, summumque decorem—Nobilitatis habens, florebat regius heres—Iste Dei sanctus, vitam ducendo pudicam." In the Irish annals and calendars his father is called Flann; but it is not stated what principality he had. Colgan conjectures that he was one of the Southern Niells, princes of Meath, because the names *Flann* and *Blaithmaic* were rather common in that family. Walafrid gives the epithet *rich* to Ireland, and so it must have been at that time, as appears from the various attacks made upon it by the Scandinavians. This has been noticed by Simon, *Essay on Irish coins*, p. 2. where he observes that money was the object sought for by the Ostmen and Nordmen, and that they used to enter into piratical partnerships for the purpose of acquiring it.

(122) The Irish annals agree in assigning his martyrdom to 823 (824). Colgan observes that his name is marked in some Irish calendars at 24 July, probably as the day of a translation of his remains. Mabillon was mistaken (*Annal.* &c. at A. 793) in affixing his death to about said year, and in calling him *abbot* of Hy. He did not consult Colgan's *AA. SS.*

§. XII. To these times are assigned the deaths of some holy and distinguished persons in Ireland, *ex. c.* St. Finnia, abbess of Kildare in 801; St. Blatmac Hua Muirgeavair, abbot of Durrough, in 808; Tuathal, a scribe or lecturer of Clonmacnois, in 811; Joseph, a scribe of Roscommon, 808; St. Arbertac, abbot of Kildare in 817; and Muredoc, likewise abbot there, in 821. (123) Muredoc was succeeded by Sedulius, who was, in all probability, the author of the Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are universally allowed to have been written by an Irishman of that name. (124) Some other works, under the name of Sedulius, were probably written also by him. (125) He is called the son of Feradach, and must not be confounded with Sedulius, abbot and bishop of Roscommon, who

died in 814, (126) whereas the son of Feradach, abbot of Kildare, lived until 829. (127)

Contemporary with this Sedulius was Dungal, one of the most learned men of his times, an excellent theologian, poet, and scholar. That he was a Scot, is now admitted by all critics, and that he was an Irish one will appear from what follows. (128) We find him in France *A. D.* 811, in which year he wrote his Epistle to Charlemagne on the two solar eclipses of 810. He seems to have been then living in the monastery of St. Denis, as a recluse. (129) But he did not long remain a recluse; for he is represented as an eminent teacher, instructing persons of different ages and capacities. (130) There is a very neat poem in praise of Charlemagne, while still alive, the author of which calls himself an Irish exile, and is supposed to have been Dungal. (131) Afterwards he went to Italy, where he was appointed teacher at Pavia of students from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti, and Como by Lotharius the first, in, it seems, 823, the year in which this prince, having been already associated in the government of the empire with his father Lewis, was in Italy enacting laws, and crowned emperor at Rome. (132)

(123) *Ind. Chron. ad. Tr. Th.* I have added a year to each of Colgan's dates.

(124) Of these Commentaries, which are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, (*Lyons, A.* 1677. *Tom.* 6.) I have had occasion to treat already, *Chap.* 1. §. 8. That the author was the Sedulius of Kildare seems unquestionable, particularly as he was living in 818, at which year, as marked by Hepidanus the monk of St. Gall, a Sedulius *Scottus* (or Irishman) was greatly distinguished. (See *ib Not.* 68.)

(125) One of these works is the *Collectaneum Sedulii in Mathaeum ex diversis Patribus excerptum*; two Grammatical books, attributed to Sedulius by Trithemius, one *in majus volumen Prisciani*, and another *in secundam editionem Donati*; besides a tract

entitled *Sedulii Commentariolus in artem Eutychii*. (See Usher, p. 780.) Ware (*Writers at Sedulius the younger*) attributes these tracts rather to Sedulius, who was a bishop in Britain of Scottish descent (*de genere Scottorum*) and attended at a synod of Rome in the year 721. For this supposition he had no authority whatsoever, except such as that of the liars Bale and Dempster; and nothing further is known of that bishop, than what I have now mentioned. He might as well have ascribed them to any one of six or seven other Seduliuses, who lived in Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries. (See *AA. SS.* p. 315.) But as we find a Sedulius, whose reputation for learning was great in 818, why not suppose that he was the author of them rather than one, of whose learning we have no account.

(126) See *AA. SS. ib.* The 4 Masters' date is 813. (814).

(127) *Ib.* and *Tr. Th.* p. 629. I have changed the date 828 into 829.

(128) Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 827.) says that Dungal was perhaps a *Scottus*, that is, an Irishman, as his meaning is explained by the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, (*Tom. 4. at Dungal*) who observes that in those times Ireland sent many great men to France. The very name *Dungal*, which was very common in Ireland, would alone be sufficient to show, that he was a native of it.

(129) Muratori thought, (*Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Diss. 43.*) that Dungal was in Italy when he wrote it. He founds his argument on Dungal's words "in ista terra, in qua *nunc*, Deo donante, Franci dominantur," as if they were applicable to Lombardy, which then belonged to Charlemagne. But they answer equally well for France, and from other circumstances, such as Charlemagne having applied to the abbot of St. Denis to get Dungal to write that tract, it is sufficiently clear that he was still in France. It has been published by D'Achory, *Spicileg. Tom. 10.*

(130) Martene has published (*Collect. Ampliss. &c.*) *Tom. vi. col. 811. seqq.*) various poems written at that period, among which is one in praise of Dungal, vulgarly called his Epitaph, although written while he was alive and vigorous. In it we read; "Scripturas promit casto de pectore sacras—Edocet infirmos et validos pariter—Lacte rigans pueros, et dat capientibus escam—

Hinc lac ut capiant, inde cibum pariter, &c. Then comes a prayer for Dungal's long life and eternal happiness.

(131) The author says; "Hos Carolo regi versus *Hibernicus exsul*," &c. This poem is the first in the collection just mentioned, and is attributed to Dungal by the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, who praise it as one of the best of those times, and think that he composed also some of the smaller pieces in that collection.

(132) Muratori has published (*Rer. Ital. Script. Tom. I. Part. 2. p. 152.*) a Capitular of Lotharius, entitled, *de Doctrina*, part of which is as follows; "Primum in Papia convenient *ad Dungalum* de Mediolano de Brixia, de Laude, de Bergamo, de Novaria, de Vercellis, de Derthona, de Aquis, de Genua, de Haste, de Cuma. Muratori (*ib. and Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) assigns this capitular to A. D. 823, in which year it is known that Lotharius issued some edicts at Cortelona, a place about ten miles from Pavia. Yet elsewhere (*Annali d'Italia* at A. 829.) he seems to doubt whether that was the precise year of said capitular. But I find no sufficient reason for calling in question his former opinion; and from the time, in which Dungal wrote against Claudius, it may be fairly concluded that Dungal was at Pavia in 823. He then observes, that Dungal, who was settled at Pavia, was in all appearance the same as the writer Dungal, who is mentioned by Bellarmine, Dupin, Cave, and others, and who had been in the monastery of St. Denis. Yet he doubts of his having been the Dungal, whom Mabillon suspected to be a recluse, and thinks there might have been two Dungal's, one a recluse, and the other a teacher and writer. This difficulty is easily settled; for, although Dungal might have been a recluse when he wrote on the eclipses, it does not follow that he continued as such during the remainder of his life; nor is there any necessity whatsoever for the hypothesis of the two Dungal's. If Mabillon had known that Dungal removed to Italy, he would have been more exact in his account of him; but this was first announced to the literary world by Muratori.

§. XIII. Dungal was for some years in Italy when he set about writing his work against Claudius, a Spaniard and disciple of Felix of Urgel, and whom

Lewis the pious had made bishop of Turin. Claudius, who had enjoyed a great reputation, destroyed or removed, soon after his accession to that see all the images and crosses, which he found in the churches of his diocese. Being blamed by his friend the abbot Theodimir for this precipitate proceeding, he wrote a treatise under the title of *Apology against Theodimir*, in which he inveighed against any veneration whatsoever of images or the cross, and against the invocation of saints and the celebration of their festivals. (133) Dungal had for a considerable time often complained of the proceedings and principles of Claudius; but finding the people of the country where he then lived, that is the North of Italy, divided, some for, some against Claudius, he thought it adviseable to publish a work in refutation of his doctrines, which he entitled *Responsa contra perversas Claudii Turo-nensis episcopi sententias*. (134) It is usually supposed that he wrote it in 827, a date which I do not find any sufficient reason for controverting. (135) In it he states that it had been agreed upon in a conference held in the imperial palace, that nobody should be such a fool as to pay divine honour to angels, saints, or their images; but that, however, images should not be broken, defaced, or destroyed; and that the rules laid down by Gregory the great in his letter to Serenus should be observed. He then shows from many ancient authorities, particularly the poems of St. Paulinus of Nola, that images were always used in the Church. He maintains that Claudius, by denying that saints ought to be honoured, has renewed the errors of Eunomius and Vigilantius. Then coming to the veneration of the cross, he says that Christians, imitating the Apostle, place their glory in it; that our Saviour did not intend that his passion should be concealed from the faithful as ignominious, but that the remembrance of it should be constantly cherished; and proves,

from many authorities, that at all times of the Church the cross has been honoured. As to the invocation of saints, on which he observes that, “if the Apostles and Martyrs, while in this world, could pray for others, how much more so can they do it after their crowns, victories, and triumphs” ? he opposes to Claudius several passages of the fathers according to his usual method, which is, instead of much reasoning, to allege the tradition and constant practice of the Church. He concludes with saying that holy pictures, the cross, and the reliques of saints, ought to be revered with the honour suitable to them, without sacrificing to them or offering them the worship, which is due to God alone ; and asserts that Claudius, by rejecting the cross, declares himself an enemy of the passion and the incarnation. Accordingly, he adds, the Jews praise him and call him the wisest of the Christians, and he passes great encomiums on them as also on the Saracens. How, says Dungal, can a bishop, who abhors the cross of Jesus Christ, perform the ecclesiastical functions, baptize, bless the holy chrism, impose hands, give certain benedictions, or celebrate mass ? For, as St. Augustin observes, none of these functions can be duly exercised without making the sign of the cross. He then makes some remarks on Claudius not allowing the commemoration of saints in the litanies and other offices of the Church, nor the celebration of their festivals ; his prohibiting the lighting of tapers by day in the churches, and the turning of one’s eyes towards the ground in prayer ; his being guilty of several other impieties, which he would shudder to mention, although he was informed of them by persons worthy of credit ; (136) and his refusing to attend at a council of bishops.

(133) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 47. §. 20.

(134) This work is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* of Lyons, A. 1677.

Tom. xiv. That it was written in Italy is evident from the Preface *ex. c.* his saying that from the very time he had come to the country, in which he was writing, he had opposed Claudius; “*Jam dudum ex quo in hanc terram advenerim, occasio mihi copiosa hac de re reclamandi occurrit.*” That country could not be France, where Dungal had been several years before Claudius attacked the images, &c. Then his observing that the people of the country (*regio*) in which he was, were divided on those points, shows that he was then living not far from Turin, and assuredly not at Paris, or in its neighbourhood, where the people at large did not trouble themselves about Claudius’ opinions. Mabillon not being acquainted with Dungal’s removal to Italy, was therefore mistaken in supposing that he composed this work in Paris; and Muratori was right (*loc. cit.*) in stating it as his opinion, that it was written in Italy, and apparently at Pavia. It is added that Tiraboschi (*Storia Letteraria, &c. Tom. III. L. 3. cap. 1.*) conjectured, that Dungal wrote it before he went to Italy. One would imagine that he wished to appear as understanding these subjects better than Muratori!

(135) See Mabillon, *Annal. &c. ad A. 827.* and Fleury, *Hist. &c. L. 47. §. 21.* It was certainly written, prior to 830; for Dungal, speaking in round numbers, mentions the year 820 as already elapsed.

(136) It is probable that Dungal alluded to the Arian doctrines, which, as was afterwards discovered, were held by Claudius. See Fleury, *L. 48. §. 7.*

§. xiv. This treatise is very well written, and shows that Dungal was deeply versed in theological studies and in polite literature, including a great knowledge of the Christian poets. (137) He had a valuable and large collection of books, as appears from the catalogue of those, which he bequeathed to the monastery of Bobio. (138) It is probable that he spent the last part of his life in that monastery; (139) but at what time he died I cannot discover. (140) Dungal is usually called a deacon, although he does not assume that title in any of his works. As to the part of Ireland, of which he was a native, no ac-

count remains; but it is somewhat probable that he belonged to the community of Bangor, and that he left Ireland in consequence of that place being terribly infested by the Danes. (141)

Claudius, the bishop of Turin, against whom Dungal wrote, is supposed by several very learned men to have been the same as the author of some commentaries on various parts of the holy Scriptures, whom others represent as an Irishman and quite distinct from the bishop, who was a Spaniard. (142) As the former opinion seems to me far better founded than the latter, which, I believe, originated chiefly in a Claudius having been confounded with the Irishman Clemens; (143) and as Claudius of Turin had applied particularly to the study and explanation of the Scriptures, (144) I cannot but conclude that there was at that time only one learned Claudius in France, and that he was the author of those commentaries, and the person who was afterwards raised to the see of Turin. (145)

In those times there lived in Ireland a learned man, named Gildas, who is said to have been born in Wales, and the son of an Irish Scot. It is added that he studied in Ireland, (146) and some writers state that he was a monk of Bangor in Down. (147) He has left a work entitled *De Computo*, which he addressed to the celebrated Raban of Fulda, before he became abbot of this monastery, and consequently prior to A. D. 822. (148) Other tracts have been attributed to him, but some of them certainly, and all of them probably, without foundation. (149)

(137) Muratori in his note on Dungal, (*Rer. Ital.* §c.) above referred to, says; “Caeterum liber ille Dungalii hominem eruditum sacrisque etiam litteris ornatum prodit, at simul in grammaticali foro ac Prisciani deliciis enutritum, ut legenti constabit.”

(138) This catalogue has been published by Muratori, (*Antiq. Ital. Tom. III. Dissert. 43.*) and to it is prefixed a note stating that they are the books, quos Dungalus praecipuus Scottorum ob-

tulit beatissimo Columbano. They are now, at least, in great part, in the Ambrosian library of Milan, whither they were removed by Cardinal Frederic Borromeo. Among them were three Antiphonaries, one of which was perhaps the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, or of Bangor in Ireland, concerning which see *Chap. II. §. 8.* and also Dungal's work against Claudius.

(139) Muratori (*ib.*) mentions a *MS.* of the Ambrosian library, in which are these lines ;

“ Sancta Columba tibi Scotto tuus *incola* Dungal
 Traditit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur ;
 Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit muneris, ora.”

Dungal here calls Columbanus *Columba*, which was in fact his real name, (See *Not. 1. to Chap. XIII.*) and a Scot, that is an Irishman ; for every one knows that St. Columbanus of Bobio was a native of Ireland. From his styling himself an *incola* of this saint, Muratori thought that he had lived for some time in his monastery, which, according to a usual manner of speaking, he designated by the name of the founder. It is indeed very probable, that Dungal retired to it in the latter part of his life, and ended his days there, which seems to be confirmed by his having left so many books to it. Yet *incola* may be understood of his having been only an occasional resident. Could it mean *countryman* or *compatriot* ? His adding *Scotto* to the saint's name seems to point out something of that kind.

(140) I find his death marked at *A. 834* in Herault's *Abregé Chronol.* at the reign of Lewis the pious. This means, at most, that he was still alive in that year, and rests on no foundation except a conjecture of Mabillon, that the recluse, to whom **Ebbo**, archbishop of Rheims repaired on the restoration of Lewis in said year, was perhaps Dungal. But Dungal had left France many years, prior to that date,

(141) If it could be proved, that the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* was, as Muratori supposed, (See *Not. 31 to Chap. II.*) presented to the monastery of Bobio by Dungal, it might be inferred that he had been a member of the house of Bangor, which, together with its neighbourhood, was at the time of his leaving Ireland greatly infested by the Danes. Dungal appears to have been an involuntary absentee from his country ;

for he calls himself an Irish *exile*. To conclude our account of him, I shall add a few words concerning some mistakes of Tiraboschi (*loc. cit. Not. 134*). He strives to distinguish two Dungal, one who remained in France and who wrote on the eclipse, and was author of the poems (see *Not. 130*) ; the other, who was stationed at Pavia, wrote against Claudius, and left books to Bobio. The former, he says, was an Irishman, the *Hibernicus exsul* ; the other a Scotchman, because Dungal, that gave the books, is called a *Scottus*. Then Tiraboschi alleges this learned argument, *viz.* that the same man could not be called a Hibernian exile and Scot, “ because Ireland and Scotland could not be called one kingdom, and because Great Britain was then divided into many small kingdoms, and accordingly the inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland could not be called promiscuously Irish and Scotch.” The ignorance of the history of our islands displayed in this passage is astonishing. What had the division of Great Britain into many small kingdoms to do with Ireland, which never did or could form a part of it? And Tiraboschi, a man who lived in our own days, did not know, what he might have met with in hundreds of writers, that Ireland was known by two names, *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, just as France was by *Gallia* and *Francia*, and that the modern Scotland did not get the name of *Scotia* until a period long subsequent to the times of Dungal. The natives of Ireland were constantly called *Scotti*, and scarcely ever *Hiberni*, at least in the times we are now treating of. We find, however, an Irish Scot, now and then named with the addition of *de Hibernia* or *Hibernicus*, as *ex. c.* Dungal himself. From the very lines Tiraboschi read in Muratori (see *Not. 139*) he might have discovered that Irishmen were called *Scotti* ; for St. Columbanus appears there as a *Scottus*.

(142) Usher has published (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Num. 19 and 20*) two fragments from Claudius' preface, written about *A. D.* 815, to his commentary on St. Matthew, and addressed to the abbot Justus ; and from his preface to his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians in the form of a letter to the abbot Drueterann. There is nothing in either of them to show that this Claudius was an Irishman, except a head prefixed to the former in these words ; “ *Claudii Scoti presbyteri ad Justum abbatem.*” But *Scoti* was in all probability added by some one, who thought, as some old

writers did, that this Claudius was an Irishman; and such was particularly the opinion of those, who confounded him with Clemens. (See above *Not.* 20.) Mabillon, quoting (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 815) part of said preface or letter to Justus, has not *Scoti*, but *Claudius peccator*. Ware and Harris (*Writers at Claudius or Claude*) followed Usher as to this Claudius having been a native of Ireland; and Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 703.) maintains the same opinion. If he was, he cannot be confounded with Claudius of Turin, who, as appears from the work of Jonas, bishop of Orleans, written against him, and as is universally acknowledged, was undoubtedly a Spaniard. Labbe undertook (*Dissert. in Bellarmin. &c. De Scriptor. &c. Tom.* 1.) to show that the author of the commentaries and prefaces was much more probably Claudius of Turin than an Irishman, and has been followed by the editors of the *Biblioth. Patrum*, (*Tom.* xiv. *A.* 1677.) in a note prefixed to their publication of the Commentary to the Epistle to the Galatians. Mabillon (*ib.*) lays it down as certain, and, besides many others, so does Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 48. §. 7.

(143) To what has been said already (*Not.* 20.) concerning this confusion I shall only add, that the Spaniard Claudius, who afterwards became bishop of Turin, had taught in the same place with Clemens. His department was to explain the Scriptures, while Clemens lectured on the Belles Lettres. (See Fleury, *Hist. &c. L.* 45. §. 18.) As their names were accordingly often associated, it is no wonder that some one mistook them as one and the same person.

(144) Besides what has been now observed of Claudius' biblical pursuits, we have also the authority of Jonas of Orleans, who says that he was endowed with some scriptural knowledge, "*in explanandis Sacrorum Evangeliorum lectionibus quantulacumque notitia.*"

(145) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 703.) adduces a very unchronological argument to show that Claudius of Turin was different from the commentator. He says that he lived after the reign of Lewis the pious, during which the commentator flourished. Now the fact is that he died before that sovereign. (Fleury, *L.* 48. §. 7.) It is true that Jonas of Orleans did not publish his work against him until some short time after the death of Lewis, and a still longer one after that of Claudius. Jonas himself died in 843.

(146) See Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad Ep.* 21. Ware and Harris, *Writers, Book II. ch. 1.*

(147) See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 201.

(148) Usher (*ib. num. 21.*) has published from the MS. in the Cottonian library, consisting of 99 chapters, the preface to it, which has been republished by Colgan, (*ib. p. 202.*) Its address is, “*Dilecto fratri Rabano monacho Gildas peccator in Christo salutem.*”

(149) See Colgan, Ware, and Harris, *loc. cit.*

§ xv. Indrect, bishop of Kilmacduach, died in 815. (150) He must not be confounded with St. Indrect, who is said to have been the son of an Irish king, and to have been killed about a hundred years prior to these times, together with his sister Dominica and some Irish companions, not far from Glastonbury by some West-Saxons robbers. (151) Eocha, son of Tuathal, anchoret, bishop, and abbot of Louth, died in 821, and in 824 Cuana, surnamed the *wise*, who was also bishop there. (152) To 825 is assigned the death of Rutmel, who is called prince and bishop of Clonfert, as likewise of Flan Mac-Famehellaic bishop of Emly. (153) Cormac, son of Suibhne, abbot of Clonard and a writer and bishop, died in 829, (154) as did Tuadear, bishop of Kildare, in 833. (155)

Flangus Mac-Lonsech, archbishop of Armagh, lived, as we have seen, until 826. It is probable that he was assisted during part of his administration by Artrigius as his coadjutor bishop. (156) For we find this Artrigius acting as bishop for that see in the year 823, in which, as related in the Irish Annals, “the law of St. Patrick was propagated throughout Munster by Feidhlim, son of Crimthan, king of Munster, and Artrigius, bishop of Armagh.” (157) This was an archiepiscopal visitation of that province, in which the metropolitanical rights of the see of Armagh, which at that time were extended all over Ireland, were enforced, after having been

probably disregarded for some time, owing perhaps to the contentions which had prevailed concerning the right to the possessions of said sec. (158) The *law of St. Patrick* comprized also certain dues, that used to be paid to the church of Armagh as the chair of our Apostle, and which had been established in earlier times ; (159) and hence we understand why it was necessary for the king F'eidhlim to interfere on this occasion. Two years later, in 825, Artrigius went to Connaught, and enforced the said law throughout its three parts or territories. (160) He is placed as successor to Flangus for two years, after which Eugene, surnamed *Monaster*, (perhaps from having been abbot of the monastery of Armagh) is stated to have held the see of Armagh for eight years. (161) But it appears very probable, that the incumbencies of Artrigius and Eugene, united together, lasted only eight years, during two of which Artrigius seized upon the see, after which he was put out to make way for the legitimate bishop Eugene. (162) Artrigius, having lost the see, lived until 833 ; and Eugene died in 834 ; (163) in which year Farannan became archbishop, and governed Armagh for fourteen years, without being disturbed by a competitor, until he was expelled in 848 by Turgesius. (164) During these times some other distinguished ecclesiastics died in Ireland, among whom, as scarcely any thing is known concerning them except their names, I need mention only two, Aidan Hua Condumha, a scribe or learned man of Durrough (King's county) in 828 ; and Kathernac, a scribe, priest, and wise man of Armagh in 830. (165)

(150) *AA. SS.* p. 254, and Ware, *Bishops at Kilmacduach*. Their date is 814, *i. e.* 815.

(151) Colgan (*ib.*) treats of these saints after Capgrave and others. Their history is rather involved and beset with chronological difficulties.

(152) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 736.* I have added a year to their dates.

(153) Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert and Emly.*

(154) 4 Masters, *ap. AA. SS. p. 360.* They have *A. 828 (829.)*

(155) Ware, *Bishops at Kildare.*

(156) See above *Not. 114.*

(157) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 294.* Their date is *822 (823).*

(158) It is odd, that Usher has been represented by some writers, among others Colgan (*ib.*) and Harris, (*Bishops at Artrigius*) as understanding the *law of St. Patrick* as a *Monastic rule.* Usher says no such thing. He mentions (*p. 919*) a *rule* not a *law* of St. Patrick, and then happens to speak of other *rules* (Monastic) such as that of St. Brendan, concerning which he says elsewhere, (*p. 1050.*) that it was the *rule* called the *Law of Ciaran and Brendan.* But he does not treat of the *law of St. Patrick.* If Colgan had read Usher's words with more attention, he would not have fallen into that mistake nor led others into it.

(159) Keating relates (*Book 2. p. 47.*) that an interview had been held at Tirdaglas in Ormond between Hugh Ollain, king of all Ireland, and Cathal Mac-Fingin, king of Munster, in which methods were concerted for advancing the annual revenue of St. Patrick throughout Ireland, and that they established a particular law for that purpose. Hugh Ollain died in 743. (See *Chap. XIX. §. 9.*) He makes mention (*ib. p. 52.*) also of a similar tax levied on Munster by the king Feidhlim son of Crimthan and Artrigius of Armagh, *viz.* the persons above spoken of.

(160) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 294. at A. 824 (825.)*

(161) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel.

(162) O'Flaherty (*MS. Not. ad Tr. Th. p. 294.*) states that the real successor of Flangus, who died in 826, was Eugene; but that he was in 827 pushed out of the see by Artrigius, who kept it for some time.

(163) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 295.*

(164) See Usher, *p. 860,* and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 834 and 848.* The 4 Masters at *A. 834 (835)* and some following years, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 295*) who have been followed by Ware, (*Bishops at Farannan*) say that there were great disputes from the beginning concerning the possession of the see between Farannan and

Diermit Hua Tigernaich, and that one held it for a while, and the other for another. O'Flaherty (*MS. notes, ib.*) rejects the whole of these statements, and maintains that Farannan held the see without competition until 848. In fact, the Cashel catalogue, the best authority on the subject, allows 14 years for Farannan, and places after him (that is, not after his death) Diermit for four years.

(165) See *Ind. Chron. to Tr. Th.* I have added a year to the dates.

CHAP. XXI.

Horrid depredations of the Scandinavian pirates in Ireland—Several monasteries plundered and numbers of monks and others of the clergy murdered—Diermid abbot of Hy brings the reliques of Columba to Ireland—is succeeded by Indrecht—Joseph of Rosmor, a bishop and excellent writer—Death of Orthanac, bishop of Kildare—Several Irish bishops and priests took shelter in foreign countries during the troubles caused by the Danish invasion—A synod held in England interdicting the Scottish priests from administering the sacraments—Death of St. Ferdornach—and of Feidhlim son of Crimthann king of Munster—Emly laid waste—Olchobhair bishop of Emly raised to the throne of Munster—Turgesius expels the primate Farannan and all the religious and students from Armagh—Turgesius killed, and the Danes defeated and expelled by the Irish—Maol-seachlin sends ambassadors to the French King, Charles the bald, to form an alliance with him—Return of the Danes—Fin-galls and Dubh-galls.—St. Donatus bishop Fiesole—Brigid, a holy virgin, sister of St. Donatus, settles in Italy—Mark an Irish bishop, Moengal and others,

settle at St. Gall in Switzerland—Several other learned Irishmen settle in the Continent.—John Scotus Erigena—writes on predestination—his work condemned by the third Council of Valence—account of different tracts written by him—John bishop of Mecklenburgh an Irishman—John of Malmesbury—Macarius an Irish philosopher in France—The abbot Patrick of Glastonbury—The learned priest Probus—Deaths of various bishops and abbots in Ireland, and in Hy—Ireland harassed by the Danes and intestine feuds—Irish schools and religious houses not so much disturbed as in the time of Turgesius—Deaths of many scribes and learned men—Deaths of Irish Saints in the ninth century.

SECT. I.

MEANWHILE the Scandinavian pirates, having landed in various parts of Ireland, were committing horrid depredations. In 821 they plundered and laid waste Cork, Lismore, and the monastery of Inisdamle, (1) and in 823 treated in like manner that of Bangor, (2) which, it seems, they had already plundered some years earlier. (3) The devastation of 823 was probably that, in which it is related that the abbot and a great number of the monks were killed, and the rich shrine of St. Comgall broke open. (4) Whether it was the same as the one, on occasion of which those pirates are said to have murdered nine hundred monks of Bangor in one day, (5) I am not able to ascertain. In 824 they pillaged again the monastery of Inisdamle, burned that of Maghbile, and in 826 ravaged and destroyed that of Lusk. (6) In 831 they entered Armagh, and plundered it three times in the course of one month. This was the first time that Armagh was occupied by foreigners. (7) In the same year they despoiled the church of Duleek, the monastery of Monaghan, and

the towns, &c. of Connor (8) and Louth. (9) In 834 Glendaloch and Slane were plundered in like manner; (10) and in the following year they ransacked and burned Ferns, the monastery of Clonmore (in the county of Wexford), and several churches in Munster. (11) In this year, viz. 835, a great host of them, commanded by Turgesius, destroyed almost all Connaught, together with some parts of Leinster and Meath, and within the three following years subdued a great part of Ulster, demolishing churches and persecuting the faithful. (12) In 836 a party of the Danes marched from Inverdega, or Inverdee, now called Wicklow, (13) to Kildare, which they ravaged, and set fire to the church, one half of which was consumed. (14) This happened after Feidhlim Mac Crimthann, king of Munster, had in the same year taken forcible possession of Kildare and carried off the clergy at the time that Farannan, archbishop of Armagh, was there with some of his ecclesiastics. (15) In 837 two large fleets of the Northmen arrived in the Boyne and Liffey, who spreading themselves over the plains, through which these rivers flow, plundered in all directions churches, monasteries, and the habitations of all sorts of people, carrying off flocks, herds, &c. (16) In 839 they burned Cork, Ferns, and Clonfert, killing the religious, and destroyed the church of Slane; (17) and in 840 a party of them, coming from the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh, plundered Louth, and carried off many bishops, wise, learned, and distinguished men, some of whom they put to death. (18) In the same year they set fire to Armagh, and burned its cathedral and other sacred edifices. (19) In 842 they plundered the monasteries of Clonmacnois, Birr, Saigir, and the church of Ferns; (20) and in 844 burned Clonmacnois and Lothra (Lorrhagh), besides ravaging the monastery of Tirdaglas. (21) One of the churches, which Turgesius destroyed and burned, when in Connaught,

probably in the expedition of 835, was that belonging to the English at Mayo. (22) Many other churches and monasteries, such as Taghmon, Timolin, &c. are mentioned as having been pillaged or ruined during this period by those merciless invaders; and let it suffice to say, that almost every part of Ireland suffered more or less from their fury. (23) Every where they carried away sacred utensils, destroyed libraries, persecuted holy and learned men, many of whom they killed. Among these are particularly mentioned Aidus, abbot of Tirdaglas, whom they put to death in 844; and Kethernac prior of Kildare, whom with many others they slaughtered in said year at Dunamase. (24) To this year is assigned also the martyrdom of Nuad, son of Segen, during the pillaging of the church of Killachad (in the county of Cavan) by a band of Northmen, who had proceeded from Dublin. (25)

(1) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 820* (821). For Inisdamle see *Not.* 69 to *Chap. x.* As it was an island in the Suir, it was very convenient for an attack by the Danes, as were also Cork and Lismore by their situation near the Lee and Blackwater.

(2) *Ib. p.* 633. The date marked is 822 (823); yet in the *Ind. Chron.* it is 821, owing, I suppose to a typographical error.

(3) I find mention made of a devastation of Bangor by the Danes in 812. See Archdall at *Bangor.*

(4) Keating (*History, &c. Book 2. p.* 50.) mentions these circumstances at about this period. The year in which they occurred seems to have been 823, to which also the annals of Ulster affix a plundering of Bangor, and the scattering of the reliques of St. Congall.

(5) See St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy, cap.* 5.

(6) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 823* (824) and 825 (826).

(7) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 295. at *A. D. 830* (831). The Ulster Annals have *A. 831.* What will Dr. Ledwich say to this? He wished to persuade us, that St. Patrick had been brought to Armagh by the Danes; (see *Chap. II. §. 16.*) now it is clear from what has been said of the *law of St. Patrick* as having existed before they ever reached that city, that he was known there long

prior to their depredations. And he calls himself an Irish antiquary!!!

(8) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 830* (831) That there was an old monastery at Monaghan is well known; and Colgan mentions (*AA. SS. p. 713*) as abbot of it (perhaps founder) St. Moeldod, a member of the great house of the dynasts of Orgiel, but does not mark at what time he lived. The Annals of Ulster have a prior spoliation of Duleek by the Danes at *A. 824*.

(9) 4 Masters, and Archdall at *Louth*.

(10) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad. A. 833* (834).

(11) *Ib.* and Annals of Ulster at *A. 834* (835). Clonmore is said to have been pillaged two or three times before. (See Archdall at *Clonmore*.)

(12) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24*. (13) See *Chap. v. §. 1*.

(14) Annals of Ulster, and 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629. ad A. 835* (836).

(15) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 295, and 629. ad A. 835* (836). Archdall (at *Armagh*) in his careless manner says, that it was Forannan and his clergy, who were carried off. Keating relates that Feidhlim being provoked by certain proceedings of some of the more northern people of Ireland, laid waste the country extending from Birr to Tarah. Thus, while the common enemy was in their country, the unhappy Irish were destroying each other. Keating is wrong in stating that Feidhlim became archbishop of Leath Moga, or the Southern half of Ireland. He never was a bishop, but in the latter part of his life gave himself up to piety, and lived as an anchoret. He reigned 27 years, (see Keating *B. II. p. 54*.) the first of which was, according to the Annals of Innisfallen (Harris' copy) *A. D. 819*, but (according to Mr. O'Reilly's) 820.

(16) *Tr. Th. p. 629 ad. A. 836* (837) In this place he speaks of these fleets as consisting of thirty ships each, and yet, (*ib. p. 111*.) referring to the same authority, (the 4 Masters) he tells us that each of them was of sixty. Then in the *Ind. Chr.* instead of *A. D. 836*, he has 838. In both these positions he has been followed by Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24*.) But O'Flaherty (*MS. not. Tr. Th. at p. 111*) observes, that the true date is 836 (837). That of 838 is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis. The Annals of Innisfallen have 836, and state that each of those Northern fleets consisted of sixty ships.

(17) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* ad 838 (839) and Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 839.

(18) *AA. SS.* p. 736. from the 4 Masters at *A.* 839 (840) This devastation, &c. is mentioned also in the Ulster annals at said year. In Johnston's Extracts Lough-neagh is, instead of *Loch-echa*, called *Loch-da-caoch*.

(19) *Tr. Th.* p. 295. and *Ind. Chron.* ad 839 (840).

(20) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* ad *A.* 841 (842) and p. 634.

(21) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* ad *A.* 843 (844).

(22) See Usher *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 818.

(23) Keating, *Book II.* p. 50.

(24) See *AA. SS.* p. 370. and *Tr. Th.* p. 629. The date marked is 843 (844) Aidus is called the son of Dubh-da-chrioch, and is said to have been abbot also of Clonenagh. He was taken at Dunamase and led away by the Danes to Munster, where they put him to death on the 8th of July. (*AA. SS.* p. 356.)

(25) *AA. SS.* p. 373.

§ II. Diermit, abbot of Hy, came to Ireland in 831, bringing with him the reliques of St. Columba. (26) How long after he continued to govern the Columbian order I do not find recorded; but it appears that he was succeeded by Indrecht or Indrechtaiagh, who in 849 brought to Ireland some sanctified things of St. Patrick. (27) Joseph of Rosmor, a bishop, an excellent writer, and abbot of Clones and other monasteries, died in the year 840, (28) to which is assigned also the death of Orthanoë bishop of Kildare. (29) During the troubles caused by the Danes several Irish bishops and priests took shelter in foreign countries. In a council held at Chalons sur Saone in 813 a decree was passed stating, that there are in some parts of France Scots (Irish), who call themselves bishops, and ordain priests and deacons without the permission of their *seigneurs*, or of the superiors of said persons; and declaring such ordinations null as being irregular and mostly simoniacal. (30) It seems that some of those emigrant bishops made use of their spiritual

power as a means of livelihood. The practice of raising persons to the episcopacy without being attached to fixed sees had been carried so far in Ireland, that it is not to be wondered at that some of them might have made a trade of their rank. A sweeping canon was passed by an English synod held in 816 under Walfred, archbishop of Canterbury, at Ce-licyth, interdicting the Scottish priests in general from administering the sacraments, because it was not known where or by whom they were ordained. (31) It is probable that some Scoto-Irish priests had, in their flight from Ireland, neglected to bring testimonials of their ordination, and thus contributed to afford an occasion for that canon.

St. Ferdomnach, a wise and learned scribe or doctor of the church of Armagh, died in 845, and his memory was revered on the 10th of June. (32) In the following year died on the 8th of August the celebrated king of Munster Feidhlim, son of Crimthann, after having in the latter part of his life atoned for his violent and cruel proceedings by a very strict course of penance and great austerities. (33) In the same year Emly was laid waste by the Northmen. (34) Its abbot and bishop Olchobair Mac-Kinede, the immediate successor, in all appearance, of Flan Mac-Famchellaic, contrived on the death of Feidhlim son of Crimthann, to get himself raised to the throne of Cashel or Munster. (35) He is the first of our princes, at least of great rank, in whom I find the mitre and scepter united. This royal bishop was of a warlike turn, and, being assisted by Lorcan, king of Leinster, defeated the Danes in a great battle fought in 848 at Sua-naght, in which they lost 1200 men, and also in two others, same year, in which about 1700 more of them were slain. (36) Olchobair lived until 850. (37)

(26) Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts at A. 830 (831),

(27) *Ib.* at A. 848 (849). Johnstone calls them "St. Pa-

trick's *oaths* or sanctified things." I suppose he mistook a word, meaning *vows* for *oaths*. They were probably offerings, that had been made by persons resorting to Hy in honour of St. Patrick. Smith (*App. to Life of St. Columba*, p. 166.) calls them *Columkille's sacred things*. Instead of *Indrecht* he has *Jurastach*; but the abbot's real name was *Indrecht*. See *AA. SS.* p. 254.

(28) *AA. SS.* p. 308. Ware, led astray by the blundering compiler of the third index to this work, has placed Joseph of Rosmor at Clonmacnois, and has been followed by Harris. Archdall has him at Clones, and so far he was right, but he ought not to have placed him likewise at Clonmacnois. The 4 Masters' date for his death is 839 (840).

(29) *Tr. Th.* p. 629.

(30) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L.* 46. §. 5.

(31) It is added that clergymen are not allowed by the canons to officiate without the permission of the ordinary, and that this rule should be particularly enforced against foreigners, with whom there was no metropolitan jurisdiction; alluding, it seems, to the Irish system, according to which there was no regular metropolitanical see except the primatial one of Armagh. Celicyth or Calcuth was somewhere in the kingdom of Mercia and in a central part of England.

(32) *Tr. Th.* p. 295 at 844 (845).

(33) *Ib.* p. 186 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 845 (846) from the 4 Masters. The Annals of Innisfallen (Mr. O'Reilly's copy) assign his death to 847. Ware reckons this Feidlim or Feidleimid among the Irish writers, observing that his works are lost. The Ulster annals call him the *best of the Scots*, a scribe and anchorite. Compare with *Not.* 15.

(34) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.*

(35) Annals of Innisfallen, and Keating *B. II.* p. 54.

(36) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. In the Annals of Innisfallen, at *A.* 848. Scia-nacht is called *Scieth-Niachtain* in the Decies, *i. e.* either in the county of Waterford or southern part of Tipperary. (Harris's copy) and Ware *Bishops at Emly*.

(37) Annals of Innisfallen.

§. III. Turgesius entered Armagh in 848, and expelled the primate Forannan together with all the

religious and students. (38) Taking with him his attendants and the church reliques he was sent to the Danish ships at Limerick. (39) But this year was fatal to Turgesius; for in it he lost his life, having been defeated and made prisoner by Melseachlain, king of Ireland, who drowned him in Loch-vair. (40) The Irish then attacked the Northmen in all directions, and drove great numbers of them out of their country, so that the nation recovered its liberty, after a devastation of about thirty years, and Melseachlain sent ambassadors with presents to the French king, Charles the bald, for the purpose of forming a bond of peace and friendship, and requesting permission to pass through France on his way to Rome. (41) Forannan's place at Armagh was now occupied by Diermit Hua-Tigernach, who is said to have gone to Connaught for the object of enforcing the law of St. Patrick. (42) The Northmen, although broken and defeated, returned again in 849 with a powerful fleet, and renewed the war. (43) As if to help them, the Irish began to fight among themselves, and their king Melseachlain not only made peace with them in 850, but was assisted by them in gaining a great victory over some enemies of his. (44) Dublin, which was already in possession of a description of Northmen, called *Fin-gals*, or *white-foreigners*, was attacked in 851 by another, called *Dubh-gals*, or *black-foreigners*, who made great havoc of the *Fin-gals* and plundered the city. (45) In 852 a party of these pagan Northmen entered Armagh, and laid it waste on Easter Sunday, which was probably the cause of the death of the primate Diermit, who died in the same year, as did also Forannan, who had held the see before him. (46) Diermit, whose incumbency lasted four years, was succeeded by Fethgna, who governed the see for 22 years. (47) Olchobair, who died in 850, was succeeded at Emly by Maine son of Huargusa. (48)

(38) Usher, *p.* 860. and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 848. The 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th.* *p.* 295, assign this expulsion to *A.* 843 (844); but Usher's date is approved of by O'Flaherty, (*MS. Not. ad Tr. Th. ib.*) and agrees with the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel. See *Not.* 164 to *Chap.* xx.) Yet in Johnstone's Extracts from the Annals of Ulster it is assigned to *A.* 844 (845). But Usher's copy of them was probably more correct.

(39) *Tr. Th. loc. cit.* D. O'Connor, the wretched translator of Keating, has quite misrepresented (*B.* II. *p.* 6.) his text as to Forannan. He makes him say, that Forannan, who was then primate of Armagh, retired from Cashel with his clergy to Emly, and that in this solitude, protected by bogs and woods, did this primate, together with them, take up his residence during the tyranny of the Danes. Now Keating says no such thing, nor indeed could he; for besides Forannan's having been sent to Limerick, he was not archbishop or bishop of Cashel. The substance of Keating's original statement is as follows. Having, in opposition to the concurrent testimonies of our ancient writers, taken into his head, that the see of Emly was not marked by any peculiar distinction, and that Cashel was an archiepiscopal see in those times, he then strives to show how it came to pass that Emly was mistaken for an archbishopric by saying that the archbishop of Cashel retired thither with his clergy during the Danish persecution. This is indeed a mere supposition, for there was at that time no archbishop, nor, I believe, even a bishop of Cashel. Nor do I mean to state that Emly was, properly speaking, an archiepiscopal see, although it enjoyed a certain degree of honour and preeminence. (See *Not.* 67 to *Chap.* vi.) Besides, there is no foundation for Keating's hypothesis that the clergy of Cashel retired to Emly. They were more safe in the city than there, and we have seen that Emly was ransacked by the Danes in 846. Keating, to prop up his story of the Cashel clergy having been driven thence by the Danes, and fled to Emly, represents it as credible, because Forannan and his clergy had been expelled from Armagh. This is truly a queer sort of argument; as if from the case of Forannan having been certainly driven from his see it were to follow, that other bishops, &c. were also expelled. Enough as to Keating himself; but how strangely have his words been mistranslated, so as to bring Forannan, &c. to Cashel and Emly?

(40) Usher (*p.* 860. and *Ind. Chron.*) assigns the downfall and death of Turgesius to 848. But the Annals of Innisfallen mark them at 845, before Melseachlain was king of Ireland. Also Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 24.) seems to place them in 845, while Melseachlain was king only of Meath, and before he was raised to the throne of all Ireland in 846. (See *Chap.* xx. §. 8.) He mentions the drowning of Turgesius in Lochvair, and afterwards states, that a battle was fought in 848 between Melseachlain, when king of Ireland, and the Danes (without naming Turgesius) at Fore, in which they were defeated and lost 700 men. The 4 Masters (*ap.* *44. SS.* *p.* 509.) assign the drowning of Turgesius in that lough to 843 (844) while Melseachlain was still no more than king of Meath. Neither they nor the Annals of Ulster or of Innisfallen have any thing about the 15 beardless young men, who, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, killed Turgesius. If it be true that Melseachlain was king only of Meath at the time of his putting Turgesius to death, the statement of the 4 Masters, or that of the Innisfallen annals, must be more correct than that of Usher; whereas it is universally allowed, that Melseachlain became king of all Ireland in 846; and it will follow that the expulsion of Forannan from Armagh by Turgesius was prior not only to 848, but likewise to 846. (See above *Not.* 38.) Yet if we consider, that Usher's date (848) for this expulsion rests on strong grounds, we must suppose that Turgesius was still alive in said year, and that Melseachlain was king of all Ireland, when he got him into his hands. Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the downfall of Turgesius by means of Melseachlain, calls the latter *king of Meath*; and hence perhaps was derived the opinion, that he was not as yet sovereign of all Ireland. Be this as it may, Usher shows (*p.* 860) from Norwegian chronicles that 848 was the year in which those invaders were greatly humbled in Ireland and their power reduced. Now it is natural to suppose, that the death of Turgesius was immediately followed by the destruction and dispersion of his followers, and consequently it appears most probable that it did not occur until said year 848. Lochvair, in which Turgesius was drowned, is placed by Seward (at *Loch-uair*) near Mullingar.

(41) Usher *p.* 860, and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 848.

(42) The 4 Masters (*ap.* *Tr. Th.* *p.* 295) assign Diermit's tour to Connaught to *A.* 835 (836) at a time when, according to them,

he was contending against Forannan for the see of Armagh. (See *Not.* 164. to *Chap.* xx.) But, as there was most probably no such contention between them, Diermit's going to Connaught was after 848; or, if it was in 836, he went thither not as archbishop but as deputed by Forannan.

(43) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. The Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts state at *A.* 848 (849) that they came in 140 ships, as do also those of Innisfallen at *A.* 849.

(44) Ware, *ib.*

(45) Annals of Ulster at *A.* 850 (851), and Ware, *ib.* Also Innisfallen Annals at *A.* 851.

(46) Usher, *p.* 860 and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 852. from the Annals of Ulster. In said annals these two prelates are named heirs (comorbans) of St. Patrick, and Diermit is called the *wisest of all the doctors of Europe*, while to Forannan are given the titles of *scribe, bishop, and anchoret.*

(47) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel in *Tr. Th.* *p.* 292.

(48) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

§ 1v. St Donatus, bishop of Fiesole in Tuscany, flourished in those times. (49) He was a native of Ireland, and, it seems, a bishop before he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. (50) A disciple of his named Andrew, of a very illustrious family, (51) whom he had instructed in Ireland, accompanied him in this peregrination. They arrived at Rome during the reign of Lewis the pious, but in what year is uncertain. (52) Having remained there for some time, and obtained the Pope's blessing, they removed to Tuscany, where they visited some churches. On arriving at Fiesole Donatus was received by the clergy and people of that then very respectable city with great honour; and, as the see happened to be vacant, was requested to undertake the government of it. At length he complied with their wish, and acted, for a long time, the part of a good pastor, until God was pleased to call him out of this world on a 22d of October, some years after *A. D.* 861. (53) Some tracts were written by St.

Donatus, but none of them, as far as I know, are now extant, (54) except his own epitaph, and a pretty little poem, which is prefixed as a prologue to a poetical life of St. Brigid. (55) Andrew became a deacon of Fiesole, and remained there for several years, until by order of Donatus he re-established the church of St. Martin near the river Mensola, which washes the feet of the Fiesole hills, where he formed a monastery, in which he piously spent the remainder of his days until having survived St. Donatus, he died on, it seems, a 22d of August, but in what year I do not find recorded. (56) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, has forged the names of certain tracts as if written by this saint. (57) A sister of his, named Brigid, a very holy virgin, whom he was very anxious to see before his death, left Ireland to pay him a visit, and arrived in time to find him still alive, although very near his end. On his death she determined to remain in Italy, and retired to a forest above Fiesole at the foot of the mountains, where, practising great austerities, she led a solitary life and lived to a great age, most highly esteemed by the people of the neighbourhood. The year of her death is not known; the day is said to have been a first of February, the anniversary of her great namesake St. Brigid of Kildare. After her death a church was erected and dedicated under her name on the spot, where she died, called *Opacus*, which was, and perhaps is still greatly resorted to on that day, in commemoration of her, by the inhabitants of the adjoining districts. (58)

(49) In Burke's *Officia propria*, &c. there is at 22 October an Office of St. Donatus, taken chiefly from that read at Fiesole. Colgan had a very ancient Life of this saint, taken from a collection of chronicles of that church. Ughelli treats of him (*Italia Sacra*, Tom. 3. col. 213.) and calls him *nobilis Scottus*.

(50) That Donatus was an Irishman is clear not only from the Office, in which he is stated to have been of a noble and orthodox

family in the Old Scotia (*Ireland*), but likewise from his *Life*, as quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 238.*) where we read, that Ireland, the island of the Scots, sent him to Fiesole; “Iste, fratres mei, iste beatus ille et vere praedicandus Christi sacerdos. B. Donatus, quem nobis Hibernia Scotorum insula transmisit.” Colgan calls him (*ib. p. 236*) a bishop, while still in Ireland.

(51) A *Life* of this Andrew has been written by Philip Villani, who makes him a native of Ireland; “Fuit homo Dei Andreas oriundus ex insula Hibernia, quae alio magis vulgari nomine Scotia appellatur, &c. (See *AA. SS. p. 236.*) Colgan (*ib. p. 237*) mentions also an anonymous *Life* of Andrew, or St. Andrew, upon which some notes were written by Constantine Cajetano.

(52) In the anonymous *Life* of St. Andrew it is said, that Donatus and Andrew came to Italy in the time of Lewis the pious, and Cajetano marks the year as 816. (*AA. SS. p. 237*) But it was probably some years later. At any rate the Office of Donatus is wrong in stating that they were at Rome in 802.

(53) Cajetano says, that he became bishop of Fiesole in the very year of his arrival in Italy, viz. as he thought, *A. D. 816.* (See *AA. SS. p. 239.*) Ughelli also marks that as the year of his promotion; but Coleti in a note observes, that it must have been later than 826; for Grusolphus was bishop of Fiesole in that year and attended at a synod then held at Rome. Donatus was certainly bishop there before 844, in which year he was present at the coronation of Lewis, the son of Lotharius, as king of Italy. He was still its bishop in 861, whereas he was present at a Lateran council that sat in this year under Pope Nicholas I. against John, archbishop of Ravenna. (See Coletis' addition to Ughelli, *ib. Tom. 2. col. 350.*) The precise year of his death is not known. He was buried in the cathedral, and on his monument were engraved the following verses, which had been composed by himself;

Hic ego Donatus Scotorum sanguine cretus
 Solus in hoc tumultu pulvere, verme, voror.
 Regibus Italicis servivi pluribus annis,
 Lothario magno, Ludovicoque bono,
 Octenis lustris, septenis insuper annis
 Post Fesulana Praesul in urbe fui.

Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis
 Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.
 Parce viator adis, quisquis pro munera Christi
 Te modo non pigeat cernere busta mea,
 Atque precare Deum, residet qui culmina caeli,
 Ut mihi concedat regna beata sua.

If the *Octenis* &c. is to be understood of the duration of his incumbency, as Ughelli understood it, he was bishop of Fiesole for 47 years. But he was dead before 877, in which year, as Coleti remarks, Zenobius was its bishop. The Bollandists also (*Comment. præv.* at the Acts of St. Brigid of Fiesole, 1 Febr.) understood the *Octenis* &c. as Ughelli did. They conjectured, that Donatus did not become bishop of Fiesole until 841 or 842, and then, assigning to him 47 years of episcopacy, concluded that he lived until near 890. But this cannot agree with what Coleti says concerning Zenobius. It is very probable that he was made bishop of Fiesole soon after 826, perhaps in 827, whence reckoning 47 years, his death may be affixed to about 873. The Bollandists observe, that Donatus obtained from the above mentioned Lewis, with whom he was very intimate, some favours and privileges at Capua, and that the year, in which he obtained them, was apparently 866. Lewis was at this time, and for several years before it, emperor, and is called Lewis the second. He was the Lewis, who is distinguished in the epitaph by the epithet *good*, and died in 875, in which year he was succeeded, as emperor, by his uncle Charles the bald. In all probability he survived St. Donatus; for otherwise would not the name of Charles, to whom the empire and the kingdom of Italy devolved, have been mentioned in the epitaph? In Burke's Office of St. Donatus, by a strange anachronism, he is said to have died in 840.

From the epitaph it appears, that Donatus had been employed in teaching gratuitously, and that he composed some tracts, *Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis*, partly of a poetical kind, *Schemata metrorum*, and partly theological, *dicta beata senum*.

(54) Dempster has made up some tracts for him, which are mentioned by Ware (*Writers at Donat*) merely on his authority, yet it is certain, that he composed some works. (See *Not. præc.*)

(55) The ancient author of the *Life of St. Donatus*, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 238.* and *Tr. Th. p. 255.*) ascribes to him this prologue, which Colgan has prefixed to the *Life of St. Brigid*, said to have been written by Chilien of Iniskeltra. (See *Not. 18 to Chap. viii.*) Usher has given a part of it, *Prim. p. 1060*, but with two or three variations. It begins thus.

Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus
 Nomine et antiquis Scotia dicta libris.
 Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, et auri;
 Commoda corporibus, aere, sole, solo.
 Melle fluit pulchris et lacteis Scotia campis
 Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
 Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; saeva leonum
 Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit.
 Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba
 Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu.
 In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur,
 Inclyta gens hominum milite, pace, fide.
 De qua nata fuit quondam sanctissima virgo
 Brigida, Scotorum gloria, nomen, honor, &c.

After this description of Ireland it goes on as if prefatory to a *Life of St. Brigid*; and it really seems, that the author of it wrote such a work. But it is not to be concluded, that the *Life* attributed to Chilien was written rather by Donatus; for, as Colgan observes, there are in some MSS. other prologues prefixed to said *Life*; yet if, as I see no reason to doubt, Donatus was the author of the above one, it may, I think, be concluded that he drew up a *Life*, probably not extant, of *St. Brigid*. Concerning the epitaph see *Not. 53*.

(56) See *AA. SS. p. 236*, and *238*.

(57) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Andrew*.

(58) I have here given the substance of the Acts of this *St. Brigid*, as made up from Ferrarius and others by Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 1. February. The Bollandists have at said day, extracted a short *Life* of her from Villanis' *Life of St. Andrew*. In consequence of their having brought down the death of *St. Donatus* to near 890 (see *Not. 53*) and her having survived both him and *Andrew*.

they supposed she lived until about 900. This is, I believe, too late: probably she died about 880.

