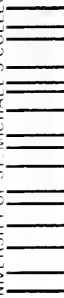


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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
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OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

U 10231





THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.



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The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
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THE
TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK.





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TRANSESCRIPT

THE
TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK,
WITH
OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THAT SAINT.

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND INDEXES

BY

WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., LL.D.,

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HON. MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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1887.

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a n d . l u a n a t i b a i o e m l a e a
l a m t o a t c h a n d c o t o z e h a n
p a c a u l a p a c i n n p a t e .

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CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	i
<i>a.</i> Description of the MSS. - - - - -	x-lvii
<i>b.</i> Probable date of the Tripartite Life - - - - -	lviii-lxxxix
<i>c.</i> Other documents now printed - - - - -	xc-cxxviii
<i>d.</i> The personal history of S. Patrick - - - - -	cxxix-cxliii
<i>e.</i> On the social condition of the early Irish - - - - -	cxlix
THE TRIPARTITE LIFE - - - - -	1-267
Part I. - - - - -	1-63
Part II. - - - - -	64-171
Part III. - - - - -	172-267
OTHER DOCUMENTS CONCERNING S. PATRICK - - - - -	269-574
I. DOCUMENTS FROM THE BOOK OF ARMAGH : - - - - -	
<i>a.</i> Notes by Muirechu Maccu-Machtheni - - - - -	269-301
<i>b.</i> <i>Dieta Patricii</i> - - - - -	301
<i>c.</i> Tirechán's Collections - - - - -	302-333
<i>d.</i> Additions to Tirechán's Collections - - - - -	334-351
<i>e.</i> The Book of the Angel - - - - -	352-356
II. THE CONFESSION OF S. PATRICK - - - - -	357-375
III. S. PATRICK'S LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS OF COROTICUS - - - - -	375-380
IV. PREFACE TO THE <i>Fáid Flada</i> - - - - -	381
V. SECUNDINUS' HYMN, with preface, from the Franciscan <i>Liber Hymnorum</i> - - - - -	382-389
VI. PREFACE TO THE FOREGOING HYMN, from the <i>Leabar Brecc</i> - - - - -	390-401
VII. FLACC'S HYMN - - - - -	402
The Preface - - - - -	402-404
The Hymn - - - - -	404-411
The Notes in the Franciscan <i>Liber Hymno-</i> <i>rum</i> - - - - -	412-427
VIII. NINNÍNE'S PRAYER - - - - -	427, 428
IX. HOMILY ON S. PATRICK, from the <i>Leabar Brecc</i> - - - - -	429-489

	Page
APPENDIX - - - - -	493-574
I. Extracts from Prosper Aquitanensis -	493
II. Extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle -	493
III. Extract from Cumean's Letter to Segéne -	493
IV. Extract from the Luxeuil Calendar -	493
V. Extracts from the Brussels Codex of Muir- chu's Life of S. Patrick - - -	494-498
VI. Adamnán's mention of S. Patrick - -	498
VII. Extracts from Nennius' <i>Historia Bri- tonum</i> - - - - -	498-500
VIII. Extract from the <i>Annales Cambrie</i> -	501
IX. Extract from Bæda's <i>Historia Ecclesias- tica</i> - - - - -	501
X. Extract from the Carlsruhe Calendar -	502
XI. Extract from a tract on the origin of the Irish Liturgy - - - - -	502, 523
XII. Extract from Alcin's <i>Poeneta</i> - - -	503
XIII. Extracts from the <i>Calendar of Oengus</i> -	503-506
XIV. Extracts from the Drummond Calendar -	506
XV. Extracts from the Irish Canons - - -	506-509
XVI. Extracts from the Chronicle of Mariaus: Scotus - - - - -	510, 511
XVII. Extract from the Corpus Missal - -	511
XVIII. Annals from the Book of Leinster -	512-529
XIX. Gilla Cónaín's Chronological Poem -	530-541
XX. Lists of S. Patrick's successors - - -	542-495
XXI. Extracts from lists of the relations of Irish saints - - - - -	548-551
XXII. Chronological Tract in the <i>Lebar Brecc</i> -	550-555
XXIII. Patrick and his Leper - - - - -	556
XXIV. The Michaelmas Sheep - - - - -	556-559
XXV. The Martinmas Pig - - - - -	560, 561
XXVI. Patrick and Palladius - - - - -	560, 561
XXVII. Loegaire's Conversion and Death -	562-567
XXVIII. Extracts from Cormac's Glossary -	568-571
XXIX. Extracts from Tigernach's Annals -	572, 573
XXX. List of S. Patrick's household - - -	573
INDEXES - - - - -	577
I. Index rerum - - - - -	577
II. Index of Books and Manuscripts - - -	588
III. Index of Persons' Names - - - - -	592
IV. Index of Places and Tribes - - - - -	618
V. Index of Irish words - - - - -	639
VI. Index of Hiberno-Latin words - - - -	659
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA - - - - -	666

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

This book contains the three Irish homilies on Patrick son of Calporn, which are commonly called the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, together with such other ancient documents as seemed likely to elucidate his biography. The text of the Tripartite Life is now for the first time printed, though two versions of it have been published, namely a Latin one by the learned Franciscan friar, John Colgan, in his *Triadis Thaumaturgae . . . Acta*, Lovanii, 1647, and an English one by Mr. Hemmessy, in Miss Cusack's *Life of Saint Patrick*, London, 1870, pp. 371-502. But the former version is a paraphrase for edification rather than a translation for scholars, and the latter is incomplete, and not always quite accurate.

In this Introduction I propose, first, to describe the manuscripts from which the text of the Tripartite Life has been taken; secondly, to endeavour to fix approximately the date at which it was composed; thirdly, to notice the other documents printed in this book; fourthly, to set forth, with their aid, the personal history of our Saint; and, fifthly, to mention the points in which the contents of this volume throw light on the social condition of the early Irish. Their name-system, topography, language and latinity are illustrated respectively by the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth of the indexes.

I.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

In the seventeenth century there seem to have been at least four manuscripts of the Tripartite Life. Of these, three, which Colgan calls ‘exceeding old’ (‘pervetusta’),¹ were used by him in making the Latin paraphrase printed, as the *Septima Vita*, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*. The first and chief was a vellum belonging to the O’Clerys, the famous antiquaries of Ulster; the second belonged to the ‘Deorani’ in Leinster; of the third he had no information. He worked from copies of these codices, and does not appear to have had the originals in his hands.² Of Colgan’s three MSS. none are known to exist. The copy in Egerton 93 is not one of them, for it was written in 1477, and was therefore, in 1647, only 170 years old—certainly not ‘pervetusta.’ Nor is the copy in Rawlinson B. 512 one of them, for in wording, arrangement, and substance it differs from Colgan’s paraphrase in the following particulars:—

	Rawl. B. 512.	Colgan’s <i>Trias Thaumaturga</i> .
fol.		page
5 a. 1:	quod non tam dicendus est.	117 a.: quod <i>non tam dicendus sit.</i>
	uniuersa Christi ecclesia[e]que mysteria.	<i>Ecclesia, cuiusque Christi mysteria.</i>

¹ ‘Hanc vitam damus ex tribus peruetustis MSS. Hibernicis inter se collatis, desumptam,’ *Trias Thaum.*, 168, col. 1.

² ‘Quartò obseruandum quod tria manuscripta exemplaria iam memorata, quorum primum et præcipuum erat descriptum ex vetustis membranis Cleriorum Antiquariorum in Ultonia, secundum ex Deo-

raniorum in Lagenia, tertium ex quibus nescio codicibus transumptum, in nonnullis ab iniuicem discrepabant; uno fusius quæ in aliis pressius, et uno latinè referente quæ in aliis Hibernicè referebantur. Nos autem fidem res fusius et latinè referentis sequuti sumus,’ *ibid.*, 169, col. 2.

fol.	page
5 a. 2: Sedentibus, id est, stabiles quia erant [stabiles] et immo- biles.	117 a.: <i>Sedentibus: quia erant stabiles, im- mobiles.</i>
5 b. 1: Et in umbra mortis Ipsè de se dixit	117 b.: <i>Et in umbra Ipsè enim de se dixit.</i>
Apostoli vero lux cum initio	<i>Apostoli lux cum initio</i>
Nox enim erat in mundo	<i>Non enim erat lux in mundo</i>
Apostolos et sanctos successores eorum.	<i>Apostolos sanctos, et successores eorum.</i>

Again, there is nothing in Rawl. B. 512 corresponding with the following three chapters printed by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, 117 a., b., 118 b., 128 b.:—

‘II. Quando enim mater sanctum puerum in utero gestabat, filius Regis Britonum cum uxore uenit ad ejus domum quem et ipsa, ut decuit, perhumaniter excepit. Hospes autem eius formae captus praestantia, visus est in aliquibus exterioribus signis prodidisse, quem in pectore malè concepiebat, ignem. Hoc autem cum ejus propria uxor adverteret, zelotypiae vitio excaecata, curavit venenum matri S. Patricii in haustu propinari. *Conchessa* verò nihil mali suspicata, oblatum sumpsit ha[u]stum: sed virtute sanctissimi foetus factum est, ut venenum matri nihil nocuerit, sed in duram et lapideam massam conversum sit; quae in pueri, dum in lucem ederetur, palmâ inter tenellos digitos reperta est. Et cum zelotypae facinus mulieris, et quae circa sanctum puerum, ejusque matrem gesta sunt, postea divulgarentur; omnes coeperunt divinam bonitatem, innocentiae protectricem, magnificare; et pueri tanto signo praemonstratam, futuram praedicare, et praedicere sanctitatem. Hoc fuit primum, sed non praecipuum, prodigiorum hujus sancti viri.’¹

Venenum
matri pro-
pinatum in
lapidem
conversum.

¹ See this story in Irish, from Egertou, 93, infra, p. xlvi.

X. Accidit alio die ut unicus filiolus ejusdam foeminae, quae materterae sancti pueri in vaccis emulgendis assistere solebat, immaturâ morte abreptus, decesserit. Mater autem mortui pueruli¹ ingemitus et lachrymas effusa, suum infortunium ejulabunda amicae suae exponit: quae jussit ut filiolum secum deferens, cum in loco, in quo vaccis mulgendis operam dabant, deponat, tanquam dormientem, Quod cum factum esset, porrigit vasculum lacte plenum sancto puero Patricio, mandans, ut et ipse, et alius ipse puer, qui in prato dormiebat, inde se reficiant. Annuit puer sanctus, et socium, quasi de requiescentis corporis sopore excitans, à mortis somno excitatum, vitae restituit cum adstantium omnium stupore et laetitiâ.²

Puerum
mortuum
vitae resti-
tuit.

‘LXVIII. Post tot prodigia veram fidem confirmantia, et tam publicam Christianae fidei professionem, perversus Rex ad vomitum denuò et fel amaritudinis rediens, nondum desiit mirificam servi Dei Patricii probare, nisi et in dubium reuocare virtutem. Jussit enim ut post transacta omnia jam memorata, unus è servis nomine *Erra maelus*, ad publicam urbis plateam se conferat, faciem liniat sanguine, super plateam se prosternat, mortemque simulet; et casu quo S. Patricius se rogante superveniat, eum excitaturus; nullatenus indicet se vivum vel à mortuis resurrexisse. Erra maelus, revera erro malus, assentit Regis iniquae inuentioni, sed ad suam perniciem. Re, ut excogitata, in effectum deducta, à Rege malignè rogatus supervenit Patricius; et dum jacentem aspiceret, reique compositam fraudem, fictionem et indignitatem, à Domino revelante in spiritu admonitus edisceret, dixit: O Erro maele, sive vere, sive fiete laesus sis, non recipies medicinam: sive verè, sive fiete laesus sis, indè non resurges. Quod veridicum oraculum certissimus rei probavit eventus: nam Erra maelus, quam satis perversè simulavit se, tam satis adversè obiisse inventus est mortem.’³

Mortem
fietè simu-
lans verè
mortuus.

¹ puerili, Colg.

² See this story given in Irish, from the Lebar Brece, infra, p. 436.

³ This story, too, will be found in Irish, infra, p. 458, where for *Erra* the Lebar Brece has *Crund*.

So in the second part, Colgan (p. 130 b.) opens his ninth chapter with a sentence which is obviously needed, but is not found in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9 a. 2: 'Profectus est inde Patricius ad regionem de Delbhna Assuill: ibique aliquot fundavit Ecclesias, quibus ex suis discipulis diversas praecepit mystas doctrina et virtutibus illustres, quorum zelum virtutesque vir Dei probavit, non solum dum discipuli ejus essent in Hibernia, sed et ante à tempore multo, dum Romam ut veram doctrinam pietatemque à fonte epotarent, piam susceperunt pergrinationem.'

Again, at the end of Colgan's chap. xxii. (*Trias Thaum*, p. 132^a), there is another sentence needed for the sense, but dropt out of Rawl. B. 512, fo. 10 a. 1: 'Sed cum appelleret, easulam in Britannia relictam, ante se jacentem reperit in Hibernia.'

On the other hand, there is nothing in Colgan's version corresponding, in the first part, with the sentence in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6 a. 1, (infra, p. 10, lines 8, 9); or with the hymn *Fáed fáula* in fo. 7 a. 1 (infra, p. 48); nor, in the second part, is there anything corresponding to the story of Munis, Loch Croni, and the relics left by S. Patrick in Forгнаide, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20 b. 1 (infra, pp. 84, 86); to the verses in fol. 13 a. 1 (infra, p. 106); to the conversation between the angel and Patrick, 13 b. 1 (infra, pp. 112, 114); to the account, 14 a. 2 (infra, p. 120), of the still surviving members of Patrick's household; to the question (infra, p. 134) about the numbers baptized in the well Oenadare; to the verses in p. 140; to the quatrain ascribed to S. Brigit, p. 150; and, lastly, to the story about *Commán mae Algasaih*, p. 156. The three wizards of Gregraige mentioned in p. 138 are only two in Colgan's version, p. 142.

For these reasons it seems clear that the Rawlinson MS. was not one of the three codices used by Colgan.

The MS. from which the bulk of the present work has been taken is described in the printed catalogue of the Rawlinson collection, *Catalogi codicum manuscrip-*

torum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Primus, Oxonii: 1862, col. 728-732. But as this description is neither complete¹ nor accurate,² it may be well to give here a list of the contents of the codex.

The MS. Rawlinson B. 512 is a vellum, in quarto, now consisting of 154 folios, in double columns, written by various hands, in the 14th and 15th centuries. Its contents, almost wholly Irish, are as follows:—

1. Conclusion of a story about Aedán and his brother Brandub, king of Leinster. Begins: *mathair-si ar Oedan, regmai do acallaim na cailligi aili.*³ Ends: *mac ocus ingen cechtarnai.*⁴ Finet. Aedán's daughterless mother recognises him by a grain of gold which she had placed under his left shoulderblade when she exchanged him for a daughter of a sonless queen.

2. *Kailleoracht inso sis.* A poem in nine stanzas, obscure to me. Begins (fo. 1 a. 1, line 25): *Ton feid, a Crist, conic muir.*⁵ Ends (fo. 1 a. 2, line 11): *toirthi hili ton fethi.*

3. A story about Queen Medb's three husbands. Title: *Ferchuitred Medba indso* (Medb's husband-allowance this). Begins (fo. 1 a. 2, line 12): *Rí rogabastar rígi for Erinn fecht naill i. Eochu Fedhlech.*⁶ Ends (fo. 2 a. 2): *mac rig Alpan dotuitt la Maine Andaoi mac Ailella ocus Medbai. FINID dó sin.*⁷ This story is

¹ It omits numbers 9, 11, 17, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 70, 76, 86, 92, 94, 95, 100, and 101 in the list now printed.

² It describes a fragment of the *Féilire* of Oengus as the whole: it gives, as a separate piece (21), the beginning of the *Cáin Adamnáin*; and it is deformed by misprints such as 'Choya' for Choga, 'Seáil' for Scáil, 'Dubd' for Dubh, 'Galide' for Gulide, 'Danaim' for Danann; and by mistranslations such as *erchoitmed* 'complaint'; *forbais* 'invasion'; *esnad* 'death.'

³ 'we will go to converse with the other hag.'

⁴ 'a son and daughter of each of them.'

⁵ 'Lead us, O Christ, that rulest the sea.'

⁶ '(There was) a king who took kingship over Ireland at another time, even Eochu Fedhlech.'

⁷ '(It was) the son of the king of Scotland who fell by Maine Andaoi son of Ailill and Medb. That was the *finit* to him.'

mentioned by Irard Mac Coisi, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 109, a. 2. The scribe's name follows: Meisi Mailechlainn rograitheph (*sic*) sin. '(It was) I, Mailechlainn, who wrote that.'

fo. 2 b. is blank.

4. Poem, in 37 stanzas, on the Kings of Ireland from Loegaire to Brian Boroime. Begins (fo. 3 c. 4): Ata sunn forba fessa.¹ Ends (fo. 3 b. 2): a grád immanmain attais.

5. An imperfect copy of Gilla Coemáin's chronological poem. Begins (fo. 3 b. 2, line 5): A andáladh anall uile. Ends: do chobair chlunn mac Miledh.

Printed from the Book of Leinster, *infra*, pp. 530-540.

6. A much faded poem entitled Tadg og oDa . . . ecinit. Begins (fo. 4 b.): [Ga]eh gan anacal eg . . . eon.

7. The Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. Entitled: Beatha Padraic annso. Begins (fo. 5 a. 1): Populus qui sedebat. Ends (fo. 30 a.): Alme trocairi ocus rl. Printed *infra*, pp. 1-267. The following marginalia occur: fol. 21 a. at foot: Pattrraig mac Arpluin anBreathnach do tháob a athair ocus Frangach do taobh a mathair os bhia siur don naom Martan hí. ('Patrick son of Arplun [= Calpurn] the Briton, on his father's side, and a Frank on his mother's side, and she was a sister of the holy Martin.'): fol. 22 a., at foot, the fragment of a topographical poem:

O Loch Leighinn go hEirne
tarrsna na Breifne burba,
is o Ceannas chaoimhfinne
fad go gaoith Bhinne Ghulbun.²

¹ 'Here is a completion of knowledge.' across the fierce Breifne, and from Ceannas of loveable whiteness far

² 'From Loch-Leighinn to Erne, to the stream of Benu Gulbáin.'

Unimportant scribblings in English occur in fols. 11 a., 12 b., 18 a. 1, 23 b., 24 a. 1, and 26 a.

8. A few topographical verses, in a modern hand, beginning: *Crioch Midli inn[e]osad duibh ocus erioch Breadh mborrfadach*¹ (fol. 30 a. 1, l. 28).

9. Prose notes beginning: *ISSí torannacht ocus cri-characht*² na Midi. (This is the measurement and mering of Meath), fol. 30 a. 2.

At the foot of this page are two Latin notes about 'Risterdus Nugent' (ob. 1591) and Katherine Nugent (ob. 1604). On fol. 30 b. are some much faded notes in English.

10. A life of S. Brigit, of which the commencement is lost. Begins (fol. 31 a. 1): *miracula vulgata sunt. Lae nand i suidiu luid in Broiscech do bleogan.*³ Ends (35 b. 1, l. 31) with the following quatrain:--

*Dogena dansa moRí
ní firfe flechod choidehí:
fobithin Brigti indiu
teti sund dond ingairiu . . .*⁴

Pluuiam et uentum sedauit . . . Finit.

At the top of fol. 33 a. is the following note by the scribe of the Tripartite Life: *A mBaili na Cuilendtrach dam ag scribenn nabethadsa nãemBrigte; ocus ara fiesam dom ainmain ocus dom chvrv, ocus co romsoera ar dvailchib ocus duineba.* ('In Baile na Cuilenntnach am I a-writing this Life of Saint Brigit; and under her safe-

¹ 'Meath's boundary I will declare to you, and the boundary of the haughty Bregians.'

² Over *ar* is written *do*.

³ 'One day therein Broiscech [Brigit's mother] went to milk.'

⁴ 'My King will act for me: the shower will not pour till night: because of Brigit to-day who cometh here to the herding.'

guard be my soul and my body, and may she save me from vices and mortality!')

11. Slicht sain in so budesta (a different extract this henceforward). Account of six of Brigit's miracles. Begins (fol. 35 b. 1, l. 35): *Delg dorat ri Laigen angill do filith.*¹ Ends (fol. 36 a. 2, line 21): *Ailill mac Dunlaing iCill Dara oc denam na fertasa. tricha laithi dóib dia caithim itir mna ocus firu.*² FINIT.

12. Two stanzas, in a later hand, beginning fol. 36 a., line 22: *Tlachtga ingen Mhodh[a] Ruith ramhaigh* (Tlachtga daughter of Mugh-Ruith of the paddle).

13. A poem in 24 stanzas. Begins (fol. 36 b. 1): *Domun duthain a loinde.*³ Ends (36 b. 2, l. 26): *tor-malt in domun.*⁴ This is followed by a prose note in eleven lines. Begins (fol. 36 b. 2, line 27): *Agsin duit amie . . . oir galla* (that's for thee, O son, . . .). Ends: *in evig[ed] la do mí aprilis odie* (the fifth day of the month of April to-day).

13. INCIPUNT VERBA COEMAN FILII BEOGNÆ AIRIDI .i. AIBGITIR in crabaid (the Alphabet of Piety). Begins (fol. 37 a. 1): *Ires co ngnính. Accobar co feidhle. Fétbhamle co leire. Castót co nuula. Aine co ninmus. Bochta co neslabrai. Tua co comlabrai.*⁵ Ends (39 a. 1,

¹ (There was) a brooch which the King of Leinster gave in pledge to a poet.

² Ailill son of Dunlang at Kildare (while she was) working these miracles. Thirty days to them, both men and women, to consume them.

³ 'the world, transitory is its bitterness.'

⁴ 'he consumed the world.'

⁵ 'Faith with work. Desire with permanence. Quietude with industry. Chastity with humility. Fasting with riches. Poverty with liberality. Silence with conversation,' etc. *Cóemán* is anglicised Kevin.

l. 12): IS ferr fochellamar inna coic dála arradfecm .i. Dal fri eneit. Dál fri bás. Dal fri muinntir nDé. Dal fri demnæ. Dál fri hesséirge illaithe bratha. FINID.¹

14. Title: Teist Choemain Cluana maic Treoin for scoil oc Sinchill Chille Ached inso ('this is Coeman of Cluain mace Treoin's testimony as to the young school of Sinchell of Cell Ached'). Begins (fol. 39 a., line 13): IS siat so einte *ocus* gnathaighthe bui oc scoil óie Sinchill. Crabath cen scís. Umla cen fodord.² Ends (39 a. 2, l. 10): Tria cræs rommill Iesu a príungeindecht *ocus* rorec ria brathair Iacob ar craibechan. Finet.³

15. Treatise on the eight deadly sins and their opposites. Begins (fol. 39 a. 1, line 11): Conemdetar sruithé Erenn a riaglaib na screptræ pennatoir dilgind frepthæ ceeh peethæ o biue commór air rosuidithe na hocht n-airig sualach *cona* fodlaib fri líce *ocus* slanugud na nocht n airech ndualchæ *coneech* gainedar naidib.⁴ Ends (fol. 40 b. 2, line 10): Cobsaithe aienith. Menmæ isel. Imchaisiu Dé.⁵

¹ 'It is best that we . . . the five meetings we shall mention, to wit, a meeting with sighing; a meeting with death; a meeting with God's household; a meeting with devils; a meeting with resurrection on Doomsday. It endeth.'

² 'These are the decisions and usages that were at Sinchell's young school. Devotion without weariness. Humility without murmuring,' &c. Another copy is in the Book of Leinster, p. 371, col. 3.

³ 'Through gluttony Esau destroyed his birthright and sold it to

his brother Jacob for a *craibechan*,⁴ which word is glossed in II. 2, 16, col. 98, by *cara* [leg. *caro*] *bechan* .i. *feoil min no bec*, (a little or small piece of flesh).

⁴ 'Ireland's elders collected, out of the rules of the Scripture, an extirpating penitential for remedying every sin, from small to great. For the eight chief virtues, with their sub-divisions, were set down to cure and salve the eight chief vices, with all that is born of them.'

⁵ 'Firmness of nature. A lowly mind. Contemplation of God.'

16. Title: Incipit regula Colaim cille (fol. 40 b. 2, line 11). Begins: Bith inn-uathad illuce foleith hifail primcathrach minap inill lat cubus beth i coitehendus na sochaide.¹ Ends (41 a. 2, line 2): Do mod ernaighthe co taothsad do déra. No do modh di obair tórbaigh no do slechtanaib cotí th'allas comenic menbat solma do déra. FINID.²

Dean Reeves has published this Rule, from a MS. in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, in his *Primate Colton's Visitation*, pp. 109-112.

17. A paragraph in three lines (fol. 41 a. 2, line 3): Cose mo Colmaócc maic uBéonna dond ólaieg. Cid as imgabtha do duine. Ni anse. sguirim fodesta ar rosgribus chena é.³

18. Legend of Gregory the Great (fol. 41 a. 2, line 6) Begins: IMroráid *Grigóir* Rómæ, fer ind raith, do peedaib inclithib nan-dóine na tabrad i cobais.⁴ Ends (f. 41 a. 2, line 34): Ni fil do peedaib dogne nech ina colaim na hieat na harra sa acht eudaeh an Spiruta naeib.⁵ A scribe's note follows: Easparta domnaig ar mbreith fom, ocus ar fiesam Dri dam. ('Sunday vespers . . . on us, and on God's protection am I.')

¹ 'To be in solitude in a place apart, nigh unto a chief city, unless it be safe with thy conscience to be in communion with the multitude.'

² 'Thy measure of prayer, till thy tears shall fall. Or thy measure of profitable labour or of genuflexions until thy sweat come often, unless thy tears be rapid.' It endeth.

³ 'Mocholnóe macen-Beóna's correction to the youth. "What should

be shunned by a human being?" Not hard (to say). 'I unyoke henceforward, for I have written it' (something seems omitted).

⁴ 'Gregory of Rome, the man of the grace, meditated on the secret sins of men which they do not put forth in confession.'

⁵ 'Of the sins that one doth in his flesh there is none that these redemptions (*arrea*) do not heal, except the blasphemy of the Holy Ghost.'

19. Invocation of Christ, entreaties for the intercession of Mary, John the Child, John Baptist, &c. (fol. 41 b. 1). Begins: A slainicidh in ciniuda dáona, A fírliaig cecha tédma.¹ Ends (42 a. 1, line 20): coró airillnigem coroin na glóire suthaine in oenthaid (*sic*) muntire nime hi freenarcus na Trínoite an secula secolorum.² Amen.

20. Title: Múgrón comarba Colvim cille ('Múgrón a successor of Colomb-cille') hæc uerba composuit de Trinitate. Begins (fol. 42 a. 1, line 21): Airehis dín a Dé athair uili eumachtaig!³ Ends (42 b. 1, line 11): A spirut on ordnigther cech nuasal!⁴

This Múgrón died A.D. 980. See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 395.

21. Title: Na arrada sosís colleic.⁵ Begins (fol. 42 b. 1, line 12): Arra tesairgne anna a ifurnd.⁶ Ends (44 a. 1, line 2): et pater semel i sesam etir gach da salm corroise anarra nuil.⁷

23. Legend of Laisren (fol. 44 a. 1, line 3). Begins: Fechtas luid Laisren for slatrad o muintir Cluana. do glanad Cluana Cain cell file a crích *Connaacht*.⁸ Ends (44 b. 2, line 16): *Ocus* ethech *ocus* cenach *ocus* rad uabair *ocus*⁹

¹ 'O Healer of the human race! O true Leech of every disease!'

² 'that we may deserve the crown of eternal glory, in the unity of heaven's household, in the presence of the Trinity in *saecula saeculorum*.'

³ 'Spare us, O God, Almighty Father!'

⁴ 'O Spirit, by whom every noble one is ordained!'

⁵ 'The remissions (*arrea*) here below now.'

⁶ 'A remission for saving a soul out of hell.'

⁷ 'and a paternoster once while standing up, between every two psalms until the whole remission is ended.'

⁸ 'Once Laisren went a from the community of Cluain to purify Cluain Cáin, a church which is in the province of Connaught.'

⁹ 'and perjury, and blasphemy, and proud speech, and . . .'

24. Note on the churches of Munster (fol. 44 b. 2, line 17). Begins: Cuic primfethail cecha ec(ol)sa rohordaiged la rig Muman .i. Finnguine *ocus* la Cathal co maithib Muman umpa .i. bachall *ocus* menistir *ocus* cros *ocus* cloe *ocus* catur (.i. soisecla).¹ Ends (44 b. 2, last line): Da mile bite annside fobith rotesairg ernaigthi Petair *ocus* Poil. FINID. Amen.²

25. A tract on the Psalter (fol. 45 a. 1). Begins: IS he titul fil in-dreich ind lipuirsi taitnea do menmannaib inna legnidhi. IS hé a ainm isind ebro hespertalim .i. uolumen ymnorum, arinní is psalmus is lus uel innus etcercetar. Ceist, cia hainm in libuirsi a ebra, a gréic, allatin? Nianse: nabla [is]in ebra, psalterium isin gréic, laudatorium uel organum isin laitín.³ Ends (fol. 47 b. 2, line 21): Habeo didiú uad imtiag.⁴

fol. 45 a. 1, line 22. Half obliterated Irish note, written in October, 1731.

26. The law of Adamnán (fol. 48 a. 1–f. 51 b. 1). Begins: Coic ansira ria ngein Críst .i. o Adam co dilinn, o dilinn co Abraam, o Abraam co Dabid, o Dabid co broit imBaibiloin. O broit Babilone co gein Críst. Mnau rouhatar in-doeriu *ocus* in-dochraiti frisín reisín co taneé Adannan mac Ronain, meic Tinne

¹ 'Five chief *jethals* of every church were ordered by the King of Munster, even Finnguine and by Cathal with Munster's worthies around them, to wit, a crozier and a credence-table and a cross and a bell and a book of the gospels.'

² 'two thousands who are therein, because Peter and Paul's prayer saved them. Finit. Amen.'

³ 'This is the title there is in the face of this book which shineth to

the minds of the readers. This is its name in the Hebrew: *Hesper-talim* [leg. *sepher tephillim*], that is "volumen hymnorum," because *psalmus* is, being interpreted, *laus* vel *hymnus*. Question, what is this book's name, its Hebrew, its Greek, its Latin? Not hard (to say). *Nebel* in the Hebrew, [νάβλα, νάβλον, LXX.], ψαλτήριον in the Greek, *laudatorium* or *organum* in the Latin.'

⁴ 'Abco, then, I go from it.'

meic Ædhy meic Coluim meic Luglach meic Shetnu meic *Conuild* meic Neill. Cumalach ba hainm do mnaiph co taineg Adannan dia soerad; *ocus* ba sí so in cumalach in ben dia claite dere hi cinn na cobla [leg. comlad] *coticeth* dar a feili cend indinbir [leg. inbir?] furri *coroisceth* bruith in lochta. Tar tiachtain di asin pull talman sin cainnil *cethri* ferglac do tummyd di a mul imme no *gereth* in cainnel sin do uith for a *dernaind* co *roisceth* roind *ocus* dail *ocus* dergud i toighib rígh *ocus* ærchinnech. Ni uith cuit don mnaí sin i mbulg nach a clior [=criol] nach an-ocentaig aithig tighi *acht* a bith in-uarboith *frí* less anuig na tísad airbuid de muir na tír docum a air-cindich.¹

fol. 50 a. 2, line 25: Incipit sententia angeli Adomnani.

fol. 50 b. 1, line 28: IS sead inso *forus* cána Adomnan for *Herinn ocus Albain*.²

This piece, together with the pieces numbered respectively 27 and 28, was transcribed by O'Donovan, in 1859, for the Brehon Law Commission; but has not yet been published.

¹ Five Times before Christ's Nativity, to wit, from Adam to the Flood; from the Flood to Abraham; from Abraham to David; from David to the Captivity in Babylon; from the Babylonian captivity to Christ's birth. Women abode in bondage and in baseness at that season till Adamán son of Ronan, &c. came. *Cumalach* was a name for women till Adamán came to free them, and this was the *cumalach*, the woman for whom a hole was dug at the end of the door, so that it came over her nakedness; the end of the spit upon her till the cooking of the

portion ended. After she had come out of that earth-pit she had to dip a candle four man's-handbreadths (long) in a plate of butter or lard; that candle had to be on her palm until division and distribution (of liquor) and making beds, in houses of kings and superiors, had ended. That woman had no share in bag nor in basket, nor in company of the house-master; but she dwelt in a booth outside the enclosure, lest bane from sea or land should come to her superior.'

² This is the knowledge of Adamán's law upon Ireland and Scotland.'

27. Poem, in 13 stanzas, on the Psalms (fol. 51 b. 1, line 10). Begins:

Sreth a salmaib suad slan
feib rohorddaig Adannan.¹

28. Title: Incipit immatheor nAililla ocus Airt² (fol. 51, b. 2). Begins: Leccis Ailill Aulomm a bein i. Sadb ingen Chuind Chet-chathai³. Ends imperfectly: arnanderustar do erriug a mathar muin coirchea miarilichea mochaine cett.

29. A fragment beginning: muintire. Olddam dicit. Nuall nan naila arfieh cinaith a chintiu. Ends (fol. 52 a. 1, line 13): mór muireg oc múr. Finit.

30. Poem, in 19 stanzas, on ecclesiastical seasons and days (fol. 52 a. 1, line 14). Begins:

A Loingsig a hEs mac nEire
at fes at fer cond[es]eire:
in fetar eethardha cain
do bith in-gach oenbliadain.⁴

Ends (52 a. 2, line 23): bat mebur lat, a Loingsiy.

31. The poem composed by Dá Choea on the night when the Bruden Dá Choea was destroyed. Prose preface and glosses begin fol. 52 a. 2, line 24.

The poem and interlinear glosses. Begins: Fil and grian glindi háí⁵ (fol. 52 b. 1, line 16). Ends (52 b. 2, line 17): tobar án ferba faili.

¹ A series out of psalms of sound sages, as Adannán arranged.

² (Here) begins the mutual restoration of Ailill and Art.

³ Ailill Au-lomm left his wife, even Sadb daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

⁴ O Loingsceh, from Ess mac nEire, it is declared that thou art a

man with charity. Knowest thou the fair tetrad which is in every year?

⁵ 'There is there the sun of Glenn Ái (i.e., according to the gloss, hen's eggs).' The poem describes X a banquet, using *kennings* for the ingredients.

There is a copy of this poem in the Irish MS. at Stockholm, which ends: *la topran ferba faili.*

32. A note in seven lines, begins (fol. 52 b. 2, line 17): *IShe se tomus cuirp Crist arna gabail o Chonsantin impir.*¹

33. Preface, part of the prologue, and the epilogue to the Calendar of Oengus, with some notes thereon (fol. 53 a. 1-64 a. 2). The preface begins: *[C]ethardai condagar da each elathain.*² Ends (53 b. 1, line 33): *rogab fine Echdach air.*³

The prologue begins (fol. 53 b. 1, line 34): *[S]én a Crist molabra.*⁴ Ends (53 b. 2, last line): *ite cena[c]e mairsium.*⁵

The epilogue begins fol. 54 a: *[Ó]n kallaind coaraili.*⁶ Ends (56 b, line 28): *in rigrad imrordus.*⁷

The notes begin fol. 57 a. 1 and end fol. 64 a. 2. They are on the Calendar for the months of January, February, March, April, August, September, October, November, and December.

34. Poem, in five stanzas, in the metre *rinnard* (fol. 56 b., line 28). Begins: *Bendacht indrig [leg. rí] donélaib.*⁸ Ends: *in muintir imrordus.*⁹

35. Two stanzas in *rinnard*, with two lines added to the second (fol. 64 a. 2, line 26). Begins: *Cach noem robói [leg. bóí], fil, bias.*¹⁰

¹ 'This is the measure of Christ's body (when) found by the emperor Constantine.'

² 'Four things are required by every work of art.'

³ 'which the sept of high Echu seized.'

⁴ 'Sain, O Christ, my utterance!

⁵ 'they are without age, like Him.'

⁶ 'From one calend (New year's day) to another.'

⁷ 'the kingfolk whom I have commemorated.'

⁸ 'The blessing of the King of clouds.'

⁹ 'the household whom I have commemorated.'

¹⁰ 'Every saint who hath been, is, will be.'

36. Quatrain (fol. 64 a. 2, line 31). Begins: Cech noeb, cech noebuag, cech mairtir.¹

Scribe's note, partly illegible (64 a. 2, line 34): A Dé nach mairend anti rosgraib² Marbhan leth imean oc (?) did in leabbair s ruagh mac Maol-tuille et gach aén legfes go t[ucad] benacht ar annain . . . Mise Gille Bríte mac Mael-tuille.³

37. Two legends of S. Moling (fol. 64 b. 1). The first begins: Fecht do Moling is toidin daeai Moeldobarchon mac Cellaig cuice for iarrad a ceh.⁴ Ends (64 b. 1, line 33) with the quatrain:

Tugas gablan, orsesum, dom tig
ar uamun tigbais.
snaidfid annama ile
for richid rinnmais.⁵

There is a legend with the same beginning in the Book of Leinster, p. 283 b.

The second is the legend of Moling and the Devil. Begins: Feacht dosum ie ernaighti in eclesia.⁶ Ends (64 b. 2, line 37): ISór ocus rl. Luid ass iarsin.⁷ Finid.

Both these legends probably belong to the body of notes on the Féilire. The latter legend occurs also in Laud 610 and in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lismore. Two quatrains of the poem with which it ends occur in the ninth-century codex of St. Paul's Kloster, Carinthia.

¹ 'Every saint, every holy virgin, every martyr.'

² 'O God, that he who wrote it does not remain!'

³ 'and let every one who shall read (this) give a blessing on the soul . . . I (am) Gilla-Bri(g)te son of Mael-tuille.'

⁴ 'Once as Moling was in the millpool he saw Mael-dobarchon

son of Cellach coming towards him, asking for his horses.'

⁵ 'A branch I brought (saith he) to my house for fear of final death. It will save many souls on well-starred heaven.'

⁶ 'Once as he was praying in the church.'

⁷ 'He is gold,' etc. 'Thereafter he went forth.'

fol. 64 b. 2, line 38. A scribe's note: . . . annso do Geroid an Fáni mac Seoirsea dar sgribus an[rem]foculsa infeleri *ocus* a rairim Oengus do nēmaib sund eo mbet ag arcabail aræn. Misi *ocus* Geroid casbarta feil Muire nasaindsi ag breth forn. *ocus* Muire *ocus* naim inli-buirsi dfagbail a enamabail dvin orfiada, ar ni fvaramarni re fochreic āne amBaili Atha Bvide, *ocus* tabrad gach æn legfes *bennacht* ar anmain in sgribneda (a)nno .d. m^o. acis Tigerni.¹

38. Homily on the Nativity. Begins (fol. 65 a. 1): Factum hautem in illis diebus exiit edictum a Cesaire Augusto ut describeretur uniuersus orbis. Doronadh isna laithibsin *immorro* erfuacra oec Cesair August cora airmithi int-uile doman.² Ends (71 a. 1, line 28): Ailim trocaire De *ocus* Isu *Crist* rogenair isin laithisi, Roisam, roaitrebam in secula secolorum, amen. Finit.³

At foot are some ill-written verses entitled Ród . . . oCor(n)ín cecinit, and beginning: Buadacht uaim dom compan an tí as iomlan a threghib.

After this some more verses entitled 'Brian mac Dergan cecinit,' and beginning: Ag scoith na bPluin-geadach.

39. Homily on the Passion. Begins (fol. 71 a. 2): Et ymno dicto exierunt in montem Oliuet i. o roscaich

¹ . . . here for Gerald an Fáni son of George, for whom I have written this preface of the Calendar; and may all the saints that Oengus enumerated here be together . . . ing us! I and Gerald, the eve of the festival of Mary on us. And Mary and the saints of this book to leave us their portion (?) of delight for we have not found in Baile Atha Buidi. And let every one who shall read (this

book) give a blessing to the soul of the scribe, anno MD. of the Lord's age.'

² 'Now in those days a proclamation was made by Caesar Augustus that all the world should be numbered.'

³ 'I beseech the merey of God and of Jesus Christ who was born on this day. May we all attain! May we dwell (in heaven) for ever and ever. Amen. Finit.'

do Isu *cona* apstalaib atlugud dochuaid i sleib Olifeit.¹
Ends imperfectly (fol. 75 b. 2), sibsi *immorro* a caillecho
nabda . . . chana dui . . . arne dobith foibr
arisin

At foot of fol. 73 a. 1: Misi Dubthach ó Duibgenman
doserib anram do *Concobar* ó Mailechonaire día brathair
a lebar *Geroid* afayé (?) *ocus* sinn ag feithim ar ath-
chuinghid d'iarraid ar ingen míc B::nan ar mmai i
Conchobair Ruaidh, *ocus* cotuca Dia disis in do tabairt
duin.²

40. A copy of the Book of Invasions, fol. 76 A.—fol.
97 b. 1.

fol. 76 A. a. 1 begins imperfectly: Co torchair la
Fiacha mac Zair.³

The subsequent sections are entitled as follows:—

fol. 76 A. a. 2, line 36. Comamsera! rig an domain
inso fri rigaib Fer mBole.⁴

fol. 76 A. b. 1, line 30. Batar clanda Beothach míc
Iarboniel.⁵

fol. 76 B. a. 1, line 31. Do gabail Cesrach annso sis.⁶

fol. 77 a. 1, line 21. De gabail Partoloin annso.⁷

fol. 78 b. 2, line 4. Gabail Nemed sisana.⁸

fol. 79 b. 2, line 34. Comainserad Nemed annso sis.⁹

¹ 'and when Jesus and his apostles had finished praying he went to Mount Olivet.'

² 'I (am) Dubthach O'Duibgenman who wrote the . . . ram (? *Amra*) for Conchobar O Mailechonaire, for his relative, out of Gerald a Fani's book, and we intending to ask our demand of Mae B . . . nan's daughter O'Conchobair Ruaid's wife. And may God grant to her to give that to us!'

³ 'so that he fell by Fiacha son of Star.'

⁴ 'The synchronizing of the kings of the world here with the kings of the Fir Bolg.'

⁵ 'The children of Beotha son of Iarbonél were bidding!'

⁶ 'Of Cesair's taking (of Ireland) here below.'

⁷ 'Of Partholon's taking here.'

⁸ 'Nemed's taking below.'

⁹ 'Synchronising of her Nemed here below.'

fol. 80 b. 2, line 30. Comaimser rig an domain fri Tuaithe de *Danann* inso.¹

fol. 81 a. 2, line 13. Gabail Goidel *ocus* a comaimseradh inso.²

fol. 82 b. 2, line 5. Ailein (sic) iath nEreinn.³

fol. 83 b. 2, line 25. Comaimserdacht rigraide Ereinn fri rigraid an domain inso.⁴

fol. 84 a. 2, line 12. *Ceist*, cid diata Emain Macha? ⁵
See Book of Leinster, p. 20 a.

A tract on the Roman realm (fol. 87 a. 1, line 22). Begins: Flaithius Róman, *tra*, ise flaithes deginach an domain et ní cumangar a rim angradaib *ocus* a ceimendaib ar inat a *consal ocus* a *conditore ocus* a legaithe *ocus* a coimite *ocus* a ndictodoire *ocus* a patríci a *patrapas* [leg. satrapas] *ocus* a lataire *ocus* a ndiuíce *ocus* a *centure*.⁶

INt-airim cetach inso,⁷ (fol. 88 a. 2, line 6).