§. v. In 841 Mark, an Irish bishop, together with Moengal, *alias* Marcellus, his sister's son, returning from Rome stopped at the monastery of St. Gall, where the Irish were always well received as being countrymen of that saint. And in fact it is stated that it was as such that Mark visited that monastery. They were requested to remain there for some time, and at length agreed to do so. Mark then dismissed his other companions and attendants, to whom, being much displeased at his staying there, he gave his horses and mules, some money &c. reserving his books and some other articles for the use of the monastery. Moengal was exceedingly learned in sacred and human literature, and after some time was placed over the interior schools of the cloister. (59) It is probable that they both spent the remainder of their lives at St. Gall's; (60) and it is said that Moengal died in that monastery on a 30th of September, but in what year is not mentioned. (61) Among the persons instructed at St. Gall by Moengal are reckoned Notker Balbulus, Ratpert, and Tutilo; (62) and to him is attributed a certain tract on the lessons of the Gospel. (63)

In the same year 841 another countryman of St. Gall, and consequently an Irish Scot, named Eusebius, arrived at the same monastery and there became a monk. (64) Having remained for some years in the monastery, he retired in 854 or 855 to Mount St. Victor, where there was a church dedicated to the martyr of that name, in the part of the now Grison country called *Rhaetia Curiensis*. There he became a recluse and lived for 30 years in a most pious, contemplative, and austere manner, until his death on the 30th of January, A. D. 884. (65) He is said have been endowed with the gift of prophecy, and used to be consulted as such by the

people of that country. The king Charles (66) had so great an esteem for him, that, on his request, he made a grant of Mount St. Victor to the monastery of St. Gall.

(59) Ekkehard (*De casibus monasterii S. Galli ap. Melch. Goldast. R. Al. Scriptor. Tom. 1. p. 36.*) writes; "Grimaldi (abbot of St. Gall) temporibus Marcus quidam *Scottigena* episcopus Gallum tamquam *compatriotam suum* Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal, postea a nostris Marcellus diminutive a Marco avunculo suo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis rebus eruditissimus. Rogatur episcopus loco nostro aliquamdiu stare," &c. See also Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 841*). Harris (*Writers at Moengal*) makes them visit the abbot Grimoald as their countryman, having misunderstood Ekkehard's words, who calls not him but St. Gallus their compatriot.

(60) Mabillon (*ib.*) says, that Mark went, after having been for some time at St. Gall's, to France on the invitation of Charles the bald, and that he retired to the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons. He adds that perhaps Moengal also removed to France. But the bishop Mark of St. Medard must have been different from the one of St. Gall, if we are to believe Eric of Auxerre, who tells us (*De mirac. S. Germani, L. 1. c. 55.*) that he was a Briton, although educated in Ireland; while Ekkehard positively states, that the Mark of St. Gall was an Irishman. And Mabillon himself (*ib.* and *Acta Bened. Sec. iv. Part. 2. p. 461.*) represents Mark and Moengal as countrymen of St. Gall and Irishmen.

(61) See Harris, *Writers at Moengal*.

(62) Mabillon, *Acta Ben. ib. p. 46?*

(63) See Harris at *Moengal*.

(64) Colgan has the Acts of St. Eusebius at 30 January. He thinks that his real name was *Euchedius*, but gives no reason, except that this was an usual name in Ireland, whereas *Eusebius* was not so. Be this as it may, he represents him as not arriving at St. Gall until A. D. 854, in consequence of his having supposed that Eusebius became a recluse very soon after he reached that place. For in that year or the following he withdrew from the monastery and shut himself up. But Mabillon (*Annal. Ben.*) assigns his arrival at St. Gall to 841. Eusebius is called by Rat-

pert of St. Gall (*De origine et casibus S. Galli*) *Scotigena*, and by Ekkehard, also of St. Gall (*De casibus, &c.*) *sancti Galli compatrianus*, that is an Irishman.

(65) Ratpert (*ib.*) has these dates for his death, but does not mention his having died a martyr, as noted in the *Necrologium* of St. Gall, which states, as quoted by Colgan and Bollandus, that Eusebius was killed by one of the inhabitants, when remonstrating with some of them on their bad conduct. Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* at A. 841.) expresses strong doubts as to this martyrdom and says; “*Sublestae fidei videntur, quae de ejus martyris referuntur apud Bollandum.*” Had it taken place, would it not have been mentioned by Ratpert? The same *Necrologium* seems to make Eusebius a recluse for near fifty years; but, according to Ratpert, he was such only for thirty. Colgan strives to explain the words of the *Necrologium* as if relative to the whole life, and indicating that he died in the 50th year of his age. This cannot agree with his having arrived at St. Gall in 841, at which time he would have been, in this hypothesis, no more than about seven years old. A foolish story related in the *Necrologium* as to Eusebius after his death shows, that its authority is not worth attending to in what it has concerning him.

(66) This Charles was, says Mabillon, (*ib.*) the son and successor of king Lewis. He must have meant Lewis the Germanic. Consequently Charles was the one, that became emperor, and who is called Charles the *fat.*

§ VI. Helias, likewise an Irishman, was bishop of Angouleme during the reign of Charles the bald. He had gone to France in the early part of the ninth century; for he was a disciple of Theodulf bishop of Orleans, (67) who died in 821. He became a very learned man and was an admirable teacher. (68) One of his scholars was the celebrated Heric or Eric of Auxerre. (69) Helias succeeded bishop Lanus in the see of Angouleme, but in what year I do not find stated. (70) In 862 he assisted at the synod of Pistes, (71) which had been summoned by Charles the bald, and in 866 at that of Soissons. (72) His death is assigned to A. D. 875 or 876. (73)

Among the crowd of learned Irishmen, who went

over to France in those times, the most celebrated was John Scotus Erigena. (74) He was of very small size, but gifted with extraordinary genius. His studies were chiefly classical and philosophical, in which he excelled, considering the times he lived in; but he was greatly deficient in theological learning, which he seems to have scarcely applied to in his younger days, as he was not intended for the church; nor was he ever in holy orders, nor even a monk. He was a very good man, and irreproachable in his conduct. His birth must be assigned to the early part of the ninth century; for he was a grown up and highly learned man when he removed to France, which was before 847, as appears from his having been connected there with Prudentius before he became bishop of Troies. By his learning, eloquence, and wit he became a singular favourite with the king Charles the bald, who was so pleased with him, that he kept him constantly with himself, and did him the honour of having him as a guest at his table. Their conversation was sometimes of a jocose kind; and although John was not always sufficiently cautious not to give offence in his jokes, yet the king used to put up with whatever he said. As he was well skilled in Greek, Charles commissioned him to translate into Latin the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, (75) and accordingly he translated the four books *De caelesti Hierarchia, de ecclesiastica Hierarchia, de Divinis nominibus, and de mystica theologia*, which he dedicated to the king. (76) This translation was greatly admired for its accuracy, but being too literal was considered obscure. (77) It was published between 858 and 867; for it is mentioned in a letter of Pope Nicholas I. to Charles the bald. (78)

(67) In the chronicle of Ademar (*ap. Labbe Nova Bibliotheca, &c. Tom. 2. p. 159.*) there is at A. 819. a series of teachers suc-

ceeding each other, among whom is Theodulf as having taught Heliam *Scotigenam Engolismensem episcopum*, and then Helias as the master of Heiric or Heric (*of Auxerre*) See also Sammarthan. *Gallia Christiana ad Eccl. Engolism. Tom. 2. col. 984.*

(68) In the *Historia pontificum &c. Engolimensium* (*ap. Labbe, ib. p. 251.*) we read; “ Defuncto Launo suscepit Helias Scotigena cathedralem Engolismensem, qui *in Gallia mirifice scholas rexit.* It has afterwards the series of teachers as in the chronicle of Ademar. In the *Gallia Christiana* (*loc. cit.*) Helias is styled *vir doctissimus.*

(69) The Heiric, as called in the chronicle of Ademar, or Henric, as in the *Histor. Pontif. Engolism.* was Heric of Auxerre, as appears from its being added that Heiric taught Remigius, &c. His having studied for some time under Helias helped to make him well acquainted with learned Irishmen then in France, and with that flock of philosophers, which, as he says in his preface to the Acts of St. Germanus, addressed to Charles the bald, had passed over from Ireland to France; “ *Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad littora nostra migrantem? Quorum quisquis peritior est ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum.*” Helias, his master, was certainly one of those persons, whom Heric had in view; and hence it is plain that by *Scotigena*, as Helias is called, is to be understood a native of Ireland, not of N. Britain; for, had he been a British Scot, Heric would not have mentioned Ireland alone.

(70) Claudius Roberti in his *Gallia Christiana* (*at Episc. Engolism.*) says, that he was bishop of Angouleme during 40 years. If so, he should have been raised to the see in 835 or 836. But he could not have been bishop there before 853, in which year Launus was alive. (*Sammarthan ib. col. 983*)

(71) Sammarthan. *ib. col. 984.* Pistes was a place near the Seine, where it is joined by the Andelle. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. L. 50. §. 20.*)

(72) Cl. Roberti, *loc. cit.* and Sammarthan. *ib.*

(73) The Sammarthani, (*ib.*) referring to the chronicle of Ademar, place his death in 875. But in that chronicle, according to Labbe's edition, the year marked for it is 876. In the

Historia Pontif. &c. Engolism. it is said that Helias brought to Angouleme the remains of the martyr St. Benignus at the time that Charles the bald ascended the imperial throne. If this notation be correct, the death of Elias cannot be placed before 876. For Charles was not emperor until the latter end of 875. Yet the passage may perhaps be explained as meaning *about* the time that Charles was crowned emperor. It adds that Helias died during his reign. As to the day of his death, a chronicle of Angouleme marks the 22d of September. But as it is wrong with regard to the year of it, it may be wrong also as to the day.

(74) It is surprizing that even at this day some writers pretend that Erigena was a native of Scotland, for instance Chalmers, in his Biographical Dictionary, and Rees' Encyclopedia, at *Erigena*, notwithstanding the general consent of so many men of real learning, who have had occasion to treat of him, that he was an Irishman. Among the French, Dupin, Fleury, the authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, and a crowd of others; Mosheim, J. P. Murray, with other learned Germans, all agree on this point. The surname, *Erigena*, is alone sufficient to prove it, as it means a native of Eri or Erin, that is, Ireland. Instead of *Erigena*, we sometimes find him called *Eringena*, *ex. c.* in an old MS. written about 900 years ago containing his translation of the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. (See a Dissertation concerning him by Father Paris of St. Genevieve in the Appendix to *Perpetuité de la foi*, Tom. 3. p. 20. In this dissertation he is positively stated to have been an Irishman. It is to be observed, that this surname was given to him by others; by some, as by Sigebert, he was called *Erigena*, and by some *Eringena*. Certain Scotch authors, according to their usual mode of robbing Ireland of many of its distinguished men, would fain make us believe that *Erigena* means a native of Air in the South-west of Scotland. But, if he was from that place, would the name not have been *Airgena* or *Arigena*? Or how could he have been called *Eringena*; for surely it will not be said that Air was the same as Erin. Besides, what could Sigebert or other continental scholars of those days know about Air in North Britain, a place which perhaps did not then exist? These Scotch gentlemen seem to be unacquainted with the history of their own country. They ought to know, that Air, Airshire, &c. did not, in the times of of John Scotus Erigena, belong to the Scots. They were part of the Strathcluyd

or Cumbrian kingdom of the Britons, and did not get into the possession of the Scots until the year 946. (See Usher, *Pr.* p. 664 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 946. also Chalmers, *Caledonia*, Vol. 1. p. 353, *seqq.*) The country of the British Scots lay in Erigena's days, as well as from their first arrival in Britain to the North of the frith of Clyde; (see Usher, p. 611, 612, and Lloyd on *Church government*, ch. 1. §. 9. *seqq.*) and although in 843 by conquering the Picts they extended their kingdom to the northward, they did not enlarge it to the south of the frith until above 100 years later. It is true that the Irish Scots are said to have seized upon, about the beginning of the 9th century, the southern point of Scotland called *Galloway* from *Gael*, *Irish*. (Usher, p. 667 and *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 800.) But this acquisition did not by any means extend as far as Air. If Erigena was born at Air, he was a Briton; but, should the ancient Britons claim him as their countryman, or should any part of England, for this also has been attempted, do the same, the national epithet, *Scotus*, is sufficient to decide the question. The best account I have met with of this extraordinary man, particularly of his works, is that given by the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Litteraire*, Tom. v. p. 416, *seqq.*

(75) These works were at that time considered in France as of great importance, owing to the then prevalent opinion that Dionysius the Areopagite was the same as St. Denis the first bishop of Paris.

(76) Usher has published (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Nos.* 22, 23.) two of these dedications, one in verse, the other in prose. The former begins thus;

“ Hanc libam, sacro Graecorum nectare fartam,
 Advena Johannes spondo meo Carolo.
 Maxime Francigenum, cui regia stemmata fulgent,
 Munera votiferi sint tibi grata tui.”

In the latter John gives an account of Dionysius and of the four books, concluding with some verses;

“ Lumine sidereo Dionysius auxit Athenas,
 Areopagites, magnificusque *sophos*.
 Primo commotus Phaebum subeunte *Selena*,
 Tempore quo *stauris* fixus erat Dominus,” &c.

Here, according to his usual practice in his poems, he intermixed some Greek words.

(77) Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in a letter written to Charles the bald, and published by Usher (*No. 24. Ep. Hib. Syll.*) says : “ It is wonderful how that barbarous man,” (for every one not a Greek or Roman was called *barbarous*) “ who placed at the “ extremity of the world might, in proportion as he was remote “ from the rest of mankind, be supposed to be unacquainted with “ other languages, was able to comprehend such deep things and “ to render them in another tongue. I mean John the *Scotigena*, “ whom I have heard spoken of as a holy man in every respect. “ But he has greatly diminished the advantage, that might be de- “ rived from such an undertaking, having been over-cautious in “ giving word for word—which I think he had no other reason “ for than that, as he was an humble man, he did not presume “ to deviate from the precise meaning of the words, lest he might “ in any wise injure the truth of the text. But the consequence “ has been, that he has involved an author, sufficiently difficult “ in himself, in labyrinths, and has left him, whom he proposed “ to explain, so as still to require explanation.”

(78) The pontificate of Nicholas I. began in 858, and ended in 867.

§. VII. Meanwhile John was engaged in teaching philosophy, and, it seems, at least for some time, at Paris. That which he explained to his disciples, was of a mixed, and in great part, a very bad sort. (79) Before the above mentioned translation appeared, he published a treatise on divine predestination in 19 chapters. At this period there were great disputes in France concerning the mysteries of predestination and grace, to which the opinions and writings of the monk Gothescala had given rise. This is not the place to give an account of that celebrated controversy; and it will be sufficient to observe that, while Gothescala was defended by Prudentius, bishop of Troies, Florus a deacon of Lyons, Lupus of Ferrieres, Ratraimn of Corbie, and

Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, he was opposed by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, and some others. A party of his opponents were not content with having got him condemned by one or two synods, but, with the overbearing Hincmar at their head, procured to have him cruelly flogged and thrown into prison in the year 849. Gothescala was in this prison, when Hincmar and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, finding his doctrine abetted in tracts written by Prudentius, Lupus, and Ratramn, applied to John to draw up a treatise on predestination. He complied with their request, and dedicated the work to them, some short time before 852. In it he relied too much on logical subtleties, and fell into various errors. Among other strange opinions, which he is charged with having held, striving to maintain that there is only one predestination, viz. that of the elect, he advanced that, sin and punishment being mere privations, God cannot foresee them, nor, in consequence, predestine to punishment; that the pains of the damned are only their sins, or the tormenting recollection of them; that the damned will at length enjoy all natural advantages; that the irregular movements of the will can be punished, but that our nature itself is not capable of punishment; and that human nature is not subject to sin, alluding to original sin. As soon as this treatise was published, Venilo, archbishop of Sens, sent extracts from it to Prudentius, requesting him to refute the errors it contained. Prudentius was shocked at finding in them, as he thought, the bad principles of Pelagius and Origen. Having procured the whole work, he judged that it was of a downright Pelagian kind, and in 852 set about refuting it, chapter by chapter, and position by position. The same extracts being sent also to Lyons, the deacon Florus was engaged by the ecclesiastical authority of that city to

draw up an answer to them, which he did much in the same manner as Prudentius had. (80) The 19 chapters of John were condemned by the third council of Valence, held in 855, which represents them as conclusions of impertinent syllogisms containing inventions of the devil rather than any proposition of faith. (81) This condemnation was confirmed in 859 by a council of Langres, and in the same year, it is said, by Pope Nicholas I. (82) Besides the errors of which he was guilty in this tract, John has been charged with often contradicting himself, and now starting an assertion and now unsaying it. (83)

(79) Mosheim says (*Eccl. History at 9th century, Part 2. ch. 1.*) that John taught the philosophy of Aristotle; but as Brucker shows, and will be seen lower down, it was rather of the new Platonists of the Alexandrian school.

(80) See Fleury, *L. 48. §. 58.* These works of Prudentius and Florus, as also that of John, to which they replied, may be seen in the interesting collection (published by G. Mauguin) *Veterum auctorum, qui novo seculo de predestinatione et gratia scripserunt.* Usher has published in his History of the Gothescaleian controversy (*p. 115. seqq.*) an old synopsis of John's chapters.

(81) *In quibus commentum diaboli potius quam argumentum aliquod fidei deprehenditur.* See Fleury, *L. 49. §. 23.*

(82) *Annal. Bertiniani,* and Fleury, *ib. §. 48.*

(83) Prudentius states (*cap. 19.*) that John pronounces eternal misery to the damned, to whom he had a little higher up promised joy, &c. at a certain period; "*Ecce consuetissima tibi contrarietate miseriam aeternam indicis, quibus Paulo ante gaudium, pulchritudinem, gloriam, fulgoremque contuleras.*" Florus brings the same charge against him; "*Mirandum est nimis, quomodo dicat omnium impiorum et Angelorum et hominum corpora aeterni ignis supplicium perpessura, quod superius tam aperte et tam multipliciter negavit; quod utique in hoc loco aut fecte et dolose confessus est; et abominabilis est Deo, qui de fide ejus in corde tenet mendacium, et in ore vult quasi proferre veritatem; aut si*

vere ipsa rei veritate, et timore offensionis Ecclesiae superatus ne omnino infidelis judicaretur, hoc confessus est, vacua est omnino et cassa talis confessio, quam superius tanta et tam multiplex praecessit negatio." He says also that, after his having laid down that prescience and predestination were the same, he afterwards confessed that they were different; "*Qui hactenus praescientiam et praedestinationem unum adstruxeras, nunc differre, quamvis subdole, confiteris.*" In fact, John's work is written in such a manner, and in such a constant run of syllogistical acuteness, that it is often difficult to catch at the real meaning of his context. Besides, he uses some words in a sense peculiar to himself, particularly the term *nature*. He lays down that human nature cannot be corrupted by sin, and accordingly cannot be punished; but that it is the will that is capable of sinning, and consequently of punishment. Thus, treating of original sin, he says (*cap. 17. §. 3.*) that in the first man the generality of nature did not sin, but the individual will of every one, (for he states that this individual will of every one was contained in that of Adam) and that it would be unjust to punish any one for the sin of another; "*Non itaque in eo (primo homine) peccavit naturae generalitas, sed unicujusque individua voluntas—in illo (primo homine) per se ipsum singulus quisque potuit proprium committere delictum; in nullo quippe vindicatur juste alterius peccatum.*" It appears almost certain, that he did not acknowledge any corruption or enfeeblement not only of human nature, but even of the will as caused by the sin of Adam; but, for fear of being considered as a professed Pelagian, and a denier of original sin, he recurred to the extravagant hypothesis, that every one, that is, every descendant of Adam, committed the same *actual* sin, and at the same time, that Adam did. Thus the sin of Adam, as committed by him alone, did not affect his posterity; for, as he says, it would be unjust to punish any one for another person's sin; but every one committed an actual sin on that occasion. Now this hypothesis, if admitted, might stand without the necessity of admitting what the Church has always considered as original sin, or of supposing that either human nature or any of its faculties has been impaired by it. Then he adds that nature is not at all punished, because it is from God, and does not sin; but that a voluntary movement making a libidinous use of the good of nature is justly punished; "*Preinde in*

nullo natura punitur, quia ex Deo est et non peccat; motus autem voluntarius libidinose utens naturae dono merito punitur." The constant perfection of nature is one of his great principles, and another is, that no nature can be punished by another. Thence he concludes, that God has not made any punishment, and that the punishment of sinners are nothing else than the sins themselves. Accordingly he heads the 16th chapter with these words; "*De eo quod nulla naturam puniit, et nihil aliud esse poenas peccatorum nisi peccata eorum.*"—Then, going on with his dialectics, he says; "*Proculdubio igitur tenendum nullam naturam ab alia natura puniri, ac per hoc nullam poenam a Deo esse factam;*" whence he deduces that no punishment has been foreknown or predestined by God; "*subindeque nec ab eo (poenam) praescitam nec praedestinatum.*" It is a general axiom of his that God cannot foresee any thing, of which he is not the author, and therefore he maintains that he does not foresee sin or evil. Thus, besides many other passages to this purport, he says (cap. 10.) "*Sicut Deus mali auctor non est, ita nec praescius mali nec praedestinans est.*" This is strange doctrine indeed, as if God could not foresee negations or aberrations from his laws. From these principles he comes to the main point, which he was endeavouring to prove, viz. that there is no predestination of the damned, i. e. that the Almighty has not, in consequence of his foreknowledge of sins, predetermined and prepared punishments for the perpetrators of them; for, if he does not foresee sins, nor make punishments, how can there be a predestination of this sort. He concludes the work with, in a very audacious and consequential manner, anathematizing all those, who hold more than one predestination, that of the blessed; for, he says, there is only one, viz. as to things that exist, but not as to those that do not. Connected with this theory is his maxim, that predestination is nothing else than foreseeing; thus we read (cap. 18.); "*Non aliud igitur praedestinare quam praevidere.*" Here and there we meet with some very singular notions; for instance, speaking (cap. 17.) of the fire of the future state, he says, that it is not a punishment, and that in it will dwell the happy as well as the miserable, "*non minus habitabunt beati quam miseri;*" but that, as light is pleasing to some eyes, and to others hurtful and pernicious, as food is agreeable to some and to others destructive, &c. in like manner said fire will be cheering to

the blessed and doleful to the damned. In the 19th chapter he tells us, that the bodies of the saints will be changed into an aethereal quality, as likewise those of the damned who will enjoy all the goods of nature except beatitude, which, he adds, is from grace. Here he seems to state, that there will be no difference between the blessed and the unblessed, except that the former will enjoy heavenly beatitude, while the latter will be left in a sort of tranquil state of nature. It does not appear to me, that John was so liable to contradict himself as Prudentius and Florus imagined; but I allow, that the art, with which he manages his terms and reasonings, is apt to make one think, that he sometimes falls into contradictions. On the whole, his book is full of bad and dangerous opinions, and is much more philosophical than truly theological. And how could it be otherwise? He commenced it by announcing, that every question is solved by the four rules of philosophy; “*Quadrivio regularum totius philosophiae quatuor omnem quaestionem solvi.*” But theology is founded on revelation, and is not to be mangled by the *Quadrivium*. He sometimes quotes the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, but in the quibbling and clipping mode of captious polemical disputants. John was certainly not a learned divine, as Mosheim calls him, (at 9th cent^y. Part 2. ch. 2.) although it must be allowed that, as Mosheim adds, he was of uncommon sagacity and genius; and I agree with this author (*ib. ch. 1.*) that he was the first, who joined scholastic with mystic theology. For, the scholastic theology, which the world could have done very well without, had been practised in Ireland some time before John flourished, as Mosheim observes, (at 8th cent^y. Part. 2. ch. 3.) where he says that the Irish, who were distinguished beyond all other European nations for knowledge, were the first teachers of scholastic theology. Whether what he adds concerning their spurning at authority in theological matters at that period be true or not, I shall not stop to inquire. I may, however, remark, whatever may be thought of John, that Dungal, who was not long prior to him, and who was a real theologian, had a great respect for authority relatively to theological questions, as we have seen (*Chap. xx. §. 15.*) from his treatise against Claudius of Turin.

§. VIII. Many of the erroneous opinions, into

which his sort of philosophy led him, are to be found in his work *On Natures*, *περὶ φύσεων*, written in form of a dialogue, and divided into five books. (84) It begins with a division of natures into four sorts; 1. That, which creates and is not created; 2. That, which creates and is created; 3. That, which does not create and is created; 4. That, which neither creates nor is created. In the three first books John treats of the three first sorts, and in the two following he explains the return of the created natures into the increated one. He says, that God has created from all eternity in his Son the primordial causes of all things, goodness by itself, essence by itself, life by itself, greatness by itself, peace by itself, and so on as to the other Platonic ideas. He teaches, that the humanity of our Lord has been entirely changed into his divinity after his resurrection; that the wickedness and punishments of devils, and of all the damned in general, will end at some time; that at the general resurrection all sensible and corporeal things will pass into the human nature; that the body of man will be transformed into his soul; that the soul will pass into the primordial causes, and these into God, so that, as before the existence of the world there was nothing but God and the causes of all things in God, there will be after its end nothing else than God and the causes of all things in God. To this he applies a passage of Solomon, *All that was, that which will be*, as if, he adds, “Solomon plainly said, that God alone and the causes of all things in him was before the world; and that afterwards he, and the causes of all things in him, will be alone.” (85) On various occasions John speaks like a downright Pantheist, and a member of the school of Pseudo-Dionysius and the new Platonists. He states that, when it is said that God makes all things, this means that he is in all things, *i. e.* that the essence of all things subsists—that in God there is no accident, and that

therefore it was not an accident in God to create the universe, and consequently that he was not subsisting before he did create it. (86) He says, that all things are God, and God all things—that God is the maker of all things and made in all. (87) Then we find him advancing some strange positions of another kind, *ex. c.* that the division of human nature into sexes was a consequence of sin, as foreseen by God, that the souls of beasts cannot perish, &c. (88)

(84) This work has been called by some *περὶ φύσεων μερισμῶν*, or *of the division of Natures*. F. Paris (see above *Not.* 74.) suspects, that *μερισμῶν* was added by some one that wished to skreen the character of John, as if, in case he should be charged with the heresies, in which the *περὶ φύσεων* abounds, it might be answered that this was not his work, but the one with the addition *μερισμῶν*. This is a far fetched conjecture, and, I believe, quite unfounded; for that addition might have been made to the title on account of the division of natures being treated of in the work, and some old writers make mention of it sometimes with and sometimes without that addition. F. Paris had closely examined it, and has given a summary of its doctrines in the first article of his dissertation. I shall follow his account of them, together with that given by Brucker in his history of philosophy, as I have not at hand the edition published by Thomas Gale at Oxford in 1681.

(85) See the dissertation by F. Paris.

(86) *In Deo non est accidens; itaque non est Deo accidens universitatem condere. Non erga Deum erat subsistens antequam universitatem crearet.*"

(87) "*Omnia esse Deum, et Deum esse omnia—Deum esse omnium factorem, et in omnibus factum.*"

(88) Compare with Brucker *Histor. Philosoph.* Tom. III. p. 621, *seqq.* where more may be seen concerning his extravagant and indeed antichristian doctrines. Brucker does not hesitate to call him a Pantheist.

§. IX. John also wrote a metaphysical tract *On the vision of God*; but what doctrine he laid down in it

I am not able to tell. His book on the Eucharist appeared before 861 or 862. (89) It is not extant, the copies of it having disappeared since it was condemned by the council of Vercelli in 1050. (90) Hence it is impossible to discover his precise system on that mystery; some thinking that he admitted the real presence, denying transubstantiation; and others, that he denied both. (91) That this tract contained, or was at that time supposed to contain, some errors, appears from an answer by Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, who in his treatise, *Contra ineptias, Johannis Scoti*, brought forward passages from the Fathers in opposition to it. (92) Yet it seems that it was not easy to ascertain in what particular doctrine John meant to insinuate, or whether he really denied the real presence, although Ascelin, who lived in the eleventh century, and who had read his treatise, thought that his real object was to do so. (93) If he did, which by the bye we are not bound to believe, he certainly deviated from the doctrine held in Ireland concerning the holy Eucharist, which was evidently that of the real presence. (94) Nor is there any sufficient reason to think, that it was on account of this tract that Pope Nicholas I. in his letter to Charles the bald concerning John's translation of Dionysius Areopagites, which, he says, ought to have been sent to the Holy see for its approbation, observes that John had been reported by many to have formerly held some bad doctrines. It can scarcely be doubted, that the errors alluded to by the Pope were those contained in the book on predestination, and which the said Pope is said to have condemned in 859. (95) The story of John's having left France in consequence of being accused of heresy, and of his taking shelter with Alfred the great English king, is as unfounded as any thing can be. (96) John was probably never in England, except that perhaps he passed through it on his way to France. During the pontificate of John VIII. which

did not begin until the latter end of 872, he was still in France, as appears from some Greek and Latin verses addressed by him to the king Charles, after which he has others, in which that Pope is praised. (97) It is more than probable, as will be soon seen, that he was dead before he could have been received by Alfred. If there was any time, at which John would have gone to England in consequence of wishing to shun persecution in the continent, it should have been during the pontificate of Nicholas I. after his propositions had been condemned by the councils of Valence and Langres, and after Nicholas had written concerning him to Charles the bald. Now Alfred, with whom, according to the story, he took refuge, was not king until after the death of Pope Nicholas; and, after he became king, he was too much engaged in his Danish wars to set about promoting learning and encouraging learned men, which in fact he did not apply to until about 883. Some English writers, aware of this difficulty, have deferred John's reception by Alfred until said year 883; (98) but this is a ridiculous supposition, for which there is not the least authority in the genuine and coeval accounts that remain of Alfred's proceedings. Asserius, his friend and biographer, makes no mention of John, notwithstanding the particular care he took in describing the literary men, whom Alfred encouraged and had at his court. He speaks indeed of a John, who, invited by Alfred, went over to him from France in 884. This John was quite different from John Scotus; for, as Asserius informs us, he was an Eald-Saxon, that is, apparently a continental Saxon, a priest and monk, and became abbot of Aetheling or Athelingey. (99) The other John was an Irishman, nor was he ever either a priest or monk. Yet, strange to say, to prop up the fable of John Scotus having been with Alfred, he has been confounded with John of Aetheling. It would be a waste of words to enlarge on this subject, and I shall

only add that this John lived in his monastery until 895, about which year he was killed by two hired assassins. (100)

(89) *Histoire Litteraire, Tom. 5. at Erigena.* Mabillon thought that it was written before 859, the year in which Hincmar addressed his second treatise on predestination to Charles the bald. (See *Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Part. 2. pref. §. 8.*)

(90) Some learned men, and particularly F. Paris (*Dissertation, &c.*) have endeavoured to prove, that the famous tract *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, published under the name of Bertram, is the identical work of John. It is strange, that they could have thought so; for there is a marked difference between the style of this treatise and that of John's real writings. His style is strong, nervous, and of a close, bold, authoritative kind. That of *De corpore, &c.* is rather diffuse, and withal often involved and obscure, besides not being quite as correct as John's. But it is now universally admitted, that said tract was written by Ratramn the celebrated monk of Corbie, who was contemporary with John. This has been proved from writers who lived above 800 years ago, by Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 858. and Pref. ad Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Par. 2. §. 6. seqq.*) and after him by others. (See *Hist. Letter. ib. at Ratramne.*) If it had been written by John, he could not be accused of having denied the real presence in the Eucharist or even transubstantiation. For, besides James Boileau Doctor of Sorbonne, Mabillon, and the authors of *Hist. Letter.* have clearly shown, that it does not contain any such denial; and, notwithstanding all the noise raised by the Calvinists who supposed that it favoured their system, the very Centuriators of Magdeburg state, that it contained the seeds of transubstantiation.

(91) See *Hist. Letter. ib. at Erigena.*

(92) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 858.* It is a small tract, consisting of a tissue of passages from Saints Jerome, Augustin and Gregory, explanatory of the true doctrine of the Eucharist. The author does not quote any of John's words, nor does he enter into reasonings. It has been published by D'Achery, *Spicileg. Tom. 12. al. 1.* and said to have been written about 870.

(93) Ascelin says that a person could not at first perceive what was John's meaning as to the mystery of the Eucharist, because,

like a poisoner, he presented some things apparently sweet, but which would produce death; and that, although he alleged passages of the Fathers, he spoiled them by his glosses. Thus having quoted from the Missal of St. Gregory the following prayer, "*Perficiant in nobis tua, Domine, sacramenta quod continent, ut, quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus.*" On this John added; "*Specie geruntur non veritate.*" Ascelin, *Epist. ad Berengar. in notis ad Vit. Lanfr.* Hence he deduced that John intended to show, that what is consecrated on the altar is not truly the body or blood of Christ. But with Ascelin's leave, John might have written these few words without meaning to deny the real presence. His object might have been to state, that although the holy Eucharist appears under the form of bread and wine, yet it is not really bread and wine, but only apparently so. Ratramn quotes the same prayer, and makes the same observation on it as that of John; yet it is certain, that in doing so did not mean to impugn the real presence. Some other proofs should be adduced to show clearly that John really denied that doctrine, and I greatly doubt whether they can be found. Hincmar in his second treatise on predestination, addressed to Charles the bald in 859, says, that some persons in his time held various errors, among which he mentions that of the sacrament of the altar not being the true body and the true blood of the Lord, but only the memory of them; "*quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sit Domini; sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis.*" It is usually supposed that he alluded to John, because some of the other errors, which he marks, are found in John's treatise on predestination or in the work on Natures. This, however, is not certain; and, even admitting it was the case, Hincmar might have misunderstood his meaning in the same manner as a great number of persons have misunderstood that of Ratramn. John might have said in a very orthodox sense, that the sacrament of the altar is a memory or commemoration of the true body and blood of Christ, supposing at the same time that they were really present, although not in the same form or manner as they were during our Saviour's mission on earth, when he was visible, and appeared in human shape, with distinct limbs, &c. If it be true, that John stated that the sacrament of the altar is not the *true* body and the *true* blood of the Lord, he might have understood the word *true* relatively to the system of Pascasius Radbertus, who held that the body of Christ in the

Eucharist, although invisible to us, is in the same form as it proceeded from his blessed Mother, as it suffered on the cross, and as it rose from the dead. According to him, the phrase *true body*, meant a palpable body, such as our Saviour had during his mission on earth, and such as he has in heaven. Now other learned men, and very good Catholics, maintained that the body and blood of Christ, although really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar, are not there under the form of a *true body and blood*, as meant by Pascasius, but in a spiritual, and not in a corporeal or carnal manner. Veron says, (*Regula fidei Cathol. cap. 2. §. 11.*) “ that the body of Christ under the symbols not only can be called *spiritual* and Christ himself *Spirit*, but likewise be said to be under the symbols in a *spiritual manner* or *spiritually*, and not in an *animal or corporeal manner* or *corporeally* or *carnally*.” He then gives his proofs; “ *Probatum, quia est ibi ad modum spiritus multipliciter, scilicet sicut angelus est hic vel ibi invisibilis, impatibilis; et totus in toto, et totus in qualibet parte; est enim indivisibilis, et non frangibilis: ita Corpus Christi, seu Christus, est sub symbolis invisibilis, impatibilis, et totus in toto, et totus sub qualibet parte, quia ibi est indivisibilis et non frangibilis. Modus vero existendi corporalis, seu corporaliter et carnaliter existere, est existere visibiliter, patibiliter secundum extensionem ad totum, seu totum in toto, et partem in parte, et frangibiliter; ergo corpus Christi, seu Christus, est in symbolis spirituali modo seu spiritualiter, et non corporali seu carnali, nec corporaliter seu carnaliter in dicto sensu, &c.* Veron proves, that this doctrine is perfectly consonant with that of the council of Trent, *sess. 13.* If John, speaking of the commemoration of the *true body and true blood* of the Lord, had said that the body and blood were not present in any manner, he could be justly charged with having denied the real presence. But Hincmar does not say that he did; and perhaps Hincmar was a follower of Paschasius, and consequently supposed that those, who opposed him as to the *mode* of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist (for as to the substance and reality of the presence there was no question) were in error. Nor is there any sufficient authority for making John say, that in the eucharistical commemoration the body and blood of Christ are *absent*. This has been asserted by Mosheim, who writes (*ad Sec. ix. Part. 2. cap. 3. §. 20.*) that John taught “ panem et

vinum *absentis* corporis et sanguinis Christi esse signa et imagines." Mosheim gives us no voucher for this position, nor, I believe, could he. Any declaration of this kind made by John would have roused the whole world against him; for, as Mosheim himself, when entering on the history of the Pascasian controversy, observes, it had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church that the body and blood of Christ were administered to those, who received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they were really present in that holy institution; but as to the mode of this presence there were various opinions, and there was not as yet any decision of the Church on this subject. Now the question excited by the work of Pascasius was relative merely to the mode or form, in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament of the altar, and not to the presence itself. It was said work that gave occasion to John to draw up his treatise; and I have not as yet met with any decisive proof that he went farther in it than merely to impugn the system of Pascasius relative to the *mode* of Christ's presence. Yet, as the question was of a very nice and intricate nature, he probably used certain expressions, which some persons might have considered as heterodox.

(94) The very phrases used by the old Irish writers, when speaking of the celebration of Mass, are alone sufficient to show, what was the general belief on this point. They call it the sacrifice, the sacrifice of salvation, the mysteries of the sacrifice, the sacrificial mystery, the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, the mysteries of the sacred Eucharist; *sacrificium salutis, sacrificii mysteria, sacrificiate mysterium, sacra Eucharistiae mysteria, sacrae Eucharistiae mysteria*. (See St. Gallus *ap. Wal. Strab. V. S. G. L. 1. c. 18. Cumineus, Life of St. Columba, cap. 4. and Adamnan, L. 1. c. 40. L. 2. c. 1. L. 3. c. 12. and 17. &c.*) Strong, however, as these expressions are, which could not be used were the body and blood of Christ supposed not to be really present, we find still stronger ones. Thus, the celebration of Mass is expressed by the *making of the body of Christ*. Adamnan relates, (*L. 1. c. 44.*) that on a Sunday St. Columba ordered Cronan, whom, although a bishop, he thought to be only a priest, *Christi corpus ex more conficere*. (See above *Not. 182. to Chap. XI.*) The consecration of the Eucharist is called by those writers, *immolation of the euti host or of the sacred Lord's sacrifice*; and the sacramen-

tal communion is expressed by the phrase, *receiving the body and blood of Christ or of the Lord*. In the ancient Life of St. Ita we read (*cap.* 17.) that on a solemn day, wishing to receive from the hand of a worthy priest the *body and blood of Christ*, she went to Clonmacnois and there received in a secret manner the *body and blood of the Lord*. It is added that the clergy, not knowing what was become of the *body and blood of the Lord*, were greatly alarmed and fasted together with the people until it was discovered, that Ita had received it. Then the priest, who had immolated the host, (*immolavit hostiam*) which St. Ita received, went to see her, &c. (See above *Chap.* xi. §. 3.) Cogitosus, describing (*Vit. S. Brigidæ, cap.* 35.) the church of Kildare, says that by one door the bishop entered with his clergy to immolate the sacred Lord's sacrifice, *sacra et Dominica immolare sacrificia*; and that by another the abbess and her nuns entered, that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, *ut convivio corporis et sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi*. Another phrase for the celebration of Mass was, with the old Irish, the *offering of Christ's body*. In the first Life of St. Kieran of Saigir (*cap.* 25.) it is said, that on every Christmas night, after his community had received the *sacrifice from his hand*, he used to go to the nunnery of St. Cocchea there to offer the body of Christ, *ut corpus Christi offerret*. Whenever the viaticum received before death is mentioned in the lives of our saints, it is usually called the *sacred body and blood of the Lord*; thus we read of St. Fursey (*Life, L.* 1. c. 39.) that he died *post sacri corporis et sanguinis sumptam vivificationem*; and of St. Fechin (*Life, cap.* 48.) that, *sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentis munitus*, he gave up his spirit to his Creator.

Besides the use of these phrases, we find some of our ancient writers positively asserting that the body and blood of Christ are in the Eucharist. St. Columbanus of Bobbio, in his tract *De poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, (*ap. Bibl. Patr. Tom.* 12.) lays down No. 42. that confession be required diligently before Mass, lest a person should receive unworthily; for, he says, the altar is the tribunal of Christ, and his body, which is there with his blood, marks out those who approach in an unworthy state; *tribunal enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine indicat indignos accedentes*. Sedulius, the commentator of St. Paul, in a note after

the word, *Take and eat; this is my body*; (1 Cor. xi. 24.) says; “As if Paul said, Beware not to eat that body unworthily, whereas it is the body of Christ; *Quasi Paulus, Cavele ne illud corpus indigne comedatis, dum corpus Christi est.*” Usher, endeavouring (*Discourse on the religion of the ancient Irish*) to squeeze something against the real presence out of this Sedulius, has very unbecomingly omitted the now quoted passage, but gives us another, that comes just after it, in which Sedulius remarks on the words, *in remembrance of me, (ib.)* that Christ “left a memory of himself unto us, just as if one, that was going on a distant journey, should leave some token with him whom he loved; that as often as he beheld it he might call to his remembrance his benefits and friendship.” How this passage militates against the doctrine of the real presence I cannot discover, especially after Sedulius having said what we have seen about the body of Christ. Any Catholic might speak in that manner, if treating of the institution of the holy sacrament, which is certainly commemorative of Christ’s passion and the benefits received through it. It is accordingly a token of Christ’s love for us; but this does not exclude his being really present in it, although in a manner different from that, in which he appeared on the cross. At this very day the Catholics use expressions similar to that of Sedulius. In a lesson, written by St. Thomas of Aquino, of the office for *Corpus Christi* day it is stated, that in the sacrament “is kept up the memory of that “most excellent charity, which Christ showed in his passion— “and that in the last supper, when, having celebrated the Pasch “with his disciples, he was about to pass from this world to his “Father, he instituted this sacrament as a perpetual memorial of “his passion, a fulfilment of the ancient figures, the greatest of “the miracles wrought by him, and thus left a singular comfort “to the persons grieved for his absence.” Would any one quote this passage in opposition to the doctrine of the real presence, on account of said doctrine not being expressly mentioned in it? But, it may be said, that doctrine is laid down in a former lesson taken from the said tract of St. Thomas. To this I reply, that Sedulius had in like manner expressed that doctrine immediately before the words quoted by Usher, who, had he wished to act fairly, should have produced both passages. He alleges also what Sedulius has concerning “our offering daily (in the Mass) for the

commemoration of the Lord's passion, once performed, and our own salvation." What has this to do with the question? Whatever some divines may have speculated about the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass, it is certainly commemorative of the Lord's passion, and derives all its virtue from the one passion on the cross; and it is far from being an article of Catholic belief, that in the celebration of Mass there is any such thing as a new passion of Christ. "What is," says Bossuet, (*Hist. des Variations*, L. vi. §. 37.) "the sacrifice (of the Mass) except Jesus Christ present in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and representing himself to his Father as the victim, by which he *has been* appeased?" (See also *ib.* §. 23.) For, to be a truly commemorative sacrifice, it is necessary that Christ be really present; otherwise how could the Mass, or the essential part of it, have been called the *sacrifice of the Lord*, as it has constantly been? (See Veron, *Regul. fidei*, &c. cap. 2. §. 14.) Usher was equally wrong in appealing to the poet Sedulius. He quotes a passage, in which the poet, alluding to the offering of Melchisedec, mentions corn and wine, *segetis fructus et gaudia vitis*. But said passage is relative not to the Lord's supper, but to the one leper, who, out of ten, returned to thank Christ. *Luke* xvii. 15. Sedulius is very clear on the real presence, where he alludes to the Eucharist. Of these passages, which have been very uncandidly omitted by Usher, although he had read them, one is in the *Carmen Paschale*, *Lib.* 4. as follows;

" Nec Dominum latuere doli, scelerisque futuri
 Prodidit auctorem, panem cui tradidit ipse,
 Qui panis tradendus erat; nam corporis atque
 Sanguinis ille sui post quam duo munera sanxit,
 Atque cibum potumque dedit, quo perpete nunquam
 Esuriant sitiantque animae sine labe fideles."

And *ib.* another lower down;

" Corpus, sanguis, aqua, tria vitæ munera nostræ :
 Fonte renascentes, *membris et sanguine* Christi
 Vescimur, atque ideo templum Deitatis habemur ;
 Quod servare Deus nos annuat immaculatum,
 Et faciat tenues *lanto mansore* capaces."

In the corresponding part of his prose work (*L. 5. c. 18.*) on the same subject he says ; “ Omnes enim, qui Christo duce in aquarum fonte renacimur, ejus corpus et sanguinem sumentes edimus et potamus, ut Sancti Spiritus templum esse mereamur, &c. *All we, who under our chief Christ are born again in the fountain of water, taking do eat and drink his body and blood, that we may deserve to be the temple of the Holy Ghost.*” Sedulius alluded to the practice of the ancient Church, according to which the Eucharist was given to persons just after their baptism. This was observed even with regard to infants, and continued down to as late as the 9th century. Alcuin says ; “ After an infant is baptized, let him be clothed. If the bishop be present, he is to be immediately confirmed with chrism, and then receive the communion ; but, if the bishop be absent, let him receive the communion from a priest.” Jesse, bishop of Amiens, in a letter *de ordine baptismi* writes ; “ After the three immersions let the bishop confirm the child with chrism in the forehead ; and lastly let him be confirmed or communicated with the body and blood of Christ that he may become a member of Christ.” (See Bingham, *Origines*, &c. *B. xii. ch. 1. sect. 2.*) Usher recurs also to the commentator Claudius, whom he supposed to be an Irishman. But, as he was not, (see *Chap. xx. §. 14.*) we might overlook what Usher strove to extort from him. The fact is, that the passage, which he quotes from Claudius, is quite opposite to his theory, notwithstanding the quibbles he uses to make him appear favourable to it. If ever there was an author, who clearly announced the doctrine of the real presence and the sacrifice of the Mass, Claudius was one, and that in a passage quoted by Usher himself (*Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. ad No. 20.*) from his commentary on Leviticus. These are his words ; “ Christus in cruce carnem suam fecit nobis esibilem. Nisi enim fuisset crucifixus, sacrificium corporis ejus minime comederetur. Comeditur autem nunc in memoria Dominicae passionis. Crucem tamen praeveniens in Coena Apostolorum seipsum immolavit, qui post resurrectionem in caeli tabernaculum suum sanguinem introduxit, portans cicatrices passionum. *Christ on the cross made his flesh eatable for us. For, unless he had been crucified, the sacrifice of his body would not be eaten. But it is eaten at present in memory of the Lord's passion. Yet anticipating the cross, he in the*

“supper of the Apostles immolated himself, he who after his resurrection introduced his blood into the tabernacle of heaven, bearing with him the scars of his sufferings.”

In the passages, which Usher collected on this subject, and in those whence he undertook to prove that the Irish practised communion under both kinds, he found the Eucharist often called *the body and blood of Christ*. To evade the strength and plain meaning of these expressions he recurs to dialectical and Calvinistical quibbles for the purpose of showing, that it would be absurd to suppose, that the body and blood are really and truly contained under the appearance of bread and wine. Here he deviated entirely from the purpose of his discourse; whereas the question which he affected to discuss was merely historical, *viz.* what did the ancient Irish *actually* believe as to the nature of the Eucharist, and not whether what they believed was absurd and antiphilosophical or not. But pressed by plain words and facts he took shelter under scholastic wrangling, in which he was well versed, although far from being so in real and staunch theology, great as he undoubtedly was in history, chronology, and antiquities. With considerable art he takes hold of the school opinions of some divines, such as the Rhemish ones, and then argues as if they were those of the whole Catholic church; but after all he does not clearly explain his own doctrine, which, there is every reason to think, was rather Calvinistical than conformable to that of the Church of England. As to the communion under both kinds, he might have saved himself the trouble of collecting passages concerning it; for it is not denied that in old times it was practised in Ireland as well as every where else. Yet there were cases, in which that of the cup was withheld; and we meet with a very remarkable one in the *Poenitentiale* of St. Columbanus, which is annexed to his monastic rule. He prescribes, that novices do not approach the cup; *novitii, quia indocti et inexperti, ad calicem non accedant.* (See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 590.*)

Long as this note already is, I cannot but make a few observations on certain notes which Toland adduces (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. sect. 1.*) as annexed to a MS. copy of the four Gospels written at Armagh. The writer or transcriber was one Maolbrighde, and it is now in the Harleian library. Toland says that Simon, although on other points quite mistaken as to this MS. was pretty right in his *Bi-*

bibliothèque Critique at guessing it to be 800 years old, which would bring its age at present to more than 900. But as Toland was versed both in the Irish language and in the history of Ireland, he must have known that it is much more modern, as appears from various facts, dates, and names of princes, clergymen, &c. mentioned in it, and from which Dr. O'Connor, (*Prolegom. Part. 2. p. CLXI. seqq. ad Rerum Hibern. Scriptores*) very learnedly proves, that it was written in the year 1138. Now who is there so ignorant as not to admit, that the doctrine of the real presence against which Toland urges these notes, was universally held in the Western Church, Ireland included, at that period? Lest, however, it may be said that the notes quoted by Toland, were copied from a text of older times, I shall lay them before the reader. I must indeed take his word for the genuineness of them, as I have not access to said MS. He has left out some parts of them, which might help to elucidate the author's meaning; but, even as he has given them, they prove nothing against the belief in the real presence. The first is, that "the reason for blessing the Lord's supper, was, that it might mystically be made his body;" after which occur these words; "This bread is spiritually the Church, which is the body of Christ; *ut mystice corpus ejus fieret—spiritualiter panis hic Ecclesie est, quae Corpus Christi.*" Now the former words, instead of meaning what Toland wished to insinuate prove the reverse. The phrase, *to be made his body*, conveys the idea of the real presence. Its being said that this is done *mystically* is just as if we should say that it is done in a mysterious manner, and surely this is held and spoken of by every Catholic. Instead of *mystically*, it is usual at present, in expressing the effect of the consecration of the elements, to say *sacramentally*. Thus the council of Trent, (*Sess. 13. cap. 1.*) after having laid down "that Christ is truly, really and substantially present in the sacrament of the Eucharist under the appearance of bread and wine," adds, "that there is nothing repugnant in believing that our Saviour himself is always seated in heaven at the right hand of the Father according to the natural mode of existing, and that nevertheless he is in many other places *sacramentally* present to us with his substance." As to the latter words, *This bread is spiritually, &c.* they do not affect the question concerning the real presence, and merely express a very usual

metaphorical allusion to the Church. Were they to be understood strictly, it would follow that Christ had no real human body. The second note is apparently more difficult, but probably would not be so, had Toland given us the whole of it. In this note the Eucharist is called "the mystery and figure of the body of Christ—the first figure of the New Testament—this figure is daily reiterated, is received in faith, &c." *Mysterium et figura Corporis Christi—prima Novi Testamenti figura—Haec vero figura quotidie iteratur, accipitur in fide, &c.* These words would not indicate the least doubt as to Christ being really and substantially present in the Eucharist, were it not for the quibbling use which the Calvinists made of the term *figure*. Many of the most firm abettors of the real presence have not scrupled to speak in a similar manner. Bellarmine, who often has such phrases, gives us a summary of them in his General Index, where he says; "Eucharistia est "signum, symbolum, repraesentatio, ac typus mortis Christi, seu "carnis et sanguinis, ut visibiliter in cruce illa suffixa, ille effusus "est. *The Eucharist is a sign, symbol, representation, and type "of the death of Christ, or of the flesh and blood according as "the one was affixed to the cross and the other shed.*" This manner of speaking does not by any means exclude the actual presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Eucharist. St. John Chrysostom says, (*Hom. 17 in Ep. ad Hebr.*) that the Eucharist is a type or figure of the sacrifice of the cross, and yet in the same place asserts, that the same Christ, who was then offered, is now offered. And surely the whole action, by which the sacrament of the altar is consecrated, is a representation of the death of Christ on the cross. The distinction of the elements of bread and wine, and the repeating of the mysterious words separately over them represent his passion and death, in which the blood flowed out of his body; not that Christ dies again in the sacrament, but that he places himself in it as the victim who has died, and consequently as the sacrifice of redemption and salvation. It is therefore a very silly and indeed unlearned practice to argue from such phrases as above against the doctrine of the real presence. In the great work, *Perpetuité de la Foy*, by Arnauld and Nicole, it is observed (*Tom. 1. Liv. x. ch. 4.*) that such terms as *figure, type, &c.* have been, even since the time of the Peren-garian controversy, applied to the Eucharist by writers, who are

universally allowed to have been strenuous supporters of that doctrine. No objection will, I suppose, be raised from the words of the note, *received in faith*; for it is certainly a mystery, which requires faith both for believing in it and for receiving it worthily. Bellarmine says in the above quoted Index; “Hoc mysterium (Eucharistia) sola fide comprehenditur, *this mystery is comprehended by faith alone.*” The third note, so far from favouring the system of Toland, is in direct opposition to it. Remarking on the words of our Saviour, *This is my body*, it has; “*Et hoc dixit, ne nostra dubitaret fides de sacrificio quotidiano in Ecclesia, quasi corpus Christi esset, quoniam Christus in dextra Dei sedet.*” Toland has translated the passage in such a manner as to make it appear contrary to the belief of the real presence. He renders it thus; “This he said, lest our faith should stagger about the daily sacrifice in the Church, as if it were the body of Christ, since Christ sits on the right hand of God.” Now to express the author’s meaning in English, instead of *were the body*, the translation should be *were not the body*, or the whole should be given as follows; “And Christ said these words, *this is my body*, lest our faith might doubt of the daily sacrifice in the Church being the body of Christ in consequence of Christ’s sitting at the right hand of God.” Surely no man of common sense would or could state, that Christ said the words, *this is my body*, for the purpose of cautioning us *not to believe* that it is in the daily sacrifice. Are not, on the contrary, these the words, which have induced all antiquity to believe that *it really is* in said sacrifice? The words, which forced Luther, eager as he was to vex the Catholics, to continue in that belief, and to defend it? Those, which all the impugners of the real presence have never been able to get over, or to explain in any rational manner different from that of said doctrine? The author’s meaning is perfectly clear. His object was to show, that, whereas Christ sits at the right hand of the Father, doubts might arise concerning his body being in the daily sacrifice; but that, to expel such doubts, Christ announced those plain and peremptory words, *This is my body.*

I shall not enlarge further on these points, as my purpose is not controversy, but merely to prove that the ancient Irish did actually and unequivocally hold the doctrine of the real presence, of the sacrifice of the Mass, &c. just as they are held at this day by

the Catholics. And indeed it would be very strange if they did not, for otherwise how could they have been in communion with the English Christians, whose greatest man Bede never accused them of any error as to the Eucharist, with the Romans, Italians, French, &c. all of whom undoubtedly professed those doctrines?

(95) See above §. 7. In the Pope's letter, which, according to Mauguin, was written about 865, we read; "Relatum est
 "Apostolatu nostro, quod opus B. Dionysii Arcopagitae, quod de
 "Divinis nominibus, vel caelestibus ordinibus Graeco describit
 "eloquio, quidam vir Johannes, genere Scotus, super in Latinum
 "transtulerit, quod juxta morem nobis mitti et nostro debuit
 "judicio approbari, praesertim cum idem Joannes, licet multae
 "scientiae esse praedicetur, *olim non sane sapere in quibusdam fre-*
 "*quenti rumore diceretur.* Itaque quod hactenus omissum est vestra
 "industria suppleat, et nobis praefatum opus sine ulla cuncta-
 "tione mittat, quatenus, dum a nostri Apostolatus judicio fuerit
 "approbatum, ab omnibus incunctaneter nostra auctoritate accep-
 "tius habeatur." Some writers have said that the Pope had required that John should be sent to Rome, or banished from Paris, of whose school he was the *capital*. This is founded on an alteration made in the Pope's letter after *diceretur*, or, as in said corrupted letter, *dicatur*. Balacrus (*Hist. Univers. Paris. Tom. 1. p. 184.*) has published this letter in its altered form from certain Collectanea of Naudacus. But the phrase *Capital* (head) of the school of Paris was not used until, at least, 500 years after the death of Pope Nicholas. Would Anastasius have, a few years after said letter was written, spoken in the gentle manner he did concerning John (see *Not. 77.*) had the Pope been so displeased with him as that story insinuates. Besides, the Pope himself does not positively charge John with maintaining errors, merely saying that it was reported that he formerly had.

(96) This fable has been propagated chiefly by William of Malmesbury, from whom others have copied it, which is indeed surprizing, to this very day. We meet with it, among several gross mistakes concerning John's transactions, in Rees' Cyclopaedia. William has it *De gestis regum Anglorum, L. 2. c. 4.* and *De pontificibus, L. 5.* From him it was taken with other stories by Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, &c. He was so ill in-

formed of John's proceedings, that he makes Florus write against his work *On natures*. Now we have seen that it was the treatise on predestination, which was answered by Florus.

(97) See *Hist. Letter. Tom. 5.* at *Erigena*. These verses have been published by Du Canga.

(98) Ex. c. Hoveden, *Annal. ad. A.* 883. Matthew of Westminster, &c. Thus Turner says, (*History of the Anglosaxons, B. 12. ch. 4.*) that John went to England after the death of king Charles.

(99) Asserius says, that Alfred *diversi generis monachos in eodem monasterio congregare studuit: primitus Joannem presbyterum et monachum, scilicet Ealdsaxonum genere, abbatem constituit.*"

(100) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 895. Strange that Turner (*ib.*) strives to support the paradox of John Scotus having been the same as John of Aetheling.

§. x. Our John has been confounded also with another person of that name, who was in the twelfth century considered as a martyr at Malmesbury, and who is said to have been killed there by his school-boys with their writing styles. That such a circumstance occurred at Malmesbury is very doubtful; but whether true or false, it is an idle conjecture to suppose, that this John called *martyr* was the same as John Scotus. (101) The fact is, that John Scotus remained in France and died there previous, in all probability, to the death of his protector Charles the bald, (102) which occurred in 877. And it appears certain, that his death was prior to 875, the year in which Anastasius wrote to Charles concerning the translation of Dionysius Areopagites. (103) For Anastasius speaks of John in such a manner as if he were already dead. (104)

Besides the works already mentioned, John drew up a translation of, at least in part, the Greek scholia of St. Maximus on difficult passages of St. Gregory Nazianzen. (105) He is usually supposed to have been the John, who compiled the

Excerpta concerning the differences and agreements of the Greek and Latin verbs, which are found among the writings of Macrobius. (106) Seven Latin poems of his, mixed with Greek lines, but different from the Greek and Latin verses above mentioned, are still extant; (107) but whether they have been published as yet I am not able to tell. Some other works have been attributed to him without sufficient proof or authority, except a homily on the beginning of the Gospel of St. John. (108)

(101) This story comes also from William of Malmesbury (*ib.*) who, after telling us that John Scotus was induced by the munificence of Alfred to go to England, and that he taught at Malmesbury, makes him be killed there by boys. He gives the epitaph, which was to be seen in that place;

*Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo, meruit, sancti regnant per secula cuncti.*

What has this to do with John Scotus? Would Asserius have been ignorant of John Scotus' martyrdom at Malmesbury, he who mentions so particularly the murder of John of Aetheling? None of the many old writers, prior to William, who speak so often of John Scotus, ever call him a martyr, not even the Berengarius his great admirer and defender. The fable of John Scotus having been the same as John of Malmesbury is still kept up by some superficial writers; but, like certain other stuff of theirs relative to him, it is not worth further consideration.

(102) See Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. Tom. 3. p. 242.* and *Hist. Letter. at Erigena.*

(103) This letter (see above *Not. 77.*) is stated in a MS. copy of it, which was in the Jesuits' library at Bourges, to have been written on the 23d of March, 8th Indiction, that is *A. D. 875*, six years after the eighth General council, which is mentioned in

the latter part of it. (See *Dissert.* on John Scotus by F. Paris. *Art.* 6.)

(104) Anastasius remarking on John's method of translation says, that he *was* an humble man. Were John then alive, he would have said *is*, not *was*. He observes that John would not have received the gift of tongues *had he not been* burning with the fire of charity, and uses some other verbs in past tenses strongly indicating that John had ere that time left this world. Some writers have said, that he returned to Ireland in his latter days and died there. This is a mere conjecture without any foundation. Had he died in Ireland, there would be some mention of him in the Irish annals.

(105) *Hist. Letter. ib.* It has been published by Gale at the end of the work *On Natures*.

(106) See *ib.* and Usher, *Ep. Hib. Syll. Not. to No.* 23.

(107) *Hist. Letter. Avertissement to Tom.* 5. p. xix.

(108) *Ib.* at *Erigena*. The fabulous Bale says that John translated *Aristotelis Moralia de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine principum* into Chaldaic, Arabic, and Latin. He founded this nonsense on a story patched up by some old Scotch writers, and still retained by some new ones, *viz.* that John, when very young, travelled to Athens and there studied the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages. What a shame to advance such fooleries!

§. XI. Much has been said about John's name having been in the Roman martyrology at 10 November. It would be very strange if it had been placed in it by the authority of any Pope, considering that his book on the Eucharist had been condemned by the council of Versalli, and that his doctrines on predestination had been also condemned long before; to which may be added that there has been a great and rather general prejudice against his character with regard to orthodoxy. To clear up this matter, it is to be observed that the name of the John, who is said to have been killed at Malmesbury, was in some Anglican calendars at 10 November and got into the edition of the Roman Martyrology published by order of Pope Gregory XIII.

at Antwerp in 1586. (109) This was owing to the said John having been confounded with John bishop of Mecklenburgh, who was a real martyr, and who suffered on the 10th of November, A. D. 1065. This John was a Scotus, or Irishman, and, having been appointed bishop of Mecklenburgh, was sent to preach in Slavonia, that is, the old Slavonia lying between the Elbe and the Vistula, which was inhabited by the Vandals, Vinuli, &c. He was most cruelly treated in that country, and barbarously put to death in their chief town Rethre at the time now mentioned. (110) Considering all these circumstances, it may be fairly concluded that the matter stood as follows. There was buried at Malmesbury a John, surnamed the *Wise*, but not called martyr by older writers. (111) This surname gave rise to a notion that he was the same as the renowned John Scotus; and thus it became necessary to suppose that John Scotus was at Malmesbury. Then, to account for his having been there, was made up the story of his going over to Alfred, &c. Meanwhile the cruel death of John of Aetheling, caused by repeated wounds inflicted at the instigation of some of his monks, was much spoken of in England. Some of the good people of Malmesbury took it into their heads, that this murdered John was no other than their John the *Wise*; but, as it would have been awkward to make him appear as killed by, or through the means of monks, the blame of his death was thrown upon the poor schoolboys. (112) One circumstance was still wanting, viz. the day of the martyrdom, whereas William of Malmesbury and his followers had not marked it. Luckily some one found the martyrdom of John Scotus assigned to the 10th of November, and without troubling himself about Mecklenburgh, of which he had been bishop, or Slavonia, where he was killed, identified him with John of Malmesbury; and hence for this John the 10th of November was marked in some English ca-

lendars, &c. Thus by putting various Johns in requisition the history of John Scotus Erigena has been egregiously mangled and distorted. (113)

(109) In that martyrology are these words; “*Eodem die* (10th November) *S. Joannis Scoti, qui graphiis puerorum confossus martyrii coronam adeptus est.*” Dupin states (at 9th century *Vol. 2. p. 87. English ed.*) that they are not in any other edition of the Roman martyrology; and Mabillon makes mention of only the Antwerp edition of 1586 as containing the name of John Scotus. (See *Acta Ben. Sec. 4. Par. 2. p. 513.*) Yet Fitzsimon says (*Catalog. praecip. sanctorum Hiberniae, Liege A. 1619.*) that it was in an edition of 1583, and declares that it was Baronius, who expunged it from the Martyrology. “I know,” he adds, “that there was ready an apology for John Scotus approved of by the suffrages of great Popes, Cardinals, &c.” Such an apology has not yet seen the light nor probably ever will. As to the year 1583, mentioned by Fitzsimon, either it is a mistake for 1586, or he confounded the Roman Martyrology with an edition of that of Usuard published at Antwerp in 1583, in the appendix to which Molanus, led astray by Hector Boethius, inserted the name of John Scotus. Arnold Wion also fell into this mistake. (See F. Paris, *Dissertation, &c. Art. 7.*) By the bye, F. Paris was wrong in denying, that the name of John Scotus was in any Roman Martyrology published at Antwerp in 1586, and maintaining that there was no such edition. But there certainly was, and printed by Chr. Plantinus. There is a copy of it in the library of Trinity College Dublin, with John’s name as above, which got into it from the appendix to that of Usuard by Molanus. Although that Antwerp edition was printed by order of Gregory XIII. it does not follow that he approved of it or of the insertion of John’s name; nor indeed could he, whereas he was dead since the 10th April of the preceding year 1585.

(110) See Fleury *L. 61. §. 17.* John of Mecklenburgh is praised more than once by Adam of Bremen. See also Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 407.* and below *Chap. xxv. §. 3.*

(111) Gotzelin, who wrote some time before William of Malmesbury published his *De gestis, &c.* makes mention (*Catalogue of saints buried in England*) of John the Wise, whose remains,

as well as those of Aldhelm, were in the church of Malmesbury. (See the Dissertation by F. Paris, *art.* 6.)

(112) In the epitaph (above *Not.* 101.) which was written before the times of William of Malmesbury, but after John the Wise had been confounded with John of Aetheling, there is no mention of those schoolboys. Were the martyrdom caused by them, would not some notice have been taken of such a circumstance as greatly heightening the account of the martyr's sufferings? It is also worth observation, that in said epitaph John is not called *Scotus*; whence we may infer, that the opinion of his having been the same as John Scotus was not prevalent at the time it was written; otherwise, there would assuredly be something in it to indicate, that he was the far famed John Scotus.

(113) See Mabillon and Dupin, *loc. cit.* ad *Not.* 9. and Harris, (*Writers at Erigena.*)

§. XII. At the same time with John, or perhaps somewhat earlier, there was another Irish philosopher in France, named Macarius, originally, I suppose *Mecher* or *Meagher*, who disseminated an error, afterwards maintained by Averroes, *viz.* that all men had but one soul. From him it was taken by a monk of Corbie, against whom Ratramn wrote a treatise on that subject. (114) A monk, Columbanus, who from his name may be fairly supposed to have been an Irishman, flourished also in France in these times. By order of Charles the bald he put in verse an old genealogy of emperors, kings, and French lords, which had been drawn up by that sovereign. (115) Among the Capitulars of this Charles there is one, taken from the Acts of the council of Meaux held in 845, relative to the hospitals founded by pious Irishmen in France, for persons belonging to their nation. In it the king is informed that they were usurped by strangers, and reduced to a state of desolation, so that not only persons applying for admission were not received, but likewise those, who had from their infancy served God in them, were driven out and forced to beg from door to door.

(116) Whether the king took care to have a stop put to this abuse, we are not informed. To this period belonged the abbot Patrick, who is said to have flourished in 850, and to have left Ireland about that time, retiring to Glastonbury, where he died on a 24th of August. His history has been greatly obscured by his having been confounded by some Glastonian scribblers with our great apostle. (117) It does not appear that he became abbot of Glastonbury; but he had been an abbot in Ireland, and perhaps a bishop. He was apparently one of those, who fled from the fury of the Northmen; and it may be plausibly conjectured, that he was the same as Moel-Patrick, son of Fianchon, a bishop, anchorite, and abbot elect of Armagh, who died in 862, (118) There is no foundation for the opinion of some writers, that the abbot Patrick was the institutor of Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg; (119) and as to some writings attributed to him, the authority, on which they are, is such as to render them not worth inquiring into. (120)

Among the Irish emigrants of these times I find a pious and learned priest, named *Probus*, who must not be confounded with Probus the biographer of St. Patrick (121) He retired to the monastery of St. Alban of Mentz, where he died on the 26th of May, *A. D.* 859. He was very fond of classical studies, insomuch so that his friend Lupus of Ferrieres thought that he applied to them more than became an ecclesiastic, and composed many tracts, several of which seem to have been poetical. None of his works appear to be now extant. He is praised in the Annals of Fulda as a man of pure doctrine and holy life, who was an honour to the church of Mentz. (122)

(114) Mabillon says (*Annal. Ben. ad. A.* 867.) that Macarius, whose error was that there is but one soul in all men, was, perhaps, the Macarius to whom Rabanus dedicated his book *De Computo.*

Ratramn gave him the nickname *Baccharius*. Ratramn's tract against his disciple of Corbie was in an old MS. of the monastery of St. Eligius of Noyon. Harris in his incorrect account of Macarius (*Writers*) has changed it into a tract written by Macarius himself. But no account remains of any writings of Macarius, although he was a teacher.

(115) *Hist. Letter. Tom. v. p. 513.*

(116) This Capitular may be seen in Sirmond's collection under the head of 6th Capitular. It is also in Baluze's *Capitulari, Tom. 2. col. 34.* The hospitals are called *Hospitalia Scottorum*, that is, says Sirmond, *Hibernorum*, as he proves in his note, which has been copied by Baluze, *ib. col. 731.* See also Fleury, *Hist. Eccl. Liv. 48. §. 30.*

(117) See *Chap. vii. and ib. Not. 20.*

(118) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 366.* Their date is 861. yet, as Patrick of Glastonbury is said to have belonged to Rosdela, (see *Not. 18 and 20 to Chap. vii.*) it seems more probable, that he was different from Moel Patrick.

(119) See *Chap. vii. §. 14.*

(120) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Patrick abbot.*

(121) We have already seen, (*Chap. iii. §. 3.*) that the author of the Life of St. Patrick, whose original name was *Coeneachair*, lived in the tenth century. Probably that was also the Irish name of the Probus we are now treating of.

(122) See *Histoire Letter. Tom. v. p. 209. seqq.* at *Probus*, and Mabillon, *Annal. &c. at A. 836.*

§. XIII. Of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland for many years after about 852 very imperfect accounts remain. Mane, son of Huargusa, who became bishop of Emly in 850, (123) died in 857, and was succeeded by Coenfeolad who was also king of Cashel and lived until 872. (124) Aedgen surnamed *Brito*, apparently a Briton, scribe, anchoret, and bishop of Kildare, died in the 116th year of his age on the 18th of December, 863. (125) He was succeeded by Moengal, who lived until 870, and after whom was Robartach Mac-Naserda, who died in 874, and whose memory was revered on the 15th of Ja-

nuary. (126) Another bishop of Kildare, Lasran Mac-Mochtighern, is said to have died in the same year. Cathald Mac-Corbmac, bishop of Clonfert, a distinguished and eminent man died in 862. (127) A namesake of his was in these times bishop and abbot of Clondalkin, whose death is assigned to 876 (877). (128) Manchen, bishop of Leighlin, died in 864. (129) To the year 866 are affixed the deaths of St. Conall son of Fiachna prince of East Meath, and of the royal blood of Ireland, and bishop at Killskire five miles from Kells in Meath and the only bishop we meet with in that place; of St. Cormac Hua Liathain, an anchoret, abbot, and bishop, whose see I cannot discover; of Aidhechar a bishop and chronographer and abbot of Connor and Lannela; and of Robertach likewise a chronographer and bishop of Finglas. (130) Cormac Mac-Eladac, a scribe, abbot, and bishop of Saigir, died in 868, and in 872 Coenchamrac, bishop and abbot of Louth. (131) Fachtna, or rather Fethgna, who had succeeded Diermit at Armagh in 852, died on the 12th of February or 6th of October, 874. (132) In some of our annals he is styled "Comorban (heir) of St. Patrick and head of the religion (primate) of all Ireland," whence it may be concluded that, whatever opposition there was to the exercise of the rights of Armagh during the contests for the possession of that see, they were universally acknowledged in his time. He was succeeded by Annire, who held the see only nine months, and died in 874 or 875. (133) After him was Cathasach Mac-Robertach, whom we find called *prince* of Armagh. His incumbency lasted four years, and he died some time in 879, before the end of which year Moelcoba Mac-Crunnvail was archbishop of Armagh. For he is styled by that title, when in said year he was, together with Mochta or Mocteus, a lecturer of Armagh, made prisoner by the Northmen. (134) He is stated to have held the see for five years,

which agrees with his death being assigned to 885, or 886. (135)

(123) Above §. 3. (124) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(125) *Idem* at Kildare from the 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629*. Their date is 862 (863).

(126) See Ware *ib.* and 4 Masters, *ib.* who add that Robartach had been also a scribe, or doctor, and abbot of Achonry. They observe that Inis-Robartach, or the *island of Robartach*, got its name from him. Harris says, in his addition to Ware, that he did not know the situation of it. Perhaps it was the tract now called the *island of Allen* and surrounded by the bog of said name in the county of Kildare. There is a place in it called Robertstown 21 miles from Dublin.

(127) 4 Masters *ap. AA. p. 544 at A. 861 (862)*

(128) *ib.*

(129) *ib. p. 332. ad A. 863 (864)*. Ware (at Leighlin) has *A. 865*.

(130) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 784*. Besides Cormac Hua Liathain they have (*ib. p. 360*.) two other bishops Cormac prior to him, one a scribe and bishop at Kill-Fobric (barony of Ibrickan, county of Clare,) who died in 837 (838); and another a writer and bishop at Laithrigh-briuin in the country of the O'Foelans (see *ib. p. 541*.) and now county of Waterford, whose death they assign to 854 (855). Colgan (*Ind. Chron. ib.*) calls Aidhecar abbot of *Kill-elensis*; but this means the same as *Lann-ela*, whereas the Welsh word *Lan* or *Llan*, which was much used by the ancient Irish, corresponds to our *Kill* or *Kille*. Of these bishops Conal is the only one particularly treated of by Colgan, *viz.* at 28 March, the anniversary of his death.

(131) 4 Masters *ib. p. 360 and 473 ad A. 867 (868)*, and *p. 736 ad A. 871 (872)*. There were some other minor bishops in these times; but the names of almost all of them are unknown.

(132) See Ware at *Armagh* and *Tr. Th. p. 295 ad A. 873 (874)*. Colgan says that his memory was revered on the 12th of February. O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) remarks that he should have said 6th of October. But even supposing that Fethgna died on that day, his commemoration might have been on the day marked

by Colgan. Yet Colgan adds, that Fethgna died on the 12th of February.

(133) Ware and *Tr. Th. locc. citt.* The Cashel catalogue allows him one year, as it avoids fractional parts of the years.

(134) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad. A.* 879 from the Annals of Ulster.

(135) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 296 at *A.* 885 (886) I have here followed the series of the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, which is preferred by Ware and Colgan. Harris has added certain dates for Cathasach and Moelcoba, which make Ware's statement appear very confused. The Annals of Ulster differ from the Cashel catalogue as to the succession of Anmire, &c. For they place Anmire after Moelcoba. Then in the 4 Masters we find dates disagreeing with those of other accounts, and which Colgan considers as wrong. Not being able to reconcile these jarring statements, I shall merely lay before the reader a system drawn up by O'Flaherty, which I find in a *MS.* note to *Tr. Th. p.* 292. It is this: Fethgna, who died in 874, was succeeded by Moelcoba, who having held the see until 879 was taken by the Northmen. In consequence of his captivity, Anmire was placed on the chair of Armagh, and after nine months possession died in said year 879, in which he was succeeded by Cathasach, who ruled for four years and died in 883. In another *MS.* note (*ib. p.* 319.) he says that Moelcoba lived after his captivity until 888.

§. xiv. Indrect, who was abbot of Hy in 849 (136) and a very wise man, suffered martyrdom through some Anglo-Saxons on the 12th of March, *A. D.* 853.

(137) What was the cause, or on what occasion, or where he was killed I cannot discover; but it could hardly have been on account of his faith, as the Anglo-Saxons were then Christians. Perhaps he was murdered by robbers; and it is known that in those times holy and distinguished men, so put to death, used to be called martyrs. His next successor at Hy was, in all appearance, Kellach, son of Alild, who was also abbot of Kildare, and who died in the country of the Picts in 865. (138) After him the abbot of Hy was Feradach, son of Cormac, who lived until 880. (139) During his administra-

tion, and in the year 878, the shrine and *relics* of St. Columba were brought to Ireland, lest these might fall into the hands of the Danes. (140) It can scarcely be doubted that it was on this occasion that the remains of St. Columba were deposited at Down, where those of St. Patrick had been from the beginning, and whither those of St. Bridget had been removed some not long time before. (141)

During this period Ireland herself had been greatly harassed by the Northmen. In 853 Amlave, *alias* Auliffe or Olave, a Norwegian prince, accompanied by two brothers of his, Sitric and Ivar, *alias* Iobhar, came to Ireland, and all the Northmen submitted to him, and he exacted contributions from the Irish. (142) Amlave took possession of Dublin, and Ivar of Limerick, which he built or rather enlarged; (143) and Sitric is said to have built Waterford. (144) In 856 a sharp war was carried on between them and Maelseachlin, king of Ireland, in which great numbers were slain on both sides; and in 857 there was fighting in Munster, during which Carthan Fionn with the Irish and Danes of his party were defeated by Ivar and Amlave, who afterwards in 859 ravaged Meath. (145) In 860 Maelseachlin defeated the Danes of Dublin, and in the same year a party of Danes assisted Aidus or Aedan Finnliath, son of the former king Niall Calne, in another devastation of Meath. It was through the assistance of Amlave and his followers that this Aidus was raised to the throne of Ireland in 863. (146) Yet he afterwards quarrelled with the Northmen, and joined Kieran son of Ronan and the Kinel-Eogain (the people of Tyrone) in a battle against them in 866, near Lough Foyle, in which they came off triumphant with the heads of 240 of the Northmen chiefs. (147) In 869 Amlave plundered Armagh, burned the town and all its sacred edifices, &c. and killed or made prisoners

about 1000 persons. (148) While in the year 870 he and Ivar were absent in North Britain, where they destroyed Alcluith or Dunbarton, the Irish king Aidus Finnliath laid waste Leinster from Dublin to Gowran, and soon after their return to Ireland in 871, with 200 ships, Amlave died. (149) Ivar then became king of all the Northmen in Ireland, but died in 873, in which year, while Donogh, son of Dubhdavoirean king of Cashel, and Carrol prince of Ossory, were devastating Connaught, the Danes of Dublin plundered Munster. (150) Then we find the Northmen fighting among themselves, as likewise the Irish, for instance, the Momonians against the people of Meath in 880.

(136) See above §. 2.

(137) *AA. SS. p. 254.* from the 4 Masters at *A. 852* (853.)

(138) *Annals of Ulster at A. 864* (865). The 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 500.* and 629. have *A. 863* (864).

(139) *Annals of Ulster at A. 879* (880). According to the 4 Masters, (*Tr. Th. p. 500.*) Feradach died in 877 (878).

(140) *Ib. at A. 877* (878). The 4 Masters, (*loc cit.*) assign this removal to 875 (876). What I call *reliques*, Johnstone, (*Extracts, &c.*) calls *oaths*. See O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary. Compare with *Not. 27.* above.

(141) As to the time of the removal of St. Brigid's remains to Down, see *Not. 18.* to *Chap. VIII.* Colgan conjectures (*Tr. Th. p. 566.*) that the person, who removed them, was Keallach abbot of Kildare and Hy, who, as we have just seen, died in 865. With regard to those of St. Columba, O'Donnel relates (*Life of St. Col. B. 3. ch. 78.*) that they were brought to Down in the time of Mander the son of a Danish king, who was laying waste the northern parts of Britain and the island of Hy. He has a story, which we may pass by, about how the Danes threw the sarcophagus containing them into the sea, and how it floated to Down, where it was opened by the abbot of that place, &c. O'Flaherty. (*MS. Not. ad loc. Tr. Th. p. 446.*) marks *A. 875* as the year of this removal to Down, meaning the 875 (876) of the 4 Masters, for the transferring of the shrine, &c. to Ireland, which, however, the *Annals of Ulster* assign to 878.

(142) Annals of Ulster at 852 (853). They call Amlave *king of the Lochlanach*. In the annals of Innisfallen we read, according to Mr. O'Reilly's translation; "A. 853. Auliffe the king of Norway's son came this year into Ireland, accompanied in that expedition by his two brothers Sitric and Iobhar. The Danes and Norwegians submitted to him, and he was also paid tribute by the Irish."

(143) Were we to believe Giraldus Cambrensis, Sitric was the founder of Limerick. But we have seen (above §. 3.) that it was already a town, or, at least, a village, where Danish ships were stationed in the time of Turgesius. And hence also it appears, that the Northmen were in possession of it before 855, the year marked by Ferrar, *History of Limerick*, p. 5. He refers to Ware, who says nothing about the year 855. Ware indeed (*Antiq. cap. 24. at A. 853.*) quotes a passage from Giraldus, in which that author states, that Amlave built Dublin, Ivar, Limerick, &c. As to this building of Dublin, Giraldus was quite wrong; for from what has been seen (above §. 1. and 3.) it is plain that it was inhabited by the Northmen several years previous to the arrival of Amlave; and the Annals of Innisfallen affix their first taking possession of it to A. D. 837. It is, however, true that both Dublin and Limerick, which were inconsiderable places, before they were first occupied by the Northmen, were probably much enlarged by Amlave and Ivar.

(144) That Sitric was the founder of Waterford, as Giraldus says, seems to be universally allowed. Smith (*History of Waterford*, ch. 4.) assigns the foundation of it to A. 853. But it was probably somewhat later.

(145) Annals of Innisfallen, and Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24.*

(146) Annals of Innisfallen. Compare with *Chap. xx. §. 8.*

(147) *Ib.* at A. 866.

(148) *Ib.* at A. 869. and Ware *Antiq. cap. 24.* The Annals of Ulster (Johnstone's *Extracts*) and the 4 Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 295.*) assign this destruction of Armagh to A. 867 (868).

(149) See Annals of Innisfallen at 870, (871) and compare with Ware *ib.*

(150) *Ib.* at A. 873. Ware assigns the death of Ivar to 872.

§. xv. While this miserable state of affairs continued it might seem that studies of every sort were neglected in Ireland. But it does not appear that, with the exception of Armagh and Hy, the religious establishments and schools were much disturbed or nearly as much harassed as they had been in the times of Turgesius. And in fact, besides some learned men already mentioned, we find several others, who were distinguished in this period as scribes or doctors and writers. Luacharen a scribe of Clonmacnois died in 864; Martin of the same place and another Martin, scribe of Devenish, in 868; (151) Cobhtach Mac-Muredach, abbot of Kildare, and famous for his wisdom, in 869; (152) Dubthach scribe of Kill-achaid (county of Cavan) in 870; Robartach, a monk and scribe of Durrow (King's county) and a very exact chronographer in 871; Aidas scribe of Roscommon, and Torpadius of Tallaght in 873; Robartach O'Kearta scribe of Kill-achaid in 874; Domnald scribe of Cork in 875; Moelpatrick scribe of Trevet (Meath) in 885; Suibhne a celebrated doctor of Clonmacnois in 890, to whom we may add Soerbrethach of Cork, who died in 892. (153) Concerning these persons I do not find any thing particular related, and I have made mention of them merely to show that, notwithstanding the misfortunes of that period, schools were still kept up, and that Ireland could then boast not only of the learned men, who removed to foreign countries, but likewise of many others that remained at home.

Among the distinguished persons of the latter part of the ninth century, marked as saints in the Irish calendars, we meet with Suibhne O'Fionnachta, bishop of Kildare, who died in 879; Scannal, likewise bishop of Kildare, who died in 882; (154) Muredach son of Bran, a king of Leinster, and abbot of Kildare, whose death is assigned to 883, (155) as is also that of Tulelatia, abbess of its nunnery; and Moeldar, bishop of Clonmacnois, who died in 887.

(156) But the most celebrated saint of this period was Corbre, or Corpheus, surnamed *Crom*, that is *crooked* or *bent*, who succeeded Moeldar in the see of Clonmacnois. His reputation was so great, that he was called the *head of the religious of almost all the Irish of his time*. As no Acts of his are extant, I can only add, that he died in 900 on the 6th of March, the anniversary of which was celebrated as a festival at Clonmacnois.

(157)

(151) *Tr. Th. p. 632. and Ind. Chron.*

(152) *Ib. p. 629.*

(153) See *ib. p. 632. and Ind. Chron.* I have added a year to each of its dates. Suibne of Clonmacnois is spoken of under the name of *Swifne*, by some English annalists at *A. 891*, as the most skilful doctor of the Scoti or Irish, and the Annals of Ulster, marking his death, call him an anchoret and an excellent scribe. (See Usher, *p. 732.*) He was in all appearance the person, whom Caradoc of Lancarvan, quoted by Usher (*ib.*) calls *Subman Cubin*, and who, he says, being the greatest of the doctors of Scotia (Ireland) died in 889. Caradoc took this date from some Irish document, and it is the very one given for Suibhe's death by the 4 Masters, which, according to the usual method, I have changed into 890. It differs only by one year from that of those English annals. Florence of Worcester has a date different from both, *viz. A. 892.*

(154) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p. 629* at *A. 878 (879)* and 881 (882). Ware, (*Bishops at Kildare*) assigns the death of Suibhnc O'Fionnachta to 880, and that of Scannal to 884.

(155) *Tr. Th. ib. A. 882 (883).* Archdall (*Monast. at Kildare*) has Muredach at *A. 882*; but he had him before at *A. 870*, where he calls him *Moreigh Mc. Broyn*, without any authority, although he strangely refers to *Tr. Th. p. 629*, where no such person is mentioned at that year. He says that Moreigh, *i. e.* Muredach, had been king of Leinster; but this is a mistake founded upon a typographical error in *Tr. Th. ib.* where *rex* appears instead of *regis*. And it is clear from the catalogue of the kings of Leinster,

(*ib. p.* 598.) that there was no Muredach, or Moreigh, son of Bran, or Broyn, among them.

(156) Four Masters *ap. AA. SS. p.* 509. *ad* 886 (887.)

(157) See *AA. SS. ad* 6 *Mart.* where Colgan treats of St. Corpreus. I have added a year to his date from the 4 Masters. He relates a curious anecdote, which indeed we are not bound to believe, of Maelsechlain, who had been king of Ireland, appearing to the saint, and telling him that he was in purgatory together with the priest, who had been his confessor during his lifetime. It is added, that Corpreus prayed for the deliverance of the king, while his priests prayed for that of the quondam confessor, and that they were both freed from purgatory in the course of a year. Whatever may be thought of this narrative, it shows the practice of the times as to praying for the dead, which was observed in Ireland at much earlier periods. It is very odd, that Usher undertook (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch.* 3.) the hopeless task of endeavouring to prove that the ancient Irish did not pray for the dead; for, historically speaking, whether they were right or wrong, there is nothing more certain or more easily demonstrated than that they did. As to what he has about Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg not being as ancient as some had imagined, I agree with him; but, although he does not clearly explain himself, he must have known that said Purgatory was not considered as a habitation or receptacle of departed souls, but as a place where living persons might be purged from their sins. (See *Not.* 154 to *Chap.* VII.) Accordingly it has nothing to do with the question relative to any future state of mankind or to prayers for the dead. The passage quoted by Usher from the book *De tribus habitaculis*, ascribed to St. Patrick, proves nothing on either side of this question. It states that there are three regular habitations established by God, *viz.* heaven, earth, and hell; that the just are placed in heaven, the wicked in hell, and that on the earth there is a mixture of good and bad persons, and that out of it the two other places are supplied. What has this to do with what the Catholics call *Purgatory*, which not to enter into school questions as to locality, &c was never supposed to be a regular or permanent habitation or state, but a passage, through which some souls should pass before their entering the kingdom of heaven, and which neither was nor is visited by the far greatest part of mankind. The author says,

that the just are raised to heaven, but does not state that they are so *immediately* on their exit from this life. Now this is the great point at issue, *viz.* whether *all* the just, that is, *all* those who die in the state of grace, without considering their greater or lesser degrees of perfection, proceed indiscriminately to heaven as soon as they leave this world. Concerning this point there is nothing in that passage; and accordingly, as I said, it affords no argument on either side. This observation equally applies to some short passages quoted by Usher from other writers, which are quite irrelevant to the question concerning prayers for the dead, and which I shall not trouble the reader with examining. It was very unfair for Usher to refer to the Greeks against Purgatory; for he well knew that, although they do not admit purgatorial fire, which, however, did not prevent their union with the Latins at the council of Florence, they have always prayed and do still pray for the dead. As to what he has against Bellarmine concerning an argument in favour of Purgatory from the visions of St. Fursey I shall not dwell on it, merely observing that he himself gives a passage from them, which certainly seems to confirm that doctrine. To get rid of said passage he tells us, that God's justice was sufficiently satisfied by the sufferings of Christ, and that man need not give further satisfaction thereunto by penal works or sufferings either here, or in the other world. This is a glorious doctrine for sinners, as if, because Christ suffered for them, they should not make any atonement for their transgressions. It is true, that every exertion of man to satisfy the divine justice would be useless, had not Christ by his sufferings appeased his heavenly father, and thus enabled man to appear before the throne of mercy in the confident hope that, through the merits of Christ, his works and penitential feelings and sufferings may procure for him forgiveness from his Creator. But in Usher's system the sinner may sit down quiet and easy, and do no more than merely cease to sin, saying to himself; *Christ has suffered for me; I am not bound to give myself the trouble of any atonement or penitential task; I need not pray, fast, &c.* Why then has the Christian church from its very commencement constantly held that, notwithstanding all that our Saviour has done for us, sinners should make some atonement for their transgressions, which might serve as a laborious cleansing of their souls, a proof of their conversion, and an antidote against relapse? Why

has there been established during the whole course of the Church such a multitude of penitential regulations to be observed by repentant sinners? Usher was well acquainted with them, but must have looked up to them as useless, nay unjust. For, in fact, his principle was the monstrous tenet of *imputed righteousness*, that bane of true Christianity and morality, a doctrine which excludes the necessity of any penitential sufferings or mortification on the part of man, as it does also the existence of a state of purgation after death. For, to quote a passage from a tract, which I wrote some years ago, (*Introduction, by Irenaeus, to the Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church*) “ if a person be reputed just
“ only by outward imputation, there can be no gradation of sanc-
“ tity; whatever may be the habits of different persons, their
“ justification must be the same, because no sentiments or deeds
“ of their own are at all looked to or required in the work of
“ righteousness, as being not inherent in their souls, but simply
“ an external remission of sin. Thus Christians of every sort are
“ placed on one level, and they are either absolutely and uncon-
“ ditionally pardoned, or not pardoned at all. Accordingly after
“ death they must proceed straight forward either to heaven or
“ hell. If no process for cleansing the soul, by penitential suffer-
“ ings and actions indicating real repentance, be requisite upon
“ earth, it is not to be supposed that it will take place in the
“ other world.” Usher well understood the tendency of this doctrine towards the denial of any purgation of souls after death; for he says that it is upon the opposite doctrine, *viz.* that which requires penal works or sufferings from man, notwithstanding the sufferings of Christ, that the Romanists, as he calls them, do lay the frame of their purgatory.

He was obliged to acknowledge that the ancient Irish used to offer the sacrifice, *i. e.* celebrate Mass for departed souls; but he pretends that this was done only for such souls as were supposed to be in a state of bliss, and that it was a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation rather than of propitiation for their sins. If such was the only object the Irish had in view, when offering the sacrifice for the dead, or commemorating them in their prayers, they differed from all other Christians in the world. For, as even Bingham (*Origines, &c. B. xv. ch. 3.*) admits, notwithstanding his evasions, even the souls of persons called sinners, that is, not great

sinner but imperfect Christians, were prayed for both in public and private. Thus St. John Chrysostom, (*Hom. 41. in I. Cor.*) who is quoted by Bingham, speaking against immoderate sorrow for the death of sinners says; “ they are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers, supplications, alms, and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make mention of the deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain to take away the sins of the world; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in vain that he, who stands at the altar when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries; *We offer unto thee for all those that are asleep in Christ, and all that make commemorations for them.* For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said.—Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them. For the *common propitiation of the whole world* is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole world and name them with martyrs, with confessors, with priests; for we are all one body, though one member be more excellent than another, and we may obtain a *general pardon for them by our prayers, by our alms, by the help of those that are named together with them.*” Who, but a fool, could imagine that Chrysostom did not mean a sacrifice and prayers of propitiation? Or what is to be thought of the following plain words of St. Augustin (*Enchirid. cap. 110*)? “ When the sacrifices of the altar or alms are offered for all the deceased, who had been baptized, they are for the very good *thanksgivings*, and for those, who were not very bad, they are *propitiations.*” St. Cyprian distinguishes oblations and sacrifices of thanksgivings, as, *ex. c.* for the martyrs, from those of supplications and prayers for the less perfect departed souls. When Tertullian says (*De Monogamia, cap. 10.*) that “ every woman prays for the soul of her deceased husband, and meanwhile requests relief for him and a share in the first resurrection, and makes offerings for him on the anniversaries of his death,” who is the polemic bigoted or silly enough to tell us, that her prayers and offerings were of thanksgiving, not of propitiation? Were I arguing controversially, I could say a great deal more on these subjects; but I have stated this much merely to show, how Usher

has misrepresented the practice and doctrine of the ancient Irish church.

The truth is that the Irish had, like all other Christians, sacrifices and prayers, both of thanksgiving and of propitiation. Some of the cases referred to by Usher were relative to thanksgiving, although not all of them, particularly that of Magnus, concerning whom he quotes these words addressed by him a little before his death to Tozzo bishop of Augsburg: "Do not weep, reverend prelate, because thou beholdest me labouring in so many storms of worldly troubles; because I believe in the mercy of God, that my soul shall rejoice in the freedom of immortality. Yet I beseech thee, that thou wilt not cease to help me a sinner and my soul with thy holy prayers." So far from this passage favouring Usher's thanksgiving system, it is evidently against it; for it is plain that Magnus alluded to prayers to be said for him after his death. Now the prayers, which he requested, were, as is clear from the import of the words, those of propitiation; and indeed it would be very odd were they not; for who would presume to call for a thanksgiving to be made for him after his death, as if he were absolutely certain of enjoying eternal happiness? As to what occurred after the death of Magnus, and the nature of the salutary sacrifices offered for him, it is not necessary to inquire; for, if Usher had produced fifty cases of sacrifices and prayers of *thanksgiving*, they would not exclude those also of *propitiation*. He allows, that prayers for the dead, and masses for the repose of departed souls, or, as he calls them, *Requiem masses*, used to be observed in those times; and yet he states in a confidential tone, that they had no necessary relation to the belief of *Purgatory*. How he quibbles, in his usual way on the name *Purgatory*? Had he said, that they had no relation to the school questions concerning where or how *Purgatory* is or is not constituted, the nature of its punishments, its duration, &c. or to the question between the Greeks and Latins as to purgatorial fire, nobody would quarrel with him; but his real intention was not merely to reject that name, but likewise what it was framed to signify, *viz.* a state, in which some souls are detained before they are allowed to enter the kingdom of heaven. How then could he have reconciled his admitting the practice of *Requiem masses*, that is, *Masses*, in which, as is clear from the prayers contained in them, the relief

of the deceased was actually prayed for, with his opinion that no such relief was wanted? The Irish had such Masses from a very ancient period, and we find them spoken of in the Penitential of Cumean, (*Cap.* 14.) which was written most probably in the seventh century. (See to *Not.* 55 *Chap.* xv.) In it various days are marked for those Masses according as the deceased were monks or lay persons. They are also in a very ancient Missal, which Mabillon found at Bobio, and which he published in the first volume of his *Musaeum Italicum*. He calls it *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, although he acknowledges that it differs in some respects from the old Gallican Missal as it does in many, from the Roman, Ambrosian, &c. He thought that it was used in the province, of which Besançon was the capital, and in which was situated St. Columbanus' monastery of Luxeu. There can scarcely be a doubt of its having been written by an Irishman, as Dr. O'Connor shows (*Ep. Nuncupator, &c. ad Rer. Hibern. Scriptor. p.* cxxx. *seqq.*) from the orthography and the form of the letters being exactly the same as what we find in old MSS. which are well known to be Irish. He thinks it was a portable Missal for the Irish of Luxeu and Bobbio. Be this as it may, we may be sure from its having been copied by an Irishman, that it was used by Irish priests. Mabillon pronounced it to be a thousand years old before his time; and it appears very probable that it was written before the death of St. Columbanus, whose name does not occur in it, as in all appearance it would had he been then dead. We find in it various prayers containing supplications to God for the pardon of the deceased, for the remission of their sins and debts, indulgence towards them, &c. Thus in a Mass for the dead, entitled "*Pro defunctis*," these words occur in the prayer, called *Contestatio*; "Tribuos ei (famulo tuo defuncto) Domine delictorum suorum veniam in illo secreto receptacolo, ubi jam non est locus poenitentiae---Tu autem Christe recipe animam famoli tui illi quam dedisti, et demitte ejus debita magis quam ille demisit debitoribus suis." And in a Mass for both the living and dead, *Pro vivis et defunctis*, we read in the first prayer; "Concede propitius, ut haec sacra oblatio mortuis prosit ad veniam, et vivis proficiat ad salutem. And in the *Contestatio* the priest asks, both for the dead and living, "remissionem peccatorum, indulgentiam quam semper optaverunt," &c. But of this Missal see more below.

Chap. xxxii. §. 10. Among the canons of the Synod, called of St. Patrick, the 12th (see Ware's *Opusc. S. P. p. 34.*) is entitled *Of the oblation for the dead*, and is thus expressed: "Hear the Apostle saying, *there is a sin unto death, I do not say that for it any one do pray.* And the Lord; *Do not give the holy to dogs.* For he, who will not deserve to receive the sacrifice during his life, how can it help him after his death?" This canon most clearly shows, that the sacrifice used to be offered as propitiatory towards the relief of the deceased, and of all such as were supposed, while alive, to be worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. It was celebrated for the purpose of *helping* them; but, according to the universal practice of the Church, it was not offered for those, whom it could not *help*, that is, impenitent sinners, who were unworthy of receiving it during their lifetime. Usher, well knowing that this canon was directly contrary to his system of the sacrifice not being offered for the dead, except by way of thanksgiving, took care not to quote it. He understood these matters better than poor Harris, who (*Bishops, p. 26.*) thought that it furnished an additional proof to those of Usher against prayers for the dead. It certainly furnishes a proof against praying for the damned, while at the same time it supplies us with an incontrovertible one to show, that the Irish used to offer the sacrifice and pray for such deceased persons as were not supposed to be in hell. We read in the very ancient *Life of St. Ita*, who lived in the sixth century, that she prayed during a considerable time for the soul of her uncle, who was suffering in the lower regions, while his sons were giving alms towards the same object. (See *Chap. xi. §. 2.*) Would Usher say, that these prayers and alms were by way of thanksgiving? When St. Pulcherius, as is stated in his also ancient *Life*, and who died in the seventh century, used to pray for the repose of the soul of Ronan chieftain of Ele, and recommend it to the prayers of the people, although, by the bye, he was not distinguished as a holy man, (see *Chap. xvii. §. 5.* and the *Life of Pulcherius, cap. 18.*) will it be said that these were prayers of thanksgiving? I might appeal also to a *Life of St. Brendan*, in which, as Usher himself quotes, alluding to the relief of deceased persons from torments, it is stated *that the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.* As to said *Life* containing some fables, that is not the question; and the only inquiry

should be, what was, whether amidst fabulous narratives or not, the belief and practice of the ancient Irish with regard to offering the sacrifice and praying for deceased persons. Now, what entirely overturns Usher's quibbles with regard to reducing all such prayers to thanksgivings, we have a canon of an Irish synod prior to the eighth century, in which the oblations for departed souls are expressly distinguished, according to the circumstances of the souls, into those of thanksgiving and into others for obtaining full remission for them, or for lightening their sufferings. This canon may be seen at full below *Chap. xxxii. §. 12. and ib. Not. 103.* Not wishing to enlarge more on this subject, I shall now leave the reader to judge for himself.

CHAP. XXII.

Succession of kings of Cashel—Deaths of bishops of different sees in Ireland—and of abbots of Hy—Ernulph and Buo, Irishmen, distinguish themselves by their zeal for religion in Iceland—Several religious houses devastated and plundered by the Danes—Cormac Mac Cuilinan king and bishop of Cashel—Cashel not an episcopal see before the time of this prelate—Flahertach abbot of Iniscathy—Cormac's chapel at Cashel—Succession of the bishops of Emly still kept up after Cashel had become a bishop's see—Several illustrious Irishmen in the Continent—Sealbhach secretary to Cormac Mac Cuilionan—Succession of Irish monarchs—Deaths of several bishops, abbots, and learned men in the 10th century—Devastations and plunders by the Danes in Ireland in that century—Conversion of the Danes of Dublin to Christianity—Foundation of the Abbey of St. Mary's, Dublin—Danes defeated in several engagements by the Irish—Deaths of more bishops, abbots, and learned men—Brian Boroimhe king of Munster—seizes on Mac-Giolla-Patrick—defeats the Danes in several battles—Hy plundered, and fifteen of the elders put to death by the Danes.

SECT. I.

COENFOELAD, bishop of Emly, and king of Cashel, who died in 872, (1) was succeeded by Rudgal Mac-Fingail, (2) whose death is assigned to 882, and next after whom was Concenmathair, who died in 887, and had for successor Eugene Mac-Cenfoelad, who is called prince of Emly and was killed in 889. (3) After him we must place Maelbrigid, the son of one Prolech, a holy man, to whom some have given the title of archbishop of Munster. His death is marked at *A. D.* 896. (4) He was succeeded by Miscel, who died in 898. (5) Cormac, bishop of Duleek, and abbot of Clonard, died in 883. (6) Largis, bishop of Kildare, was killed by the Danes in 886. (7) This was most probably the last year of Moelcoba Mac-Crunnvail, archbishop of Armagh, (8) whose immediate successor was, according to some of our annalists, Mocta; but there is much better reason to believe, that his next successor was Maelbrigid. (9) This prelate, who is reckoned among the Irish saints, was son of Tornan or Dornan of the royal house of Niall, and a descendant of Conal Gulbanus. He had been abbot, apparently of Derry, and abbot also of Raphoe, before he was raised to the see of Armagh. (10) A great riot and fight having occurred on Whitsunday in the year 890 (11) between the Kinel-Eogains, or Tyronians, and the Ulidians, or East Ulster men, in the cathedral of Armagh, Maelbrigid had influence enough to put a stop to it, and to induce both parties to make due compensation for the crime of having profaned the church. It is related of him, that on a certain occasion he went as far as Munster for the purpose of procuring the deliverance of a British stranger from prison. His reputation for piety was so great, that he was called the *head of religion*, that is, the most religious person, not only of

all Ireland, but of the greater part of Europe. He held the see until his death, which occurred on the 22d of February in, according to one account, 926, and, according to another 927. (12) Thus his incumbency must have lasted about 40 years. (13) Alild, a scribe, abbot, and bishop of Clogher, died in 898, (14) as did in the very last year of the century Dungal Mac-Baithen, abbot and bishop of Glendaloch. (15)

(1) See *Chap. xxi. §. 13.*

(2) I strongly suspect that Rudgal Mac-Fingail was either a converted Northman or the son of one. *Fingail*, or *White foreigners* was the well known appellative of a certain description of them, and is still retained in a tract of country possessed by them near Dublin. And the name *Rudgal* is much more Northmannic than it is Irish. Although the bulk of the Northmen settled in Ireland were still pagans, yet we may rationally suppose, that some of them became Christians, were they no others than the sons of such as had been taken in battle, many of whom were most probably about Emly and Cashel after the victories of Olchobar. Rudgal is the first person bearing a Northmannic name, whom I have met with as a Christian in our history.

(3) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.*

(4) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 387, at A. 895 (896).* Ware has not Maelbrigid among the bishops of Emly, but Harris has added him to his list. The 4 Masters do not place him at Emly, but by styling him *archbishop of Munster* they must have meant that see, as in those times no other Munster prelates were, even by courtesy, ever honoured with that title except those of Emly.

(5) Ware at *Emly.*

(6) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 360 at A. 882 (883.)* Harris has this bishop at *Meath, p. 139.*

(7) *Tr. Th. p. 629. at A. 885 (886.)* The Annals of Innisfallen assign his death to *A. 888.*

(8) See *Chap. xxi. §. 13.*

(9) Ware observes, (*Bishops at Armagh*) that some Irish annalists have the following succession after Moelcoba; 1. Mocta, who died in 889; 2. Moelathgen, who died in 890; 3. Keliach

Mac-Saorgus, who died in 898, or, as others say, in 903; 4. Moel-Kiaran Mac-Eogain, who died in 914 or 915. He adds, that these are not reckoned by others among the archbishops of Armagh, and that they were considered only as suffragans of Maelbrigid. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 296.*) have Mocta, whom they call *bishop, anchorit, and scribe of Armagh.* Colgan leaves the matter undecided; but O'Flaherty in a MS. note (*ib.*) asserts, that Mocta was not a bishop. This Mocta was, in all appearance, the person who was taken by the Danes together with Moelcoba Mac-Crumvail. (See *Chap. XXI. §. 13.* They have also Moelathgen as bishop of Armagh, and assign his death to 890 (891). Yet they had just before spoken of Maelbrigid as bishop and comorban of St. Patrick in 889 (890) and hence Colgan concludes that Moelathgen was only a suffragan or coadjutor of his. O'Flaherty (*MS. note*) holds that Moelathgen was a real bishop of Armagh, and that he was the immediate predecessor of Maelbrigid, placing his death in 891. The 4 Masters next have Kellach Mac-Saorgus, but not Moel-Kiaran, and afterwards treat of Maelbrigid. Amidst this confusion the best rule to follow is the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, which places Maelbrigid immediately after Maelcoba. Colgan himself prefers its authority to that of the annalists, particularly where he treats of Maelbrigid or St. Maclbrigid, *AA. SS. ad 22 Februar.*

(10) The 4 Masters call Maelbrigid *comorban, (i. e. successor)* of saints Patrick, Columba, and Adamnan. As to his being a successor of Columba, Colgan, at his *Acts*, refers it to Derry, and, I think, with good reason. For it cannot be supposed that he was at any time abbot of Hy. We have seen (*Chap. XXI. §. 14.*) that the successor of Kellach at Hy was Feradach, who lived until 880, after whom the Annals of Ulster, which are very particular as to the succession at Hy, make mention of Flan Mac-Maoledrin, who was abbot there until 891. Now in this year Maelbrigid was already archbishop of Armagh, and being in that rank could not be invested with the government of Hy, which was always reserved to a priest. Nor do the said annals exhibit Maelbrigid as having been there, notwithstanding their also making him a comorban of Columba. It may be said that Maelbrigid, although he had not been abbot of Hy, was a successor of Columba, not at Derry but at Durrow, (King's county) the other chief monastery of that saint in

Ireland. Yet considering that Maelbrigid was also at Raphoe, it is much more probable, considering its being not far from Derry, that this was the place, of which he had been abbot. It is odd that Colgan, in his account of the abbots and other distinguished persons of Hy, reckons (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) Maelbrigid among them, notwithstanding what he says of him in his *Acts*. He does not indeed call him *abbot* of Hy; but he should not have placed him there at all. Yet he has been followed by Smith, *Append. to Life of St. C. p. 167.* Maelbrigid's being called successor also of Adamnan is relative to his having been abbot of Raphoe, of whose monastery Adamnan had been the founder and was the patron saint. Harris had no right to make him bishop of Raphoe (*Bishops at Armagh, p. 46.* and at *Raphoe p. 270*) on the supposition that its monastery had been already raised to an episcopal see by St. Eunan. For this he had no authority whatsoever; nor does any one know at what time St. Eunan lived. (Compare with *Not. 59.* to *Chap. xviii.*)

(11) Four Master *ap. Tr. Th. p. 290.* at *A. 889* (890). O'Flaherty (*MS. note ib.*) assigns it to 892. I suspect that his only reason for this date was, that the placing of the riot in 890 would not agree with his hypothesis of making Moelathgen archbishop of Armagh predecessor of Maelbrigid. (See *Not. 9.*)

(12) The 4 Masters (*ib.*) have 925 (926); and the Ulster Annals (*ap. Ware at Armagh*) 926 (927).