Do flaithiusaib an domain moir anso sis,⁸ (fol. 89 a. 1, line 2). Begins with the following quatrain:

Réidigh dham, a Dé do nim,
coheimidh ann innisin,
uair nach cofel gnim iar fuin
senchus degrid an domain ⁹ Et rl.

¹ 'Synchronism of the kings of the world with the Tuath-Dee-Danann this.'

² 'The Gaels' taking and their synchronising here.'

³ 'I beseech Erin's land.'

⁴ 'Synchronising of Ireland's kingfolk with the kingfolk of the world here.'

⁵ 'Question, whence is (the name) Emain Macha?'

⁶ 'The realm of the Romans, now, it is the last realm of the world, and it is impossible to reckon their ranks and their steps because of the multitude of their consuls and

their founders and their legates and their counts and their dietators and their patricians, their satraps, and their legislators (?), and their judges and their centurions.'

⁷ 'The centenary number here.'

⁸ 'Of the realms of the great world here below.'

⁹ 'Make easy for me, O God of heaven,

Quickly the statement—

For there is no deed after death,—

The history of the good kings of the world.'

In top margin of fol. 89: In Dei nomine amén. Emanuel. An satharn odie *ocus* roba flesc [leg. fuse ?] i(n) oidchi irair.¹

Fol. 90 b. 2, line 14. Míniugul gabal nErenn *ocus* a senchas *ocus* a remmend rigraide innso sis *ocus* ethre ambeolu aisneisin *ocus* labra ógh dondhu remunn o thosach ind libair co tici indso,² ut dicunt *historici*.

At top of fol. 91 b.: a Muiri, a rígan na secht ni(m)e, conacna frimm, *ocus* cu rosæra ar gach ngalur.³

At top of fol. 94 a.: In Dei nomine. an rotuirim Oengus Mac Oiblen isind feleri do naemaib *ocus* mairterib *ocus* faismedachaib *ocus* iresichaib⁴ s.

fol. 95 a. 1, line 18. De Cruithnechaib amso bevs.⁵

fol. 97 a. 2, line 18. Rig Hérenn iar creitim .ve. Bégins: Laegaire xxx. bliadne. Ends (97 b. 1, line 13): Ruaidri .ii.x.

See the Book of Leinster, p. 24 a.

41. Note on the resemblance of Ireland to Paradise (fol. 97 b. 1, line 14). INis Herenn, tra, rosuidigad isin fuined. Amal ata Pardas Adaim icon turebail is anlaid ata Herin ocum fuiniud, *ocus* asat cosmaile o aieniud uire i. amal ata Pardas cen biasta, cen nathraigh, cen leomain, cen dracoin, cen scoirp, cen muir, cen rain. IS anlaid ata Eiriu fon immus cetna, cen nach nan[m]anna

¹ 'The Saturday *hodie* and there was wet yestereve in the night.'

² 'Explanation of the conquests of Ireland, and its history and its series of kingfolk here below, and an end before relating, and perfect utterance of that before us, from the beginning of the book as far as this is.'

³ 'O Mary, O Queen of the seven heavens, work along with us and save (us) from every disease!'

⁴ 'May all the saints and martyrs and confessors and faithful ones whom Oengus son of Oiblen recounted . . .'

⁵ 'Of the Piets here moreover.'

nerchoitech acht mic tire nama, amal atherat colaig
ocus rl.¹

42. On the first three judgments that were delivered
in Ireland (fol. 97 b. 1, line 24). Begins: ISi an cet
breth rucal ind Erind.²

43. Story of Finnian of Magh Bile (fol. 97 b. 1). Begins:
IAr tuidhecht du Finnien Maighe Bile cosin soisecla
i tir nErend i crich Ulad antainriud huid dochum laich
saidbir antainriudh and.³ Ends (98 b. 1): Bid oirdni-
diu do techsa cobrath, ol Tuan.⁴ quia hic locus.

44. Poem in seven stanzas about Tuan mac Cairill
(fol. 97 b. 2). Begins: Tuan mac Cairill roclas dorad
Isu for anfos. Ends (97 b. 2, line 20): robai acallaim
Tuain.

45. Quatrain beginning: Dia rorannta coicid Erenn
(fol. 97 b. 2, line 21), 'When the provinces of Ireland
were divided.'

46. Four quatrains (fol. 97 b. 2, line 24) about Beltaine
(May-day), Lughnasad (Lammas-day), Samain (All Saints
day), and Imbolc (Candlemas).

¹ Now the island of Ireland has
been set in the west. As Adam's
Paradise stands at the sunrise so
Ireland stands at the sunset. And
they are alike in the nature of the
soil, to wit, as Paradise is without
beasts, without a snake, without a
lion, without a dragon, without a
scorpion, without a mouse, without
a frog, so is Ireland in the same
manner without any harmful animal,

save only the wolf, as sages say,
etc.'

² This is the first judgment that
was delivered in Ireland.'

³ After Finnian of Magh Bile
came with the Gospel into the land
of Erin, into the province of Ulster
especially, he went to a wealthy
hero especially there.'

⁴ "Thy house will be most dig-
nified till Doom," saith Tuan.'

47. Correspondence between Alexander and Dinnim, the Dandamis of Plutarch and Arrian, the Dindimus of the tract *De Bragmanis*, ed. Bisse, Lond. 1668, all seemingly corruptions of Skr. *dandin*. Begins (fol. 99 a. 1): Assed, tra, dorimther [is]ind eipstlil Alaxandir cein bóí Alaxander a nirt comoralta eipstli etarru ocus Dinnim rig inna mBragmanda.¹ Ends (100 b. 2, line 21): IT eat annsin .u. eipistli immaralait iter Alaxander rig an domain ocus Dinnim rig na mBragmanda. FINID.²

This forms part of the Alexander-saga published from the *Lebar Brece* by Dr. Kuno Meyer, *Irische Texte*, Zweite Serie.

48. Story of Neissi daughter of Eochu Yellowwheel (fol. 100 b. 2, line 22). Begins: Neissi ingeun Echach Salbuide. Bui inda rigsuide amaig ar Emain ocus a ringingena uimpi.³ Ends (100 b. 2, line 36): isin luirig iairn tie sin.⁴

In a tale printed from the Stowe MS. No. 992, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 174-178, she is called Neas.

100 b. 2, line 36. A scribe's note (which should have been on fol. 97 b. 1). Finit do Leabar Gabala Glind da Locha. aecin duit uaim.⁵

49. Title: INcipit di Baili in Scail inso ar slicht hsenlibuir Duib da leithi .i. comarpa Patraic⁶ (fol. 101 a.)

¹ Now this is related in Alexander's letter, (that) so long as Alexander was in power letters were interchanged between him and Dindimus the King of the Brahmins.²

² 'Those are the five letters that were interchanged between Alexander the King of the world and Dindim the King of the Brahmins. Finit.' This colophon is incorrectly printed in the preface to Dean Reeves' essay on the Culdees, Dublin, 1864.

³ 'Neissi daughter of Echu Yellowwheel was on her throne out before Emain with her royal maidens around her.'

⁴ 'in the hauberk of iron that cometh.'

⁵ 'A *finit* to the Book of Conquest of Glenn da Locha. There (it is) for thee from me.'

⁶ 'Here beginneth the Champion's Frenzy, an extract of the old Book of Dub-dá-leithe, a successor of Patrick.'

Begins: Laa robúí *Cond* i Temraich iar ndith dona rigaib atracht matin moeh for (rígr)aith na Temrach ria terebail greni *ocus* a tri druid ríam.¹ Ends (105 b. 2, line 7): Regaid ée aitti iar sein dieretair creissin tri Temuir. FINET.

50. Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig and Hound (fol. 105 b. 2, line 8). Begins: Báí brughaid amra do Laighnib, *mac* Dá-Thó a comainm.² Ends (108 a. 2, line 18): *conidh* hésin searadh *Uladh ocus Connacht* im choin Mic dá Thó *ocus* immá muic.³ FINET.

Printed by Prof. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, pp. 93-112, from the Book of Leinster.

51. Legend of S. Patrick, King Loegaire's son Enna, and Michael the Archangel (fol. 108 a. 2, line 19). Printed *infra*, p. 556.

52. *Senchus muici féili Martain indso síss*.⁴ Printed *infra*, p. 560.

53. The saga of the destruction of Irard mac Coisi's stronghold, Clarthá. The preface begins (fol. 109 a. 1): IRard mac coisi arráinic ind airce menmansa do ceneol íarna indr[i]d cohindligthech i einaidh Muiredaigh mic Eogain do guin *con-airnecht indliged friss* eo rucsat a bú *ocus* a seotu *ocus* gur airgset a dún feissin .i. Clarthá.⁵ The tale (which Irard himself re-

¹ 'One day that Conn was bidding on Tara after the destruction of the Kings he went forth in early morning, before sunrise, on the royal rampart of Tara, with his three wizards before him.'

² 'There was a wonderful hospitaller of Leinster, *Mac-dá-thó* ("son of two silent ones") was his name.'

³ 'So that is the severing of Ulster and Connaught because of

Mac-dá-thó's hound and because of his pig.'

⁴ 'The tradition of the Martinmas pig this below.'

⁵ 'Irard mac Coise found this mental invention . . . after he had been unlawfully raided on. Because Muiredaich Eoganson was slain by him illegality was found against him, so that they carried away his cows and his treasures and wrecked his own stronghold, even Clarthá.'

lates to King Donnall, son of Murchertach Niallson) begins (fol. 110 a. 1, line 21): [R]ohort éin a cathair for Macl Milseothach.¹ Ends (fol. 114 b. 1, line 17): .i. comencl. fri rig Temrach do acht eo ti de in trede sin. Finit.

The portion of the preface which gives a list of sagas is printed by Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Essai d'un Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, pp. 260-264.

54. A tale, entitled Erchoitmed ingine Gulidi inso,² begins: (fol. 114 b. 1, line 18) [R]í rogab Mumain, edhón Feidlimid mac Crimthain. Luidside fecht and formoreuaírt Muman conarala síar inIarnumain corocht Áth Loche. Ba hand sén bai baili Gulide in cainti ba geriu *ocus* bá gortiu *ocus* ba hamainsiu bai inHériu ina aimsir.³ Ends (115 b. 1, line 23): *ocus* forfaeab Feidhlimidh bendachtain.⁴ Finit.

55. The Tragical Death of Diarmait's three Sons (*Oided tri mac nDiarmata*). Begins (fol. 115 b. 1, line 24): [L]otar meic Díarmata mic Fergusa Ceirrbóil fecht i tír Laigen for creich.⁵ Ends (116 a. 1, line 29): Adhaigh tri mac nDiarmata corici sin.⁶

56. Story of Maclodrán mac Díma Croin. Begins (fol. 116 a., line 30): [L]occh annas robái do Dáil Mosceorp

¹ His fortress was wrecked on Macl Milseothach (sweet-worded).'

² The excuse of Gulide's daughter this.'

³ '(There was) a king who took Munster, to wit, Feidlimid Crimthanson. Once upon a time he went on a great cirenit of Munster and fared westward into Ormond till he reached Áth Loche. It was

there was the stead of Gulide, the sharpest and bitterest and keenest lamponer who dwelt in Ireland at his time.'

⁴ 'And Feidlimid left a blessing.'

⁵ 'The sons of Diarmait son of Fergus Wrymouth went once on a foray into the land of Leinster.

⁶ 'The Tragical Death of Diarmait's sons as far as that.'

Laiġen i. Maelodrán mac Díma Cróin.¹ Ends (116 b. 2, line 4): *Roadhmacht som didiu anGlinn dá Locha.*² díanébrad:

Ligi Maelodhrain isligi
a nglinn frí gaithe clua a
ligi meic Connaid nícheil
con linn itigh mo chua a. Finit.

57. Dialogue, in verse, between Fithel Féigbriathrach and King Cormac, who had not asked the former to a banquet at Tara. The prose preface begins (fol. 116 b. 2, line 5): Fithel rocan inso iar n-ol fleidi beic brígh-mairi do Cormac secha *ocus* rofrecart Cormac eisium.³ The dialogue begins (line 21): Nucua (= noch-ba) me; and ends (line 38): ce gaba nech ní ba mé. N.

Here, according to the old red foliation, two leaves are lost.

58. Latter part of the *Tochmare Emire* ('Wooing of Emer'). Begins (fol. 117 a. 1): Asselbhthea dine eccha cethræ for sell bel. Ends (118 a. 2): *ocus* doluidh comboi indEmain Machæ.⁴ Finit. Amen. Finit.

The commencement is in *Lebar na hUidre*, pp. 121-124.

59. Scathach's parting words to Cúchulainn. The preface is (fol. 117 b. 1): Incipiunt uerbai (*sic*) Scathaige fri Coinchulainn oc scarad doib isna randaib thair o ro-scaich do Choineulainn lán foglaimb in milti la Scathaich.

¹ 'There was a fierce hero of the Division of Moscorp of Leinster, even Maelodran son of Dimma Cróin.'

² 'So he was buried in Glenn dá Locha.'

³ 'Fithel sang this after . . . Cormac had drunk a small . . . carouse in his absence, and Cormac answered him.'

⁴ 'and he went till he was in Emain Macha.'

Doairechchain Seathach do iarum anni aridmbiad,
co n-epert fris tria imbas foroisndi dia foirciund.¹ Be-
gins :

IMbe err haengaile :
arut-ossa ollgabab
huathad fri heit imlibir.²

fol. 118 b. 1, line 34 :

Atehiu firfeith Fimbennach
hóci fria Dond-Cuailnge ardbaurach.³

Finit.

Another copy of this curious specimen of alliterative
rimeless verse is in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 125 b.

60. Tale about Cúchulainn's invasion of the Isle of
Mann. Begins (fol. 117 b. 2) : Incipit forfess fer Falgæ
.i. fer Manand isiside foillsigti do Ulltaib ahEmain
Machæ dia tubart ind hengribb in seoith milidea doib,
ocus is liarum huid Cuculainn ocus fiu forfess fer
*Falchæ ocus selaig firu Faal huile ar galaib oinfir.*⁴
Ends (118 b. 1, in marg.) : Get haicellnæ do Chonchabar
crich iar ndedail.

61. The story of Bran mac Febail. Begins (fol. 119
a. 1) : [C]occa rand rogab in ben a tírib ingnad for lar

¹ (Here) begin the words of
Seathach to Cúchulainn as they
were . . . in the parts in the
east, when Cúchulainn had ended
his full education in warfare by
Seathach. Then Seathach prophe-
sied to him what should befall him,
and she spake to him, through
imbas forosnaí, of his end.

² 'Thou wilt be a champion of
single combat. Great peril awaits
thee, alone at the vast Cattlespoil.'

³ 'I see Fimbennach ('white-
horned?') will make an attack (?)
against the loud-bellowing Donn of
Cúalnge.'

⁴ (Here) begins the Siege of the
Men of Falg, that is, of the men of
Mann. It is that that was man-
ifested to the Ultonians out of Emain
Macha when to them
and then Cuchulainn went and . . .
siege of the men of Falg, and slew
all the men of Fál in duels.²

an tige do Bran mac Febail.¹ Ends (120 b. 2, line 20): Atfet a imtechta nili o thosach *ocus* scribais inna runda so tria hogum, *ocus* celebrais doib iarum *ocus* nifes a imthechta ond uair sin.² Finit.

There are copies of this saga in H. 2. 16, col. 395–399, and in the Irish MS. at Stockholm. Twenty-four lines of the end are in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 121.

62. The commencement of the story of Conla Ruad. Begins (fol. 120 b. 2, line 21): Conla Ruad mac do Chund Chétchathaig amboe laa n-and for lainn aathar ind ochtar Uisnig, con-faccai mnai in-etach anetarg-naid.³ Ends (120 b. 2, line 34): nad accai nech in mnai *acht* Conlai aoenar.⁴ Respondit mulier.

Printed by Prof. Windisch in his *Irish Grammar* from *Lebar na hUidre*, p. 120. A critical text of some of the alliterative unrimed verse in the story is given, with French translations, by the same scholar in the *Revue Celtique*, v., pp. 389, 478.

63. Poem, in 24 stanzas, on Reilec na Ríg ('The Kings' Burial-place'). Begins (fol. 121 a. 1):

A reilec lech Leithe Cuinn
cia dot maithib nach moluim?⁵

Ends (fol. 121 a. 2, line 34):

gur sœra Diá inté datie
isé is riar do each reilie.⁶ A reilec.

¹ 'Fifty staves which the woman from the unknown lands sang on the floor of the house to Bran son of Febal.'

² 'He relates all his goings from the beginning and he wrote those quatrains in ogham, and then bade them farewell; and from that hour his goings are not known.'

³ 'Conla the Red son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, when he

was bidding one day at his father's hand in the upper part of Uisnech, he saw a woman in strange raiment.'

⁴ 'No one saw the woman save Conn alone.'

⁵ '(O burial-ground of Leth Cuinn's heroes, which of thy worthies should I not praise?'

⁶ 'May God save him who comes to it! This is the desire of every burial-ground.'

64. Poetical dialogue (20 stanzas, in *rinnard*) between Findehú and Sétna, in which the latter foretells the calamities which will happen at the end of the world. Begins (fol. 121 b. 1): Findehú o Brí Goband roim-chomhaire Sétna Chluana Bie fónindass sa síis, *ocus* rofregair Sétna dó amail ata síisana:

Apair rim a Sétna,
 sceala deiridh betha
 cinnas bías an líne
 nách lorg fire a mbretha.¹

Ends (121 b. 2, line 17): ní bíá esbaid orra.² *Abair.*

65. Note on the Besom out of Fánait. Begins (fol. 121 b. 2, line 18): IS i ndéghail marbtha Eoin Bauphtáist *immorro* tie an scuap a Fánait do erglanad Erenn fri deired in domain, amal rotairmgir Ailerán ind eena *ocus* Colameille.³ Ends (122 a. 1, line 6): cen cho-máin, cen tsacarbaic.⁴

See the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cxxxiv.

66. Story of Eithne and King Cormac. Title (fol. 122 a. 1, line 7): Easnam tighe Buicet inso.⁵ Begins: Báí coire feile la Laighniu, Buichet a ainm.⁶ Ends (122 b. 2, line 15): lArsin, tra, dorat Cormac dó an-rosíacht a radare do múr Cenandsa, itir boin *ocus* duine *ocus* ór *ocus* argat *ocus* coirmthech eo cend secht-

¹ 'Findehú of Bri-Gobann interrogated Setna of Cluain Bece in this wise below, and Sétna answered him as standeth below:

"Tell me, O Sétna,
 Tidings of the world's end.
 How will be the folk
 That follow not the truth of their
 judgment?"'

² 'There will be no defect on them.'

³ 'It is in vengeance for the slaying of John Baptist now, that the Besom comes out of Fánat to thoroughly cleanse Ireland at the end of the world as Aileran of the Wisdom foretold and Colombeille.'

⁴ 'without communion, without mass.'

⁵ 'The Music of Buicet's house' this.'

⁶ 'The Leinstermen had a 'cal-dron of hospitality' named Buichet.'

maine. Easnam tighi Buichit dona dámail .i. a gen-gáire síum frisna dámuibh ‘Focen duib, bid maith duib, bud maith dúinne sibsi!’ Esnamh an *cóicat* laech conan-ed[gud]aib coreraib *ocus* conan-erradaib do oirifited intan batis mesca na dáma. Esnam an *cóicat ingen* for lár in tighi ina lendaibh corera cona-mongaibh órbuidibh dara n-élaighibh a síanan *ocus* a n-andord *ocus* an-esnam ac oirfitedh in tsluaigh. Esnam in *cóicat* cruitire iarsin co matain ac talgud in tsloigh do chúil: conidh de sin atá esnamh tighi Buichet. Finet.¹

67. Commencement of the story of Baile the Sweet-voiced. Begins (122 b. 2, line 16): Baile Bindbérach mac Búain rl. Ends (122 b., line 36): Roturnait a carpaít (their chariots were unyoked).

68. Fragment of a much-faded Irish tale of the Arthurian cycle (fol. 123 a. 1—139 b. 2). It begins at fol. 123 a. 1 with a legend of Solomon. The names ‘Ser-Persaual’ and ‘Ser-Galaad’ occur in 123 b. 1, 124 b. 1; ‘Ser-Boos’ (Bors), 124 b. 1; the bishop ‘Iosopus mac Iosep de Barumat,’ 124 b. 2; ‘Ser Lamselot de lac,’ 128 b. 1, 129 a. 2; ‘Ser Meliant,’ 137 a. 2. The original of the tale (if, as is probable, it is a translation) may perhaps be ascertained from the following passages

¹ ‘After that Cormac gave him all his eyesight reached from the rampart of Kells, both cow and human being, and gold and silver, and alehouse, to the end of a week. “The music of Buichet’s house” to the companies, that is, his cheery laugh to the companies: “Welcome to you: it is well for you: ye will be a benefit unto us!” The music of the fifty heroes with their purple garments and with their robes to

delight (them) when the companies were cupshotten. The music of the fifty maidens in their purple mantles, with their golden-yellow hair over their garments, and their song and their burden and their music delighting the host. The music of the fifty harpers thereafter till morning, a-soothing the host with melody. Wherefore thence is “The Music of Buichet’s house.”’

(fol. 123 b. 1): Dala na ridedredh *imorro*, ar cluinistin (*sic*) na seel sin doib, dotact ser-Persauail gusinn-imdaigh, *ocus* rotoeaib intimfolach robai tairrsi armuchtar, *ocus* roleigh na litri, *ocus* ised roraid: ‘A ser-Galaad, a modh dilis Dé!’ ar se, ‘is duit rocoimet in Tigerna Iesu Christ na comarda spírtaltsa, *ocus* ni fuil nach n-esbaid orainn innosa.’¹ (fol. 129 a. 2, line 20): Rohimluaigh in gaeth iarsin ser-Lamselot *ocus* ser-Galaad anaician in mara, *ocus* robadur lan leth-bliadain for sechran *ocus* for merugud insedh *ocus* oilen *ocus* ac fuaslueud cest *ocus* chaingen isna hia-thaib anaithintaib, *ocus* a crichnugud ingantadh *ocus* faisdine in domain.²

69. Four stanzas of a poem attributed (says Dean Reeves) to Columba. Begins (fol. 126 a. 2):

Aibhinn lith ar B[i]nn Etair.³

Ends (line 8):

Fuil suil nglais
fheefas Erind tarahais:
nocha fa(ie)fe sí re la
firu Erenn nach a mna.⁴

The whole poem (of 23 stanzas) is printed in Reeves’ *Vita Columbae*, pp. 285–289, and the stanza just quoted occurs also in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 5 a.

¹ ‘Now, as regards the knights, after they had heard those tidings, Sir Percivale went to the bed and raised the covering that lay over it, and read the letters, and this he said: “O Sir Galahad, O God’s own servant!” saith he, “it is for thee that the Lord Jesus Christ hath preserved these spiritual signs, and there is now no defect upon us.”’

² ‘Thereafter the wind hurled Sir Lancelot and Sir Galahad into the ocean of the sea, and a full half

year they were a-straying and wandering among islands and isles, and resolving questions and causes in the strange territories, and in concluding the marvels and prophecies of the world.’

³ ‘Delightful to be on Binn Étair’ (Howth).

⁴ ‘There is a gray eye,
That shall look back upon
Ireland;
It will not see during its day
The men of Ireland nor her
women.’

70. In the same column, line 9: Ogham consónant síšana bh i. a. dl i. o. ft i. u. sr i. e. ng. i. í.¹

This key is also given in the grammar appended to O'Beaglaoidh's *English-Irish Dictionary*, Paris, 1732, p. 715, where, however, *sc* is given for *sr*, and the following equivalents are added: *mm* = ea, *ll* = ia, *bb* = ua, *cc* = ao, and *pp* = oi.

71. Story about Diarmait mac Cerbaill and S. Cíarán at the assembly of Teltown. Begins (fol. 140 a. 1): Feart aenach Tailten la Diarmuid mac Cerbaill in bliadain rogab ríge nErenn Ciaran mac in tsair ina aumcarait aice.

72. Story about the Abbot of Drimnagh. Begins (140 a. 1, line 22): Araile oclaech robui an-abdaine Drimenaigh.

73. Story of a holy elder and a woman. Begins (140 b. 1, line 13): (Ar)aile sruith naemda báí ae crnuiti ocus ae molacl in Comded in-araile laa ina regles a aenur go tanic ar(aile) bannscal do tabairt a coimsena do.²

74. Story of two ecclesiastical fellow-students. Begins (140 b. 2, line 23): Da mac-cléirig robadur a comann oc denam a leighinn.³

¹ The Ogham of consonants [*i.e.*, a cryptic Ogham alphabet in which the vowels are represented by combinations of consonants] here below: *bh*, *i.e.*, *a*; *dl*, *i.e.*, *o*; *ft*, *i.e.*, *u*; *sr*, *i.e.*, *e*; *ng*, *i.e.*, *í*.

² A certain holy elder was pray-

ing and praising the Lord on a certain day in his cell alone, and a certain woman came to make her confession to him.

³ Two clerical students were reading together.

75. Story of Columba in Aran. Begins (141 a. 1, line 36): *Laa naen tanic Colam eilli timcell reilge Airne eo facaid int-adhnaeul arsaidh ocus inloch nemgluaiste.*¹

76. Story of King Guaire Aidne, S. Cum ne Fota and Cáimíne of Inis Celtra. Begins (141 a. 2, line 10): *Feachtas do Guaire Aidne ocus do Chumíne Foda ocus do Caim(íne) Insi Celtra isinn eclais anInis Celtra.*²

Another copy was printed by Dr. Todd ('told by the Scholiast on the Felire of Oengus'), in his edition of *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 87. There is a similar legend in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 116.

77. Story of the ghost of Mae Craith *mae mic in-Lomanaigh* (fol. 141 a. 2, line 32).

78. Story of a (e)aillech leighinn, *ingen meic Taidg i Cellaig Maine* (nun of reading, lectrix, daughter of the son of Taidg úa Cellaigh Maine) fol. 141 b. 1, line 5.

79, 80. Two legends about S. Moling of Luachair, foster-son of Mae[d]og of Ferns (141 b. 1, line 17). The legend of Moling and the Devil begins at line 28. Other copies of this are in the Books of Leinster (p. 284 a.), Ballymote, and Lismore, and in Laud 610. The versions in the Book of Leinster and Laud 610 have been published in *Goidelica*, p. 180, and the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. ev.

81. Story of a monk and S. Congall of Bangor. Begins (fol. 141 b. 2, line 31): *Manach craibtech tanic*

¹ 'One day Columb-cille came round the graveyard of Arran and saw the old grave and the cross unmoved.'

² 'Once upon a time Guaire Aidne and Cumíne the Tall and Cáimíne of Inis Celtra were in the church in Inis Celtra.'

taris anoir do eumsinedh *crabaid* re Comgall Benncair ('a pious monk came over from the east to vie in devotion with Comgall of Bennchor').

82. Story of Brenainn moecu-*Alta*. Begins (142 a. 1): *Feachtas doBrenainn mac ua Allta*.

83. Story of Baithín and Colomb-eille. Begins (fol. 142 a. 2, line 11): *Baithin mac Brenainn mic Fergusa ocus Columcille mac Feidlim(the) mic Fergusa .i. clann da derbrathar*.

84. Story of Mo-chuta and the Devil (fol. 142 a. 2, line 27).

85. Story of David, Solomon, and Absalom (*Abstalón*) (fol. 142 b. 1, line 9).

86. More about Mo-chuta Rathin (142 b. 2, line 8).

87. Legend of Job (142 b. 2, line 32).

fol. 143 a. 1, line 34. A scribe's note: *Orait ann do Séon Pluingeod ocus d'ingin Barun Galatruim dar se[r]libad in lebar so.*¹

90. A prophecy. Begins (143 a. 2): *Tiefaidh aimser .i. aimser gan firinne, etech gan athmela.*²

91. Legend of S. Patrick, King Loegaire's son, and the archangel Michael (143 a. 2, line 10).

¹ 'A prayer here for John Plunket and for the daughter of the Baron of Galtrim, for whom this book was written.'

² 'A time will come, to wit, a time without righteousness, perjury without repentance, etc.'

92. Foillsigter na focail ar tri coraib .i. seel *ocus* *arrumainte ocus* (s)tair¹ (fol. 143 b. 1).

93. fol. 143 b. 1, line 11: Araile ferann fil isin doman toir anAisia a hainm luin gela bid ann dogres *ocus* celebraid a tratha fo aisti na heclaise *ocus* na ndaine IS siat na luin gela sa cuirp lana gennumaige na firenach conan-ammanaib etrochtaib.²

94. Story of Cúchulainn and the *timpán*-player Senbecc (fol. 143 b. 1, line 29). Also in Stowe MS. No. 992, from which it is printed, with translation, in *Revue Celtique*, vi. 182.

95. A religious piece, in nine lines, beginning (fol. 143 b. 2, line 14): Antret moch, noma fada; and embodying a list of the twelve kinds of repentance.

96. The three wonders of Tara (Tri hinganta Temrach) fol. 143 b. 2, line 23. Printed, from the Book of Ballymote and H. 3. 17, in Todd's *Irish Nennius*, pp. 198, 200.

97. Legend of Gregory and the Widow who laughed at Mass (fol. 143 b. 2, line 27). Ends imperfectly: intan tucadh in corp di.

98. fol. 144 a. 1: End of a legend of Solomon.

¹ 'The words are manifested for three ends, namely, tidings, and arguments and history.'

² 'A certain land there is in the world eastward in Asia, . . . is its name. White merles are there

continually, and they celebrate their hours after the manner of the Church and human beings. These white merles are the bodies of the righteous full of elastity with their shining souls.'

99. fol. 144 a. 1, line 28: Legend of David and Solomon, who reproached his father for his slowness in dealing dooms. Like the story printed from the *Lebar Brece*, in the *Revue Celtique*, II., 382-3.

100. fol. 144 a. 1, line 47: *Rí iresech robui do Gregaib. mor a tabartee ocus a deire. On uair gabuis flaitheimnas nocan facas gairi for a beolu.*¹

Similar tale in the Book of Leinster, p. 278 b.

101. *Cethrur mac-clerech do feraib Erenn docluaid inan-oilithre do dul do Roim Letha*² (fol. 144 a. 2, line 44).

102. Legend of the Emperor Constantine (fol. 144 b. 1, line 35).

103. *Tri dee Danann i. tri meic Breisi meic Eladain*³ (fol. 144 b. 2, line 23).

104. The commencement of the *Esnam tige Buicit*, of which a complete copy is mentioned, supra, No. 66. Begins (fol. 144 b. 2, line 33): *Bui coiri feili la Laighniu Buicet a ainm. Ends: Am choir a Chathair co toirecht ruacbath uas erenn ial atcomse mocrodh dot chain macu gen cinta fira faillsigtese arba fiu . . .*

105. On the B. V. Mary. Begins (fol. 145 a. 1): *faueat in principio uirgo Maria me i. co furtachtaide Muire bhainntigerna dhamh a tosach in oibrighthi oir adeir Augstin nãm don tæbh amuigh do Muire banntigerna*

¹ 'There was a faithful king of the Greeks. Great were his liberality and charity. From the hour that he took the realm a smile of laughter was not seen on his lips.'

² 'Four clerical students of the men of Ireland went on their pilgrimage to go to Rome of Latium.'

³ 'Danu's three gods, that is, three sons of Breise son of Eladau.'

ón onoir *tac* Dia dhi.¹ Ends (146 b. 2): *menad* fein mailisech. 'Ioronimus' (Jerome) and *Bernard* naem (S. Bernard) are quoted in this column.

106. Fragment of a translation of Pope Innocent's treatise *De miseria humanae conditionis*. Begins (147 a.): *doreir* na mbriatharso becan do *pecadh oeus* do drochbesaibh.² Ends (154 b. 2): *intan* docuaid do *techtairicht* ant-soisecla adubairt potum filiorum (?) .i. *beannachad* na dighi Gurub dar . . .

Mr. S. H. O'Grady informs me that a perfect copy of this translation exists in Egerton 1781, pp. 113-150, and an imperfect copy in Egerton 91, fol. 1, *et seq.*

The manuscript Egerton 93, from which I have taken the Irish text printed *infra* in pp. 28-46, is a small vellum quarto containing 35 folios, in double columns, 45 lines in each column. The first page is now illegible; fol. 1. b. 1 begins with *do naodhenaibh* ie *tothlugadh* bíth (to infants a-seeking food). The second folio has been cut out, only word-fragments, such as *ann*, *odcho*, *erb*, *nor*, being left. The second part of the Life begins at fol. 4 a. 2, line 17; the third part at fol. 11 a. 2, line 12. The Life ends (fol. 18 b. 2) with the following scribe's note: *Andala* in *Tigerna Ysa Crist* in *bliadan* *dosciribad* in *betha* so *fPhatraic* 1477. *Oeus* *oidelí* *lughnasa* *imarach*, *ocus* *amBaili* in *Moinin*, a *tigh* *Hi Troightigh* *dosciribad* so *lem* *Domnall Albanach* *OTroighti*, *et Deo* *gracias*. *IHC*. (The era of the Lord Jesus Christ, the year that this Life of Patrick was written, 1477, and Lammas-eve is to-morrow, and in *Baile* in *Móinín*, in *O'Troighte's* house, this has been written by me, *Domnall Albanach*

¹ 'May the Lady Mary help me in the beginning of the work! For Saint Austin saith . . . to Lady

Mary from the honour that God gave her.'

² According to these words, 'little of sin and of evil usages.'

O'Troighti, and thanks unto God. Jesus.) On the margin of fol. 2 b. are Irish notes in a modern hand. In fol. 4 a. 2, right margin, 'p^o' is twice written by the old scribe; so in fol. 5 a. 2, right margin, 'Emanuel manuel dico nobis.' Fol. 5 b. a 'p^o' is thrice written in the right margin, 6 a. 2 opposite. This is followed (fol. 19 a.) by a copy of the *Fuel Fiadu*, beginning Attoruig (*sic*) indiu nert trium togairm Trinoite Cre-tium treodataid foisitiu aondataid inDuilemain dail. For *congbáil* (*infra* p. 50) this copy has *congmaíl*. And it has 'formdechaib,' 'miduthraeur,' 'inuathad,' 'fristai,' 'fri saebbrichtaib,' 'ban *ocus* gobann *ocus* druag,' 'Crist issusus,' and 'romdosgrudu.' The rest of this page contains a short religious tract in Irish and Latin, and the following Irish account of Patrick's first miracle: Cédfert *Patraic* sonna (?) ambroinn a mathar doroinne i. mac rig Bretan tainic cohairm ambói inben, coroindáil si do *gur* gab grim *este*, cotug a séiteli si mdigh neimhe do *Conbais tre* ed, *conas* ip *Conbais* indigh, *gur* gab *Patraic* inneim ina glaic *ocus* roso anvnm hí inalaim, *conid* anlail sin *tygalsam*;¹ and twelve lines so faded that I could not decipher them.

Fol. 19 b. is now illegible.

Fol. 20 a.: A fragment of Brieriu's Feast, beginning: fogartach do iarum fagbail fithighi do . . . uib na . . . tt Attrachtatar ra.

This story has been printed from the Lebor na hUidre. by Prof. Windisch in his *Irische Texte*, pp. 254-303.

Fol. 26 a. to end (fol. 35 b.). A fragment of the Táin bó Cúailnge, in a large coarse hand.

¹ "Patrick's first miracle here, which he wrought in his mother's womb: to wit, the King of Britain's son came to the place wherein the woman dwelt, and she dealt unto him so that he had profit thereof, and his wife, through jealousy,

gave the drink of poison to Conbais, and Conbais drank the drink, and Patrick caught the poison in his grasp, and it turned into stone in his hand, and in this wise was he brought forth.

Besides these two copies, pages 520-528 of a vellum MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked H. 3. 18, are filled with extracts from a third copy, which seem to have been selected because each contains one or more glossed words. These extracts are as follows:--

[p. 520, line 20.] Oen *didiu* dia toiretlaib faili anadfiadar hisum tre aisdeis *sech*modachtai [infra, p. 4, ll. 1, 2].

Oen *didiu* dina roithnib *ocus* (dina) lasrachaib roai[d], *grían* n[a] frinne isin domun .i. Isa Críst, INruithen *ocus* in las-sair *ocus* in lia logmar *ocus* in locharm lannerdai roinorchaid (.i. rocomsollsig) int n(asa)l(epscop) . . . sanctus¹ *Patricius* [infra, p. 6, ll. 26-30].

Patraic didiu [di] Bretnaib Ailchuid a bunadus Calpuirn (ainm a athar) .i. uasalsacart. Foitid ainm a senathar, deochon atacomnaic.

Rofothaigedh *immorro eclair* for (sin to)pursin inrebaitesl *Patraic ocus* . . . topur acium altoir, *ocus* techtaid fuath .i. delb na eriche amal adfiadat (.i. amal aisneidit) [infra, p. 8, ll. 23-26].

Feacht and boi *Patraic* a tig a muime . . . ind ansir gemrid colina tola *ocus* lia uisci less a muime [p. 521] corabhadar lestra *ocus* fointreb in tighi (.i. na mingustail dobit isintigarm .i.) for snam *ocus* combaiden intiuid [infra, p. 10, ll. 10-13].

Fecht aile do *Patraic* ie cluthchín itir a comastin (.i. a comaltud) inuainsir gemrith *ocus* uachta intaimriú . cotroinól lan a utlaig dohisib caga (.i. do cuisni heighri) eo tue leis dia taigh coa muime [infra, p. 10, ll. 24-27] *ocus* rosuigid na bis . . . an tenid *ocus* andorat a anal faéi rolassaisét focétoir amal erinach . . . [infra, p. 10, l. 24, p. 12, l. 1].

Íse tuirthed (.i. adbar) tainechta *Patraic* atosach dochlum nErenn [infra, p. 16, l. 4].

Ísin aimsir sin (no) gnathaigeth Victor angel cotorraimed (.i. cóisraigid (?)) indí *Patraic, ocus* coforecanad (.i. cocommetad no comanorad)² hé imord airmaighi, *ocus* cofacath fuillecht *ocus* eis (.i. lorg) a eos isin cloich. Roboi Victor combo ortachtaighi do *Patraic ocus* combo dítnith ineachgnasacht, *ocus* combo comdignuib (.i. comasad) iarsna saethraib [infra, pp. 18, 19].

¹ MS. sancti.

² Here, in margin, follows a note: *Ocus amal adeir a . . . naig mac*

foreana indommach . . . achailb coraibh t . . . sraibh thíneth dí.

At that time the angel Victor used (to come) that he might watch over Patrick, and instruct him as to the order of prayer ; and he used to leave trace and track of his feet in the stone. Victor abode till he was a helper to Patrick, and was a guardian in every danger, and a consolation after troubles.

H. 3. 18,
p. 521.

Dorala *immorro* intan sin do Miliuc condacaid aislingi. Indaleis Cothraige do thiahtain isteach iroibe, *ocus* doinfeit finith oagin *ocus* oasronaib *ocus* oaclúasaib. Oroaisneid Miliuc do *Patraic* aislingi, *dixit Patricius*: Intenid atchonnarcaisthi do todail (i. dosgailled) damsa ireas (i. credem) na *Trinoiti* insin bruthnaiges innamsa *ocus* rl [infra, p. 19, ll. 18-36].

It happened, however, at that time to Miliuc that he saw a vision. It seemed to him that Cothraige came into the house wherein he was, and breathed out fire from his mouth, and from his nostrils, and from his ears. When Miliuc declared the vision to Patrick, Patrick said: "The fire which thou beheldest me emitting, that is the faith of the Trinity which glows within me," &c.

Oroimraidh *immorro* Miliuc cia crúth nofastfed inli *Patraic*, roernas cumail dó, *ocus* oforruired in cobled inaidchi ainiboth (i. na baindsi) torinolta itech for leith [infra, p. 20, l. 17].

Now when Miliuc considered how he should retain Patrick, he bought a handmaid for him, and when the feast was prepared on their wedding-night they were put together in a house apart.

Ocus adubairt *Patraic* annofaitfed (i. gaire), "Missi do-brathairsiu, *ocus* isme rotie (i. rotleghis), *ocus* is trocaire Dé forcaemnacair (i. tarla) arnocumul (i. ar tinol) dorisi, arronesreided (i. rosgarad) artus tresin daire." Rognisét atlugud bnide doDia iarsin, *ocus* dochotar isin ditrub [infra, pp. 20, 21 and 440, 442].

And Patrick said, smiling: "I am thy brother, and it is I that healed thee, and it is God's mercy that brought about our meeting again, for we were separated at first through the bondage." Thereafter they gave thanks to God, and went into the wilderness.

ISannsin taraill (i. triallus no dochuaid) *Patraic* coalaile duine, sen-Canan isé ainm *ocus* rl [infra, p. 22, l. 13].

It is then that Patrick proceeded to a certain man, Old Cianan is his name, &c.

Luid dano *Pátraic* docum a meannota (i. a meanaiti) *ocus* H. 3. 18,
 anaís *trí* mis ann [infra, p. 24. l. 17]. p. 521.

So Patrick went to his home and stayed three months therein.

OIR *nachtan conosnad* (i. *rocodlad*) *Pátraic* indaleis ba
 hinis nan-Goedel *adcid* ar *agnuis* [infra, p. 25].

For every time that Patrick slept, it seemed to him that it was
 the isle of the Gael that he saw before him.

INTan *immorro* robu lan *atrícha bliadna ocus rosiacht* anaes
 fóirbit (*sic*), roimraid iarsin *techt* do Roim Leatha *fri* foghlaim
 necnai *ocus* oird *práicepta ocus fórcetail* . . . cairdi ar ní
 comarlceid (i. *nirectaig*) dó cor lamba aire (i. a dul do
 sacarbaic) ein foghlaim *ocus* ein f . . . co fornigenai dia Coimdid
 (i. *rofogain* dia no *tigerna*) *itír* homoint (i. *molad*) *ocus* ab-
 stanit (i. *trós[c]ad*) 'geanas (i. *glaine*) . . . seire nDe
ocus connesom (i. *sil Aidaim*) [infra, p. 25].

Now when his thirty years were complete and he had reached
 his perfect age, he bethought him after that of going to Rome of
 Latium to learn knowledge and the order of preaching and teach-
 ing . . . , for it was not permitted to him to 'put hand upon
 him' (to receive the communion) without learning and without
 . . . so that he served the Lord both in praise and abstinence
 chastely . . . love of God and (his) neighbours.

ISamsin tarail (i. *dochuid*) *Pátraic didiu* co Martan iTorinis.
ocus roberr berradh manaigh fair, arba berrad mogad (i.
 ecose ba fair riam cosin *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 25].

Then did Patrick proceed to Martin in Tours, and he tonsured
 a monk's tonsure upon him; for it was a slave's tonsure that he
 had always up to that time, &c.

INrí cródhasa *didiu*, Lóigaire *macc* Neill rotecht (i. *roth-*
sealbu) *tínchitlidi* (i. *faisdin*?) *doaircaintis* (i. *doairgide idise*)
trenandruidecht ocus trenangentecht an nobíth aircind (i.
fireimte) doib [infra, p. 32, ll. 25-28].

[p. 522.] fogébad *gradh ocus rairntin* [leg. *airnaitin*] *ia* firu
 Erem *ocus* no lafed (i. no cuire) na rige *ocus* na flatha asa-
 rígu *ocus* nocoscerad na huile arr[a]chtu na nidal nofeidligfed
 (i. leanfaid) ambescna ticfed ann *tre* bithu *betha* isin hEriun.

H. 3. 18,
p. 522.

Tíefa tailcend (i. Patraic) tar muir meirecend (i. tar muir mer)
a *brótt* tollcend, a crand cromcend (i. abachall is í in[a]-
lainn)
a mias (i. a altoir) iniarthar athlig
friscert amuinter uile amen, amen.