(13) Colgan, (*Acts 22 Febr.*) gives him exactly 40 years, which he reckoned from 885 (886) to 925 (926). But in the Cashel catalogue for his administration we find marked only 29 years. Harris (*Bishops at Maelbrigid*) conjectures, that there is an erratum in the xxix of said catalogue, and that, instead of i, we should read x, thus making the whole xxx. This is certainly a probable correction.

(14) Ware (at *Clogher*) from the annals of Ulster. Yet Colgan *AA. SS. p. 742.*) places, as if from the 4 Masters, Alild's death at 867 (868). There seems to be some mistake in his printed text; for after Alild we find the death of one Moran, abbot of Clogher, affixed to *A. 841* (842).

(15) Four Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 257.*) at *A. 899* (900); and Harris (*Bishops at Glendaloch*).

§. II. The abbot of Hy Feradach, son of Cormac, who, as we have seen, (16) died in 880, was succeeded by Flan Mac-Maol-edrin, who died in 891. (17) He was a descendant of Conal Gulbanus, the ancestor of St. Columba; and his memory was revered on the 24th of April. (18) After Flan I find mentioned not as abbot, but as coadjutor of the abbot of Hy, Aengus, son of Murchertach, who is styled a choice anchoret, and who died in 936; after whom occurs in the list Caincomrach, who is expressly called abbot of Hy, and whose death is assigned to 946. (19)

In, as it is said, the latter end of the ninth century, that is, after 874, when the Norwegians were in possession of Iceland, (20) two Irishmen, Ernulph and Buo, distinguished themselves in that island by their zeal for religion. (21) It is not known whether they were clergymen or not, and it is probable that they had been taken to Iceland as captives by some Norwegian pirates. All that I find stated concerning them is as follows: “ Helgo, surnamed “ Biola, a descendant of Norwegian barons, who “ dwelt in the province of Kialarn, was not favourable to the pagan religion; for he received into “ his neighbourhood an Irish christian an exile, “ named Ernulph, together with his families, and “ not only received him but allowed him to erect a “ church under the name of St. Columbus (Colum- “ ba) in the village of Esiuerg. Buo, a young man “ *also of the same province*, burned a famous fane “ of human victims and all its gods.” (22)

Three Irishmen, or Scots of Ireland, are particularly noticed by various English annalists as having set out from Ireland in 891 or 892 in a leathern boat without a sail or any equipment, taking with them a week's provision, and as providentially arriving, after seven days, in Cornwall, whence they proceeded to pay a visit to king Alfred, by whom they were most graciously received. Their names

were *Dufflan*, *Macheathath* and *Magilmunen*, who is represented as a man of extraordinary merit, and a celebrated master of the Scots or Irish. (23) Afterwards they went to Rome, intending to proceed thence to Jerusalem. One of them died during their excursions, and some miracles are mentioned as having been wrought in consequence of his death. (24)

(16) *Chap.* xxi. §. 14.

(17) Annals of Ulster in Johnstone's Extracts. The 4 Masters, who call him son of Malduin, assign (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 500) his death to *A.* 887 (888).

(18) *Tr. Th.* p. 481.

(19) *Ib.* p. 500. I have added a year to the dates. Could Cainconrach have been the immediate successor of Flan? If so, he must have governed Hy for 55 years from 891 to 946. Or was there between them an abbot, whose name has not reached us, and for whom Aengus acted as coadjutor? Smith (*App. to Life of St. C.* p. 167.) makes mention of Dubhard, comorban of Columbkil and Adamnan, who died in 937. But his being called comorban of Columbkil, does not prove, that he was abbot of Hy, no more than it does that of Maolbrigid, archbishop of Armagh, had been such; and we meet with, at a later period, a Muredach, likewise called comorban of Columbkil, and Adamnan, who was certainly not abbot of Hy. By that title was meant, I believe, one who was abbot both of Derry and Raphoe. In the Annals of Ulster the real abbots of Hy are always named as such. The 4 Masters have not Dubhard among them.

(20) See *Not.* 32 to *Chap.* xx.

(21) Colgan treats of Ernulph at the 2d, and of Buo at the 5th of February. His reason for treating of the former at the 2d was not, that he knew on what day he died, or whether his name was in any calendar or not, but because a St. Erlulph, martyr, bishop of Verdun, whom he thought a native of Ireland, is marked in a German calendar at that day. Accordingly, on account of the similarity of the name, he has Ernulph, as well as Erlulph at 2d Febr. As to Erlulph having been an Irishman, there is no sufficient proof, although Crantz says that he was either a Scot or an Englishman. He was killed by the Northmen at Ebbeckstorp, not

far from Hamburgh, in, it is said, the year 856. The accounts given of him are rather obscure, and unsupported by ancient documents. (See the Bollandists at 2 *February*.) With regard to Ernulph, were we to judge from the name, it might seem that he was not an Irishman; but he is expressly so called, and probably his real name was *Ernuf* or *Ernubh*, which, conformably to a Northern termination, was changed into *Ernulph* in the same manner as *Mailduf*, or *Maildubh*, was changed into *Maildulph*. (See *Not. 62 to Chap. xviii.*) Why Buo should be marked at 5 February or styled a saint, Colgan gives us no other authority than that of Camerarius on a Scotch martyrology and of Dempster.

(22) *Acts of Ernulph and Buo* from Arngrim Jonas. Although Colgan, with others makes Buo an Irishman, yet Arngrim's words, *also of the same province*, may be conjectured to refer not to Ireland but to the Icelandic province of Kialarn. But the stress intimated by *also, quoque*, leads us to think, that the author's meaning was to point out Buo as a countryman of Ernulph. It is going rather too far to call Ernulph and Buo the *Apostles of Iceland*. The little that is known of them does not authorize us to give them that title, which was bestowed on them by the above-mentioned Scotch writers, who, in spite of Arngrim, pretended that they were Scotchmen. We have seen (*Chap. xx. §. 4.*) that there were Christians and Irish missionaries in Iceland a long time before either of them was born. And as to the re-establishment of Christianity in Iceland after its occupation by the Norwegians, Ara states, (*Schedae, &c. ch. 7.*) that it was introduced during the reign of Olaus Tryggvon, king of Norway, a great grandson of Harold Harfagre, by persons, among whom he makes no mention either of Ernulph or of Buo. Olaus was killed in battle *A. D.* 1000. Whether Colgan and those whom he followed were right in making the times of Ernulph, Buo, and Helgo Biola as early as about 890 it is not worth while to inquire. The Bollandists (at 2 *Febr.*) omit Ernulph, and observe (*ib. p. 267.*) that some more certain information, relative to him, was requisite than that supplied by Dempster and Colgan. And (at 5 *Febr. p. 593.*) speaking of Buo, whom also they omit, they say that there is as little clear or authentic known concerning him as there is about Ernulph. Dempster, with his usual imposture, makes Buo author of *Homiliac ad Islandos*. (See Harris. *Writers at Buo.*)

(23) It is thus they are mentioned by Fabius Ethelwerd, (*Chron. ad A. 891, or 892*) who says of Magilmunen that he was “*artibus frondens, littera doctus, magister insignis Scottorum.*” Florence of Worcester (at *A. 892.*) calls them *Dusblan, Mahbeth, and Mulmulin*. He says that they left Ireland for the purpose of leading a life of pilgrimage. Perhaps they were obliged to fly by the Northmen; and hence we may account for their going in a sorry boat without proper equipment. Matthew of Westminster assigns their departure to *A. 891*. Ethelwerd speaking, in his bad Latin, of their visit to Alfred, says; “*Aelfredum advenit regem, in quorum adventum cum rege pariter sinelitus ovat.*” Ledwich, whose hatred of the old Irish has made him advance so much nonsense, pretends (*Antiq. p. 180.*) that the names of these three Irishmen intimate a Danish or Norwegian extraction. Now, if there ever were true Irish names, surely theirs were such. Can any name be more Irish than *Dufflan, Black Flan*? Or does the *Mac* of the other names, or *heathath, &c.* indicate a Danish origin? Did the Doctor ever look into a Danish dictionary?

(24) I have endeavoured to pick out what is said of this death from the barbarous style of Ethelward; but I am not sure of having hit upon his real meaning.

§. III. The troubles caused by the Northmen still continued. In 884 they plundered Kildare, and carried off to their ships the prior Suibhne, son of Duibhdabhaireann, besides 280 other persons. (25) In 887 they laid waste and pillaged Ardraccan in Meath; (26) and in the following year, as some say, or, as others, in 886 a great battle was fought between Flan, king of Ireland, and the Danes of Dublin, who, it is said, gained a bloody victory, while there fell on the part of the Irish. Aedh, son of Conor, king of Connaught, Largis, or Leargus, bishop of Kildare, and Donogh son of Maolduin, prince of Kill-Dealga. (27) Kildare was again devastated by the Danes in 888; and in the following year Clonard. (28) According to one account, the Danes of Dublin, proceeded in 891 to Armagh, and, having plundered the city and destroyed various

sacred buildings, took with them 710 captives ; but another account assigns this transaction to *A. D.* 895. (29) It is added that it was pillaged again in 894 by Northmen, who came from Lough-foyle ; yet it is more probable, that this happened in 898. (30) In the year 896 the Northmen of Tirconnel suffered a dreadful defeat, in which two of their chiefs, Auliffe son of Ivar, and Gluntradna son of Gluniaran, besides 800 of their followers, were killed by the Irish commanded by Aitcid son of Laghan. (31) The power of these marauders was gradually diminishing, and would have declined still faster, were not the Irish quarreling among themselves. In 902 they were slaughtered by the people of Leinster, and the whole of them were driven out of Ireland. (32) Those of Dublin were expelled by the men of Bregh, headed by Maol-Finia (or Finnian) son of Flanagan, who had been killed in 896, (33) and by the inhabitants of Leinster commanded by Carrol. (34) It was, in all probability, after this exploit that Maol-Finnian became a monk and abbot of Inis-Patrick (Holmpatrick), where he died in great reputation of sanctity, *A. D.* 903, (35) on the 6th of February, at which day his name occurs in various calendars both Irish and foreign. (36)

(25) Four Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 629. at 883 (884).

(26) *Ib. p.* 663 and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 886 (887).

(27) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 888. They are followed by Ware, (*Antiq. cap* 24). The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 629) assign this battle to 885 (886). Largis has been mentioned above §. 1.

(28) Four Masters (*ib.*) *A.* 887 (888). and in *AA. SS. p.* 407. at *A.* 888 (889).

(29) The 4 Masters (*ib. p.* 296.) have *A.* 890 (891) while the Annals of Ulster have *A.* 894 (895), and are followed by Ware, (*loc. cit.*) who, however, tells us elsewhere (*Bishops of Armagh at Maelbrigid*) that Armagh was plundered by the Danes in 890. But he took this from what he found in Colgan from the 4 Masters,

to whose date I should prefer those of the Ulster Annals. As to the 710 captives, who, according to the 4 Masters, were taken at Armagh, the Annals of Ulster do not mention this circumstance, but state that in the year 895 (896) Gluniarn, a Northman chief, gained a victory, but where we are not told, in which he made 710 prisoners.

(30) The 4 Masters, *ib.* have *A.* 893 (894). Neither in the Annals of Ulster, nor in Ware, (*Antiq.*) is this devastation mentioned, although (at *Bishops loc. cit.*) following Colgan as before, he says that the Danes plundered Armagh also in 893. That some Northmen, who came from Lough-foyle, sacked Armagh cannot be denied; but, considering that this occurred after the plundering by the Dublin Danes, which, in all probability, was in 895, it must be placed later than marked by the 4 Masters; and, in fact, the Annals of Innisfallen assign it to *A.* 898.

(31) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 896. This victory is mentioned also in the Ulster Annals, which have at 895 (896); "The Gàls defeated by the men of Tirconnel under Mac-Laigur (for son of *Laghan*), who killed Auliffe son of Ivar." At said year these annals state, that Flanagan, king of Bregh (the country stretching from Dublin to Drogheda) was killed by the Northmen.

(32) Annals of Innisfallen *A.* 902, and of Ulster at *A.* 901 (902.)

(33) See *Not.* 31.

(34) Annals of Ulster, *ib.*

(35) *Ib.* at *A.* 902 (903).

(36) Colgan touching on him (*AA. SS.* at 6 *Fcbr.* p. 268.) calls him St. Finnian or Moelfinnian, who, from prince of Bregh became a monk, &c. The 4 Masters, whom he quotes, assign his death to 898 (899); but this cannot agree with his having fought against the Danes in 902. It is odd that the dates of the 4 Masters are usually earlier by some years than those of the annals both of Ulster and Innisfallen. To the many instances we have met with I may here add that for the death of Bressal, a lecturer of Armagh, which (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 296.) they assign to *A.* 894 (895); whereas, according to the Ulster Annals (*ap. Usher, Pr.* p. 861.) he died in 898 (899).

§. iv. By far the most celebrated man of these

times in Ireland was Cormac Mac-Culinan, who was not only bishop of Cashel, but likewise king there, that is, of all Munster, of which that city was the capital. He was not the first who united the scepter of that province with the episcopacy; for, as we have seen, Olchobar and Coenfoelad, bishops of Emly, had been also kings of Cashel or of Munster. Little is known concerning the earlier part of Cormac's life. I find that he was born in 837; (37) and it is allowed on all hands, that he was of the Eugenic branch of the royal house of Munster. That he was educated for the ecclesiastical state is evident from his having been possessed of great learning, for the acquisition of which he must have spent a great part of his time amidst the tranquillity of college or religious establishments. It is said that he had been instructed by Snegdus a learned and pious abbot of Castledermot; (38) and it is certain that he was a bishop before he became a king. But how or where he was raised to the mitre it is not easy to understand. Before his time Cashel was not an episcopal see, having been, notwithstanding some idle conjectures to the contrary, still comprized in the diocese of Emly. How then did Cormac become bishop of Cashel? The see of Emly continued to exist, as usual, and had its bishops, distinct from those of Cashel, in his time and for centuries later. There was no quarrel or schism between Emly and Cashel, and Cormac, while bishop and king, was on the best terms with the bishop of Emly. I think it probable, that he was bishop of Lismore before he removed to Cashel. For a Cormac, son of Culinan, is stated to have been bishop there in those times; and I do not find any sufficient reason for supposing, that we are to admit two bishops Cormac, both sons of Culinans, and contemporaries, one at Cashel and the other at Lismore. (39) It may be, however, that he was originally made bishop at Cashel on account of his extraordinary merit, according to the Irish system of

raising distinguished persons to the episcopal rank in places, where previously there had been no bishops. Then, in consequence of the great respect in which his memory was held, Cashel probably became a permanent and regular see; and there is good reason to think that, as the capital of Munster, its following bishops gradually acquired, even before it became a really metropolitanical see, the ascendancy which had been formerly enjoyed by the church of Emly.

(37) Annals of Innisfallen, at *A.* 837.

(38) See O'Connor's *Dissertations*, *sect.* 17. and the 4 Masters at *A.* 885, and below *Not.* 56.

(39) Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 360.) has, from the 4 Masters, as different persons Cormac Mac-Culinan king and bishop of Cashel, whose death they assign to 903 (904), and Cormac Mac-Culinan, bishop of Lismore, whom they call prince of the Desies, and who, they say, died in 918 (919) If these dates were correct, it would follow that there were two distinct Cormacs Mac-Culinan. But, at least, the former one is not; for the Cormac of Cashel died in 908; and as to 918 for the one of Lismore it is perhaps a mistake for 908. The 4 Masters, when searching in old annals and documents, might have found Cormac Mc. Culinan called in some bishop of Lismore, and in others of Cashel, and thence supposed that they were different. Their calling Cormac of Lismore *prince of the Desies* does not furnish an argument against his having been the same as Cormac of Cashel; whereas, in consequence of being bishop of that great see, situated in the Desies country, he might while there have got that title, in the same manner as some bishops of Emly, *ex. c.* Eugene Mac-Cenfoelad, (see above §. 1.) were styled *princes of Emly*. I suspect that the epithet *Theasalescop*, which has been applied to Cormac (*Not. prec.*) before he became king of Cashel, alludes to a see more southerly than Cashel, such as Lismore is. Perhaps it was usual to distinguish Lismore by calling it the southern place or establishment much in the same way as Alcuin spoke of it in his letter to Colcu. (See *Not.* 45. to *Chap.* xx.)

§. v. The greatest part of what is known concerning the transactions of Cormac is relative more to the civil than to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The occasion of his being raised to the throne was, that Kinngegan, who had got possession of it in 895 (40) was dethroned in 901, and Cormac was called to it by his opponents. (41) Yet some time elapsed before he was peaceably seated on it; and it is stated, that Fionngaine, who is called son of Gorman king of Cashel, was killed in 902 during the contest by his own people. (42) It was in 903 that Cormac became king without opposition. (43) While he was governing his kingdom in peace, Flann, surnamed *Sionna*, king of all Ireland, and Cearbhal, son of Muregan, king of Leinster, marched with an army towards Munster, and laid waste the whole country between Gowran and Limerick. (44) But in the following year Cormac, accompanied by Flathertach Mac-Ionmunain abbot of Inniscatthy, a man of a very military disposition, set out with the forces of Munster, and, arriving in the plains of Magh-leaua in the now King's county, gave battle to Flann and his confederates of Leath-Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and defeated them with great loss, particularly of the Nialls, among whom Maolchraobha son of Cathalan king of Kinel-Eogain (Tyrone) was killed. Flann being forced to submit and give hostages to Cormac, the Munster army advanced to Maighe-na-Ceurradh (apparently the Kierrigia of Roscommon) and there compelled the Conacians and some of the Nialls to give hostages, after which they plundered the islands of Lough-ree and a fleet that lay there; and then Leath-cuinn became tributary to an ecclesiastic. (45) Flann and his adherents did not long submit to this degradation, but, together with Cearbhal of Leinster, the princes of Leath-cuinn, Cathal son of Conor king of Connaught, &c. raised a great army, which was met, in 908, at Beallach Mughna (Ballymoon

in Idrone, county of Carlow) by Cormac at the head of the forces of Munster and Ossory under their various chiefs and many of their principal nobility. A desperate battle then took place, in which Cormac was killed by one Fiacha, and along with him several other princes and nobles, besides about 6000 of their followers. (46) This battle is said to have been fought on the 16th of August; (47) and some writers place the scene of it at Moy-albe or the *White field*. This, however, does not imply any difference of situation; for Moy-albe was near Beallach-Mughna, being in the vicinity of Old Leighlin. (48) It has been foolishly said, that Cormac was killed not in this battle but by the Danes, a story quite in opposition to the most respectable authorities and to the then state of Ireland. (49) Others tell us, that his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse during the heat of the battle; and, according to another account, he did not engage in the battle at all, but was praying apart for the success of his army, when a herdsman coming up put him to death (50)

(40) Annals of Innisfallen, as *ap.* Harris.

(41) *Ib.* at *A.* 891 (Mr. O'Reilly's copy).

(42) *Ib. ad. A.* 902. Colgan says, (*Tr. Th. p.* 186.) that Fionngaine was son of Kinngeagan; but how will this agree with his being called in the Innisfallen annals *son of Gorman*? O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) asserts that Fionngaine was the same as Kinngeagan. If so, it is odd that in the course of two or three lines the same persons should be called in those annals first *Kinngeagan* and next *Fionngaine*. I do not presume to judge on a matter of this kind, which I have touched upon merely to show, that there was a contest for the throne of Cashel after the nomination of Cormac.

(43) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 903. The 4 Masters have earlier dates for these transactions; but their authority is not equal, particularly with regard to the affairs of Munster.

(44) *Ib. ad. A.* 906.

(45) *Ib. ad. A.* 907.

(46) *Ib. ad A.* 908. I cannot guess what reason Dr. Milner had (*Tour in Ireland, Letter 14.*) for suspecting, in direct opposition to our Annals, that Cormac lived at a much later period.

(47) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 21.* and *Archbishops of Cashel, at Cormac.*

(48) See *Not. 36. to Chap. xv.*

(49) The fable of Cormac having been killed by the Danes is not to be found in any Irish annals or document that I know of. It is in the chronicle of Caradoc of Lhancarvan, who calls Cormac "*Carmot, the son of Cukeman, king and bishop of Ireland.*" The mighty antiquary Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 148.*) follows Caradoc; for, in fact, he prefers every authority to that of Irish history, which indeed is not to be wondered at, as he knows so little about it. Speaking of Cormac, he says that "Irish *romantic* history tells us that he was descended from Olioll Olum king of Munster of the *Eugenian race, &c.*" The reader will please to observe, that he calls the Irish history of even the tenth century *romantic*. Then to show his learning he says that Olioll Olum was of the *Eugenian race*. Pray how could that be? For Eugenius, from whom that race was denominated, and from whom the Mac Carthys, &c. descend, was a son of Olioll Olum, who was the ancestor also of the Dalcassian princes, to whom the O'Briens, &c. belonged. If the Doctor had looked only into Keating's pedigrees, he would not have insulted the public with such blunders. Our antiquary adds; "I rely more on the testimony of Caradoc of Lhancarvan for his (Cormac's) *existence* than the *plausible fictions* of national writers; and I think what this Welsh chronicler relates of his being slain by the Danes most likely; for at this time they were ravaging every part of the kingdom." The insolence of this ignorant man is really intolerable. To represent what our annalists, historians, and the constant tradition of all Ireland have concerning the *existence* of Cormac as *plausible fictions* shows such a perverse carelessness of truth with regard to Irish history, that the proposer of such nonsense is not worth arguing against. What object could our national writers have had in inventing an account of Cormac's existence? But see what this sage critic relies on for it. The testimony of Caradoc! a testimony

which would be unintelligible had not Cormac really existed. For who otherwise could discover, who was *Carmot son of Cukeman*, &c.? As to his following Caradoc on Cormac's having been killed by the Danes, it would have been more to the honour of Ireland and of its clergy had such been the case; nor would our annalists have attributed the death of a king and bishop, so highly esteemed, to his own countrymen, or have so particularly mentioned their names, if they had not been the authors of it. But the fact is, that Cormac could not have been killed at that time by the Danes; for, although neither Caradoc nor his humble follower the Doctor knew it, there were no Danes then in Ireland, against whom Cormac could have fought. For, as we have seen (above §. 3.) they had been driven out in 902, and, although they returned afterwards, yet they did not come back, at least in any considerable force, until some years later than 908, the year in which Cormac was killed.

(50) For these various statements see Keating *B. 2.* where he treats largely of Cormac, and Ware and Harris, *Archbishops of Cashel*, at *Cormac*.

§. VI. Cormac was accompanied in this unfortunate expedition by several ecclesiastics, some of whom actually fought in the battle. Among the slain are reckoned Olioll Mac-Eogan, abbot of Cork, and Colman, abbot of Kinnity. (51) The chief fomenter of it and encourager of Cormac to meet the enemy out of his own country, in opposition to his wish to compromise matters, as he loved peace and is said to have had a foreknowledge of his death in case of an engagement taking place, is stated to have been the furious Flathertach abbot of Inniscathy, who was one of the principal commanders in the battle. (52) This martial spirit, which unluckily insinuated itself among the Irish clergy, and which was so contrary to the feelings and principles of their predecessors, (53) originated in the contests against the pagan Northmen, in which they were much involved, and some of them almost forced to take up arms to defend themselves and their establishments

against those barbarous and savage invaders. But, whatever apology may be made for the churchmen who fought against them, or for Cormac who, as a king, was bound to protect his subjects, whosoever the enemies might be, none can be found for such conduct as that of Flathertach, if what is said of him be true. Tiobruide, bishop of Emly, and who is called the *religious successor of Ailbe*, also accompanied Cormac; (54) but whether he mixed in the battle or not I do not find recorded. Previous to the engagement Cormac made his confession to Comhgall his confessor, and made his will, in which he bequeathed various sacred ornaments and utensils, besides gold and silver, to divers churches and religious places, such as of Cashel, Lismore, Emly, Armagh, Kildare, Glendaloch, &c. (55) It is said that his body was brought to Cashel and interred there; but, according to another account, it has been supposed that he was buried at Castle-dermot. (56) His reputation for piety, wisdom, and learning was so great, that he has been considered as the most eminent man of his times in Ireland. (57) He wrote the celebrated work, entitled, the *Psalter of Cashel*, (58) in which he treated of the history and antiquities of Ireland. It has been considered as of the highest authority, and was still extant entire in the 17th century, and is probably so somewhere at present, although I know only of some parts of it, which are to be found. (59) To him is usually attributed the Irish glossary or Etymological dictionary, called *Sanasan Cormac*; (60) and he is said to have written a book on the genealogies of the Irish saints. (61) The beautiful small church, now called Cormac's Chapel, on the rock of Cashel, and perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical building of stone now remaining in Ireland, is universally allowed to have been erected by this king and bishop. (62) This church could not at any time have been the cathedral of Cashel, as

some writers have supposed; for it was quite too small for that purpose; and I can scarcely doubt that it was merely a royal church or chapel annexed to the king's palace or castle, which was situated on the summit of the rock. (63)

(51) For Olioll see Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 908, and for Colman, Keating. Kinnity is in that part of the King's county, which formerly belonged to Munster.

(52) Keating, *ib.* (53) See *Chap.* xx. §. 9.

(54) Keating, *ib.* (55) Keating, *ib.*

(56) According to Ware (*loc. cit.*) he was buried at Cashel; but Keating (*ib.*) asserts that he ordered to have his remains deposited in Cloyne, where St. Colman son of Lenir had been buried, or if that could not be done, in Disert Dermot (Castledermot), where he had resided for some years in his youth, and received his education, *viz.* I suppose, under the abbot Snegdus. But I do not find that Keating makes him be actually interred at Castledermot.

(57) In the Annals of Innisfallen (at *A.* 908.) Cormac is styled *the most learned in knowledge and science, and the most holy and pious in his time in Ireland.* The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 36C.) call him *king, bishop, anchorite a wise man, and writer.*

(58) It is usually supposed that this work was called *Psalter* on account of its having been written in verse, in the same manner as there was the *Psalter of Tara*, and as to one or two works of Aengus Cele-de was given the name of *Psalter-na-rann.* (See *Chap.* xx. §. 10.) But my deceased worthy friend General Vallancey informed me that this was a mistake, as the original title of the work was *Saltair*, which, he said, signifies *chronicle*; and so he has stated in his *Prospectus of a dictionary of the ancient Irish* at *Taireac.* Yet *Saltair* signifies also *Psalter*, and the *Psalter* or *Saltair-na-rann* was not a chronicle.

(59) Ware makes mention of it (*Antiq. cap.* 21. and *Archbishops of Cashel* at *Cormac*) as extant in his time and in great esteem. He says that he had some collections out of it. Keating had a copy of it, which he often quotes, and speaks of it more than once in his Preface as a work to be seen in his days. Colgan also touches on it (*AA. SS. p.* 5.) as actually existing; and

Lhuyd (*Archæologia, catalogue of Irish MSS.*) Nicholson (*Irish Histor. Library, ch. 2*) and Dr. O'Connor (*Ep. Nuncup. &c. p. 65.*) tells us, that there is a part of it in an old MS. of the Bodleian library at Oxford. Some writers pretend that Cormac was not the author of it, and that it was compiled after his times. In fact, there are some circumstances mentioned as taken from it, which belong to a later period; for instance, the latter part of the catalogues of the archbishops of Armagh (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.*) which comes down to the latter end of the eleventh century. But this proves nothing more than that some additions have been made to the original work of Cormac, as has been the case with regard to numbers of historical works, particularly those written in the middle ages. The mighty Ledwich, not content with denying (*Antiq. &c. p. 154.*) that Cormac was the author of it, makes some puny efforts to undermine the author's veracity. In his great reading he found, that Stillingfleet (*Antiq. of the British churches, ch. 5.*) quoted and remarked on some silly old stories related by Peter Walsh (*Prospect of Ireland*) from the Psalter of Cashel. Walsh had copied them from Keating, to whom he refers; but Stillingfleet either had not Keating's work, or could not understand it, as it was then only in Irish. Is it, however, because such stories were found in the Psalter, to be concluded that the author was neglectful of truth, as the Doctor, distorting Stillingfleet's meaning, insinuates? Who will say that Keating himself was a liar, because he has given many foolish things, which he did not wish the reader to believe, from certain old documents? Or will the Doctor question the veracity of Usher, in whose *Primordia* we meet with heaps of fables? In like manner why bring such a charge against the author of the Psalter for having copied matters not worthy of belief? Surely no historian was ever judged in this manner, unless he professed to make us consider as true every thing inserted in his work. As for a real want of veracity, the reader will find an instance in the Doctor's said page, where he says that Stillingfleet affirms the Psalter of Cashel to be a collection of poetical fictions, and that it was compiled in the 13th century. Now Stillingfleet has not affirmed nor even hinted at such things, nor has he denied that Cormac was the author of the Psalter.

(60) See Harris, *Writers at Cormac Mac Culinan*. Dr. Led-

wich has (*loc. cit.*) some grumbling also about this Glossary. He could not deny that such a work exists; for General Vallancey had a copy of it, which he often quotes under the name of Cormac Mac Culinan, and Lhuyd had one, which he copied from an old Irish MS. O'Brien makes mention of it in his Dictionary at *Bealtinne*, where he calls it simply an *old* glossary copied by Mr. Lhuyd. I believe there are at present many copies of it to be found. Mr. O'Reilly has one. (See the *Prospectus to his Dictionary of the Irish language.*) The Doctor says; "Supposing the glossary genuine, would it now be intelligible?" Strange that a man, who set up as an *Irish* antiquary, should ask such a question, as if the Irish of the 9th or 10th century could not be understood by our Irish scholars at present. Surely, although the Doctor could not understand it, he must have known that those, who are really versed in the language, find scarcely any difficulty in translating Irish documents still more ancient than the ninth century, as may be seen in Colgan's works, &c. But I am going out of my way, and shall only add, that I wish some genuine Irish scholar and antiquary would give the Doctor a bit of good advice as to his meddling with matters, which he knows nothing about.

‡ (61) Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 5.* Nicholson fell into a great mistake (*Ir. Hist. Libr. Append. No. 1.*) in ascribing to Cormac Mac Culinan a political tract, which is said to have been composed by Cormac Ulfada a king of Ireland in the third century. He strangely confounded this king, who lived in pagan times, with the bishop and king of Cashel. This mistake, which has been remarked upon by Harris, (*Writers, ch. 1.*) shows, that Nicholson was very poorly acquainted with Irish history.

(62) Here again we meet with Ledwich. He allows that this church or chapel is a very curious fabric, but strives to make us believe, that it was built after Cormac's times. This he was not able to prove from the style of its architecture, which, he says, (*p. 152*) was prior to the introduction of the Norman or Gothic styles. He has some bungling about a Saxon style, and tells us that Cormac's chapel bears a great "resemblance to the church of St. Peter at Oxford, which is supposed to be the oldest stone church in England, and said to be built by Grymbald about the end of the 9th century." As I have often seen this chapel, I may add that the Doctor is right as to its style being antecedent to that vulgarly

called Gothic, and that it is similar to the low Roman or Italian style, which appears in some churches in Italy, particularly at Pavia, that were erected in the 7th, 8th, or 9th century. But, waving architecture, let us see how he endeavours to show that it was built after Cormac's times. He lays down, (*p.* 150.) merely from his own head, that it was erected for the purpose of receiving Cormac's remains. Then he says that, if it was built by Cormac himself, he must have foreknown that he was to be canonized and dubbed the patron saint of Cashel. This is truly ridiculous nonsense. In the first place, even supposing that Cormac wished to be buried in it, might he not have erected it without presuming to think, that he would become a patron saint? How many hundreds of powerful persons have erected churches or chapels, in which their remains should be deposited, who, however, never imagined that they should be canonized? Did Fitz-Adelm de Burgo, when founding the religious house of Athassel near Cashel, in which he was afterwards buried, expect to be called saint? Next we have seen, that doubts have been entertained concerning the place of Cormac's interment, which could not have existed, had the chapel been built for the purpose mentioned by the Doctor. But who told him, that Cormac has been dubbed the patron of Cashel? I have some right to know more about that city than he can, and I am able to tell him that its inhabitants, so far from considering him as their patron, do not give him even the title of saint, always speaking of him by the simple name of Cormac Mac Culinan; nor do they ever invoke him, or celebrate his memory in any manner whatsoever as usual with regard to persons reputed saints.

I have said that Cormac's chapel is perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical stone building in Ireland. Yet I will not contend that some of the ruins of those of Glendaloch and the small church of St. Doulach in the barony of Coolock in the district of Fingal, county of Dublin, or at least a part of it, may not be of equal antiquity. By the bye, the Doctor had no right to rob the Irish nation of St. Doulach, and to give him to the Danes, as he does *p.* 147, where he says that *Doulach* is a corruption of St. Olave, and thence concludes, that St. Doulach's church could not have been built before the 11th century. But St. Doulach, or rather Dulech, was an Irishman, son of Amalgad the son of Sinell, &c. and his memory was revered on the 17th of

November in the very spot, anciently called *Clochach*, on which the church is situated. (See *AA. SS.* p. 598.) The Doctor might have learned this much even from Archdall (at *St. Doulough*) without introducing his favourite Danes, and on inquiry he could have found, that *St. Doulach* must have lived a very long time before *St. Olave* was born. He refers to Harris, (*History of Dublin*, p. 86) who says that there was a *St. Olave's* church, at the end of Fishamble-street, vulgarly called *St. Tullock's*, or he adds, *St. Doolach's*. But Harris makes no mention of *St. Doulach's* in Fingal, with which place the vulgarly named *St. Tullock's* had nothing to do.

(63) Ware speaks of it (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) in such a manner as to seem to state, that it was at some time the cathedral of *Cashel*, and the same is hinted by Harris (at *Archbishops of Cashel*). But who can imagine that a chapel, the nave of which is only 30 feet in length and 18 in breadth, could have been a cathedral, particularly of a city which was the capital of Munster? *Cashel* was certainly as populous in *Cormac's* time as it was about 260 years after his death, when a new cathedral was erected on its rock adjoining *Cormac's* chapel, and which it was found necessary to make, at least, ten times larger than the chapel. The old cathedral must have been somewhere in the city at the foot of the rock, on which was the king's palace or castle during the period that kings resided at *Cashel*. It was there that *Failbhe Fland* had his habitation and court. (See the *Life of St. Pulcherius*, cap. 21. and above *Chap. xvii.* §. 5.) The rock was not originally applied to a religious Christian purpose, however it might have been anciently to a Pagan one, although *Dr. Ledwich* makes us laugh with telling us, (*Ant. p. 150.*) that *Cashel* (meaning the rock) was an ancient *Mandra*, that is, as he should have explained to his readers, inhabited by monks. Hear how he proves it; "There is a wall surrounding the summit of the rock; therefore monks dwelt there." He might as well maintain, that every old garden with a wall around it was a *Mandra*. The wall surrounding the summit of that rock is far from being ancient, and, supposing it to be ever so old, is it anywise strange, that a spot, on which was the king's castle, should be environed by a wall? It is, however, true that there was, as expressly mentioned, a wall around it in ancient times, whereas the royal residence was also a fortress. (See *Life of St. Pulcherius*, loc. cit.) Another argument is, that

the rock is elevated, and that the monastic spirit prevailed in Ireland; therefore the rock of Cashel was a Mandra. What prodigious antiquarian penetration! To follow up his theory, he ought to have added, that every high place, every mountain and hill, in Ireland was a Mandra. As he has made use of that Greek word, whence has come the title of *Archimandrite*, which we find given to some superiors of monks, he ought to have previously understood its ecclesiastical meaning. For it was not on account of surrounding walls, or inclosures of ground, as he supposed, that certain communities of monks got the name of *Mandra*. There were no such walls in the deserts of Egypt, and yet they contained Mandras and Archimandrites. But this is not the place to enter into these disquisitions.

§. VII. It is usually supposed that henceforth Cashel became a regular episcopal see; but the names of his successors are not known until about 180 years after the death of Cormac. The succession at Emly was still kept up, and Miscel, who died in 898, (64) was succeeded by Flan Mac-Conail, whose death is assigned to 903, after whom was Tiobruide, or Tibraid Mac-Moelfin, who had accompanied Cormac in his last expedition, and whom we find called *prince of Emly*. He died in 912, and next after him is mentioned Edchada Mac-Scanlain, who lived until 941. (65) Cormac, bishop of Saigir, died in 908. (66) In the same year a sacrilegious transaction occurred at Armagh. One Kernachan, son of Dulgen, dragged a captive out of the cathedral, where he had taken refuge, and drowned him in Lough Kirr near the city to the West. But he was soon punished by Niell Glundubh, then king of Ulster, and afterwards of all Ireland, who seized upon Kernachan and drowned him in the same lough (67)

About these times the body of St. Maimbodus, who is called martyr, because he was killed by robbers, was removed by order of Berengarius bishop of Besançon, to Monbelliard. (68) He was a native

of Ireland, (69) of a distinguished and wealthy family, and belonged to the clerical order. Having left his country for the sake of pilgrimage, he visited holy places, and led a very austere life. Arriving in Burgundy, he was entertained for some time by a nobleman, who conceiving a great esteem for him, on account of his sanctity, pressed him to accept of some presents. But Maimbodus refused to take any thing, except a pair of gloves in memory of him, and blessing him and his family took his leave. He stopped to pray in a church called St. Peter's, in the village of Domnipetra, eight miles distant from Besançon, where some robbers, observing that he wore gloves, thought that he had money about him, and waylaid him outside the village. They attacked him, and striving to extort money, which in fact he had not, beat and wounded him in such a manner that he died on the spot. His body being found by some faithful was buried in the above mentioned church, whence after some time it was removed to Monbelliard, and the bishop Berengarius decreed that the memory of St. Maimbodus should be celebrated in the diocese of Besançon on the 23d of January, the anniversary of his death, as it has been since that time. Several miracles are said to have been wrought at the tomb of this saint. (70) Another Irish saint, still more revered in that diocese, but whose times are more uncertain, was Anatolius (71) That he was a Scot is constantly asserted by the many writers, who have touched upon his history; and that he was an Irish one appears from his being described as a countryman of St. Columbanus of Luxeu, St. Deicolus, &c. (72) He was a bishop before he left Ireland. (73) Of his transactions, until a short time before his death, I find nothing more recorded than that returning from Rome he stopped at a mountain or rock over the valley and city of Salinae (Salins), in the diocese of Besançon, on which he prayed, in an oratory called from St.

Symphorian, martyr of Autun; that he liked the place, determined on remaining there, and died a few days after. (74) As to the time of his death I find nothing, that can enable us even to guess at it, except that his *natalis*, or the anniversary of it, was kept on the third of February. (75) Although St. Anatolius was a bishop, he was not attached to any see in France, nor does he appear to have even exercised episcopal functions in that country. (76) His memory is very famous for miracles said to have been wrought at his tomb, and has been greatly celebrated in the diocese of Besançon, particularly at Salins. (77) Besides his festival on the third of February, another is kept on the first of September, in commemoration of a translation of his remains. (78)

(64) Above, §. 1. (65) Ware, *Bishops at Emly*.

(66) *AA. SS. p. 473 ad A. 907* (908). Owing to an erratum, we there find 997 instead of 907, by which Ware was led astray so as to place (*Bishops of Ossory*) Cormac's death in 997; but this mistake has been corrected by Harris.

(67) *Tr. Th. p. 296. at A. 907* (908), and Harris, *Archbishops of Armagh at Maclbrigid*.

(68) Bollandus has published (at 23 January) the Acts of St. Mainbodus from Chifflet and a MS. of the church of Besançon. They have been republished by Colgan at said day. The time in which the saint lived is not mentioned, and can only be guessed at by its seeming, that it was not long before his remains were removed by order of Berengarius, who, as Bollandus and others state, lived about A. D. 900.

(69) This is clear from the *Scotia*, whence the *Acts* bring him, being represented as that, which was the country of St. Columbanus, St. Deicolus, and St. Columbinus, who had distinguished themselves in Burgundy. Colgan remarks that, instead of *Mainbodus*, some have called him *Maingolus*, and that *Maingol* was a common name among the ancient Irish.

(70) See the Acts and the notes to them.

(71) Colgan treats of St. Anatolius at 3d February, as do the

Bollandists much more diffusely. They have, besides their own observations, a short old *Life* by an anonymous author, and a sketch of one drawn up by Father Chifflet.

(72) In the Acts of St. Maimbodus after St. Columbanus and other saints from Scotia (Ireland), who had illustrated Burgundy, is mentioned Anatolius from the Scotia. "Post hos verò celeberrimum confessorum prædicamus Anatolium ex Scotia *uidem genitum*, lumen tibi a Domino destinatum."

(73) In the anonymous *Life* (*ap.* Bolland.) we read of him; "Fuit igitur vir iste Scoticae regionis oriundus, pontificali officio, ut fert priorum assertio, præditus."

(74) *Ib.*

(75) According to an opinion of Chifflet in his little sketch of the *Life* of Anatolius, he should have lived early in the 5th century; but in that case he would have been a Greek or a Cilician. There was an Anatolius bishop of Adana in Cilicia, who took part with St. John Chrysostom against Theophilus of Alexandria, and of whom Palladius (*Dialog. de Vit. S. Chrys.*) says, that it was reported he had withdrawn to Gaul. Chifflet took it into his head, that he was the Anatolius so famous at Salins. And then to account for his having been universally called a *Scotus*, he says that he might be so denominated in the same manner as all foreigners were in old times vulgarly called *Scoti* in France. This is a truly pitiful evasion; for, in the first place Chifflet could not have proved this position; whereas, although there were in the middle ages very many Irish there, yet we know from the French writers of those times that all foreigners were not indiscriminately called *Scoti*. Were Alcuin, Theodulf, Claudius, Prudentius, &c. reckoned among the *Scoti* by the French? But, whatever vulgar mode of speaking as to foreigners might have prevailed after the sixth century, when the Irish began to be so generally known in France, surely it cannot be supposed that an oriental bishop, who lived before St. Patrick preached in Ireland, would have been called a *Scotus* by the inhabitants of Gaul. The Bollandists, wishing to pay a compliment to Chifflet, state that his opinion is probable; yet they lay down that the other of Anatolius having been a *Scotus*, ought not to be rashly disturbed after a possession of a long line of centuries. Camerarius (*Menol. Scot.*) and Dempster (*Hist. Eccl.*) have some fooleries concerning Anatolius of Salins.

in which he is confounded with Anatolius bishop of Laodicea, who lived in the third century and wrote on the Paschal cycle, or with Anatolius a patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth. It may be said, that *Anatolius* is not an Irish name. But might not this saint, being in the continent, have assumed it, as of more easy pronounciation, instead of his original one, which perhaps had the same meaning? Or, it might have been inflected by the foreigners, among whom he lived, from his real name beginning perhaps with *Ana*, but which they could not well pronounce. We have already seen, that many Irishmen were known in the continent by names, which they did not bear in Ireland.

(76) Molanus and Ferrarius thought that Anatolius was bishop of Besançon. Colgan and the Bollandists have shown that this is a mistake; and it is clear from the anonymous Life, that he had no see in France.

(77) The chief collegiate church of Salins, of which he is the patron saint, is called by his name, as is also one of the four parish churches of that city, on the mountain at the South side of which is the hermitage of St. Anatolius.

(78) In the 11th century the body of St. Anatolius was removed from the original tomb and placed in the principal church of Salins. About 200 years later, Nicholas, who was bishop of Besançon from A. 1229 to 1235, got it moved on a 1st of September into an elegant shrine in the same church.

§ VIII. In the early part of the tenth century is said to have flourished Sealbach, who is called secretary to Cormac Mac-Culinan. He is represented as a man of great piety and learning, and is said to have written a genealogical tract on the saints of Ireland. (79) Sealbach must have survived Cormac, if it be true that he wrote an account of his death and virtues, and even for many years after, if he was the author of that tract, or if it has not been continued by others. Although the Northmen, or, at least, the greatest part of them, had been driven out of Ireland in 902, (80) yet we meet with them again after some years. In 914 a party of them landed at Waterford, but were slaughtered by a prince or

chieftain who is called of Idrona. (81) In 915 they plundered Cork, Lismore, and Aghaboe. (82)

Flann Sinna, king of all Ireland, having died in 916, (83) was succeeded by Niell Glundubh (*black-kneed*) son of Aidus, or Edan Finnliath. Having reigned scarcely three years, Niell was killed in a great battle near Dublin by the Danes commanded by Ivar and Sitric. In this battle fell also Conor O'Maselseachlin, king of Meath, Aodh, Aidus, or Hugh, son of Eochagan king of Ulster, and many other princes and nobles. (84) Previous to this battle the Danes had sorely afflicted in 916 the people of Leinster, and among many others killed Angarv, son of Olioll king of that province. (85) But in the same year great slaughter was made of them in Munster; (86) and in the following year (917) they were defeated at Emly. (87) The battle, in which Niell Glundubh lost his life, was fought in 919; (88) and he was immediately succeeded by Dunchad or Donogh, son of Flann Sinna, who in the next year routed the Danes in so complete a manner that a greater number of them were slain than had been of the Irish in the former battle near Dublin. (89) Donogh was the second monarch of his name, and reigned 25 years until he died suddenly in 944. Next after him was Congelac or Congal II. son of Melmith a descendant of Congal, who was uncle to the king Cined or Kineth, that reigned in 724. Congal II. was killed, fighting against the Danes of Dublin, in 956, after a reign of 12 years. His successor was Domnald O'Niell, son of Murchertach and grandson of Niell Glundubh. He reigned 24 years, died at Armagh in 980, and was succeeded by Malseachlin or Malachy II. a grandson of Dunchad or Donogh II. by his father Domnald. (90) This king, having reigned more than 20 years, surrendered the kingdom to Brian Boromhe, as will be seen hereafter.

(79) See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 5. and Harris, *Writers at Selbach*. Colgan says, that this work is supposed to be the excellent old metrical *Menelogium Genealogicum* consisting of 22 chapters, which he often quotes.

(80) Above, §. 3.

(81) Annals of Innisfallen (Mr. O'Reilly's copy) at *A.* 914. This Idrona could scarcely have been the Idrone of the county of Carlow. There was a district not far from Waterford, called *Idrona* or *Drona*.

(82) *Ib.* These plunderings are assigned to *A.* 913 (914) in the Chronological index to *Tr. Th.*

(83) See *Chap.* xx. §. 8.

(84) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 916. See also Ware, *Antiq.* cap. 4. and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* Part III. cap. 93.

(85) Annals of Innisfallen *ib.* and Ware *Antiq.* cap. 24. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 598) calls this prince *Augurius*.

(86) *Ib.*

(87) Annals of Ulster, *ap.* Johnstone, at *A.* 916 (917).

(88) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 919. Ware says, (*Antiq.* cap. 24) that this battle occurred in 918 on the 15th of September. Yet elsewhere (*ib.* cap. 4.) he assigns the death of Niell Glundubh to 919, as does also O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.*

(89) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 920.

(90) The Annals of Innisfallen (at *A.* 930) and Ware (*Antiq.* cap. 4.) confound this Domnald with Domnald O'Niell, the king who preceded Maelsechlin. But the 4 Masters (*ap.* *Tr. Th.* p. 448) and O'Flaherty (*loc. cit.*) distinguish them.

§ IX. During the above mentioned devastation of Leinster in 916, and for some time after, Leighlin was plundered in 917. (91) Kells in Meath was ravaged in 919, in which year died Scanlan, a scribe or learned man of Roscrea. (92) In 921 Godfrid, king of the Danes of Dublin, marched into Ulster, and plundered Armagh in the month of November. (93) He is said, however, to have spared the Churches, the Colidei (the officiating clergy of the cathedral) and the sick. (94) To the year 920 is assigned the death of a celebrated abbot of Derry

and Drumcliff, Kinaed or Kineth, who was considered as the great supporter of religion in Tirconnel; (95) and to 921 that of Paulinus or Mal-Paulinus, who is styled a bishop, anchoret, chief scribe of Leth-cuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and abbot of Indenen, (96) and who was, in all probability, the Paulinus to whom Probus addressed his Life of St. Patrick. (97) In the same year 921 died Cormac Aedan or Mac-Aedan, bishop of Clonfert. (98) Dublinterius of Kill-slepte, or Killevey, a priest of Armagh, was killed in 922 by the Northmen, and in the same year died Maeltul, a scholastic or teacher of Clonmacnois. (99) To 925 is assigned the death, on the 7th of February, of Colman Mac-Alild, a very wise doctor, who, besides being abbot of Clonard and Clonmacnois, was also a bishop. He erected a great church in the latter place, and is said to have been of a family of the Conals Murthemhne in the now county of Louth. (100) Next prior to him I find mentioned a bishop of Clonard, Rumond or Rumold son of Cathasach, who also is praised for his wisdom or learning, and is said to have died in 920. (101) Among the distinguished men of this period are likewise reckoned Mainach Mac-Siedul, abbot of Bangor, who is styled a most skilful writer, and Carpre Mac-Feredach abbot of Disert Dermot (Castledermot) to whom is given the title of *anchoret and chief of religion in Leinster*. The same year 920 is marked for the death of both these abbots. Another abbot of Bangor, Kelius Dabali, who is called bishop, writer, preacher, and celebrated doctor, is said to have died at Rome in 926 or 927. (102)

(91) *Ind. Chron.* to *Tr. Th.*, at *A.* 916 (917).

(92) *Ib. ad A.* 918 (919)

(93) *Annals of Ulster* at *A.* 920 (921), of *Innisfallen* at 921, and *Ware*, *Ant. cap.* 24. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th.* p. 296.)

assign this devastation to A. 919 (920); but the other now quoted annals form better authority. Yet Ware, in contradiction to himself, following the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*Bishops, Armagh, Maelbrigid*) places a plundering of Armagh in 919, meaning the one by Godfrid; and Archdall (at *Armagh*) likewise following them, marked it at the same year. A devastation of Clonenagh is affixed by the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 633.*) to said year 919 (920).

(94) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 296.*

(95) *Ib. p. 503 ad A. 919 (920).*

(96) *Ib. p. 64 ad A. 920 (921.)* (97) See *Chap. III. §. 3.*

(98) Annals of Innisfallen (Harris's copy), and Ware, *Bishops at Clonfert,*

(99) Four Masters, (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 296. and 632.*) at A. 921 (922).

(100) *AA. SS. p. 407. at A. 924 (925) and Ware, Bishops at Meath and Clonmacnois.*

(101) Four Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 107. at 919 (920).* It is odd, that Colgan has not this bishop at *p. 407.* where he expressly gives a list of the prelates and other distinguished ecclesiastics of Clonard. Ware, not finding him in said list, has omitted him (at *Meath*); but Harris has added him to it.

(102) *Ib. p. 107. at A. 919 (920).* and for Keliuss, *ib. Not. 18.*

§. x. St. Maelbrigid of Armagh, who died in 926, or more probably in 927, (103) was succeeded by Joseph, styled *prince of Armagh*, a man of great learning, who having held the see for nine years, died in 936. (104) In the Irish annals he is represented as a scribe, anchoret, and very wise man. His successor Patrick, or Moelpatrick, a son of Maoltule, and who also is called prince of Armagh and a wise man, died in the same year after an incumbency of only five months (105) Next after Patrick was Cathasach the second, son of one Dulgan of Drumtorraig, who governed the see for 20 years and died in 957. (106) In these times I find three bishops of Derry, notwithstanding its being usually supposed that there was no regular and permanent see in that city until some time in the 12th century. This,

however, does not prevent there having been some bishops there occasionally, as was the case in many places, which never became regular sees. Those three were, 1. Cainchomrac Mac Maeluidhir, bishop and abbot, who died in 928 ; 2. Finnachta Mac-Kellach, bishop and abbot, a man deeply skilled in Irish antiquities, whose death is assigned to 938 ; and 3. Moelfinnian, who is simply called bishop and died in 949. (107) Kenfail, son of Lorcan, who died in 930, is called *comorban* of Clones and Clogher, and hence ought to be reckoned among the bishops of those places. (108) In the same year 930 died Crummoel, bishop of Kildare, whose memory was revered on the 11th of December. (109) Laidgnen, who is called *comorban* of Ferns and Tallaght, was, I dare say, a bishop, and, at least, of Ferns. He died in 938, (110) and is the only person on record, who may with some degree of certainty be considered as bishop of Ferns between Killen, who died in 714, and Diermit Hua-Rodachan, who lived in the eleventh century. Yet it can scarcely be supposed, that the episcopal succession was not kept up in that see, notwithstanding all that it suffered from the Northmannic devastations. Ferns was not in those times the chief see, that is, in an honorary degree, of Leinster, whereas that rank had been transferred to Kildare, as early, at least, as the beginning of the ninth century, and the time in which Cogitosus lived ; (111) nor does it seem to have ever been restored to Ferns. (112) About these times died Malduin Mac-Kinnfalaid, bishop of Raphoe, and the first of whom I find any clear mention made as really bishop of that see ; and after him I meet with another there, Aengus Hua Lapain, whose death is assigned to 957 (958). (113) Condla Mac-Dunecan, who is called bishop and prince of Leighlin, died in 942, as did in 955 Maelbrigid a *comorban* of St. Macnesse, that is bishop of Connor. (114) Besides some scribes, or men of letters, already mentioned, several others are named

as belonging to this period, *ex. c.* Moelmoedoc of Gleannussen (King's county), who died in 916; Joseph of Armagh, in 937; Moelmochta of Clonard, in 941; Dubtach of said place, in 943, as also Angal in 952; Cathasach of Armagh, in 946; Dungal of Clonmacnois in 949; Moelpatrick Mac-Coscan of Armagh, in 952; and Moelnach, likewise of Armagh, in 955. (115) To these we may add Coenachair, or Probus, the author of the Life of St. Patrick, who had been chief master of the school of Slane, and was burned to death by the Danes in 949 or perhaps 950. (116) A holy abbess of Kildare, Muiriunn, or Murena died in 917 on the 26th of May, or, according to another account, of April. (117)

(103) Above §. 1.

(104) The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows 9 years for Joseph, and not only the 4 Masters but likewise the Annals of Uister place his death in 935 (936). Hence it appears that his accession to the see was in 927.