Tíefat tailcind (i. Patraic) conesat (i. Baile Cuind dixit) ruama noitfit cella, ceoltige bendacha (i. leo) benchopuir ili flaith imbachla [infra, p. 34, ll. 5-12].

IS annsin tainic Benen inamuinteras contuil iarum *Pátraic* iter amuin, *ocus* anfogebéd ingilla do scothaib (i. bolamaruib) *doberal* inulbroic inchleirich [infra, p. 36, ll. 1-3].

Taracht *Pátraic* coMaghinis coDicoim *mac* *Trichim*, *ocus* roan and fri ré eiana líc silad credme, cotuc Ultu huili tre line (i. tersgelaib) intososseclai dochum puirt bethadh [infra, p. 38, ll. 21-23].

Dorairngeart (i. do geall) Mocal Noendroma mucbertha *cacha* bliadna do*Pátraic* [infra, p. 40, ll. 9, 10].

Romidir (i. romenamnaig) *Pátraic* nabai baili bad cuidhbiu do ardsollomna nabliadna i. in case do ceilebra quam (i. na) a Maigh Bergh (*sic*).

Tíetís naríga *ocus* naflatha *ocus* na hirig co Loegaire *mac* Neill do Theambra fri ceilebrad inlithlaithi (i. senaíñ *no* uasail *no* sollomna) hisin [infra, p. 40, ll. 23-25].

INfer dano adammai foruaisligfe (i. tarcaisnigfe) riga *ocus* flaithi nabErenu main tairmidisether¹ imbi [infra, p. 42, ll. 13, 14].

Do deachaid (i. tainic) Lochra coroisir *ocus* cohengach co cosman (i. tecmail) *ocus* cetaib fri *Pátraic*, *ocus* isannsin doraell forécnuch naTráóide *ocus* na hirsí (i. inretní) cathlaigi [infra, p. 44, ll. 15-17].

Rofergaigetar inrig didiu fri *Pátraic* comor, *ocus* docuaid doraith leis amarbad (i. doraíd dolathair amarbad), Issed roraidheth Loegaire ré amuintir: marbaid inleirech [infra, p. 44, ll. 27-29].

Roerracht cach dia alailiu isindail coroibe cách díb inár acheile (i. a nimirsin *no* in oirgehill *no* atecmail), cotorcair coica fear díb hisin coimeirghiu hisin lamallachtain *Pátraic* [infra, p. 46, ll. 8-10].

¹ Over *mi* there is written *ad*.

Adubairt *Loegaire fri Pátraic*: “tair indiaigsi, achleivig, H. 3. 18, do *Temraig* corocrediuir duit arbelaib (i. a *fiadnaise*) fer p. 522. nErenn.” *Ocus* rosuidighsom guleic (i. cofaitech) earnaig *cachbelaig* óFertaibh Fer Féich co*Temraig* archinn *Patraic* diamarbad, *acht* nircomarleice (i. ní raentaig *no* nirlig). Dodechaid *Pátraic* ochtar *maecleircch ocus* Benen do gilla leo, *ocus* rosbennach *Pátraic* rednidecht. Dodechaid (i. tainic) dicehaltair tairsiu *cowardraig* fer diib. Adeondeadar *immorro* na gentligi [p. 523] batar isnahintleadaib (i. isnahindlib) ocht naighi alltaigi dotheacht seachum (i. fonsliab) *ocus* iarndoc (i. ag deiginach) inandegaigh *ocus* gaile foragualaind. *Patraic* aochtar *ocus* Benén inandegaigh, *ocus* a folaire (i. ainm do-teig *liubair*) foramnín [p. 46, ll. 21-33].

Dochuaidh iarsin *Loegaire* ondeidoil (i. degail lai *ocus* aidehi) dochum Teamrach combron *ocus* comcabail cosnuhaitib noernatais leis [infra, p. 52, ll. 14, 15].

IN tan rombadur ocind fíedhol *ocus* imradlugh in conflictu (i. innesin *no* incocaid) rofearsatar alla riam [infra, p. 52, ll. 18-20].

Dorat *didiu* inti *Luacmael* luim (i. bolgum) do neim isinnairdig (i. ainm soithig) robói forlain *Pátraic* comaccadh cidh dogenad *Patraic fris*. Rorathaidh (i. romothaig) *didiu Pátraic* imísín, *ocus* robennachasidhe innairdig *ocus* rocoteag (i. rodaingnig *no* roan) in linn, *ocus* roimpai inleastar iarsin *ocus* dorochair as imcímh dorat indrúí ind [infra, p. 54, ll. 6-11].

Thinnarscan iarsin innaflidechta druidecht *ocus* inna caladan demnaga corofearustair insneachta cotoracht fernu (i. creasa) fear [infra, p. 54, l. 25, p. 56, ll. 1, 2].

Adubairt *Patraic*: “Atehiam annso. Cuir as ma conice.” Adubairt indrúí nichuingimsi imísín *gusintra* so amarrach. “Darnodebro (i. dar mo dia bratha), oí*Pátraic*, isanule atá dochumachta *ocus* ní [im]maith.” [infra, p. 56, ll. 3-7].

Rofergaighestar inrí *fri Pátraic* comór dímarbad adruadh. Atraracht *ocus* dochnáid dorath (i. dolathair) leis amarbad; *acht* nircomarleicestar (i. nirlig) Dia dó *tre* etorguidhe *Pátraic*. Dodechaid (i. tainic) iarsin *ferg Dé* forsinpopul n-étraibhech conerbailt (i. *testaig*) sochaide mor díbh [infra, p. 58, ll. 26-31].

INderbhchlann *immorro* is dílis do *Pátraic* o comsuilidecht (i. o comthoil) *ocus* ó firis (i. ócrethem¹) *ocus* obatais (i. oglaine) *ocus* o forcetul *ocus* inna huile docotaiset (i. fuaradar

¹ Sic, read óchretim.

H. 8. 18,
p. 523.

no dosealbai^gidur) dotalmáin *ocus* do ceailsibh roedbairset (.i. rotidnaeisét) do *Pátraic* [infra, p. 68, ll. 9–12].

O rochomaigsegastar etseacht (.i. bás) Lomain, roescomlad (.i. rogluais) *ocus* adalta do agallaim abrathar .i. Brocada, *ocus* roaitlne (.i. rotimáin) aeclais do *Pátraic* *ocus* do Fortchernid. Frithbruth (.i. rodiult) Fortchern coroirimed (.i. cumdach *no* coimét) orbad aathar, *ocus* is eisdhe rocarb (.i. roentaig *no* rofulair) do Dia *ocus* do *Pátraic*, acht adubairt Loman nochonairimfe mobenduchtainsi mainairime (.i. mainditnig) abdaine mo ceailsi [infra, p. 68, ll. 14–21].

Dodechaid *Pátraic* iarsin co *Conall mac Neill*. Isann robói asosad (.i. a longport) du atá Donnach *Pátraic* indiu, *ocus* roet (.i. rofrithoil) é cofailti móir, *ocus* rombaisthi *Pátraic*, *ocus* rosonairnige (.i. roonoraig *no* robennaig) a rigsuide in cterni *ocus* adubairt *Pátraic* fris: “Fognigfe sil dobrathar dot sil tre bitiu” [infra, p. 70, ll. 6–11].

Bói imairec ann illaithib Donnchaid . . . *ocus* Coibdenach af . . . alama diu lái [p. 524] *ocus* isbert cumang nad chumcabad brothar na brothraige dianguin nicoemnacair ingác [infra, p. 70, ll. 31–72, ll. 1–5].

Ata coic noibh domuintir *Pátraic* anDelbnaí Assail *ocus* coic miasa (.i. . . .) do *Pátraic* leo [infra, pp. 74–76].

Ambói *Pátraic* oebaithis Luigne du ata indiu Donnach Mor Maige Echnach, asbert fri Cassan bed nam aescirgi *ocus* nat bad mor acongbail (.i. eclais) atalmáin *ocus* nibad imdai *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 76, ll. 8–11].

Folanustar (.i. rosandtaigestar) trath *Pátraic* congbal (.i. eclais) ocAth Maigne (in Assal. Fristudch)aid fris ann fer ecennais . . . [infra, p. 78, ll. 11, 12].

‘Manibit ainmmit (.i. einin),’ ol*Pátraic*, ‘nutscaillfeth (cum)achtæ Dé amal roscaill inbachall inchoieh.’ Nifil seoth (.i. foicul) na (comarpa) uad don tríst (.i. osnaig *no* mallach) dobert *Pátraic* fair [infra, p. 78, ll. 18–21].

Foracaib *Pátraic* reilgi (.i. taisi) sruthi iLecain Mide, *ocus* foirind dia muintir léu imCrummaine [infra, p. 82, ll. 5, 6].

Dobertadar anteich conareilgib (.i. conataisib) isin cuas ind lim. Iadais imbi incúas coarabarach. Baitir toirsich de *ocus* aduadetar (.i. doaisnedetar) do*Pátraic*. ‘Ata mac bethoth (.i. einpecceth) doticfa,’ ol*Pátraic*, ‘ricfa a les innataisi sin .i. Ciaran mac intsair’ [infra, p. 84, ll. 17–21].

Oalailiu aimsir adchuas (i. rosoillsiged no roaisneided) do **H. 3. 18.**
Pátraic ein diescop Mel fria siair tre comrorcain (i. tre **p. 524.**
 seachran) in daescarluaig, *arnobidis* inoenteghais oc ernaigthe
 frisín Coimdidh [infra, p. 88, ll. 21-23].

INTan *immorro* rosen (i. robeandaig) *Pátraic* caille (i. bret
 dub) forsna hogaib remraitib (i. roraidsimar romaind) rochotar
 accethri cosa isin cloich (*ocus*) feidligit (i. leanait) innti a fuil-
 lechta semper [infra, p. 89, ll. 13-16].

Dolotar de ingin Loigaire *maie* Ncill comoch dontiprait
 do nígi alamh amal labeas doib i. Eithne fhinn *ocus* Feideilm
 derce. *conairnechtatar* (i. cofnaradar) senod innacleirech (i.
 inrobfearr no robeolcadib) icontiprait *conhetaigib* gelaib *ocus*
 alibair arambclaih. Roingantaigset deilb innacleirech. Dorui-
 menatar (i. domeannnaigatar) bedis fir sithi no fantaisi (i.
 spírait). Inchomaircet secla do *Pátraic* cia can dúib *ocus* can
 dodechobair (i. cahiuad asatancabair), inn asithib, in dideib
 dúib ? [infra, p. 98, l. 21, p. 100, l. 7].

Atbert ingina Laegaire fri *Pátraic*: “tabair dum insacbaraic
 coeomsam intaigerthairig d’egad.” Arroetatar (i. rogab . .
 . .) iarsin sacbaraic *ocus* rocotailset ambas, *ocus* dosrat *Pá-*
traic fooinbrat inoinlepaid, *ocus* dorigensat acairait acoine
 comór [infra, p. 102, ll. 22-26].

p. 525.] Forothaig iarsin cill Attrachtae inGregraigi *ocus*
 ingin Talain innti, quae accepit caille (i. bret dub) do laim
Pátraic, *ocus* faraccaib teise (i. mias) *ocus* cailech lé [infra, p.
 108, ll. 14-16].

Luidh intaingel co*Pátraic* airm aroibe a Cruachan Aigle,
ocus isbert fris: “Nitabair Día duit a *connaigi*, ol astrom leis
ocus it móra na itgi. “Infair dofuit leis?” ol*Pátraic*. “Is-
 fair,” ol intaingel. “Is fair dano dofuit lemmsa,” ol*Pátraic*,
 “niregsa isinchrnachansa combamarb no condartaitear na huile
 itgi” [infra, p. 112, l. 28, p. 114, l. 2].

“Infail naill?” ol*Pátraic*. “Fail,” ol intaingel, “fearr
 cachbrotairne (i. cada róinne) feil fortchassal (i. ta for do brat)
 dobera a pianuib Día laithi bratha” [infra, p. 118, ll. 5-7].

Ata fer uadh anDrumnibh Breg. Atá fer aile iSleibh Slainge
 i. Domangart mac Echach: ishe toigeba martra (i. taisi)
Pátraic gair riambráth; ishí a cheall Raith Murbuile hitoeb
 Sleibhe Slaingi, *ocus* biid lorag *conatiumthuch* *ocus* ehlornnd
 cormma arachium. arcach caise [infra, p. 120, ll. 18-23].

H. 3. 18,
p. 525.

Fecht ann do arn *Pátraic* testatar acieih airi. Nicoimna-cair afagbail la doirchi nahaidchi. Tuarcaib *Pátraic* a lamh suas [*ocus*] roinorcaidset (.i. rocomsoillsigset) a cuic m[e]oir in mag nuile amal betis cóicsútralla *ocus* fófritha naheich foché-toir [infra, p. 126, ll. 9-13].

Batar maic Amalgaid ocimchosnam (.i. acomtegmall) imen-rige, cethir chenel (.i. sencinela) fichet batar isintir. Rorit-bruithset (.i. rodiulset) congabtais forru fer coforanmair [infra, p. 126, ll. 19-22].

Teit *Conall* cuccai bendachas do “Achleirich!” olsé, “infetsarsu cedh belræ inso? Fil aforaithmiut (.i. a cuimniugud) liumsa,” *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 128, ll. 5-7].

Robendaigh *Pátraic* insruth .i. Sligach conái [leg. conidí] Sligach gannach huisci na hErenn osin ale, ar gaibter iase indí hicach raitihí [infra, p. 142, ll. 6-8].

Callraigi Cuile Cernadan robadar hi magin deirrit archiund *Pátraic*, *ocus* adcoimcaiset crannu fri sciathu do fubtad (.i. dodiultad) *Pátraic* conamuintir [infra, p. 142, ll. 15-17].

Taraill leiss (.i. dochuaid) is[n]aib glinnib dú ata indiu Cenel Muinremair [infra, p. 145, l. 26].

Gidnid (.i. Colum cille) macan difine
bud súi, bid faith, bidh fil[i],
inmain lesbaire glan gle,
nadepera imarbe (.i. breg).

Macan Eithne toebfotai
sech is bol is blathugud,
Colum cillecan cen son,
niburom (.i. moch nó luath) a rathugud.

[infra, p. 150, ll. 6-15.]

Robendach *Pátraic* Dun Sobairge, *ocus* ata tipra *Patraic* ann *ocus* foracaib breithir (.i.) fair [infra, p. 162, ll. 24, 25].

“Modebro” (.i. mo dia brátha), ol *Pátraic*, “bid lan do rath Dé in gin fil (.i. ata) itbrusa [*ocus* bid mése] bennachfas caille forcenn¹ [infra, p. 168, ll. 14-16].

¹ At foot of this page are the following lines, in a large hand :—
Denuidh chain domhuidh Dhe
dil

fegaidh fógnam fritoil
Crist codhnuch rocinne cochert
indomnuch gautairmeacht.

Ho rodiasaigh *Pátraic* dochum *maicc* Crimhtain óbás *ocus* H. 3. 18, fororengart *Pátraic* fair fiad in popul coroisneid dophianaib p. 526. nan ceráibdech *ocus* do [f]indfut (i. doailníus) nan oeb. Targaid *Pátraic* rogo do *Eochaig* i. x.u. bliadna in-ardrigu a thre dian-airbired bit cocraibdhech *ocus* cofiren [infra, pp. 178, 180].

IS andsin roradi *Pátraic* frisín mnái fuine *ocus* isí octer-gorud a maice:

A ben talaig do maccan
dothait tore mór di orcán
di aibill tie breo
bid béo, bid slan do maccan.

[infra, p. 186.]

‘Cid airmertar (i. ráidter) libh?’ ol Fiacc. ‘Dubthach do bachaill (i. do berrad)’ ol *Pátraic*. ‘Bid ain[i]m ón óim do sochaide,’ ol Fiacc [infra, p. 190, ll. 4, 5].

Dobert dano *Pátraic* eamtach do Fiacc i. cloch, meinistir (i. minna aistir), polaíre, *ocus* foraccaibh *morseisur* dia muinntir leiss [infra, p. 190, ll. 13-15].

Luidh iarsuidhin for Bealach Gabhrad hi tir nOssraigi, *ocus* foroithaigh cella *ocus* congbala (i. ecailsibh) and, *ocus* adrubairt nobethis ordnide (i. naisle no imad) laech *ocus* cleirech díbh, *ocus* ní biad furail (i. imarcraid) nach cóicid forru eoin nobethis doreir *Pátraic*. Celebrais *Pátraic* doib iarsuidiu *ocus* foraicabh martra (i. taisi) srúithi oecu, *ocus* fairenu di[a] muinntir dú itá Martartech indiu imMaig Roigne [infra, p. 194, ll. 8-14].

Patricius dixit:

Maicene Nadfraich fuaim sonaid,
huadhib rígh, huadhib ruirig,
Oengus a iathaib Femen
ocus abraithair Ailill,

ocus .xx.iiii. rig rofolnaisetar fo bachaill hiCaisil eo ré Cuinge-gain de shíl Aililla *ocus* Aenghusa [infra, p. 196, ll. 15-21].

Luid *Pátraic* isin tailchai frisind áth antuaith *ocus* dothia-gar¹ uad do cuingid in fiachla, *ocus* doraithe (i. dosoillsigh) focótoir amal gréin [infra, p. 196, ll. 25-27].

IS annsin tarraidh galor seitge (i. ben) n-alachta (i. torach) Aililla como comochraibh bás dí. Rofiarfact *Pátraic* ced rombói. Respond[it] mulier: ‘Lus adcondaire hisind áeur, *ocus* ní accai hitalmáin aleitheid, *ocus* atbelsa nó abela in gin fil imbroim, nó abelam diblinaib mana thoimliur in lus sin.

¹ MS. Horodiusaidh.

| ² MS. dothaigar.

H. 3. 18, p. 526. Roraidhí *Pátraic* *fric*: ‘*Cinnas* ind lus?’ ‘*Amal* luachair,’ ar inben. *Bennachais Pátraic* in luachair combó foltecep (.i. barr uindian), *Dusrumalt* inben iarsuidiu *ocus* ba slan focét-oir [infra, p. 200, ll. 9–17].

Folamustar (.i. *rosantaigestar*) *Pátraic* feglegud (.i. anmain) hi toeb *Chlaire* oc *Raith Coirpri ocus Brocan, ocus* ní reilgeth do. Et isbert *Pátraic* eo brath na biadh rig na escop do cheiniul *Colmain* frisdudcaid (.i. rodiultt) do.

[p. 527.] Tarraid cleir aessa ceird iní *Pátraic* do cuinci bidh. Ní damadar ercoimded (.i. diultad) [infra, pp. 202–204].

Luidh iarum hi Finnine *fri* *Domnach Mór* aniartuaithe *fri* Luimnech intuaithe eo tarat *bendachtainn for* tuaith *Mumain* ara duthrachaige dodhechatar conimuat a ngabála (.i. tinola) arend *Pátraic* [infra, p. 206, ll. 5–8].

“INT-ailén glas thiar,” ol *Pátraic*, “imbclaib in mara tiucfaidh in caindel domnintir *Dé* inn, bes cenn n-athecomaire (.i. *fiarfaige nó colais*) don tuaith si” .i. *Senan Indsi Ca-thaigh* dia sé .xx. bliadan osin [infra, p. 206, ll. 21–24].

Asbert *Pátraic* *fri* *Cerball*¹; Níbiadh rig na escop dot chiniul *cobrath*, *ocus* bidh dilmain doferaib *Muman* far lomrad each *scoltmad bliadain* dogres amal folt cep [infra, p. 208, ll. 12–15].

Ní glethar dala laisna *Deisi acht* an-aidchi, ol *foracaib Pátraic* breithir (.i. *escaine*) *foraib*, ol is *fri* haidhechi dodeichadar chucea [infra, p. 208, ll. 23–25].

Creidis Mechar cep, ba² fer *condile* fir

dobert *Pátraic bendacht* mbuain, cetlad³ do *fri* rígh.

*Frithmbert*⁴ in fer fereeach *Fuirgg*, ciarbu riglach liath⁵

alad fadiud iar each, bith amin⁶ *cobrath* ní liach.⁷

Dungalach maec Faalgusa uad *Nadfraoich* fir

is he cíata tairmdechaid cain *Pátraic* o prim.

[infra, p. 214, ll. 3, 4].

Otcondarcata[r] *diidia* indfirsi *Maccuill* ina churach dofucsat do muir. *Arroetaar* (.i. *rogabadar*) he cofailthi *ocus* rofoglainn .i. *Maccuill* inbesnai ndíadha occo [infra, p. 222, ll. 18–22].

Carais ingin *Daire* indí *Benen*. *Rubu binn* lé a guth ocu urleigind. *Dorala galar* fuirri combu marbh dé. Bert *Benen* cretra dí ó *Pátraic* [infra, p. 232, ll. 1–3].

¹ Sic, leg. *Derball*.

² MS. *cerpa*.

³ .i. cum *ad* (?).

⁴ .i. indligtach.

⁵ .i. seanoir.

⁶ .i. *beth* itruaighi nó imbochtaine.

⁷ .i. ní doilig.

ISamlaid didiu doroinmsi Pátraic infertai .i. secht fichit. ll. 3. 18, traiged isindlis *ocus secht traiged fichit* isin tigh moir *ocus* p. 527. secht traiged .x. isin cuili *ocus secht traiged isindaregal, ocus* ba samlaid sin rofothaighedh somh na conguala dogrés [infra, p. 236, ll. 20-24].

IARsna mormirbailib se tra rochomfoisechastar laithi cit-sechta Pátraic [p. 528] *ocus* a t[e]achta dochum nime. Issed dorinscan teacht do Ard Macha comad and nobeth a eisceirgi. Tainic Victor aingel adocum. ISed roraide frís: 'Nihand rorat .i. rodeonaigeth) duit heisceirgi. Eirgg forteulu don baile asa taina[e] .i. don tSaball, arisann atbela nísi Machai' [p. 2 52, ll. 3-9].

Tene toighleach congris gairt[h]i *ocus* tessaiged na mac [mbethad] im annud *ocus* im elscud deairecí. Colum ar cendsa *ocus* diudi (.i. glaine). Nathair ar trebair *ocus* tuathle (.i. glicus) fri maith [infra, p. 256, ll. 23-27].

IAReoseraidh idhal *ocus arracht ocus* ealadhan druidechtaí rocomoesegstar nair citsechta indí noeb Pátraic. Arroet (.i. rogab) corp Crist on epscop ó Thosach (sic) doréir comairle Viehtoir angel [infra, p. 258, ll. 9-12].

Cruimthir Mescan o Domnach Mescan oc Focain a cirpsere .i. a scoaire [infra, p. 264, ll. 26, 27].

Cruimtir Catan *ocus* cruimtir Ocan a da fos. rl. [pp. 264, l. 29].

Sguirim feasta do Bethad Pátraic, *ocus* labrum do Brudin anno sis.¹

But the most important collection of fragments (generally abbreviated and sometimes corrupt) of the Tripartite Life is to be found in a homily in S. Patrick, discovered by the late Dr. J. H. Todd in a MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ancien Fonds, No. 8175, and now containing 117 leaves in small folio.² The homily begins imperfectly at fol. 74 a. 1, in a hand of (about) A.D. 1400; and the following account of it is made

¹ I unyoke hereafter from Patrick's Life, and let us speak of the (saga called) *Bruden (Da Derga)* here below.

² The MS. is described by Dr. Todd in the Proceedings of the

Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III. (1846), pp. 223-228; and facsimiles of parts of it have been published by Champollion and Silvestre in the *Paléographie Universelle*.

from a photograph obtained through the kind intervention of Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville :

fol. 74, a. 1.—74 a. 2. An account of Patrick's doings at Tara, which corresponds pretty closely with the homily from the *Lebar Brece* [printed *infra*, p. 456, l. 18 ; p. 464, l. 24]. Begins imperfectly: *diaraile isindail cotorchair didiu .i. fer dib isin coimeirgi sin la mallachtain Phatraic.*

fol. 74 a. 2. Patrick's visits to Conall mac Néill [*infra*, p. 70], to Coirpre mac Néill [*infra*, p. 68], and to Uisnech [*infra*, p. 80, ll. 1-8].

His visit to Mag Slecht [*infra*, p. 90, ll.].

He passes by Suám dá Én to Mag Ai [*infra*, p. 92, ll. 16-32].

fol. 74, b. 1. He goes to Fid-arta [*infra*, p. 104, ll. 25-30].

He goes to Uarán Garad [*infra*, p. 106, ll. 7-22].

The Paris MS. here says that this place is also called *Druim Ferta*: that Oisín, son of Fínd, was baptised there, and that Patrick left there two of his household, viz., bishop Colmán and Temnen the Priest, a bell called the Wave-voice of the Tyrreheue Sea (*in toungar mara Torriau*), and a pillow of stone.

fol. 74 b. 2. His dispute at Cruachan Aigle with the angel [*infra*, p. 112, l. 27 ; p. 12, l. 9].

fol. 75, a. 1. He visits Achad Fobair and ordains Bishop Senach [*infra*, p. 112, ll. 1-3].

He goes to Húi Amalgada [*infra*, p. 126, l. 14].

He goes to Cailli Fochlai[d] and baptises 12,000 [*infra*, p. 134, l. 30 ; p. 136, l. 1]. The Paris MS. here has: *Luid iarsin do Chaillib Fochlai: caillib*, therefore, not *caillid* is the true reading [*infra*, p. 136, l. 2 ; and in Fiacc's hymn, l. 16. *caille* must be the gen. pl.

His three visits and his gifts to the Connaughtmen [*infra*, p. 146, ll. 15, 19].

His visit to Ess-ruaid and speech to Coirpre mac Neill [*infra*, p. 146, ll. 26-27].

He blesses Conall and Fergus at Síd Aeda, and prophesies Colombeille [*infra*, p. 151]. The Paris MS. here has: *Luid iarum co Síth nÓeda dú robennach Conall ocus Fergus a mac*: the last four words are wanted *infra*, p. 150, l. 3.

He visits Tyrone and converts Eogan [*infra* p. 150, ll. 19, 23 ; p. 152, l. 5]. For the Latin words *infra*, p. 150, Irish are given: *Luid iarsin Pátraic i Tír-Eogain, ocus athbert fria muindtir*: "Foimnig [leg. Foimnid] nachfortair in léo nathmúr .i. Eogan [mac] Neill." [Matarraid doib frisint[s]et .i. Muiridach etc.

He goes to Ailech [*infra*, p. 152, l. 23].

fol. 75 a. 2. He blesses Eogan and his kindred [*infra*, p. 154, ll. 2-11].

He goes to Dál-Araide and Dál-Riata [infra, p. 160, l. 16; p. 162, ll. 2, 3, 4]. 'Olcán' is in the Paris MS. called 'Olehon' and 'Airther Maige' is 'Airther Maigi Coba.'

He curses Eochu mac Muiredaig [infra, p. 224, ll. 6-25]. Of Domangort mac Echaeh the Paris MS. says: Isé forfacaib *Pátraic* inabethaid ic coimet *Erenn* (he it is whom Patrick left alive protecting Ireland).

He visits Húi Tuirtri [infra, p. 168, ll. 6, 7].

Three of the Húi Meith Tíre steal one of his goats [infra, p. 180, ll. 21-27].

His miracles in Fir Roiss [infra, p. 182, ll. 20-30; p. 184, l. 1]. The Paris account is here much abbreviated: Luid *Pátraic* co Firn Rois iarsin. ann rosó i clocha na faisere grotha cosind nem, *ocus* robaite isin áth nile láich romidatar orcooin *Pátraic*. (Then P. went to F. R. There he turned into stones the eurdchees with the poison, and in the ford were drowned all the warriors who intended to slay P.)

The story of Faillén of Naas [infra, p. 184, ll. 16-26; p. 186, ll. 1-4].

fol. 75, b. 1. The story of Drieriu and Cilline [infra, p. 186, ll. 5-19]. The first two lines of the verses are: A ben, taisig do macán! dothoet muc mór doud arcan, and the last two are: issé Ma[r]can mac Cillín duine bus dech d'ib Garrehon.

The journey into Mag Liphí [infra, p. 186, ll. 20-23], and the ordination of Fiacc [infra, pp. 188, 190], are summarised thus: Forfothaig tra cella *ocus* conguala imdai il-Laigrib, *ocus* forfác bennacht foráib *ocus* for Uaib Ceindselaig insbaindr[i]ud, *ocus* forfacaib Húsaille i Cill Húsaille *ocus* Mac Tail hi Cuilind, *ocus* ro oirdnestar Fiacc Find i Sleibtib ind escobaide in éóieid. (So he founded abundant churches and monasteries in Leinster, and left a blessing upon them and on Húi Ceindselaig especially, and he left Auxilius in Cell Ansailli and Mac Tail in Cuilenn, and ordained Fiacc the Fair in Sleibtí as the bishop of the province.)

The story of Odrán's death. Here the Paris MS. agrees verbatim and almost literatim with the Bodleian Tripartite [infra, p. 206, ll. 27-30; p. 208, ll. 1-11].

Patrick's visit to Ossory [infra, p. 194, ll. 8-14].

His visit to Cashel [infra, p. 194, ll. 22-25; p. 196, ll. 1, 2].

fol. 75, b. 2. Here the Paris MS. adds: IS annsin, tra, timscana[d] baithis fer Muman, coind aire sin asbert *Pátraic*:

Muimúg dianomsáraiget¹
im Chaisel cenn a[m]bathis
léo ar lár a tíre
beit[h] righi fo aithis.

¹ MS. dianonom-sáraiget.

(There, then, is the beginning of the baptism of the Munstermen: wherefore Patrick said:—

If Munstermen outrage me
In my Cashel, the head of their baptism,
With them amidst their land
Kingship will be in disgrace.)

The story of the piercing of Oengus' foot [infra, p. 196, ll. 8-13]. The Paris MS. adds: acht oenfer namá (save one man only), which meets the case of Cemgecán. It then adds: *Asbert Pátraic* co mbiad a rath i Caisil, ut quidam dixit:—

Eiseirgi Pátraic anDún
a ordan anArd Macha
hi telchan Chaisi[1] cheolaig
rodéonaig trian a ratha.

(Patrick said that his grace would be in Cashel, as some one said: "Patrick's resurrection in Downpatrick: his primacy in Armagh: on the hillock of musical Cashel he vouchsafed a third of his grace.")

Patrick's visit to Muscraide Breagain and the finding of his tooth [infra, p. 196, ll. 22-27; p. 198, ll. 1-4].

The story of Lonán's (not Lommán's) feast [infra, p. 202, ll. 20-24; p. 204, ll. 1-23]. For the Latin words in p. 202, ll. 2, 3, 4, the Paris MS. has: *Asbertadar* side nabdes do drnithi doberzafaitis tosach afleidi; for those in ll. 9, 10, it has: *IS* ann sin dodeachaid alaili mæthóclach, Nessian a ainm, *ocus* molt *ocus* tanag *ocus* tri faisere grotha for a mui do *Pátraic*; and for the sentence Dorat . . . focétoir [p. 204, ll. 13-15], it has: *Conustuc Pátraic* dona caintib. *Ambátar* iarum na cainte oc ithi muillt notaslúice in *talam* focétoir na cainti, collatar i fudomnaib ifirn, *ocus* marait béos na faisere ia[r]n-asood hi clocha.

fol. 76, a. 1. Patrick blesses Thomond [infra, p. 206, ll. 5-8].

His miraculous forming of Echu Redspot [infra, p. 206, ll. 9-15].

His prophecies of Senán of Inis Cathaig [infra, p. 206, ll. 17-25]; and of Brenainn mocu Altí [infra, p. 208, ll. 1-3].

He blesses Muinnech [infra, p. 210, ll. 8-14].

His seven years' stay in Munster [infra, p. 196, ll. 5-7].

He leaves Munster and goes to Brosnacha (in the Paris MS. called Heli) [infra, p. 214, ll. 13-21; p. 216, ll. 1-4, 9-27].

fol. 76, a. 2. He returns to Fir Roiss [infra, p. 226, ll. 1-5].

He goes to Ard Pátraic [infra, p. 226, ll. 9, 10].

His meetings with Mochtae [infra, p. 226, ll. 16-24].

The story of Dáire, his horses and his caldron [infra, p. 228, ll. 4-26; p. 230, ll. 1-18].

fol. 76 b., l. How Patrick measured the Rath [infra, p. 236, ll. 14-16].

The elders who set forth Patrick's miracles [infra, p. 256, ll. 9-15].

Patrick's character [infra, p. 256, ll. 16-28; p. 258, ll. 1-3].

The day of his death draws nigh [infra, p. 256, ll. 4-11].

He attempts to go to Armagh [infra, p. 252, ll. 3-11, 23-28].
fol. 76 b., 2. The angel prescribes the mode of Patrick's burial [infra, p. 252, ll. 23-28].

The angelic light at his obsequies [infra, p. 254, ll. 4-7].

The contest for his body [infra, p. 254, ll. 23-25; p. 256, ll. 5-7].

His death in Saball and burial in Dún.

Conclusion [infra, p. 260, ll. 15-28].

To complete this collection of relics of the Tripartite Life the following six extracts may be given from Michael O'Clery's Irish Glossary:—¹

Dinnid no for *dinnid* .i. inmisidh: fordimid an boe dú aneas [infra p. 180, l. 25].

Glean .i. leamhain: roghleasad a lamba don choire cf. the Latin, infra p. 22, l. 21.

Noere .i. loingscóire no máirnealaigh: ro reac é frisna noere [cf. the Latin, infra p. 22, l. 17].

Orta .i. imthigh no cirigh: orta naimsi, ar Pátraig, go Láogh-aire [cf. the Book of Lismore, 4b. 1: farsin ispert Pátraic ria Dichoin: 'Eirg naim,' ar se, 'co Laegaire mac Neill, co u-ebre no aithinse fris].

Raith no *rath* .i. raithneach: ag losgadh na ratha [cf. infra p. 166, l. 17].

Smeach .i. smeice: imeal a sgiath fri a smeacha [cf. infra, p. 44, l. 5].

¹ Louvain, 1643. Reprinted by Mr. Arthur W. K. Miller in the *Revue Celtique*, iv. 339-428, v. 1-65.

II. THE PROBABLE DATE OF THE TRIPARTITE LIFE.

As has happened with most of the extant compositions in Old and Middle Irish, an extravagant age has been claimed for the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. Colgan, for instance (*Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 117, 169), attributes it to S. Evin, supposed to have flourished in the middle of the sixth century. His reason is that Jocelin, a monk of the close of the twelfth century, says that this Evin wrote the "Aeta S. Patricii partim Latino, partim Hibernico sermone": the Tripartite Life is written partly in Latin, partly in Irish: therefore S. Evin was its author—a good specimen of an undistributed middle term.

Another argument which Colgan uses in support of the high antiquity of the Tripartite Life is that it mentions several ancient saints, ecclesiastics, and virgins as still existing. For instance, Sylvester and Solonius (p. 30), bishop Loairn (p. 38, l. 27), bishop Ere (p. 44), bishop Fiacc (pp. 52, 192), Lonán, Do-Luc, and Lugaid (p. 76) Eiche and Lallóc (82), bishop Mane (pp. 94, 144), Conu Sáer (p. 110), Gemtene (p. 144), Bite (p. 148), Daniel (p. 164), Coibre and Brucach (p. 166), the two Emers (p. 167), and Erenat (p. 232). But in Irish hagiography "is" (*atá, fil*) in such a place means no more than that the relics of the holy one referred to are preserved in that place, or that his or her memory is there venerated. Thus the statement in p. 52 that Fiacc "is in Sleibte to-day," corresponds with the statement in the Book of Armagh (*infra*, p. 283), "eius reliquiae adorantur *hi Sleibti*."

Dr. Petrie, who was far more cautious and logical than Colgan, and who, moreover, was helped by a native scholar (Dr. O'Donovan), more learned even than the learned Franciscan, in his essay on the *History and*

Antiquities of Tara Hill (p. 31), calls the Tripartite Life "a compilation of the ninth or tenth century," and Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, p. 124, note 3) follows Dr. Petrie. I hope now to show that the Tripartite Life could not have been written before the middle of the tenth century, and that it was probably compiled in the eleventh.

The arguments on this subject are of two kinds, one historical, the other linguistic.

The historical reason which renders it impossible to attribute a high antiquity to the Tripartite Life is the fact that it contains the following allusions to persons who lived and events which happened in the eighth, the ninth, or the tenth century, and that there is no ground for supposing that these allusions are interpolated. The historical argument.

Cíarán of Belach Duin is said (*infra*, p. 60) to have written an account of S. Patrick's miracles. This Cíarán died A.D. 770.

Echaid, son of Bresal, is referred to (*infra*, p. 166) as having burnt a monastery. He flourished about A.D. 800 (Reeves' *Ecel. Antiqq.*, 245).

Núada, abbot of Armagh, is said (p. 82) to have released a certain servitude. This Núada is again mentioned in p. 144, where he is called Nóda of Loch Uama. He flourished A.D. 810 (Reeves, *Primate Colton's Visitation*, v.), and died, according to the Four Masters (ed. O'Donovan), A.D. 811, recte 816.

Connacán, son of Colmán, and grandson of Níall Frossach, is mentioned *infra*, p. 173. This Connacán was killed in Ulster A.D. 853.

The taking of Inis Becc by the heathen is mentioned *infra*, p. 192. This event occurred A.D. 819.

The "reign of Fedelmid and Conchobar in Tara" is mentioned in p. 195. This Fedelmid died A.D. 847, and Conchobar A.D. 833 (O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, i. 446).

The angel's promise (p. 116) that Saxons shall not dwell in Ireland, points to a date after A.D. 871, when

a host of Saxons and Britons was brought by Ólaf and Imar to Dublin.

Cenngecán, king and bishop of Cashel, is mentioned in p. 196. He was slain A.D. 897

The Iosep, mentioned in p. 266, can only be the Ioseph, one of S. Patrick's successors in the see of Armagh, "scribe, bishop, anchorite, the wisest of the Irish,"¹ who died A.D. 936.

To these evidences of a comparatively late origin we may perhaps add the mention of Commán mac Algasaidh, who is said (p. 156) to have recently ('nuper') built a house at Ess mac nEire, and the description (p. 234, ll. 6, 7) of the diocesan jurisdiction of Armagh. But I have been unable to ascertain when this Commán died, or when this jurisdiction was established.²

The linguistic argument.

I shall now mention some of the grammatical forms which tend to show that the Tripartite Life was compiled in the eleventh century, when the Old-Irish language was becoming what is called Early Middle-Irish. Mere corrupt spellings (such as final *e* for *i*, *i* for *e* or for *iu*, *iu* for *e*, aspirated *m* for *b*, or aspirated *g* for *d*) are here passed over, for these may be due to the Middle-Irish transcribers of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. For convenience of reference I shall follow the order of the *Grammatica Celtica*.

1. THE GENDERS.

The genders.

Traces of the neuter are still visible, as in the transported *n* of *al-lá m-beite* 118, 17, *al-leth n-úr*, 58, 22 : *dún n-óacfeine*, 206, 3 : *síl n-Eogain*, 154, 12 : *grad n-oenfir*, 152, 22. *laithi n-airechda*, 52, 18, *tech n-óenfir* 198, 15, *tech n-óiged*, 124, 20, *ed mbecc*, 144, 28 : *fert mbecc*, 138, 20, *Domnach n-Aisse*, 250, 9. and (as we shall see) in the sg. nom. and acc. of the article. But many nouns, neuter

¹ The Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 936.

² It seems to have been claimed

in the eighth century, when the Liber Anguli was probably written. see infra, p. 352, ll. 28-33.

in Old-Irish, have become masc. or fem. Thus: *in l-aíam*, 32, 3; *in may*, 54, 22; *in tech*, 58, 18; *in forsetal*, 66, 22, *ind ruithen*, 6, 27, *in slíab*, 114, 10; and the accusatives *im-im*, 14, 31; *in dáa*, 152, 24; *immon slíab*, 118, 19; *in úr*, 210, 6; *in may*, 92, 29; *isíad leth*, 58, 17, *crandú*, 142, 16, which would have been, in Old-Irish, *au-aíam*, *a tech*, *a forsetal*, *a ruithen*, *a slíab*, *au-imon*, *am-may*, *issa-leth*, and *crann*. The adjective in the phrase for *gráid náiss*, 58, 9, shows that the neut. s-stem *gráid* has become feminine.

2. THE ARTICLE.

Sg. nom. acc. The Old-Irish neuter article *au* is still found in **The article.** *al-leth*, 58, 22, 24, 142, 28, *al-la-sín*, 128, 22, where the *n* is assimilated: *a lín*, 114, 21, *a may*, 56, 7; *au-muir*, 82, 17; *forsa-muir*, 114, 24; *a tech*, 58, 6, *a tech a-áiged*, 124, 19; *a cum-tach*, 192, 26. In *ístír*, 106, 19; *hísa úr*, 174, 13, we have a Middle-Irish contraction. So in *istech*, 178, 22.

gen. The fuller form of the fem. occurs. Thus: *inua fatar-líere*, 2, 7; *inua náiden*, 8, 15, *inua hÉirend*, 39, 26; *inua saoháth-síac*, 22, 39. But the shorter forms *inua*, *au* are more frequent: *inua iagíai*, 28, 29; *na dáire* 14, 15; *au bóile*, 6, 3; *au fírinn*, 6, 22; *na cruíche* 8, 16; *na baisti* 8, 22.

Pl. nom. Here we still have *ind* for the masc. thus: *ind éolaiq*, 8, 26; 92, 19; 196, 6; *ind íascáiri*, 146, 12; 210, 2; *ind aingil*, 168, 19; *ind ódaím*, 252, 27; *ind (f)ascrí*, 184, 2; *ind eich*, 228, 16, and before a tenuis: *in cruítíri* 142, 12. Side by side with this we have the Middle and Modern usurpation by the fem. article: *inua huli*, 56, 15; *inua huile Éreonnaig*, 28, 7; *inua sluaig*, 54, 18; *na sluaig*, 56, 11; 256, 4; *na gobáinid*, 250, 24; *na dáim*, 254, 1; *na maice*, 146, 9; *na trí macaím*, 58, 3; *na trí caipitil*, 246, 8; *na gentlídi*, 46, 29; *na heich*, 126, 13.

gen. Here too we have the fuller form *inua -n*: thus: *inua n-íngae*, 104, 10; *inua Rómanach*, 32, 7; *inua clérech*, 100, 2. But the shorter forms are more frequent, e.g., *na n-úpstal*, 6, 8; *na n-gente*, 6, 22; *na m-briathar*, 4, 1; *na cristoíle*, 8, 2.

dat. The Old-Irish labial ending is frequent: *donaiþ ingenaib*, 102, 28; *donaiþ muceaib*, 246, 25; *donaiþ slógoib ocus donaiþ sochaidib*, 198, 22; *donaiþ druthaib*, 204, 14; *dinaib faserib*, 248, 13; *isuaib glemaib*, 96, 17; *is[ua]ib gliuaib*, 144, 26; *isuaib talmendaib*, 170, 17; *ósuuib gáithaib*, 130, 21. But it is oftener dropt: e.g., *dona ruithnib*, 6, 26; *dona talmannaib* 7 *dona halachtaib*, 86, 14; *dona drúidib*, 92, 30; *dona airchimchib*, 250, 8 (Eg.); *dona sruthib*, 254, 18; *dona noebaib*, 172, 30, *dina lúasaib*, 144, 23:

forsna ceallaib, 80, 25; *forsna ógaib*, 90, 14; *isna intleadaib*, 46, 30; *isna laidechib*, 254, 19; *oena cáirib*, 12, 15; *fona tonnaib*, 224, 12; *cosna huaitib*, 52, 15; *iarsna móraib*, 252, 3; 258, 4.

acc. Here the fuller form *iana* occurs: *iana bráthra*, 2, 10. But we have also the shorter: *na bá*, 12, 29.