(105) *Tr. Th. p.* 296. and Ware, *Bishops at Armagh.*

(106) Ware, *ib.* Colgan fell (*Tr. Th. p.* 297.) into a great mistake concerning this Cathasach. Having found a Cathasach, bishop of Kinel-eogan (Tyrone), whose death is marked at 946, he confounded him with Cathasach of Armagh, and then strove to explain why he was called bishop of Kinel-eogan. Next he strangely tells us, that the 20 years, allowed by the Cashel catalogue for Cathasach of Armagh elapsed exactly between 936, in which Patrick died, and 946; as if a child did not know that this was an interval of only ten years. But, as O'Flaherty remarks (*MS. Not. ib.*) Colgan overlooked the real Cathasach of Armagh, who died, according to the 4 Masters, in 957, and accordingly committed not only this blunder, but likewise others with regard to the following succession and dates. Ware was so judicious as to pass by what Colgan has about Cathasach of Kinel-eogan; but Harris picked it up, and although he places, with Ware, the death of Cathasach of Armagh in 957, yet he confounds him with the one of Kinel-eogan, and then follows Colgan in the silly reason to show how he could be

called bishop of that district. Yet Harris had no right to introduce the 4 Masters as making the two Cathasachs one and the same person (a mistake to be left at Colgan's door), and stating that he, that is, the one of Kinel-eogain died in 956, whereas their date for his death is 946.

(107) 4 Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 503. I have added a year to their dates. See also Ware, *Bishops at Derry*.

(108) He is mentioned by the 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 742) at *A.* 929 (930). Ware has him among the bishops of Clogher. Clones, of which also he was bishop, had sometimes prelates of its own, and was at other times united with Clogher. We have seen (*Chap. ix. §. 2.*) that as far back as the early part of the sixth century St. Tigernach was bishop of both these sees; and thus Kenfail was his *comorban* or successor.

(109) *Tr. Th. p.* 630. at *A.* 929 (930).

(110) *AA. SS. p.* 223 *ad A.* 937 (938) and Harris, *Bishops at Ferns*. Ware has omitted Laidglen, because he did not find him expressly styled *bishop*; but I think that the title *comorban* is alone sufficient to show that he was, and that it was used to indicate that he was in every respect a successor of St. Moedoc. Had he been only abbot of Ferns, why not designate him as such in the same manner as many others before and after him are in Colgan's list (*ib.*) from the 4 Masters? Whether Laidglen were bishop also of Tallaght is not equally probable, because it was not a regular see, and he might have been merely abbot of its monastery.

(111) See *Not. 18. to Chap. viii.*

(112) The sort of ecclesiastical primacy observed in Leinster was first attached to the see of Sletty, whence it was removed to Ferns upon the ordination of St. Moedoc about the latter end of the sixth century. Next, but at what precise time cannot be ascertained, it was granted to Kildare. Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p.* 308. and *AA. SS. p.* 218.) that it had been at Kildare earlier than at Ferns; but his only reason for this opinion was his erroneous supposition that Cogitosus, in whose time it was certainly at Kildare, flourished before *A. D.* 590. According to his system it would have been moved from Sletty to Kildare, then to Ferns, and afterwards back again to Kildare. But, as Cogitosus lived a long time after St. Moedoc, Colgan's hypothesis falls to the ground.

That said primacy returned at any time from Kildare to Ferns there is no authority whatever to prove. It was still at Kildare in the latter end of the eleventh century. But of this more elsewhere.

(113) *Tr. Th. p. 509.* Ware and Harris, *Bishops at Raphoe.*

(114) Ware, *ib.* at *Leighlin* for Conala; and for Maolbrigid see *AA. SS. p. 387* at *A. 954* (955) and Harris, *Bishops at Connor.*

(115) *Tr. Th. p. 632.* I have added a year to each date.

(116) See *Chap. III. §. 3.* and compare with below *Not. 140.*

(117) Colgan's text (*ib. p. 630.*) has Murena's death at 919, as if from the 4 Masters. But this must be an erratum; for O'Flaherty (*MS. not. ib.*) says, that they assign it to 916 (917). The day marked by them is May 26; but he observes, that the book of Clonmacnois has the 26th of April. According to Keating, she was abbes of Kildare at the time of Cornac Mac-Culinan's death in 908. If so, there is a mistake, (*ib. p. 629.*) where Colgan places before her the abbes Cobflatia as dying in 914 (915).

§. XI. The Northmen still continue to plunder and destroy various religious establishments. In 926 Kildare was despoiled first by those of Waterford, and afterwards by those of Dublin. (118) This town was a great object of their cupidity; for it was plundered again in 927 by the Danes of Waterford commanded by a son of Godfred, and afterwards in 928 on St. Brigid's day by Godfred himself. (119) Leinster was not as well defended as some other parts of Ireland. Auliffe, a son of Godfred, I suppose the same as the one just mentioned, was defeated in 926 by Murtogh Mac-Neill (a son of the king Neill Glundubh) and his Ulster men, who killed 800 Northmen, among whom were three of their chiefs Abdean, Aufer, and Harold. (120) Yet they afterwards penetrated into that province, and the same Auliffe, assisted by the Northmen of Lochcuain (Strangford-lough) plundered Armagh about St. Martin's festival 932. (121) A party of them

pillaged Clonmacnois in 935; and in the same year they burned the monastery of Mungret. In 937 they plundered the church of Kilcullen, and in the following year burned the monastery of Killachad and ravaged Clonenagh. (122) In 940 they pillaged the church of Inis-mochta, (123) and in 941 laid waste Ardraccan, at which year is marked also a plundering of Down and a conflagration of Clonmacnois. (124) In the same year the celebrated prince Ceallachan or Callaghan Cashel, at the head of the forces of Munster, defeated the Northmen in two battles, one in the Desies country and the other in Ossory, in which 2000 of their troops were killed. (125) In 942 Down, Clonard, Kildare, and the adjacent districts, were overrun by several of their armies; (126) and in 943 those of Limerick laid waste a part of Ossory. (127) In the same year the gallant Murtogh or Murchertach, son of Niall Glundubh, and prince of Aileach, was killed on the 26th of March fighting at Athfera against the Northman king Blacar, a son of Godfred and brother of Auliffe, and consequently on the following day the Northmen plundered Armagh. (128) In 944 Congall II. king of all Ireland, at the head of the people of Bregh (now Fingal, &c.), and assisted by Bran Mac-Maolmordha and his Lagenians, took Dublin, plundered and exterminated the Danish inhabitants, and burning the town carried off much booty and treasure. (129) In the following year Ceallachan Cashel presented to the see and monastery of Clonfert plunder, which he had taken from the Northmen, and Blacar, having got some reinforcements, recovered Dublin, which he repaired. (130) In 946 Jomhar or Ivar, a Northman chieftain, arrived at Limerick, and, proceeding on the Shannon with his followers, set fire to the establishments of Muicimis, Iniskeltra in Lough-derg, Clonmacnois, and those of the islands of Lough-ree, &c. and thence marching into Meath devastated a

great tract of country. (131) In 947 some Northmen, probably those of Dublin, plundered the church of Slane; (132) and it was perhaps on this occasion that they were in said year attacked and routed by Congall II. (133) This king defeated them in another battle, the following year 948, in which their king Blacar and 1000 of his men lost their lives. (134)

(118) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 926. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 630.) assign this devastation to 924 (925).

(119) 4 Masters, *ib.* at 926 (927) and 927 (928)

(120) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 926. and Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(121) Four Masters, *ap. Tr. Th. p.* 296, at *A.* 931 (932).

(122) *Ind. Chron.* to *Tr. Th.* I have added a year to the dates. The Annals of Innisfallen assign this devastation of Killachad and Clonenagh, together with that of Meath in general from its southern parts to as far as Clonard, to the year 639. They charge with it not only the Northmen, but likewise the famous Ccallachan or Callaghan Cashel, who, they state, was assisted by the Danes. The Killachad here mentioned could not have been that of the now county of Cavan, as laid down by Archdall (at *Killachad*), because this Killachad lay far to the North of Clonard. It was the Killachad-dromfoda, now Killeigh in the King's county, which had been founded by St. Sinell or Senchell. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 3.)

(123) *Tr. Th. ib.* at 939 (940). Archdall places Inis-mochta in the county of Louth for no other reason, I suppose, than that St. Mochteus or Mechta lived in that country. But it is more probable, that it was the place now called Inismouthy, a vicarage in the barony of Slane, co. Meath. (See Seward *ad loc.*)

(124) *Tr. Th. ib.* at 940 (941).

(125) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 941.

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

(127) Annals of Innifallen at *A.* 943.

(128) *ib.* at *A.* 943. and 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 296.) who assign this battle to 941 (942). Ware says, (*Ant. cap.* 24. at *A.* 943.) that Murtoch was killed on the 26th of February. His

English translator has rendered his words in such a manner as to make him seem to say, that Murtoth was killed not by the Danes but by the people of Ulster. Ailcach, whence that brave prince had his title, was a castle of the Nialls three miles N. of Derry. As to Ath-ferd, it must have been not far from Armagh, which was entered by the Northmen on the day after the battle.

(129) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 944.

(130) *Ib.* at *A.* 945. and Ware, *Ant. cap.* 24.

(131) *Ib.* at *A.* 946. Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p.*: 633.) from the 4 Master at *A.* 944 (945) a devastation of Clonmacnois, which, we may be sure, was the same as that now mentioned, although they place it a year earlier. At the same date they have a plundering, by Northmen, of the church of Kilcullen.

(132) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad A.* 946 (947).

(133) See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. at *A.* 947.

(134) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 948.

§. XII. These disasters of the Danes of Dublin probably contributed in some degree to their conversion to the Christian religion, which, it is said, occurred in the same year 948. (135) They were the first of their nation in Ireland, who, at least in any large body, received the divine doctrines of the Gospel, which, however, did not prevent them from afterwards practising ravages in the same manner as their predecessors had done. It has been conjectured, that Godfrid, who after the death of Blacar became head or king of the Irish Northmen, (136) was himself a Christian. He was the son of Sitric, who, according to this conjecture, was the Sitric king of Northumberland, to whom Athelstan king of England, gave his sister Editha in marriage on condition of his embracing the Christian faith. This Sitric had three sons, Reginald, Anlaf, or Auliffe, and Godfrid, the two latter of whom are allowed to have been born of a former marriage. Yet it has been thought probable, that Godfrid, in imitation of his father, also became a Christian. (137) Be this as it may, I find no reason to doubt

that the Danish inhabitants of Dublin received christianity at this time, but, generally speaking, not earlier; (138) yet it is not to be supposed, that the abbey of St. Mary, which is said to have been originally of the Benedictine order, was founded as early as the very first year of their conversion. (139) These new converts did not imbibe the meekness prescribed by the Gospel; for in 950 the Danes of Dublin plundered and burned Slane, so that many persons assembled in its belfrey, perished in the flames. (140) In the same year Godfrid was defeated at a place, called *Muine-Breacain*, by Ruraidhe or Roderic O'Cannanain, prince of Lethcuinn (the northern half of Ireland) and, having lost 1000 men, was forced to fly; but Roderick was killed in this battle. (141) To said year is assigned a devastation of Clonfert by the Northmen; (142) and also an expedition of Godfrid in the southern parts of Munster as far as Ross, in which he was assisted by a considerable fleet. (143) In 951 Godfrid took Dublin, ravaged Kells and Domnach-Patrick about four miles distant from it, Ardbraccan, Tullen, Killskire, and some other religious places in Meath; but on his return he and his army were surprized by the Irish, routed, and obliged to leave their plunder behind. This was the last year of Godfrid's depredations; for, having proceeded to the Desies, he was killed, together with 500 of his followers (chiefly, I suppose, the Danes of Waterford,) by the united Munstermen, both Eugenians and Dalcassians. (144) Other Northmen still continued to plunder religious establishments. They pillaged Clonmacnois in 952, at which year is marked also a devastation of Inisdamle. (145)

(135) *Ib.* where they have; "This year the Danes of Dublin received the Christian religion and were baptized." Instead of *Dublin*, Ware (*loc. cit.* at *A.* 948.) has *Ireland*. But this is a mistake; and it is clear, from the subsequent history of Ireland,

that the conversion of the Danes was far from being general until a later period; nor would the annalist have confined the conversion in 948 to those of Dublin, had the Danes in other parts of Ireland become Christians at the same time.

(136) Ware (*ib.*) speaks of Godfrid as king of the Danes of Dublin; but I think he ought rather to be called king of those of all Ireland. For we shall see him fighting in Ulster and in Munster, in which province he was killed. Such circumstances do not agree with his having been king only of Dublin.

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

(138) Keder (*Num. in Hibernia-cursorum Indagatio*, p. 7.) and Murray (*loc. cit.*) were wrong in making Ware attribute a coin of a christian king Anlaf to Anlaf king of Dublin, who died in 941. Ware merely calls it (*Antiq. cap. 25.*) “the silver coin of Aulaf or Anlaf king of Dublin,” without stating which of the Anlafs he meant. For there were other Anlafs, at a later time, kings of Dublin; nor could Ware have alluded to the Anlaf, who died in 941, whereas he does not mention any conversion of the Danes previous to 948. The figure of the cross in two or three parts of it shows, that it was struck by order of an Anlaf a Christian. There was an Anlaf, king of Dublin, who retired to Hy in the year 980, and died there. He was the father of Sitric, king of Dublin, whose son Anlaf became king there in 1029. To either of these Anlafs that coin may be referred, without recurring, as some have done, to an Anlaf of Northumberland. For it is sufficiently clear, that it was struck in Dublin, as the name of the *monetarius* or mint-man marked on it is *Farman* or *Faereman*, which we find also on a coin (with the cross) of Sitric with the addition *Dyftin*. This Sitric was undoubtedly the one, who became king of Dublin in 989, and who was the son of one Anlaf, and father of another. It is remarkable that there is also a coin of Ethelrød, king of England, with the same addition and the name of the said *monetarius*, having on one side *Aedelred Rex Anglo*, and, on the reverse, *Foereman Mo Dyfli*. Had Ethelred no mint of his own, and accordingly was obliged to get money coined in Dublin? (See Simon *on Irish coins*, p. 6, 7. and 9.) There is a coin, likewise with a cross, which Simon (*ib. p. 6.*) supposes to

be of a king Ivar, and whom he makes the same as Ivar, who died in 872. This is a downright mistake; for this Ivar, who had come from Norway in 853 with his brothers Anlaf or Amlaf and Sitric, was not a Christian. The coin is so worn, that it is almost impossible to explain it. Simon thought that it has the letters *R. Yflii*, which he interprets *Rex Dyflin*. I cannot perceive them in this order. In what he calls *Yflii* I see no *L*, but something like *I* three times; and, instead of *F* the letter is *G*. (Compare with Coin 7. *Tab. 4.* in Camden's *Britan. col.* cxcv. Gibson's *ed.*) The whole word might have been *Largy*, the old name of Waterford. Even the name *Ivar* is not sufficiently plain, excepting the two first letters *IF*. There was an Ivar king of Waterford, who died in 1000. (Ware, *ib. cap. 24.*) Should it be insisted that this coin belonged to Dublin, we find an Ivar governor or viceroy of the Danes of Dublin in 1038, (*Annals of Innisfallen*) to whom it may be fairly referred. Ware does not mention this Ivar; but who will be seen elsewhere. (Below *Not. 130 to Chap. xxiii.*) Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 126.*) makes mention of this coin from Simon, and with strange confidence speaks of it, as if the words, *Ifarus re Dyflin*, were plainly discernible on it. Now even his own figure of it proves, that this is not the case. He follows Simon in attributing it to the Ivar, who came to Ireland in 853, and thence concludes that, as the cross appears on it, the Danes were then Christians, and that Ware was wrong in dating their conversion a hundred years later. But did he know that Ware was not the author of that date, which he took from the *Annals of Innisfallen*? (See above *Not. 135.*) Perhaps he did not; for Ware, according to a practice, in which he indulged too much, did not refer to his authority; and on the other hand the mighty antiquary did not trouble himself about Irish annals. He considered this as a most important discovery, and founded on it a heap of rubbish, which he has often here and there about St. Patrick having been brought to Armagh by the Danes or Ostmen in the 9th century, their introducing reliques in the 9th century, erecting stone chapels in the 9th century, and so on. Now, independently of the positive testimony of the quoted annals, we find the Ostmen of Ireland still called *gentiles* or pagans after the death of Ledwich's pretended Christian king Ivar. Thus the Ulster annals have; "Anno 878 (879) *Maicobus filius Crumvaili antiestes Armachanus, et Moc-*

theus lector, capti sunt a Gentilibus. (*Usher, Pr. p. 860. and Ind. Chron. ad A. 879.*)

(139) Ware treats of this abbey, *Antiq. cap. 21.* at *A. 948,* and *cap. 26.* but in a rather unsatisfactory manner. He has a story about its having been founded by king Maelseachlin I. who died in 862. But the Irish of those days had no Benedictines. Nor was it founded as early as 948; for, as Ware states, its fourth abbot did not die until April, *A. D. 1131*; and it cannot be supposed that four abbots could have filled up the long interval between this year and 948. In 1159 the monks of this house adopted the reform of the Cistercian institution.

(140) Ware, *ib. cap. 24.* This was undoubtedly the conflagration marked by Colgan from the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 219. and Ind. Chron.*) at *A. 948 (949),* in which he says, that Coenachair, or Probus, above mentioned (see *Chap. III. §. 2.*) and many others were burned to death in a tower. Ware mentions that they were burned *in the church*; but he should have said *in the belfrey.* Coenachair is called by him *Cinaus,* and represented as a learned man and chief lecturer of Slane, by which title the 4 Masters designate Coenachair. Ware's date for this conflagration is more correct than Colgan's; whereas the Annals of Ulster, quoted by Dr. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptores, 1 Proleg. p. 32.*) assign it to *A. 949 i. e. 950.* He observes also, that the 4 Masters mark it at the same year, so that there is a mistake in Colgan's reference to them. Instead of *tower* he ought to have said *belfrey,* for the word used by the 4 Masters and in the Ulster annals is *Cloicteach,* which literally means *bell-house.* Colgan's *tower* might lead one to believe, that it was an edifice of stone, which it could not have been; for it was burned itself, and accordingly was of wood. According to both Annals it was in said Cloicteach that Coenachair and his companions were burned to death.

(141) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 950.* The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 449.*) assign this battle to 948 (949). They swell the number of the Northmen, that fell, to 6000, too great a multitude, I think, for the battles of those times. Where Muine Brecaine was situated I wish that either they or Colgan had informed us.

(142) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad A. 949 (950).*

(143) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 950.

(144) *Ib.* at *A.* 951.

(145) See *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron. ad 951 (952)*. For Inisdamle see *Not. 1. to Chap. XXI.*

§. 13. Edchada Mac-Scanlain, bishop of Emly, who died in 941, (146) was succeeded by Huarach, who held the see until 953, and after him we find Mael-Kellach, who lived until 957. (147) Mael-finan, bishop of Kildare, died in 949 or 950. (148) A succession of bishops was still kept up at Louth, as appears from there being assigned to *A.D.* 949 the death of Finnacta Mac-Ectigern, who is styled bishop, scribe, and abbot of Louth, and the chief procurator of the church of Armagh in the southern parts; and before him is mentioned another bishop there, Moelpatric Mac-Bran, who died in 937. (149) One Cathmogan is named as bishop of Cork in these times, and he is said to have died in 961. (150) A Cormac, bishop of Tallaght, died in 963; but a more celebrated prelate of this period was Cormac Hua Killene, bishop and abbot of Clonmacnois, abbot also of Tomgrany (in Clare) and of Roscommon, who erected a church and steeple at Tomgrany, and, having lived to a very great age, died in 965. (151) St. Adhland, abbot of Derry, is greatly praised for his charity and liberality to the poor. He was a descendant of Conall Gulbanus and died in 951. (152) As abbot of Derry, he has been called a comorban of Columb-kille, and hence it has been erroneously supposed that he was abbot of Hy. (153) After Caincomrach, who died in 946, (154) the next, whom I find strictly called abbot of Hy, is Fiachra Hua-Hartaguin, who lived until 977. (155) A bishop of Hy, who must not be confounded with the abbot, named Fingin, and from his sanctity styled *anchoret*, died in 965, and his memory was revered on the 5th of March. (156) Kelius, an anchorite of Armagh, died in 951, to which year is assigned also the death of a celebrated Irish chronographer Flann

Hua Becain, archdeacon of Drumcliffe; and in 952 Colga likewise an anchorite of Armagh. (157) I shall close this series of distinguished ecclesiastics with the holy Alild Mac-Moenach bishop of Swords and Lusk, who died in 966, and Muredach O'Connor, bishop and abbot of Clonenagh, who died in 971, prior to whom I find two other bishops there, Tiprad and Kellach, whose deaths fell within said century in 910 and 941. (158) Henceforth and down to the beginning of the twelfth century the accounts of the succession to the see of Armagh are greatly confused and very obscure. It had already got into the possession of one powerful family, the members of which held it for about 200 years, reckoning from the death of St. Maelbrigid, who died in 926, or 927, until the accession of the great St. Malachy. (159) This family was most probably that of the dynasts of the district of Armagh, whose ancestor Daire had granted to St. Patrick the ground, on which the church and other religious buildings, &c. of that city had been erected. (160) And it is remarkable, that the two first bishops of this long succession, viz. Joseph and Moelpatrick are styled *princes of Armagh*; (161) a title, which strongly indicates, that they were really chieftains as well as bishops of that city. (162) After them care was taken that the see should not be conferred except on members of that ruling family. This pernicious system gradually produced horrid abuses, insomuch so, that during this usurpation eight married men, who, although not illiterate, were not in holy orders, assumed the title, rank, and prerogatives of the archbishop of Armagh; and thus, although there were at times no clergymen belonging to that family, yet it gave to the see persons called *bishops*. (163) It seems, however, that these lay usurpers retained regular bishops to act for them as suffragans, while they enjoyed the church livings; and hence we find in the subsequent period several persons called by

some writers bishops of Armagh and omitted by others; whereby it becomes very difficult and, I may say, impossible to arrange the succession in a correct manner; to which must be added the diversity of dates, that occur in our old writers as to the duration of the incumbencies of said bishops, whether real ones or not. (164)

(146) Above §. 7. (147) Ware *Bishops at Emly*.

(148) *Idem at Kildare*.

(149) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 736*. I have added a year to their dates.

(150) Ware, *Bishops at Cork*.

(151) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 360*, at *A. 962* (963), and *A. 964* (965). Ware and Harris have Cormac Hua Killeme at *Bishops at Clonmacnois*. He is called comorban of Kieran and Coman, alluding to Clonmacnois and Roscommon, and also of Cronan, whence Harris deduced that he seems to have been abbot likewise of Roscrea. But I believe that he was so styled relatively to Tomgrany, of which he is expressly called abbot, without any mention of Roscrea. And hence we may infer, that Tomgrany, the origin of which has been hitherto obscure, was founded by St. Cronan. For we know, (see *Chap. xvii. §. 2.*) that this saint had been on the West side of the Shannon, and had formed some religious establishments, before he had settled at Roscrea. Harris was wrong in saying, that Cormac was the founder of the Church of Tomgrany. There was a church there very long before his time, and all he did was to build a new one.

(152) *Tr. Th. p. 480 and 503. AA. SS. p. 107. at A. 950* (951).

(153) Colgan speaks of him (*Tr. Th. p. 480.*) as abbot of Hy, but elsewhere calls him abbot only of Derry.

(154) Above, §. 2.

(155) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 500.*) at *A. 976* (977). The Annals of Ulster have at 958 (959) Dubhduin a comorban of Columbkill; but from this title it does not follow, that he was abbot of Hy. He was probably abbot of Derry and the immediate successor of St. Adhland.

(156) *Tr. Th. ib. at A. 964* (965).

(157) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* adding a year to the dates.

(158) For Alild see *ib.* and *p.* 509. at *A.* 965 (966). According to some accounts we should admit six bishops of Lusk, in the 9th and 10th centuries, prior to Alild. Archdall has their names at *Lusk*. I find nothing about them in Colgan's works. For the bishops at Clonenagh see *AA. SS. p.* 356.

(159) See above §. 10. St. Bernard says in the Life of St. Malachy (*cap.* 7. *al.* 10.) that said family retained the see for about 200 years, after having observed that there were about 15 generations of them. If this is to be understood, as seems most probable, of natural generations, each of them must be computed as consisting of only 14 years. Some have supposed his meaning to be, that there were 15 successive bishops, or persons calling themselves bishops, of that family. Colgan has endeavoured (*Tr. Th. p.* 302.) to make out a catalogue of 15 bishops; but his list does not exactly agree with the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, as one of those, whom he mentions, is omitted in it.

(160) I agree with Colgan, (*ib. p.* 303.) that this is the most probable opinion, and that the chieftains of that tract seem to have claimed a right to the see as if an advowson of their family. He observes that said family of usurpers could not have been that of the Neills, or Mac Mahons, or Maguires, or O'Hanlons, as some had conjectured, whereas St. Bernard, who severely inveighs against it, states (*Vit. S. Mal. cap.* 8.) that it was extinct at the time he was writing.

(161) Above § 10.

(162) A predecessor of Joseph, Cathasach Mac-Robartach is also called *Prince of Armagh*. (See *Chap.* XXI. §. 13.) Ware thought, that this title was given to him merely as bishop. But if that were the reason of it, why was it not given likewise to every other bishop of that see? Or if it was given to indicate, as Mac Mahon states, (*Jus Prim. Armac.* §. 336.) the primatial prerogative, why has it been confined to no more than three prelates of Armagh? I think it much more probable, that it meant, according to its obvious signification, a person invested with civil authority, and that Cathasach, &c. were really chieftains of Armagh. Peter Talbot of Dublin, against whom Mac Mahon was arguing, says that the title of *prince* was given to those bishops in consequence of the usurpation of 15 generations, as St. Bernard

calls it. But this is a mistake; for Cathasach, who was not a usurper, and between whom and Joseph there were, at least, two bishops of Armagh, is marked by the same title. Nor can Joseph, the first bishop of that uninterrupted line and the successor of St. Maelbrigid, who was of a quite different family, (above §. 1.) be called a usurper, if we consider how highly he is praised in the Irish annals. Perhaps Maelpatrick deserves that appellation. I may here observe, that two bishops of Emly, Eugene Mac-Cenfeolad and Tiobruide, who are styled *princes of Emly*, (above §. 1 and 7.) were probably so called for a similar reason, *i. e.* as they might have been temporal lords of that district.

(163) St. Bernard writes; (*ib. cap. 7. al. 10.*) “ Et eo usque firmaverat sibi jus pravum, imo omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala et adultera, ut, etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine, illo, sed episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati et *absque ordinibus*, literati tamen.” The archliar Toland, having quoted this passage (*Nazarenus, Letter 2. §. 12.*) adds, that the Irish clergy derived ordination from those lay, so called, archbishops. This he knew to be false. And as they had no orders themselves, how could they have conferred them on others.

(164) With regard to the points now alluded to the 4 Masters often differ from the catalogue of the Psalter of Cashel, and Colgan himself is very obscure, *Tr. Th. p. 297. seqq.* Nor do the Ulster annals sufficiently agree with that catalogue, which is nearly followed by Ware, yet with some variations. O’Flaherty in a long *MS* note (opposite to *p. 319. Tr. Th.*) has a catalogue of the bishops of Armagh taken from his unpublished and, I am afraid, lost work *Ogygia Christiana*. As to the series of the usurping bishops it is almost the same as that of Ware. According as we proceed, I shall touch upon some of these differences, without entering deeply into them, partly because they are scarcely worth the trouble of doing so, and partly because, as far as I can judge, not one of said catalogues is on the whole correct.

§. XIV. The great abuse of mere laymen calling themselves archbishops of Armagh did not begin in the early part of the usurpation, nor is there any appearance of it until the commencement of the ele-

venth century. Cathasach the second, who died in 957, (165) was a real bishop, and so was his successor Muredach Mac-Fergus, who is said to have held the see for nine years; after which he was deposed in 966. (166) After him was Dubdalethe the second, who died on the 2d of June, *A. D.* 998. in the 83d year of his age, and thirty-third of his consecration. (167) It is very remarkable, that Dubdalethe was elected in 989, by the Columbians both of Ireland and North Britain supreme ruler of all their monasteries; and hence he has been called comorban not only of St. Patrick but likewise of St. Columba. (168) Hence it appears, that the Columbians must have by this time departed from, or at least dispensed with, their primitive and long observed system of not allowing any one, except a priest, to be abbot of Hy or chief superior of the order. And in fact I find mentioned after Fiachra Hua Hartagain, who died in 977, a doctor and bishop Mugron, who, unless there be some mistake in the matter, is called *abbot of Hy*, and whose death is assigned to *A. D.* 979. (169) But neither among the former abbots, nor among those who lived after Dubdalethe, is there one to be found, who as long as he remained abbot was also a bishop.

St. Moelfinnian Mac Huactain was bishop of Kells in the latter half of this century. He is called also comorban of St. Ultan and of St. Carnech; and his death is assigned to 968. (170) Tuathal, bishop and abbot of Clonmacnois, died in 969. (171) as did also Daniel, bishop of Leighlin, and Eugene Mac-Cleirig, who is called bishop of Connaught, and hence supposed to have been of Tuam. (172) Becan Mac Lachtan, who died in 972, is styled comorban of St. Finnian of Clonard; but whether he was such as bishop or only as abbot, I shall not pretend to decide. (173) Mael-Kellach, bishop of Emly, having died in 957, was succeeded by Foelan, son of Cellaid, who lived until 981; and after him

we find Cenfada, who died in 990. (174) The blessed Annchad, bishop of Kildare, died at an advanced age in 981, and his successor Muredach Mac-Flann in 986. (175) Columba Mac-Ciaracain, bishop of Cork, and perhaps the immediate successor of Cathmogan, who died in 961, lived until 990. (176) Prior to these prelates, I find at length, a bishop of Dromore, Maolbrigid Mac-Cathasagh, who died in 973. (177) Among the many ecclesiastics, who were killed in the course of this century by the Northmen, are mentioned, besides some already spoken of, the names of Bran Mac-Colman, abbot of Roscrea in 930; Ardmed, abbot of Coleraine, in 931; Suibhne Mac-Combrettan, abbot of Slane, in 939; Tanud Mac-Uder, abbot of Bangor, in 957; Mured Mac-Foilan of the royal house of Leinster, and abbot of Kildare, in 966; Ferdalac, abbot of the island of Raghlin, in 974; and Maelkieran O'Maigne, abbot of Derry, who was cruelly put to death in 986 by the garrison consisting of Danes from Dublin. (178)

(165) Above, §. 10.

(166) The Cashel catalogue, which is followed by Ware, allows 9 years for Muredach, and thus his incumbency would have lasted until 966. But O'Flaherty says in the quoted *MS.* catalogue, that he resigned the see after seven years, and accordingly in 964, adding that he died in the 9th year of his consecration.

(167) Ware at *Dubdalethe* II. Here again O'Flaherty, in consequence of what he has about Muredach, differs from Ware, and assigns (*ib.*) the accession of Dubdalethe to 964, yet placing his death in 998 by allowing him 33 *complete* years of incumbency. The Cashel catalogue marks for him the number xxxiii; but its numbers are not always complete. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 297.*) have in these times two Dubdalethes, one, who is named at *A.* 988 (989), and appears as succeeded by two bishops, after whom comes also a Dubdalethe, whose death is assigned to 998. But from a circumstance which they mention of both Dubdalethes being called comorbans of Columbkil it is clear, that they were

not different persons. O'Flaherty has made some MS. notes on these confused statements; but it is not worth while to trouble the reader with any thing further about them.

(168) See *Tr. Th. ib.* and *p.* 503. at *A.* 988 (989),

(169) *Ib. p.* 500 *ad A.* 978 (979). I strongly suspect, that there is a mistake in calling Mugron abbot of Hy. The title given to him in Smith's catalogue (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) is *Coarb* (comorban) of *Columbkil in Ireland and Scotland*. He might have been abbot of Derry, and thus like some others, styled comorban of Columbkil; besides which place he might have governed a Columbian house in the mainland of Scotland. The title *Comorban of St. Columba* has been more than once misunderstood as meaning abbot of Hy, when in fact it applied merely to abbots of Derry, as, for instance, in the cases of St. Maelbrigid and St. Adhland. (See above *Notes* 10 and 153.) If Mugron was abbot of Derry, we shall have, as he was likewise a bishop, one more to add to the three bishops, whom we have met with there in the century we are now treating of. (See above §. 10.)

(170) *Ib. p.* 508 *ad A.* 967 (968). As to his being comorban of St. Ultan, this must refer to his having presided also over Ardbraccan either as bishop or abbot; and his being called comorban of St. Carnach shows, that he was abbot of Tulen, where a St. Carnech founded a monastery in the 5th or 6th century. (*AA. SS. p.* 783.) Harris has not this monastery; but it certainly existed and to a late period. Archdall, calling it *Tuileim*, (where he found this name I cannot tell) places it in the King's county. But it is clear from the Annals of Innisfallen, that it was somewhere not far distant from Kells. At *A.* 951. they reckon among other religious places, which Godfrid, son of Sitric, plundered, besides Kells, &c. Tullen as in that range of country; (see above §. 12.) and at *A.* 1170 they make mention of it as plundered and burned, together with Kells, Slane, &c. by Mac-Murrough and Strongbow. If I am not mistaken, it was the place now called *Duleene* or *Dulane* in the barony of Kells, and lying not far from the town of Kells on one side, nor from Killskyre on the other.

(171) Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 106. from the Annals of Clonmacnois, and Ware, *Bishops at Clonmacnois*.

(172) Ware at *Leighlin* and *Tuam*.

(173) See the 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 407. ad A. 971 (972).* Ware (at *Meath*) reckons Becan among the bishops of Clonard in consequence of his being called *comorban of Finnian*. This deduction should be admitted, were it certain, as Ware supposed, that Finnian had been a bishop. But we have seen, (*Chap. x. §. 5.*) that this is rather a doubtful matter.

(174) Ware at *Emly*.

(175) *Tr. Th. p. 630. at A. 980 (981) and 985 (986).* Ware (at *Kildare*) has changed the date 980 into 981, but for what reason I know not, retained 985.

(176) Ware at *Cork*.

(177) *AA. SS. p. 387. at A. 972 (973.)* Ware (at *Dromore*) has not this bishop; but Harris makes mention of him.

(178) *AA. SS. p. 107.* I have added a year to each date.

§. xv. To the said century belonged a very distinguished saint, Dunchad O'Braoin. (179) He was of an illustrious family of the Nialls, and born in the district called *Breghmuine* (now barony of Brawny) in Westmeath. He embraced the monastic state at Clonmacnois, where he made wonderful progress in piety and learning. Being very fond of retirement, and wishing to shun the applauses of men, he secreted himself as much as he could, leading the life of an anchorite. But on the death, in 969, of Tuathal, who had been both abbot and bishop of Clonmacnois, Dunchad was fixed upon as his successor to the abbacy, and being dragged from his retreat, was forced to accept of it. He was not, however, raised to the episcopacy, (180) but governed the monastery for some time merely as abbot, until, longing for a more retired state, he withdrew from the management of it, and, to be out of the way of the persons, by whom he was much admired in that part of Ireland, repaired to Armagh in the year 974 there to remain sequestered and unnoticed. But his reputation was soon spread throughout that city, and so much respect was paid to him that he determined on leaving it. His intention being dis-

covered, the principal inhabitants deputed some venerable persons to request of him that he would stay with them for one year longer. He complied with their wish; but when at the end of the year he was bent on departing, a similar request was made, and so on annually, until at length he died there on the 16th of January, *A. D.* 987. It is said that through his prayers the Almighty restored to life an infant son of a woman, who, having left the dead child at the entrance of the saint's cell, retired apart so as not to be seen, hoping that he would pray for the infant's resuscitation, as in fact it is stated that he did. (181)

Several lecturers of various schools are named in the Irish annals as having died in the second half of this century, for instance, Colman of Kildare in 963; Cronmail of Tallaght in 965; Conchobar of Kildare in 966; Flann of Clonmacnois in 978; (182) Muredach Hua Flannagain of Armagh in 984; (183) Fogartach of Devenish in 985; Longsech of Clonmacnois in 989; Diermit of Kildare in 992; Dunchad O'Huactain of Kells in 993; and Odran of Clonmacnois in 995. (184) Hence, and from what we have seen heretofore, it is clear that learning continued to be cultivated during this whole period, notwithstanding its having been dreadfully troubled by almost constant wars between the Irish and the Danes, or between the Irish themselves. Amidst this havoc divers religious establishments were plundered by the Danes, and some even by the Irish while devastating the places where they were situated. The monastery of Devenish was pillaged by the Northmen or Danes in 962; (185) and either in the following year or in 964 those of Dublin ravaged Kildare unmercifully, making a great number of ecclesiastics and others captives, of whom very many were ransomed by Neill Oherluibh (186) In 968 and again in 969 Kells was plundered by the Leinster men and Danes united. (187) In 979 the

people of Ossory burned Lismore, and plundered Cloyne and Leighlin. (188) They were punished not long after for these proceedings. Brian Bo-roimhe, then king of Munster, entered Ossory in 980, seized upon the prince Mac-giolla-Patrick (Fitzpatrick), and compelled all the chieftains of that country to give him hostages. (189) Brian had succeeded in 976 his gallant brother Mahon, who after having, together with Brian, defeated the Danes of Limerick, Cork, and Waterford on many occasions, particularly in the great battle of Sulchoid not far from Limerick *A. D.* 968, was murdered in said year 976 by some dynasts of the now county of Cork, although he was under the protection of Columba Mac-Ciaracain, bishop of Cork, who accordingly issued a malediction against all those, that were concerned in bringing about the king's death. (190) Another instance of the devastation of religious places was that of Hy by Northmen on Christmas eve in 986, on which occasion the abbot, whose name is not recorded, and fifteen of the elders were put to death. But in the following year those Northmen paid dearly for their atrocities, as 360 of them were killed, by whom, however, we are not particularly informed. (191) In 990 some Northmen plundered Derry, and again in 997, in which year the Danes of Dublin pillaged Kells, and in 999 also Kildare. (192) Other instances of similar depredations might be adduced; but these are sufficient to show, with what calamities Ireland was afflicted.

(179) Colgan has the Acts of this saint at 16 January from a short Life in the possession of Mac-Carthy Riabhach and from a still shorter one in the chronicle of Clonmacnois.

(180) Harris (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) thought that Dunchad was also bishop there. For this opinion there is no foundation whatsoever, and some words, which he quotes from Colgan, prove nothing more than that Dunchad was placed over the monastery as abbot. Throughout his Acts, or wherever else he is

spoken of, Dunchad is never called bishop, but merely abbot and anchoret. At Clonmacnois, as well as in some other great monastic institutions, the abbots were not always bishops, nor *vice versa* were the bishops regularly abbots. Thus Moeldar and his successor St. Corpreus, bishop of Clonmacnois, (see *Chap. xxi. §. 15.*) do not appear to have been abbots there; and Archdall, misquoting Colgan, was wrong in giving them that title, while he omitted their real ones.

(181) This miracle is alluded to by Tigernach, author of the Annals of Clonmacnois, who lived in the eleventh century. He says, that Dunchad was until his time the last of the Irish saints, through whose intercession God restored a dead person to life. (See Dunchad's Acts.)

(182) *Tr. Th. p.* 632. adding a year to the dates.

(183) *Ib. p.* 297. at *A.* 983. (984).

(184) *Ib. p.* 632. and *Ind. Chron.* adding a year, as usual.

(185) *Ib. Ind. Chron. ad A.* 961 (962).

(186) *Ib. p.* 630. *ad A.* 962 (963) The Annals of Innisfallen assign this devastation to *A.* 964.

(187) *Ib. p.* 508. at *A.* 967 (968) and 968 (969).

(188) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 978.

(189) *Ib.* at *A.* 980.

(190) *Ib.* at *A.* 976. For the battle of Sulchoid see *ib.* at *A.* 968, where it is stated, that three thousand of the Danes were killed, and Limerick afterwards burned and pillaged.

(191) See the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 501) at *A.* 985 (986) and 986 (987).

(192) *Ib. p.* 503, 508, and 630. adding a year to the dates.

CHAP. XXIII.

Irish support their character for piety and learning, notwithstanding the troubles occasioned by the Danes—at the same time a priest could not be found in England capable of writing or translating a Latin letter—For the restoration of learning in England some erudite Irishmen formed a community at Glastonbury—St. Dunstan educated by them—St. Maccallin, an Irishman, in France—St. Cadroe, a British Scot, in France—Columbanus, an Irish abbot, dies in the monastery of Ghent—Duncan, an Irish bishop, distinguished in France—St. Maccallin founder of the monastery of Walciadorus—St. Forumn, who had been archbishop of Armagh, became fourth abbot of Walciadorus and continued so till his death on 30th April, A. D. 982.—Several illustrious Irishmen who flourished on the Continent at that period—St. Fingen abbot of St. Felix at Metz—died in the year 1004—succeeded by his disciple Richard, dean of the diocese of Rheims—St. Gerard, an Irishman, bishop of Toul, gave in 985 a retreat in his diocese to some Greeks, who, mixed with Irishmen, performed the Church service in their own language—Succession of bishops in Ireland, particularly those of Armagh, Emly, and Cork—Deaths of several remarkable persons in Ireland—the Danes defeated in several battles by Brian Boroimhe—Brian compels the Lagenians to give him hostages—Maelseaghlín plunders the Dalcassians—Brian marches against him, and forces him to acknowledge his sovereignty over Leath Mhogha—After several battles with various success Maelseaghlín is dethroned and Brian becomes monarch of Ireland in the year 1001—Several acts of Brian—Total overthrow of the Danes, and death of Brian at

the battle of Clontarf in 1014—Interment of Brian in Armagh—dispute between the Eugenian and Dalcassian tribes—Maelseachlain restored to the Monarchy—Interregnum under the government of Cuan O' Leochan the poet, and Corcran a clergyman—Christian religion gradually spread over the remaining Danes of Ireland—Maelmuire Mach Eochad, archbishop of Armagh, succeeded by Amalgaid, who was said to be a layman—Amalgaid's visitation of Munster—Dubdalethe III. succeeds Amalgaid—Deaths of several bishops—Several learned men who flourished in Ireland during this period—Deaths of several illustrious persons who had been distinguished for their learning, piety, &c.—Some Danes still continue to commit depredations on religious establishments in Ireland—Donatus first bishop of Dublin—Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, built—and endowed by Sitric, Danish king of Dublin—No proof that Donatus was consecrated by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, as sometimes stated—See of Dublin confined to the city until the Synod of Kells under cardinal Papiro—Death of St. Gormgal, abbot of Ard-oilean.

SECT. I.

WHILE the Irish were struggling at home against the impediments, which the misfortunes of the times opposed to the cultivation of piety and learning, and while they upheld their character in these respects even during that century, which is usually called *obscure*, and indeed justly so, if we look to the corruption of morals and ecclesiastical discipline, and the shameful ignorance by which said century has been rendered infamous in some other parts of Europe, many of them highly distinguished themselves in foreign countries by their sanctity, Chris-

tian zeal, and knowledge, both sacred and literary. In that age we find numbers of them teaching in England, where after the death of Alfred down to the times of St. Dunstan, learning had so declined, owing, it seems, to the troubles caused by the Danes, that at length a priest could not be found capable of either writing or translating a Latin letter.

(1) The monastic institutions, which Alfred had endeavoured partly to restore, having ceased to exist, there were no public schools established in their stead, and hence it is not to be wondered at that ignorance became so universal. Some time before 940 it happened providentially for the restoration of learning, and consequently of religious improvement, that several Irishmen, remarkably skilled in every department of science and erudition sacred and profane, retired to Glastonbury, and there formed a community. For the purpose of contributing towards their support they received young noblemen under their care, whom they instructed in the liberal studies, and among others Dunstan the most celebrated of their pupils. With the help of these masters he acquired a great degree not only of classical and philosophical knowledge, but likewise of ecclesiastical learning, and remained with them until being well accomplished even in the fine arts, such as music, painting, &c. he was introduced by his uncle Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, to the king Ethelstan. (3) The exertions of this great and holy man were afterwards of most essential service to religion and learning in England.

(1) Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* at A. 940. from Spelman.

(2) Osbern, *Life of St. Dunstan*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. II. p. 91. Having observed that at said period the monastic observances were scarcely heard of in England, Osbern adds that, if any one wished to lead a life of mortification, he used to go to some foreign country. He then takes occasion to state that it had been and was in his time quite usual and, as it were, natural for

the Irish to go on pilgrimages in foreign parts, and then treats of those who were settled at Glastonbury, &c. As the passage is curious, I shall here quote as much of it as is connected with the present subject; "*Hicque mos cum plerosque tum vehementer adhuc manet Hibernos; quia, quod aliis bona voluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis consuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi atque illustres viri, divinis ac secularibus literis nobiliter eruditi, dum relicta Hibernia in terra Anglorum peregrinaturi venissent, locum habitationis suae Glestoniam delegerunt, propterea quod esset a civili multitudine sequestratus, et humanis usibus accommodus, et (quod maxime affectabant peregrini) Patricii religiosa veneratione gloriosus.—Cum ergo hi tales viri talibus de causis Glestoniam venissent, nec tamen quicquid sibi necessarium erat sufficientissime in loco reperissent, suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos; ut, quod minus ad usum loci ubertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. Adest ergo nobilissimus in Christo puer Dunstanus, inter alios unus, immo prae aliis solus, ubi paullo diligentius quam imbecilla aetas ferre posset literarum studio intentus,*" &c. Then he tells us how Dunstan fell sick, &c. This, by the bye, was not the first time, in which there were distinguished Irishmen at Glastonbury; many of them had been there long before.

(3) See Mr. Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon church*, ch. 12.

§. II. St. Maccallin, or, as some call him, *Maccallan*, *Malcallin*, or *Malcallan*, an Irishman, was in France, together with St. Cadroc and some others, in, it seems, 945 or 946 (4) His history is much connected with that of St. Cadroe, on which accordingly, although he was not an Irish but a British Scot, I must say a few words. (5) Cadroe was of the royal house of the Scots of North Britain, and was placed at an early age under the direction of a very pious relative, named Bean, who instructed him in religion and watched over his morals. When grown up, it was thought adviseable to give him what would be now called a university education; and, as there were then no schools in Scotland, in which it could be acquired, Bean sent him to Armagh. (6)

There he applied himself to the classical and philosophical studies, including natural history, astronomy, &c. and, as he was gifted with a fine genius, became a great proficient in them. Having finished his literary and scientific course he recrossed the sea, (7) and returned to his cousin Bean. Being full of zeal for the instruction of his countrymen, he set about teaching them so as to form school-masters for every part of Scotland, all of whom were indebted to him for their knowledge. (8) While Cadroe was thus employed in teaching what are called the liberal arts, without thinking of retiring from the world, it is said that both he and Bean had visions, in which it was announced that he should quit his native country, remove to foreign parts, and exercise himself in monastic discipline, as it was the will of God that he should become the spiritual father of others. He determined on obeying the summons, and was preparing to set out, when the people of every condition, and even the king Constantine (9) requested him not to leave his country, remonstrating with him on the injury which his departure would cause to all Scotland, where he was doing so much good. These expostulations made such an impression on him, that he delayed for some time; but afterwards returning to his former determination he opposed all their exertions to detain him, until at length it was agreed upon to let him go abroad and even to supply him with money, clothes, horses, and every thing necessary for his journey. Having passed the frontiers of the then Scottish kingdom, he entered the British one of Cumbria lying to the south of the Clyde, (10) where he was very kindly received by its king Dovenald, (11) a relation of his, who, having kept him for some time at his court, conducted him to the city of Loida, situated at the boundary of the Cumbrians and Normans, where Cadroe was received by Gunderic, a nobleman, who accompanied him to York and introduced him to

the king Eric, whose wife was related to him. (12) Thence he went to London, and proceeded to Winchester, where he was treated with honour by king Edmund, who got him conducted to a harbour called *Hymen*. After some delay there caused by bad weather, he sent back to Scotland some of his companions, among whom was a nephew of his, and having embarked arrived safely at Boulogne. Thence he went to St. Fursey's monastery of Peronne, where he prayed to God that he would, through the merits of St. Fursey, point out to him a place, where he should stop. On the following night the saint appeared to him in a vision and told him, that he must go to some other spot.

(4) Colgan has made up some Acts for St. Maccalin, or as he names him, Malcallan, at 21 January. The Bollandists treat of him at said day. There is an account of him also in the *Acta Bened. Sec. v. p. 548*. He is expressly called an Irishman, *natione Hibernus* in the Appendix to the chronicle of Frodoard at *A. 978*. and in the Anglican martyrology; and that he was the Bollandists maintain, both at 21 January and 6 March, in their observations on the Life of St. Cadroe, where they state that the Scotch have no argument in favour of making him their countryman. Yet in the Benedictine account, either by Dachory or Mabilion, it is said that he was rather a British than an Irish Scot, notwithstanding the authority of the Appendix to Frodoard there quoted. For this opinion no reason is assigned, nor, I believe, could there, except that Maccallin happened to be in France together with Cadroe, who was certainly a native of N. Britain. But this, as will be soon seen, is far from affording any proof of it. As to the time of Cadroe's arrival in France, it is universally allowed that it was about 945.

(5) There is a rather large Life of St. Cadroe, or *Cathroe*, as Colgan thought he ought to be called, written by one Reiman or Ousman, seemingly a French or German monk, not very long after the saint's death. It has been published by Colgan at 6 March, at which day it is also in the collection of the Bollandists, who omitted as useless some stuff in the beginning of it relative to

certain migrations of the primitive Scots. Thence it was republished in the *Acta Bened. Sec. v.* Colgan has lost his time in endeavouring to show, that Cadroe was an Irish Scot, whereas it is quite clear that he was a British one; and accordingly he is considered as such by the Bollandists and Mabillon.

(6) It is remarked by Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 944.*) that the reason, why Cadroe was sent to Armagh, was that studies were at that time neglected in Scotland. Compare with *Not. 27 to Chap. xx.*

(7) *Aequore remenso.* (*Life, cap: 12.*) Colgan struggles to explain these words as if meaning, that he sailed on a lake or crossed the Shannon on his return to some part of Ireland, in which as Colgan imagined, his relatives lived. But the author of the *Life* understood Latin sufficiently well not to call a lake or a river *aequor.*

(8) It is observed in the *Life, (ib)* by allusion to the words of St. Paul *1 Cor. iv. 15.* that, although Scotland might have thousands of pedagogues yet it had not many fathers, whereas Cadroe was the person, who begat them; *in disciplinis enim artium hic illos genuit*; and that from the time of his arrival (or return to his country) none of the wise men had crossed the sea but still lived in Ireland. This is marked to prove, that Cadroe was then the only great teacher in Scotland. It is strange, that Colgan could, with such circumstances before his eyes, have persisted in making Cadroe an Irishman, and living and teaching in Ireland; as if there had not been numberless great masters or fathers in Ireland for centuries before Cadroe was born, or as if he could have been called the only father in Ireland, while the very persons or fathers, by whom he himself had been taught, at Armagh, not to mention so many others elsewhere, were still alive.

(9) This was Constantine III. son of Ethus, who, having resigned the throne in 943, became superior of the Culdees of St. Andrews. (*Buchanan, Rev. Scot. ad Reg. 75.* and *Usher, Ind. Chron. ad A. 943.*) Colgan strives to get rid of this argument in favour of Cadroe having been a British Scot by introducing a Constantine O'Neill, who was chieftain of Inishowen some time in the tenth century; as if Inishowen could be supposed to be a large kingdom, such as the author of the *Life* alludes to.

(10) Compare with *Not. 74 to Chap. xxi.*

(11) This Dovenald was the king, whom old English writers call Dunmail, and whose country the English king Edmund made over to Malcolm I. king of the British Scots in 946, and accordingly after Cadroe had travelled through it. (See Usher, *p.* 664 and *Ind. Chron.* at *A.* 946.) What Colgan has concerning him is so confused, that it is not worth remarking upon.

(12) *Life*, *cap.* 17. In this narrative there are some points well worthy the attention of British antiquaries. As it is not my business to enlarge on them, I shall only observe that the people called by the author *Normans* were the Northumbrians, who were then ruled by Norman or Danish kings, of whom Eric was one.

§. III. Not far distant from Peronne there lived a pious, wealthy, and noble matron, named Hersendis, who was very kind to pilgrims. On hearing that some such persons had arrived in her neighbourhood, she sent to them requesting that they would call to see her. They complied with her wish, and on conversing with her said that all they wanted was a retired place, where living by their labour they might serve God. She then gladly showed them a spot in the forest called *Theorascensis* near the river Oise in the diocese of Laon and adjoining the frontiers of Hainault, (13) and where there was a church under the name of St. Michael. They liked the place, and Hersendis got the church enlarged and habitations erected for their use. Among these pilgrims, who in all were thirteen, was Maccallin, a man of superior goodness, (14) and whose name now occurs for the first time. Where he met with Cadroe we are not informed, nor whether he had travelled with him all the way from Scotland, although it is not improbable that he had. (15) For there was a great intercourse between the Scots of Ireland and those of N. Britain, so that many of the former were to be found in the latter country, and *vice versa*. Wheresoever these two worthy men first met, they and their companions being settled

at St. Michael's, it was proposed to appoint a superior, and Cadroe was fixed upon for that purpose. But, as he could not be induced to accept of that office, Maccallin was then compelled to submit to it. Having lived for some time in this manner, assisted by the munificence of Hersendis, Maccallin and Cadroe were seized with a desire to become Benedictine monks. For the attainment of this object they were helped by Hersendis, who directed Maccallin to Gorzia, a monastery in the diocese of Metz, recommending him to the abbot Agenald, and Cadroe to the celebrated monastery of Fleury sur Loire, then governed by Erchembald a very religious man. When Maccallin had received the monastic habit, Hersendis sent to Agenald, requesting that he would permit him to proceed to the place, which had been already intended for him. This place was Walciodorus, now Vassor, near the Meuse between Dinant and Givet, where Eilbert, the husband of Hersendis, had erected a monastery about *A.* 945, and about the same time that Hersendis had formed the establishment of St. Michael's. (16) Maccallin, on his return, was placed as abbot over Walciodorus, still retaining the management of St. Michael's. Having sent for Cadroe, he appointed him prior of the monastery. After some time Maccallin, finding that the direction of two establishments was too much for his strength, begged of Cadroe to become abbot of Walciodorus. With great difficulty Cadroe agreed to this proposal, having been pressed to do so by Otho, king of Germany, who was afterwards emperor. This occurred about 950. (17) Cadroe was afterwards abbot of the monastery of St. Clement, *alias* St. Felix at Metz, and died *A. D.* 975 or 976, after the 70th year of his age and 30th of his peregrination or abode in a foreign country. (18) He was buried in the church of his monastery at Metz, and his memory was revered on the 6th of March.

Maccallin, having returned to St. Michael's in the forest *Thearascensis*, spent the remainder of his life there until his death on the 21st of January in the year 978. He was buried in the church of St. Michael, and his name is mentioned with great praise by old writers and in various martyrologies. (19)

(13) See Bollandus at 21 January, where he treats of St. Maccallin. Colgan was mistaken in assigning that place to the diocese of Verdun.

(14) Life of St. Cadroe, *cap.* 20.

(15) The author of Cadroe's Life calls (*ib.*) Maccallin a companion of Cadroe's pilgrimage. This may seem to insinuate, that they had gone together from Scotland. Yet they might have first met in England, or perhaps in France, where many Irishmen were then to be found; and in either hypothesis Maccallin might still be called a companion of Cadroe's pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*), which, strictly speaking, did not begin until they were settled, as pious foreigners, at St. Michael's. For, as far as I have been able to observe, the acceptance of *peregrinatio*, which so often occurs in lives of saints of those times, is not so much *travelling as living for pious motives in a foreign land*. For instance in the passage from Osbern, (above *Not.* 2.) the words, *relicta Hibernia in terra Anglorum praepergrinaturi venissent*, plainly mean that the persons there alluded to left Ireland for the purpose of leading a life of peregrination, that is, absence from their own country, in England. Our English word, *pilgrimage*, does not exactly correspond with the *peregrinatio* of the writers of the middle ages.

(16) See the Bollandists at St. Cadroe, 6 March.

(17) *Ib.*

(18) Life of St. Cadroe *cap.* 25. Compare with Mabillon, *Observ. praev.* at said Life in *Acta Bened. Sec.* v.

(19) We read in the Appendix to Frodoard's chronicle; "Anno 978 *vir Domini* Malcallinus natione Hibernicus in vigilia S. Vincentii Levitae et martyris vitam transitoriam, quam habebat exosam, deseruit, et cum Domino, cui indesinenter, dum adhuc viveret, serviverat, vivere feliciter inchoavit. Qui praefatus abbas in corpore humatus quiescit in ecclesia B. Michaelis archangeli, cujus abbatiam, dum corporaliter in hoc seculo maneret, pio mo-

deramine rexit." The words *vir Domini*, or as in the *MS. vir dui*, have been mistaken for *Virduni*, and hence some have said that Macallin was abbot of St. Michael's at Verdun, and that he died in that town. But there was no such monastery at Verdun. In a history of the foundation of Walciodorus it is mentioned, that he died in 990; but the other is the true date and is followed by the Bollandists and Benedictines.

§. 4. An Irish abbot, named Columbanus, shut himself up and became a recluse on the 2d of February, *A.D.* 957, in the cemetery of the monastery of Ghent, and remained there until his death on the 15th of February in 959. (20) Whether the monastery, which he had governed, was in Ireland or in the continent, is not sufficiently known; but it is universally allowed that he was an Irishman. (21) His remains are in St. Bavo's church at Ghent, and his memory is famous in Belgium, where his name occurs among those of other saints in a litany of the Belgic churches. Israel, an Irish bishop, but I know not of what diocese, (22) lived in the eastern part of France during the first half of the 10th century. He assisted at a synod held at Verdun in 947, (23) at which was present also the celebrated Bruno, brother of the king, and afterwards emperor Otho. Bruno was then abbot, but a few years later became archbishop of Cologne. One of the masters of this great and learned prelate was Israel, concerning whom I do not find any further account. Duncan, likewise an Irish bishop, was distinguished as a teacher in France some time in the said century. It is not known whether he was consecrated there or in Ireland. He taught in the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims, (24) and wrote for the use of his students a Commentary on the nine books of Martianus Capella on the liberal arts, in the title of which he is called an Irish bishop. A copy of this work was transcribed by one Gifardus, and was in the library of said monastery, but is now among the royal

MSS. in the British Museum. Duncan wrote also Observations on the first book of Pomponius Mela on the situation of the earth, which likewise are still extant. (25)

St. Forannan, (26) who had been consecrated at Armagh bishop of a place, called *Domnach-mor*, arrived at Walciodorus 23 years later than St. Maccallin had become its abbot, and accordingly in 970, reckoning from 947 the year, in which, according to every appearance, Maccallin, Cadroe, and some Irish monks began to live there. (27) It is therefore a great mistake to suppose, as some writers have done, that Forannan had been in that place before Maccallin, and that he was the founder of the monastery. (28) From what we have seen above it is evident, that Maccallin was the first abbot of Walciodorus, who, on his resignation, was succeeded by Cadroe in about 950. On Cadroe's removing to Metz in 954 or 955 he left an abbot there, whose name is unknown, but who is said to have permitted a relaxation of discipline. After his death Forannan was appointed abbot. (29) Thus Forannan was, in fact, the fourth abbot of Walciodorus, which he governed until his death on the 30th of April in 982, (30) having re-established the vigour of monastic discipline, and left a great reputation for sanctity.

(20) Colgan treats of this St. Columbanus at 2 February, and the Bollandists more probably at 15 of said month.

(21) Dempster, with his usual effrontery, making him a Scotchman and a writer, says that he always lived in Scotland, and refers to Molanus, who has not a word of what that liar pretended to take from him. (See *AA. SS.* p. 238.) The Belgic writers agree that he was a native of Ireland. By them he is called *abbas Hibernicis*, without telling us whether in Ireland or elsewhere; but Menard understood that appellation as meaning, that he had been an abbot in Ireland.

(22) Fleury in one place (*Hist. Eccl. L. 55. §. 35.*) calls him a

bishop of Great Britain, and in another (*ib.* §. 43.) a Scotch bishop, *eveque Ecossois*. But the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Letteraire*, who were better acquainted with the history of those times, expressly state, (*Tom.* vi. p. 305.) that he was an Irish bishop.

(23) Fleury, *ib.* §. 35.

(24) Dr. Ledwich very learnedly brings (*Ant. &c.* p. 165.) the monastery of St. Remigius to Down, and makes Duncan teach there. There was no monastery of St. Remigius in Ireland. But the Doctor, or some one before him, had stumbled on a passage in Usher (*Pr.* p. 910, or *London ed.* 472.) where he speaks of this work of Duncan, *alias* Dunchat, as being in the library of the church of Worcester with the following title; “*Commentum Dunchat pontificis Hiberniensis, quod contulit suis discipulis in monasterio S. Remigii douns, super astrologia Martiani Capellae Varronis.*” Usher left this title, as he found or thought he found it, imagining, as appears from his making *d* a capital letter, that *douns* was a local or proper name. Thence it was deduced, that it meant Down in Ireland. But there can be no doubt, that *douns* is an erratum for *docens*, which I should rather ascribe to the copyist of said title than to Usher's being mistaken in the spelling of the words as he met with it.

(25) See *Histoire Letteraire*, *Tom.* vi. p. 549. and Warton's *History of English poetry*, *Vol.* II. p. 75.

(26) The Bollandists have a Life of St. Forannan at 30 April, and from them it has been republished in the *Acta Ben. Scc.* v. p. 586 *seqq.*

(27) See the Bollandists, *Notes at St. Forannan*, *ib.* p. 819, 820.

(28) Among others Colgan fell into this mistake, and promised to prove at 30 April, that Forannan had preceded Maccallin. (See *AA. SS.* p. 153 and 238.) How he could have endeavoured to prove it I do not know, as he did not live long enough to publish Forannan's Life at said day.

(29) See the Bollandists, *ib.* and p. 808. and at *St. Cadroe*, 6 *Mart.* p. 471.

(30) This is the date marked for it by Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 982.) and, as it is probably the true one, further inquiries may be omitted.

§ v. About these times there was also an Irish monastery at Cologne. Warinus, archbishop of Cologne, built or repaired a monastery of the Scots (Irish) in an island of the Rhine near the city, over which he placed Mimborin, who is said to have governed it for fifteen years. (31) Marianus Scotus says, that in 975 Erberger, archbishop of Cologne, made over to the Scots, for ever, this monastery called St. Martin's, and that its first abbot was Mimborin, a *Scotus*, who presided over it for twelve years, reckoning, I suppose, from the date of the perpetual grant made by Erberger. Accordingly Mimborin's death, which occurred on the 18th of July, must be assigned either to 987, or, if the twelve years were not complete, to 986. (32) He was succeeded by Kilian likewise an Irishman, after whom, as it was an Irish establishment, we find it governed by St. Helias, (33) who had belonged to the monastery of Monaghan, and of whom more will be seen elsewhere.

A very celebrated Irish abbot was Fingen, (34) who succeeded St. Cadroc as abbot of St. Felix, *alias* St. Clement, at Metz, in about the year 976. Besides the government of this monastery he was invested also with that of St. Symphorian, likewise at Metz, in the year 991. This old abbey was rebuilt by Adalbero II. then bishop of Metz, who, having a great esteem for Fingen, placed him over it, and, with the assistance of the empress dowager Adelhaid a protectress of Fingen and the Irish Benedictines, and grandmother of Otho III. as yet only king, obtained from this sovereign a confirmation of the rights and possessions of this establishment on condition, that the Irishman Fingen, its first abbot, and his successors, should not have any other than Irish monks as long as they could be found, but, in case they could not, allowing the admittance of monks of any other nation; and that prayers should be constantly offered there for the king's

soul, those of his parents, and of the then bishop and his successors. This deed was signed by the king at Frankfort on the 25th of January, *A. D.* 992, in the ninth year of his reign. (35) Not long after Fingen was sent to re-establish the monastery of St. Peter and St. Vitonus, now St. Vannes, at Verdun, where he fixed some Irish monks, of whom seven were there under his direction, when the celebrated Richard, dean of the diocese of Rheims, and Frederic, who had been count of Verdun, applied to him in 1001 for permission to become members of this house. (36) As they were persons of high rank in the world, he was at first loth to receive them, being afraid that they would not put up with the poverty and discipline of the monastery. At length, however, he complied with their request, (37) and instructed and trained them so well, that they became, especially Richard, two of the greatest and most useful men of their times. St. Fingen died in the year 1004, and was succeeded by his holy disciple Richard. (38) There is a short letter of his, still extant, in the library of St. Remigius of Rheims, to Fastradis a nun, concerning a monk named Guilier (39)

To this account of Irish ecclesiastics distinguished in foreign countries during the tenth century, I shall add only a curious circumstance related of St. Gerard, bishop of Toul, who in 986 gave a retreat in his diocese to several Greeks, who, mixed with Irishmen, performed the Church service in their own language, and according to the Greek rite. (40) Hence we see, that the Irish still continued to cultivate Greek literature.

(31) Mabillon, *ib. ad A.* 974.

(32) Florence of Worcester places it in 986.

(33) See Mabillon, *loc. cit.* and Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 107.

(34) Colgan treats of St. Fingen at 5 February. His account of him is very imperfect. The Bollandists have omitted him, placing

him among the *Praetermissi* at 5 February, and observing that Colgan had not a sufficient reason for giving him the title of *beatus*, as he had found him called only *virtuosus*. But the Fingen, styled *virtuosus*, was in all probability different from the one we are now treating of; nor did Colgan state that they were the same, although the cause of his placing St Fingen at 5 February was, that the name of a Fingen, the *virtuous son of Odran Fedhla*, occurs at said day in some Irish calendars. Mabillon did not scruple to consider Fingen as a saint, and often speaks of him as a most religious man, *ex. c. Annal. Ben. ad A. 1001*. And the authors of the *Histoire Letteraire* expressly call him *St. Fingen an Irishman*, &c. (*Tom. vi. p. 437.*) where they tell us, that there was a large account of him in a Life of Thierrî, bishop of Metz, which unfortunately has been lost.

(35) Colgan, having got a copy of this diploma from the archives of the church of Metz through the kindness of Meuris, bishop of that see, has annexed it to the Acts of Fingen. It begins thus; “ *In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Otto divina favente clementia rex.*” After three or four lines it proceeds; “ *Quapropter omnium fidelium nostrorum praesentium scilicet et futurorum noverit industria, quomodo Adalbero Metensis ecclesiae venerabilis episcopus ad nos venit, dicens quod abbatiam quamdam, foras muros Metis civitatis sitam, jam longo tempore destructam, pro Dei amore et sancti Symphoriani martyris noviter coepit reaedificare, humiliter deprecans nostram excellentiam, ut eandem abbatiam cum suis pertinentiis nostrae autoritatis praeceptione confirmemus. Nos vero ob interventum dilectae aviae nostrae, Adalheidis videlicet imperatricis Augustae, piaae petitioni illius benignum assensum praebentes, eidem abbatae S. Symphoriani omnia loca a regibus, vel imperatoribus, vel aliis religiosis personis antea unquam tradita, vel qua iam ipse dilectus Adalbero episcopus illic moderno tempore adauxit et adhuc addere desiderat, aliorumque Dei fidelium bona volubere adiungere studuerit, regia denuo nostra munificentia donamus, atque confirmamus, ea videlicet ratione, ut abbas primus nomine Fingenius Hiberniensis natione, quem ipse praelibatus episcopus nunc temporis ibi constituit, sui que successores Hibernienses monachos, habeant, quamdiu sic esse poterit; et si defuerint ibi monachi de Hibernia, de quibuscumque nationibus semper ibi monachi habeantur; et nostri*

nominis, animaeque nostrae, parentumque nostrorum, et praesentis episcopi successorumque illius memoria ibi nunquam deficiat." Then after a few words comes the signature, &c. See also Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 991. Fleury could not have seen these Annals at the time he was writing the history of those times; but it is odd, that he seems to have been ignorant of the now quoted diploma, whereas otherwise he would not (*Liv.* 58. §. 60.) have called Fingen an *Ecossois*, Scotchman. Mabillon adds, that Otho confirmed also the possessions, &c. of the monastery of St. Felix.

(36) Mabillon *ib.* and at *A.* 1001.

(37) An anonymous author of a Life of Richard pretends, that on his and Frederic's first going to Fingen's monastery of St. Vannes they did not find the regular observance, which they expected to see, and that they went to Clugni to consult St. Odilo on what they should do, who, however, advised them to return thither, as they accordingly did. Mabillon (*ib.* at *A.* 1001.) rejects this story about the defect of regular observance, and shows that Fingen was a very holy man, who could not be deficient in enforcing regularity. And, in fact, following the story itself, would Odilo have counselled them to place themselves under Fingen, were his discipline not strict? Fleury (*loc. cit.*) picked up this story among other mistakes concerning Fingen and his Irish monks, whom he calls *Ecossois*. His saying that Odilon sent Richard and Frederic back to St. Vannes under the persuasion, that they would reform the establishment, is a poor evasion; for how could they expect to do so, while they remained simple monks? The truth is, that Richard's and Frederick's reason for having consulted Odilo was, that on their first going to Verdun they found another monastery there lately founded by bishop Wigfrid, which seemed to them more convenient, although the monastic observance was not as regular as in Fingen's of St. Vannes, which was small and deficient in buildings. On applying to Odilo to learn from him which they should prefer, he gave them the above mentioned advice.

(38) Mabillon, *ib.* at *A.* 1004. Another mistake of Fleury, (*loc. cit.*) is his stating, that Fingen died about three *months* after he had received Richard into the monastery. He should have said, about three *years*; for Richard's reception was in 1001. It is

singular, that in the Irish annals the death of a Fingen, called abbot of Roscrea, is marked at *A.* 1005. (*AA. SS. p.* 258.) The date comes so near that of the death of St. Fingen, that it might be suspected they were one and the same person. Might it be that Fingen had gone from Roscrea to superintend the establishment of St. Felix at Metz? The day of his death was probably the 8th of October, at which he is praised in the Necrologium of St. Clement of Metz, as abbot, &c. and buried in its church.

(39) Mabillon, *ib.*

(40) *Histoire Letteraire, Tom. vi. p.* 638.

§. VI. Cenfada, bishop of Emly, who died in 990, (41) was succeeded by Columba Mac-Lagenan, who held the see until 1003. After him was Serbrethae, who lived until 1027. (42) From these times forward we find what appears to be a regular account of the succession in the see of Cork; and accordingly it is very probable, that Columba Mac-Ciaracain, who died in 990, (43) had as immediate successor Cellach Hua-Sealbaugh, a very wise and learned man, who, having lived to a great age, died, it is said, in pilgrimage *A. D.* 1026. (44) Dubdalethe II. archbishop of Armagh, who died in 998, (45) was succeeded by Muregan, who after three years' incumbency, or rather in the third year, resigned the see in 1001. (46) He had made a visitation of the northern parts of Ireland, and in his stead was placed Maelmury, that is, *servant of Mary*, the son of Eochad, while, according to another account, the Maelmury, his immediate successor, was the son of Scanlan (47) Be this as it may, Maelmur, the son of Eochad, was certainly archbishop of Armagh, and he is usually said to have held the see for 19 years. (48) His death, which occurred on the 3d of June, *A. D.* 1020, is supposed to have been caused by grief for the destruction of a great part of the city by fire in said year. (49) This prelate is spoken of in terms of high approbation, being styled *the head of the clergy of western Europe, the chief*

of the holy orders of the West, and a most wise Doctor. (50) Hence it is clear that he was not, as some have imagined, one of those lay usurpers, who arrogated to themselves the title of *archbishop of Armagh*, but really in holy orders and a real bishop. (50) There is some reason to think, that Amalgaid, who is called his successor, belonged to that class; but of this more hereafter. Maelbrigid, Hua-Rimed, abbot of Hy, died in 1005, and was, it seems, succeeded by Flann-Abhra, who lived until 1025 or 1026. (52)

Some persons, eminent for piety or learning, are marked as having died in the early part of the eleventh century. Aengus abbot of Aghaboe, who had retired to Armagh, died there in 1004. (53) To the same year is assigned the death of Eochad O'Flanagan, the chief and best antiquary of Ireland; (54) but where he lived or died I do not find recorded. Aidus or Aedh, abbot of Trefot (Trevet in Meath not far from Tara) had also retired to Armagh. He is called a scholastic or lecturer, bishop, and wise man. Having led a very holy life he died in 1005, and was buried there with great honour. (55) Murdach Mac-Crichan, a comorban of St. Columba and St. Adamnan, that is, abbot of Derry and Raphoe, died also at Armagh on the 28th of December, *A. D.* 1011. in the 74th year of his age. He was a bishop, and lecturer of theology at Armagh. Owing to his great reputation, his remains were deposited with great solemnity near the great altar in the cathedral of that city. (56) In the next year a great pestilence broke out at Armagh, which raged from All-saints day until May following, and carried off Kennfaelad of Saball or Saul, a bishop and anchoret, Maelbrigid Mac-an-Gobhann, a lecturer of Armagh, Scholag-Mac-Clerchen, a distinguished priest, and a vast number of elders and students. (57)

(41) See *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(42) Ware, *Bishops at Emly.* Harris has inserted between Columba and Serbrethae a bishop Cermac Hua-Finn, but without sufficient authority. He is called by the 4 Masters, who mark his death at 1020, (*ap. AA. SS. p. 360.*) merely *the most erudite bishop of the Momonians.* It does not hence follow, that he was bishop of Emly, as the words seem to mean nothing more than that he was a very learned man and bishop somewhere in Munster, or that he was the most learned of the Momonians. Ware's catalogue of the prelates of Emly, which is well kept up, must not be departed from on slight grounds.

(43) *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(44) This is the date marked by Ware, *Bishops at Cork.* In Colgan's text (*AA. SS. p. 335.*) The date is, as if from the 4 Masters 1036. This is probably a typographical error. At any rate it is wrong; for there were other bishops of Cork between Cellach's death and 1036. The 4 Masters do not mention his dying in pilgrimage, but call him *bishop, comorban of St Barr, &c.*

(45) *Chap. xxii. §. 14.*

(46) The catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel allows for Muregan three, seemingly incomplete, years, not four as Harris says in his additions to Ware. Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) that Muregan was one of the lay usurpers not really bishops. (See *Chap. xxii. §. 13.*) But his argument is a very poor one. He met with a Muredach, prior of Armagh, who is called son of Muregan, and who died in 982 or 983. He then supposed that this Muregan was the same as the one styled *archbishop.* Might not there have been divers Muregans? Or why suppose, that a man, who died in 982, was the son of a person, who was not called archbishop of Armagh until 998, and who, after he had resigned, lived until 1006? Or admitting that the archbishop Muregan was the father of said Muredach, will it follow that he was still a layman in 998? The fact is, that it is impossible to identify all those laymen so called archbishops. I believe that they were chiefly among those, whose names do not occur in the Cashel catalogue, but who are mentioned by the 4 Masters.

(47) The 4 Masters have both these Maelmurs, as bishops of

Armagh, placing the son of Scanlan before the other. (See *Tr. Th. p. 297, 298.*) In the Cashel catalogue only one Maelmur is mentioned without the addition of his father's name. Ware omits the son of Scanlan, as does also O'Flaherty in his MS. catalogue (*at Tr. Th. p. 319.*) Yet it is highly probable, that he was for some time in possession of the see; and perhaps he was one of the lay usurpers. The dates marked for him and for some others under the title of bishops of Armagh by the 4 Masters, are so confused, that they cannot be reconciled with those of the Cashel catalogue or of Ware, &c. They have also one Hermedac, whom they call bishop and scribe of Armagh, and whom they assign to part of the time, during which, according to others, Maelmur son of Eochad was the actual bishop.

(48) The Cashel catalogue marks 19 years for Maelmur simply so called. The Maelmur meant in it was, in all appearance, the son of Eochad. If there was any other bishop, or person called bishop of Armagh during part of these 19 years, it might have overlooked them.

(49) Ware (*at Maelmur*) assigns his death to 1021; but it must have been in 1020, whereas it is marked by the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) at this year, as having fallen on the Friday before Pentecost. Now in the year 1020 Pentecost or Whitsunday, was on the 5th of June. In said year about a month earlier that great fire happened, in which the cathedral and some other churches, besides a great number of houses and much property, were consumed. Yet, according to the 4 Masters, it was not universal as Ware says; for in one of the four quarters of the city the only edifice destroyed was the library.

(50) 4 Masters, *ib.*

(51) Colgan striving (*Tr. Th. p. 302*) to find the eight married laymen so called bishops among the persons mentioned in the Cashel catalogue, reckons as one of them, Maelmur, son of Eochad. And why? Because Dubdalethe III. whose accession was in 1049, is called son of one Maelmur. But was the son of Eochad the only Maelmur in Ireland? And, supposing that Dubdalethe III. was the son of a man called *bishop*, might not his father have been the Maelmur son of Scanlan? (See *Not. 47.*) It is odd, that Colgan could have supposed that the son of Eochad

was not in holy orders, notwithstanding his having been distinguished by the title of *chief of the holy orders*, &c. Ware did not follow Colgan in his hypothesis concerning this Maelmur and Dubdalethe III.; but Harris has added something relative to it.

(52) *Tr. Th.* p. 501. at *A.* 1004 (1005) and 1025 the date of the 4 Masters, not 1015 as appears *ib.* through an erratum. Smith (*App. to Life of St. Columba*) has copied this mistake. I am doubtful whether 1025 ought to be changed into 1026; for about these times the 4 Masters begin not to differ as much as usual from the generally received Christian era. Thus we have seen (*Not.* 49) that their date 1020 for the death of bishop Maelmur is correct; whereas those of a few years earlier are sometimes not so, for instance, that for the battle of Clontarf, which they assign to *A.* 1013, although it is certain that said battle was fought in 1014.

(53) *Ib.* p. 297 *ad A.* 1003 (1004).

(54) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1004.

(55) *Tr. Th.* p. 297 *ad A.* 1004 (1005).

(56) *Ib.* and p. 298 *ad A.* 1010 (1011).

(57) *Ib.* *ad A.* 1011 (1012).

§. VII. Meanwhile a great political change had taken place in Ireland. Hitherto we have seen the monarchy of *all* Ireland retained in the house of the Nialls of one branch or another down to Mael-seachlin II. whose reign began in 930. (58) Between this sovereign and Brian Boroinhe, who became king of Munster in 976, (59) various wars had been carried on, in which Brian was generally victorious. Sometimes, however, they united against the Danes, or against other enemies. Brian was perpetually engaged in humbling his opponents. In 977 he defeated the Danes of Limerick at Inniscathy, plundered all the islands which they possessed in the Shannon, and overthrew with dreadful slaughter in Hy-figente (in the now county of Limerick) Donovan dynast of that territory and his allies the Danes of Munster. In this battle Auliffe,

king of those Danes, and Donovan were killed. In 978 the Eugenians, who opposed him as being a Dalcassian, having joined against him under Maolmhuadh together with the Munster Danes, he fought the great battle of Beallach-Leachta, somewhere it seems between Mallow and Macroom, in which the allies were worsted, and besides Maolmhuadh and a great number of the Irish, 1200 Danes lost their lives. Having settled matters with the Eugenians, Brian was attacked in 979 by Donall O'Faolan, prince of the Desies, assisted by the Danes of Waterford. He came up with them at a place called *Fanmaccurra*, and putting them to flight pursued them into Waterford, where great slaughter was made of the Danes. On this occasion O'Faolan was killed. After this exploit he got hostages from all the princes and chiefs of Munster; and every part of the province submitted to his authority. (60) In 980 he made Mac-Gilla-Patrick prisoner, and compelled all the Ossorian chieftains to deliver up hostages to him. In said year the king Maelseachlin II. defeated at Tara the Danes of Dublin, commanded by the sons of Auliffe or Anlaf their king. In this battle there was a dreadful slaughter of them, and among others were killed Reginald the king's eldest son, and Irlavra the governor of Dublin. This disaster affected Anlaf so much, that he retired to Hy, where he died in the course of this year. (61) In 981 Brian reduced the Lagenians to the necessity of giving him hostages; and the two kings of that province submitted to him. In 982 Maelseachlin plundered Dalgais, the hereditary property of Brian, and cut down the famous tree in the plain of Adair, under which the Dalcassian princes used to be inaugurated; and in the following year he ravaged Leinster then under the protection of Brian. Incensed by these proceedings, Brian marched against Maelseachlin and forced him to agree to a treaty, by which it was stipulated that Brian should be recog-

nized king of Leath-Mogha, or the southern half of Ireland, the other half to be held by Maelseachlin, and that Donald Claon, king of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin should be subject to Brian. (62)

(58) See *Chap. xxii. §. 8.* (59) *Ib. §. 15.*

(60) Annals of Innifallen at *A. 977-978-979.*

(61) *Ib. at A. 980. and Ware, Antiq. cap. 24.* His English translator has greatly confused his meaning, making him say that the battle of Tara was not fought by Maelseachlin, but by the monarch his predecessor. But the Annals of Innisfallen, which he follows, expressly state, that Maelseachlin was the commander, and when king of Ireland. For Anlaf compare with *Not. 138 to Chap. 22.*

(62) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 981-982-983.*

§. VIII. After various battles and depredations, such as that of Connaught by Maelseachlin in 985; the defeat of the Momonians and Danes of Waterford by the Connacians in 988, in which year Brian plundered Meath and part of Connaught; the defeat of the Danes of Dublin by Maelseachlin in 989; and some other fighting here and there, Maelseachlin ravaged Connaught again in 991, upon which Brian at the head of the Munster and Connaught troops laid waste a great part of Meath. Yet in 994 Maelseachlin gained a victory over Brian, who retaliated on him in the following year by a complete one, in consequence of which peace was concluded between them in 997, and Maelseachlin was again obliged to recognize Brian's title to the sovereignty of Leath-Mogha. These two kings then united, and, having forced the Danes of various parts to give them hostages, marched into Connaught in 998, whence also they took hostages, and then attacked the Danes of Dublin, whom they routed with great slaughter and the loss of their principal chiefs, Artulac son of Sitric, Harold son of Auliffe, &c. &c. (63) Notwithstanding this defeat, the Dublin Danes assisted

in 999 Maelmurry, son of Murchard, in compelling Donogh, king of Leinster, to resign his crown to him, and plundered Kildare; upon which Brian marched to Dublin, punished them severely, burned many of their houses, banished their king Sitric, and, having remained there a week, carried off much booty. (64) In the same year Maelseachlin committed depredations in Leinster, and this was probably one of the reasons why Brian determined to wage a serious war against him. Accordingly he raised in 1000 a very considerable army composed of Munstermen, southern Connacians, Ossorians, Lagenians, and Dublin Danes, with whom he marched towards Tara, having sent forward a corps of Danish cavalry, who skirmished with the enemy. On Brian's coming up with his main force, Maelseachlin found it adviseable not to risk a battle, and yielding to Brian's terms promised to give him hostages. It seems that Maelseachlin did not fulfil his engagements; for Brian with the same army marched again in the following year, and arriving at Tara compelled him not only to submit and give hostages, but likewise to resign the throne of Ireland to Brian, and to content himself with his principality of Meath. Thus Brian became king of all Ireland in the year 1001. (65)

(63) *Ib.* from *A.* 984. to 998.

(64) *Ib.* at *A.* 999. and Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24.

(65) Said Annals at *A.* 1000-1001. The 4 Masters also (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 448.) assign Brian's accession to this year. They say that Maelseachlin had reigned 23 years; but it is to be observed that they place the commencement of his reign not in 980 but in 978.

§. IX. In 1002 Brian proceeded to Connaught, where he received hostages, and returning through Meath got some there also from Maelseachlin. He then marched at the head of his numerous forces, to which were now added those of Meath commanded

by Maelseachlin, as far as Dundalk, where he was submitted to by all the princes and chieftains of Ulster, who gave him hostages. Afterwards we find him engaged in checking some attempts at revolt or disobedience particularly in the North. On one of these occasions he stopped for a week at Armagh in the year 1004, (66) and left a gold collar, weighing 20 ounces, on the great altar of the cathedral as an offering. Thence he went with his army to Rath-mormuighe, the royal seat of the Dalriedans in the now county of Antrim, whence he brought hostages. But it would be too long, and not within my plan, to follow all the movements of this great king; yet, as a matter belonging to our ecclesiastical history, I must not forget, that being in 1011 with a great army and a number of Irish princes in the now county of Louth, where he again received hostages from the chiefs of Ulster, to which he assigned two kings, he and the assembled princes, &c. granted glebe lands to the churches of Ireland, (67) thus repairing part of the ravages committed by the Northmen. A great storm was now gathering, the cause of which was as follows. Maelmurry Mac-Morogh, or the son of Murchart, who, as we have seen, usurped the crown of Leinster in 999, marched into Meath in 1013 at the head of a powerful army of Lagenians and Danes of Dublin, and ravaged some parts of it. Maelseachlin, in retaliation, set fire to the neighbouring districts of Leinster as far as the hill of Hoath, but being met by Maelmurry and Sitric king of Dublin, was defeated with considerable loss. He then called upon Brian at his residence, and requested assistance from him against the united Lagenians and Danes, who were in the habit of plundering his principality. Accordingly Brian set out with a great army, and, having on his way laid waste Ossory, detached his son Morogh with a large party towards Glendaloch, who plundered the country as he went along and brought

many prisoners and much spoil to Brian then encamped at Kilmainham near Dublin, where he remained from the beginning of August until Christmas without being able to bring either the Danes or Lagenians to battle, and consequently returned to Munster. Meanwhile a new fleet of Northmen arrived and burned Cork ; and there was much fighting here and there between those foreigners and the Irish. (68)

(66) *Ib.* at *A.* 1004. The same year is marked also by the 4 Masters, and must not be changed into 1005.

(67) *Ib.* at *A.* 1011.

(68) *Ib.* at *A.* 1013.

§ x. The Danes and Lagenians, availing themselves of Brian's absence, used the utmost exertions to collect troops and auxiliaries from every quarter that they could. A great number of Northmen came to their assistance from Norway and other parts of Scandinavia, from Scotland, the Orkneys, Hebrides, &c. and from the isle of Man, who were joined also by Britons from Cornwall and elsewhere. Brian marched to oppose them, taking with him Maelseachlin, who, however, intended to betray him. For this purpose he sent to Maelmurry, to inform him, that Brian had dispatched his son Donogh, at the head of the Dalcassian troops and of a third part of the Eugenian forces, to ravage Leinster and Hy-Kinselagh, and that he himself with his 1000 Meath-men would desert Brian on the day of battle. Accordingly it was determined to attack Brian before Donogh could come up. He was then encamped on the plain near Dublin with a smaller army than he otherwise should have had. His opponents formed themselves into three divisions ; the first consisting of 1000 Northmen, covered with coats of mail, commanded by two Norwegian princes Charles and Henry, and of Dublin Danes under Dolat and Conmaol. The second division consisted

of Lagenians, about 9000 strong, commanded by their king Maelmurry, and under him by some minor princes, such as Mac-Tuathal or Toole of the Liffey territory, the prince of Hy-falgy, &c. together with a large body of Danes. The third division was formed of the Northmen collected from the islands, from Scotland, &c. and of Britons. It was commanded by Lodar, earl of the Orkneys, and Bruadair admiral of the fleet, which had brought the auxiliary Northmen, &c. to Ireland. Brian was not dismayed by this mighty force, and depending on Providence and the bravery of his troops, prepared for battle, dividing his army likewise into three divisions; one to oppose the enemy's first division under his son Morogh, who had along with him his son Turlogh and a select body of the brave Dalgais, besides four other sons of Brian, Teige, Donald, Conor, and Flann, and various chieftains, Donchuan, Lonargan, &c. together with a body of men from Conmacne-Mara, a western part of Connaught. To this division Mael-seachlin was ordered to join his followers. Over the division, which was to fight the second of the enemy, Brian placed Cian and Donald, two princes of the Eugenic line, under whom were the forces of Desmond and other parts of the South of Ireland, including the now county of Kerry, the most of those of Cork and Limerick, and that of Waterford, headed by their respective chiefs. To this division belonged also O'Carrol and his troops of Ely O'Carrol, and it was joined by another O'Carrol prince of Orgiel in Ulster and Maguire prince of Fermanagh. The division opposed to the third of their antagonists consisted chiefly of Conacians, under O'Conor as chief commander, with whom were O'Heyn, O'Kelly, O'Flaherty, O'Cadhla, &c. and their forces, assisted by various bodies of men from divers parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Clare, &c.

commanded by their chieftains, Fogartach, O'Doyle, Mac Donagan, Mac Dermot, &c. (69)

(69) *Ib.* at *A.* 1014.

§. XI. I have been more minute, than perhaps my object being ecclesiastical would allow, merely to show that greater unanimity prevailed among the Irish on this occasion than for a long time preceding. In fact it was absolutely necessary for the preservation both of the country and of religion. For the intention of the Northmen, who were still half pagans, was to become masters of all Ireland. (70) Brian and the majority of the Irish princes, who, with a view to the encouragement of foreign trade, had very imprudently permitted parties of them to continue in Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Cork, &c. instead of driving them entirely out of the country, as they might have done, perceived at last, that nothing less would do than to crush them in such a manner as would prevent their being afterwards able to disturb the tranquillity of Ireland. This they would, in all probability, have been able to accomplish effectually, had not Maelmurry and the people of Leinster entered into an unnatural confederacy with those foreigners. The Northmen from the islands, &c. who had arrived under Bruadair at Dublin on Palm-sunday A. D. 1014, insisted on the battle being fought on Good Friday, which fell on the 23d of April, a day on which, on account of its sanctity, Brian would have wished to avoid fighting. (71) Yet he was determined to defend himself even on that day, and holding the Crucifix in his left hand, and his sword in the right, rode with his son Morogh through the ranks, encouraging his army to put an end for ever to the oppressions of those tyrants and usurpers, who had committed so many cruelties and sacrileges in Ireland, so that the day, on which Christ suffered death for our sake, should be the last of their power

in this country, and declaring that he was willing to lose his life in so just and honourable a cause. As soon as the engagement began, Maelseachlin with his Meath men withdrew from the scene of action, and remained as a mere looker on. His defection did not disconcert Brian and the other Irish, who fought like heroes from sunrise until the dusk of the evening, and gained a complete victory, which has been and ever will be memorable in Irish history under the name of that of Clontarf. (72) According to one account the Northmen lost between killed and drowned 13000 men, and the Lagenians 3000. (73) The 1000 men that wore coats of mail, are said to have been all cut to pieces, together with their commanders Charles and Henry, besides Dolat and Conmaol. (74) Among the slain were also Bruadair and two of the Danish princes of Dublin, to whom we have to add Maelmurry king of Leinster, the prince of Hy-falgy, &c. (75) But this was a dearly purchased victory; for, besides a great number of the Irish troops, Brian, his son Morogh, and his grandson Turlogh fell on this memorable day, (76) together with many chieftains of Munster and Connaught. Brian was in the 38th year of his age, and Morogh in the 63d. (77) Although almost constantly engaged in military expeditions, Brian was of a very religious disposition, (78) and is praised as having erected or rebuilt churches, *ex. c.* those of Killaloe and Iniskeltra, religious houses, schools, &c. He indemnified the institutions and families, which had been plundered by the Northmen, with lands of which he dispossessed them, established a system of just administration, put a stop to robberies, fortified the royal residence of Cashel and several other places, and improved the internal communication throughout his kingdom by means of roads, bridges, &c. (79)

(70) In the chronicle of Ademar monk of St. Eparchius of An-

gouleme (*ap. Labbe, Nova Bibl. MSS. libr. Tom. 2.*) there is a curious passage (*p. 177.*) relative to the views of the Northmen at that time, in which it is stated that they came with an immense fleet, meaning to extinguish the Irish, and to get possession of that most wealthy country, which had twelve cities, great bishoprics, &c. "His temporibus Normanni supradicti, quod patres eorum nunquam perpetrasse ausi sunt, cum innumera classe Hiberniam insulam, quae *Irlanda* dicitur, ingressi sunt una cum uxoribus, et liberis, et captivis Christianis, quos fecerant sibi servos, ut, Hirlan-*landis* extinctis, ipsi pro ipsis inhabitarent *opulentissimam* terram, quae XII civitates cum amplissimis episcopatibus et unum regem habet, ac propriam linguam, sed Latinas literas; quam S. Patricius Romanus ad fidem convertit," &c. Ademar, as appears from the sequel, alludes to the preparations for the battle of Clontarf, which it is plain was the one that he meant; for just after his account of it he speaks of Canute the great, and his coming to England, which was about the same time. Labbe thinks, that this chronicle was written before 1031; if so, it is the oldest document I know of, in which the name *Irlanda, Ireland*, is to be found. Compare with Usher, *Pr. p. 734.*

(71) The *Niala Saga* in Johnstone's *Ant. Celto-Scand.* has (*p. 120. seqq.*) a curious account of the battle of Clontarf. In it are mentioned the above circumstances, and it is stated, that Bruadair had been informed by a sort of pagan oracle, that, should the battle be fought on Friday, the Northmen would be victorious.

(72) That this was a real and great victory is attested in the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1014.* and in the best Irish documents. Yet Ware (*Ant. cap. 24.*) has some doubts on this point, as if towards the end of it the Danes became uppermost. Without entering into further particulars, I shall oppose to these doubts the testimony of the *Niala Saga*, which represents the Northmen as flying in all directions, and large parties of them totally destroyed. And in Ademar's chronicle, after the words quoted (*Not. 70.*), it is represented as even greater than it really was; for it is said that *all* the Northmen were killed, and it is added that crowds of their women threw themselves into the sea. Yet it is true, that of some of their divisions not a man was left alive.

Ademar makes the battle last for three days ; but this does not agree with other accounts.

(73) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* But those of Ulster, (*ap.* Johnstone) without mentioning the loss of the Lagenians, state that, besides many chiefs, among whom is reckoned Bruadair, about 6000 of the Danes were killed or drowned.

(74) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* In the *Niala Saga* a northern prince is introduced asking some time after the battle, what had become of his men. The answer was that they were all killed. This seems to allude to the division in coats of mail.

(75) See *ib.* The *Niala Saga* states that not only Broder (Bruadair) but likewise all his pirates (the sea faring Northmen) were killed.

(76) The person, who killed Brian, was Bruadair, and among the various accounts of how he chanced to get the king into his power, the best is perhaps that of the *Niala Saga*, according to which Bruadair, who had fled into a wood with a party of his followers, happened to see the king in a retired spot attended by only a few men, and rushed upon him unawares, after which he was soon after killed himself. Morogh was, say the Annals of Innisfallen, treacherously stabbed by the Norwegian Henry, who was lying on the ground and in the act of being relieved by Moragh. This brave prince had just time to make his confession and receive the holy Viaticum.

(77) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1014.

(78) Marianus Scotus, mentioning his death, has these words ; “ Brianus rex Hiberniae Parasceve Paschae, sexta feria 9 Calendas Maii, *manibus et mente ad Deum intentus necatur.*”

(79) See Keating, *Book 2.*

§. XII. After the battle was over Teige, son of Brian, withdrew with the remnant of the Irish army to the camp at Kilmainham. On the next day, Holy Saturday, Donogh arrived, bringing with him great booty from various parts of Leinster, and on the same day the inhabitants of Swords came up and took the body of Brian for the purpose of having it interred at Armagh, whither Donogh sent many rich offerings. From Swords it was brought to

Duleek, and thence by the people of that place to Louth, whither Maelmur Mac-Eochad, archbishop of Armagh, came with his clergy and many others, bearing reliques, to meet it and convey it to Armagh. (80) Along with it was carried also the body of Morogh, beside the head of Conaing, a nephew of Brian by his brother Dunchuan, and, according to another account, (81) that of Mothla prince of the Desies. The funeral obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, constant watching and the exposure of the reliques of St. Patrick, during twelve days and nights. (82) Brian's remains were deposited in a stone coffin at the North side of the cathedral, those of Merogh, &c. being placed at the South side. (83)

A dispute, of that kind so common between the Eugenic and Dalcassian lines, soon occurred in consequence of Brian's demise. The Eugenic prince Cian claimed a right to the throne of Munster, in virtue of the old compact of alternate succession in those branches of the royal house, alleging also that he was older than either Donogh or Teige. Donogh refused to acknowledge this claim, and, as Cian was not able to enforce it, marched off quietly with his troops for Munster, meeting with no opposition except, when passing through Ossory, a show of opposition on the part of Fitzpatrick. But before the end of the same year he and his brother Teige quarrelled among themselves, and a battle was fought between them and their parties, in which Donogh was defeated. (84) Meanwhile Maelseachlin was again saluted king of all Ireland, a title which, as far as I can judge, was not recognized by the O'Brian's and people of Munster. This prince, notwithstanding his not having fought against the Danes at Clontarf, was still a determined enemy of theirs. In 1015 he attacked the remnant of those of Dublin, and burned almost the whole city; and in 1016, after predatory and incendiary excursions of the said Danes, commanded by

their king Sitric, against Kildare, Glendaloch, Clonard, Swords, and Armagh, he defeated them with much loss. (85) The Lagenians soon found, what little dependance could be placed on the friendship of that people; for their king Bran, son of Maelmurry, had his eyes put out in Dublin by Sitric in the year 1018. (86) Roused to a feeling of patriotism, Augurius or Ugair, son of Dunluing, and king of Leinster, overthrew Sitric and his Danes with great slaughter at Delgany in 1021 or 1022. (87) In this year 1022 Maelseachlin died on the 2d of September, in the monastery of the Island of Inisainingin, after having some time before retired from the world to do penance for his sins and make his peace with God. (88) After him there was no king recognized as of *all* Ireland for many years; but his principality of Meath and, it seems, some adjoining districts fell, after his death, under the administration of Cuan O'Leochain, arch-poet and chief antiquary of Ireland, and of Corcran a clergyman. Their power did not last long, whereas Cuan was killed by the Lagenians in 1024, and Corcran is said to have become an anchoret, and to have died at Lismore in 1040. (89) With regard to the other parts of Ireland let it suffice to mention, that Donogh O'Brian, son of Brian Boromhe, became king of Leth-mogha (the southern half of Ireland) in 1026. (90)

(80) While the Annals of Innisfallen represent the archbishop Maelmur, &c. as having advanced no farther than Louth, the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) tell us that they proceeded all the way to Swords. The other statement is, I am sure, the true one.

(81) That of the 4 Masters, *ib.*

(82) Innisfallen and Ulster Annals at *A.* 1014.

(83) Annals of Innisfallen, *ib.* (84) *Ib.*

(85) *Ib.* at *A.* 1015. 1016.

(86) *Ib.* at *A.* 1018. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) has added a year to this date, but, I think, without reason. Instead of the

name Bran, which was the real one, and rather usual in the royal house of Leinster, he has *Brienus* or *Brennus*, rendered *Brien* by his translator, thus causing a confusion with the Munster Briens or rather *Brians*.

(87) 4 Masters *ap. AA. SS. p. 313.* and Ware *loc. cit.*

(88) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) and Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1022*, which have *Lough-Ainin*, that is, I think, Inisaingin, or the Island of All Saints, in Lough-ree. See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part. III. cap. 93.* Ware was wrong (*Ant. cap. 4.*) in adding a year to this date, placing Maelseachlin's death in 1023.

(89) See O'Flaherty, *ib. cap. 94.* I very much doubt, whether he is right in making this Corcran the same as the anchoret and theologian of Lismore.

(90) Annals of Innisfallen at 1026.

§. XIII. From this detail of political occurrences, which I have been forced to enter into, it appears that a real revolution took place in Ireland at this period. The anciently established system of succession to the throne of the whole kingdom was overturned, and there remained no paramount power authorized to controul the provincial kings or minor chieftains. Amidst those wars one good effect was obtained, *viz.* the humiliation of the Northmen, who, although numbers of them still remained in various parts of Ireland, were much weakened, and henceforth attempted fewer depredations than in former times. But unluckily the Irish were, during a great part of this century, the eleventh, engaged here and there in wars between themselves, and we find now and then one or other party of them assisted by the Danes, as they are usually called, settled in Dublin or elsewhere. The Christian religion became no longer confined to those of Dublin, by whom it began to be better observed, but gradually spread among the other Danes of Ireland.

Maelmur Mac-Eochad archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1020, (91) was succeeded by Amalgaid, who is stated to have visited Munster in 1021. (92)

He was present in 1022 at the death of king Maelseachlin. (93) It is said that he was one of the laymen who assumed the title of Archbishops of Armagh; whereas among his successors we find Maelisa and Donnald, who are called sons of Amalgadius. (94) Yet the matter is not certain; and if it be true, that Amalgaid administered the sacrament of Extreme Unction to Maelseachlin, he must have been more than a layman. (95) It may also be objected, that his visitation of Munster implied real archiepiscopal power; but it must be observed, that it was probably relative merely to the exaction of certain dues, which used to be paid to the church of Armagh according to the regulation called *the Law of St. Patrick*. Whether he was a real or nominal archbishop, he held that title 29 years until his death in 1049. (96) During his time Moeltule, who is called bishop of Armagh, died in 1032; but it is probable, that he was merely a suffragan bishop; (97) and hence an additional argument may be deduced to suppose, that Amalgaid was not a real bishop, but that Moeltule officiated in his stead. On the very day of Amalgaid's death Dubdalethe III. son of one Maelmur, (98) and professor of theology at Armagh, was appointed his successor. (99)

(91) Above §. 6.

(92) 4 Masters *ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.* (93) *Ib.*

(94) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) insists upon this circumstance as a proof that the Amalgaid was an unordained so called archbishop. But supposing that he was the same as the Amalgaid, father of Maelisa and Donnald, might they not have been born before he got that title? Ware has (at *Amalgaid*) a passage, which seems to favour Colgan's opinion. It is taken from the Annals of the Priory of the island of All Saints at *A. 1019*, and runs thus; "Amalgaid, comorban of St. Patrick, having spent 29 years in this *principality*, rested penitentially in Christ." The word, *principality*, seems to allude to his having been rather a prince than a real bishop. The title *comorban of St. Patrick*, is

not sufficient to show, that Amalgaid was in holy orders, for, as will be seen more fully elsewhere, in the later times of the Irish church, and perhaps from the period we are now treating of, the name *comorban* was sometimes given to laymen, who kept possession of the church lands belonging to sees and monasteries.

(95) To this Colgan replies, that Maelseachlin was indeed anointed, while in the hands or arms of Amalgaid; but that it is not stated, that the ceremony was performed by him.

(96) This is the date marked not only by the 4 masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 298.*) but likewise by the above quoted Annals (*Not. 94.*) and O'Flaherty in his *MS.* catalogue; and accordingly, as is marked in said authorities, the incumbency of Amalgaid lasted 29 years. Yet the Cashel catalogue allows for it thirty, which must be understood of his having died in the 30th year; for in said catalogue incomplete years are reckoned as complete.

(97) See *Tr. Th. p. 298.* and Ware, *Bishops at Amalgaid.* Moeltule's name is not in the Cashel catalogue.

(98) See above *Not. 51.* (99) *Tr. Th. p. 298.*

§. XIV. With regard to the other sees of Ireland, I shall here give the names of such bishops, whose deaths I find marked before about *A. D. 1050.* Carmacan O'Muilcashel, bishop of Killaloe, the first of that place, whom I meet with after St. Flannan, died in 1019. (100) Neil O'Malduibh, of Cork, the successor of Ceallach Hua-Sealbaugh, (101) died in 1027, and after him Airtri Sairt in 1028, succeeded by Cathal, whose death is assigned to 1034. (102) O'Mail-Sluaig, bishop of Lismore, died in 1025, as did his successor, Moriertach O'Selbach in 1034. (103) Tuathal O'Dunluing, bishop of Clonard, died in 1028 or 1029. (104) The death of Maelmartin, of Kildare, was, according to one account, in 1028, and according to another, in 1030. (105) His successor Maelbrigid lived until 1042. (106) Murchad O'Nioc, bishop of Tuam, died in 1033. (107) Maelfinan of Emly, most probably the immediate successor of Saerbrethach, (108) died in 1040, as did after him O'Flanachuain in 1047, and Clothna Muimnech in 1049.

(109) Flahertach, bishop of Down, died in 1043, and Moelmacte of Louth in 1044. (110) Cleiric O'Muinic, bishop of Leighlin, died in 1048, and to the same year is assigned the death of Ceili, bishop of Ardagh. (111) In the same year some place the death of Diermit O'Rodachan, bishop of Ferns, which others affix to 1050. (112) It can scarcely be doubted that Dunchad O'Kelechuir, who is called *comorban* of St. Kieran of Saigir, who died in 1048, was bishop of that place. (113) From these instances it may be inferred, that the episcopal succession was kept up, as regularly as the state of the times would allow, in the now mentioned sees, and it is very probable that it was maintained also in other old sees, although the names of their prelates are very seldom to be met with. For example Dungal, a bishop of Ross (in the county of Cork) is marked as the 27th in succession after St. Fachtnan, the founder of that see, (114) who lived in the sixth century. As to bishops appointed occasionally in places, which were not permanent sees, we may be certain that there were, as usual, some of this description in the first half of the century we are now treating of. Thus we find a bishop at Swords Marian O'Crinen, who is called a wise man, and whose death is assigned to 1025. (115)

(100) Ware, *Bishops at Killaloe.* (101) Above §. 6.

(102) Ware at *Cork.* (103) *Idem* at *Lismore.*

(104) *Idem* at Meath. See Harris' addition.

(185) Ware (at *Kildare*) has 1028; the 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 630.*) have 1030.

(106) *Ib. Ib.* (107) Ware at *Tuam.*

(108) See above §. 6. (109) Ware at *Emly.*

(110) For Flahertach, see Ware at *Down.* He was the first bishop of that see whom Ware met with from the times of St. Fergus, who died in the sixth century. (See *Chap. XII. §. 1.*) But Harris, referring to the 4 Masters, adds that a Fingen, bishop of Down, is mentioned as having died in 962. For Moelmocte see *AA. SS. p. 736.*

(111) Ware at *Leighlin* and *Ardagh*.

(112) Ware at *Ferns*. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 223.*) have *A. 1050*.

(113) See *AA. SS. p. 473*. Ware has omitted him at *Ossory*; but he is marked by *Harris*.

(114) See *Harris, Bishops at Ross*.

(115) *Tr. Th. p. 509*.

§. xv. Learning continued to be still cultivated, and many distinguished scholastics or doctors are mentioned as having belonged to this period. Dunchad, scholastic of Clonmacnois died in 1005 and Coenchomrac of Gleannussen in 1015. Flann O'Tegain of Durrow (King's county,) a man, celebrated for his knowledge, died in 1022, as did also Cathasach, a scholastic or teacher at Clonmacnois; and Christian of Devenish in 1025. (116) Eochad Mac-Cethenin, who is called comorban of St. Tigernach, and the wisest doctor in Ireland, died at Armagh in 1030. (117) Moelodar, scholastic of Killachad, died in 1032; and Aengus of Clonmacnois in 1034; and Macnias O'Huactain of Kells in 1035. (118) Flanagan, scholastic of Kildare, Cunden of Connor, and Alill of Durrow, died in 1038. (119) The death of Corcran, an anchorite and a very eminent and pious theologian of Lismore, and of Dunchad O'Hanchanige, a celebrated lecturer of Armagh, is assigned to 1040; and that of Maelpetrus O'Hailechain, likewise a lecturer there and chief director of the students, to 1043. (120) Longsech, scholastic of Clonard, and Eochagan, archdeacon of Slane, lecturer at Swords, and a chronographer, died in 1042. (121) Three scholastics of Kells are mentioned as having died not long after each other; Maelmartin in 1045; Cudul Mac-Gaithen in 1047; and Moelan in 1050. (122) At the year 1046 is marked the death of a very distinguished and holy man Moelpatrick O'Belouge, the

chief lecturer and director of the schools of Armagh. (123) O'Ballen, scholastic of Roscrea, and Gilla-molaisse of Louth died in 1047. (124) There were undoubtedly in these times many other lecturers and teachers in the other establishments and schools of Ireland; and to this period are assigned the deaths of two eminent antiquaries. One was Mac-Liag, who is called an *Ollamh*, that is a Doctor and man of letters, and who wrote some works, among which was a Life of Brian Boroinhe. He died in 1016. (125) The other was Macbeth, son of Annire, and chief antiquary of Armagh, who died in 1041. (126) A pious prince, Cathald, son of Roderic, and chieftain of West Connaught, who had retired to Armagh in 1037, for the purpose of leading the life of a pilgrim, died there in 1043. (127) The spirit of pilgrimage spread itself among the Danes of Dublin, and Sitric their king set out for Rome with a view to that object, but died on his way in 1029. (128) His son Amlaf, or Auliffe, also king of Dublin, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in 1035, but was killed in England. (129) He was succeeded by another Sitric, his son, who went beyond sea, probably to Rome, in 1036, and left the government of Dublin in the hands of one Eachmharcach, after whom we find an Ivar governor of Dublin in 1038. (130) Sitric returned to Ireland and died in 1041 or 1042. (131)

(116) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(117) *Ib. p. 298.* The title *comorban of St. Tigernach*, is explained by Colgan as meaning *abbot of Clones*. But, if the St. Tigernach, whose comorban Eochad was, were the one of Clones, I should think that Eochad was rather a bishop; for St. Tigernach had been bishop of Clones as well as of Clogher.