Dual. Except in one instance (*in dá cloich*, 248, 12) the Old-Irish form has disappeared, and we have in the nom. *na dá rígsaide dée*, 118, 17, and the acc. *iana dé arracht déae*, 92, 1; *na dá Eimír*, 90, 10; 168, 3; *na dá apostal déae*, 120, 2.

2. THE NOUN.

Vocalic declension. The vocalic declension is on the whole well preserved. Thus, for the dat. sg. of stems in *o* consider *dú claum*, 84, 3; *o Chaisín*, 146, 4, for *cuch*, 124, 15; *búlce*, 240, 18; *don-tsinnsiur*, 128, 27; *in inbiur*, 136, 26; and so also *brat*, 92, 8; *ceinul*, 100, 8; *ceinul*, 110, 26; *fiur*, 178, 4; *forotal*, 68, 11; *innt*, 92, 12, 110, 19; *luc*, 110, 11; *lucc*, 156, 2, 174, 7; *Luinneach*, 88, 4; *méur*, 106, 4; *muilinn*, 72, 18; *praiceupt*, 34, 20; *legund*, 76, 17. For the dat. sg. of stems in *io*: *ósin*, 72, 18; *forsind usciv*, 138, 19; *dond huisciv*, 142, 28; *isind laithiv*, 52, 16; *isind láu*, 88, 11; *on láu*, 200, 7; *fom suidiv*, 74, 17; *isid bailiv*, 36, 14; *don coilíniv*, 84, 8; *ic cluichiv*, 11, 24. For the acc. pl. of masc. *o*-stems: *portu*, 84, 23; *fiur*, 182, 20; *echu*, 42, 26; 144, 10 (Eg.) = *rochu*, 230, 2, 4; *cuchu*, 186, 27; *claidbiv*, 110, 2; *maccu*, 196, 1; *sairu*, 218, 13; *cléirchiv*, 36, 19; 66, 25; *cáirphiv*, 42, 26; 44, 2; 46, 7; *smechu*, 44, 5; for the acc. pl. of masc. *io*-stems: *awu*, 94, 13 = *áu*, 134, 30; *huu*, 104, 27; *frisna híascairiv*, 142, 1; for the neut. pl. of *o*-stems: *cecheu*, 170, 4; *echtarchenéla*, 170, 4. But *pecaid*, an *u*-stem in Old-Irish, makes its gen. sg. *pecaid*, 4, 43 (i.e., as if it were an *o*-stem), and *rán*, a fem. *ā*-stem in Old-Irish, makes its acc. pl. *ráine*, 2, 18, as if it were a neut. stem in s.

Consonantal declension. The consonantal declension is also generally well preserved. But the *e*-stem *aire*, though its nom. pl. is *aírig* in 40, 24, makes it *airecha* in 32, 19; the *g*-stem *rí*, though its acc. pl. is rightly *ríga* in 42, 14, makes it *rígu*, 32, 34; 152, 24; *ard-rígu*, 94, 27, and has in the nom. pl. *rígha*, 40, 23, for the Old-Irish *ríg*. As to the *r*-stems, *bráthir* makes its gen. pl. *bráthar*, 16, 8 (Old-Irish *bráthre-n*), and its acc. pl. *bráthriur*, 72, 8; 188, 8 (Old-Irish *bráithrea*); *siur* makes its nom. pl. *sethra*, 82, 12, (Old-Irish *sethair*), acc. pl. *sethracha*, 90, 10 (Old-Irish *sethra*), and *máthir* in the gen. pl. passes over to the *e*-declension: *máthrech*, 12, 5. Stems in *nt* make the acc. pl. in *-iu*: *inna náimtiur*, 130, 15 (Old-Irish *náimtea*). Stems in *men* correctly make the

dat. sg. in *m* (*dírmanaim*, 70, 29), and the nom. acc. pl. in *ann*: thus, *annann*, 116, 23, *forannand* (leg. *-ann*), 126, 22. But we have also the Middle-Irish pl. acc. *annanna*, 106, 26.¹ The *s*-stem *dán* makes its dat. sg. *dán*, 12, 85, 128, 5, for the Old-Irish *dán*; *gléna* rightly makes its dat. pl. *glénaib*, 148, 26, but also *glénaib*, 96, 17, and its acc. pl. *gléna*, 216, 22, which in Old-Irish would be *glénao*. The *s*-stems *ag*, *dán*, *gléna* and *slíab* respectively make their acc. pl. *aige*, 46, 30; *dúine*, 150, 15; *glénao*, 92, 29; *glénao*, 120, 6; *slíabe*, 112, 17. This accords with the Old-Irish paradigm.

3. THE ADJECTIVE.

Here in the nom. pl. we find the Middle and Modern usurpation by a form properly belonging to the fem. gender. Thus: *jír* Declension.
daba, 116, 1; *dáim daba*, 176, 16; *dáim breca*, 176, 15; *na maie becca*, 116, 9; *in maie becca*, 186, 26; *tri druid nendramucha*, 138, 27. In the dative, however, of stems in *o* and *io* the Old-Irish forms are well preserved: *don macaib-se cretmachaib*, 70, 13; *co mhúidáib nábraib*, 88, 12; *isnaib g[e]mnaib scléidib*, 96, 17; *co n-étoigib getaib*, 100, 3; *dí éabóithib dubaib*, 114, 10; *isnaib canaib deiseachaib*, 158, 13; *domaib macaib becaib*, 216, 25; *co céllaib spírtalaib*, 254, 16. And so with the participle pret. passive: *forsnao ógaib remcúitib*, 90, 14. In *tairellaib fáilsí*, 4, 1, the *b* is dropt. In the dat. sg. we have still the Old-Irish *u* in *búca*, 163, 2; 168, 12; *clín*, 90, 26, and *sochínach*, 176, 29. The *i*-stem *allaid* makes its gen. sg. masc. *albi* in *mar in chon alla*, 158, 7; and its acc. pl. *allaije* in *aige allaije*, 46, 30: but this is doubtless a scribal error for *allai*.

As to gradation, except *áirthor*, *áirthor* (anterior), gen. sg. *áirthir*, 76, 26; gen. pl. *áirthor*, 230, 21, no comparatives in *-thir* occur. The comparative in *-iu*, *-u* is frequent: *toisigu*, 10, 16; *déniu*, 10, 31; *córu*, 16, 29; 210, 24; *lobru*, 28, 20; *caiblin*, 10, 13; *sinin*, 100, 9; *luígu*, 192, 21; *uáistiu*, 260, 24. When followed by *de* (see G.C. 275), the *de* is written as an enclitic (*soimshertu-de*, 218, 21, Eg.), and sometimes becomes *ti*. Thus: *andsa-ti*, 218, 20; *uáit-ti*, 114, 22; *mesa-ti*, 218, 9. Six superlatives in *n* occur: *cáinm*, 146, 11; *ám*, 128, 25; *sinm*, 128, 25; *sírm*, 86, 30 (compar. *sía*, 176, 11); *sonairtm*, 94, 26; and *tressam*, 94, 26. But the comparative is used for the superlative (Middle-Irish fashion) in *díliu lat*, 152, 16; *orddnidiv*, 194, 10; *húallthu dí clúinn*, 126, 23.

¹ *annand* (souls) occurs 84, 26; pl. dat. *annannaib*, 114, 21.

4. NUMERALS.

The numerals 2, 3, 4. Here we have still the feminine *dí*: nom. *dí fíeir*, 16, 14; *dí sróin*, 141, 27; *dí óig*, 224, 44; *dí laidir*, 44, 5; *dí ingín*, 128, 9; *dí líim*, 152, 8; *dí cloich*, 248, 12; acc. *dí ingín*, 184, 19. We have the *b* of the dative: *ar díb fíchtib*, 260, 8; also the transported *a* of the dative: *díab mbuiduib*, 130, 12. In *dé fíeráib doue*, 30, 13, the *dé* seems a scribal error for *díb*.

3. Here also the fem. form is preserved: nom. *teora gemaí*, 58, 13; *teor buidne*, 72, 1; *teora aídchí*, 176, 10; *teora míli*, 116, 3; *teora maíla*, 166, 4; *teora muatera*, 118, 19; *a theora druinecha*, 266, 8; acc. *teora gemaí*, 58, 12. But its place is usurped by the masc. *tri* in *tri aídchí*, 30, 1; *tri clochái*, 106, 29; *tri líim*, 246, 8; *tri ceáilí*, 30, 19; gen. *tri a-áidchí*, 92, 28. The dat. neut. is still *trib* in *ó trib láithib*, 64, 22; *ar trib cétaib*, 238, 16; but the labial is lost in *lí tri clocháib*, 106, 27; *ar tri fíchtib*, 238, 16.

4. The neuter *ceithir* occurs in *ceithir amand*, 16, 21, and *ceithir chonól*, 126, 20. The fem. form occurs in *fo cethoira*¹ *arda*, 56, 8, where the Egerton MSS. has the shorter form *cetheor*. *Céithrí*, *ceithrí* occurs with all genders and cases. nom. *ceitri cossa*, 90, 15; *ceithri ardda*, 86, 7; *ceitri cáilig*, 94, 5; *ceithri srotha*, 118, 11; dat. *for a cheithri mílib*, 94, 5.

5. PRONOUNS.

The system of pronominal infixation is still in full vigour. For example:—

sg. 1. *níim-tairle*, 78, 22; *cononm-adnaiss*, 84, 12; *rom-gab*, 114, 28; *ro-m-char*, 106, 12; *no-m-léice-sí*, 218, 4; *rom-gon*, 122, 26; *ní-r-ím-adnaigid*, 178, 17; *do-m-rosat*, 140, 25; *ní-m-reilcí*, 140, 26. So in the passive: *rom-chráided con-dom-digdíder*, 116, 14; *nacha-m-gaibther-sea*, 190, 6; *co ro-m adnaicthí*, 74, 8; *ro-m-adnacht*, 124, 24, 26; *cu ro-m-særthar*, 180, 10.

sg. 2. *na-t-seáilfeth*, 78, 19; *ru-t-bía*, 152, 4; *ro-t-bía*, 114, 24; 116, 8; *ní-t-áidlibe*, 78, 23; *nocho-t-acca*, 140, 14; *do-t-uc*, 174, 8; *fo-t-uígeb-sa*, 176, 3; *attot-chomnaicc*, 28, 8. So in the passive, *na-t-gebthar*, 190, 6.

¹ Compare *cethoira*, Ml. 118^d 10.

sg. 3. masc. and neut. :—

Infixed
pronouns.

- a. d-a-farraid*, 30, 23.
d. no-d-baithis, 192, 5; *for-d-índet*, 183, 25; *do-d-fail*, 204, 7 (Eg.); *atáí* (= *ad-d-nóí*), 140, 3.
id. con-íd-loisc, 31, 8; *con-idh-romarb*, 60, 20 = *con-íd-romarb*, 88, 13; *con-íd-fuaratar*, 222, 7; *ad-íd-annai*, 42, 21; *ar-íd-feimfed*, 32, 33.
u. ro-n-índarb, 30, 18; 92, 3; *ro-u-gab*, 36, 22; 60, 3; 192, 13; *ní-n-tairmescfed*, 42, 6; *do-n-árraid*, 76, 13; *do-n-annice*, 136, 5; *dou-áic*, 138, 21; *ro-m-baitsi*, 86, 18; *ro-m-baithess*, 160, 8 = *ro-m-bathess*, 168, 13; *ro-m-baithes*, 182, 5; *ro-m-baitsestar*, 36, 23; *ro-m-bennach*, 164, 9, 218, 10 = *ro-m-bendach*, 174, 17; *do-m-bér-sa*, 104, 2; *ro-m-berr*, 104, 5; *cita-n-accígi*, 139, 8; *ro-n-adnacht*, 182, 6; *ro-n-ordluca*, 196, 14.
du. ro-du-gab, 198, 14.
s. du-s-fell, 180, 24; *do-s-rala*, 84, 24; *immu-s-áicríchet*, 158, 11; *du-s-romall*, 200, 16.
su. du-su-arríth, 82, 18.
fem. *da. no-da-sáraigfeil*, 72, 25; *ro-do-sáraig*, 72, 26; *da-da-slugai*, 74, 21; *con-da-forsbaic*, 82, 1; *con-ta-tarlígg*, 234, 17.
s. fo-s-veat, 82, 21; *do-s-uc*, 86, 22; *conu-s-tuicce*, 28, 6; *ro-s-baitsi*, 178, 3; *ro-s-baithis*, 224, 22; *ro-s-aithní*, 187, 12.
su. do-su-bert, 212, 25.
dos. for-dos-rala, 76, 19; 78, 5; 96, 25.
pl. 1. *ro-n-sear*, 140, 18.
pl. 2. *nachaib-theair*, 150, 23.
pl. 3. a. *d-a-loig*, 200, 3; *t-a-bair*, 120, 23; perhaps *imm-a-tarraid*, 150, 24.
da. con-da-searib, 64, 12; *con-da-rochaill*, 214, 2; *con-da-seara*, 212, 27; *con-da-fil*, 202, 5.
s. ro-s-baitsi, 140, 2; *ro-s-baithess*, 174, 19; *nu-s-beir*, 194, 26; *no-s-berat*, 240, 5; *ro-s-bendach*, 46, 27; *fo-s-fuair*, 36, 15; *ro-s-gab*, 236, 2; *ro-s-mallach*, 108, 24; *ro-s-cuimrig*, 224, 12; *ro-s-cuinnig*, 164, 19; *ro-s-ét*, 164, 20; *do-s-bér*, 164, 24.
das. nu-dus-foituaibed, 188, 22; *rodo[s]-sluicce*, 204, 14.
su. do ssu-aigli, 152, 8; *ro-su-edbair*, 184, 20.

Suffixed pronouns.

Pronouns are found suffixed to verbs in *gáib-s-i*, 246, 11; *sloics-i*, 130, 19; *airichth-i*, 158, 5, where the suffix is in the accusative, and in *maní ba-t*, 78, 19; *beít-i*, 112, 22; *bet-i*, 152, 27; *bíei-s*, 224, 24, where it is in the nominative. It seems probable that the endings in the following forms are suffixed pronouns in the nom. sg.: *airbertai*, 162, 27; 164, 1; *alannai*, 42, 13; *ad-í-d-annai*, 42, 21; *ro-cebbrai*, 198, 4; *ras-cunnmai*, 256, 11; *ro-diúllai*, 176, 24; *ro-obai*, 51, 2 = *ro-obbái*, 80, 9, *ro-apaí*, 146, 27; *ro-píthai*, 40, 4; *ro-sercái*, 176, 21; *ro-thinai*, 56, 8; *ro-baitsí*, 30, 18; 78, 6; *ro-m-baitsí*, 40, 5; 70, 8; (*do*) *ro-crecítí*, 60, 17; *do-r-aitne*, 56, 15 = *do-r-atne*, 196, 27; *do-roí-msí*, 236, 20; *fo-ruí-smí*, 44, 9; 136, 6; *ro-ortne*, 94, 2 = *ro-oirdní*, 158, 24; *ro-ráidí*, 124, 18 = *ro-ráidí*, 56, 18; 88, 27; 240, 23; *ro-raidí*, 64, 7; *ro-ráide*, 2, 10; 10, 15, 27; 60, 19; *ro-ráde*, 44, 19; *ro-ráde*, 44, 28. In *beítí*, 110, 25; 120, 17, the *-it* may be a suffixed pronoun meaning 'ii.' and in *aracúillí*, 50, 27, the *-iv* (*-v?*) may be one, meaning 'eos.'

6. THE VERBAL PARTICLES.

Verbal particles.

In compound verbs *ro* is generally infixted after (as a rule) the first element. Thus: *do-r-íngíth*, 2, 7; *do-ro-thlaig*, 10, 8; *do-ro-thlaigsetar*, 30, 6; *do-r-ala*, 10, 10; *do-r-éprendsét*, 10, 20; 72, 27; *do-r-éprensat*, 144, 27; *fo-r-écaib*, 28, 29; *to-r-inol*, 10, 26; *do-ro-chair*, 12, 7; 46, 6; *to-r-chair*, 46, 9; *at-r-a-rucht*, 14, 9; *ad-ru-pairt*, 14, 8, 12; *do-ri-gní*, 14, 30; *fo-ruí-geanai*, 16, 20; *fris-ro-grat*, 28, 18; *do-r-airgert*, 40, 9 = *do-r-argert*, 160, 10; *do-r-airngert*, 148, 26 = *do-r-airggert*, 178, 8; *do-u-airng[r]ed*, 34, 15; *-de-r-nsam*, 28, 23; *-fu-r-caib*, 30, 20; *fo-r-acabsat*, 40, 19; *fo-ruí-smí*, 44, 9; *do-r-éll*, 44, 16; *do-r-íucart*, 44, 18; *-to-r-molath*, 54, 2; *do-r-aitne*, 56, 15; *do-ro-raind*, 70, 17; *fu-ro-uail*, 81, 21; *do-ro-grat*, 88, 7; 222, 27; *do-ro-díusaig*, 128, 21 = *do-roí-díusaig*, 176, 17; *fris-ro-gart*, 124, 23; *ad-ro-dannair*, 148, 5; *do-ro-cháise*, 150, 3; *du-s-ro-nuall*, 200, 16; *do-r-esart*, 204, 21; *ad-ro-chubair*, 202, 1; *do-ro-chuid*, 222, 21; *-to-r-inscan*, 226, 1; *a[r]-ro-gart*, 228, 22.

But in the following instances it is prefixed in the Middle-Irish fashion: *ro-indis*, 2, 14, 18; *ro-crostaictí*, 8, 10; *ro-erlóg*, 8, 19 = *ro-herlég*, 30, 26; *ro-do-gáilsigetar*, 12, 10; *ro-táiseibhath*, 16, 1; *ro-foglaínd*, 28, 2 = *ro-foglaínn*, 222, 20; *ro-fiarfaig*, 44, 14; *ro-fríthbruid*, 68, 17; *ro-ríthbrúithset*, 126, 21; *ro-édbairt*, 36, 34; *ro-edbair*, 80, 10, pl. *ro-edbratar*, 224, 11; *ro-edbairset*, 68, 12; *ro-edbarthe*, 68, 27; *ro-ocobair*, 68, 32; *ro-indarb*, 88, 2; *ro-ingaib*, 184, 24.

In *ad-u-bairt*, 42, 9; 54, 20, 21; pl. *ad-u-brutar*, 36, 4; perhaps Verbal particles. in *ath-o-perainn-si*, 162, 10, the *r* is dropt.

But perhaps what points most clearly to the Middle-Irish period is the constant occurrence, in the case of the preterites of verbs beginning with *fu-*, *fo-*, *for-*, *fu-*, of a prefix *fór*, which, Prof. Windisch thinks, is due to a misunderstanding of Old-Irish forms like *forúcaib* = *fo-r-úcaib*. Examples of this are:—

fororbai, 34, 17; 170, 9; 178, 18; *fororbaid*, 104, 7, for *for-forbai*, *for-forbaid*, from *forbenim*.

forfóillsig, 46, 21, from *foillsigim*.

fororenggart, 66, 17; *fororenggart*, 198, 11, 18; 228, 19; 230, 2, for *for-forenggart*, from *forengraim*.

forfóthaigetar, 174, 2 = *foróthaigetar*, 194, 4; *foróthaig*, 72, 7; 92, 12; 98, 2; 194, 9, from *fóthaigim*.

forúaslac, 32, 4, for *for-fúaslac*, from *fúaslacim*.

forúasnad, 42, 15, for *for-fúasnad*, from *fúasnaim*.¹

So in the Féilire of Oengus, prol. 87, *forforenada*, from *forennim*; *fororbairt*, prol. 170, from *forberim*; and even in the Milan Codex: *ho burorbaithe*, 15a, from *forbenim*, and *forurathminset*, 135a, from *forathminniur*.

7. THE VERB.

In the Tripartite Life the Old-Irish forms of the verb are Verbal fairly well preserved, and there is a complete absence of forms, forms, such as the consuetudinal present (in *-ann*, *-eán*) and the pass. pret. pl. 3 in *-ait*, *-it*, which are first found in Middle Irish. In compound verbs the distinction in the prepositional prefixes is generally well marked between the dependent forms (where the stress is on the first element) and the independent forms, where the stress is on the second element; and in all verbs, whether simple or compound, the endings proper to the absolute form are, as a rule, distinguished from those proper to the subjoined form.

¹ The Middle-Irish preterites *fo-* | from *fuapraim*, may be explained *rócrad* from *fuacraim*, and *forópair* | in like manner.

List of
compound
verbs.

In the following list of some of the compound verbs in the Tripartite Life, the prepositional prefixes are given in their stressed forms; and the independent verbs are placed on the left, the dependent on the right, together with imperatives and verbal nouns and adjectives, which are always accented on the first or only syllable. The apex (´) is used in this list to signify the stress, not (as usual in Irish) the length of the vowel over which it is placed.

ad (at).

ad-cíu (*I see*), ad-cíam, 41; 11; at-chíam, 56, 3; at-cíat, 160, 20; at-chéthe-su, 28, 28.

ad-cláidim (*I catch*), ad-cláiss, 88, 28.

ad-cóbraim (*I desire*), 102, 8; ad-có-brai, 228, 9; ad-ró-cho-bair, 202, 1.

at-cótaisíut (*they got*), 68, 11.

ad-gládur (*appello*), Sg. 146 b. 9.

admiúir (*I attempt*); admí-dethar, Stowe Missal.

adrímiu (*I reckon*); ad-rim-fim, 180, 9.

ad-slíg (*persuadet*), Wb. 14 d, 27.

ad-nácim (*I bury*).

con-áccath, 54, 8; con-ácced, 124, 14; con-áccomar, 102, 12; nochot-ácca, 140, 14; asan-acai, 130, 15; ní ácca-sí, 128, 23; a n-ácciged, 130, 17; cita-n-áccigi, 130, 18.

verbal noun áclaid, 85, 25.

ro-ócobair, 68, 32; nocou-óccobhrad, 12, 21.

ros-ágaill (-áicill), 114, 6; verbal noun áccaldam, 66, 27.

verbal noun ámmus, 198, 17, 220, 21.

ní áirmin, Broc. h. 41.

ros-áslacht, 236, 4.

conom-ádnaiss, 84, 12; conrom-ádnaicthi, 74, 8; ro-ádnacht, 84, 16, 254, 2; not-ádnastar, 252, 8; verbal noun ádnacal, 74, 10.

ad- cáim.

atcóndare (*I saw*), 176, 14; ad-cóndaire, 2, 1; at-cón-naire, 12, 9.

at-cóncatar (*they saw*), 6, 8; at-chonccatar, 46, 29.

ad- cùm- od.

ad-cóm-laim (*conjungo*). | verbal noun áccomal, 102, 8;
do ócomol, 178, 10.

ad- ro.

adroillim (*merco*), ad-róilli- | ro-áirillem (ro-árlem. Eg.),
set, W. | 260, 27; verbal noun áirliud,
166, 11.

ad (at), áith (éd, íd).

at-béir (*sait*), 2, 11; it-béir, a n-ápar, 4, 26, 29; nat-
6, 16; it-bérat, 104, 21; at-bér- épera, 150, 10.

mais, 6, 15; at-rú-bairt, 10,
29; 30, 5; ad-rú-bairt, 14, 12;
ad-rú-pairt, 14, 8.

at-báil (*perishes*), Sg. 4 b. 6.

con-érbailt (= éd-ro-bailt,
58, 31; con-érbailt, 14, 2;
verbal noun épiltin; dat.
épiltin, 92, 8.

atehúad (*exposui*); at-chúaid,
256, 10; at-chúademar, 258,
25; at-chúaidetar, 60, 27; at-
chúattetar, 84, 19; at-chúidetar,
256, 9; atchúass, 164, 26; at-
chúas, 236, 7; atcúas, 240, 25.

con-éicid, 36, 18; con-éicid,
188, 7.

aithéim (*committo*), ad-ró-ní.

ro-áithní, 68, 16; ro-s-áithní,
178, 12.

at-r-áracht (*surrexit*), 14, 9;
adráacht, 58, 28.

ad- cùm.

atehómnaic (*accidit*), at-a- | nad n-cémai.
cómnaic, 8, 6; attotehómnaice, |
28, 8.

ad- úd.

adópart (*obtulit*), 192, 4; ad-
r-ódbertar, 230, 16.

ro-édbart, 72, 28; 94, 29;
ro-édbrad, 90, 8; imper. édb-
bair, 88, 9; verbal noun éd-
bairt, 88, 18.

ar, áir (ér, ír).

ar-éim (<i>I find</i>), ar-r-áinic, 94, 19.	co n-áirnic, 110, 22; co n-áirmechtar, 100, 2; dia n-áirsed, 80, 4.
ar-légaim (<i>I read aloud</i>).	ro-érleg, 8, 19; ro-hérleg, 30, 28; verbal noun áirlégend, 8, 22.
argaur (<i>I forbid</i>), ar-r-ógart, 228, 22.	

ar- fú.

ar-fó-im (<i>I receive</i>), G. 51 a. 4; airfemaid, 102, 21; ar-ró-ét, 16, 20, 80, 12.	co ro-áiraimed, 68, 18; noco n-áiraimfe, maine áiraimé, 68, 20.
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ar- úd.

arósailether (<i>is opened</i>), M. 14, c 15.	ro-éroslaicthi, 8, 18.
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ass, éss.

as-bínr-sa (<i>I say</i>), 242, 14; as- bérat, 104, 9; as-bért, 76, 9; 242, 13; as-rú-bairt, 120, 3.	con-érbairt, 12, 28.
as-régim (<i>I arise</i>).	ni hérracht, 44, 6; nochu n-érracht, 52, 25; imper. éirig, 14, 8.

ass- cáim.

as - rú - chumlae, (<i>he went forth</i>), M. 17 b, 2.	ro-éscumlai, 68, 15.
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ass-éss.

inf. éissirge, 76, 10.

ass- ind.

asíndet (*declares*), M. 23 c, 12. | aisnefimet (for áisnedefim-
met), 10, 9; co ró-aisneded,
178, 31.

con, eím.

conicim (*possim*), con-íccí | ní cúmcaim-sí, 56, 5; nocha
(*potes*), 56, 4; conicfam. 102. | cúmcaim, 56, 13; nocho eím-
10; conísad, 258, 28. | caisi, 102, 20; nad eímca-
bad, 72, 4; ní cáemnaicir, 72,
4; nā cóemnaictar, 110, 3; co
cóimsam, 102, 23.

con-íccim (*convenio*); con- | co cómarnic, 74, 14; no cóm-
ráic, 152, 1. | aised, 12, 14; co cómraictis,
226, 17.

con- úd.

con-áicci (*sces*), 28, 15; con- |
áiccatar, 52, 20; 70, 27. |
conácbaim (*I erect*), conácab, |
192, 14; conácabsat, 156, 12. | verbal noun, cúmgabail.

con- áir.

conáirlicim (*I permit*), con- | ro-cómairleic, 58, 29.
áir-leced, 112, 11.

con- úith.

conáitgim (*I demand*), con- |
áitg, 112, 3. | verbal noun eúinchid, 14, 29.

con- éss.

con-érracht (*surrexit*), 46, 8. |
verbal noun cóimeirge, dat.
cóimeirgin, 46, 10.

con- úd.

conúcbaim (*I erect*), con-ú- |
bad, 92, 17; conu-a-r-gaib, 12, |
11; 90, 22. | verbal noun cúmgabail.
con-óscraigim (*I remove*). |
con-ósna (*rests*), G. 206 a, 3. | dia cúmscaigthi, 208, 7.
verbal noun cúmsanad, 36,
15; 232, 23.

do, du, dé, dí.

do-bádím (<i>extinguo</i>).	main díbdaither, 42, 12.
do-chúad (<i>I went</i>); do-chúaid.	con-déochatar, 16, 6; na
14, 18; do-eúatar, 14, 9; do- eóos, 34, 25; doeúas, 184, 23; dochúas, 192, 24.	déchais, 42, 20.
dogniu (<i>I do</i>); do-gní, 8, 10; do-gníset, 74, 5; dorígní, 84, 30; dorígne, 86, 6; doró- gní, 92, 30; doróne, 8, 20; dorónai, 10, 21; dorígēnsaith, 142, 18; dogénsat, 120, 16; do- néth, 2, 20; dognétis, 260, 7; do-gníthar, 80, 7; dorónath. do-rónad, 86, 4, 7.	ní dénaiter, 80, 8; asa ndénad. 8, 15; na dénaitis, 260, 6; ní déndais, 142, 10; imperat. dénam, 54, 19; dénid, 74, 16.
do-gnúidím (<i>I entrust</i>).	con-dom-dígdider, 116, 10, 118, 4; verbal nomm dígde.
do-méecim (<i>I despise</i>). Sg. 39b, 1.	dímienithi, 176, 4.

de- áir.

	con-dérusam, 128, 23; ní dérn- tar, 194, 20.
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de- áith.

do-éicim (<i>I see</i>); do-nn-éicci, W.		o ro-décai, 36, 16; déceastar, 214, 11; verbal nomm déicsin, sg. dat. déicsin, 143, 11.
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de- fí.

do-fúthraetar (<i>they desired</i>).		dúdrachtaige, 206, 7.
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de- ín.

do-íngbaim (<i>I get away</i>).		dínguib, ní díngēb, 116, 9.
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de- rí.

doroimnim (<i>I forget</i>), du-n- dam-róimnife-se, M. 32, 5.		no-s-dérmanat, 82, 19.
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de- úd.

* *doúscim (I bring to life)*. | *arnaro-dúiscid*, 36, 5; *dúscend*,
176, 13; 186, 2.

du, do, tú, tó.

do-bíur (I give), 154, 5; *do-bír*, 76, 15; *do-béirt*, 12, 17; *do-béirtis*, 14, 11; *do-béira*, 14, 11; *do-bér*, 228, 11; *du-bérr*, 158, 5; *do-ro-chair (ceoidit)*, 12, 7; 46, 6.

do-gáiret (they call), 28, 7; *do-grad*, 88, 7; *do-ro-gart*, 92, 3; *do-gúí-siu (choosost)*, 152, 6; *do-róc-ga*, 252, 12; *do-gégaínd*, 112, 10.

do-icim (I come), *do-n-ánaice*, 136, 5; *do-n-áinic*, 138, 21; *do-áinic*, 228, 21.

du-lúid (icít), 30, 15; *do-lótar*, 16, 15.

do-méilim (I consume): *du-s-ró-malt*, 200, 16.

do-móiniur (I think), *do-rúimnenatar*, 100, 4.

do-rói-msi (mensuravit), 236, 20.

do-ríndim (I mark out): *do-ró-raínd*, 70, 18.

do-rát (dóidit), 10, 30; 12, 11; *doratsat*, 40, 17; *dorata*, 106, 2.

do-réga (veniet).

do-rímu (numero), *do-rímet*, 196, 6.

do-thlúgim (I ask), *do-ró-thlaig*, 10, 18 (Eg.); *do-ró-thlaigestar*, 30, 6.

do-úe (tulit), 86, 19; 168, 1; *do-t-úe*, 174, 8; *do-s-úe*, 86, 22.

í túbri, 166, 16; *ní thibér*, 228, 10; *ní thábraid*, 14, 14; *imperat. tábair*, 102, 22; *verbal noun tábairt*, 10, 28; 158, 6.

co tórchar, 124, 25; *co tór-chair*, 140, 7; *con-tórehratar*, 190, 19.

verbal noun tógaim.

tógaide, 62, 4.

técait, 98, 8; *téicis*, 40, 23, 25; *asa tanae*, 252, 8; *tresa tánic*, 172, 31; *táncatar*, 4, 18.

a túluid, 82, 7.

mani tómlíur, 200, 3; *co tó-r-molath*, 54, 2.

verbal noun tóimtin.

ro-tómais, 70, 13.

imper. tóraínd, 88, 8; *verbal noun tóraínd*, 138, 15.

co tárat, 8, 16; 30, 4; 38, 8; *ní tárat*, 166, 25; *nocon-dar-taiter*, 114, 2; *co tarda*, 28, 31; *forsa tardad*, 14, 17.

ní térga, 38, 17; *ní ther-gaínd*, 106, 18.

nís-túirni, W.

verbal noun tothlugud, 10, 14.

conos-túicee, 28, 6; *túcam*, 54, 21; *túctha*, 194, 10; *túcaiter*, 252, 24; *arna tucáiter*, 252, 29.

do- áir.

do-áirberim (<i>I cast down</i>), do-r-áirbert, 90, 23.	verbal noun táirbert.
do-áirisim (<i>I stand by, abide</i>). do-áiristis, 178, 16.	táirisid, 8, 11.
do-áraill (<i>venit</i>), 28, 22.	ni táraill, 28, 25; táraill, 144, 26; nim-táirle, 78, 22.
do-r-áirgert (<i>praedixit, promisit</i>), 40, 9.	ro-táirgired, 28, 27.
do-áir-chaintis, 32, 26; do-é-r-cachain, 86, 13; do-fáir-che-chuatar, 32, 30.	co táirchet, 152, 24.
do-n-áirraid, 76, 13; dá-fáirraid, 30, 23; do-n-árthatar, 138, 27.	imm-a-táirraid, 150, 23.
du-n-áirrastair, 138, 20.	co tárrasair, 52, 20; co nach tárrasair, 46, 10.

do- áir- ind.

do-r-áirngert (<i>praedixit</i>), 148, 9, 26.	verbal noun táirngire.
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do- áith.

do-éprennim (<i>I gush</i>), do-r-éprendset, 10, 20.	verbal noun típresiu.
do-r-áith-chnir, 158, 20, 1; do-aith-enirfe, 158, 14.	coro-tháidchnir, 186, 12; verbal noun tathchor, F61. Jmc 24; táidchoirte.
do-áitnim (<i>I shine</i>), do-r-áitne, 56, 15.	ni thátneba, Z. 452; táitnifes, 260, 17.
do-áicraim, do-ácartmar, Z. 456.	tácermaid, 42, 23; verbal noun táicra, 114, 29; táicrtha, 128, 24.

do- dé.

do-déchaid (<i>ivit</i>), 28, 2; do-déchabair, 100, 6; do-déchetar, 40, 19; do-décbatar, 52, 15; do-déchas, 74, 16; do-dechos, 232, 10.	ceta-thúidchetar, Z. 457; cosa túidches, Z. 467.
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do- dé- ud.

do-dínssaig (<i>resuscitavit</i>), 12, 28; do-n-[d]ínssaig, 234, 1; do-ró-diussaig, 122, 21; do-rói-diussaig, 176, 27; do-ró-dinsaig, 182, 5.	dia tódinscái, 198, 10; in rotoduscad, 198, 26; dia tódúsethar, 133, 1; verbal noun tódínsend, 12, 28; 198, 12; tódínsend, 182, 4.
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do- éss.

do-éisure (*I save*), do-r-ésart, | verbal noun téssareon.
204, 21. |

do- fóir.

dofúirehad (gl. *promebat*), Ml. | túarcaib, 126, 10; co túareab,
72^b. | 256. 2; túargabad, 96, 1;
túareabad, 126, 7; verbal noun
túrebāl.

do- fú.

do-fúit (*falls*), 112, 30, 31; | asa túiter, Z. 342, fóra túit,
do-fúitís, 150, 4. | Z. 431.

do- fú- ess.

do-fúisim (*brings forth*), 8, | inf. túistiu.
10; do-m-r-ó-sat, 140, 25. |

do- índ.

do-r-ínfith (*inspiravit*), 2, 7. | tinfesti, Z. 49; tinfeth, Z.
42.
do-r-ínscan (*incipit*), 252, 5. | co tórimscan, 226, 1; o thá-
rimscan, 208, 11.
*do-intaim (*I turn*). | tintāi, 182, 27.

do- índ- air.

| tındarscan, 54, 25; 168, 21.

do- tú.

do-thóet (*irrit*), 38, 19; 160, |
19; dothact, 142, 26; dotáit, |
186, 13. |
doícfaitís (*they would have*
come to), 152, 3. |

do- tú- fu.

do-thúit (*falls*). | ní thóith, 142, 22; hi toith.
| sad, 136, 21.

do- úd.

*doúebaim (*I raise up*). | verbal noun tócbāil, 168, 21.

fo, fú, fú.

fo-gábim (<i>I find</i>), fo-góbat, 92, 18; fogébad, 32, 23.	ni fógbai, Z. 429.
fo-glíum (<i>I learn</i>), fo-gléim, 240, 9.	ro-fóglaind, 8, 19, 28. 2.
fo-gnín (<i>I serve</i>), fo-rúí-genai, 16, 20; fo-ruí-génair, 16, 26; fo-gnífe, 70, 10; fo-gnífi, 108, 24.	ara fógua, Z. 441; dia fógensam, Z. 342.

fo- ád.

fo-ácabaim (<i>I leave</i>), fo-r-ácab, fo-r-ácaib, 28, 28, 29; fo-r-ácabsat, 40, 19.	hi fá-r-caib, 30, 20; = hi fárgaib, 198, 2; ní fóicebaind, 244, 5; verbal noun fácbail, 38, 5.
foátbi (<i>smiles</i>), 98, 7.	verbal noun fáitbiud.

fo- cúl.

fo-chossim (<i>I take away</i>), fo-ró-xail, 80, 21; fo-chóissled, 130, 21.	verbal noun fóxul.
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for- cúl.

for-fa-cómaisoin, M. 29 a, 3.	fóremaid, 140, 7 ¹
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fo- ád.

fo-r-úaslaic (<i>looses</i>), 32, 4.	con-da-fórslaic, 82, 1; verbal noun fúashuend, 32, 4.
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for.

for-bíur (<i>I grow</i>).	co fórbraid, 12, 20.
for-icim (<i>I find</i>).	hi fúirsitis, 190, 21, 23.

friss, fríth.

friss-ró-gart (<i>answered</i>), 124, 23; fris-ro-grat, 28, 11; fris- <u>g</u> rat, 34, 8.	verbal noun frécere.
fris-orcim (<i>I oppose</i>), fris-órt, 138, 17.	verbal noun fríthorcon.
fris-brúidim (<i>I deny</i>), fris-brubdi, M. 28b, 8.	ro-fríthbuid, 68. 17; ro- <u>f</u> ríthbruithset.

fríth-m-bert, 210, 23, seems an error for *fris-m-bert*.

¹ Correct the glossary at p. 650, where this verb is wrongly treated as a substantive.

*friss- tú.*frís-túlaid (*contraivit*), 146, 21. |*friss- tú- air.*

frístárrassair, 39, 17. |

friss- tú- do.

frís-túidchid, 78, 12; frís- túidchaid, 78, 16; 200, 23; 208, 6; frís-túidchetar, 80, 2, =frís- túichetar, Ml. 21 c, 2.	}	verbal noun frítuidecht.
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iarmi, iarm, iarmi-fo-air.

iarmi-fór-id, 202, 16. |

immi, imm.

imme-sóí (<i>turns round</i>), 82, 16 (but imsoi, 38, 19).	}	ro-ímpai, 54, 10; verbal noun ímpod.
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imm- áith.

imm-us-áiccichet, 158, 11. |

imm- cáin.

imme-chómarcar, G. 27 a, 2; immechóimairsed, M. 20 b, 18.	}	immeomaire, 58, 4; im- comairect, 100, 5.
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imm- dé.

imm-dé-rnad, 74, 24. | verbal noun ímmdēnum.

imm- tú.

imm-a-tárraid, 150, 24. |

darmi, táirm.

darmi-régtais, 204, 19.	cita-táirmdechaid, 214, 14; na táirm-declatar, 258, 19, 260, 22. ro-táirmese, 110, 24; ni-n- táirmeseifed, 12, 6; mani táirm- miseter, 42, 11. co-na táirmtiasad, 112, 4; tarsa táirmthiágat, Cr. 18b, 8; verbal nom táirmthecht.
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The above forms generally agree with those in the Old-Irish MSS.; but to the Middle-Irish period belongs the use as independent verbs of *leacáit*, etc., *táirísid*, *tuccmaí*, *tuarcuib*, etc., *tuatharsean*, *tuathais*, forms which in Old-Irish occur only after the particles above mentioned.

Endings of
conjunct
and of
absolute
forms.

The distinction in the endings between the conjunct and the absolute forms is generally well preserved. Thus in the present indicative active, sg. 3:—

ā-stems. Conjunct forms: *at-beir*, *do-beir*, 58, 10; *do-fuabair*, *daen-arráth*, *fo-céit*, 82, 17, 18; 111, 13; *fo-gcúib*, 84, 5; *fo-gbháin*, 240, 9; *for-d-índet*, 183, 20; *imn-com-aice*, 58, 4; *im-soi*, 38, 12; *tu-thaig*, 252, 18; *tuít*, 60, 4; 154, 24; *rosaiq*, 114, 22, 23. Absolute forms: *beaúid*, 114, 12; *no-raúidh*, 90, 25; *rigid*, 152, 12; and perhaps *sáidid* (sits), 84, 6, and *sáilid* (sets), 158, 23.

ā-stems. Conjunct forms: *nocon-assa*, 92, 10; *ar-l'ga*, 226, 19; *ni loba*, 154, 22; *in-tindseana*, 244, 13; *nochu teclta*, 108, 12; *con-da-seara*, 217, 27. Absolute forms: *ássaid*, 248, 9 = *astúid*, 152, 13; *léguíd*, 190, 8.

i-stems. Conjunct forms: *a-tuibi*, 4, 5; *ar-cesi*, 72, 3; *no-s-fáidí*, 24, 2, 1; *no-l-loisci*, 130, 21; *do-sn-aílgi*, 152, 8; *du-da-slugai*, 74, 21; *no-s-fáidí*, 242, 1. Absolute forms: *cúid*, 114, 15; *quídíd*, 126, 30; *sreúid*, 248, 9.

But here again we find Middle-Irishisms, such as *aithnúid*, 76, 16; *at-chúid*, 206, 17; *fáitlbid*, 132, 4; *for-emaíd*, 140, 7; *tu-rísíd*, 8, 11; where the ending proper to absolute is added to conjunct verbs.

In the pl. 3. Pres. indic. act. Conjunct forms: *as-berat*, 104, 9; *at-berat*, 142, 11; *it-berat*, 104, 21; *fo-gobat*, 92, 18; *nochan follamnaigét*, 94, 27; *im-com-airect*, 100, 5; *a tiagat*, 210, 7; *ni toirlláigét*, 34, 27. Absolute forms: *cúit*, 58, 4; *cluchúit*, 158, 17; *denaít*, 142, 13; *foúlligít*, 90, 15; pret. deponential: *tuchaitir*, 70, 28; and redupl. fut. passive: *gélblaír*, 244, 19. In *teacáit* (O. Ir. *teacáit*) we have an absolute wrongly used for a conjunct form.

S-preterites, conjunct forms: *ro(s)cesat*, 110, 2; *doratsat*, 110, 5; *fugellsat*, 126, 24; *ro-creitsat*, 134, 33 (Eg.); absolute: *sloicsitt*, 58, 12; *scarsit*, 130, 6; *cóinsit*, 132, 15.