(118) *Ib. Ind. Chron.* (119) *Ib. p. 632.*

(120) See *AA. SS. p. 206.* and *Tr. Th. p. 298.*

(121) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* and *p. 509.*

(122) *Ib.* p. 508. (123) *Ib.* p. 298.

(124) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(125) See Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1016. and Harris, *Writers at Mac-Liag.*

(126) *Tr. Th.* p. 298. (127) *Ib.*

(128) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 24. Yet the Annals of Innisfallen, after mentioning his departure for Rome in 1028, state that he returned to Ireland, and exhibit him as plundering Ardraccan in 1031.

(129) Ware, *ib.* The Annals of Innisfallen, instead of 1035, have 1034. I suspect that Ware has added a year to dates at times when he should not have done so.

(130) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1036 and 1038. Ware makes no mention of the absence of Sitric, nor of Eachmharcach or Ivar. This is the Ivar, governor of the Danes of Dublin, to whom I alluded in a part of *Not.* 138. to *Chap.* xxii. Ware's silence concerning those persons and circumstances forms no argument against the statement of the Annals.

(131) Ware *ib.*

§. xvi. Notwithstanding a certain progress made by the Danes in piety and religious practices, yet we find them now and then, even during this period, committing depredations in religious places. Besides some already alluded to, (132) they plundered Kells in 1018, and Duleek in 1023 and again in 1037, (133) besides Ardraccan in 1031, whence they brought much booty and many prisoners. (134) But on the whole it appears, that their manners became gradually much softened, of which we have a very strong proof in the memorable fact of a bishop being for the first time appointed for the Danes of Dublin about the year 1040. This bishop, whose real name seems to have been *Dunan*, or perhaps *Donagh*, although it has been latinized into *Donatus*, (135) was, judging from the name, most probably an Irishman. Sitric, king of Dublin, had already returned from his tour, or perhaps pilgrimage, during which he had probably planned the erection of this new see.

In the Black book of the church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ-church in Dublin, there is a document, which runs thus ; “ Sitricus king of Dublin, son of Ableb (Anlaf) earl of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity, and to Donatus first bishop of Dublin, a place, where the arches or vaults were founded, to build the church of the Holy Trinity on, together with the following lands ; *viz.* *Bealdulek, Rechen, Portrahern*, with their villains, cattle, and corn. He also contributed gold and silver enough, wherewith to build the church and the whole court thereof.” (136) This must have occurred about 1040 (137) before the death of Sitric, and about the time that Donatus was named to this see. It has been said, that Donatus was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury ; but of this I meet with no proof whatsoever, unless it should be considered as such, that some of his successors were consecrated in that city. Now this system, according to which the bishops of Dublin acknowledged themselves subject to the see of Canterbury, did not, as far as I can discover, begin until the time of the archbishop Lanfranc, who came over to England during the reign of William the Conqueror many years after the appointment of Donatus ; and which system was introduced for two reasons ; first, because William and his Normans, being masters of England from the year 1066, were considered by the Irish Danes as their countrymen ; and second, because Lanfranc’s reputation was so great, that, when the Dublin Danes found it necessary that their bishop should be subject to some metropolitan, they made choice of him for that purpose. (138) This new see was confined to the city, and did not extend beyond its walls until later than the synod of Kells under Cardinal Paparo, held in 1152, as will be seen in its proper place. Donatus having built the church, erected also an episcopal palace adjoining it, on the site, where the late *Four Courts* stood, and a chapel,

which was called St. Michael's. He lived until A. D. 1074. (139) I shall conclude this chapter with just mentioning the death of a very holy abbot, who belonged to the period, of which we have been now treating. St. Gormgal, abbot of Ardoilen, one of the Arran islands, who was considered the chief spiritual director of all Ireland, and who died in 1017 on the 5th of August, the anniversary of which was sacred to his memory. (140)

(132) Concerning those of the year 1016 see above §. 12.

(133) *Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.*

(134) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1031.

(135) Usher quotes (*Not. ad Ep. 25. Sylloge, &c.*) a passage from the Annals of Dublin, in which he is called *Dunan*. This is a well known Irish name, and certainly not Danish. It is highly probable, that the Danes had as yet scarcely any clergymen of their nation in Ireland.

(136) See Ware, *Bishops at Dublin*, and *Antiq. cap. 24.* and 29. Bealdulek, Rechen, and Portrahern were, I suppose, the places now called Baldoyle, Ratheny, and Portrane, all lying at the North side of Dublin, where the Danes possessed lands.

(137) Ware says, about 1038; but it is probable, that Sitric had not yet returned to Ireland in said year, in which we have seen that Ivar was governor of Dublin. Camden was mistaken (*col. 1368*) in referring the erection of the church, &c. as related by Ware, to about 1012. There was indeed a Sitric son of Anlaf at that time; but, as Donatus held the see until 1074, is it to be supposed that he was a bishop since 1012? Nor, if that deed be genuine, can it be attributed to a Sitric later than the one, that died in 1041 or 1042; for there was not after him any other Sitric king of Dublin during the life time of Donatus.

(138) Usher and Ware, who are the best authorities on the subject of Donatus, have not a word concerning his having been consecrated by an archbishop of Canterbury; nor indeed could they, as not even an allusion is to be found relative to such a circumstance. And it will be seen lower down, that Patrick, the immediate successor of Donatus, was the first bishop of Dublin, who was consecrated by an archbishop of that see, or who, at least from the

time of his appointment, had promised canonical obedience to him. To me it seems more than probable, that Donatus was a bishop, perhaps of some monastery, before he was placed over Dublin. Usher (*Discourse on the Religion, &c. ch. 8.*) states, that the Ostmen or Danes of Ireland did not begin to have any connexion with Canterbury until after William the conqueror became possessed of England, that is, until after 1066. He is there remarking on a most ignorant assertion of Campion, which, however, has been followed by other English writers, *viz.* that persons appointed to sees in Ireland used to be directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be consecrated by him. On this Usher observes that it is wrongly extended by him to the bishops of all Ireland, whereas it was peculiar “to the Ostmann strangers, that possessed “the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. For these “being a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so country- “men to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by “the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief arch- “bish-*opric* there, would needs now assume to themselves the name “of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their conse- “crution from no other metropolitan but the archbishop of Can- “terbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the “walls of their own cities, the bishops, which they made, had “no other diocess to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the “bare circuit of those cities,” &c. And in the same chapter he attributes the forbearance, for some time, of the Irish hierarchy with regard to the bishops of the Danish towns being connected with Canterbury, to the esteem they had for Lanfranc and Anselm, “with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good cor- respondence;” yet, he adds, they could not well brook this system, which they considered derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. But of this more elsewhere. Meanwhile it is plain that Usher knew nothing about any dependance of the see of Dublin on Canterbury until the times of Lanfranc, as in reality there was not.

(139) Ware, *Bishops of Dublin*. See also Harris's additions. p. 301.

(140) *AA. SS.* p. 141. and 715.

CHAP. XXIV.

Various distinguished Irishmen still continue to visit foreign countries—Colman and others leave Ireland with intent to visit Jerusalem—taken up as a spy and put to death—honoured as a martyr, and his body deposited with great pomp in the churchyard of Stockereau in Austria—Marianus Scotus, Helias, Amchad and several other learned and pious Irishmen in the Continent—Dubhdaleithe III. archbishop of Armagh, said to have been a layman—was a learned man and wrote annals of Ireland, and an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own time—Eight married bishops of Armagh—Succession and deaths of bishops in several sees in Ireland—Ferdornach called bishop of Leinster—Domnald O'Heine bishop of Cashel—Death of Donat bishop of Dublin—Clergy and people of Dublin elect for his successor Patrick, a Priest, and send him to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury to be consecrated—Letter of the clergy and people of Dublin to Lanfranc—Patrick professes obedience to Lanfranc, and is consecrated by him—this profession a new practice—Practice of giving the holy Eucharist to infants after baptism—Archbishops of Canterbury never possessed a metropolitan power over the Irish church—Ireland not included in the grant of Legatine jurisdiction granted by the pope to Augustine—Donogh son of Brian Boroinhe, king of Leth-Mogha, dethroned by his nephew Torlogh—goes to Rome and there dies a great penitent—Torlogh proclaimed king—extends his kingdom—Pope Gregory VII. writes to Torlogh—Lanfranc's letter to Torlogh—Chorepiscopi consecrated by a single bishop—Baptizing without chrism—Patrick, bishop of Dublin, shipwrecked and drowned—succeeded by Donogh

O'Haingly, who was elected by Torlogh and the people of Dublin, and consecrated by Lanfranc—Death of Torlogh—succeeded by his son Mortogh—Mortogh dethroned, and his brother Dermot placed over Munster in his stead—Mortogh took holy orders, and died in the Monastery of Derry—Distinguished ecclesiastics at the close of the 11th century—Moeliosa O'Brolchain—Tigernach O'Braoin, the annalist—Ireland still famous for learning—English resort to Ireland for education—Several religious establishments plundered and destroyed both by Irish and Danes.

SECT. I.

VARIOUS distinguished Irishmen still continued to visit foreign countries. Colman, or as usually called by continental writers, Coloman, who is styled patron of Austria, (1) left Ireland early in the eleventh century, (2) together with some other persons, for the purpose of a pious visit to Jerusalem. (3) He arrived *A.D.* 1022. in the eastern part of Norica, now Lower Austria. Its inhabitants were then at variance with the neighbouring nations of Bohemians, Moravians, &c. On Colman's stopping at the small town of Stockerau he was seized as a spy sent by the enemies of Austria, and thrown into prison. On the next day he was strictly examined, but although he told the plain truth, would not be believed. He was then most cruelly tortured, and at length, on his persisting in declaring his innocence, was hung from an old tree together with two robbers. While his body remained suspended from his gibbet, it continued sound and entire; and it is said that his hair and nails continued to grow. The hay or twig rope, by which his head was fastened, and even the old tree, are stated to have bloomed and revived. These

extraordinary phenomena excited great attention, which was much enhanced by the circumstance of blood flowing from his body on occasion of a part of his flesh having been cut off for the purpose of being used in effecting a certain cure. It was now concluded, that Colman was a truly holy man, and that he had been unjustly put to death. Accordingly he was honored as a martyr, and his body was taken down and deposited with great pomp in the churchyard of Stockerau. Several miracles are said to have attested his sanctity, and Henry, marquis of Austria, was so moved by them, that he had the body removed to his residence Medlicum, *alias* Medlica, or Mellica, now Melek. (4) On its removal it was found entire, and was placed in St. Peter's church of that town on the 7th of October *A. D.* 1015, three years after Colman had been murdered. A Benedictine monastery was soon established there in honour of this saint, which has become very famous and still exists in great splendor. Erchinfrid, who has written the Acts of Colman, (5) was the third abbot of this monastery. He relates, in addition to what has been hitherto stated, several miracles wrought after his death, which it would be too tedious to repeat. He constantly calls him a *Scotus*, by which appellation, although he does not make mention of Ireland, or name the land of his birth, it may, considering that the Irish were then universally called *Scoti*, and that they were greatly in the habit of going abroad on pilgrimages, be fairly presumed that Colman was an Irishman. Erchinfrid has nothing about his having been of royal parentage, as some later writers have announced. (6) The name of this saint as a martyr is in the Roman martyrology at 13 October.

(1) Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 105.) calls him *apostle of Austria*; but there is no reason for giving this title; for, besides Austria having been a Christian country before the arrival of Colman, it

does not appear that he preached there, or that he had even time to do so. Nor do I find, that Colman was an ecclesiastic. The title given to him by German writers is that of *patron of Austria*. The most detailed account of him is that by the abbot Erclinfrid, who was contemporary with him, or very nearly so, and which has been published by Lambecius, *Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Caesar. Vindobon. Lib. II. cap. 8*. Colman is treated of also by Ditmar and other chroniclers, by Baronius, *Annal. &c. at A. 1012*, and other writers.

(2) According to Erchinfrid's account Colman's departure from his own country must have been only a short time before his death, which occurred in 1012. Colgan says, (*ib. p. 107.*) that he had left Ireland before the close of the tenth century. I wish he had told us, where this information is to be found.

(3) Baronius was mistaken in saying, that Colman had been often at Jerusalem. But he had not seen the narrative of Erchinfrid.

(4) Mabillon says (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 1017.*) that Colman's body was buried at Melck, which he calls *Mezelikim*, by order of the then emperor. This is a mistake, grounded on authority inferior to that of Erchinfrid, who positively states, that Henry, marquis of Austria, was the prince, by whose order that was done. He was also wrong in assigning Colman's death to said year 1017.

(5) See above *Not. 1.* The miraculous circumstances relative to Colman's remains are attested also by Ditmar, who was bishop of Mersburg and a contemporary of his, as he died in 1019.

(6) Surius has at 13 October an ode written in honour of St. Colman by John Stabius, historiographer of the emperor Maximilian I. It begins thus :

Austriae sanctus canitur patronus,
Fulgidum sidus radians ab Areto,
Scoticae gentis Colomannus acer
Regia proles.

Ille dum sanctam Solymorum urbem
Transiit, dulcem patriam relinquens,
Regios fastus, trabeam, coronam,
Sceptraque tepsit.

Propter et Christum peregrinus exul
 Factus in terris alienis ultro
 Caelicam pura meditatus aulam
 Mente fideque.

Then, comes an account of Colman's transactions much in the manner as related by Erchinfrid; for instance,

Austriæ terras agitabat amens
 Tunc furor : fortes Moravos, Bohemos,
 Pannonos bello simul implicabat
 Inferus hostis.
 Ergo dum sanctum hospitio recepit
 Oppidum nostro Stockheran vocatum
 Patrio ritu, &c.

It was, I dare say, on the authority of this ode that Baronius said that Colman was of a royal family. Dempster, wishing to make Colman, a Scotch prince, fabricated a story of his having been a son of Malcolm I. king of Scotland. To that shameless liar it is sufficient to oppose the silence of Buchanan, who, although he makes mention of more than one son of Malcolm, has nothing about this celebrated St. Colman. Harris, (*Writers at Colman of Lindisfarne*) remarking on Dempster's assumption, fell, as indeed some others had before him, into a strange mistake, confounding Colman of Austria with the one of Lindisfarne. He did not know that the former was killed in 1012, whereas the latter lived in the seventh century.

§. II. St. Helias, or Elias, an Irishman, who has been mentioned already, (7) was in the year 1022 abbot of St. Martin's of Cologne and also of the monastery of St. Pantaleon in said city. He was the third abbot of the former establishment, and the fifth of the latter. St. Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, who had an extraordinary esteem for Helias, insisted on being attended by him, when on his death bed in 1021, as he accordingly was. Helias had been at Rome, and was the first who brought thence the

Roman note or Church music to Cologne. (8) Piligrin, the successor of St. Heribert, was induced to conceive a dislike for Helias and his Irish monks, and accordingly intended to expel them, in the year 1035. His dislike was chiefly occasioned by his supposing, that the discipline maintained by them was too strict. Piligrin was then absent from the city; but, on the Irish being informed of his intention, Helias and his companions said; "If Christ is in us foreigners, may Piligrin not return alive to Cologne." And in fact it turned out so; for Piligrin died soon after. (9) Helias was a rigid observer of monastic discipline, which he carried so far that, a French monk of St. Pantaleon having written, without having asked permission to do so, a neat copy of the Missal for the use of the community, he burned it, lest others should presume to act without previous licence. (10) According to the usage of that period, he is called, as well as Colman, a *Scotus*, that is, an Irish one, as is clear from his having belonged to the monastery of Monaghan before he went to the continent. He died in great reputation of sanctity on the 12th of April, A. D. 1042, (11) at which day his name is marked in various calendars. His immediate successor was probably Molanus, or Molua, who, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 1061. A monastery was erected for the Irish at Erford in Germany by the bishop Walter de Glysburg in 1036. (12) In these times there were many Irish monks at Fulda, (13) the most celebrated of whom was St. Annichad or rather Annchad. (14) It is probable, that he was of the family of the Siolnannchad and of the district of said name, now called the barony of Longford in the county of Galway, adjoining the Shannon. (15) This district lies not far from the island of Iniskeltra (in Lough Derg) in which Annichad was a monk. The occasion of his leaving Ireland was as follows. Being entrusted with the care of strangers, he happened on a certain

occasion to entertain some brethren with the permission of his superior, whose name was Corcran. (16) After they had taken food, and some of them had retired, others, who remained sitting near the fire, asked him to drink something. (17) He refused, alleging that he could not without obtaining leave. At length, being much solicited by them, he consented to do so, but previously sent some of the drink to the superior to be blessed by him. On the next day Corcran inquired of him, why he had sent him that drink, and on Annichad's telling him the whole of what had occurred he immediately, slight as the transgression might appear, ordered him to quit Ireland. Annichad obeyed, and went to Fulda, where, becoming a recluse, he led a very holy life until his death on the 30th of January, *A. D.* 1043. Marianus Scotus, from whom this narrative is taken, (18) adds that he got the account of it from his own superior Tigernach (19) on occasion of his having committed some small fault. He relates, that lights were seen and psalmody heard over Annichad's tomb in the monastery of Fulda, and that, when a recluse there, he celebrated mass over it every day for ten years. He then states, that a most religious monk, named William, did, in his hearing, pray to Annichad, who was already buried, to bless him, and that the saint did so that same night in a vision, as the monk assured him, while Marianus himself during that night felt a very sweet and delicious scent. The reputation of St. Annichad has been very great, and his name is in divers calendars at 30 January.

(7) *Chap.* xxiii. § 5.

(8) See Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* ad *A.* 1021–1022.

(9) Marianus Scotus writes at *A.* 1035; “*Propter religionem districtam disciplinamque nimiam, et propter aliquos Scotus quos secum habebat Helias Scotus abbas, qui monasterium S. Pantaleonis et S. Martini in Colonia pariter regebat, Pilgrinus Colonien-*

sis archiepiscopus invidiosis viris instigatus Heliam abbatem voluit expellere et omnes Scotos monachos, quos secum habebat. Helias Scotus abbas statim, cum de aula regia revertisset, dixit cum cacteris Scotis; *Si Christus in nobis peregrinis est, nunquam vivus ad Coloniam veniat Piligrinus.* Et ita Deus complevit. See also Mabillon, *ib. ad A.* 1035.

(10) Florence of Worcester, at *A.* 1042.

(11) Marianus Scotus has at *A.* 1042. "Helias Scotus obit 2. *id Aprilis*, vir prudens et religiosus." Florence of Worcester, following him as usual, has the same. In various Irish annals, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 107.) we read at said year; "Elias or Elill, from the monastery of Monaghan, head of the Irish monks, died at Cologne."

(12) See the Bollandists at Marianus and Murcherat, 9 February, where they have an excellent dissertation concerning the Scot or Irish monasteries founded in Germany in the 11th and 12th centuries. They prove, that all those monasteries were inhabited by Irishmen, with scarcely an exception, although in later times, when the Irish ceased to crowd to foreign countries, they were usurped by the Scotch in consequence of the equivocation of the name *Scots*. Of this more hereafter.

(13) Marianus Scotus, having mentioned the death of Richard, abbot of Fulda, in 1039, adds, "*Hic etiam multos Scotus secum habebat.*"

(14) Colgan and Bollandus treat of this saint at 30 January.

(15) Colgan observes, that *Siolnamchadha* signifies the race of Anmchad, a chieftain, from whom that noble family descended. Harris says (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) that it was called also *Silanchia*, and that the district was the country of the O'Maddens.

(16) This Corcran wrote a tract concerning the relics and virtues of St. Gormgal, who died in 1017, (see *Chap. xxiii. §.* 16.) which Colgan, who had a copy of it, calls divine. He thinks that he was the same as the celebrated Corcran, who died at Lismore in 1040. (See *ib. §.* 15.) But Corcran of Lismore is not called an abbot, nor even a monk. He is indeed styled *anchorit*; but, considering the manner in which he is spoken of as a distinguished *ecclesiastes* and chief master, or public professor, he was in all probability a secular priest.

(17) *Bibere ab eo petierunt.* Colgan explains these words as if the strangers had asked him to take part of what they had before them. Yet they might be understood as meaning that, although the meal was over, they applied to him for some drink, a demand which was probably not conformable to the discipline of the house.

(18) At *A.* 1043. The whole of it is not in any printed copy of Marianus' chronicle, that I have seen ; but it is quoted from his text by Florence of Worcester at said year.

(19) Who this Tigernach was will be inquired lower down.

§ III. The same Marianus relates, that there was in these times a very famous man in Ireland, and of an extraordinary way of acting with regard to religion, Alderic, or rather Aidus, surnamed *barbosus*, or the bearded. (20) He used to tonsure women and little boys like clergymen, and to announce that converted women ought not to wear veils. Of them, and of girls, boys, and laymen he had a great school. On account of these singularities he was obliged to leave Ireland in 1053. (21) Whither he went we are not informed, nor why some have reckoned him among the Irish writers. (22)

At the year 1058 he gives us an account of the extraordinary conduct of Paternus a Scot, that is, most probably an Irish monk and recluse of a monastery of Paderborn. There were two monasteries in that city, one annexed to the cathedral, and the other consisting merely of monks (23) in which was Paternus, who had lived there as a recluse for many years. A fire broke out in Paderborn on the Friday before Palm Sunday, which was in said year the 10th of April. It had been foretold by Paternus, and seems to have continued for some days. By it the whole city and the two monasteries were consumed ; but, while it was raging, Paternus could not by any means be induced to quit his cell, and remained there for the purpose of obtaining, as he

supposed, the crown of martyrdom. Whether he was right in this notion is a very questionable point ; unless it be maintained, that the vow, which he had made of never leaving his cell, may be considered as an apology for his determination to let himself be burned to death, as in fact he was. Be this as it may, some persons looked upon him as a real martyr ; and one of them was Marianus himself, who set out from Cologne not many days after, *viz.* on the Monday after Low Sunday, for Paderborn, and having visited his tomb on account of the good things that were said of it, prayed on the very mat, on which Paternus had been burned. Thence Marianus went to Fulda together with the abbot of that monastery, who, it seems, had visited Paderborn for a similar purpose. (24)

Marianus, now referred to, who is surnamed *Scotus*, according to the style of the times, was a native of Ireland and born in 1028. (25) He retired from the world in 1052, and became a monk in, as seems very probable, the monastery of Clonard ; for he makes mention of one Tigernach as superior of the establishment he belonged to before he left Ireland. Clonard was governed from the year 1055 until 1061 by Tigernach Borchech, the successor of Tuathal O'Fellarmuin. (26) Tigernach was a very holy man, (27) and there is great reason to think, that he was the superior (28) who, as we have seen above, related to Marianus the reason of St. Amnichad's having gone abroad, and which probably induced him also to quit his country, as he did in 1056, in which year he joined on the 1st of August, the Irish monks of St. Martin at Cologne. There he remained until 1058, when he visited Paderborn, and thence went to Fulda. Somewhat early in 1059, he was ordained priest at Wurtzburg, and not long after became a recluse at Fulda, in which state he spent there ten years.

(29) Concerning this great man more will be seen hereafter.

(20) Florence of Worcestester (at *A.* 1054) calls him *Aedd clericus barbosus*, or bearded clerk. See also Ware and Harris (*Writers* at the eleventh century).

(21) At said year Marianus has ; “ Atdericus” (an erratum, it seems, for *Aidus*) “ barbosus in Hibernia, vir valde famosus et mirae religionis ; ipse enim foeminas et puerulos more clericorum coronando tondebat ; et coronas et non velata capita foeminas conversas debere praedicabat ; earumque scholam et puellarum et puerorum et laicorum multam scholam habebat. Ob id ex Hibernia projectus est.” The words, *mirae religionis*, are rather equivocal ; for it is difficult to suppose, that Marianus meant to exhibit him as a man of wonderful true religion. Perhaps his meaning was, that said Aidus led a very austere life, or, what seems more probable, that he had some strange superstitious notion relative to the utility of the tonsure. The notorious liar Bale, quoted by Harris adds, what Marianus does not even hint at, that he clothed the females in boys apparel for the purpose of carrying on intrigues with them. By *foeminas conversas*, converted females, Marianus meant the same class as that which the French call *converties*, and the Italians *convertite*, who wear a peculiar sort of dress, and live retired in establishments similar to our asylums. That there were institutions for persons of this sort in Ireland at that period may be collected from this narrative.

(22) See Ware and Harris, *ib.*

(23) Mabillon (*Annal. Ben ad A.* 1058.) calls it *monasterium Abdinchofense*.

(24) See Marianus’ chronicle at *A.* 1058, and compare with Florence of Worcester at said year, and Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

(25) He tells us himself at *A.* 1028, that this was the year of his birth. It would be superfluous to enter into a long argument to prove, that Marianus was an Irishman. This is attested by his follower Florence of Worcester, who has (*Chron. ad A.* 1028) ; “ Hoc anno natus est Marianus *Hibernensis* probabilis Scotus ; cuius studio et labore haec chronica praecellens est de diversis libris coadunata.” Florence was partly contemporary with Maria-

nus, who died in 1086, whereas Florence did not live beyond 1118. Usher quotes (*Pr. p. 735.*) from a chronicle of the Cottonian library a passage of the same import; "Anno 1028. Marianus chronographus *Hibernensis* Scottus natus est, qui Chronicam Chronicorum composuit." The Scotch themselves formerly allowed, that Marianus was an Irish Scot, as Usher shows (*ib.*) from the allegation of John de Merton in the year 1301. But in later times some Scotch writers, actuated by a silly national vanity, have pretended that he was a British Scot. And as such he is treated of by Mackenzie, *Lives of the Writers of the Scots nation, Vol 1. p. 99, seqq.* in a rhapsody not worth animadverting upon. What are we to think of an author, who makes even Rabanus Maurus a Scotchman? Labbe, *De Scriptor. Eccles.* Dupin, and the editors of Moreri, not to mention others, hold that Marianus was a native of Ireland.

(26) See Harris (*Bishops of Meath, p. 140.*) and Archdall at *Clonard*.

(27) In the Annals of Clonmacnois, followed by the 4 Masters, on occasion of mentioning the death of Tigernach Borchech in 1061 it is stated, that he was a great spiritual director, an anchorite, and comorban of St. Finnian. (See *AA. SS. p. 206.*) Colgan adds, that his name is in some Irish calendars at 13 March. His being called *comorban* of St. Finnian might lead one to think, that he was bishop of Clonard; but, as I have observed elsewhere, it is doubtful whether Finnian was a bishop; and it is remarkable, that in the list of the superiors of Clonard (*ib. p. 407.*) some are called bishops and others only comorbans. If those comorbans had been all bishops, why were they not styled so?

(28) It might be suspected, that Tigernach the superior of Marianus was the celebrated abbot and chronographer of Clonmacnois. But, besides his having outlived Marianus, it is to be observed that he was not abbot before Marianus left Ireland.

(29) For these respective dates, &c. see his chronicle and that of Florence of Worcester.

§. IV. Dubdalethe III., who was appointed archbishop of Armagh in 1049, (30) was succeeded in his professor's chair by Aidus or Hugh O'Fairreth. It is said, that Dubdalethe was only a nominal arch-

bishop and one of the eight laymen, mentioned by St. Bernard, who enjoyed the emoluments of the see, although not in holy orders. (31) This supposition seems to be confirmed by the circumstance of Aidus O'Foirreth having been made bishop and called *bishop of Armagh* until his death on the 18th of June, A. D. 1056. (32) To reconcile this with Dubdalethe's being then in possession of the see, it must be supposed that Aidus was only a suffragan, and acting as such, probably, in consequence of Dubdalethe's not being authorized to exercise spiritual functions. Add, that Dubdalethe is stated to have died a great penitent, as if he had been guilty of some serious fault, perhaps the usurpation of the archiepiscopal title and rights. And it appears certain, that he resigned, at least in part, the see three years before his death, which occurred on the 1st of September in 1064. (33) For, although some Irish annals bring down his incumbency to the now mentioned date, thus allowing for it 15 years, another account gives him but twelve, and places next after him Cumascach as archbishop of Armagh, to whom it assigns three years. (34) Dubdalethe was a man of learning, and wrote certain annals of the affairs of Ireland, besides an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own times. (35) On his death in 1064, and apparently on Cumascach's withdrawing himself from the government of the diocese, Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) son of Amalgaid, that is, as usually supposed, the archbishop of that name, (36) *took possession of the See* according to the expression of the Annals of Ulster. (37) whereby an allusion seems to be made to his having been a merely nominal archbishop. And it can scarcely be doubted, that he was one of the eight married laymen above spoken of. (38) Yet in 1068 he visited Munster and made a circuit through it, the object of which must have been to exact the dues formerly established conformably to the so called *Law of St. Patrick*. He is, however,

expressly reckoned among the archbishops of Armagh, and held that title for 27 years. (39)

(30) *Chap. xxiii. §. 13.*

(31) Colgan was of this opinion; but the only argument, which he adduces (*Tr. Th. p. 302.*) is, that Dubdalethe was, as he supposed, the father of one Aidus, archdeacon of Armagh, who died in 1108, and who is called son of Dubdalethe. This Aidus was, had he lived longer, expected to be raised to the see. These are, however, not better than conjectural proofs.

(32) *Tr. Th. p. 298.* Aidus O'Foirreth is not in the catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel. He died in the 75th year of his age, and was buried at Armagh. In his epitaph, written in Irish, he is styled an excellent elder and a modest bishop.

(33) Ware was mistaken (*Bishops at Dubdalethe III*) in changing 1064 into 1065. O'Flaherty (*MS. catalogue*) has retained the 1064 of the Ulster annals; for the rule of adding a year to their dates does not generally apply to this period. Add, that the Annals of Innisfallen assign Dubdalethe's death to *A. 1064*.

(34) The Cashel catalogue *ap. Tr. Th. p. 292.* Cumascach is not mentioned in the annals either of Ulster or of the 4 Masters as archbishop of Armagh; but in the latter I find Cumascach O'Heradhain, who is called abbot of Armagh, and died in 1075. (See *ib. p. 298.*) O'Flaherty also has left Cumascach out of his catalogue. Yet it is difficult to believe, that his name would appear in the Cashel catalogue without any foundation; and the Annals of Innisfallen state, that Cumascach O'Heradhain was in 1060 substituted in place of Dubdalethe. The probability is that, although Dubdalethe might have been honoured with the title until his death, Cumascach, acting as his suffragan, exercised such extensive powers during the last three or four years of his incumbency, that he might have been considered as the real archbishop. Harris strove (*Additions to Ware*) to reconcile the Cashel catalogue, as to the 12 years for Dubdalethe, with the Annals, which allow him fifteen, by introducing one Gilla-Patrick Mac-Domnald, who died in 1052, and by making him archbishop before Dubdalethe. But this is contrary to every other account; nor do the 4 Masters, as Harris asserts, or Colgan, when expressly treating of Armagh, call Gilla-Patrick *archbishop of Armagh*; they give him

only the title of *Prior of Armagh*. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 289. and *Ind. Chron.*) It is true, that in *AA. SS.* p. 200 said Gilla-Patrick is named as *archbishop*. This must be a mistake; for, had he been such, this title would appear somewhere in *Tr. Th.* ex. c. p. 302.

(35) See Ware (*Bishops and Writers at Dubdalethe III.*) and Colgan, *loc. cit.*

(36) See *Chap. xxiii.* §. 13.

(37) See Ware. *Bishops at Dubdalethe III.*

(38) See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 302. St. Celsus, who became archbishop of Armagh early in the 12th century, was a grandson of Moeliosa, and a Flanagan, son of Moeliosa, is marked as having died in 1113. after, as was supposed, he was to be appointed abbot of Armagh.

(39) Catalogue from the Psalter of Cashel, and Ware, *Bishops at Moeliosa.*

§. v. As to the other old and regular sees, the accounts of the succession of their prelates during the second half of this century are in general far from being perfect. One O'Gernidider, bishop of Killaloe, died in 1055; Mugron O'Mutan of Cork was murdered, it seems, by robbers in 1057. Mac-Airthir, bishop of Lismore, died in 1064, and Celecair of Clonmacnois in 1067. (40) Maelmorda, bishop of Emly and successor of Clothna Muimnech, (41) died in 1075 and was succeeded by Maeliosa O'Haractain, who lived until 1093. (42) At length we meet with bishops of Ardfert. The bishop Dermot, son of Maol-Brenan, died in 1075, and his successor Mac-Craith O'Heardain in 1099. (43) Kellach *Ramhar*, or the fat, bishop of Saigir and abbot of Birr, died in 1079. (44) Another bishop of Killaloe, Thady O'Thady, died in 1083. (45) The death of Aidus or Hugh O'Hoisin, bishop of Tuam, is marked at 1085, and at 1086 that of his successor Erhad O'Maelomair, who was succeeded by Cormac O'Cairill, who died in 1091. (46) The episcopal succession seems to have been regularly

kept up at Glendaloch. A very distinguished bishop of this see was Gilda-na-Naomh, (*the servant of the saints*) or Nehemias. He was a native of Leinster, and after some time, resigning his see, became abbot of the monks (Irish) of Wurtzburg, where he died on the 7th of April *A. D.* 1085. (47) To the same year is assigned the death of a bishop of Cork, Clerech O'Selbaic, (48) and that of Fin Mac-Gussan, bishop of Kildare. (49) Fin must have been succeeded by Ferdornach, who was certainly bishop of Kildare in 1096, (50) and seems to have resigned the see in said year. For, the death of Moelbrigid O'Brolcan, who is called bishop of Kildare and Leinster, and a celebrated man, is marked at 1097, although it is known that Ferdornach lived until 1101. The title of *bishop of Leinster* had been assumed also by Ferdornach in consequence of Kildare having been then considered the most respectable see in that province. After Moelbrigid O'Brolcan the next bishop was Aidus O'Heremoin, who died in 1100, and then is mentioned at 1101 the death of Ferdornach. (51) Another bishop of Lismore, Maelduin O'Rebecain, died in 1091, and O'Malvain of Cloyne in 1095, in which year died also Carbre O'Kethernuigh (Kearney) bishop of Ferns. (52) One O'Burgus, who died in 1081, is called comorban of Inniscatthy; (53) but I cannot decide whether he were bishop of that place, as I think I could, were he styled comorban of St. Senan its first bishop. Idunan, who together with some others signed, in 1096, a letter, of which lower down, to St. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, styling himself bishop of Meath, (54) was in all probability bishop of Clonard, and, it seems, the first of that see who assumed the title of Meath, which after some time became the usual one of his successors. (55) Concerning Idunan I cannot find any thing further, nor even the year of his death. In the same manner as he called himself bishop of Meath, so I meet with

a bishop under the title of Leinster in general, Kelius son of Donagan, who is represented as a distinguished elder among those of Ireland, and died in the reputation of sanctity at Glendaloch in 1076. (56) It might seem, that he was bishop of Kildare, as Ferdonnach was who gave himself said title; but it is to be observed, that his name does not occur in the catalogues expressly drawn up of the prelates of Kildare, (57) and it is probable that the title, *bishop of Leinster*, means no more than that he was a Leinster bishop, and that he was so called in consequence of there not remaining any record of the particular see or place, which he governed.

(40) Ware, *Bishops* at the respective sees. Harris has added two bishops of Clonmacnois in these times, viz Ectigern O'Ergain, who died in 1052, and Alild O'Harretaigh, who died in 1070. He found them in *AA. SS. p. 407*, under the title of comorbans of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois, and as having both died in pilgrimage at Clonard. But he had no right to make them bishops; for, *comorban of St Kieran, &c.* means only *abbot of Clonmacnois*, whereas that St. Kieran had not been a bishop.

(41) See Chap. xxiv. §. 14. (42) Ware at *Emly*.

(43) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1075* and 1099; and Ware at *Ardfert*. In said Annals I find under *A. 1010* these words; "The primate of Ireland in Aghadoe died." Have they a reference to some Kerry bishop of that period? I am equally at a loss to understand another passage at said year; "Marcan son of Kennedy, supreme head of the clergy of Munster, died." I find no Marcan at Emly during that period, and I am much inclined to think, that Marcan was bishop of Cashel, which see had, partly as the civil metropolis of Munster, and partly in memory of Cormac Mac Culinan, probably acquired an ecclesiastical ascendancy. Marcan's being called son of Kennedy in the very part of those annals, where Brian (Boroimhe) is so often named as son of Kennedy, seems to indicate, that he was a brother of his. (See *Chap. xxii. §. 4.*) For Marcan see more below, *Not. 120.*

(44) He is called *comorban* of Kieran of Saigir, and hence

may be supposed to have been a bishop. See *AA. SS.* p. 473. and Harris, *Bishops*, at *Ossory*.

(45) Ware and Harris, *Bishops* at *Killaloe*.

(46) *Ib.* at *Tuam*, and *Tr. Th.* p. 308.

(47) *AA. SS.* p. 200. where Colgan calls him *Nehemias*, and Harris, *Bishops* at *Glendaloch*. Harris next before him makes mention of Cormac, son of Fithbran, not *Fitzbran* as he has, who died in 925. He doubts whether he were bishop of Glendaloch; and indeed justly; for, as far as I know, all that is said of him is what the 4 Masters have (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 386); *Cormac of Glendaloch, son of Fithbran, died in 925*. Of the Irish monastery of Wurtzburg more will be seen hereafter.

(48) Ware and Harris at *Cork*. Ware has added, but I believe without sufficient reason, a year to the date 1085 of the *Annals of Loughkee*.

(49) Colgan says, (*Tr. Th.* p. 630.) that this bishop died in the church of *Killachad*. Ware (*Bishops* at *Kildare*) has *Achonry*. I think that he should have rather said *Killeigh* (in the King's county), where there was, as we have often seen, a very ancient and famous monastery, and where Ware himself tells us that a bishop of Kildare died in 1160.

(50) Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad A.* 1096.

(51) *Tr. Th.* p. 630. Ware (*Bishops* at *Kildare*) says, I know not on what authority, that Ferdornach returned again to the see, meaning after the death of Aidus O'Heremoin. Is it because, where his death is marked at 1101, he is called *bishop* of Kildare? But he might have been called so without having resumed the office, remaining, as we would say, an ex-bishop. I suspect, that Ware was mistaken in changing the date 1101 into 1102.

(52) Ware, *Bishops* at said sees, and *AA. SS.* p. 223.

(53) *AA. SS.* p. 542. and Harris, *Bishops* p. 502.

(54) See *Ep.* 34. in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Syll.*

(55) See Ware, *Bishops* at *Meath*. Were we to allow that, persons, called comorbans of Finian of Clonard, were bishops, we should add for that see in those times Tuathal O'Follanmuin, who died in 1055, and one or two more, whose names are mentioned by Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 407. and Ware and Harris, *Bishops* *ib.* But they were probably only abbots. (See above *Not.* 27.)

(56) 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*)

(57) Kelius is not mentioned in Colgan's minute list of the prelates, &c. of Kildarc, (*Tr. Th. p. 229. seqq.*) and consequently is omitted by Ware and Harris.

§. VI. A very illustrious prelate of this period was Donnald O'Heine (58) bishop, or, as some have called him, archbishop of Cashel. He was of the royal house of the Dalcassians, and is most highly praised in our annals as an excellent bishop, exceedingly learned, pious, and charitable. He died on the 1st of December, A. D. 1098, in the 70th year of his age. (59) He was succeeded by Moelmurry O'Dunain, who is also called archbishop. But of this title more elsewhere. Donnald was undoubtedly the Irish bishop Donnald, to whom there is extant a letter or answer of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, written in 1081. (60) And hence it appears that those were highly mistaken, who thought, that this Donnald was archbishop of Armagh, as likewise others, who confounded him with Donatus bishop of Dublin. (61) Donnald had, together with some other persons, written a letter to Lanfranc, in which, as appears from the answer, he expressed a wish to know, whether it were true that in England and some other countries an opinion was held, that infants, although baptized, could not be saved without actually receiving eucharistical communion. It seems, that, as the practice of giving the holy Eucharist to infants after baptism continued for many centuries, as was certainly the case in some parts of France down to perhaps the tenth, there was a question in the Irish schools concerning the necessity of that practice; and accordingly Lanfranc was applied to as a theologian highly capable both of deciding upon it and of declaring the doctrine held in other countries on this point. His answer, though short, is excellent; and he shows, that Eucharistical communion is not in all cases

whatsoever necessary for eternal salvation. With regard to some literary topics, which Domnald had proposed to him, Lanfranc observes that he had given up studies of this nature since he became charged with pastoral duties. Domnald was also, as will be seen, one of the persons, who signed the letter to St. Anselm in 1096.

(58) Ware (at *Archbishops of Cashel*) says, that he was called O'Hene or *Buahein*. This *Buahein* is a droll mistake for *Hua-Hein*, or *O'Hein*, which was Domnald's real surname, or, as in the Annals of Innisfallen, *O'Heine*.

(59) The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 308.*) have; "A. 1098. " Domnald Hua-Henne, of the Dalcassian family, a chief director of consciences and a noble bishop, second to no Irishman " in wisdom or piety, source of religion to Western Europe, the " most able doctor of the Irish in the Roman or Canon law, " ended this life on the 1st of December in the 70th year of his " age." And at the same year we read in the annals of Innisfallen; " Donald O'Heine, archbishop of Cashel, and the most " celebrated for piety, wisdom, and charity throughout the whole " kingdom, died." It is odd, that Ware assigns his death to 1090 or 1097. I wish he had not neglected, as he too often does, to give us his authority for either of these dates.

(60) This letter was published by Usher in the *Ep. Hib. Syll.* (No. 28.) and afterwards by Dachery among the works of St. Lanfranc, where it is marked *Ep. 33.* Usher observes from the Annals of Canterbury, in which the name *Domnald* is expressly mentioned, that it was written in the eleventh year of Lanfranc's episcopacy, which was *A. D. 1081.*

(61) Usher himself in his note on said letter fell into the error of supposing, that Domnald, to whom it was addressed, was archbishop of Armagh. He seems not to have known, or to have forgot, that Domnald of Armagh was not archbishop there until 1091. Even Ware (at *Domnald* or *Donald* of Armagh) has committed the same mistake, notwithstanding his having marked the year of Domnald's accession; but he seems to have overlooked the date of the letter. Harris (*ib.*) has copied this mistake. Dachery says, that Domnald was either of Armagh or of Dublin, as

a metropolitan of Ireland ; but Lanfranc does not give him any such title ; nor was the bishop of Dublin at that time a metropolitan. This, together with some other points touched upon by Dacherly in his note, shows that he was very little acquainted with the ecclesiastical state of Ireland in old times. Some English writers make Domnald the same as Donatus bishop of Dublin, in consequence, it seems, of the name *Domnald* not being, in some MSS., written full at the head of the letter, but, instead of it, only the capital *D*. Had they reflected on what Usher quoted from the Annals of Canterbury, they would have found, that *D*. stood for *Domnald*, a very different name from that of Donatus, which was originally *Dunan* or perhaps *Donagh*. (See Chap. xxiii. §. 16.) Next it is evident that, as it was written in 1081, it could not have been directed to Donatus of Dublin, who died in 1074. Wilkins, who published it, (*Concil. M. Br. Sc. Vol. 1. p. 361.*) as if addressed to Donatus, has given it, seemingly to ward off this difficulty, a wrong date, viz. *A. 1073*. Harris, although he had followed Ware in confounding Domnald with the one of Armagh, yet elsewhere (*Bishops of Dublin at Donat*) joins Wilkins in making him the same as Donatus. All this bungling would have been avoided, had due attention been paid to what the Irish annals state concerning Domnald of Cashel. He was the only bishop, at least of any note, in Ireland, of that name, in the year 1081.

§. vii. Donatus, or rather Dunan, (62) bishop of Dublin, died on the 6th of May, *A. D. 1074*, and was buried in his cathedral of the Holy Trinity near the great altar at the right side of it. (63) The clergy and people of Dublin then elected as his successor a priest, named Patrick, who, in all probability, was not, as is usually said, a Dane but an Irishman. (64) He had been recommended to them by Gothric, then king of Dublin, (65) who is supposed to have been the same as Godred, surnamed Crouan, king of the Isle of Mann, who, sometime before, had conquered Dublin and part of Leinster. (66) Patrick was sent by Gothric to Lanfranc, to be consecrated by him, bearing a letter from the clergy and people of Dublin in these terms ; (67) “ *To the*

“ *venerable metropolitan of the holy church of*
“ *Canterbury Lanfranc the clergy and people of*
“ *the church of Dublin offer due obedience.* It is
“ known to your paternity, that the church of
“ Dublin, *which is the metropolis of the island of*
“ *Ireland,* (68) is bereft of its pastor and destitute
“ of a ruler. We have therefore chosen a priest,
“ named Patrick, very well known to us, of noble
“ birth and conduct, versed in apostolical and ec-
“ clesiastical discipline, in faith a Catholic, cautious
“ as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and well
“ trained in ecclesiastical dogmas ; who, we request,
“ may be ordained bishop for us as soon as possible,
“ that under the authority of God he may be able
“ to preside over us regularly and be useful to us,
“ and that under his government we may be able to
“ combat with advantage. For the integrity of
“ superiors constitutes the safety of the subjects,
“ and, where there is the healthfulness of obedience,
“ there the form of instruction is salutary.” On
his arrival Patrick was examined, as usual, by Lan-
franc, and, being found well qualified for the episcopal
office, was consecrated by him in St. Paul’s church,
London, (69) after having previously made the fol-
lowing profession of obedience. (70) “ Whoever
“ presides over others ought not to scorn to be
“ subject to others, but rather make it his study to
“ humbly render, in God’s name, to his superiors
“ the obedience, which he expects from those, who
“ are placed under him. On this account I Patrick,
“ elected prelate to govern Dublin the metropolis of
“ Ireland do, reverend father Lanfranc, primate of
“ the *Britains,* (71) and archbishop of the holy
“ church of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of
“ my profession ; and I promise to obey thee and
“ thy successors in all things appertaining to the
“ Christian religion.” The preamble to this pro-
fession sufficiently indicates, that it was a new prac-
tice, and that Patrick was the first bishop of Dublin,

who, at least previous to his consecration, declared his obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury. What necessity would there have been for such parade about not scorning to be subject to others, and talking of offering a charter of profession, if such a circumstance had occurred before? For, if it had, Patrick would have been obliged, whether he would or not, to declare his obedience in the simple and positive form used by such of his predecessors as remained subject to Canterbury. (72)

(62) See *Chap. xxiii. §. 16.*

(63) *Annals of Dublin, ap. Usher (Syll. Not. ad Ep. 25.) and Ware Bishops of Dublin at Donatus.*

(64) Ware represents him (*ib. at Patrick*) as an Ostman or Dane in like manner as he had Donatus, of whom we have seen already. For this he had, as far as I can discover, no authority except the mere supposition, that the bishop of a Danish city must have been himself a Dane. But this would prove too much; for the two O'Hanlys, who succeeded Patrick in the see of Dublin, are acknowledged to have been Irishmen, as their name sufficiently proves, that is, of old Irish, not Danish families. And it is in this sense that I say, that both Donatus and Patrick were probably Irish; for according to another acceptation the Danes themselves of these times, settled in Ireland, might be called Irish, as having been born in this country. It is also to be observed, that Dublin was not quite so much a Danish city but that there were families of the old Irish stock living in it. And it appears to me highly probable, that its clergy were at this period chiefly, if not universally, Irish. The Danes were too much occupied in commerce, piracy, and wars to spare persons for the ecclesiastical state; and I believe, that in the same manner as in Gaul, Italy and Spain, after they were conquered by the barbarians of the North, and after these barbarians became Christians and Catholics, the clergy consisted for a considerable time of members of the old families of said countries; the clergy also of Ireland that lived among the converted Danes, were usually chosen in the early times of their conversion, from the families strictly called Irish. We shall see an instance of

this practice in the case of Malchus, the first bishop of Waterford. To return to Patrick, his name is certainly Irish, not Scandinavian; and to make it appear more strongly so, he is called *Gilla* or *Gilla-Patrick* in the annals of the 4 Masters at A. 1084 *ap AA. SS. p. 200.*

(65) Annals of Dublin *ap Usher, loc. cit.*

(66) In the *Chronicon Manniae ap. Johnstone (App. to Antiq. Celto-Scand. &c.)* Godred Crouan is said to have been son of Harald the black of Iceland. He subdued Mann, and afterwards attacked Dublin, which he got possession of together with, according to said chronicle, a great part of Leinster. His words are; "*Godredus subjugavit sibi Dubliniam et magnam partem de Laynestir—Regnavit autem sexdecim annos, et mortuus est in insula, quae vocatur Yle.*" Usher, who quotes this passage (*Syll. &c. Not. ad Ep. 26.*) places this conquest of Dublin in 1066, as does also Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) who however (*Bishops of Dublin at Patrick*) assigns it to 1070. There is some reason to think that Gothric, who was king of Dublin in 1074, was different from Godred Crouan, although Usher and Ware thought otherwise. For in the first place he is called son not of Harald but of Regnal, as the Ulster annals have, or of Ranold, as he is called in those of Innisfallen. In the latter annals we read, that in the year 1073 Godfrey (Gothric) son of Ranold, and king of the Danes of Dublin, attended at the residence of Turlogh O'Brian, king of Ireland, and submitted to him as his paramount sovereign, acknowledging himself as a vassal prince. Then they state, that in 1075 he was banished beyond sea by Turlogh, and that returning soon after to Ireland with a great fleet he died. This does not agree with what the Chronicle of Mann has concerning the death of Godred Crouan, which it places in Yle, that is, Ilay, an island of the Hebrides. The statement of this chronicle as to Godred Crouan having reigned 16 years, cannot be understood of his having reigned so long over Dublin; for he did not conquer Dublin until 1066, whereas the Danish king of said city, whether the same as Godred Crouan or not, died in 1075, as is marked also in the Annals of Ulster, which, as above observed, call him son of Regnal, *alias* Ranold or Reginald. By the bye, Ware had no right to change the date 1075 into 1076; for it is that also of the Annals of Innisfallen.

The 16 years of Godred Crouan's reign must therefore be understood of a reign over Mann and some of the Hebrides. And one might be induced to suspect, that his conquest of Dublin and of a *great* part of Leinster, as the Chronicle of Mann mentions, was merely temporary, and that the permanent king of Dublin, who was there in 1074 and died in 1075, was a different person. A further inquiry into this matter may be worth the attention of some of our antiquaries.

(67) This letter is the 25th in Usher's *Sylloge*, and the 36th among Lanfranc's letters in Dachery's edition of his works.

(68) It must be considered a great stretch of presumption in the Danes of those times to call Dublin the metropolis of Ireland. The most they could have said of it was, that it was the chief city of the Danes in this country. It might seem that these words are an interpolation of some late transcriber of the letter, introduced at a time when Dublin was really the metropolis, and for the purpose of directing the reader not to confound *Dublinensis* with some other name, *ex. c. Dunelmensis*, as has happened on a certain occasion, of which elsewhere. But we find a similar expression in Patrick's profession of obedience. Yet it is to be remarked, that it does not occur in those of his successors, in which is merely said of Dublin, that *it is situated in Ireland*.

(69) See Usher's *note* on said letter, *Sylloge*, &c.

(70) The original of this profession may be seen *ib.* towards the end, together with other professions of some bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, collected by Usher. It is also in Ware's *Bishops of Dublin at Patrick*, and in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. 1. p. 80.

(71) The English translator of Ware (*ib.*) had no right to render *Britanniarum* by the *British isles*. Harris has mistranslated it in a similar manner. That name means nothing more than Great Britain, as is clear from the other professions *ap.* Usher, in which the archbishop of Canterbury *pro tempore* is addressed as *totius Britanniae primas, primate of all Britain*. Now Ireland was never considered as a part of Britain, although it has been sometimes comprized under the general denomination of the *British islands*; nor did the primacy of Canterbury ever extend to any portion of Ireland, except the three Danish towns above mentioned. It was very usual with old writers to call G. Britain *Bri-*

tinniae, without the least allusion to Ireland, in the same manner as Gaul was called *Galliae*. Thus Catullus has said; *Hunc Galliae timent, timent Britanniae*. Dr. Milner, who would fain make the world believe, that the whole Irish church was in former times subject to the see of Canterbury, says, (*Inquiry, &c. or Tour in Ireland, p. 164.*) that Polybius and Ptolemy understand by *Britanniae* both G. Britain and Ireland. He copied this from Cressy, *B. XIII. ch. 14.* But both of them should have said, that they called them the *British islands*, (see Polybus, *Hist. L. 3. p. 209* Cuaub. and Ptolemy, *Geogr. L. 2. and 8.* (a name not to be confounded with *Britanniae*, which, together with many other writers, Bede applies to G. Britain alone, *ex. c. L. v. cap. 24.* where he has *Britannias* twice, as when he says, that the emperor Claudius “*Britannias adiens plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit;*” and he has (*ib.*) also *Britanniarum* in the same limited acceptation, alluding to his having, more or less, given an account of the ecclesiastical history and state of every part of G. Britain as well Northern as Southern. I need scarcely tell the reader, that the division of Britain, when under the Romans, into provinces, such as *Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, &c.* gave rise to the plural name *Britanniae*. It is true that Ptolemy in one place calls Ireland *Little Britain*, and that Apuleius, translating from a Greek passage, in which the two British islands are mentioned, has *Britanniae duae*. (See Usher, *p. 723, 724.*) But an odd instance of this sort is not sufficient to overturn the fact, that in Bede’s time, and both long before it and ever since, Ireland was not comprized under the name *Britanniae*. Accordingly Lanfranc’s being styled *primate of the Britains* signifies merely, that he was primate of all G. Britain, a title which had been opposed by Thomas, archbishop of York, and which was introduced into Patrick’s profession probably for no other reason than to attest the superiority of Canterbury over York. It would be ridiculous to suppose, that Lanfranc was considered as primate also of Ireland, which had then, and for ages before, a primate of her own; nor does there appear in any of his transactions even a hint at his claiming such a prerogative. Dr. Ledwich (*Antiq. &c. p. 428*) has swallowed the mistranslation of *Britanniarum* in the English text of Ware.