So also in the reduplicated future and the *b*-future:—

CONJUNCT.	ABSOLUTE.
sg. 1. <i>do-bér-sa</i> , 54, 24; <i>do-ábér-sa</i> , 104, 2; <i>día-géb</i> , 116, 17; <i>do-géa</i> , 52, 24; <i>fo-géb-sa</i> , 164, 23; <i>ní bér-sa</i> , 240, 5; <i>ní géb-sa</i> , 118, 9; <i>ní reg-sa</i> , 118, 15.	<i>béra-sa</i> , 240, 5; <i>creitfē</i> , 130, 20; <i>creitfē-ssa</i> , 132, 1; <i>gellfā-ssa</i> , 140, 2; <i>mairfē-sa</i> , 164, 6 (Eg.); <i>rega</i> , 52, 22.
sg. 2.	<i>rega-su</i> , 56, 29.
sg. 3. <i>tiefā</i> , 34, 5; 120, 4; 142, 29; <i>do-tiefā</i> , <i>riefā</i> , 84, 20; <i>at-béat</i> , 220, 1; <i>do-béra</i> , 16, 16, 94, 19; <i>toéba</i> , 120, 20; <i>teya</i> , 220, 6; <i>foyaife</i> , 70, 10; <i>foyaíft</i> , 108, 24; <i>fovaishyife</i> , 42, 13; <i>dos in fortachluyife</i> , 220, 24; <i>nat creitfē</i> , 52, 25; <i>ní chuyíft</i> , 78, 9; <i>ní rega</i> , 196, 12; <i>nocon-aiufe</i> , 128, 23; <i>nocon bia</i> , 86, 27; <i>ní aídlibe</i> , 78, 23.	<i>bíd</i> , 86, 30; <i>creitfid</i> , 46; <i>ficfid</i> , 120, 6; <i>shechtfaid</i> , 46, 16; <i>lin-faid</i> , 252, 22.
pl. 1. <i>conifam</i> , 102, 10; <i>con-riefam</i> , 76, 7; <i>dogéatam-n</i> , 102, 13; 142, 4; <i>ní digam</i> , 130, 11; <i>ní mairfem</i> , 130, 10.	<i>scéamail</i> , 74, 19; <i>regmaid-ne</i> , 42, 16.
pl. 2. <i>dobéraid</i> , 142, 19; <i>ní teyaid</i> , <i>ní regaid</i> , 182, 29.	<i>to tho</i> , 182, 30.
pl. 3. <i>tiefat</i> , 34, 10; 234, 8; <i>tieféat</i> , 152, 5; <i>ní tieféat</i> , 84, 28.	<i>genfít</i> , 58, 12; <i>lillit</i> , 180, 26; <i>regait</i> , 202, 5.

But here again we find Middle-Irishisms: *toermail*, 42, 23; and *nocon biaid*, 144, 12; where absolute are used for conjunct forms.

Other ancient verbal forms to be found in the Tripartite Life are the reduplicated preterites, the *t*-preterites, the reduplicated futures, and the *s*-futures. Of these in their order.

REDUPLICATED PRETERITES.

Root *anic*. sg. 2. *t-amae*, 252, 8. sg. 3. *tánie*, 2, 5. pl. 3. *tancatar*, Redupli-
4, 18; 12, 4. sg. 3. *ar-r-ánic*, 94, 19; 108, 28. *con-air-nic*, 110, cated
22. *co com-arnic*, 74, 14 = *cu com-arnaic*, 211, 13. *for-r-anic*, preterites.

156, 16 (Eg.). pl. 3. corancatar, 188, 24. for[r]-ancatar, 230, 72. con-airnechtar, 100, 2. con-arnactar, 164, 27.

bad. sg. 3. ta-r-faid, 238, 7. Pass. sg. 3. tarfas, 256, 5.

1. *be* (pres. *be-a'im*). sg. 3. bí, 148, 2; pl. 3. ro-béotar, L.U. 62, a. l. 16.

2. *be* (pres. . . .). sg. 1. robá, ropsa, 124, 25; robá, 128, 11. sg. 3. ní-bái, 14, 30. a mbái, 40, 3, nad bái, 40, 13. robái, 4, 14, 33. dia mbái, 84, 1; 156, 20. fororbái, 34, 17; 170, 9; 178, 18. pl. 1. ro-bámar, 140, 15. 3. bátar, 84, 19. battar, 16, 5. robá-tar, robátor, 224, 2. 142, 15; 2. 4; 44, 4; 94, 14. robtar, 32, 28. robtar, 32, 28. roptar, 32, 29; am-[b]dar, 10, 31. comdar, 12, 29. im-báatar, 108, 19.

pass. fororbaide, 804, 7.

can (sing). sg. 3. ro-cachain, 44, 2. do-er-cachain, 86, 13. pl. 3. do-(f)air-chechmatar, 32, 30.

car. sg. 1. co torchar, 124, 25. sg. 3. do-ro-chair, 46, 6; 240, 18. co torchair, 46, 9; 196, 24. pl. 3. con-foreratar, 190, 19.

cas (sec) sg. 1. -acca, 140, 14. sg. 3. -acca-si, 168, 23. pl. 3. con-accatar, 42, 7; 79, 26. at-con-catar, 6, 8, 29.

clad (dig), sg. 3. ro-claid, 108, 11 (perhaps an *s*-pret.).

clu (hear). sg. 1. ro-chuala-sa, 128, 11. sg. 3. ro-cuala, 38, 3. ro chúalai, 66, 22. co cúala, 88, 6; 222, 26. co cualatar, 114, 13. ót-chúalatar, 92, 3.

1. *cud.* sg. 1. do-de-chod, 106, 19. sg. 2. co-tud-chad, 208, 18. sg. 3. docóid, 190, 1. do-chuaid, 12, 27. do-de-chaid, 28, 2. cita-tairmdechoid, 214, 4. fris-tudchaid, 200, 23; 202, 2. Pl. 2. do-de-chabair (for chodbair), 100, 6. Pl. 3. docuatar, 14, 19; 186, 1. dochótar, 90. dochúatar, 104, 13. -deochatar, 16, 6. -de-chotar, 40, 17, 19; 52, 16. dodechatar, 42, 18. fri-túidchetar, 82, 2. na tarmdechatar, 258, 19. Pass. pret. docnas, 184, 23. dochúas, 192, 24. dodechos, 232, 10,

2. *cud.* sg. 3. at-chuaid, 60, 23; 256, 10. con-ecid, 36, 18. con-éicid, 188, 6. pl. 1. atchuademar, 258, 25. pl. 3. atch[ú]aiditar, 60, 22. atchuatettar, 84, 19. atchnidetar, 256, 9. Pass. pret. adchúas, 124, 26. atchuas, 236, 7. atcúas, 240, 25.

dau. sg. 1. ro-damar, 140, 16 (leg. dámar?); sg. 3. ad-ro-damair, 148, 5.

dere (see). sg. 1. at condarc, 176, 14, 17. sg. 3. at-con-daire, 2. 2. 4, 15 = atconnaire. 4, 9. pl. 3. ót-connarcatar, 222, 18.

ed (eat), pl. 3. dootar, 198, 8.

fa(p) (sleep), sg. 3. fín, 156, 19; 184, 15. fín-sam, 176, 6 (bur ro foí, 146, 1). pl. 3. -féotar, 242, 2.

gáil (pray), sg. 2. ro-gad, 120, 5. sg. 3. ro-gáid, 56, 13; 86, 20, 144, 7; 182, 3; 198, 20; 234, 25. pl. 3. ro-gadatar, 120, 1. tar-gáid, tarcaid, 180, 4.

1. *gan* (to be born), sg. 3. ro-génair, 8, 8, 9, 13; 80, 11; 166, 10.

„ (to do), sg. 3. do-rigéni, fo-rus-génair, 16, 26.

2. *gan* (to know), sg. 3. con-gain, 114, 10.

glenn (learn), sg. ro-fo-gláind, 8, 19, 28, 2 (perhaps an s-pret.).

gon (wound), sg. 3. ro-geguin, 72, 26.

gu(s) (choose), sg. 1. doroegea, 252, 12.

li (adhere), sg. 3. ro-lil, 80, 25.

man (think), sg. 3. roméuair, 136, 4 (rommenair, Eg.). pl. 3. do rui-mmenatar, 100, 4.

1. *mat*, sg. 3. ni ermadair, 126, 4. pl. 3. irmadatar, W^b, 5^b.

2. *mat* (break) sg. 3. memaid, 130, 23; 194, 15, 17 = mebaid, 114, 14. co roimid, 240, 9. roimid, 218, 25. ro[e]mmid, 8, 17.

míid (think), sg. 3. romídair, 40, 12. ro-midair, 178, 20.

(*nan*) *nac*, sg. 3. ní chóimnacair, 126, 10. -caemnacair, 72, 4. for-cóimnacair, 34, 16. forco[e]mnacair, 46, 4. -forchoemnacair, 46, 20. forcoemnacair, 58, 20. pl. 3. -coemnacatar, 100, 3.

nig (wash), sg. 3. ro-nmig, 144, 8.

rac, sg. 3. ar roe-rachair, 104, 14, 25. aroirachair, 68, 21.

rey (*riy* ?). fo-t-róraig, fo-n-roiraig, 208, 18.

ret (run), sg. 3. do-ro-raid, 244, 10. tarraid, 200, 9; 202, 23. pres. ind. *do-rethivn*. pl. 3. duairthetar, 286, 1. do-n-arthatar, 138, 27.

ri (for *pri*), sg. 3. ro-ír, 30, 25. pres. ind. renim.

sod (sit), sg. 3. deissid (= de-ess-sid), 2, 2. desid, 4, 3, 9; deisid, 58, 1; 178, 27. pl. 3. deissetar, 98, 20. To this root also sg. 3 dothuarted, 242, 9, and iarmiforid, 202, 16, apparently belong.

sneq (drop), sg. 3. ro-senaig, 240, 3. ro senaich, 117, 9, for -se(s)naig.

tā (*stā*), sg. 3. an-dæsta (du-es-ta, Eg.), 112, 5. pl. 3. testatar, 126, 9.

tark, *trak*, sg. 3. *ni-duthracair*, 50, 16.

tek (flee), sg. 3. ro-thaich, 174, 14. pl. 3. tachaitir, 70, 28.

lig (ask), sg. 3. conatig. 112, 3; depon. conatigir. 228, 7 = conaitigair, 230, 17. Perhaps *co-rachgair*, 211, 10, belongs to this.

leag (heap), sg. 3. tarblaing. 188, 11.

It is probable that fuair, 31, 23; 36, 8; fo-s-fuair. 36, 15; 92, 10; fouáir, 92, 17, 222, 14. fo-n-úair. 218, 10. pl. 3. fuaratar, 222, 7; fóblúaratar, 96, 16, are perfects, though the root is obscure.

V. PREFERITES.

These will be arranged according to the finals of their respective roots.—1. vowels; 2. gutturals; 3. nasals; 4. liquids.

ba, sg. 3. at-bath, 32, 22; 92, 20; 120, 25; 218, 8; 240, 9.

bu, immulaid, 196, 7 = immulaith, Fled Bricrem. 55, 7. pl. 3. con-immuldatar. Tur. 65.

bu, sg. 3. luith. 14, 28; 86, 12; 92, 16; 211, 18. luid, 14, 1. pl. 3. lotar. 16, 13. col-lotar, 192, 8. lotiar, 134, 14. Compounds: dolluid, 190, 20; 202, 11. fris-tulaid, 146, 24. pl. dolotar, 16, 15.

bu, i-ro-acht, 260, 2. do-m-acht, 30, 16; 240, 25. -toracht, 56, 2; 60, 16. -iaracht, 38, 21. pl. 3. corro-achtatar, 40, 20.

buac, ro-anacht, 58, 24.

(*buac*), *uac*: ro-n-adnacht, 112, 6.

bu, ro-ort. 192, 15. fris-ort, 138, 17. do-r-es-art, 204, 21.

bu, sg. 3. ni erracht, 44, 6. nochan éracht, 52, 25. *buig* (?), atraracht, 14, 29; 44, 1. adráacht, 58, 28. asráacht, 194, 23; 230, 3.

bu, ro-siacht, 178, 15. co-riacht, 68, 22; 222, 14. Perhaps *foriacht-aide*, 234, 15, belongs to this.

buig, ros-aslacht, 236, 1.

bu, ro-iar-facht, 84, 22; 122, 22; 210, 10; 230, 6. roiarfacht, 176, 13; 242, 1; 244, 19.

bu, sg. 3. ro-chet, I.U. 40b. 8.

bu, pl. 3. ni damdatar, 204, 1 (Eg.), a Middle-Irish form.

bu, sg. 3. ro-s-ct. 164, 20; arroct. 80, 12 = aroct, 70, 8. pl. 3. arroctatar, 102, 23; 222, 20.

bu, sg. 3. do-m-ro-sat, 140, 25.

bu, sg. 2. erbairt, 196, 10. sg. 3. bert, 174, 19; 232, 3. arbert-ai, 162, 27; 164, 1. do-bert, 112, 2; do-r-airbert, 90, 23.

frithbert, 210, 20. con-erbart, 28, 5; 112, 19. do-forbartt, 111, 12. forubart, 176, 19. ro-edbart, 162, 11. adopart, 192, 4, but also (with umlaut) erbairt, 12, 28; 30, 3; 246. 12. adrubairt, 14, 12; 30, 5. adrupairt, 14, 8. adrubairt, 236, 16. ro-edbairt, 36, 24. Pl. 1. reimerbertammar, 192, 10. pl. 3. dobertatar, 81, 17. ródbratar, 224, 11. ad-r-odbartar, adropartudar, 230, 16.

gor, sg. 3. do-ro-gart, 92, 4; 200, 6; 222, 27. frissrogart, 124, 23. arogart, 228, 22. foreongart, 178, 30. fororeongart, 198, 11; 228, 19; 230, 2. 9. toracart, 128, 23. dorargert-som, 160, 10. dorairgert, 10, 9. dorairngert, 148, 1. dorairngert, 148, 9, 26. dorairggert, 178, 8. doriucart, 44, 18 = doriugart, 44, 30. pl. 3. conacartatar, 134, 6. unus-fri-ecarta'ta r, 32, 6.

al, sg. 3. ro-alt, 102, 30. pl. 3. ro-altatar, 80, 20; 92, 25.

bal, sg. 3. con-erbailt, 58, 31. cond-erbailt, 14, 2.

cel, pl. 3. doceltatar, 218, 4.

mel, sg. 3. du-s-ro-malt, 200, 16.

REDUPLICATED FUTURES.

Sg. 1. Conjunct forms:—at-bél-sa, 200, 12. do-bér-sa, 54, 21. Redupli-
do-m-bér-sa, 104, 2. do-s-bér, 164, 24. ní thibér, 228, 10. dim-
géb, 116, 17. fo-géb-sa, 164, 23. ní géb-sa, 28, 30; 118, 19. cated
dín-géb, 116, 17. fo-géb-sa, 164, 23. futuicébsa, 176, 3. do-geu, futures.
52, 24; 150, 29. ní reg-sa, 114, 1; 118, 15.

Absolute forms:—rega, 52, 22. rega-su, 56, 29.

Sg. 2. Conjunct:—at-béla, 60, 2; 252, 8. at-béras-su, 102, 13. do-béra, 152, 26. nad-géba, 94, 25. nogéba, 118, 10. im_ā'rega, 112, 15. nórega, 117, 20. Absolute: rega.

Sg. 3. Conjunct:—at-béla, 200, 12. at-bélaí, 220, 1. do-béra, 118, 6. -tibéra, 118, 8. -epéra, 150, 10; passive:—do-bérthar, 56, 32. -accéigí (for -accéichi, root *cas*), 130, 8. ní géba, 104, 2. tocéba, 120, 20. congéba, 226, 7. do-géna, 118, 7. pass. conna bérthar, 70, 31. do-géntar, 42, 24; 56, 28. ní-rega, 196, 12. do-raga, 60, 2. ní terga, 38, 17. co-scéra, pass. co-scéthar, 34, 13.

Absolute:—gébaid, rel. gébas, 116, 25, 27; 142, 30. passive gébthar, 118, 14. nut-gébthar, 190, 6. ní fuigébthar, 214, 12. gignid, 150, 7, rel. gigness, 154, 18. méraid, rel. mérens (leg. -as), 86, 30. regaid, 220, 2. Passive: gébthair, 244, 19.

Pl. 1. Conjunct:—at-bélom, 200, 13. do-génam-ne, 103, 13; 142, 4.

Absolute:—scérmait, 74, 19. regmaid-ne, 42, 16. In *taérmait*, 42, 23, we have the absolute wrongly used for the conjunct form.

Pl. 2. Conjunct:—dobéraid, 142, 19. regaid, ni tergaid, 182, 29.

Pl. 3. Conjunct:—immus-aiccechet, 158, 11. fris-gérat, 34, 8.

Absolute:—lilit, 180, 26. regait, 202, 5; 232, 11.

The following secondary forms of this tense are found;—

Sg. 1. do-gegaind, 112, 10. ni-regaind, 112, 13. ni thergainn, 106, 18. ni foicébaínd, 214, 5.

Sg. 3. cita-n-accéiged, 130, 17. do-géuath, 54, 8. dogémad, 236, 18. asa-n-dénad, 8, 15. no-regad, 76, 11; 224, 10. na-regad, 148, 3. nád regad, 190, 24. nocho scérad, 34, 1. Passive. na gébtha, 42, 4.

Pl. 3. n-im-an-accigtis, 212, 28. no-gébtáís, 170, 3. ni dén-dáís, 142, 10. no-regtáíss, 170, 2. nu-regtáís, 166, 4. no-regtáíss, 170, 2. darim-regtáís, 204, 20.

S- FUTURE.

Sg. 1. Conjunct:—for-tés, 88, 28. deponent, ad-féar, 222, 5.

Sg. 2. Conjunct:—ad-claíss, 88, 28. na dechais, 42, 20. con-om-adnaíss, 84, 12. In *tair* (= do-air-ic-s) 46, 22 and *do-n-air*, 118, 2, Eg., the *s* is lost.

Sg. 3. Conjunct:—do-ma, 84, 9. ní thóith, 142, 22. co tí, 60, 15; 214, 12. ni-ria, 118, 2. Passive: asan-acastar, 206, 6. déc-castar, 214, 11. not-adnastar, 252, 28.

Absolute:—memais, 138, 7; 142, 20, 21.

Pl. 1. co coimsam, 102, 23. corrísam, 244, 18. ro-íssam, 258, 22 = ro-isam, 260, 26.

Pl. 2. tairset, 246, 8. Absolute: tíassat, 252, 26. Relative: ísta, 174, 11.

The following secondary forms of this tense are found:—

Sg. 2. con-digesta, 28, 28. condesta, 188, 16 = connesta, 116, 19.

Sg. 3. dia-n-airsed, 80, 4. na comairsed, 12, 14. i toithsad, 136, 21. arna eirsed, 42, 28. co fessadh, 122, 14. ro-fessad, 42, 6. con-isad, 258, 27. co tísad, 190, 24; 194, 1. ma dothisad, 118, 15. co-na tairmtíasad, 112, 4. Passive: noadnasta, 252, 23. pl. 3. hi fuirsitis, 190, 21, 23.

But the forms con-digseth, 12, 22, con-digsed, 112, 6, and the pl. 3, digitsitiss, 14, 19, digsitis, 242, 20, with their preservation of the guttural, are distinctly Middle-Irish.

Middle-Irish are also the *s*-preterites used for reduplicated preterites (ro-m-gon, 122, 26. ro-snig, 124, 8. ro-reithset, 12, 6. ro-rensat, 16, 17. rotheichestar, 46, 11. do-s-rensat, 16, 6), and for *t*-preterites (ro-sn-edbair, 184, 20. ro-edbairset, 68, 12. sg. 3. ro-edbair, 80, 10. ro-thair[n]ger, 164, 24). Middle-Irish is the addition of the *s*-endings to reduplicated preterites, rucsat, 254, 1. rucsatar, 236, 10. tuccais, 10, 29. tucsat, 168, 20. dofucsat, 222, 19. tucsatar, 182, 21. Middle-Irish is the addition of the *s*-ending to the third sg. of a compound verb. fácbais, 214, 16. And Middle-Irish is the frequency of the use of the absolute form of the 3d sg.: áiliss, 188, 26. anais, 30, 1; 110, 10. bendachais, 86, 24; 214, 10. bennachais, 70, 30; 220, 10. benachais, 28, 24. carais, 232, 1. ceilebraiss, 146, 19 = ceilebrais, 194, 12. cómiss, 82, 20. collais, 214, 10. creitis, 210, 16, 18. erpais, 82, 24. fillis, 214, 9. fóidís, 84, 1; 119, 23. fothaigis, 98, 12; 110, 11. gabais, 84, 15; 114, 11. gataiss, 164, 5. gatis, 200, 3. glauais, 114, 19. iadais, 84, 8. ícais, 12, 29. mallachais, 146, 7. rosis, 198, 6. saidis, 148, 23. scribais, 110, 9. sénaís, 36, 10; 92, 29. slechtais, 220, 10. slóceus, 36, 10. sóiss, 218, 23. troiscis, 218, 22. Middle-Irish, also, is the use in the case of active verbs of deponential forms in the sg. 3 and pl. 3: Thus, *ro-m-haitsestar*, 36, 23; *ro-beannachastar*, 150, 16; 152, 23; 210, 6; *ro-celebrastar*, 182, 18; *ro-comaíreapstar*, 40, 12 = *ro-comaíresigstar*, 68, 14; *ro-énaigstar*, 36, 9; *ro-ferastair*, 56, 1; *ro-fergaigstar*, 44, 27; 58, 27 = *ro-ferceagigstar*, 228, 15; *ro-foltaigstar*, 108, 7; 131, 3 = *foltaigstar*, 156, 3; *fothaigstar*, 160, 2; 194, 4; *ro-meigstar*, 180, 24; *ro-ordnustar*, 194, 6; 214; *ro-sroigstar*, 68, 32; *ro-theichestar*, 46, 4. Plural: *ro-imechtáigsitar*, 44, 26; *ro-nuchtáigsitar*, 56, 3. Middle-Irish is the deponential form of the conjunctive sg. 1. of active verbs: (*co ro-creítíur*, 46, 23; *co ro-fóillsigíur*, 52, 22; *co u-aeor*, 52, 24; *maní toallíur*, 210, 13. Middle-Irish is the relative form in a compound verb: *taitíifes*, 260, 17.

If to the Middle-Irishisms above pointed out, we add such forms as *dodeclabair*, 100, 6; *docoras*, 108, 20; *étastar*, 118, 27, such forms of the verb substantive as *rabus*, 6, 5; *ro-m-both*, 32, 16; *failet*, 100, 12; *baillet*, 174, 10, such changes in the cases governed by prepositions as *dar cridhíb*, 6, 21, *tré airdíb*, *triana apstalaíb*, 6, 24, *tresna maigíb*, 46, 8, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Tripartite Life was compiled in the eleventh century, after the Middle-Irish period had well set in, but from documents, many, if not all, of which were composed before A.D. 1000.

Conclusion
from the
linguistic
argument.

III.

DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN THE TRIPARTITE LIFE.

Extracts
from the
Book of
Armagh.

Of these the most valuable are the extracts from the Book of Armagh, printed upon pp. 269–380. The Book of Armagh is a small vellum quarto, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in thickness. It now contains 221 leaves. The writing is generally in double columns (very rarely in three), and all seems the work of the same scribe, Ferdornach, whose name occurs (fo. 214 a) in the following entry:—

The scribe.

P̄ro ferdornacho orés.

These were two famous scribes of this name connected with Armagh, one of whom died A.D. 727, the other A.D. 845. That the scribe of the Book of Armagh was the latter has been ingeniously argued, and I think proved, by Bishop Graves¹ from the following half-erased entry in a semi-Greek character which occurs in fo. 52 b.:

. ακη ηυγκ λ . .
 . . μ . . . ε δικταντε
 . . . βακη . κηρηδη πατ
 ρικη . κρηπιτσιτ —

Noting that the only 'heres Patricii' whose name ended in *-bach* was Torbach, Bishop Graves restores this entry thus:

F̄ DOMNACH . ΗΥΝC . LIB-
 E RVM. E² DICTANTE
 R TORBACH . HEREDE. PAT-
 RICH . SCRIPSIT.

As Torbach held the primacy for only one year and died in 808, the MS. must have been written either in 807 or 808. The following entry in fo. 36 a. proves that it must have been written in the former year:

εξπλικιτ . αευανΓθε
 λιωΝ . κατα ΜΑΤ
 ΤΗΥΜ . ΚΡΗΠΤΥΜ
 ΑΤΚΝΙΒΕ ΦΙΤΥΜ .
 ΙΝ ΦΗΡια . ΜΑΤΤΗ

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, III., 316–324.

² As there is just room for three letters between *rum*. and *e* we may perhaps read (*ben*)e dictante.

*Explicit evangeliōn kata Mattēam scriptam atque
finitum in feriā Mattēi.*

For as Torbach's death took place on the 16th July, and this entry was made on the 21st of September, the feast of S. Matthew, the MS., or at all events the part of it containing the first gospel, must have been written in 807.

The first leaf, which contained the commencement of Muirehu's memoirs of S. Patrick, is lost. Its contents may be supplied from the Brussels MS., of which an extract is printed infra pp. 494-496.

fol. 2 a. 1-fol. 9 a. 1 contains Muirehu Maccu-Mach-Muirehu's
Memoir. thón's Memoirs of S. Patrick printed infra pp. 271-301. This Muirehu professes to write in obedience to the command (*imperio oboediens*), of bishop Aed of Sletty, who died A.D. 698. In excusing his imperfect style (*vilis sermo*) he suggests that he was not a mere compiler or copyist.

fol. 9 a. 1 contains four phrases, disconnected and in The Dicta
Patrickii. very rustic Latin, called *dicta Patrickii*. The first mentions the saint's journey through the Gauls and Italy.

fol. 9 a. 2-fol. 16 a. 1 contains miscellaneous notes on Tírechán's
notes. the Saint's life, which bishop Tírechán is said to have written from the dictation, or copied from a book (*ex ore vel libro*) of his fosterfather or tutor, bishop Ultan, of Ardbraccan, who died A.D. 656. They are printed infra pp. 302-333. From the passage in p. 302, ll. 20-22, Tírechán seems to have had before him a work (now lost) entitled *Commemoratio Laborum*, which was ascribed to Patrick himself. At p. 310, l. 5 infra, Tírechán quotes Patrick's Confessio, calling it *scriptio sua*. He refers to tradition in p. 307, l. 33; p. 331, ll. 10, 22; p. 332, l. 25, to collections made at 'antique peretissimis' in p. 333, l. 22. His chronology in p. 302, ll. 17-25, differs from his chronology in p. 331, ll. 22-28. On the whole, M. Benjamin Robert is justified in saying that this document 'se compose de notes prises par l'auteur dans différentes biographies aussi bien que dans les traditions orales,' and that 'son importance ressort de ce fait même, qui nous montre le procédé littéraire des auteurs de l'époque.'¹

fol. 16 a. 2, fol. 18 b. 2, contains some additional notes in Latin and Old-Irish, which the scribe seems to have

¹ Étude critique sur la vie et l'œuvre de Saint Patrick, Elbeuf, 1883, p. 48.

inserted from unknown sources. These notes are printed *infra* pp. 334–348. They relate to the missionary activity of Iserminus (otherwise called bishop Fith) and Secundinus (otherwise Sechnall), and of Patrick's disciples Lommán, Fortchern, Colmán, Benignus and Fiace. "The Codex here (to quote Sir Samuel Ferguson) has the appearance of a commonplace book of undigested material." But the stories of Lommán (p. 334), bishop Fith (p. 342), and Fiace (p. 344) have the flavour of authenticity. And no miracle, save that of Fiace's chariot (p. 347, ll. 14–20), is mentioned in these notes.

The list of catch-words. fol. 18 b. 2–19 a. 1 contains, in an extremely minute hand, notes or catchwords representing in the main that portion of the Tripartite Life which is not embraced in Muirchu's Memoir and Tírechán's Notes. The beginning, for instance, D(uma) g(rad) ailbe i Senehui altáre, corresponds with lines 1, 2, 3 of p. 94 *infra*. But there is nothing corresponding to it in the Book of Armagh.

Muirchu's prologue. fol. 20 a. contains Muirchu's prologue to his memoir, as well as the headings to his chapters. Prologue and headings are printed *infra* pp. 269–271, before the memoir to which they belong.

The contents of ff. 2^a–20^a have already been published, with learning and accuracy, by the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, Brussels, 1882.

The Book of the Angel. fol. 20 b. 1–21 b. 2 Liber Angueli. A revelation made by an angel to S. Patrick concerning the boundaries and prerogatives of the see of Armagh. It corresponds with the Tripartite Life, pp. 234, l. 23–236, l. 13. Incidentally it mentions that difficult questions which could not be solved by Patrick's successor, should be referred to the Apostolic See, *i.e.*, 'ad Petri Apostoli cathedram autoritatem Romæ urbis habentem'—not, observe, as having the spiritual authority conferred on Peter by Christ (Matt. xvi. 18). This tract is printed *infra* pp. 352–356. It has also been published by Mr. Hogan in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, VII. 845.

The *Confessio Patricii*. fol. 22 a. 1–24 b. 1, the so-called Confessio of S. Patrick, printed *infra* pp. 357–375, with additions, in brackets, from the Cotton MS. Nero E. 1, folio 171. At the end is the note: Hue usque uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima decima Martii

die translatus est Patricius ad caelos. The Confessio is also, as above remarked, quoted by Tírechán as Patrick's 'scriptio.'¹ Other copies of the Confessio are in the Bodleian, Fell I. ff. 7^a-11^b (whence it is printed in Gilbert's *National MSS. of Ireland*, Part II., Appendix III.), Fell III., fol. 158^a-164^a. The Cotton and the two Fell MSS. are all of the eleventh century. A fourth copy, published by the Bollandists, belonged to St. Vedast, and is now, I am assured by Père de Smedt, preserved in the public library at Arras; but I cannot ascertain the date of this MS.² The Confessio has often been published, the last and best edition being that of Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., II. 296-313. It is, to quote Dr. Todd,³ a defence of the writer "against some undefined and not very clearly stated charges of presumption in undertaking his mission, and of incompetency for the work." The internal evidence of the authenticity of this document is fivefold; 1, the mention of decurions; 2, the use of the word 'Brittanniae'; 3, the quotations from an ante-Hieronyman version of the Bible; 4, the mention of a married clergy; and, 5, the agreement of the style with that of Gregory of Tours.⁴

Two citations from a text of the Confessio, now not known to exist, are contained in Colgan's *Quarta Vita*, cc. I and XVII: "Ego sum Patricius Kalfumij filius, matrem habens Conchessam" (*Trias Thaum.* 35, col. 1) and "Audiebam quosdam ex spiritibus psallentes in me, et nesciebam qui essent."

fol. 25, St. Jerome's preface to his version of the Four Gospels.

¹ See also the citations by Muirchu (*infra* p. 494, l. 7) and those in *Vita* II. §§ 11, 13, *Vita* IV. § 11, *Vita* IV. §§ 1, 16, and the *Tripartite Life*, *infra* p. 21.

² Can it be 'Vita Patricij,' in No. 450, which is said to be a MS. of the twelfth century?

³ *St. Patrick*, pp. 351, 352.

⁴ See Prof. G. T. Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 28 note, 38 note. 'The organisation among Gallic and Roman Christians for the redemption of captives from the Franks,' to which he refers in the latter note, is evidence as to the date of the letter to Corotienus' subjects, but has nothing to do with the Confessio.

fol. 26-28, Ten Canones of the Concordances of the Gospels.

fol. 29-31, Brevis singulorum euangeliorum interpretatio.

fol. 31 b. 2-190, all the books of the New Testament, together with the apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans. The Acts of the Apostles come at the end after the Apocalypse, and the epistle to the Colossians after those to the Thessalonians. Between the epistle to the Colossians and the first epistle to Timothy is inserted the epistle to the Laodiceans. In Matt. vi. 13, instead of the usual *et ne nos inducas in temptationem*, we have ετ . NH . πατιαρικ νόC . INδYKI . INTEMPYATYONEM.¹ (*et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem*²). In the Gospel of S. Matthew there is a lacuna between ch. xiv. 33 and ch. xxi. 5. In the same Gospel, ch. xxvii. 50, occurs a verse equivalent to John xx. 34; and in the First Epistle of St. John the passage (v. 7) concerning the three witnesses is omitted.

In fol. 38 a. 1, in the margin opposite Iudas Scariothis, Matt. x. 4, is the word *trógán* (wretch), and in the margin of fol. 64 b., opposite Mark xiii. 21, the word *kellach* is written in Greek characters. Here Bishop Graves supposes³ a reference to Cellach, abbot of Iona, whose monastery was burnt by the Norsemen in the beginning of the ninth century.

fol. 191-200 a., Sulpicius Severus' Life of S. Martin, with a dedicatory epistle to Desiderius.

fol. 200 b.-220 b., Dialogues and epistles about S. Martin.

The Book of Armagh was transcribed from a MS. which even in the year 807 was becoming obscure, and of whose obscurities the transcriber more than once complains.⁴

Corre-
spondence
of the Tri- Bishop Reeves says that the notices of St. Patrick contained in the Book of Armagh, fols. 2-20 are the

¹ See the fac-simile in Gilbert's *National MSS. of Ireland*, Part I., plate XXVIII.

² Such is the reading of the

Book of Dimma: see facsimile II. in O'Curry's *Lectures*.

³ Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, III., 356.

⁴ Todd, *St. Patrick*, 347.

oldest and most authentic now in existence; and that all other biographies of him either borrow from or enlarge upon them. How true this is as regards the Tripartite Life will appear from a comparison of the following passages:

BOOK OF ARMAGH.
 Patrick's birth and captivities, infra, p. 269, ll. 21-25; pp. 494, 495.
 His journey towards Rome and stay with Germanus, p. 270, ll. 1-5; Brussels MS. infra, pp. 495, 496.
 The ordination and death of Palladius, pp. 272, 332.
 The ordination of Patrick.
 King Lóiguire and the prophecies of Patrick's advent, pp. 273, 274.
 Patrick's visit to Miliuc, p. 275.
 Miliuc's death, 276.
 Patrick's celebration of Easter, pp. 276, 277.
 He is summoned to King Loeguire, p. 280. Ere's belief and the wizard's death, p. 281.
 Patrick visits Tara, p. 282.
 Dubthach believes, p. 283.
 Patrick's contest with the wizard Lucatmael, pp. 283-285.
 Loeguire's conversion, p. 285.
 Maccuill's conversion, pp. 286-289.
 The heathen digging a *rath* on Sunday, p. 289.
 The story of Dáre and the offering of Armagh, pp. 290-292.
 Patrick's diligence in prayer, p. 293.
 The dead heathen speaking to Patrick, p. 294.
 Patrick's horses found by means of a miraculous illumination, pp. 294, 295.

TRIPARTITE LIFE.
 infra, pp. 8, 16, 22, 23, 24.
 p. 25.
 p. 30, ll. 11-24.
 pp. 30, 32.
 pp. 32, l. 25-34, l. 16.
 p. 34, l. 20, p. 38, ll. 1-3.
 p. 38, ll. 3-18.
 pp. 40, l. 12, p. 42.
 p. 42, l. 27.
 p. 44, ll. 6, 23.
 p. 44.
 p. 46, l. 22, p. 52.
 p. 52, l. 25.
 p. 54, l. 18, pp. 56, 58.
 p. 60, l. 6.
 pp. 220, l. 14, p. 222.
 pp. 222, 224.
 pp. 228, 230.
 p. 124.
 pp. 124, l. 12, p. 126.
 p. 126, ll. 9-13.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

The angel Victor forbids him to die in Armagh, pp. 295, 296.
Angels wake Patrick's body, 297.

His burial in Downpatrick, p. 298.

A conflict for his body miraculously prevented, pp. 298, 299, 332.

The imprint of the angel's feet in Scirit, pp. 300, 330.

The bells, &c. carried into Connaught, p. 300.

Patrick's four names, p. 302.

Miliuc buys him, p. 302.

The angel Victor tells him the ship is ready, pp. 302, 330.

He comes to Inis-patrick, p. 303.

Benignus enters his service, p. 303.

The burning of the wizard, p. 306.

Corpoticus scourges Patrick's servants into the Sele, p. 307.

Patrick visits and baptizes Conall son of Niall, p. 307.

He finds a church at *Vadum Molae* and leaves therein three brother and a sister, p. 307.

Loiguire's inability to believe, p. 308.

The dispute among Amalgaid's sons, p. 309.

TRIPARTITE LIFE.

p. 252, ll. 6-11.

p. 254, ll. 1-22.

pp. 252, l. 23, p. 254, l. 2.

p. 254, l. 22, p. 256, l. 7.

p. 21, l. 19.

p. 146, ll. 16, 17.

p. 16, ll. 21-24.

p. 16, ll. 24-26.

p. 21, l. 7.

p. 34, l. 25.

p. 36, ll. 1-6.¹

p. 58, ll. 15-26.

p. 68, l. 30, p. 70, l. 1, where the scourger is called *Coirpre*.

p. 70, l. 6.

p. 72, ll. 6-10, where the ford is called *Vadum duarum furcarum* (*Ath dá laarg*).

p. 74, ll. 6-11.

p. 126, l. 14, p. 128.

Hence to p. 126 the two works agree closely:

Patrick leaves Methbrain Barbarus, p. 311.

The death of the charioteer Boidmal, p. 311.

p. 92, ll. 12-15, where he is called *Mabran*.

p. 92, l. 20, where he is called *Buadmal*.

¹ Here the Irish Life in the Book of Lismore agrees much more closely with the Book of Armagh.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.	TRIPARTITE LIFE.
Lóegnaire's wizards bring darkness over Magh Ai, p. 312.	p. 92, ll. 26-28.
The stone altar in Sliab Hua n-Aillelo, p. 313.	p. 94, ll. 1-6.
Ono's gift (of Elphin) to Patrick, p. 313.	pp. 94, l. 28. p. 96.
The story of Assiens, pp. 313, 314.	p. 96, ll. 13-26.
Patrick founds a church at Dumaeha Húa n-Aillella, p. 314.	p. 98, ll. 1-5.
Mathona and Rodan's relics, p. 314.	p. 98, l. 14.
Patrick's conversation with King Loegaire's daughters, pp. 314-316.	pp. 98, 100, 102.
Mac's conversion, p. 317.	p. 102, l. 27, p. 104, l. 7.
Patrick's visit to Ard Senlis, p. 317.	p. 104, l. 14.
The stories of Cethech, p. 318.	p. 104, ll. 16-23.
Ciarán's baptism, p. 318.	p. 104, ll. 28-30.
Patrick's Franks, p. 318.	p. 104, l. 31, p. 106, l. 6.
His visit to Mag Selce, p. 319.	p. 106, l. 23, p. 108, ll. 1-9.
His visit to Gregrige, p. 319.	p. 108, l. 10.
Adrocht takes the veil from Patrick, p. 319.	p. 108, l. 15.
Erc's sons steal his horses, pp. 319, 320.	p. 108, l. 23.
He returns to Mag Airthie and blesses a place in Tulach na Cloch, ¹ p. 320.	p. 108, ll. 26, 27.
The fight between Tamachem's sons, p. 320.	p. 108, ll. 28, 29, p. 110, ll. 1-5.
Patrick's visit to Iarnasc and Locharnach, p. 320.	p. 110, ll. 8-13, where the names are, corruptly, <i>Ernaise</i> and <i>Loarnach</i> .
He visits Topur Mucno and Cúil Tolat, p. 321.	p. 110, ll. 15-19, where he have <i>Tolaith</i> for <i>Tolat</i> .
He visits Mag Caeri, p. 321.	p. 110, l. 20, where <i>Cere</i> is the reading.

¹ Not *Liacc* as erroneously stated in p. 320, note 2.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

He visits Mag Foinnsen, p. 321.

He visits Topnr Stringille, p. 322.

He visits Achad Fobuir and writes an alphabet for Senach, p. 322.

His forty days' fast on Cruachan Aigli, pp. 322, 323.

The death of his charioteer Totmael, p. 322.

He visits Coreu-thenne, p. 323.

The story of the well of Findmag, p. 323.

The resuscitation of the son of Mae Caiss, p. 324.

The story of the cross on the heathen's grave, p. 325.

TRIPARTITE LIFE.

p. 110, ll. 22-28, where the Irish (*rotairmese*) enables us to correct Ferdinnach's Latin.

p. 110, ll. 28-30, where we have *Topnr Stringille*.

p. 112, ll. 1-7.

pp. 114, 116, 118, 120.

p. 120, l. 25.

p. 122, ll. 1-3.

p. 122, ll. 4-15.

p. 122, ll. 18-28, where he is called Cass mac Glais.

p. 124, l. 10, p. 126, l. 8.

Here the correspondence begins to be less close :

The death of the wizard Rehrad, pp. 325, 326.

The baptism and fostering of Mac Ercac, 326.

Patrick visits Foirrgea mac n-Amalgodo and baptizes a child in his mother's womb, p. 327.

Patrick's prophecy as to East Bertriga, p. 327.

He writes an alphabet for Mac Rime and Muiredach, p. 337.

He gives a tooth to Brón, p. 327.

He curses the river Dub and blesses the Drowes, p. 328.

He teaches Milinc's children, p. 330.

Milinc's vision, p. 330.

The angel's traces, p. 330.

p. 130, ll. 13-24, where he is called *Rechred* and *Ro'chred*.

p. 140, ll. 1-5.

p. 134, ll. 10-13, where the land is called *Forrach m. A.*

p. 138, ll. 2, 3, where the name is spelt *Bertlucha*.

p. 138, l. 22, where *Brón* is substituted for *Muirabuch*.

p. 138, l. 24.

p. 146, ll. 7-14.

p. 19, l. 15.

p. 19, ll. 18-29.

p. 21, l. 20.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

Patrick visits the sons of Tuirtre, p. 330.

He visits the Maugdoirn and makes Victorius a bishop, p. 330.

He goes to Bile Torten and builds a church for the priest Iustan, p. 330.

He goes to Drimim Hurchaille, p. 330.

He ordains Fiacc the Fair bishop in Sletty; goes through Gowran Pass; and founds a church in Roigne, p. 331.

He baptizes Nia-fróich's sons in Cashel, p. 331.

His three petitions for the Irish, p. 331.

His four points of resemblance to Moses, p. 332.

Lommán's visit to Trim and the conversion of Fortchern and Fedilmid, p. 334.

Patrick founds a church at Trim, p. 335.

Lommán entrusts (*commendat*) his church to Patrick and Fortchern, p. 334.

Patrick goes to Drim Lias and leaves Benignus there, p. 338.

He meets Dubthach Macen-Lugair and ordains Fiacc the Fair, p. 344.

He marks out Fiacc's monastery, p. 346.

He sends to Sechnall, Manchán and Fiacc a chariot guided by an angel, p. 346.

TRIPARTITE LIFE.

p. 168, ll. 5, 6, where they are called *Hóí T*.

p. 182, ll. 8-19, where the tribe is called *Mugdoira* and the bishop *Victor*.

p. 184, where the gen. sg. is Tortan (from *Torta*, *Tortin*?) and the priest is Iustian.

p. 184, l. 15.

p. 194, ll. 6-14.

p. 196, l. 1, where for the gen. sg. *Níoth* we have *Nat*.

p. 116, ll. 19, 25, where 'singing Patrick's hymn' is substituted for 'poenitentiam agens,' and '*Sawain*' represents 'barbarae gentes.'

p. 114, ll. 4-7.

p. 66, ll. 14-29.

p. 68, l. 1.

p. 68, ll. 14-17, where *ro-aitthni* represents 'commendat.'

p. 144, ll. 18-25.

pp. 188, 190.

p. 192, l. 2.

pp. 240, l. 21, p. 242, l. 5, where *Cell Manach* is substituted for 'Manchán.'

Epistle
to the
subjects of
Coroticus.

The next piece contained in the work is S. Patrick's epistle to the Christian subjects of Coroticus,¹ a Celtic chief identical with the 'Coirthech regem Aloo' of the Book of Armagh, fo. 20 b. 1. This king of Ail- (Clúade) or Dumbarton seems to have made a descent on Ireland, killed some neophytes on the day after their baptism, carried off prisoners to be sold as slaves, and derided the clerics whom Patrick had sent to implore that part of the plunder or some of the baptized captives might be restored. This epistle does not occur in the Book of Armagh; though from the heading in fo. 22, a. 1, 'Incipiunt libri sancti Patrici episcopi,' the scribe seems to have intended to insert it after the copy of the Confessio. It has frequently been published,² and is now printed (pp. 375-380) from the Cottonian MS. Nero, E. I., ff. 173 b. 2-174 b. 2.³ The internal evidence of its authenticity is first, its style, which is quite like that of the *Confessio*; ⁴ secondly, its parallel passages, *e.g.*,

¹ The Old-Celtic form of the Irish *Coirthech*, pp. 248, 271. Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick*, 352, seems to equate *Coroticus* with *Caradoc*; but this is the Old-Celtic *Caradācos*, Ir. *Carthach*. The name *Ceredig*, which Dr. Todd also mentions, would be in Old-Welsh *Ceretic*; and this name, followed by *guletie*, actually occurs in the pedigree of Ruin map Arthgal (Harl 3859, ff. 193 b, 194 b), King of Strathclyde, in A.D. 872. Jocelyn (e. cl.) calls Coroticus or Coirthech *Cereticus*, but places him 'in finibus quibusdam Britanniae, quae modo *Vallia* dicitur,' by which no doubt he meant Wales. The statements of Prof. G. T. Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 28), that 'the Irish invaded the principality [of Wales] and conquered it,' that 'Coroticus organised his countrymen,' 'defeated the invaders,' and pur-

sued them 'across the Irish sea,' are more imaginative than accurate.

² See, for instance, the *Acta Sanctorum*, March 17th, Vol. II. (B.), whence it is reprinted by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., II., 314-319.

³ There are two other copies in the Fell MSS., Vols. I. and III., the various readings of which are given by Haddan and Stubbs, *ubi supra*. The St. Vaast MS. used by the Bollandists is now, I believe, at Arras.

⁴ Die Confessio und Epistola, die den besten Einblick in das Leben und den Charakter des Patricius thun lassen, sind nach Form und Inhalt einander so ähnlich, dass sie gewisz mit Recht demselben Verfasser zugeschrieben werden, C. Schöll, Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie, xi. 204.

368, l. 24 = 377, l. 33 ; 369, l. 22 = 378, l. 8 ; and thirdly, its quotations of an ante-Hieronyman Bible. The passage in p. 378, ll. 19–23, proves that it must have been written while the Franks were pagans, *i.e.*, before A.D. 496, and before they had crossed the Rhine and settled in Gaul, *i.e.*, before A.D. 428.¹ On the other hand the references to the apostate Piets (p. 375, l. 26, p. 379, l. 7) point to a date after A.D. 412, when Ninian converted the southern section of that nation. It is referred to in the Brussels MS. containing a copy of Maccu Machtheni's Memoir, see *infra*, p. 498.

The preface to the Irish canticle called *Deer's Cry* (so styled because Patrick sang it when he seemed to the ambushers to be a deer), printed *infra*, p. 381, is taken from the copy of the Liber Hymnorum, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This MS. belongs to the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. A list of its contents is given in *Goidelica*, pp. 61, 62. The preface seems to represent the lost passage of the Tripartite Life, of which Colgan's version will be found, *infra*, p. 48. It has already been printed in Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 32, and in *Goidelica*, p. 149. The canticle (which is furnished with a Latin antiphon) seems suggested by the *Benedicite*, and has some curious points of contact with the twelfth Assembly of Hariri. Its references to the 'black laws of heathenism,' the 'craft of idolatry,' and the 'spells of women, smiths and wizards' obviously point to a time before Christianity had been fully established in Ireland. This canticle is referred to in the Book of Armagh, fo. 16 a. 1, as "canticum eius [scil. Patricii] scotticum;" and one of its lines—*clúas nDé dom éistecht*, *infra* p. 50, l. 7—seems to have suggested the Milan gloss, 24 a. 18, *clúasa da' diar n-éistecht intua mbimmi isnaib focheuidib*, "God's ears to hear us when we are in the sufferings."

¹ Ferguson, *On the Patrician Documents*, p. 101.

Preface to
Secundinus' hymn.

The preface to Secundinus' hymn, printed *infra*, pp. 382, 384, corresponds with the Tripartite Life, pp. 242-246, and is now for the first time printed.¹ It is taken from the copy of the Liber Hymnorum, formerly in the library of S. Isidore's, Rome, but now in that of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. Palaeographically this MS. seems to be as old as the copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. But some of its spellings² and grammatical forms³ point to a considerably later date. It now consists of twenty-three leaves, in small folio, and is in a pasteboard cover, endorsed '9 vel 10 saecul. Liber Hymnorum S. Isidoro.' It is paginated from 1 to 46 in a modern hand. Here follows a list of its contents, which have not hitherto been accurately described.⁴

P. 1. 'Liber Hymnorum quos sancti Hiberniae composuerunt.' Thirteen lines of prose, beginning thus: Nocpapa nasal oiregda robai isinRoim, da[r]bo comainm (C)lemens papa, 7 is de rofiarfaigh Iaronimus, etc. (there dwelt in Rome a holy pope, noble, distinguished, whose name was Clemens Papa, and of him Hieronymus asked, etc.). Five quatrains, beginning: Triar rig táinic do thig De (three kings came to God's house), are apparently a poem on the visit of the magi to Bethlchem. But the writing is so faded as to be for the most part illegible.

P. 2. The Irish preface to the hymn *Altus prositor vetustus*. The preface agrees pretty well with that published from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 204, 205, and in *Goidelica*, 100-102.⁵ The forms *co-hopond*, *cucund*, *muiliund*, *roind*, *dorigned*, etc. are more modern than the corresponding forms in the Trinity College MS., *coloponn*, *chucuan*, *muiliunn*, *roinn*, *doronud*.

After 'In te Christe' (*Goidel.*, p. 101, l. 41), the Franciscan copy (p. 2, col. 2) inserts: *Loc dond immunsa recles Choluum*

¹ Colgan published a Latin translation of it in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 211, which was reprinted by Dr. Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 25, 26.

² For example, *a* (for *i*) *Corcaig*, p. 16; *tangatar*, p. 29; *adnaiged*, p. 36; *go* (for *co*), p. 40; *na meir-lich* (with aspirated *g*), p. 41.

³ For example, *atchimit*, p. 29;

fogenaid, p. 40; *tochelaid*, p. 36; *doraigais*, p. 37; *roeirlegait*, p. 40; *deochodussa*, p. 39; *tucsat*, p. 36.

⁴ As to Prof. Zimmer's description (*Keltische Studien*, 1^{tes} Heft, ss. 13-16), see *Revue Celtique*, vi., pp. 264, 265.

⁵ For the Trinity College copy of the preface see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, p. 256, and *Goidelica*, pp. 100-102.

chille i nHi. Persona Columbeille. IN-amsir Aedan meic Gabrán rig Goidel doronad . . . Causa .i. do chunnehid dilgnda for Dia dona trib cathaib dorat .i. cath Cuile Rathin 7 Cuile Feda 7 Cuile Dremni.

'The place of this hymn was Colombeille's cell in Iona. The author; Colombeille. In the time of Aedán, son of Gabrán, king of the Goedil, was it made . . . Its cause: to ask forgiveness from God for the three battles which he, Colombeille, had delivered, namely, the battle of Cúil Rathen and (that) of Cúil Dremni.'

P. 3-9. The hymn. Prefixed to each chapter are a title and an argument such as those before c. 1: *IS he in titul: De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum. IS hi immorro (sic) ind argu-
maint in chanóin forsa fothaighther in captel vt in Danielo vel in Eassaia. Uctustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*

Dr. Todd has published the Trinity College copy (which lacks stanzas O to X inclusive) in his *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 209-209.

On the lower margin of p. 3, in a seventeenth century hand: *Ex libris conventus de Dunnagall.*

P. 5. On the lower margin, in a late Irish hand: *Beandacht mac Dabog mic Mael tuili lesin leabarsa et ase Colameille docuir reghes iat fein a cath Cuildremne et o Maeltuili mac Mela-fithiu atait clann mic Mael tuili .i. arslight Neill Naingialaigh finit.*

P. 9. The hymn *In te Christe* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 256, 257) with the following Irish preface: Columbeille dorigne in-
monsa tria rithim n-oscorda. *Ocus* is aire doronai, ar is bee rothaitmet Trinitatem isin molad remond, ar isbert Grígnir ba dech do moltaib manbad sein.

'Colombeille made this hymn in vulgar rhythm. And why he made it was because he little commemorated the Trinity in the previous hymn. For Gregory had said that, but for that, it was the best of hymns.'

P. 10. The hymn *Noli Pater indulgere* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 262, 263), with the following Irish preface: Columbeille doronai hunc ymnum tria rithim n-oscorda. i nDaire Cholgaig doronad. Aes dicunt as lathe bratha dorat dia oeid . no tene na fele Eoin. No is do anocol indair(i) dia rolosced les(?) co iarna edbairt do *Æd mac Ainmerech*, co rothrial in tene losend and *canid* aire sin dorigned (in-tim)monsa. *Ocus* canair frí each toraind. *Ocus* gibe gabas fo lige 7 fo ergw(?) nosoerand ar each tenid. *Ocus* nosoerand ar thenid gelan 7 in nonbur as ansu leis dia muintir.

'Colombeille made *hunc ymnum* in vulgar rhythm. In Daire Calgaig it was made. Some *dicunt* that he had Doomsday in mind, or the fire of (S.) John's Eve. Or it is to protect the oak-wood when . . . was burnt after it had been offered by Aed,

son of Ainmere, and the fire proceeded to burn there. Wherefore this hymn was made. And it is chanted against thunder. And whosoever repeats it on lying down and rising up it saveth him from every fire. And it saves from lightning him and the nine of his household who are dearest to him.¹

The Trinity College recension of this preface is published in Todd's *Lib. Hymn.*, p. 262, and in *Goidelica*, pp. 103, 104.

P. 11. The prayer of S. John the Evangelist. *Deus meus et Pater* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 269-270), with a preface in Latin and Irish, beginning thus: Iohannes apostolus fecit hanc epistolam. Intan dorat Aristodimus sacerdos neim do in calicem icond rig, ie Domitian, dia romarbad¹ amal adfiadathar i Certamain Eoin. (The apostle John made this epistle when Aristodemus the priest put poison for him into the cup by the king Domitian, to kill him, as is set forth in the Certamen Iohannis.²) For the corresponding preface in the Trinity College MS. see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 268, and *Goidelica*, pp. 104, 105.

The epistle of Christ to Abgarus, *Beatus es*, with a preface beginning thus: Iesus Christus fecit hanc epistolam dia raba rex Edisae cinitatis qui dolorem pedis habuit. Co tuad epistol nad eo Crist eo ndigsed dia acallaim oeus dia ic. Oeus (dorat) Tatheus in n-epistil dosum iar cessad Crist. Oeus iss e ron-ic. Oeus ataat in Edisa 7 epistil 7 eorop eas indi nach n-ereceda bith fri re n-uare isin e(athr)aig-sin.

‘Jesus Christ made this epistle when there was a king of the city Edessa who had an ailment in his foot. And a letter was brought from him to Christ (requesting) that He should go to converse with him and heal him. And after Christ’s Passion Thaddaens gave the letter to him, and it was this that healed him. And they are in Edessa . . . golden; and no heretic (can) abide in that city for the space of one hour.’

The Trinity College copy of this epistle is printed with its preface in Dr. Todd’s *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 268, 269, and the preface is also printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 105, 106. There is an Irish translation of the epistle in the *Lebar Brece*, p. 146^c of the facsimile; and see *Anglo-Saxon Homilies*, i. 71, and *Gesta Romanorum*, 154.

P. 12. The hymn *Audite Omnes*, with the Irish preface printed infra, pp. 382, 384.

P. 16. The hymn *Christus in nostra insula*, with the following preface: Christus in nostra. Ninnid Lámidan mac Echaich is

¹ leg. marbad.

² i.e., the *Historia certaminis apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, | first bishop of Babylon: see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 264.

e dorigne *hunc ymnium .do molad Brigitte.* *No* is Fiac Slebte. Audite virginiis laudes is é a thosach. *No* is Ultan Aird Breccan dorigne do molad Brigitte. ar iss e rothinoil ferta Brigitte i n-oenlebor. Ord apgitrech fair. Tria rithim n-oscarda doromad. Cethri coibtil and *ocus* cethri line cecha coptil *ocus* se sillaba dée cech line.

'Lámidan son of Eochu, it is he that made *hunc ymnium* to praise Brigit. Or it is Fiac of Sletty. *Audite virginis laudes* is its beginning. Or it is Ultan of Ardbraccan that made it to praise Brigit, for he it is that collected Brigit's miracles into one book. It is in alphabetical order. In the vulgar rhythm it was made. Four chapters, and four lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line.'¹

This hymn has been published by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 57, 58, from the Trinity College manuscript. The Irish preface in that MS. is printed, *ibid.*, p. 57, and *Goidelica*, p. 92.

The preface to Cummain the Tall's hymn, *Celebra Iuda*. This agrees with the preface in the Trinity College MS.,² except that for the Latin 'ille fecit hunc ymnium' we have 'doronai ymnium istum;' for 'donec venit mater eius ad uisitandum eum ad domum abbatis Ita' we have 'co tania a mathair dia fis do thig comarba Ite;' for 'Uenit autem' we have 'Tanie dono;' and for 'mo fiur,' 'mo fiar' we have 'mo siur,' 'mosiur.'³

P. 17. The hymn *Celebra Iuda*: printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 73-89.

P. 19. The prayer *Paree Domine*, with a preface agreeing with that in the Trinity College MS.,⁴ but adding the following sentences: Co tania tra buadir mor do fodeoid *coid* ed tarfás dó námaít ie inret in phoptil, eo ndeochaid in-muinigin in Chóinded do sóciad in phoptil ara namtu, *coid* amusín dorone 'Paree Domine.' *No* dno comad aire dogneth in n-imuns[a] vt diximus, arna tarta a chin-som for in popul (so then great trouble came to the people from their enemies, and then he composed *Paree Domine*. Or it may be that this hymn was composed, *ut diximus*, in order that his sin might not be visited upon the people).

¹ Translated by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, 545, col. 2.

² Printed in Dr. Todd's *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 72, 73; also in *Goidelica*, pp. 93, 94. See also the Book of Leinster, p. 286 b. of the facsimile.

³ In the second of the poems printed in *Goidelica*, p. 93, lines 13 and 14 are a prose gloss, and should have been printed thus: [i.] fort-so féin a [E]íachna, ar[is] tusa féin brathair do brathar.

⁴ Printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 96, 97.

This prayer, which is an imitation in prose of one of the penitential psalms, is printed in Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 95, 96.

P. 20. The hymn *Hymnum dicat*, with a Latin preface beginning thus: *Locus huius artis, spelunca in pectore montis Ionis¹ in qua ante philosophi fuerunt. Tempus, Noui Testamenti, uel post Neronem. Persona, Hilarius pictauiensis.*

This hymn, with a preface partly Latin, partly Irish, is printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 151–161. Muratori had published it from the Antiphonary of Bangor.

The Irish parts of the preface are printed in *Goidélica*, p. 98.

P. 22. The hymn *In Trinitate spes mea* with the following preface: *Meice Murchon do Chomnactaib doronsat in n-im-munsa do Michel ara soerad [de] tempestate Mara leht. No ara soerad de fame in insola Maris Te(rre)ni. Commad he dano Colman a óenur dogneth, ar rop he a siumser hé, 7 dano epscop héside 7 sacairt in dias aile. Vel inter se fecerunt. IN quo tempore uero factus est (non certum) est. Tria rithim dono doronad, 7 óen captel dec and, 7 da lini in cech caiptiul, 7 coic(?) sillaba dec cecha coipti(1) [leg. line]. IS foe duo in rithim (doreir in omine doibith ann).*

'The sons of Murchu of Connaught made this hymn to Michael to save themselves from a tempest on the Ictian sea. Or to save themselves from famine in an island of the Tyrrhene sea. It may be that Colmán alone made it, for he was the eldest of them and, moreover, he was a bishop, while the two others were priests. *Vel* etc. *In quo* etc. In rhyme, now, it was made, and it contains eleven stanzas, and two lines in each stanza, and fifteen syllables in each line. Now the rhyme is on *e* because of the *omine* that is in it.'

This hymn is printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 167–169. The Irish preface in that MS. is printed, *ibid.*, p. 167, and *Goidélica*, p. 98.

P. 23. The hymn *Martine, te deprecor* with a preface closely resembling that in the Trinity College MS., which has been printed in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 172, and *Goidélica*, p. 99.

P. 24. The hymn *Benedicite opera omnia*, with an Irish preface printed and translated in the *Revue Celtique*, VI., 264–265.

This hymn and its preface do not occur in the Trinity College MS.

¹ Now called Mount St. Bernard.'

P. 25. The hymn *Christe, qui lux es et dies*,¹ with the following preface: Ambrosius súiepscop is hé doronai hunc ymnum do molad in íslaniceeda, *ocus* i n-aídehe as dír a chantain. Tre rithim doronad. Seet captil and, 7 da líne cecha coptil, 7 se sillaba déc cech líni.

Ambrose the sage-bishop, he it is that made *hunc hymnum* to praise the Saviour; and it is proper to sing it at night. In rhythm it was made. Seven stanzas in it and two lines in each stanza, and sixteen syllables in each line.

This hymn and preface are also absent from the Trinity College MS.

P. 26. *Gloria in excelsis*, with a preface resembling that in the Trinity College MS., fo. 9^a, save that for the last sentence, we have: Ambrois *dano* (do)ronai in tuilled (S. Ambrose then made the addition) .i. a secundo uersu vsque ad finem laudis. The hymn is printed from the Trinity College MS. in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 179–181; the preface, *ibid.*, and *Goldelica*, p. 100.

P. 27. The Irish hymn *Sén De*, with the following preface: SÉN de. Colman mac Uí-Chluasaig, fer legind Corcaige, dorone imm-immunsa, ⁊ a seol immalle fris. Et comrad lethrand cech fír foe sin. No is a oenur dorone in n-immun. IS he immorro a loe, otha inn-inse co Corcaig corice in n-inse dia ndechatar for teched in tedma. I N-amsir immorro da mac Aeda Slane doronad .i. Blathmac ⁊ Diarmait. IS he immorro tucait a denma: teidm mor doratat for firu Erend .i. in Buide Condaill, eo roindrestar Héirind nile ⁊ eo na fareaib acht cech-thres duine i nHerind nile i mbethaid, ⁊ conid de atbathatar meic Aeda Slane, ⁊ atbath Fechéne Fobair, et alii multi clerici et reges in eodem anno perierunt. Ocus conid dia n-anacul cona scoil dorone arin teidm sin Colman imm-immunsa, ⁊ is and dorala dosom a denom intan rotinseanastar asenan eo araile indse mara eo mbéitís .ix. tonna etarru ⁊ tir, ar ní thic teidm dar nói tonna, vt ferunt periti. Co roiarfaig araile don scoil do Colman: 'cia sen i tarla dóib dul for set. Conid and atrubairt Colmán: 'cia sen tra,' ol se, 'acht sén De?'

'God's blessing.' Colmán son of Hua-Chluasaig, lector of Cork, made this hymn, and his school along with him. And it may be that there was half a quatrain for each man of them thereat: or it is alone that he made the hymn. Now this is its place, from Cork as far as they went fleeing from the pestilence. Now, it was made in the time of Aed Slane's two sons, namely, Blathmac and Diarmait. Now this is the cause of

¹ Printed in Mone's *Hymni Latini*, i. 92, where, however, there are only six stanzas.

making it. A great pestilence was inflicted on the men of Ireland, even the Buide Connail, and it attacked the whole of Ireland, and it left alive only every third man in the whole of Ireland, and thereof Aed Slane's sons died and Fechéne of Fore died, *et alii etc.* And it was to save himself with his school that Colmán made this hymn. And it came to pass that he made it when he began to voyage to a certain island of the sea, so that there were nine waves between them and the land, for pestilence does not come over nine waves, *ut ferunt periti*; and a certain one of the school asked Colmán in what blessing they happen to go on the way; wherefore then Colmán said, 'What blessing,' saith he, 'but God's blessing?'

P. 29. The hymn *Sca Dé*. Printed from the Trinity College MS. in *Goidélica*, pp. 121-123, and in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, 122-131.

P. 30. The hymn *Cantemus in omni die*, with an Irish preface resembling that printed from the Trinity College MS., Todd, *Liber Hymn.*, p. 139; *Goidel.*, p. 97. For 'fecit hunc ymnus do molad Maire óge,' the Franciscan MS. has 'dorónai in n-immunsa ar molad Maire óge:' for 'arata roleic arachaillecha' it has 'armatha rothreic arachallecha;' and for the last sentence it has: 'Tre rithim daao dorónad he ocus cethri coptil deac and, 7 da liue cecha coptil, 7 coic sillaba dec in cech line.

The hymn has been printed by Mone (*Hymni Latini*, II., 383), and by Todd, *ubi supra*.

P. 31. The *Magnificat*, with a preface resembling that in Trinity College MS., fo. 9^v, which has been printed in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 187, and in *Goidélica*, p. 100.

P. 32. The song of Moses, *Cantemus Domino*, etc. Exod. xv. 21, with a Latin preface. Song and preface are absent from the Trinity College MS.

P. 33. The *Benedictus* with a preface partly Latin, partly Irish, beginning thus: *Benedictus. Zachair athair Iohain Babtaist dorone in n-immunsa. In n-Ierusalem immorro doronad (Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, made this hymn. In Jerusalem, now, it was made).* The copy of this hymn and its preface, contained in the Trinity College MS. is printed by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymn.*, pp. 191-193.

P. 34. *Laudate pueri* (Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 196-200), with preface, partly Latin, partly Irish, beginning thus: *Neceta comarba Petair dorónai incantaicse. I Roim daao doronad. (Nicetas, a successor of Peter's, made this canticle. In Rome, now, it was made).* This hymn, commonly called the *Te Deum*, is also found in the Trinity College MS. fo. 10, where it is ascribed to SS. Ambrosius and Augustine. Its attribution in

the Franciscan MS. to Nicetas tends to show that this codex was once in the possession of Archbishop Ussher.¹

Pp. 36, 37, 38. Fiacc's hymn, with preface and notes, printed infra, pp. 402-426. The Trinity College copy (Lib. Hymn., fo. 15^a) has been published in *Goidelica*, pp. 126-128, and in Prof. Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 38.

Niníne's prayer, printed infra, p. 427. The Trinity College copy (Lib. Hymn., fo. 16 b) is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 132, and *Irische Texte*, p. 38, 39.

P. 38. *Brigit be bithmáith*, with Irish preface resembling that in the Trinity College MS., printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 133-135.

Pp. 39-42. *Ní cair Brigit*, with an Irish preface resembling that printed from the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum* in *Goidelica*, p. 137, and copious marginal notes, of which all that are now legible will be printed in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*.

Pp. 43, 44. Sanctáin's hymn (*Attoch rig*), with preface, partly Irish, partly Latin. The Trinity College copy (Lib. Hymn., fo. 19^a) is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 147, and *Irische Texte*, p. 52.

P. 44. A six-lined hymn to Sanctáin, beginning: Epscop Sanctan sancta sruthib milid angel clothglan gel. The Trinity College copy is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 148.

P. 45. *Quirunque vult*, etc., with a preface (printed in the *Revue Celtique*, VI., 265) ascribing the composition of the Athanasian creed to the three bishops at the Nicene Council.

P. 46. Five illegible lines of Latin.

The alphabetic hymn of Secundinus, printed infra, pp. 386-389, from the MS. first described, was first² published by Colgan in 1647 (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 210), and then by Ware in his *Opuscula Sancti Patricii*, 1656. Both these scholars seem to have taken their text from the Franciscan copy.

This hymn is found also in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*,² fo. 1 a, in the *Lebar Brece*, p. 238 b, of the

¹ See Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 9, citing Ussher's epistle to Vossius, prefixed to his book *De Romanæ ecclesiæ symbolo apostolico actere*.

² From this MS. it has been printed by Dr. Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Dublin, 1855, pp. 11-23.

facsimile, and in the so-called Antiphony of Bangor, a MS. of the eighth century, preserved in the Ambrosian Library. From this MS. it was printed by Muratori.¹ The various readings of the Ambrosian copy, taken from a photograph, for which I am indebted to Abbate Ceriani, will be found *infra*, p. 669. This composition is in a metre identical with that of the hymn of Camelacus, a contemporary of Patrick's, with that of Hilary's hymn :

Ymnum dicat turba fratrum ymnum cantus personet ;

and (to go further back) with that of the song of the Roman soldiers, preserved by Suetonius :

Caesar Gallias subégit, Nicomedes Caésarem.

It differs from classical metre by resting, not so much on quantity as on the number of syllables and on accentuation, and it is distinguished from later Latin compositions by containing no rhymes.²

The internal evidence of the antiquity of this hymn is strong. First, the use of the present tense in describing the saint's actions ; secondly, the absence of all reference to the miracles with which the Tripartite and other Lives are crowded ;³ and, thirdly, the absence of all allusion to the Roman mission, on which many later writers, from Tírechán⁴ downwards,⁵ insist with such persistency.

The *Lebar Brecc* preface to Secundinus' hymn.

The introduction to the copy of Secundinus' hymn contained in the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 238 of the facsimile, is printed *infra* (pp. 390-400), partly because it contains versions of some of the stories in the Tripartite Life

¹ *Anecd. Ambros.* iv., pp. 127-159. Reprinted by Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Lat.* lxxii. 582.

² See the *Grammatica Celtica*, 2nd ed., p. 942, and *Revue Celtique*, vi. 337, 338.

³ And yet Prof. G. T. Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p.

32) says of this hymn that it simply teems with miracles.

⁴ Or whoever composed the passage in the Book of Armagh, *infra* p. 332, lines 33, 26.

⁵ But with the important exceptions of Muirchu, the author of Fiace's hymn, and Probus.

(see, for instance, that of Berach and Brig, pp. 246 and 398), partly because the text and translation published by Dr. Todd in his *Liber Hymnorum* are not very accurate. Its composition, according to Dr. Todd, has been ascribed "by the best Irish scholars" to "about the seventh or eighth century."¹ Such forms as *isín teoh* (p. 392), *rorensat* (p. 390), *ro-erchoidigestar* and *ro-esredestar* (p. 392), *jachais* (p. 394), coupled with the quotation from Eochaid húa Flannucúin, who died A.D. 1003, point rather to the eleventh or twelfth century.

Fíacc's hymn (so-called) and the preface thereto are ^{Fíacc's} printed infra, pp. 402-410, from the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*. ^{hymn.} The preface is a version of the tale told in the Tripartite Life, infra, pp. 188-190. The hymn (of which the older copy in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum* is printed in *Goidélica*, pp. 126-128) is, like that of Secundinus, silent as to the Roman mission of S. Patrick. But it records his foreign education, and it mentions (vv. 8, 14, 16, 19, 34, 40, 48, 55) many miracles as having been wrought by him or on his behalf. Moreover, there are two forms of the legend that the sun stood still on Patrick's tomb. According to one the miracle continued for twelve days: according to the other, for a year. As Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 489, note 3) acutely remarks: "It is a strong presumption against the pretensions of the hymn of Fíacc to antiquity that it has given the legend in this extreme form." For these reasons it can hardly have been written by its reputed author, a contemporary of Patrick's; and this conclusion is confirmed (a) by the mention in ll. 30, 44 of the desertion of Tara, which event took place after A.D. 560; (b) by the mention (v. 52) of Secundinus' hymn as a *lorica*;

¹ Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 44.

(*c*) by the reference to tales (*scéla*) and *líni* (writings, lit. lines) as authorities for the saint's birthplace and education. A disciple of Patrick's, writing a few years after his master's death, would hardly have made such a reference. Furthermore, four verbal forms in the hymn are inconsistent with any very great antiquity. These are *tairchaintais*, v. 10, and *túarguib*, v. 12, which compound verbs in Irish older than the seventh century, would (as they are here used absolutely) surely have been *doairchaintais* and *dojúrguib*, with the accent on the second element: the *t*-preterite *dobert*, v. 27, and the pret. pass. *dobreth*, v. 1, which would have been *dorat* and *dorataid*.¹ Lastly, the adverb *malle*, v. 33, would have been *immalle(th)*.

That the hymn was composed after, and probably with the aid of, Muirchu's Memoir has been argued by Dr. Loofs.² Both hymn and memoir are silent as to Patrick's mission from Caelestinus; both mention his stay with Germanus; and the agreement, not only in substance but in arrangement, between vv. 23–32 of the hymn and the part of the memoir printed infra, p. 295, l. 17, p. 297, l. 20, is remarkably close. And if, as Dr. Loofs, like Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 306), supposes, 'the other Patrick' (*in Patraic n-aile*) of the hymn, v. 33, was Palladius, we seem to have a reference to the words of Tírechán, printed infra, p. 332, l. 23. The obit of a Patricius (possibly = Palladius) is commemorated in the Roman martyrology on the 16th of March: the obit of our Patricius is commemorated on the 17th March. Hence (according to Dr. Todd) the hymn says, "Together they ascended to Jesus son of Mary."³

¹ See Thurneysen, *Rev. Celtique*, vi. 328, 329.

² *Antiquae Britanion Scotorumque Ecclesiae quales fuerunt mores*, etc. Lipsiae, 1882, p. 41.

³ Of the two Patricks mentioned together in the Stowe Missal, fo. 30b, one is possibly this Palladius-Patricius.

On the other hand the hymn mentions only *three* privileges as having been conferred on Patrick,¹ whereas Muirehu's memoir speaks of four. It has therefore been argued that the memoir was posterior to the hymn. But the answer is that the hymn is (like Broccán's hymn about Brigit) a concise selection, not an exhaustive list, of the legends relating to the saint in question.

Prof. Zimmer has recently handled Fiacc's hymn;² and his mistakes have been duly exposed by Prof. Thurneysen.³

The original of the curious notes on Fiacc's hymn, *infra*, pp. 412-426, translated by Colgan,⁴ is now printed for the first time. They agree pretty well with the Tripartite Life; but contain the story of Germanus and the Pelagians (pp. 416, 418), further details as to Pope Celestinus (pp. 418, 420), and some statements (p. 496) as to Sen-Pátric. Such forms as *co Bretnaib*, 412, 28; *rogonsat*, *tuesat*, 414, 6; *ro-iarfaig*, 414, 26; *dochelaid*, 416, 3; *na druid* (nom. pl.), 422, 3; *in sliab*, 426, 6, show that they cannot be earlier than the eleventh century.

The prayer of Ninníne, which follows these notes, refers to Patrick's functions at Doomsday, and is, like the *Fácl Fíada*, pp. 48-52, and the description of Conaire, in *Lebar na hUidre*, p. 91a, a specimen of the rhythmic but rhymeless poems of the ancient Irish, which Prof. Thurneysen has noticed in the *Revue Celtique*, vi., 347.

The next piece printed in this volume (pp. 428-488) is the homily on S. Patrick contained in the *Lebar Brecc* Life of Patrick.

¹ 1, His *ordan* (= ordinatio) to Armagh (v. 25); 2, Secundinus' hymn to be a loric (v. 26); 3, the Irish to come to him on Doomsday to be judged (v. 26). To these three Muirehu adds (p. 296) a

fourth, viz., salvation of Dichu's grandsons.

² Keltische Studien, 2tes Heft, 160-184.

³ Revue Celtique, vi. 326-336.

⁴ Trias Thaum., pp. 4-6.

Brece, a MS. of the fifteenth century, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. This homily, which has never been published,¹ except in facsimile,² contains much in common with the Tripartite Life. But it adds (p. 432) Patrick's supposed pedigree. It supplies (pp. 440, 442, 444) the Irish text, or something very near the Irish text, which Colgan paraphrased (pp. 18-25), but which is wanting to each of the copies of the Tripartite Life. And it helps to complete the legend of Patrick by its account of the miracles mentioned in pp. 446, 458.

The mission of Palladius.

Early proofs of Patrick's existence.

The shorter pieces printed in the Appendix may now be noticed. The first three (two extracts from Prosper Aquitanensis, and one from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) bear out the statements in the Tripartite Life (p. 30) as to the prior mission of Palladius. So do the extracts (p. 499) from the *Historia Britonum*, from Baeda (p. 501), from the Lebar Brece (pp. 504, 554), from Marianus Scotus (p. 510), and from the Lebar na huidre (p. 560). The extracts from Cunean's letter (p. 494) and from the Luxeuil Calendar (p. 494) tend to show that in the seventh century Patrick's existence, which Ledwich³ denied, was recognised. To these may be added, first, S. Columba's subscription to the Book of Durrow: "Rogo beatitudinem tuam, sancte presbiter Patrici, ut quicumque hunc libellum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbae scriptoris qui hoc scripsi met euangelium per xii. dierum spatium;"⁴ secondly, the hymn about S. Brigit, printed by Mone

¹ A transcript with a translation was privately printed at Calcutta in 1877, in a volume entitled *Three Middle Irish Homilies*.

² Leabhar Breac, Dublin, Part I. 1872, Part II., 1876.

³ *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1790.

⁴ Cited by Bishop Reeves, *Life of S. Columba*, Dublin, 1857, p. 242, note i.

(*Hymni*, iii. 241) from an eighth century MS. at Basel, which speaks of her as “Electa, opta alumna Patricii eum prudentia;” thirdly, the hymn *Celebra Iuda*, ascribed to S. Cummine Fota (ob. 662), which contains the verse—

Patrici patris obsecremus merita
ut Deo digna perpetremus opera;

fourthly, the following rhymed *oratio*, extracted from Harl. 7653, fol. 7 *a, b*, a MS. written by an Irish scribe in (according to Mr. E. Maunde Thompson) the 8th or 9th century, and now for the first time printed:

IN pace Christi dormiam ut nullum malum uideam
a malis uisionibus in noctibus nocentibus.
Sed uisionem uideam diuinam ac propheticam.
Rogo Patrem et Filium. Rogo et Spiritum sanctum.
Rogo nouam aeclesiam. Rogo Enoc et Heliam.
Rogo patriarchas (duodecim). Rogo baptistam Iohannem
Rogo et bonos (u)ngelos). Rogo et omnes apostol(os).
Rogo prophetas perfectos. (Rogo) martyres electos.
Rogo (sanctum) Patricium. Rogo sanctum . . . un.
Rogo mundi Saluator(em). Rogo nostrum Redemptorem.
animam meam saluare dignetur(?) in exitu de corpore.

Te deprecor ut debeo ex intimo corde meo¹ ne derelinquas
in inferno animam meam

Sed esse tecum in caelo in sempiterno gaudio.

And, lastly, the *Catalogus ordinum sanctorum in Hybernia secundum diversa tempora*, which Dr. Todd says was “probably drawn up by some author who flourished not later than the middle of the eighth century,” and which begins thus:—

‘Primus ordo sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti et Spiritu sancto pleni .ccc.l. numero, ecclesiarum fundatores, unum caput Christum colentes et unum ducem Patricium sequentes, unam tonsuram [ab aure usque ad aurem] habentes et unam celebrationem

¹ MS. meī.

misse, et unum pascha, scilicet [quarta decima luna] post equinoctium vernale, celebrabant: et quod excommunicatum esset ab una ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant. Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant;¹ quia super Petram Christum fundati, ventum temptationis non timebant. Hic ordo sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna, hoc est a tempore Leodegarii [sic: leg. Loegarii], filii Neyl, qui regnavit .xxx^{iv}vij. annis, et Aylelli cognamento [sic] Molt, qui xxx^{ta} annis regnavit, et Lugdech, qui vij. annis regnavit. Et hic ordo sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathal Meylgarb duravit. Sancti episcopi omnes permanserunt; et hii pro magna parte erant Franci et Romani et Britones et Scoti genere.²

V. The extracts from the Brussels codex (No. 64), containing Muirchu's Life of S. Patrick, printed infra, pp. 494, 498, supply the defects in the Book of Armagh caused by the loss of the first folio, and (in the case of the stories of Moneisen, Patrick's vision of heaven, and Coroticus), the carelessness of the scribe. This Brussels codex is a legendarium written in a continental hand of the twelfth century. It formerly belonged to the Irish monastery at Würzburg (Herbipolis). It now contains 310 double-columned folios. Muirchu's Life begins on

¹ Compare 1 Corinth. ix. 5, and the Old-Irish gloss on that verse in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, fo. 10^c.

² First published by Ussher, *Works*, vi. 477, 478, from MSS. now unknown; and reprinted by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 292; then by Fleming, *Collectanea*, pp. 430, 431, from another MS. (to me unknown), and reprinted by O'Connor, *Rerum Hib. Scrip.*, ii. 164; translated from Ussher's copy by Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89, note. The passage above printed I have taken from the so-called Codex Salmanticensis (Bibl. Royale, Brussels, Nos. 7672-7674), fo. 78^c. To the proofs above

cited may be added the MSS. in St. Gallen, of which Schoell (*Herzog's Real-Encycl.*, xi. 209) thus writes: Noch in höheres Alter gehen einige Handschriften in St. Gallen zurück, z. B. Cod. 914, wo öfters, wie auch in anderen irischen Codd., Anrufungen der Heiligen Brigitta und Patrick eingestreut sind. Auch in einem alten *Fragmentum Lythurgiæ Scotiæ* wird Patricius als Patron Irlands genannt, und seine Fürbitte neben der der Apostel Petrus und Paulus angefleht. Diese Handschriften wurden wahrscheinlich von Irland aus nach St. Gallen gebracht.

the recto of fo. 299. The extracts printed infra were taken immediately from Mr. Hogan's edition in the *Analecta Bollandiana*. But in August 1886 I collated this part of his work with the MS., and, (except in two places which I had conjecturally¹ emended) found the former perfectly accurate.

Va. The mention of Patrick made by Adamnán <sup>Adam-
nán's Vita
Columbae.</sup> (infra, p. 498) in his Life of Columba may be added to those above cited. Adamnán died about A.D. 704, and his Life of Columba is contained in a MS. in the Schaffhausen Stadtbibliothek, No. 31, written by Dorbbéne at the end of the eighth century. The passage cited, infra, from Bishop Reeves' edition, will be found in fo. 2 a 1 of the MS.²

VI. The extracts from the *Historia Britonum*, taken <sup>The Patri-
cian legend
in the</sup> from Harl. 3859, a vellum MS. of the eleventh century,³ and printed infra, pp. 498-500, give a date for Patrick's arrival in Ireland, the story of his captivity, his visit to Rome, Palladius' prior mission, the sending of Patrick to the Irish by pope Celestinus, 'monente et suadente sancto Germano episcopo.' It also mentions Patrick's miracles (p. 500), his episcopal labours, his fast on Carnachan, his three petitions for the Irish; and, lastly, his four points of likeness to Moses. All this is consistent with the theory that the *Historia Britonum* was originally compiled about A.D. 822 by Marcus,⁴ (a Briton by birth, but educated in Ireland) for the benefit of the Irish, and that one Nennius, a Briton of the

¹ For his "duximus" (*Analecta*, p. 550, l. 13) the codex has (rightly) "diximus," and for his "coturni cum," it has "coturnicum."

² In p. 498, infra, i. 35, *for nobis, antiquis, expertis, compertum, read nobis, antiquis, expertis, compertum.*

³ Wanley and Petrie assign it to the tenth. But Hardy (*Descriptive*

Catalogue, 322) says "x. or xi cent."

⁴ The title of the Vatican MS. (Regin. Christin. 1964) apparently of the tenth century, is, according to Petrie (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 1848, p. 64), *Istoria Britonum edita ab auachoreta Marco ejusdem gentis episcopo.*

Latin communion, republished it, with additions and changes, *circa* A.D. 858.¹ It has not (so far as I know) hitherto been observed that Marcus, or whoever was the compiler, drew part of his material either from the Book of Armagh or from one of its sources. Compare:—

Book of Armagh (p. 272, l. 20).

Sed prohibuit illum quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo.

(p. 273, l. 8).

Tunc acceptis benedictionibus, perfectisque omnibus secundum morem . . . venerabilis viator paratam nauim in nomine sanctae Trinitatis ascendit et peruenit Britannias; et omissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus . . . cum omni velocitate flatuque prospero mare nostrum contendit.

(p. 275, l. 10.)

Consummato igitur nauigio sancto perfectoque, honorata (*sic*) nauis sancti cum transmarinis mirabilibus spiritalibusque tesseris quasi in opportunum portum . . . dilata est.

Compare also p. 330, ll. 10–30, with p. 500, lines 36–41.

Extract
from the
*Annales
Cambriae*.

VII. The extract from the *Annales Cambriae*, in the same MS., printed *infra*, p. 501, may possibly help to fix the dates of the deaths of Patrick, Benignus, and other persons mentioned in the Tripartite Life.

Historia Britonum (p. 499).

sed prohibuit illum Deus per quasdam tempestates, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra, nisi de celo datum fuerit.

(p. 499).

(T)unc acceptis benedictionibus perfectisque omnibus, in nomine sancte Trinitatis, paratam ascendit nauim, et peruenit ad Britanniam et predicauit ibi non multis diebus, et amissis [*sic*] omnibus ambulandi anfractibus, summa velocitate flatuque prospero mare Hiberniam cum nauis descendit.

(p. 500.)

Honorata vero nauis cum transmarinis mirabilibus et spiritalibus thesauris perexit ad Hiberniam et baptizauit eos.

¹ Algernon Herbert in the *Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, Dublin, 1848, p. 18.

VIII. The extract from Baeda's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, printed infra, p. 501, has been already mentioned. The Moore MS., from which it is taken, seems to have been written A.D. 737, two years after Baeda's death. In line 4 of the extract the scribe first wrote 'insecottos.' But, as the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (who, with his usual kindness, made the extract for me) wrote: 'The correction of Insecottos by underdotting with ad written above it is original, the in being probably an anticipation of the Inxpm just afterwards.' Baeda's mention of Palladius and Ninian and his silence as to Patrick are used by Schoell as an argument that in Baeda's time the legend of Patrick's Roman mission had not yet come into existence.

Extract
from
Baeda's
Ecclesiastical
History.

IX. The extract from the Carlsruhe Calendar, printed at p. 502, is given to show that in the ninth century Patrick was recognised as 'bishop and apostle of Ireland.'

Extract
from the
Carlsruhe
Calendar.

X. The extract from the Rheims Litanies (infra, p. 502) shows that in the tenth century Patrick was invoked in Brittany as a Confessor, ranking not only with Brendan, Carnach, and other Celtic saints, but with Augustine, Jerome, Hilary, and Martin.

Extract
from the
Rheims
Litanies.

XI. The tract on the origin of the Irish liturgy, of which extracts are printed infra, pp. 502, 503, was first published by Spelman, from whose *Councils* it has been reprinted, with a translation, by Dr. Moran.¹ It is entitled by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs "Account of the Origin of the Scottish Liturgy and of the British (after A.D. 429), assumed to be the same, tracing it through Germanus and Lupus, and distinguishing it from the Gallican: drawn up by some Scoto-Irish monk, probably in the 8th century." For the purpose of the present work it is important as confirming the tradition that Germanus and Lupus were Patrick's teachers. The MS.

Liturgical
tract.