(72) In the other professions of obedience to the archbishop of

Canterbury, collected by Usher in the *Sylloge*, we find merely an absolute promise of submission, without any reason being assigned for it. We have seen already, (*Not.* 138 to *Chap.* xxiii.) that the ecclesiastical connexion between the Danes of Ireland and Canterbury did not begin until after the Norman conquest in 1066. And in fact how could it have begun sooner? Is it to be supposed, that they would have placed themselves under the prelates of that see, while the Anglo-Saxons, a nation with whom they were as much at variance as with the Irish, ruled England? Perhaps it may be said, that they united themselves with Canterbury, prior to the reign of Edward the Confessor in 1042, while England was subject to the Danish kings for somewhat more than 20 years. But of this there does not exist any proof whatsoever, and it would be idle to speculate on a circumstance, which is not mentioned in any document. The most that may be conjectured is, that, after the conquest in 1066, perhaps Donatus entered into some engagement with the see of Canterbury, and that it was arranged before his death, that his successor should be consecrated by its archbishop. But even for this no voucher is to be found. There are two or three words in Lanfranc's letter to Gothric, king of Dublin, which may seem to insinuate, that Patrick was not the first bishop of Dublin consecrated at Canterbury. Having said that he had consecrated Patrick, he adds; "we have sent him back to his see with letters of attestation according to the practice of our predecessors, *more antecessorum nostrorum*. One might imagine, that Lanfranc alluded to similar letters having been given to other bishops of Dublin by former archbishops of Canterbury; and, in fact, said words are placed in the Annals of Dublin (*ap.* Usher, *Not. ad Ep.* 25. *Syll.*) so as apparently to convey this meaning. But this could not have been the intention of Lanfranc; for, where can any account of such letters be met with? And then who were those *predecessors*, who could have given them? At most there should have been only one *predecessor*, whereas there was only one bishop of Dublin before Patrick. Lanfranc's words must therefore be understood as signifying that, inasmuch as it was the practice of the archbishops of Canterbury to furnish such bishops, whoever they were, as they had consecrated, with testimonial letters, he followed that practice with regard to Patrick. It was requisite to inform the Danes of this custom, as they were

hitherto unacquainted with the forms observed by metropolitans in such cases.

§. VIII. But this is a question of little importance compared with the extravagant position laid down by some writers, chiefly English, that the archbishops of Canterbury possessed a metropolitan, or, at least, a legatine jurisdiction over the Irish church at large, ever since the days of the monk Augustin down to these times and even later. It is strange, how such a notion could have been entertained, whereas in the whole range of our ecclesiastical history there is not a single instance of the exercise of such power on the part of Canterbury, nor even of a pretension to such a claim with regard to any part of Ireland, except Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, when after the Norman conquest of England the Danes of these cities subjected their bishops to that see. It was after that great event, that, as far as I can discover, the idea of Canterbury having at any time enjoyed a metropolitan or primatial jurisdiction over Ireland was first started in England. This was in a council held at Winchester *A. D.* 1072, in the presence of William the conqueror, for the purpose of deciding on the question of the primacy between Canterbury and York. In it Bede's authority was alleged to make it appear, that until his times Canterbury was possessed of a primatial authority not only over Great Britain but likewise over Ireland. (73) This ridiculous assumption, for which, speaking of primatial or metropolitan power, there is not a single argument or even hint in Bede's works, has been picked up by certain authors, who brought down that pretended jurisdiction over Ireland to a later period, and have imposed on some otherwise learned writers. (74) As this nonsense was found to be untenable, an attempt has been made to uphold some sort of predominance of the see of Canterbury over the whole

Irish church, and hence has arisen the fable that the archbishops of that see had constantly claimed, from the times of Augustin, a legatine power over Ireland. (75) The chief foundation, on which it is built, is the supposition that Pope Gregory the great had included Ireland among the countries, over which he conferred a legatine jurisdiction to the missionary Augustin. (76) Now, admitting for a while that he had done so, what has this to do with the rights of Augustine's successors at Canterbury? Surely the legatine power does not of itself descend to the successors of such bishops as may have been invested with it. Every one any way acquainted with the Canon law knows, that it is usually a temporary and not permanent sort of power attached to any see. Gregory did not declare, that it was his intention that the successors of Augustin should be invested with said power, nor in the words, by which he granted it to him, has he even alluded to them. Accordingly, whatsoever were the places or countries comprized in the Pope's grant to Augustin, the legatine jurisdiction was peculiar to Augustin himself; nor could his successors claim it as a right inseparable from the archbishopric of Canterbury. Hence it follows that, supposing even that Ireland was included within the sphere of Augustin's jurisdiction as legate, his successors were not invested with any power relative to it. (77)

(73) See Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* L. 61 §. 51. The assertion made in that council was false even as to a considerable part of Great Britain. For the jurisdiction of Canterbury did not in former times extend to such parts of North Britain as had not belonged to the Anglo-Saxons. It was not recognized by the British Scots or by the Northern Picts, whose primate was for centuries no other than the abbot of Hy. But I am not writing the Church history of Scotland.

(74) Among the abettors of that foolish position were Campion

and Hamner, the former of whom was well chastised by Usher (see *Not.* 138. to *Chap.* xxiii.) and the latter excited the indignation of honest Keating (*History, &c. B. 2. p.* 100. Dublin ed). For an answer to similar petty writers I refer the reader to Harris, *Bishops, p.* 312 and 526. Cressy has the same stuff (*Church history, &c. B. xiii. ch.* 14.) founding it on Lanfranc's letter above mentioned to Gothric, and on the letter, relative to the see of Waterford, written to Anselm in 1096; as if all Ireland consisted only of Dublin and Waterford. But I was greatly surprized to find so learned a man as Dachery abetting this absurdity. In a note to Lanfranc's *Ep.* 3. he says, that the Irish bishops were subject to the see of Canterbury, and as a proof of it refers to the professions of obedience collected by Usher in the *Sylloge*, not knowing that Usher had shown elsewhere, that such professions were confined to Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. And in a note to *Ep.* 33. he states, that the metropolitan of Ireland was subject to that of Canterbury. How ignorant Dachery was of our ecclesiastical system appears from his applying (*ib.*) to Ireland what Bede has (*Hist. &c. L. c.* 4.) concerning the bishops of North Pictland being subject to the abbot of Hy.

(75) Who was the inventor of this story I do not know; but Dr. Milner has retailed it to us in the place quoted above (*Not.* 71.) thus modifying the system of his favourite Cressy. But some of his arguments, being similar to those of Cressy, would, if good for any thing, prove that said supposed jurisdiction was not merely legatine, but likewise metropolitan.

(76) Dr. Milner says, that the archbishops of Canterbury claimed this jurisdiction "ever since the time of St. Augustine, by virtue of the authority *over all the Britains*, conferred by St. Gregory upon this our apostle." Instead of *over all the Britains*, he should have written, *over all the bishops of the Britains*; for Gregory's words, as in Bede, (*L. 1. c.* 27.) and which are quoted by Dr. Milner himself, are; "*Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus.*" For the word *Britanniarum* see above *Not.* 71.

(77) It is extraordinary, that Dr. Milner could have argued from the legatine power having been conferred upon Augustin,

that it was derived to all his successors. He cannot be ignorant of the nature of that sort of power; and as to the fact of its being exercised or claimed by *all* the archbishops of Canterbury, it would be a hopeless task to attempt to prove it. We have had legates apostolic in Ireland, the first of whom was Gillebert bishop of Limerick. Have the subsequent bishops of Limerick therefore pretended, that they also were invested with the legatine jurisdiction? Or have the successors of St. Malachy of Armagh, or of St. Lawrence of Dublin, both legates apostolic, claimed that dignity? It is true, that with regard to England, whenever a Pope thought fit to appoint a legate for that country, a traditional rule was observed that the archbishop of Canterbury should be the person; and hence it was that Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who in the year 1100 came to England as legate apostolic, would not be received as such. But this was a system very different from that, which would make every archbishop of Canterbury an apostolic legate. If such were the case, a new act of the Pope would not have been necessary for granting the legatine power to an archbishop of that see. Now it is certain that it was; and we find, that even Lanfranc did not enjoy it until about a year after he was actually archbishop of Canterbury, when he received it, and relatively to England alone, from Pope Alexander III. (See Fleury, *L.* 61. §. 36.)

§. IX. The truth, however, is, that Ireland was not included in the grant of the legatine jurisdiction made by Pope Gregory to Augustine. The first legate ever placed over this country was Gillebert, bishop of Limerick, who flourished in the close of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century. (78) No argument whatsoever occurs to show, that Augustin received such authority with regard to Ireland, except the misinterpretation of one word, *Britanniarum*, which, instead of being understood, as it ought, of Great Britain alone, has been made to comprehend likewise Ireland. (79) Augustin's legatine power was confined to G. Britain, over all whose bishops the Pope gave him an authoritative right of inspection and superintendence, and that

for a very good reason, viz. that, in consequence of the Saxon invasion and devastations, religion, ecclesiastical discipline, and morality had greatly declined among the Britons. (80) On the contrary the Irish church was at that period in a most flourishing state, abounding in saints and learned men, as we have seen in the history of the sixth and seventh centuries, and as must have been well known by Augustin, who was then so near us, and by Pope Gregory himself, had he even no further proof of it than the extraordinary sanctity and reputation of St. Columbanus and his companions, who were already in the continent. The Irish bishops and clergy of those days were so attentive to their duties, that there was no necessity for placing a superintendent over them. So far from Augustin having meddled with the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, it is clear that he did not enter into any communications or correspondence with the Irish prelates or abbots, &c. (81) Had he thought himself invested with any jurisdiction over the bishops of Ireland, he certainly would, at least, have apprized them of his possessing it. Nor, although some of our old writers have mentioned certain persons as having been at early times apostolical legates for Ireland, such as David, an archbishop of Armagh, and St. Laserian of Leighlin, (82) yet not a word is to be found in any Irish document of Augustin having ever exercised or thought of exercising such jurisdiction, or of his having been so styled, with regard to Ireland.

(78) See St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*, cap. 7.

(79) Among other questions Augustin had asked of the Pope how he should act with regard to the bishops of the Gauls and of the Britains; "*Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum Britanniarumque episcopis agere?*" The Pope answers, that he gives him no authority whatsoever over the bishops of the Gauls, but tells him that, if he should happen to go to the Gauls, and that he find any bishops guilty of misconduct, he may admonish and advise them

to reform themselves, without, however, assuming any sort of jurisdiction over them. For, he says, if the exercise of authority be necessary to recal such bishops to their duty, you must treat with the bishop of Arles as the person invested with power over the Gauls, and excite him to act with vigour. “ But we entrust all the bishops of the Britains (*Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos*) to your fraternity, that the unlearned may be instructed, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority. (See *Interrog. vii. ap. Bede, L. 1. c. 27.*) Here there is not a word relative to Ireland, and it is a pitiful quibble to lay any stress upon Augustin’s and consequently Gregory’s having called Great Britain by the plural name *Britanniarum* in the same manner as they gave to Gaul that of *Galliarum*. Of what consequence is it, that one or two writers, touching on the topography of these islands, may have in a loose manner called them *Britanniae*? The question is what did Augustin, and accordingly Gregory, mean in using that name on an occasion, in which particular precision was requisite. If they had Ireland at all in view, surely they would, according to the general phraseology of the times, have added *Scotia*, or mentioned the bishops of the Scots who inhabit Ireland, as Bede does, (*L. 2. c. 4.*) where he speaks of the letter of Laurentius, &c. to the bishops of Scotia or Ireland. And if there was any idea of Ireland being included under the *Britanniarum* of Augustin and Gregory, Bede would certainly have made some observation on it; but such a notion never struck him, and he himself used that word as also *Britannias* for Great Britain alone. (See above *Not. 71.*)

(80) Fleury, who had no idea of Dr. Milner’s interpretation of *Britanniarum*, having stated, (*L. 36. §. 38.*) that the Pope granted a jurisdiction to Augustin over the bishops of *Britain*, adds; “ C’etoit les évêques des Bretons, anciens habitans de l’île, chrétiens depuis long-temps, mais tombés dans l’ignorance et la corruption des mœurs.”

(81) This is sufficiently clear from the letter of Laurence, &c. to the Irish bishops and abbots *ap. Bede L. 2. c. 4.* (see *Not. 233 to Chap. xiv.*); for in it they say, that they did not know that the Irish followed ecclesiastical practices not different from those of the Britons, until they learned it through the bishop Dagan after his arrival in Britain. If Augustin, who was dead at this time,

had had any correspondence with the Irish prelates, this want of information could not have continued until the interview took place between Laurence &c. and Dagan.

(82) For David see *Chap. x. §. 13.* As for Laserian having been styled *legatus apostolicus*, it meant originally nothing more than that he had been deputed to Rome as a messenger or agent relatively to the Paschal question. (See *Chap. xv. §. 9.*)

§. x. Another argument in favour of the pretended power of the archbishops of Canterbury has been squeezed from the circumstance of Laurence, the successor of Augustine, having written, together with Mellitus and Justus, to the bishops and abbots of Ireland concerning certain Irish practices, which they thought wrong, and from an observation of Bede that Laurence, by so doing, extended his pastoral solicitude to the people of Ireland. (83) But neither in said letter nor in Bede's remark is there any thing to make it appear, that Laurence acted in the capacity of an apostolic legate, or that he pretended to any jurisdiction over the Irish church. From the little of it that remains it is evident, that it was a letter merely of exhortation and advice, such as every bishop or number of bishops might write to other bishops without claiming any authority over them. Innumerable letters of this kind are to be met with in ecclesiastical history, and many of them written even to Popes. Laurence assumes no title indicating a special power with regard to the Irish clergy, and calls himself, Mellitus, and Justus, simply *bishops*. Were it to follow from the writing of the letter that Laurence was invested with jurisdiction over the bishops of Ireland, it should be allowed that so were also Mellitus and Justus. And as to Bede's expression of *extending pastoral solicitude*, it would be ridiculous to deduce from it, that he alluded to the exercise or to an act of legatine power; for, were such words to be understood in this manner, some thousands of bishops, who have

interfered in a similar way with those of other provinces, should be styled legates apostolic. If Bede meant to exhibit Laurence as acting in a legatine capacity, he would not have failed to tell us, that he was invested with a particular jurisdiction of that sort. (84)

To prop up this tottering system an argument of a strange kind has been patched up, founded on a hypothesis, for which there is not the least foundation. It is, that the reason, for which Pope Eugenius III. sent four palls to Ireland by Cardinal Paparo in the year 1152, was to protect the Irish church against the claims of the archbishops of Canterbury, and that thereby it should be recognized as independent of any foreign jurisdiction except that of the see of Rome. This must be the invention of some modern stickler for English ecclesiastical predominance over Ireland; for there is not even a hint at such a motive for palls having been sent to Ireland in any genuine account of those times relative to said transaction; nor are any pretensions of Canterbury at all spoken of as having had any thing to do with the granting of said palls. (85) But of them, and how and why they were granted, more in the proper place.

(83) Bede *L. 2. c. 4.* where the reader will find the beginning of said letter, which has been mentioned above, *Not. 79* and *81.*

(84) It must have been on a misinterpretation of these words of Bede that the pretended claim of the see of Canterbury to *primatial* jurisdiction over Ireland, alleged in the council of 1072 at Winchester, (see above §. 8.) was chiefly founded. Dr. Milner confines the meaning of them to the *legatine* power over Ireland. But I think I have sufficiently shown, that they do not mean either the one or the other. The fact is, that Laurence &c. in writing to the Irish prelates conducted themselves in a manner quite similar to that, in which Gregory the great told Augustin that he might act with regard to the bishops of the Gauls, viz. by way of

admonition and advice, without, however, pretending to any authority over them; (See *Not.* 79.) and indeed every bishop may do the same. Dr. Milner then brings forward, from Cressy, Lanfranc's jurisdiction over Patrick, bishop of Dublin, and the letter to Anselm. (See *Not.* 74.) But of these arguments enough has been said already; and I shall only add that, if they could prove any thing with regard to a jurisdiction over all Ireland, it would be that Lanfranc and Anselm were really our *primates* as well as of England.

(85) Dr Milner has (*loc. cit.*) this paradoxical statement, which I confess I never heard of before. He must have taken it from some English writer; but who he was we are not informed. Dr. Milner was answering some ridiculous and false positions of Ledwich with regard to Paparo having come to Ireland, brought palls, &c. for the purpose of extinguishing our ancient doctrines and discipline. (See his *Antiq. &c.* p. 444.) It would have been easy to refute and expose Ledwich's nonsense; but Dr. Milner contents himself with saying, that "the bestowing of palls—was not in fact, nor was it considered any subjection of the Church of Ireland to that of Rome. On the contrary, it was a dignity and an immunity from foreign jurisdiction conferred upon it; in as much as the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being had claimed a legatine jurisdiction over Ireland ever since the time of St. Augustine," &c. Then he adds; "Accordingly the Irish prelates, and St. Malachy in particular, had earnestly solicited the court of Rome to send certain palls to the Church of Ireland as the proof of her immediate dependance on the see apostolic." This is surely a strange sort of refutation, to which poor Ledwich might have made a puzzling reply, if he were acquainted with the subject. Where, in the name of wonder, did Dr. Milner find, that St. Malachy's reason for applying for the pall was to get rid of the claims of Canterbury? In the whole of his *Life* by St. Bernard there is not a word about Canterbury or its archbishops, not even where an account is given (*cap.* xi.) of St. Malachy's conversation with Pope Innocent II. concerning the palls, which he requested to get for Armagh and Cashel. There is a good deal said by Keating (*B.* 2.) and by Colgan (*AA.* SS. p. 654 and 775, *seqq.*) with quotations from old Annals, about the palls brought by Paparo; but not even an allusion is made to their

having been sent as marks of protection against Canterbury or any other see in the world. Dr. Milner tells us that Hoveden complains at *A.* 1151, that the granting of the four palls to the Irish metropolitans was contrary to the ancient custom and the dignity of the church of Canterbury, and quotes, as from him, these words; “*Hoc factum est contra antiquam consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuarensis ecclesiae.*” Now Hoveden has not made any such complaint, nor has he said words at *A.* 1151. All that he says in substance at said year is, that four palls were sent to Ireland, to which palls had never been brought before. But he makes no observation on that occurrence. Somebody, no matter who, may have said what Dr. Milner ascribes to Hoveden; yet his meaning might have been relative merely to the church of Dublin, which, in consequence of its being distinguished by the pall, became exempt from the jurisdiction of Canterbury.

§. XI. Not to enlarge further on this subject, the fact is that the power exercised by Lanfranc, in consecrating Patrick and receiving his profession of canonical obedience, was not of the legatine but of the metropolitan kind according to the then general practice of the church, which Patrick, having become a suffragan of the see of Canterbury, submitted to. On his returning to Ireland, Lanfranc gave him testimonial letters, as usual, attesting his consecration, (86) together with two private letters, one for Gothric, king of Dublin, and the other for Terdelvac, who is styled the magnificent king of Ireland. (87) Gothric, although called *king*, was at this time a vassal of Terdelvac, or, as he is usually named, Turlogh, having submitted to him as his liege sovereign in 1073. (88) Turlogh was son of Teige, or Thaddaeus, a son of Brian Boroinhe, who was killed in 1023 at the instigation of his own brother Donogh. (89) We have seen that Donogh became king of Leth-Mogha in 1026. (90) Among many other wars, in which he was engaged during his reign, he had often to contend against his nephew Turlogh, who was a very valiant prince. His

kingdom was gradually reduced to Munster, which also he lost in 1064, having been dethroned; upon which he went to Rome, where he died, seemingly not long after, a great penitent in the monastery of St. Stephen. (91) Turlogh was immediately proclaimed king of Munster, and after some short time entered into a league with the celebrated king of Leinster Dermod Mac-Maol-na-mbo, thus confirming their mutual power until 1072, in which year Dermod was killed in the battle of Odhba in Meath, fighting against Connor O'Maolseachlin king of Meath, Mac-Gilla-Patrick, O'Ferral, &c. (92) After this event Turlogh marched into Ossory, Hy-Kinselagh, and other parts of Leinster, and, having received hostages from all parts of that province, became master also of Dublin, (93) whose king or prince Godfrey, or Gothric did, as above mentioned, in the following year acknowledge himself his vassal. Turlogh continued gradually to add to his preponderance over the remaining parts of Ireland. In 1073 and 1074 he brought Meath under his vassalage, in 1075 and 1076 Connaught and Breffny, and in 1079 and 1082 finally Ulster, (94) so that by this time he might be justly styled king of all Ireland, as indeed he has been. And as such he was known in the continent, as appears from a letter written to him by Pope Gregory VII. Lanfranc in his letter to him praises him most highly, and congratulates the people of Ireland on their being blessed by God with so good a king. "Our brother "and fellow bishop Patrick" he adds, "has related "so many and such great good things concerning "the pious humility of your grandeur towards the "good, strict severity against the bad, and your "most discreet equity with regard to every de- "scription of persons, that, although we have "never seen You, yet we love You as if we had, "and wish to consult your interest and to render

“ You our most sincere service, as if we had seen
 “ You and intimately known You.”

(86) See above *Not.* 72.

(87) Usher seems (*Discourse of the Religion, &c. ch. 8.*) to confound these two letters with the testimonial letters mentioned by Lanfranc in the one to Gothric. But from the text of this letter it is plain, that they were different. He calls them commendatory letters. That to Gothric is such; but the other to Turlogh contains no direct recommendation of Patrick. They are in the *Sylloge* at Nos. 26 and 27. and in Lanfranc's Works under *Ep.* 37 and 38. Harris has given them in English at *Patrick, Bishops of Dublin*. But he followed Baronius' edition of them, which is not as correct as Usher's.

(88) See *Not.* 66.

(89) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1023.

(90) See *Chap.* xxiii. §. 12.

(91) *Annals of Innisfallen* at *A.* 1064. I do not understand, why Dr. O'Connor (*Columbanus' 2d Letter, p. 80.*) places Donogh's dethronement and flight to Rome in 1047, whereas the *Annals* now quoted, which are allowed to be the best authority for the affairs of Munster, positively assign it to 1064, at which year they mark also the accession of his successor Turlogh. Besides, they frequently make mention of him as being in Ireland several years later than 1047, and exhibit him as fighting even in 1063 against Turlogh. The Dr. says, (*ib. p. 81. and 85*) that Donogh died in 1064. Perhaps he did; but that was certainly likewise the year of his departure for Rome. Keating says, (*B. 2.* a little after the beginning) that about 77 years before the English invasion Donogh went to Rome with a commission from the principal nobility and gentry to offer themselves as subjects to that see. His chronology is not worth attending to; for, at the time he mentions, Donogh should have been about 100 years of age. But, passing by other absurdities, Donogh had no such offer to make, as if a man, so much disliked as he was in Ireland, and who was expelled from his provincial kingdom, would have been invested with a commission of that kind. And as to his offering *all* Ireland to Rome, it is too ridiculous a story to be at all listened to.

(92) Said Annals at *A.* 1072. Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) has 1073 according to his mode of adding without necessity a year to dates. He represents Dermot as king of all Ireland; but the quoted annals do not, calling him king of Leinster; nor does O'Flaherty, who makes mention of him in the Ogygia (*Part. III. cap. 94.*) as a prince sometimes called, by a sort of courtesy, king of Ireland. Besides being king of Leinster, Dermot was, according to these annals (*ib.*) sovereign of Dublin and of the Danish isles, which must, I suppose, be understood of his having possessed a supreme power over the Danish kings or princes as his vassals and dependents.

(93) Said Annals, *ib.*

(94) See said Annals at the respective dates.

§. XII. Lanfranc then says, that among many things, which pleased him, he was informed of some that did not, *viz.* 1. that in Terdelvac's kingdom men quit their lawful wives without any canonical cause, and take to themselves others, although near to them or to the deserted wives in consanguinity, and even women who had been in like manner abandoned by their husbands. He makes the same complaint in his letter to Gothric as to his kingdom, that is, Dublin; and it is the only one he particularizes in it, where he further observes that some men used to exchange wives. There is every reason to think, that these abuses were confined chiefly to the Danes, whose Scandinavian ancestors and brethren, even of these times, were known to be very loose in this respect; and, although Lanfranc speaks of Terdelvac's kingdom, yet we may fairly suppose that, as to these abominations, he alluded to that part of it, which was held by Gothric under him. (95) For it can hardly be imagined, that the kings or clergy of Ireland at large would have tolerated practices so contrary to the canons of their church, which canons, being considered as enacted by St. Patrick, were held in the greatest respect. (96) Yet with regard to one point touched upon by Lanfranc, *viz.* mar-

rying within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, some of the Irish clergy seem not to have extended said degrees as far as the Canon law then generally followed required, but to have been content with those laid down in the 18th chapter of Leviticus. (97) The other practices, which displeased Lanfranc, were, 2. That bishops were consecrated by one bishop. 3. That infants were baptized without consecrated chrism. 4. That holy orders were given by bishops for money. He represents these, together with the abominations under No. 1, as abuses contrary to Evangelical and Apostolical authority, to the injunctions of the sacred canons, and to the institutions of all the orthodox Fathers. The fourth is certainly repugnant to every authority, divine and human, and was a disgrace to the Irish church as well as to many other churches of those times; but not so the second and third, which, had Lanfranc known the reason of them, would have appeared to him perfectly harmless. There is nothing contrary to Evangelical and Apostolical authority in a bishop's being consecrated by one only bishop, a circumstance which has often occurred, and which must have frequently taken place in the times of the Apostles, and in the commencement of missions, when there happened to be one bishop alone employed in founding new churches. But Lanfranc was not aware, that the Irish still retained the order of *Chorepiscopi*, a description of ecclesiastics, which was kept up longer in Ireland than in any other part of Christendom, although this fact was unknown to many eminent church historians and canonists. Now the persons, called bishops by Lanfranc, who used to be consecrated by only one bishop, were in reality *chorepiscopi*, whom the Irish were wont to style *bishops* in the same manner as they called the ordinaries of regular sees. As long as that order existed, it was lawful, in virtue

of a standing canon of the Church, for a single bishop to consecrate the members of it. (98) With regard to baptizing without chrism, Lanfranc was greatly mistaken in supposing, that either the Apostles or Evangelists, or all the Fathers and canons had prescribed the use of chrism in baptism. In itself it is not a rite at all essential to the validity of this sacrament. Nor was it in early times practised in baptism, but immediately after it as belonging to Confirmation, which, as long as baptism continued to be performed by bishops, or if a bishop were present, used to be administered by them to the persons just baptized. (99) But after the duty of baptizing devolved chiefly, and almost universally on priests, a custom was gradually introduced into the Western church of using chrism among the ceremonies of baptism itself, as an imitation of its use by the bishop when confirming the baptised; but with this difference, that the priest applies the chrism to the top of the head, whereas the bishop used to apply it to the forehead of the baptized as a very material rite of the sacrament of Confirmation. (100) It seems, however, to have not been practised in Ireland at any time prior to those we are now treating of; whereas it was not considered as necessary, no more than some other ceremonies, which in some churches were added in the administration of baptism, but which have since fallen into disuse. (101)

(95) Usher observes (*Note on the letter to Terdelvac*) that the practice of dismissing wives prevailed also among the Anglo-saxons and in Scotland. The abominable custom of selling wives still kept up in England is a remnant of it.

(96) The most that any Irish canon allowed was the dismissal of a wife on account of adultery, and the injured husband's taking another. In the 26th of what is called the *Synod of St. Patrick* this is permitted; "Audi Dominum dicentem—non licet viro dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis; ac si dicat, ob hanc causam. Unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non

vetant." Yet in another, which is the 5th of those attributed to St. Patrick alone, a man is prohibited from taking another wife as long as the guilty one is living. It is added that, if she repent, he shall receive her, and she shall serve him as a handmaid, and do penance for a whole year in bread and water, and that by measure; but that they are not to remain in one bed; " Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro, non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiu viva fuerit uxor prima. Si forte conversa fuerit et agat poenitentiam, suscipiet eam, et serviet ei in vicem ancillae, et annum integrum in pane et aqua per mensuram poeniteat, nec in uno lecto permaneant." As to women, who quitting their husbands join themselves to other men, they were excommunicated, according to the 19th canon of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; " Mulier Christiana, quae acceperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio, quae haec fecit excommunicationis sit."

(97) The 29th canon of the so called Synod of St. Patrick is entitled *Of consanguinity in marriage*, and runs thus; " Understand what the Law speaks, not less nor more. But what is observed among us, that four kinds be divided, they say they have neither seen nor read. *Intelligite quid lex loquitur, non minus nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.*" By those who say they have not seen, &c. are apparently meant the persons who composed that synod. What they call *four kinds* is the same as the four degrees of the canonists; (although, by the bye, they were more than four in Lanfranc's time) and hence it appears, that the theory of them was known in Ireland, and it looks as if they were attended to in practice by some persons. This shows, that St. Patrick had nothing to do with said canon; for in his time the prohibited degrees did not extend so far. Whoever were the authors of it, they seem to have drawn it up for the purpose of restraining the prohibited degrees within the bounds of Leviticus.

(98) See *Not.* 104. to *Chap.* xi.

(99) Of this practice we have seen a remarkable instance in what St. Patrick has in his epistle against Coroticus. (See *Chap.* vi. §. 10. and *ib.* *Not.* 102.)

(100) Bellarmine, speaking of the ceremonies that follow baptism, (*De Sacramento baptismi, cap.* 27.) explains this matter

very well in a few words: “ *Secunda est, unctio chrismatis in vertice; quae quidem introducta videtur, quia non semper adest episcopus, qui possit continuo dare post baptismum sacramentum confirmationis. Ideo enim interim ungitur baptizatus, non quidem in fronte, sed in vertice, chrismate ab episcopo consecrato.*”

(101) It is laughable, although likewise vexatious, to hear certain polemical pigmies of our days deducing a diversity of religious tenets from a difference of practices in matters not at all essential. Ledwich, who is constantly teasing the reader with nonsense of this sort, alleges, (*p.* 429.) as a proof of difference of tenets, that the Romanists, as he calls them, used chrism, exorcism, and other ceremonies in baptism, which the Irish and Britons did not. In the first place it is false, that the Irish and Britons did not use exorcism. And where did he find, that the Britons omitted chrism? Perhaps they did; but he had no right to assert it. In said page he has some horrid theological bungling in certain remarks he makes on Lanfranc's letter to Donnald bishop of Cashel, (of which above §. 6.) not Donat of Dublin, as he says. Having observed that Lanfranc allows laical baptism in the article of death, (he should have said *danger of death*) Ledwich pronounces, that the Greek church and the Irish never admitted it. As to the Irish church, nothing can be more false, as appears from that very letter, in which Lanfranc argues from the practice of lay-baptism in cases of necessity, as a matter well known and admitted by Donnald, that baptism was considered sufficient for the salvation of infants without the eucharistical communion. That the Greek church did not admit it is equally false, and it does admit it at present, although the Greeks are rather over-scrupulous in not easily permitting baptism to be administered by a lay person. (See Renaudot in *La Perpetuité de la Foy*, Tom. v. L. 2. ch. 1, 2, 3.) It was in urgent cases universally allowed in every part of the Christian church, as Bingham states, (*Origines, &c. B. II. ch. 20. sect. 9. and B. XI. ch. 4. sect. 1.*) although he mentions two or three exceptions. Even Calvin, notwithstanding his not thinking it necessary, according to his new ideas of the nature of baptism, acknowledges that from the very commencement of the Church it was usual for lay persons to baptize, when there was danger of death, in case a clergyman was not at hand; “ *Quod autem multis abhinc seculis, adeoque ab ipso fere Ecclesiae exordio usu recep-*

tum fuit, ut in periculo mortis laici baptizarent, si minister in tempore non adesset," &c. (*Instit. L. 4. cap. 15. §. 20.*) So much for Dr. Ledwich's theological erudition as to lay baptism. Another false assertion (*ib.*) is, that from said letter "it is evident, that the Irish believed the reception of the Eucharist immediately after baptism indispensably necessary to salvation." Is it possible that a man can be so barefaced as to advance such a position? Domnald had merely inquired of Lanfranc, whether a similar opinion, alluding to infants, was held any where in England or in the continent. Surely it does not thence follow, that it was held by the Irish church. Lanfranc's answer is very mild and polite, without the least insinuation that Domnald or the Irish church erred on that point. Ledwich adds, that said opinion was that "of the primitive church, though not of the Roman in Lanfranc's age." The Doctor, who knows as little of theology as a Samoeide, stops at nothing, provided he can abuse the Roman church. He refers the reader to Bingham, *B. XII. ch. 1.* Now Bingham was too learned to say any such thing. What he states, and indeed truly, is (*ib. sect. 3.*) that the well known practice of giving the Eucharist to infants after baptism was continued in the Church for several ages. But he has not even a hint indicating, that this practice was followed, because the church "believed it indispensably necessary to salvation." It is thus that, as I can assure whoever will have the patience to read Ledwich's book, he is constantly imposing on the public, whensoever the Roman church falls in his way.

§. XIII. For the purpose of putting a stop to these abuses (102) or what he thought were such, Lanfranc advises Terdelvac to summon an assembly of bishops and religious men, at which he and his nobles would attend, that they might cooperate in exterminating said bad practices and all others, that might be in opposition to the sacred laws of the Church. Here we may observe that Lanfranc does not speak in a tone of authority, nor did he issue any orders to the Irish bishops or clergy to assemble or to act on this occasion, as he certainly would have done had he conceived himself invested with any jurisdiction over them. In

his letter to Gothric he exhorts him to exert himself in procuring the correction of the filthy practices relative to the dismissal and changing of wives ; and, after praising Patrick, advises Gothric to listen to him with attention and to obey his instructions. Patrick held the see of Dublin for about ten years until, having been sent on some business by Turlogh or Terdalvac, then sole master of Dublin, to Lanfranc, he was, on his way over, shipwrecked and drowned on the 10th of October, *A. D.* 1084. (103) In the following year he was succeeded by Donat or Donogh O'Haingly, who, having made his studies in his own country, had gone over to England and became a monk in Lanfranc's monastery at Canterbury. He must have returned to Ireland before his promotion, as appears from his having been elected by Turlogh and the clergy and people of Dublin, with the approbation of some Irish bishops, to whom accordingly he must have been well known. This is still more clear from the letter written on this occasion by Turlogh and the clergy of Dublin to Lanfranc, in which, among other things, Turlogh states that, whereas Patrick did not arrive to give him an account of how he had followed Lanfranc's fatherly instructions (with regard to remedying the abuses,) Donat will be able to give him the necessary information. (104) He was consecrated in the cathedral of Canterbury by Lanfranc, (105) to whom he made his profession of obedience in the following terms ; " I Donatus, prelate of the church of Dublin, which is situated in Ireland, promise canonical obedience to thee, O Lanfranc archbishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and to thy successors." (106) Lanfranc was much attached to this prelate, and gave him, on his returning to Dublin, some books and church ornaments as presents for the church of the Holy

Trinity. Donat lived until 1095, in which he died of the great plague of that year on the 23d of November, with the reputation of a good and learned bishop. (107)

(102) Harris in his translation of the letter to Terdelvac (see above *Not.* 87) has added another complaint of Lanfranc, *viz.* that in several cities and towns there was more than one bishop ordained. He took this from Baronius's edition, in which are these words; *Quod in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur*; whence also they have been taken by Dachery in his edition of said letter.

(103) Ware and Harris, *Bishops of Dublin*, at *Patrick*. The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 200.*) have; "A. 1084. Gilda or Gilla-Patrick, bishop of Dublin, was drowned."

(104) Harris has this letter (*Bishops at Donat O'Haingley*) taken, he says, from the Annals of Ulster.

(105) Usher (*Discorse, &c. Chap. VIII.*) quotes the following passage from the Annals of Dublin: "Anno Dom. 1085. Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinensis ecclesiae sacravit Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus eum Terdelvaco Hiberniae rege, et episcopis Hiberniae regionis, atque clero et populo prae-fatae civitatis."

(106) The original words are; "Ego Donatus, Dublinensis ecclesiae antistes, quae in Hibernia sita est, canonicam obedientiam tibi promitto et successoribus tuis, o Lanfrance, sanctae Dorobernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopo." In this profession there is nothing about Dublin being styled the *metropolis of Ireland*. It is probable, that Turlogh put a stop to the assumption of that title. Nor does it occur in any of the subsequent professions. (Compare with *Not.* 68.) We may also observe, how much more simple this profession is than that of Patrick. (See above §. 7.)

(107) See Ware and Harris at *Donat O'Haingly*. That terrible plague is mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen, A. 1095.

§. XIV. There is extant a letter of Pope Gregory

VII. to the king Terdelvac, and to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and to all Christians inhabiting Ireland. It is dated from Sutri on the 24th of February, without any year being marked. (108) This letter is much in the style of several others, which he wrote to various kings, princes, &c. for the purpose of claiming not only a spiritual but likewise a temporal and political superiority over all the kingdoms and principalities of Europe. (109) Having insinuated his claim over Ireland, he concludes with giving directions to Terdelvac, &c. to refer to him whatever affairs, the settling of which may require his assistance. (110) How Terdelvac, or Turlogh, and the people of Ireland acted in consequence of this letter we are not informed; but this much is certain, that Turlogh remained the independent king of Ireland until 1086, when he died in a truly Christian-like manner at Ceanchora, one of his chief residences, near Killaloe, in the 77th year of his age, and 22d of his reign reckoning from 1064, in which he became king of Munster. (111) He was buried at Killaloe, and succeeded by his son Muriardach, *alias* Murchardach, or Murtoogh, not as king of all Ireland but as king of Munster, (112) his hereditary province. Yet Murtoogh, after much fighting against various enemies, and, among others, against his own brother, Dermod O'Brian, enlarged his territories, so that I find him called king also of Connaught in 1092; (113) and in 1094 he became master of Dublin and banished the Danish king Godfrey, who died in the following year. (114) He then assumed the title of *king of Ireland*, as did at the same time also Donnald Mac-Loghlin, an O'Neill, the powerful sovereign of the northern half, while Murtoogh was considered as the sovereign of the southern. (115) There were, however, some alterations as to the extent of territories, according as either of these princes had the upper hand, or as some other princes endeavoured to maintain their in-

dependence. At length Murtoġh was dethroned in 1116, and his brother Dermod placed over Munster in his stead. He then took holy orders, and died at Lismore a great penitent on the festival of St. Pulcherius, 13th March, A. D. 1119; being survived by Donnald Mac-Loehlin, who died in the monastery of Derry in 1121. (116) Murtoġh was buried, according to his wish, in the church of Killoaloe, to which he had been a benefactor. (117) This summary of the history of these princes, which is here given by anticipation, will enable us better to understand certain transactions, particularly of Murtoġh, connected with ecclesiastical affairs, of which hereafter.

(108) Usher, who published this letter in the *Sylloge*, (No. 29.) having found it annexed to the Collection of Isidorus Mercator, affixed it by conjecture to A. D. 1085, the last year of Gregory's life. But it must have been written before that year, in which Gregory was at Salerno, at least on the 24th of February. Accordingly, being dated at Sutri, it was written prior to 1085.

(109) A summary of these letters and pretensions may be seen in Fleury (*Hist. &c. L. 63. §. 11.*) who seems to have been unacquainted with that to Terdelvac or Turloġh, as otherwise he would surely have made mention of it.

(110) " Si qua vero negotia penes vos emererint, quae nostro digna videantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete; et quod juste postulaveritis, Deo auxiliante impetrabitis." He had said before; " Hujus (Domini Jesu) auctoritas sanctam Ecclesiam in solida petra fundavit, et beato Petro, a *petra* venerabile nomen habenti, ejus jura commisit, quam etiam super omnia mundi regna constituit; cui *principatus, et potestates, et quicquid in seculo sublime videtur esse, subjecit*, illo Isaiae completo oraculo; *Venient, inquit, ad te qui detrahebant tibi, et adorabunt vestigia pedum tuorum.* Beato igitur Petro ejusque vicariis, inter quos dispensatio divina nostram quoque sortem annumerari disposuit, *Orbis universus* obedientem similiter et reve-

rentiam debet, quam mente devota sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae exhibere reminiscimi," &c.

(111) Annals of Innisfallen at *A.* 1086. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. Part III. cap. 94.* Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* He was mistaken in placing Ceanchora in the now King's county. It was in the now county of Clare, and contained a palace of the ancient princes of Thomond, of whose line was Turlogh, and is now called *Cancora.* (See Seward at *Cancora.*)

(112) Said Annals, *ib.*

(113) *Ib. ad A.* 1092.

(114) *Ib. ad A.* 1094 and 1095. This Godfrey was the one, whom Ware (*Antiq. cap. 24. ad A.* 1095.) calls Godfrid Meranagh.

(115) O'Flaherty, *Part III. cap. 94.* For Domnald's having been an O'Neill see *Tr. Th. p.* 448.

(116) Said Annals at 1116, 1119, and 1121, compared with O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.*

(117) Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29.* and Harris, *Bishops of Killaloe.* The Annals of Innisfallen also have Murtogh's interment in that town. Harris is wrong in assigning the death of Murtagh to the 8th of March; for the festival of St. Pulcherius marked by O'Flaherty, was not the 8th but the 13th; and both he and Ware were mistaken in changing the year 1119, assigned for it, into 1120.

§. xv. I have endeavoured to trace a succession of Irish bishops down to about the close of the eleventh century. (118) It is now requisite to give some account of other distinguished ecclesiastics of that period, although little more is known concerning the greatest part of them than their names. Yet even this much will show, that our religious and learned establishments were still kept up; which is indeed the chief object I had and have in view in entering into such details. The first person, whom I find expressly called abbot of Hy after Flann-Abhra who died in 1025, (119) is Mac-Baithen, who was killed in 1070. (120) Next after him we meet with Dunchad, son of Mcenach, who died in 1099. (121) As to learned clergymen and teachers

of this century, besides those who flourished in the first half of it, (122) several others are mentioned, such as Flann Mainistreach, that is, of the monastery, who died in 1056, and is represented as the most celebrated writer among the Irish of his time, both as an antiquary and poet. (123) Of Aidus O'Foirreth, who died in the same year, we have seen already. (124) Mugron, bishop of Cork, who was murdered in 1057, had been also a scholastic or professor. (125) Kieran, lecturer of Kells, a man famous for learning and wisdom, died in 1061; (126) and in 1063 Mac-Donngal scholastic of Kildare, and Eochad of Connor. (127) Colman O'Criochain, professor of theology at Armagh, died in 1065; and in 1071 Christian O'Clothocain likewise professor there, and styled the chief doctor of Ireland. (128) Conchobran, scholastic of Gleannussen died in 1082; (129) and to the year 1085 is assigned the death of Gormgal Laigcach, a very learned and pious doctor, who was comorban or rector of St. Brigid's church at Armagh. (130) In 1086 died on the 16th of January the very holy and learned Moeliosa (*servant of Jesus*) O'Brolchan. (131) He was a native of Inishowen, and of a distinguished family, a branch of the Nialls. He was educated in the monastery of Bothconuis in that territory, and became a great proficient in piety and in every sort of learning. (132) Owing to the loss of documents, his transactions during life are involved in obscurity; but it is stated, that he composed several works, many fragments of which are still extant, and that he transcribed many others. (133) In 1088 died the celebrated annalist Tigernach O'Braoin, a native of the territory of the Siol-Muireadaigh, (134) or Murrays. He was abbot of Clonmacnois and also of Killeoman, or probably rather Roscommon, (135) and is most highly and deservedly praised as a man of very extensive knowledge and an excellent teacher. He brought down

the annals of Ireland to the very year of his death, and having died at Clonmacnois was buried there with great solemnity. (136) Among other scholastics or lecturers of these times let it suffice to add Ingnadan of Clonard, who died in 1090, O'Kennedy of Darrow (King's county), who died in 1095, and Aidan of Roscommon, whose death is marked at 1097. (137)

(118) Above §. 5. *seqq.* (119) See *Chap.* xxiii. §. 6.

(120) *Tr. Th.* p. 501. and *Annals of Ulster ap.* Johnstone *ad A.* 1070. Smith (*Append. to Life of St. Col.*) places at 1057 the death of one Robhertach Mac-Donnell, whom he calls *Coarb* (comorban) of Columbkil. Whoever he was, it does not follow from his being so styled, that he was abbot of Hy. In like manner Smith has at 1009 another *coarb of Columkill*, Martan Mac-Cineadh, between Maelbrigid Hua-Rimed and Flann-Abhra. I find this Martan also in Johnstone's Extracts from the *Ulster Annals* (at *A.* 1009) or, as he calls him, *Marcan Mac-Cinach converb of Iona*. If said passage be correct, it would appear, that he had been abbot of Hy. But Colgan has him not in his list of those abbots from the 4 Masters, and, as I have observed elsewhere, it seems we ought not to admit as abbots of Hy any others than those who are expressly called such. I am convinced, that this Marcan Mac Cineadh, *i. e.* son of Kennedy, was no other than the Marcan, whom the *Annals of Innisfallen* mention as supreme head of the clergy of Munster, and whose death they assign to *A.* 1010, (see above *Not.* 43.) the same year as the 1009 of the *Annals of Ulster*, in which the death of Marcan was marked without, in all probability, any mention of the place, to which he belonged. To supply this deficiency, some amanuensis or semicritic added at his name *comorban of Iona* or of *Columbkil*, because the successors of that saint either at Iona or elsewhere are usually taken notice of in said annals. Thus Marcan son of Kennedy, and apparently a brother of Brian Boroinhe, was removed from Munster to Iona or Hy; and both Johnstone and Smith have been led astray. In a similar manner from the additions of scholiasts,

&c. hundreds of errors have crept into our ecclesiastical history.

(121) *Tr. Th. ib.* (122) See *Chap. xxiii. §. 15.*

(123) *Innals of Innisfallen at A. 1056.* Some of his works are yet extant; see Harris (*Writers at Mainestrec*) and Dr. O'Connor. (*Rev. Hib. Scriptor. Ep. Hanc. p. 13.*)

(124) Above, §. 4.

(125) See *Tr. Th. p. 632.* and above §. 5.

(126) *Ib. p. 508.* (127) *Ib. p. 630 and 632.*

(128) *Ib. p. 298.* (129) *Ib. p. 632.*

(130) *Ib. p. 299.*

(131) He is reckoned among the Saints in some Irish calendars, and accordingly Colgan treats of him at 16 January.

(132) He is greatly praised in the Irish annals, among others in those of Innisfallen, which have at *A. 1086*; "Maoliosa O'Brollochain, the most venerable old man in all Ireland, and the most learned in his time in wisdom and science, died in the grace of God."

(133) Colgan says, that he had some fragments of Moeliosa's works, and that he knew where several others were in Ireland. He adds that several books in his hand writing, which had belonged to the monastery of Bothconuis, were still in that neighbourhood. (See also Harris, *Writers at Broilcan.*)

(134) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 206.*) call him *O'Braoin*, and hence Colgan (*ib. p. 108.*) makes him of the same family with St. Dunchad O'Braoin, of whom we have treated *Chap. xxii. §. 15.* In the Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1088*, in which I find him called *O'Brain*, he is said to have been of the *Siol-Muireadhaigh*, *i. e.* of the sept so called, whose territory was an eastern part of Connaught, chiefly, it seems in, the now county of Roscommon, as appears from said Annals at *A. 1095.* (See also Seward at *Siol-Muiridh.*) This country was near that, in which St. Dunchad had been born.

(135) Both the Annals just quoted make Tigernach comorban or successor of St. Kieran and St. Coman. As successor of Coman, Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 206.*) calls him abbot of Killcoman, meaning, perhaps, Kilcomin in the King's county, (of which see *Nct. 41. to Chap. xv.*) or Killcoeman in the plain of Gesille (now barony of Geashill in said county) which is said (*ib. p. 312.*) to

have been founded by a St. Coeman in the sixth century. Harris, (*Writers at Tigernac*) instead of Killcoman, has Roscommon; which seems more correct, as it does not appear that the establishments of Killcomin and Killcoeman continued to a late period.

(136) *Annals of Innisfallen, ib.*

(137) *AA. SS. p. 409. and Tr. Th. Ind. Chron.* Ware has among the Irish writers Moeliosa O'Sair, a Munster man, who, he says, wrote some philosophical treatises, and died, according to the Ulster annals, in 1098. Whether he were an ecclesiastic or not I cannot discover.

§. XVI. In fact, Ireland still retained its reputation for learning and good schools, so that it was, as well as in former times, resorted to by foreign students. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the case of Sulgenus, who was bishop of St. David's about the year 1070. In his youth, excited by a love of study, he set out, in imitation of his ancestors and countrymen, for Ireland, which was celebrated to a wonderful degree for learning. But, while wishing to see that nation so famous on account of its writings and masters, he was driven back by a storm to his country, where he remained for five years. Still determined on proceeding to Ireland, he went thither and spent there ten or thirteen years in the study of the holy Scriptures, in which he became a great proficient, and thereby was afterwards of great service to his countrymen. (138) That English students continued to repair to Armagh may be collected from the account given of a great conflagration of that city in 1092, in which it is stated that a part of the *Trien-Saxon*, or the division inhabited by the Saxons (English) was destroyed. (139) This was an accidental fire, such as Irish history gives us many instances of in those times, both of towns and religious houses, owing to the materials, mostly of wood, chiefly used in building, as still practised in some parts of Europe. Losses of this kind were easily repaired, and were of no material

injury to studious pursuits, which I observe, lest a person, looking over the lists of conflagrations in those days, might imagine that they were destructive of religious establishments, or generally designed for that object. (140) Yet we meet with burnings and devastations of ecclesiastical places designedly undertaken, partly by the Danes, and partly by Irish princes or chieftains. Thus, when a Sitric of Dublin was, as we have seen, ravaging Ardraccan in 1031, an O'Ruairc plundered Ardfert, but was dreadfully chastized for this sacrilege by Donogh O'Brian then king of Leth-mogha. (141) Another O'Ruairc and an O'Kelly, both Connaught chieftains, plundered Clonmacnois and Clonfert in 1065, but, being met on the following day by Hugh O'Conor, were defeated by him. (142) Clonmacnois was particularly marked out as an object of pillage for divers parties in those times, (143) whence we may infer, that it was then rich. Gleannussen was laid waste in 1041, Clonard in 1046, and Inisclothra (in Loughree) in 1050. (144) These devastations were committed chiefly by the Irish themselves; but in the year 1081 the Danes or Northmen alone, apparently those of Limerick or of some western part of Ireland, plundered the island of Arranna-Naomh, or Arran of the saints, where was the ancient and celebrated establishment of St. Enda. In 1089 a party of Danes totally destroyed the monastery of Inisbofinde in Loughree. (145) These were probably part of the army, with which the king Murtoogh O'Brian attacked and plundered in said year various islands of Loughree, such as, besides Inisbofinde, Inisclothra and Inisaingen, (or the island of All-saints) in which were religious houses, together with Cluainemhain, where there was at least a church. (146) Soon after Murtoogh and the people of North Munster paid very dearly for these depredations. (147) In the same year Dermot O'Brian, brother of Murtoogh, sailing along the coast landed

near Cloyne, which he plundered, and carried off some reliques of St. Barr from a church called *Kill-na-gCleiriogh*. (148) In the preceding year 1088 he had joined Domnald Mac-Lochlin and Roderic O'Conor, king of Connaught, in their dreadful expedition throughout a great part of Munster, in which they destroyed Limerick, and attacked Mungret, Emly, &c. (149) Yet, notwithstanding such and some other similar devastations, the ecclesiastical and literary institutions continued, with very few exceptions, to exist; and we find the habitual zeal for acquiring knowledge still prevalent in Ireland.

(138) An account of Sulgenus was drawn up in verse by his son John. Among some lines, quoted by Usher, (*Praef. ad Ep. Hib. Syll.*) the following are quite apposite to our present subject;

“ Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
 Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.
 Sed cumiam cimba voluisset adire revector
 Famosam gentem scripturis atque magistris,
 Appulit ad patriam, ventorum flatibus actus,
 Nomine quam noto perhibent Albania longe.
 Ac remoratus ibi certe tum quinque per annos
 Indefessus agit votum, &c.
 His ita digressis *Scotorum* visitat arva,
 Ac mox scripturas multo meditamine sacras
 Legis divinae scrutatur saepe retractans.
 Ait ibi per denos *tricens* jam placidus annos
 Congregat immensam pretioso pondere massam,
 Protinus arguta thesaurum mente recondens.
 Post haec ad patriam remeans jam dogmate clarus
 Venit, et inventum multis jam dividit aurum,” &c.

We may here remark, that the Irish were still called *Scoti*, as they were in the continent.

(139) *Tr. Th. p.* 299. Colgan observes, (*ib. p.* 300.) that Ar-magh was divided into four parts. The first was *Rath-Arionacha*, or the fort, castle, &c. The three others were *Trian-mor*, or the great third part; *Trian-Massan*, or the third part called *Massan*;

and *Trian-Saxon*, the third part for the Saxons, by whom, in all probability, were meant the English students.

(140) The reader will find a long catalogue of such conflagrations in *Tr. Th. p. 633. seqq.*

(141) Annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1031.*

(142) *Ib.* at *A. 1065.*

(143) Colgan states (*Tr. Th. p. 633.*) from the 4 Masters, that Clonmacnois was plundered in 1044 twice, in 1050 three times, in 1060, 1065, 1080, 1081, 1092, 1095, 1098. He does not tell us by whom. From the Annals of Innisfallen I find that the pillage of 1092 was by a Munster fleet; and it is said that the one of 1095 or 1094 was by the people of Brawney, the O'Ruaires, and the Mac-Coghlan. (See Archdall at *Clonmacnois.*)

(144) *Tr. Th. ib.*

(145) *AA. SS. p. 423.*

(146) See the annals of Innisfallen at *A. 1089.* Colgan says, *AA. SS. p. 339.*) that Cluainemhain was in the county of Roscommon, and that it had a church, when it was laid waste in 1089. Yet there had been a monastery there. (Archdall at *Cluainemuin.*)

(147) Said Annals, *ib.*

(148) *Ib.* (149) Said Annals at *A. 1088.*

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