¹ *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 243-246.

used by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs (Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. i. f. 5) is a seventeenth century copy from Cotton MS. Nero A. II. 35, 'written,' says Mr. E. Maunde Thompson,¹ 'apparently in France, in the eighth century.' Collation with the elder MS. shows that the following corrections are necessary in the portion printed infra:—

p. 502, l. 22, *inperiti*; ll. 33, 36, *adfirmat*.

p. 503, l. 2, *comparem*; l. 10, *Brittaniis et Scottiis*; l. 11, *vita beati Germani*; ll. 13, 14, *per eorum praedicatione[m] archiepiscopum in Scottiis et Brittaniis*; ll. 17, 20, *Uuandilocus*; ll. 18, 19, *cerceiter trea milia*.²

Extract
from Al-
cuin.

XII. Alcuin flourished in the latter half of the eighth century, and the extract from his *Inscriptiones locorum sacrorum*, c. 145, 'Ad viam SS. Patricii et aliorum Scottorum,' printed infra, p. 503, shows that Patrick was then regarded by the Anglo-Saxons as the chief of the band of Irish saints, comprising also Ciarán, Columbanus, Congell, and Adammán. Baeda had previously mentioned Patrick in his *Martyrologium*,³ at the xvi. kal. Apr., 'In Scotia S. Patricii confessoris.'

Extracts
from the
Féilire
Oengusso.

XIII. The extracts (infra, pp. 503–505) from the metrical Calendar attributed to Oengus the Culdee, a composition, probably, of the tenth century, and the glosses thereon, refer not only to Patrick, but to Palladius (who is called *Torannán*⁴ by the glossarist in the *Lebar Brece*) and Sechnall. Sen-Phatraic is also mentioned and connected with Glastonbury.

Extract
from the
Drum-
mond
Calendar.

XIV. In the extracts from the Drummond Calendar (infra, p. 506) Patrick is called 'archiepiscopus Scottorum,' and Tassach, Ere, and Sechnall (*Secundinus*) are

¹ *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II., Latin*, London, 1884, p. 54.

² So in the copy printed by Haddan and Stubbs, i. 138 et seq., for *Trosimus* read *Trofinus* (i.e., *Trophimus*); for *anathephonas* et *responsus* read *antheponas* et *responsuria*, etc., etc.

³ *Works*, ed. Giles, iv. 45.

⁴ i.e., 'little thunder,' 'son of thunder.' This name may have been given to Palladius by the Irish because of his fiery zeal, and in imitation of the name (*Boanerges*) given by Christ to the two sons of Zebedee. But see Dr. Todd's note, *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 166, 167.¹

named. This calendar is attributed to the latter half of the eleventh century.

XV. The extracts from the Irish Canons, printed Extracts
from the
Irish
Canons. *infra*, pp. 506–510, comprise all those that in Prof. Wasserschleben's collection are attributed to Patrick. The oldest MS. of this collection, that of Cambrai, No. 619, which is incomplete, was written before the end of the eighth century. The oldest complete MS., that of S. Gall, No. 243, belongs to the ninth century. Especially interesting are the canons relating to the duties of kings (p. 507), to the tonsure of Simon Magus (p. 509), and to cremation and cairn-burial, lib. xlv. c. 20, to which Mr. Warren has recently called attention,¹ and which runs thus: *Sinodus Hibernensis*: Basilion gracee, rex latine, hinc et basilica, regalis, quia in primis temporibus reges tantum sepeliebantur in ea, nomen sortita est; nam ceteri homines sive igni, sive acervo lapidum conditi sunt. As to the collection in general, Wasserschleben says:—

Die Abfassung der Sammlung ist wohl in das Ende des 7. oder den Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts zu setzen, in eine Zeit, in welcher die irische Kirche nach langem Streben sich an Rom angeschlossen hatte, und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich dass der Urheber der Sammlung durch dieselbe neben der Anerkennung des *canones* und Dekrete der römischen Kirche die fortdauernde Geltung des nationalen Kirchenrechts und nationaler Anschauungen nach Möglichkeit zu erhalten und zu sichern bestrebt war.

XVI. The extracts from the Chronicles of Marianus Extracts
from
Marianus
Scotus. Scotus, printed *infra*, pp. 510, 511, (see the *Corrigenda*, p. 674), are taken from Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* VII., 481. The autograph manuscript, written about A.D. 1072, is now in the Vatican (No. 130), and would, probably, enable us to correct Pertz's text in some places. For instance, his 'seruauit sanctus Patricius precepto Victoris angeli quidam porcorum,' etc., should be 'seruauit S. P. pracepto Victoris angeli, quendam porcorum,' etc. Compare the story in the Book of Lismore, fo. 3 b. 1:—

¹ *The Academy*, No. 782, p. 311.

‘Athbert in t-angel fris Coimhetsa amarach araili tore ic claidhi in talman, 7 docuirfea bruth oir dhuit ass, 7 tabhuir ar do shæire (Said the angel to him: ‘Observe to-morrow a certain boar rooting up the ground, and he will put forth a mass of gold for thee, and do thou give it for thy freedom’). And see *infra*, p. 416, lines 1–4. The rest of these extracts prove the currency in the eleventh century of the tales about Patrick’s relationship through his mother, to S. Martin; his receipt from that saint of the monachal tonsure; his studies in the ‘*insula Alanensis*,’ and his mission from Celestinus.

The Corpus Missal

XVII. The Corpus Missal is a MS. considered by its editor, Mr. Warren, to have been written between 1152 and 1157. The points of interest in the extract printed *infra*, p. 511, are there mentioned in note 2.

The Annals in the Book of Leinster.

XVIII. The annals from the Book of Leinster, printed *infra*, pp. 512–528, are transcribed from the lithographic facsimile of that MS., pp. 24 a–26 b. The Book of Leinster is a compilation of the middle of the twelfth century, and the annals in question cover a period of about seven hundred years, from the reign of Loegaire to the time of Ruaidri, son of Turlough O’Conor. They are here printed as giving the supposed dates of the deaths of Old-Patrick, Benignus, and many others of his successors in the see of Armagh. The copy in the Book of Lecan mentioned *infra*, p. 512, note 1, begins thus:

Do flaithis Ereand *ocus* dia n-aimsearab na rig o flaithis Loegaire mee Neill co haimsir Ruaidri mee Thairrdealbaig hi Conchobuir. Rogob tra laegairi mac laegairi (*sic*) mee neill noigiallaigh rigi.

tricha annis Regnum hibernie¹ post aduentum patraci tenuit.²

¹ Petrie, *Tara*, p. 63, omits the words *Regnum hibernie*.

² Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 397) connects *tricha annis* with *rogob . . . rigi*, and translates “L., son of N. N., held the kingdom thirty years;”

but this is contrary to the Irish idiom. The Book of Ballymote (p. 48^b of the photographic facsimile) has: *Laegaire mac Neill . . . xxx. annis regnum Hibernie post aduentum Patricii tenuit.*

ard macha fudata est.

Secundinus (i. Sechuall) et senex patricius in pace dormierant.

Fuair thra Lægairi m^{oe} Neill iarum bas i nGreallaeh Da-fil for teib Chaisi i Maig Lifi itir na da chnoc i. Eri 7 Albu an-annam. Aratha dorad fri Laigniu nach iarfad in boroma forro iarna gabail doib for ereich oeco, co tard-som grein 7 esca friu na saigfead forro ni bad sirin. Domarbsad iarum i. grian 7 esca 7 na duile olchena, ara sarngud, conad de ad-beart:

Adbath Lægairi m^{oe} Neill
for teib Chaisi, glas a thir,
duile De rorædaid raith
tuesad a ndailbais do rig.

which may be compared with the story told infra, p. 566.

Then in the next column we find:—

IS a n- aimsir Lugdach immorro tanic Padraic in Eriinn 7 dochuaid co Temriag, co hairm a roibi Lugaid, 7 targaid do eruithecht cen ar 7 bithlacht og buaib re lind, 7 nem a foircend a shagail, 7 son con 7 eich¹ 7 rigna fair. Ocus nir-fam Lugaid sin, 7 o nar'æm doeascain Patraic he, 7 roeascain a rigau i. Aillind ingin Ængusa m^{oe} Nadfraich rig Muman: conad osin inall ita dimbuaid rigna for Themriag, 7 cen buaid con for Temriag fos. Co fuair Lugaid m^{oe} Lægairi ba in-Achad Farcha tre [e]asenine in Tailgind i. farcha temtidi do nim ros-marb iar ndiultad in Tailgind.

'Now in the time of Lugaid Patrick arrived in Ireland, and went to Tara, the place where Lugaid dwelt, and offered him corn without ploughing, and continual milk with the cows during his time, and heaven at the end of his life and luck of hound and horse and queen upon him. And Lugaid accepted not that, and since he accepted not, Patrick banned him, and banned his queen, even Aillim daughter of Oengus son of Nat-froich king of Munster. Wherefore from that day to this Tara suffers from unsuccess of queens, neither hath it winning by hound (or horse). And Lugaid son of Loeguire found death in Achad Farcha through the Adzthead's curse, that is, a fiery bolt from heaven killed him after he had rejected the Adzthead.'

But the same MS. (p. 49 a) contains another tract, entitled Comaimserad righ nEreinn ocus rig na cuigedh

¹ MS. eith.

iar creitim annso ('a synchronizing of the kings of Ireland and of the kings of the provinces after the Faith, here'), which is more historical in character, and begins thus:—

Loegaire mac Neill .iiii. bliadna for Eriam intan tanic Patraic imte. Muiredach Muinderg for Ulltaib, is é robemach Patraic. Oenghus mac Nádraich for Mumain arcind Patraic. Dingalach for Connachtaib. Bressal Belach mac Fiachach Baicheda in-rigi Laigen, no comadh he Crimthann mac Enna, ut alii dicunt. Ní airmiter rí Osraide snum ar chuire co Scannlan Mór mac Faeladh.

iii. bliadna ar .xl. o thanic Patraic in Eriam co cath Ocha li torchair Ailill Molt, 7 dá ri for Eriam frisiu re-sin, Loegaire 7 Ailill Molt. Trí ri for Ullto frisiu re-sin .i. Muir[redach] Muinderg 7 Cairell Coscarach 7 Eochaid mac Muiredaigh 7 an-righ for Laignibh .i. Bressal Belach. Dá righ for Mumain, Oengus 7 Feidlimid a mac. Dá rig for Con[n]achtaib .i. Duigalach 7 Eogan Bel mac Duach a mac.

Fichi bliadna o cath Ocha co ndeclatar clanna Eire meic Echach Muindremair i n-Albain .i. sé meic Eire .i. Da Angus, da Loorn, da Fergus.

'Loegaire son of Niall (had been) four years over Ireland when Patrick came into it. Muiredach Redneck over Ulster: he it is whom Patrick blessed. Oengus son of Nattraich over Munster before Patrick. Din-galach over Connaught. Bressal Belach son of Fiacha Baicheda in the kingdom of Leinster, or it may have been Crimthann son of Enna *ut alii dicunt*. For sake of brevity the kings of Ossory down to Scannlan. Mór son of (Cenn-)faelad are not here mentioned.

'Forty-three years from Patrick's arrival in Ireland to the battle of Ocha, in which Ailill Wether fell. And during that time there were two kings over Ireland, Loegaire and Ailill Wether. Three kings over Ulster during that time, namely, Muiredach Redneck, and Cairell Coscarach and Eochaid son of Muiredach, and one king over Leinster, namely, Bressal Belach. Two kings over Munster, Oengus and his son Feidlimid. Two kings over Connaught, namely, Duigalach and his son Eogan Bel mac Duach.

'Twenty years from the battle of Ocha to the going into Scotland of the children of Ere son of Echaid Thickneck, that is, Ere's six sons, two Oenguses, two Loorns, two Ferguses.'

The latter passage is cited by Dr. Todd as making Patrick's arrival (meaning of course his coming as a missionary) about eight years after the death of Celestine, which took place in 432, and as being, consequently, inconsistent with the story of the Roman mission. 'For the battle of Ocha, according to the Annals of Ulster, was fought A.D. 483, and therefore, counting 43 years back, A.D. 439 or 440, would be the date of Patrick's coming.'

XIX. Gilla Coemain, the author of the chronological poem printed infra, pp. 530-540, from the facsimile of the Book of Leinster, flourished in the eleventh century; and his poem is referred to by Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 396) as proving the existence of a chronology inconsistent with the mission from Celestine. Gilla Coemain counts 162 years from the advent of S. Patrick to the death of Gregory the Great, which took place on March 12, A.D. 604. Therefore the advent of Patrick, according to Gilla Coemain, must be dated A.D. 442.

XX. The three lists of S. Patrick's successors in the see of Armagh, printed infra, pp. 542-548, are taken respectively from the Book of Leinster, the Lebar Brece, and from the Bodleian codex, Laud, 610, commonly called the Psalter of Mac Richard Butler. A fourth list from the Yellow Book of Lecan (about A.D. 1390) is printed in Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 179. The first list gives some curious genealogical and topographical information. All the lists differ, not only from each other, but from the list which may be gathered from the Irish annals.¹

XXI. The extracts from the lists of relations of Irish saints, preserved in the Books of Leinster and Lecan, and printed infra, pp. 548, 550, show the traditions as to

¹ Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 172.

Patrick's family current when those MSS. were written, or perhaps some time before.

Chrono-
logical
tract in the
*Lebar
Brecc.* XXII. The chronological tract in the *Lebar Brecc*, and printed infra, pp. 550-554, has already been published by Dr. Petrie in his book on Tara, pp. 74-80, as summarizing the following 'facts' about Patrick:—

1. That he was born in the year 372.
2. That he was brought captive into Ireland in the sixteenth year of his age, in 388, and that after four or seven years' slavery he was liberated in 392 or 395.
3. That on the death of Palladius, in 432, he was sent to Ireland as archbishop, having been first, according to some authorities, consecrated by Pope Celestine, or as others state, in Gaul, by the archbishop Amatorex or Amator.
4. That he arrived in Ireland in 432, and, after preaching there for sixty years, died in the year 492 or 493, at the age of about 120 years.

The mention of the death of Artrí, A.D. 832, and the occurrence of such Middle-Irish forms as *roforbanastar*, p. 552, l. 9, and *dá bliadaín*, 554, ll. 21, 27, for the Old-Irish *fororbai*, *dí bliadaín*, make it hard to attribute any great antiquity to this tractate. Dr. Petrie, indeed, assuming that its author was also the writer of the next tract in the same MS.—a catalogue of Patrick's successors—brings it down to A.D. 1100; and Sir Samuel Ferguson dates it A.D. 1095.

The Tale
of Patrick
and his
leper.

XXIII. The tale of Patrick and his leper Comlach (= *Camulacos* ?), is printed infra, p. 556, as it elucidates the corresponding passage of the Tripartite Life, infra p. 83, lines 1-21.

The Mi-
chaelmas
sheep.

XXIV. The story of the Michaelmas sheep, printed infra, pp. 555, 558, is given as a specimen (hitherto unpublished) of the fables that grew up about S. Patrick, and also as suggesting the real nature of the sanction of the practice of 'fasting on' debtors to God or man,

which is referred to in the Tripartite Life. See *infra*, p. 248, ll. 22, 23.

XXV. The note about the Martinmas pig, *infra*, p. 560, is given as connecting Patrick with Martin, and as accounting for the practice of killing swine on the eve of S. Martin's feast. The Martinmas pig.

XXVI. The extract from *Lebor na hUidre* (*infra*, p. 560), a MS., of which the scribe was killed A.D. 1105, is taken from an ancient translation of the *Historia Britonum*, and shows the tradition prevalent when that work was composed, as to Patrick's connexion with Germanus, and the date of his arrival as a missionary in Ireland. Patrick's connexion with Germanus.

XXVII. The legend from the *Lebor na hUidre*, printed *infra*, pp. 562-566, is printed as the oldest producible evidence of the tradition connecting Patrick with the revision and arrangement of the ancient laws of Ireland. To the same effect is the article *Nos* cited, *infra*, p. 571, from Cormac's Glossary. Patrick's connexion with the Brehon laws.

XXVIII. The other extracts from this Glossary, *infra*, pp. 568, 570, refer to Patrick's British assistants in the conversion of Ireland: exhibit him as abolishing certain magical practices; and seem to show (p. 570) that in his time the Gael were established in parts of what is now Wales and south-west England. Extracts from Cormac's Glossary.

XXIX. The extracts from Tigernach, the most trustworthy¹ and illused of Irish chroniclers, who died A.D. 1088, help to fix the date of Patrick's birth, captivity, and death. The part of the chronicle in which the other incidents of Patrick's career were mentioned is Extracts from Tigernach.

¹ He is, so far as I know, the only Irish, indeed the only mediæval, chronicler honest enough to confess that some of his materials were uncertain: 'Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbachta incerta erant.' There is a similar passage in Irish in some synchronisms in the Book of Ballymote, p. 9*b* of the facsimile.

unfortunately lost. These extracts are taken, not from O'Connor's inaccurate edition,¹ but from Rawl. B. 488,² a MS. probably written in the thirteenth century, which formerly belonged to Sir James Ware and is now in the Bodleian library.

List of Patrick's household. XXX. The list of Patrick's household, printed infra, p. 574, from the *Lebar Brecc*, agrees with those printed in pp. 265, 267, from Egerton 93 and the *Book of Leinster*. It cannot be safely regarded as older than the tenth or eleventh century. A metrical version of this list is contained in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 44^b, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 448. The metrical version adds the names of Brogan, the scribe of Patrick's school, and of the priest Logha or Lughna, the saint's helmsman.

¹ *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, II., 1-314.

² Misprinted "438," infra p. 257.

IV. THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF S. PATRICK.

Before attempting to set forth the few ascertainable facts relating to the personal history of our saint, the documentary proofs on which it rests must be classified according to their relative antiquity and consequent authenticity, remembering always that late documents may embody early records, and that statements made by modern but cautious chroniclers like Tigernach are at least as likely to be true as those made by ancient but credulous hagiographers such as Muirchu and Tirechán.

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Patrick's own compositions - - - - - | { | <i>a.</i> The Confessio, infra, pp. 357-375.
<i>b.</i> The letter to the subjects of Coroticus, pp. 375-380.
<i>c.</i> The <i>Dieta Patricii</i> , p. 301; and, perhaps,
<i>d.</i> The <i>Fácl Fiala</i> , pp. 48, 50, 52. |
|---|---|---|
2. The hymn of Secundinus, pp. 386-389.

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

The subscription to the Book of Durrow (supra, p. cxiv).

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

1. Cummean's letter, p. 493.
2. The Luxeuil Calendar, p. 493.
3. Tirechán's Collections, pp. 302-304.
4. Muirchu's Memoir, pp. 269-301.
5. Adamnán's Life of Columba, p. 498.
6. The hymn of S. Cummine Fota, supra, pp. cv, cxv.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

1. Fiacc's hymn, *infra*, pp. 404-410.
2. Nimmie's prayer, p. 426.
3. The Liturgical Tract, pp. 502, 503.
4. The Canons ascribed to Patrick, pp. 506-510.¹
5. Alcuin's verse, p. 503.
6. Baeda, Martyrol. xvi. Cal. Ap.
7. The Basel hymn concerning Brigit, *supra* p. cxv.
8. The Catalogue of the three Orders of Irish Saints, *supra*, p. cxv.

THE NINTH CENTURY.

1. The Additions by Ferdornach, *infra*, pp. 331-351.
2. The Liber Angeli, *infra*, pp. 352-356.
3. The Harleian hymn, *supra*, p. cxv.
4. The Carlsruhe Calendar, *infra*, p. 502.
5. The Patrician legend in the *Historia Britonum*, *infra*, pp. 498-500.
6. Hereric's (or Heiric's) work on the miracles of Germanus of Auxerre.²
7. Colgan's *Quarta Vita*: 'Ex veteri Cod. Pergam. MS. Al-nensis coenobij.'³
8. To these may be added the martyrologies of Wandelbert of Treves, and Adon of Vienna, in each of which Patrick's name occurs at the xvi. kl. Ap.

¹ The collection published by Wasserschleben does not embrace the canons ascribed to a synod of bishops (Patrick, Auxilius and Isserninus) published by Spelman, and others from MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (olim O. 20). These canons, though in their collective form certainly not older than the eighth century, refer to clerics who do not cover turpitudinem nentris et nuditatem, and to Christians who consult a diviner (*haruspicum*) and believe that there is a witch (*lamiam*) in a mirror (MS. *sacculo, leg. speculo*).

² *Acta Sanctorum*, July 31.

Hereric wrote under Charies the Bald. He gives the legend of Germanus sending his disciple Patrick to Celestine, and Celestine sending him to Ireland. But, as Schöll observes, (*Herzog's Real-Encycl.* 11, 208) there is nothing of all this in the much older life of Germanus ascribed to Constantius.

³ *Ibid.*, 296, 323. This seems to be the folio twelfth century MS. now in the Phillips library at Cheltenham, numbered 4705. See Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 69.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

1. The Rheims Litanies, *infra*, p. 502.
2. The Calendar of Oengus, pp. 503-505.
3. The Martyrology of Tallaght.
4. Cormac's Glossary, pp. 568, 570.
5. Colgan's *Secunda Vita*: 'Ex membranis Monasterij S. Huberti in Arduenna.'¹
6. Colgan's *Tertia Vita*: 'Ex vetustis membranis Biburgensibus in Bauaria.'²
7. Probus. Colgan's *Quinta Vita*, B. Patricij primi praeicatoris et Episcopi totius Britanniae (*sic*) vita, et actus. Authore Probo. There are, according to Hardy, two thirteenth century MSS. of this Life in England, one in the Bodleian, 285 (2430), ff. 143-149, the other in the University Library, Cambridge, ff. 1. 27. 21. Neither of them begins in the same way as Colgan's copy,³ and as regards the Bodleian MS. I have ascertained that the text varies greatly from the copy found by Colgan. In fact it is a different work.

To the tenth century also we may perhaps ascribe the legends about Patrick's connexion with the Senchas Már. One of these is printed from the *Lebor na hUidre*, *infra*, pp. 562, 564. Another in Harleian MS. 432, is printed in *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I. 4-18.⁴

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. The Drummond Calendar, *infra*, p. 506.
2. Marianus Scotus, pp. 510, 511.
3. The Irish scholia on Piacé's hymn, pp. 412-426, and *Goldelcha*, pp. 128, 129.
4. Tigernach's Annals, *infra*, p. 572.
5. Gilla Coemáin's Chronological Poem, pp. 530-540.
6. The *Annales Cambriae*, p. 501.
7. THE TRIPARTITE LIFE, pp. 3-266.
8. The Chronological Tract in the *Lebor Brecc*, pp. 550-554.

¹ See Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 288, 293, 340, 344.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 342.

³ As to Probus' Life, see Todd, *ubi supra*, pp. 324, 343. Ferguson, *Patrician Documents*, p. 125. Robert, *Étude Critique*, pp. 62, 63.

⁴ The text is very corrupt (the

MS. belongs to the 16th century), and such forms as *rogabustar*, *romarbustar*, *voemustar*, *aderuítsem*, *acdoír*, are distinctly Middle-Irish. But consider the Old Irish forms in Dubthach's poem, pp. 10, 12, and in the subsequent prose, e.g., *amal do-n-airchechain*, p. 16.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

1. Siegbert's Chronicle.
2. The Corpus Missal, p. 511.
3. The Annals in the Book of Leinster, pp. 512-528.
4. The preface to Secundinus' hymn, pp. 390-400.
5. The lists of the relations of Irish saints, pp. 548-550.
6. The list of Patrick's household, pp. 266, 573.
7. The lists of Patrick's successors, pp. 542-548.
8. The Martyrology of Mariannus Gorman, written during the life of Gilla mac Liac, *i.e.*, between 1156 and 1173. Of this the only known copy, in the handwriting of Michel O'Clerigh, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royal, Brussels. At 17 March Patrick is thus mentioned:

Patraice apstol Herend
cend creitme nanGaidheal.

At 24 August we have :

Patricius tend togaim,

with the gloss .i. Seanphatraice ó Rosdeala iMoigh Lacha et oGhlaiss nanGaidheal, cathair isidhe indeiscert, *Saxon*, in-ant-treabhdaois Gaoidhil iarndul dianailithre, 7 atát athaisi i n-ioladh Shenpatraice in Ardmacha;

And at Nov. 27 :

Seclmall mór mac uBaird,

with the gloss; óDomnach Seachnaill i ndeiscert Bregb, do Long-barduibh dó, et Secundinus a ainm, mac do Liamain siur Pátraic é, 7 robái ina príomhaidh in Ardmacha.

9. Jocelin.¹ This is Colgan's *Sexta Vita S. Patricii* . . . Authore Jocelino Monacho Furnesio. It was written between 1183-1185, and has been published by Colgan and the Bollandists.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1. The Annals of Inisfallen, Rawl., B. 503.
2. The Annals of Boyle (a compilation of the thirteenth century).²
3. The tracts in the Book of Lecan, *supra*, p. cxxiii.
4. The extracts from the Lebar Brecc:—
 - a. The homily on S. Patrick, *infra* pp. 430-488.
 - b. The notes on the Calendar of Oengus, pp. 503-506.

¹ As to Jocelin's Life, see *ibid.*, | ² O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*
327. | p. 444.

All the facts that can be stated with certainty about S. Patrick are these:—

He was born in the latter half of the fourth century, and was reared a Christian. He had relations (*parentes*) in the Britains, and he calls these Britains his 'patria' (p. 370, l. 11). His father, Calpornus or rather Calpornius,¹ son of Potitus,² was both a deacon and a decurio, and therefore belonged to a Roman colony. Potitus was son of a deacon named Odissus. Patrick's father lived at a place called Bannaem Taberniae, near which he had a small farm, and there, in his sixteenth year, Patrick was taken captive. His captors took him to Ireland, with several others.³ There he was employed in herding sheep or swine,⁴ and devoted himself greatly to prayer. When he had remained six years with his master he ran away and embarked at some place about two hundred miles distant. After a three days' voyage he landed, and for twenty-eight days journeyed through a desert to his home.

Again, after a few years, but while he was still a young man (*puer*), he was in the Britains with his parents, when he dreamed that he was summoned to Ireland, and awoke much pricked at heart.

He gave up home and parents and *ingenuitas* (that is, the status of a free man born free)⁵ to preach the Gospel to the Irish tribes. His motives, he says, were the

¹ The derivative Kalpurnianus, Hübner, C. I. L. vii., No. 679, points to *Calpurnius* as the true spelling.

² The derivative *Potitianus* occurs *ibid.*, No. 1536 (842).

³ Patrick says (in his rustic Latin) *cum tot milia hominum*. So in the letter to Coroticus (p. 378, l. 22) *cum tot millia solidorum*, and in the *Confessio* (p. 372, l. 8) *baptizavi tot milia hominum*. Such

phrases are mere Celtic exaggerations.

⁴ The *Confessio* says sheep (*ovcs*). All the Irish authorities say swine (*sues*). I have little doubt that Patrick honestly wrote *sues*, and that the transcriber, by substituting *o* for the initial *s* changed this into the Latin word for the more respectable animal.

⁵ He twice refers to this. Was *ingenuitas* forfeited by voluntarily leaving the Roman empire?

Gospel and its promises, and Secundinus adds, that he received his apostleship from God, and was sent by God as an apostle, even as Paul. He travelled through the Gauls and Italy, and spent some time in the islands in the Tyrrhene sea (p. 301). One of these appears to have been Lerina, or St. Honorat.

He had been ordained a deacon, probably a priest,¹ and, at some time in his career, a bishop.

Long after the dream above mentioned, and when he was almost worn out ('prope deficiebam,' p. 365), he returned to Ireland (whether for the first or the second time will be afterwards considered), and travelling through the remotest parts of the country, he made known the faith to the Irish tribes, of whom he baptized 'many thousand men.' The Lord's flock, he says (p. 378), 'was increasing rapidly,' and he could not count the sons of the Scots and the kinglets' daughters who were becoming monks and virgins of Christ. He also ordained clergy and taught at least one priest from his infancy. His success excited the jealousy of the rhetoricians of the Gauls, in which country he had brethren (*fratres*).

His
writings.

Towards the close of his career ('*in senectute mea*'²) he wrote the *Confessio*, Declaration, or Apologia pro vita sua. He also wrote the *offenes Sendschreiben* concerning Coroticus; but when does not appear. The mention therein of apostate Piets and of pagan Franks, points (as I have said) to some time between the years 412 and 496. I have above suggested that Patrick wrote a third work, which Tírechán calls *Commemoratio Laborum*, but which does not now exist. Various poems in the Irish language are ascribed to him in the Tripartite Life; and a MS., the Bibliothèque Royale (5100-4, pp. 48,

¹ See the subscription to the Book of Durrow, supra p. cxiii. and the legend in Probus, infra. But the title of presbyter was often indifferently given to bishops and

priests (Todd, *S. Patrick*, 336); and Patrick may have been ordained bishop *per saltum* as he himself is said to have ordained Fiacc.

² infra, p. 359, l. 26.

49), contains three others, of one of which the first eight lines are found in the Vatican codex of Marianus Scotus.¹ They are doubtless as apocryphal as most of those mentioned by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 214, 215.

As to Patrick's religious opinions, something like a creed ^{His creed.} appears in the *Confessio*, infra, p. 358. He attributes the creation of all things to the Son. The Son pours into us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the *pignus immortalitatis*. The Holy Ghost makes us sons of God and joint heirs with Christ. We confess and worship the Holy Ghost, one God 'in the Trinity of the sacred Name.' Patrick here makes no mention of the consubstantiality of the Son; of Christ's burial and descent into hell; of the resurrection of the body. But some of these omissions may be supplied from the *Fáed Fáada*, if it really be Patrick's composition, for this expressly mentions Christ's burial and resurrection; and Secundinus (infra p. 389) expressly states that Patrick 'teaches the one Substance in three Persons.' He had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees (in pp. 356, 506, infra), that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the apostolic see.

He was well versed in the Latin scriptures, both ^{His} canonical and apocryphal, and though he speaks ^{learnng.} contemptuously of his own learning, his Latin is not much more rustic than that of Gregory of Tours. To judge from his 'lesson,' p. 301, he knew little or no Greek. Irish, of course, he learned during his six years of bondage.

He was modest, shrewd, generous, enthusiastic, with ^{His} the Celtic tendency to exaggerate failure and success. ^{character.} Like S. Paul, he was desirous of martyrdom. He was physically brave, and had strong passions, which he

¹ See Pertz, vii. 481, and *Grammatica Celtica*, 961.

learned to control.¹ He speaks (p. 367) of twelve *pericula* in which his *anima* was ventured, besides many snares (ambuscades ?) and things which he was unable 'verbis exprimere.'²

This is all that can be stated with certainty about Patrick, his life, writings, creed, learning, and character. When and where he was born: his mother's name: his baptismal name: where he was captured: when and by whom he was educated: when and by whom he was ordained: when he returned to Ireland: whether he afterwards left that country: whither he travelled as a missionary: the date of his death: the place of his burial: on each of these points we have only the statements, sometimes discrepant and often obviously false, contained in—

(a.) The series of religious romances called the Lives of S. Patrick, of which the earliest was written nearly two centuries after the saint's death.³

(b.) The liturgical tract, pp. 502, 503, drawn up in France, probably, in the eighth century.

(c.) Chronicles, of which the earliest was written about six centuries after the saint's death, and the least untrustworthy (Tigernach's) is defective.

(d.) Scholia, tracts, poems, and prefaces, the oldest not older than the eleventh century, and oral traditions, as to which it is now impossible to say whether they were not originally derived from one or other of the written documents above referred to.

Of these statements the following are the least improbable.

¹ Compare Fiacce's hymn, v. 4.

² Perhaps the lusts of the flesh, to which he refers, p. 370, l. 370: sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem, id est ad inlecebras illicitate [leg. illicitas?] perficiendas.

³ Some of the statements in these stories are due to the love for certain numbers (three, three score,

three fifties, 300, 3000, four, and the astronomical numbers seven and its multiples: twelve and its multiples, and 365: others to a desire to assimilate Patrick to Moses. See Schoell ubi supra, and the index, infra, s. vv. four, seven, three, twelve.

Patrick was born about the year 373, at Nemptor, an Old-Celtic *Nemetoduron*, which may have been the older name for *Ail Cluade* ('Rock of Clyde'¹), now Dumbarton, just as *Nemptodorum* or *Nemptudorum*² (= Old-Celtic *Nemetodūron*) seems to have been in the fifth century the name of Mont Valérien,³ at the foot of which now stands the town of Nanterre. The valley of the Clyde was then Cymric territory, the name *Nemptor* seems to occur as *Nentor* in the Welsh poem with which the Black Book of Carmarthen begins,⁴ and *Sucat*⁵ the saint's baptismal name, is the Modern Welsh *lygad* (warlike), and was the appellation of a Cymric wargod, some of whose exploits may have helped to form the legend of our saint. His father's name was (as we have said) Calpurnius, his mother was Concessa, his foster-father or tutor Patricius, afterwards distinguished as Sen-Patraic, 'Patrick senior.'

The place where Patrick was captured (about A.D. 390), Bannavem Taberniae, has not been identified, but was probably somewhere on the western sea-coast (*armorica*) of North Britain. His captors took him to the north-east of Ireland and sold him to a chief named Miliuc (gen. Milcon), who named him Cothraige, the Irish reflex of the Old-Celtic *Caturīgios*,⁶ and employed him in herding swine in the valley of the Braid, near Slemmish. After six years—when he was therefore in his twenty-third year—he escaped, and returned to his family in Britain. As to what he did during the next thirty-seven years—*i.e.*, from A.D. 396 to 432—it is impossible to offer anything but conjectures more or less plausible. The current

¹ Adamnán's *Petra Cloithe*.

² Greg. Tur. Opera, ed. Arndt et Krusch, pp. 439, 902. Gregory's words are 'in vico Nemptudoro' (or -todoro).

³ 11 kilomètres N.W. of Paris.

⁴ *Rac deu-ar i Nentur y tirran*, where Mr. Skene (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 3), reads *Nentur*.

⁵ As the gen. sg. *Succait* occurs in the Book of Ballymote, p. 360, a. 35, the name seems to have been borrowed by the Irish.

⁶ The legend about Patrick serving four households, arose from a popular etymology: *Cothraige* from *cetharhige*.

Objections
to the
current
tradition.

tradition is that, after a second captivity, which lasted only two months, he betook himself to the best schools of the west of Europe, and first came to Ireland to preach the Gospel in the sixtieth year of his age. But against this four objections may be urged. First, if Patrick had been absent from Ireland in Gaulish schools from the age of 23 to the age of 60 he would certainly have forgotten Irish, which language he seems to have known well on returning to that country. Secondly, he would have learned to write better Latin than that of the *Confessio* and the letter to Coroticus, and he would not have complained by implication that he had not been *in sermonebus instructus et eruditus*. Thirdly, it is improbable that an ardent nature like his, spurred by visions and eager to annex a new territory to the kingdom of Christ, would have postponed his attempt for thirty-seven years. And, fourthly, this alleged long absence from Ireland is plainly inconsistent with Patrick's own words (*infra*, p. 371, ll. 24, 25): *Vos scitis et Deus qualiter apud nos conuersatus sum a iuuentute mea, et fide veritatis et sinceritatis cordis* (Ye know, and God knows, how I have lived among you from my youth up, both faithful in truth and sincere in heart). It is impossible to see, with the Rev. Mr. Olden,¹ in the words *a iuuentute mea* a mere reference to the six years of his youth which he spent in captivity. It therefore seems probable that Patrick, after his escape from his second captivity, studied in Gaul until he was fit for ordination as a priest, that he was ordained by a Gaulish bishop, and that he then, moved, it may be, by one of the visions which he had so often, returned to Ireland and commenced his work as a missionary. All this is in accordance with Probus,² who gives the bishop's name as Senior. The story told by Probus is as follows:—

17. Rursus angelus Domini apparuit S. Patricio dicens, 'Vade ad S. Seniore[m] episcopum qui est in monte Hermon in dextro

¹ *The Epistle and Hymn of Saint Patrick*, Dublin, 1876, p. 86, note.

² Lib. i. cc. 17-25, Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 48-49.

latere maris Oceani, et vallata est civitas ejus septem¹ muris. Cumque venisset illuc, mansit cum eo per aliquos dies. *Deinde ordinavit eum episcopus ille in sacerdotem*, et lectitavit cum eo multis temporibus. Dum autem ibi moraretur, nocte quâdam audivit in visione voces puerorum de sinu et de ventre matrum,² qui fuerunt in Hiberniâ, dicentium: 'Veni S. Patrici, salvos nos fac ab irâ ventura!' Eadem quoque horâ dixit angelus ad eum: 'Vade ad Hiberniam, et eris apostolus insulæ illius.' Patricius respondit: 'Non possum ire, quia mali sunt homines qui habitant in eâ.' Angelus dixit: 'Vade.' Patricius contra: 'Non possum,' ait, 'nisi videro Dominum.' Exiit ergo Patricius cum novem viris et vidit Dominum. Dixitque Dominus ad eum: 'Veni ad dexteram meam.' Et iit Patricius ad dexteram Domini. Tunc ait illi Dominus: 'Vade in Hiberniam, et prædica in eâ verbum salutis³ æternæ.' Patricius respondit: 'Tres petitiones postulo a te, Domine, ut homines, scilicet Hiberniæ, diuites sint in auro et argento; et ego sim patronus eorum, et post hanc vitam sedeam ad dexteram tuam in caelo.' Ait illi Dominus: 'Habebis, Patrici, sicut rogasti. Et insuper qui commemoraverit te in die, vel in nocte, non peribit in æternum.'

Surgens igitur Patricius venit in Hiberniam, statimque nati-
nati sunt prophetae Hiberniæ, quod venisset Patricius illuc. *Cum autem prædicationem illum diebus ac noctibus spernerent insulari*, qui tamen resistere non poterant Dei ordinationi, S. Patricius fudit ad Dominum huiusmodi preces: 'Domine Jesu Christe, qui iter meum per Gallias atque per Italiam ad has insulas direxisti, perduc me obsecro⁴ ad sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut acceptâ deinde auctoritate prædicandi eum fiducia verbum tuum, fiant Christiani per me populi Hibernorum.'

20. Nec multo post, progressus ab Hiberniâ, vir Domini Patricius venit ad caput, ut postularat, omnium ecclesiarum Romam; ibique benedictione apostolica petita et accepta, reuersus et itinere, quo uenerat illuc.

21. Transnavigato nerò mari Britannico,⁵ et arrepto uersus Gallias itinere, venit, ut corde proposuerat, ad hominem sanctissimum ac probatissimum in fide ac doctrinâ, omnium pene Galliarum primatem eximium, Germanum videlicet, Antisiodorensis ecclesiæ episcopum; apud quem non paruo tempore

¹ Ferguson conjectures that here vii. is a scribal error for .iii., and that the city referred to is "Sixfours, the Hexafrourai of the Massilian colonists . . . within no great distance of Arles."

² See infra, pp. 420, 444.

³ salutis, Colgan.

⁴ absecro, Colgan.

⁵ Colgan (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 63, col. 1) conjectures that *Britannico* is a scribal error for *Tyrrheno* or *Tusco*. Surely the true explanation is that the whole of c. 20 is an interpolation. Compare the Brussels copy of Muirehu's Memoir, infra, p. 196, line 11.

demoratus est in omni subiectione, cum patientiâ, ob[o]edi-
entiâ, charitate, castimoniâ, et omni tam spiritus quàm animæ
munditiâ, uirgo manens in timore Domini, ambulans in boni-
tate et simplicitate cordis omnibus diebus uitæ suæ.

22. Interim autem dum¹ ibi per multos dies demoraretur,
angelus Domini qui ei indesimenter apparuerat, etiam modo
crebris uisionibus uisitauit eum, dicens iam adesse tempus,
ut ueniret in Hiberniam, et euangelico ore nationes feras ac
barbaras, ad quas docendas destinatus fuerat, conuerteret ad
Christum. Nactus ergo tempus op[er]tunum comitante con-
silio diuino, aggreditur ad quod illum Dominum uocare digna-
tus est; misitque cum illo S. Germanus præ[s]byterum nomine
Regirum, ut testem et comitem eum haberet idoneum in
omnibus uis et operibus suis.

23. Necdum tamen uir Domini Patricius ad pontificalem
gradum fuerat promotus: quod ideo nimirum distulerat, quia
sciebat quod Palladius archidiaconus Celestini, qui quadra-
gesimus quintus a S. Petro apostolicæ sedi præerat, ordina-
tus ab eodem papa directus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub bru-
tali rigore positam, conuertendam. Sed prohibuit illum Deus
conuertere gentem illam, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam
in terrâ, nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo, inimites enim et feri
homines accipere nolebant doctrinam eius. Neque ipse longum
noluit transire tempus in terra non sua, sed reuerti disposuit
ad eum, qui misit illum. Cumque aggressus Palladius mare
transmeasset, et ad fines Pictorum peruenisset, ibidem uita
decessit.

24. Audientes itaque de morte Palladii archidiaconi, disci-
puli illius, qui erant in Britanniiis, id est, Augustinus, Bene-
dictus et caeteri, uenerunt ad S. Patricium in Euboriam, et
mortem Palladii ei denuntiabant. Patricius autem et qui cum
eo erant, declinauerunt iter ad quemdam miræ sanctitatis
hominem, summum episcopum Amatorem nomine, in propin-
quo loco habitantem, ubique S. Patricius sciens quæ super-
uentura essent illi, episcopali gradu ab eodem archipraesule
Amatore sublimatus est. Sed et alii nonnulli clerici ad
officium inferioris gradus ordinati sunt. Eodem uero die,
quo S. Patricius sacris benedictionibus consecratus est, con-
uenienter hoc psalmistæ canticum in choro psallentium cleri-
corum decantatum est: 'Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secun-
dum ordinem Melchisedech.'

25. Tunc uenerabilis sacerdos Domini Patricius nauem ascendit
et peruenit in Britanniam, omissisque omnibus ambulandi
anfractibus, cum omni uelocitate prospero fluctu mare nos-
trum in nomine S. Trinitatis adiit.

¹ idam, Colgan.

The kernel of fact in this story seems to be that Patrick returned to Ireland on, or soon after, his ordination as priest (say in A.D. 397), and without any commission from Rome; that he laboured for thirty years in converting the pagan Irish, but met with little or no success; that he attributed this failure to the want of episcopal ordination and Roman authority; that in order to have these defects supplied he went back to Gaul (say, in A.D. 427), intending ultimately to proceed to Rome; that he spent some time¹ in study with Germanus of Auxerre; that hearing of the failure and death of Palladius, who had been sent on a mission to Ireland by Pope Celestinus in A.D. 431, he was directed by Germanus to take at once the place of the deceased missionary²; that Patrick thereupon relinquished his journey to Rome,³ received episcopal consecration from a Gaulish bishop Matorix, and returned a second time to Ireland about the year 432, when he was sixty years old, as a missionary from the Gaulish church, and supplied with Gaulish assistants⁴ and funds⁵ for his mission. In this there is no improbability, no necessity to alter dates, to assume a plurality of Patricks, a duality of Palladii,⁶ and to transfer the acts of one to another.

For the reasons stated by Professor Stokes⁷ there is nothing improbable in the tradition that Patrick landed at the mouth of the river Vartry, where the town of Wicklow now stands, and where about a year before Palladius had landed. Thence Patrick sailed northwards along the coast, touching at Inis Patrick, stopping at the mouth of the Boyne, and landing at Strangford Lough. There he converted the chieftain Dichu and

¹ Four years according to the *Tertia Vita*, c. 21. C'est aussi la durée que donne Erius, dans sa vie de Saint Germain, Robert, *Essai*, p. 56 n.

² See *infra*, p. 342, ll. 5-7. To this direction, and not to a Divine call, Patrick perhaps refers in the words 'non sponte pergebam,' p. 365, l. 20.

³ See Muirehu, *infra*, p. 270, l. 5, pp. 496, l. 10.

⁴ See *Tírechán*, *infra*, p. 303, ll. 1-6.

⁵ cf. the legend about the nine men's load of gold and silver, *infra*, p. 30, ll. 9, 10.

⁶ See an ingenious essay by the Rev. E. O'Brien, *Irish Eccl. Record*, August 1887, pp. 723-731, where *Sucat* is explained as a translation of *Palladius*.

⁷ *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 51, 52.

received from him the site of the church called Sabhall Patraic, a name still in existence as Saul. Thence Patrick went to the valley of his captivity to visit his old master Miliuc, and offer him 'a double ransom';¹ and there occurred the event which is commonly called a legend, but which seems to be an instance either of dharna or of propitiatory self-sacrifice. Miliuc seeking to prevent the triumphant approach of his former slave, burnt himself alive along with his substance and his house.

Patrick then returned to Dichu's residence in Maghinis, and there he remained many days, *et caepit fides crescere ibi*.

After leaving Dichu he sailed to the mouth of the Boyne, and leaving his boats there, proceeded on foot to Slane, where he lighted his paschal fire, and the next day went on to Tara, chanting the hymn called 'The Deer's Cry.' There he preached Christ before the Irish over-king Loiguire, and converted his chief bard Dubthach Maccu-Lugair.

From Tara Patrick went to Teltown, where Carbre the king's brother sought to slay him, and caused his attendants to be scourged into the river Blackwater. Conall Gulban, however, the king's younger brother, received Patrick hospitably, and gave him the site of a church. Patrick then proceeded actively in the conversion of Bregia and other parts of the territory of the Southern Húi Néill. He then travelled to Tirawley under a safe-conduct from the nobles of that country, for which he seems to have paid in gold and silver 'the price of fifteen souls of men'; and in Tirawley, near the present town of Killala, he converted the local king and a great multitude of his subjects.

While Patrick was in Connaught he had the meeting with King Lóiguire's daughters, of which the account given *infra*, pp. 98-102, 315, 316, bears internal evidence of antiquity and genuineness. I refer in particular to the five baptismal interrogations (*ἐπερωτήσεις*) put by the Saint; to the mention of the chrisom-cloth, and the naiveté of the questions asked by the girls about God

¹ *Infra*, p. 275, l. 17.

and His sons and daughters—questions which no mere legendmonger ever had the imagination to invent.

After spending some years in Connaught Patrick revisited Ulster, where he erected many churches, especially in Tirconnell.

He then visited Meath, passed on to Leinster, and baptised at Naas the two sons of the king of that province.

He next visited Magh-Life, and entering Leix, now Queen's County, again met the converted bard Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, and made Dubthach's disciple Fiacc bishop of Sletty.

Thence he proceeded to Ossory, and thence to Munster,¹ where he baptised the king.

According to the Tripartite Life, St. Patrick then founded Armagh, the site of which he obtained from a chieftain named Dáire. After having spent sixty years² in missionary work, partly as priest, partly as bishop, he died at an advanced age (perhaps 90 years) on the 17th March, probably in or about the year 463,³ and was buried in Downpatrick.

These are all, or almost all, the facts relating to Patrick which are either certain or reasonably probable. He seems, as Dr. Todd says, to have always addressed himself in the first instance to kings or chieftains, the baptism of the chieftain being immediately followed by the outward adherence of the clan; but it is certain that the whole of Ireland did not submit to Patrick's influence. Even when he wrote his *Confessio* he tells us that he looked daily for a violent death (*internecio*) or to be brought back to slavery (*redigi in servitutem*), and there is some evidence that a partial apostasy took place during the two centuries following his death.

¹ When Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 468) says that 'no mention of Cashel or of Patrick's journey to Munster, is to be found in the Book of Armagh,' he must have overlooked or forgotten the passage printed *infra*, p. 331, ll. 6-9.

² See Fiacc's hymn, v. 20, *infra*, p. 408.

³ A.D. 493 given by most of the authorities as the date of Patrick's death, seems due to the desire of the Irish to make his age, 120 years, exactly equal to that of Moses: see *infra*, pp. 114, 332.

V.—THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE EARLY IRISH.

We have now, fifthly and lastly, to mention the points in which the contents of this work throw light on the social condition of the early Irish. In dealing with this matter we may adopt an arrangement suggested partly by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his work on Education, but chiefly by Dr. Weise in his book on the Greek loanwords in Latin (Leipzig, 1883), p. 92.

This subject will here be treated under the following heads.—

- A. External Nature, and herein, I. Animals; II. Plants and Trees; III. Minerals; IV. Other things in external nature.
- B. Man, I., The Individual, his bodily and spiritual needs and the means of supplying them; II. The Family; III. The State.

A. EXTERNAL NATURE.

I. Animals.

Animals. The animals other than man mentioned in this work are, the horse (*ech, marc, gerran*), which is used for riding, drawing chariots, and as a beast of burden—*groiye* is used, p. 42, for more horses than one; the cow (*bó*), which is kept for her milk, p. 12, and is once mentioned as being killed for food, p. 186; *ganmach* (p. 142); the ox (*dám, ag*, p. 80), used as a beast of draught, p. 252; the calf (*lóiy*, p. 308, *glonn*, gen. *gluinn*, pp. 68, 335); the sheep (*caera*, pp. 340, 558); the lamb (*áin*, pl. *áin*, p. 12); the goat (*gabar*), kept to carry water, pp. 180, 248, and sometimes eaten; the hound (*cú*, acc. *coín*, p. 450, pl. n. *coín*, p. 562), kept to attack strangers; the lapdog (*mes-chu*, p. 232, and *oirce*, p. 570); the cat (*catt*, gen. *caitt*, p. 568); the pig (*mucc*, p. 340), which sometimes devours children, p. 198; the boar (*torc*, pp. 186, 346), and the pigling (*orcán*, p. 186, cognate with the Latin *porcus*).

Of wild animals, the wolf, (*cú allaid* = wild hound), xxx., 12, Wild 158. 177, 434; the fox (*sinnach*), 248, which was sometimes ^{animals.} tamed; the deer (*ag allaid* = wild ox), pp. 46, 381, 458, *fiad*, gen. *fiada*; the hind, 230; which in one case is said to have been milked, p. 232; and her fawn (*iarndoe* or *iarroe*, pp. 46, 381, or *loeg* (lit. 'calf'), p. 230. To these may be added the mouse (*muir*), p. xxix, and the lion (*léu*, p. 150, or *léo*, p. 256) both loanwords from the Latin.

Birds (*coin*), black and white, are mentioned, pp. 114, 475, 477, Birds. 500, devils assuming the shape of the former; angels that of the latter. The dove (*colum*) is mentioned p. 256; the nest (*nett*, gen. *nit*), p. 338.

Fish (*iase*) is mentioned, p. 36, and, for the salmon, which Fish. seems to have been a favourite article of food, four names occur, (*brattán, áe, linne*, p. 88, and *tonnem*, p. 146).

We have also the words for snake (*naithir*), p. 256; worm (*cruim*), p. 569; frog (*ráin*, a loan from the Latin *rana*), p. xxix; dragon (*draic*), scorpion (*scoirp*, xxx), also loans; and stag-beetle (*dáil*), p. 242.

II. Plants and Trees.

For plants we have the general word *clann*, borrowed like W, Plants. *plann*, from the Latin *planta*, p. 256. Grass (*fór*), pp. 228, 472; rushes, p. 200, which were used for thatching (*simni tuga* = rush of thatch), p. 156; *coinnline*, another name for rush, p. 84; corn (*arbor*), p. 468, and *cruithnecht*, 'wheat,' p. 240, where a *grainne cruithnechta* is mentioned; leek (*lus*, gen. *lossa*, p. 544; dat. pl. *losaib*, p. 468); onion, the loanword *uidium*, p. 56, and *folt-ehp*, for which we have as to which Patrick, p. 200, declares, like a true Briton, that "all women who shall eat thereof shall be healthy." Some herbs were cultivated, and the word for herb-garden is *lubgort*, pp. 356, 240, as the word for meadow is *fórgort*, p. 144. Other plants are, flower- (*seoth*), p. 36; fern (*raith*, the Welsh *rhedyn*, the Gaulish *rahis*), p. 166; and heather (*frocch*, Welsh *grug*, Gr. *ῥέκη*), with *froichne*, heather-plant, p. 92.

For trees we have the general words *crann* (gen. *crainn*, p. Trees. 556 = W. *prenn*, Lat. adj. neut. *quernum* : *omna*, p. 218, and *bile*, p. 536, and the following species: apple (*aball*, p. 232), birch (*bethe*, p. 248), elder (*tromm*, gen. *truimm*, p. 334), elm (*lem*, gen. *lím*, pp. 84, 556), hawthorn (*scé*, gen. pl. *sciad*, p. 78), hazel (*coll*, p. 232), thorn (*droigen*, gen. pl., p. 78), vine (*fine*, p. 550), and yew (*ibar*, p. 218). The word for oak (*dair*) does not occur; but we have its derivative *daire* (oakwood), p. 338. *Drissi* (spinac) occurs in Ml. 2^a.

III. Minerals.

Metals.

Stone (*cloch, liac*) is mentioned, pp. 318, 360. Of metals the following are mentioned: gold (*ór*) uprooted in large masses from the ground (pp. 21, 94, 416, 442, 510) and used for ornamentation (pp. 74, 90) as the material of a sacramental fistula, and, employed in conjunction with silver (*argat*) as a bribe (p. 30), as an offering to a holy well (p. 324), and as the covering of idols (p. 90). Iron (*iarra*) was used for tools (p. 218), fetters ('*compede ferreo*,' p. 288, l. 17; '*me ferro nixerunt*,' p. 372), swords (p. 300, l. 32), and even bells (p. 248). The other metals are *findruine* (p. 74), which seems to have been some kind of white bronze or latten (a mixture of brass and tin), *uma*, gen. *umai* (copper, bronze, p. 90), of which caldrons were made (pp. 22, 230, 291), and with which idols were sometimes covered (p. 90),¹ and its compound *eráduma*, dat. *eréthumu*, p. 86.

Other names for metals seem to occur in the phrases *cross cruannmoithni* (a cross of red bronze?), and *arda cruann-moin* (p. 86, ll. 7, 8), but the meaning is obscure.²

IV. Other things in external nature.

Of these the chief are: the world (*doman*), with its four quarters (*ceithar-airid*), p. 430; the earth (*talam*, gen. *talaman*, p. 50), which is employed to swallow up idols (p. 92), wizards (pp. 130, 454, 562), and other unchristian persons (pp. 204, 394), the sea (*muir*), which is to mercifully overwhelm Ireland seven years before Doomsday (p. 330); the sky or heaven (*nem*), the wind (*gáith*), the sun (*grían*), the moon (*ésea*), snow (*snechtá*), fire (*tene*), lightning (*lóche*), water (*usce*), air (*aer*), *aíl* (rock). Of these, ten are summoned by Patrick between him and various evils, and five, together with day (*lá*), night (*adaig*), and land (*tír*), are made to serve as eight guarantors for the fulfilment of an undertaking³ (p. 566). Words used in topography are *slíab* (mountain), *enoc*, *cnucha* (hillock, p. 134), *glenn* (valley), *inis* (island), *topur* or *típra* (well), *cloch* (stone), *loch* (lake), and *dithrub* (wilderness).

¹ I have here rendered *uma* by 'brass' an alloy of copper and zinc (cf. *humae fogrigedar*, gl. aes sonans, Wb., 12 b, 27.) I should perhaps have rendered it as 'bronze,' i.e., an alloy of copper and tin.

² See some guesses in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, i. 482, iii. 486, note 534. Horses *cona trib cœctaiþ srían cruannaith* 'with their three fifty bridles of *cruannaith*' are mentioned in L.U. 85 a.

31. And O'Davoren, 71, has an unintelligible gloss '*cruan*, a kind of the old brazier-work, the *all* (bridle) *cruan*, i.e., the red and copper, i.e., the yellow *maithne*, i.e., yellow and green and white.'

³ Compare the eight special forms in the *Kathásaritságara*, i. 324: Ether, Sun, Fire, Water, the Earth, Air, and the Moon, and *paçupati* (= Ir. *Eochaid*?).

B. MAN.

I. The Individual, his bodily and spiritual needs, and the means of supplying them.

Man, the human being (*duine*), is of a body (*corp*) and soul (*ainm*). The sexes are distinguished as *fer* (man) and *ben* (woman). Patrick speaks of a beautiful Scottish lady, and the 'girls with their golden yellow hair over their garments' (p. xxxviii, n.) may have indicated the race to which the Celtic aristocracy belonged. Parts of the body are *lám* (hand), *coss* (foot), *brú* (womb), *fiacail* (tooth), *muin* (back), *dí sróin* (nostrils, p. 144), *folt* (hair), *meuir* (fingers), *boetanín* (little finger, p. 128).

The bodily needs of the individual are food, drink, fuel, shelter, carriage, healing, and burial.

Food:—Besides the general words *bíad* (= *βίωτος*), gen. *bíaid*, Food. p. 236, and *maise*, p. 104, we find the following animals used as food, swine, *mucc*; wether, *molt* (low Latin *multo*), pp. 129, 558; cow (*bó*), p. 186; fork of beef, *lárac*, is mentioned, pp. 120, 121; salt meat seems referred to in p. 388, l. 21, and 'condio' is glossed by *saillim*. Fish-food is referred to in pp. 34, 36, etc. Milk, new milk (*leinnacht*), pp. 12, 436), and its products, curd (*gruth*, p. 114); whey-water (*medg usce*, Fr. *mègue*); butter (*imb*, p. 14, W. *ymen-yn*, Lat. *unguen*); cheese (*fascere grothia*, pp. lx, 182, 246), and apparently, *tanug*, p. xl); honey, *míl*, gen. *mela*, pp. 14, 436. Among vegetable foods, nuts, *co-mess*, nut-harvest, p. 524; corn, *cruithnecht*, p. 240, and *arbor*, p. 468, which were ground into meal, *mín*, or flour by means of a quern, *bró*, gen. *broon*, p. 307 = Skr. *grāvan*, made into a mass (*toisrenn*) of dough (*tóes*, p. 458), and a cake, *bairgen*, n. pl. *bairgin*, p. 242, l. 8. The words for 'leaven' were *descal* and *serbe*, Wb. 9b, 12, 13. We may conclude the subject of food by mentioning the rare words *cráibechán* (meat-pottage) p. xviii, and *acnabad* (a ration), pp. 228, 232, and by referring to the solitary mention of cannibalism (p. 518, l. 22) in time of famine.

Drink.—The general name for liquor seems to have been *linn*, Drink. p. 659. Ale (*cuirm*, gen. *corma*, the Welsh *cuwre*) is mentioned in pp. 130, 237, and a word which seems to mean alebibbers (*coirminn-gnaithi*) in p. 136. King Loeguire and his nobles are described as drinking wine, *fín*, p. 282, l. 25; the odour of wine is referred to in p. 160, l. 19, and a *telchuma fina* (cask of wine) is mentioned in p. 513, l. 26. *Fín* like *olac* 'oil' is borrowed. The word for drunkenness, *mescae*, p. 136, is native.

Fuel.—Wood is the only fuel mentioned. No mention is made Fuel. of either peat or coal. The words used are *conduth*, p. 14, l. 25, *connadach* and *brossna crínaig*, p. 10.

Clothing. Clothing.—The general words for garment are *étach*, pl. *étaiye*, p. 100, and *díllat*, p. 340. The mantle, *brat*, p. 220, is the equivalent of the Latin *sagum*, p. 287, l. 3, the *inar* of *tunica*. The *leun* (pl. dat. *leudaib*, p. xxxviii) was another kind of mantle worn by women. The *brothrach*, gen. *brothraige*, p. 74, l. 4, seems to have been some kind of mantle. The brooch (*dely*, p. 194); the girdle (*criss*, p. 74; *ferunn*, p. 284, acc. pl. *fernu*, p. 56); the glove, the sabot, and the shoe are mentioned in pp. 295, 313, 372, but only under their Latin names, *manica*, *fico*, and *calceamentum*. Special garments: garment worn by wizards (*tonach druad*, p. 56 = vestis magica, p. 285, l. 3, cassula magi, p. 285, l. 12), and by ecclesiastics (*cassal*, p. 56, l. 31—worn also by women, p. 88, l. 31) and *calle* = Lat. *pallium*, p. 102. Ornaments worn on the person are *muince*, p. 340, and *munilia*, *manuales*, *pediales* and *brachiola*, the parure which a pious lady bestowed on Patrick (p. 321, l. 17). The dressmaker, *étidach*, p. 668, and the embroideress, *drwinech*, p. 266.

Dwellings. Dwellings.—The general name for house is *tech*; residence, *aross*, gen. *areis*, p. 334. Houses were probably round, built of planks¹ and wattles, and roofed with straw or reeds.² A tent (*pupall*, pp. 40, 278) seems to have been used by Patrick, p. 278, in his missionary journeys. The fortress, *dín*, p. 66, and the *insola in grouna*, which seems to be a *cranog*, p. 212. Sheds (*liasa*, p. 144) were used for cattle. The word for barn (*saball*) is borrowed. Houses for special purposes are *coirmthech*, p. xxxvi., *fialtech*, *fualtech*, etc. Of ecclesiastical buildings we shall speak when we deal with the architecture.

Furniture. For the furniture we have a few names: *lepaid* (bed, p. 158); *frithadart* (bolster, p. 408); *coire* (caldron, pp. 230, 416), the *acneus* of the Bank of Armagh (p. 291); *ardiy* (cup, p. 54); *lestar* (vessel), and *fointreb* (small gear, p. 10, *intreb*, gl. *suppellex*). Washing-stones are also mentioned, and seem to have been a regular adjunct to the Irish bath; a tub (*drolmach*), and a vat (*dabach*) are also mentioned; the light (*caindel*) was placed on a candlestick, p. 387.

Carriage.—*a.* By land. *b.* By water.

Carriage by land. The chariot drawn by a pair of horses seems to have been the principal means of locomotion, pp. 42, 126, 144. It contained a chief seat (*prímsuide*), and a seat for the charioteer (*ara*), whose function was termed *araidcht*. The *axes curruum* are mentioned in p. 280, and an unknown part of the chariot, *domuín*, in p. 195. A cart was *carr*, of which the diminutive *carréine* occurs, p. 252.

¹ Adamnán, p. 25* of the Schaff-hausen codex, mentions a *tegoriorum tabulis subfultum*.

² Compare the description of the habitations of the Belgæ given by Strabo, ed. C. Müller, iv. 4-3.

Horses were also used as beasts of burden, and a *marclach cruithmechtae* (horse-load of wheat) is mentioned, p. 240.

Words for road are *sét* (p. 408) = W. *hynt*, Goth. *siuth-s*, and *slige*, which must be wide enough for two chariots to pass one another.¹

For carriage by water there were the *noe* (=navis), *currach*, p. 446, Carriage navicula, made of wickerwork and covered with hide, and *ethar*, by water, p. 275; *long* (vessel), *coblach* or *murehoblach*, pp. 66, 206, borrowed from *caupulus*. Adamnán mentions no less than nine kinds of vessels: *almus*, *barca*, *caupallus*, *curuca*, *nauis longa*, *nauis oneraria*, *naucula* and *scapha*. Rowing a boat (*ethar do imrom*) is mentioned in p. 66. Ships appear to have been beached, and *dorat crann fri tír*, p. 34, seems to mean 'he pushed off from shore.'

Healing: — General words for illness and disease are *teidm*, Healing. *galar*, *aínness*, and sick folk are denoted by *aos teidma*, p. 258. Special diseases are *bailé* (frenzy), pp. 1, 34, *dásacht* (madness), *bacaige* (lameness), 132, *tregat* (colic), p. 228, and the pestilence called *bude conuail*, p. 518. To these may be added from the Würzburg Codex, 30 b, 13, two words for cancer, *tuthle* and *ailse* (acc. sg. *ailsin*). In the same codex we find *cenngalar* (headache) and *galar n-eclis* (gastric disease). Names for various kinds of diseased persons are *amlabor* (dumb), p. 484, *bacach* (lame), pp. 258, 484, a synonym of which is *lose*, pl. acc. *luseu*, p. 408, *bodur* (deaf), pp. 258, 484, *clum* (leper), pp. 358, 484, a synonym of which is *trosc*, pl. acc. *truseu*, p. 480. The word for healer is *liaig*, pp. xx, 200, cognate with the English *leech*: the verb for healing is *iccaim*, cognate with *ἀκέομαι*. Patrick's saying, *Per manus medici sanat Deus*, p. 200, shows how he regarded the physician's art. The monastery in Hí and doubtless those in Ireland were resorted to for *carmania medicamenta*.

Burial:—

There is no reference to cremation. After the 'waking' Burial. or watching (*aire*, p. 410), which lasted twelve nights in the case of St. Patrick (p. 254), but only three days in that of Columba, and the *dies ululationis* (p. 317) = *laithi na cainte*, p. 104, the corpse was placed on a bier (*fuat*, pp. 220, 482), carried on a small cart (*carréu*, p. 252), and buried in a grave (*ad-naicul*, pp. 84, 160), over which a cairn (*caru*) was heaped. Thus in p. 160, l. 19, we have *scailter in carud, taidbegar in t-adnaicul*, 'the cairn is broken up, the grave is opened.'¹ So

¹ Cormac's glossary, s.v. *Rót*, and cf. Michelet, *Origines du Droit Français*, 1840, i. 235: and Grimm,

Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 1854, p. 104.

² literally 'abrogated'; *doath-biuch* (gl. abrogo) Sg. 22^a.

in p. 322: sepeliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum, id est *Totmdel*, et congregauit lapides erga sepulchrum.¹ Another name for grave was *ferie*, acc. *ferti*, p. 278, l. 9: 'sepulehri fossam fodiuit' occurs, p. 311, l. 14; and when King Loeguire's daughters were buried near the well Clebach 'fecerunt fossam rotundam in similitudinem *ferie*, quia sic faciebant Scotici homines et gentiles. Nobiscum autem *relic* uocatur, id est reliquiae, et *feurt*.' In p. 356 the Irish words *du ferti martur* gloss the Latin 'ad sarcifagum (*i.e.*, sarcophagum) martyrur.' The heathen warriors were buried in their armour (p. 75) and, apparently in an erect position, p. 308, and King Loeguire was buried with his face against his lifelong foes, the Leinstermen (p. 566). That cattle were slain as part of the funeral rite appears from L.U. 130^a, l. 10. Over the graves of Christians a cross was erected, pp. 294, 325, 326. After burial of Christians a requiem (*ceuire*) seems to have been sung.

Industrial
arts.

There is little said of the industrial arts and tools by which men's bodily needs were supplied. We have the names for groom (*cehaire*, p. 201), sailor (*nebere*, p. 416), fisherman (*lascaire*, pp. 142, 146), shepherd (*cegaire cairech*, p. 16), cowherd (*buchaill*, or *boare*, p. 422), swincherd (*mucaid*, *muicid*, pp. 36, 570), cook (*coice* and *ben funi*), smith (*goba*), brazier (*ceard*), brewer (*ceirsere* or *seoaire*, p. 265), clothier (*étidach*), embroiderer (*druinceh*), firewood-man (*fer connadaig*, p. 267); and of these *ceirsere* (= *cerevisarius*) and *coice* (*coqvus*) are loanwords. Herding swine (*ingaire muce*) is mentioned, pp. 16, 40: salmon-fishing with nets (*lína*) in p. 142. As to agriculture, we have the words *imbaire* (ridge) and *etrache*² (furrow, p. 88), the reference to the fencing of fields, p. 212, and the names for different grains. Area is glossed by *ithlar*, horrea by *ithtíge*. Before being ground the corn was dried on a kind of hurdle (*laem*) in a kiln (*áith*, *canaba*). The art of grafting was understood (Wb. 5 b, 42), though whether it was practised does not appear. Walls were built with iron trowels (p. 664). Trees were felled with iron tools (p. 218), the word for adze (*tál*) occurs in composition with *ceun*, and an axe (*biail*) is mentioned, p. 136. But the reference to watermills, in p. 210, shows the greatest advance in civilisation.

Tools.

¹ The following epitaph may be added to the quotations in p. 322, note 7:—*Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum*, Hübner Inscr. Brit. Christianae, No. 136; and this distich (ascribed to Vergil) on the robber Ballista:—

Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur
Ballista sepultus;
nocte die tutum carpe viator
iter.

² Spelt *etrice* in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 59 b, 2.

Of trade and commerce nothing can be said, save that the mention of wine (pp. 282, 513) and of the 'aeneum mirabilem transmarinum' (p. 291), points to some traffic with foreign countries.

Weights and measures are fixed with reference to the parts and powers of the human body. Thus, Patrick ransoms himself with a lump of gold, the weight of his head (pp. 21, 414). He is buried a man's cubit (*fir-cubal fir*, p. 252) below the surface of the ground. And Conall measures the site of a church 'pedibus eius .x. pedum' (p. 70). A mile is *míle* (passuum). A candle four man's handbreadths long is mentioned, p. xxiii. Coirbre promises to Cnangus *a rodarce* (all he could see) in a certain direction (p. 148). And Cormac gives Buichet (pp. xxxvii, xxxviii) all that his eyesight reached from the rampart of Kells. Other measures are *míach* (gen. *meich*, p. 216), 'sack' used for grain or malt; *airmed* used for meal, p. 186, *ungae* (= Lat. *uncia*) used for metal, p. 340; and the land-measures, *damaise thír*, p. 132, and *leth-indle*, p. 340.

Of coined money in Ireland¹ we have not a trace, except in the Low-Latin word *scriptula*, used by S. Patrick, p. 372, l. 9. The *cumal*, ancilla (pp. 212, 355), or slave-girl, was the unit of value. She was worth three cows. Seven slave-girls (= 21 cows) is the penalty imposed by Patrick on Cellachán and his descendants failing to surrender a certain transgressor (p. 212). Seven slave-girls or seven years of penance is the penalty for refusing hospitality to Patrick's successor (p. 355). The *cumal* of silver for which a horse was sold (p. 341) is so much of that metal as is worth three cows.

So much for bodily needs and the means of supplying them. Man's spiritual needs are expressed and satisfied by 1. Amusement, 2. Literature, 3. Science, 4. Art, and 5. Religion. Of these in their order—

1. Amusement.

The only amusements of the Irish to which reference is made in this book are feasting, fairs, and juggling. For 'feast' we have the word *fled* (= W. *gwled*), p. 202, its compound *cobled*, gen. *coibhlidhi*, p. 556, and *feis*, p. 52, l. 18. An annual feast in honour of Patrick seems mentioned in p. 246. The guests seem to have been entertained by buffoons (*drúith*, dat. *drúthaibh*, p. 204), whom the Latin oddly calls *praecones* (p. 204, l. 3).

¹ The *solidi* numbered in p. 378, l. 22, are Gaulish coins.

Possibly also by the *impudici* and *histriones*, whom kings are enjoined, p. 507, l. 25, not to support. Words for festivals are *airtach*, p. 174, l. 3, and *lith* or *lith-laith*, p. 40, l. 25. A fair is *óenach*: a royal fair (*óinach riglae*) = *agon* (i.e. ἀγών) regale, is mentioned, pp. 68, 307.

2 Literature.

The poet (*filí*, pl. dat. *filélaib*, p. 564, cognate with W. *gwled*, 'to see'), and his art (*filidecht*), p. 564, are mentioned, and Dubthach is called king-poet ('poetam optimum,' p. 283) of the isle of Ireland, p. 52. His artistic products are called *bairdne* (bardism), p. 190, l. 2, and in the ninth century they seem to have begun and ended by praising the Lord (Ml. 26^b 10). The *filí's* privilege of uttering lawful *trefoelae* is said (p. 565) to have been formally ordained by the Irish in the time of Patrick. The curious extract from Cormac's Glossary, p. 568, exhibits the heathen *filí* as a vulgar wizard, chewing the raw flesh of pigs, hounds, or cats, singing incantations over it, and then offering it to his gods. Mention is made of *metur filéla* (poetic metre), p. 172, and of *rithim oscorda* (vulgar rhythm), pp. cii, ciii, *rithim oscarda*, p. civ., in which there were rhyme and a fixed number of syllables. But there is good reason for thinking that the primeval poetry of Ireland was neither metrical, rhythmic, nor rhymed, and that in the case of stanza (*caiptel*), line (*líne*), and syllable (*síllab*), p. 382, the things as well as the words, are due to the teaching of Christian priests.¹ Alliteration seems to have prevailed in the primeval poetry, of which the *Fáed Fiada* may be regarded as a specimen, and thence this ornament spread to Celtic latinity.

Species of poets were the *duanaire*, p. 551, and the *cainte* (the lamponer), p. xxxiii. The *fer cerda* is mentioned, p. 566, as entitled to utter eulogy (*molad*) and satire (*áir*) in public. The poet's reward was the *doas*, pp. 246, l. 3, 350, l. 19.

A historian, if this be the meaning of *fer comeni*, is entitled to speak, if he has a good memory and is skilled in answer and declaration, and narrative, p. 566. Biographers are mentioned as placing incidents 'under a thread of narration,' *fo gló[s]náthe n-aíssnesen*, where *gló-snáthe*, like the Sanskrit *sūtra* (thread) may possibly also mean a rule.

Letters.

Letters or epistolae are mentioned in p. 226, l. 19, and 301, l. 13. Patrick in one of his visions sees a man coming as if from Ireland, 'cum aepistolis innumerabilibus,' p. 364, l. 6, and in the Irish Life in the Lebar Brece, p. 442, l. 28, this man (pro-

¹ See Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 336-347.

moted to be an angel) comes *co n-epistlib innudaib leis triu goedily* (having many letters in Gaelic). The 'litterae' and 'abgatoriae' which Patrick used to read to baptized persons (p. 304, l. 3), may have been religious epistles and primers.¹

That the Irish wizards had books (*lebuir*) might have been argued from the story told in pp. 57, 284, 460. But this is obviously taken from the legend of Simon Magus and S. Peter. Books are mentioned as having been left by Palladius in Ireland (pp. 30, 446), as having been given to Patrick by Pope Sixtus (p. 420), as having been brought by Patrick from Rome to Armagh (p. 474). They were carried in the owner's girdle (p. 74), or kept in cases (*leborchometa*, p. 96, *tiaga*) or leathern satchels hung by a strap (*iris*). Instruments of writing are the pen (*penn*, gen. *penne*, p. 542), the writing-style (*graif*, p. 92), ink (*lub* gl. atramento, Wb. 15a, 10), the writing-board (*clár i scribad*, p. 30), and the tablets (*poolire*, p. 344, corruptly, *folaire*, p. 46). That these tablets were wooden staves, resembling the short straight swords of the Irish, has been argued by Bishop Graves from the story told in p. 300. The fact that the Irish words for 'writing,' 'pen,' 'paper,' 'quire,' 'parchment,' 'writing-style,' 'book,' 'letter,' and 'tablet' are borrowed respectively from the Latin *scribere*, *penna*, *charta*, *quina*, *membrana*, *graphium*, *liber*, *epistola*, and *pugillares*,² is an argument against the knowledge of letters by the Pagan Irish.

To this may perhaps be added the numerous instances in which Patrick is stated to have written *abgitoria*, or *abgatoria*, or *elementa* for his noble or bardic converts, e.g., Ernaise or Iarnasc, pp. 110, 320, Oengus, 112, 322, Brón and Macc Ríme, p. 138, Cerpán, 308, Macc Ercac, 326, Muirethach, 327, Hinn, 328, and Fiacc, 190. It is, however, possible that these words mean, not as is usually supposed, alphabets, like that carved on the pillar-stone of Kilmalkedar,³ but the elements, the A B C, of the Christian doctrine. Compare *abgitir crabaith* (gl. initium fidei), Wb., 33c, 13, *Aibgitir in Crabaid*, 'the Alphabet of Piety,' p. xviii, and the specimen there given of the work so entitled. If so, some knowledge of the Roman alphabet, which Patrick doubtless employed in these 'abgitoria' or 'elementa,' as well as in the copy of the Psalms which he wrote for Sachell (p. 301, l. 8), must have existed in Ireland before his advent. Whether the Irish then possessed another alphabet—the Ogmic—and, if so, whether this was borrowed from the Teutons or invented by the Celts themselves,

¹ If so, it is unnecessary to insert [scribebat] in p. 304, l. 4.

² The Old-Welsh *poulloraur*.

³ See Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 133.

are burning questions which the documents printed in the present work furnish no means of deciding.¹

Oral teaching is referred to in one of the Würzburg glosses (11 b, 6): "it is the custom of the good teachers (*dagforcúilib*) to praise the understanding of the hearers that they may love what they hear," and cf. *ibid.* 4 a, 2.

A scribe (*scriba*, Ir. *scríbnáid*) is mentioned, *infra*, p. 337, l. 24, and various famous calligraphers are commemorated in Irish books. The importance of the scribe's office was so great that whoever shed his blood was liable to be crucified or to pay seven slave-girls.

3. SCIENCE.

Here we can only quote such evidence of astronomical knowledge as is afforded by the legends involving the astronomical numbers 7, 12, and 365 (as to which see the index, s. vv. seven, three, twelve), and by the divisions of time, which are, in Irish, strangely numerous:—

1. *atom* (atomus), the 564th part of a moment.
2. *ostint* or *unga*, the 12th part of a moment.
3. *brothad*, 'moment,' lit. twinkling (of an eye).
4. *pars*, 'part,' a third of a minute.'
5. *minuit*, 'minute.'
6. *ponge*, 'point,' a quarter of an hour.
7. *úair*, 'hour' (hora).
8. *catar*, a quarter of a day.
9. *laithe*, 'day.'
10. *tredenus*, 'a space of three days.'
11. *nóilaithe*, 'a space of nine days.'
12. *sechtmain*, 'week' (septimana).
13. *coicthiges*, 'fortnight.'
14. *mí*, 'month,' gen. *mís*.
15. *tremse* or *ráithe*, a 'quarter of a year.'
16. *blíadain*, 'year.'
17. *sáegul*, 'age' (sacculum).
18. *áes*, 'æon.'²

All these are loanwords, except *brothad*, *laithe*, *mí*, *tremse*, *ráithe*, *blíadain*, and *áes*. Another division of time is the *nomad*

¹ The passage from the story of Bran mac Febail, printed *supra*, p. xxxvi, ll. 2 and 4, is one of the many mentions in Irish mediæval romance of the use of Ogmic writing.

² See *The Battle of Moira*, ed. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1842, pp. 108, 109, 331, and Ducange, ed. Favre, vv. Athomus, Uncia.

(*gen. nomaithe*, p. 568, l. 28), the length of which has not yet been ascertained.

4. ART.

This is either permanent (sculpture, carving, architecture, painting) or transitory (music, acting, dancing). On the art of the Irish the documents now printed throw little or no light.

Sculpture and Carving. The Irish had erect wooden images (p. 320, l. 18). For 'idol' *arracht* (pp. 34, 194, 258) seems to be and the native name. Dr. Todd¹ says (I know not on what authority) that the idol Cenn Cruaich (p. 90) 'seems to have been a massive stone pillar.' The Book of Leinster, p. 213, b., speaks of *tri hidail cloch fochthair*, 'four times three idols of stone,' and continues (p. 214, a) *O be flaith Herimoin . . . adrad roice for clocha eo tect Patric Macha maith* 'from Heremon's reign to the coming of good Patrick of Armagh there was adoration of (lit. upon) stones.' But these may have been mere unewn blocks.

As to painting and illumination the documents now printed are silent. It may, however, be noted, that in the Carlsruhe Augustine, fo. 11 c., the verbs *exprimuntur* (are drawn) and *figuntur* (are moulded) are glossed respectively by *dufóraditir* and *eruthigtir*, and that in the Milan codex, 59^b 7, 'imago dipicta,' is glossed by *hi torund gíbiach*. The word for 'engraving' is *rindad*.

Architecture is, *a.*, Civil, *b.*, Ecclesiastical, *c.*, Military. There is nothing in this book bearing on the civil architecture of the Irish, save the words for house (*teoh*) and residence (*aross*). But the terms for ecclesiastical buildings are numerous.

For 'church' we have *baislec*, *cell*, *domnach* (pl. *domnaige*, p. 168), *eclais*, *reclés* (= *ro-eclés*), *ard-eclais*, and *tempul*. For chapel, *nemed* (p. 240). For oratory, *aregal* (p. 236) and *daurthech*. All these, except *nemed* (= Gaul. *nemeton*) and *daurthech*, are borrowed from the corresponding Latin terms. For cloister, convent, or ecclesiastical establishment we have two native words, *congail* and *cathair* (pp. 148, l. 24, 472, l. 29). It seems to have been surrounded by a *raith* (p. 236, l. 14) or what Adamnán calls 'ualum monasterii,' and to have generally contained a *teoh-móir*, 'great house,' (Adamnán's 'magna domus' and 'monasterium

rotundum'), a *tempul* (p. 472, l. 29), an oratory (*aregal* = oraculum¹), a kitchen (*cule* or *cucenn*), a refectory (*praimtech*), and a guest-house (*teck n-óiged*) built of wattles.² A graveyard (*velec, ruam*) was attached. A *disert* (hermitage) is mentioned in p. 242.

The church was first marked out and then generally built of wattles woven between upright stakes (*sudes*, Ir. *clí*). Hence the expressions *saidis clí*, *rosaithe-som clí*, p. 148. Baeda, speaking of Finan's church in Lindisfarne, says that, more Scottorum, it was built of hewn oak (*de robore secto*) and thatched with reeds. But the material was sometimes clay. Thus, Patrick built an *eclesiam terrenam* near Clebach (p. 317, l. 21), and in Tirawley he erected an *eclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam*, because, says Tírechán (p. 327), *non prope erat silua*. The *Daim-liacc* of Bishop Cíannan is referred to (p. 318) as a *domus lapidum*, and with this agrees a gloss in H. 2, 16, col. 101, Daimliacc .i. tegdais cloch. Square or quadrangular churches are also mentioned in pp. 110, 321; and we read (p. 292, l. 7) of a *sinistralis eclesia*, i.e., one lying north and south. But they seem to have been usually round, and hence, as Dr. Todd acutely remarked,³ only one dimension (that of the diameter) is given in p. 236, ll. 20-22. The normal diameter of the *less* was 120 feet, of the church, 27 feet, of the kitchen, 17 feet, of the oratory, 7 feet. The church measured by Conall, pp. 70, 370, with sixty of his own feet, seems to have been exceptionally large.

Of the interior of the church the documents now printed say little. A *cro-chaingel* or screen is mentioned in p. 339, where it is applied metaphorically to laymen as *altóir* is applied to ecclesiastics. The altar was in the east, p. 30. It was sometimes of stone, pp. 94, 310, l. 33, 313, ll. 5, 6. An *immultoír* and an *imaltoír* of stone are mentioned (pp. 446, 466). As Bishop Assicus, Patrick's 'faber aerens,' is said (pp. 96, 313) to have made altars, we may assume that they were also sometimes of copper or brass. The altar was covered with an altarcloth or sheet (*anart*, pp. 146, 252), which was probably purple. Nuns made these palls, and Patrick is said to have left fifty in Connaught.

The bell (*clóc*, gen. *cluic*, dimin. *cluécne*) is frequently mentioned (pp. 114, 120, 128, 146, 170, 190, 250, 300, 344, 476, 471, 564), but, except perhaps in one case, it seems to have been a hand-bell, and not used for summoning the congregation. The

¹ The Old-Irish diminutive *ariu-clán* points to an Old-Irish *aricul* = a Low Latin *ariculum*.

² Columba sends his monks ut de

alicuius plebæi agellulo uirgarum fasciculos ad hospitium aferent construendum, MS. Schaff., p. 54^b.

³ *St. Patrick*, p. 427.

possibly exceptional case is in p. 204, where mention is made of the (sound of) the bell out of the great *cathair* of Mungret.

There was probably always a cemetery near the church. It Cemetery. was called *relic* and *ruam*. The former word seems from a Low Latin *reliquium*, a place in which *reliquias* (dead bodies, Ir. *reilei*, 252, l. 29) were deposited. The latter from *Roma*. See infra, p. 656, s. v. *ruam*.

The conical caps (*bennehopuir*) of the bell-houses (*clocc-thige*, Round *cool-tige*) commonly called round towers, seem mentioned in the towers. prophecy ascribed to the wizards, p. 34. Similar caps, whitened with lime, were on the *daurthige* or wooden oratories.

The churches were often in groups of seven—a number Seven probably suggested by that of the Apocalyptic churches of Asia.¹ churches. Thus we read (p. 154) of the seven churches which Patrick had at the river Fochaine (p. 154), in Cianacht (p. 160), and in Húi Tuirtri (p. 168). We also read of the seven which he built (*fecit*) in Dulo Ocheni, p. 729. A standing cross is mentioned, p. 72, l. 17, and allusion to such crosses seems made in pp. 276, 325, 326.

On the military architecture of the Irish the documents now Military printed throw no light, the only words relating to the subject architect- being *dún* (fort), *raith* (an earthen rampart), and *múr*, p. 422, ture. which is borrowed from Latin *murus*. The digging (*cloide*) of Raith Baccain, the royal stronghold (*rigdún*) of the district is mentioned, p. 192.

MUSIC.

MUSIC.—The commonest word for 'melody' is *cíol*, p. xxxviii, where it is applied to harping, and p. 114, where it is applied to the song of birds. Song, chant is *cétul*, pp. 254, 410. Other words for different kinds of vocal music are *andord* (tenor?) and *sianan*, p. xxxviii. *Esnam*, p. xxxviii, also seems to mean music, both vocal and instrumental.

Of musical instruments none are mentioned save the bell Musical (*clocc*), and the *timpan*, xliii., which was a stringed instrument. instruments. The *buiune* (tibia), the *croil* (cithara), and the *lob*, gen. *tuib* (tuba) occur in Wb. 12^e 41, 42, 46; the *eruehor* (tibia) and horn-shaped *organ* in Ml. 116^e 8, 144^d 5. For musicians we have *eruitre* (harper), a derivative of *erott*, and *seanuair*, pp. xxxviii, 142, a derivative of *seam* (sound). In Ml. 61^d 5 de cantatoribus cum suorum choro is glossed by *dinail chetbaidib cosin chlais*.

To produce music, whether vocal or instrumental, is *airfithud* (*oirfitedh*, p. xxxvii: *ar-íl-féis*, 410). For sounding a trumpet or striking a lyre the verb used is *seaním*. A music-house (*cool-tech*) is mentioned, p. 34, but this may mean a bell-tower.

¹ Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, ii. 915.

ACTING.—Unlike the Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons, the Celtic Irish seem never to have produced a drama. They had buffoons (*dráith*, dat. *drúthail*, p. 200), and in the Carlsruhe copy of Augustine's Soliloquia, the actor's name Roscius is glossed by *fuirsire*, and 'mimi' by *fuirsirechta*. So in Sg. 103a *histrionis* is glossed by *fuirsiri*. But in Sg. 49b *fuirsire* glosses *parasitus*, in Sg. 45b *fuirsirán* glosses *parasitaster*, and in Lib. Hymn., fo. 11b *onl fuirseor* glosses *parasito*, and there can be little doubt that the primary meaning of the word is *parasite*, *sponger*, and that it ultimately got the meaning of *buffoon* as the Latin *parasitus* got the meaning of *seurra*.

Dancing (*riacá*) is not mentioned in the documents now published, nor, indeed, in any Irish MSS. that I have read.

5. RELIGION—*a.* HEATHEN; *b.* CHRISTIAN.

Idols. Of the heathen religion of the Irish we have a few but interesting notices. They worshipped, according to Patrick, *idula et immanata*, p. 399, l. 20, and Muirchu also mentions the *idulorum culturac*, p. 275, l. 2. Of these, one seems to have been Cenn Cruaich, pp. 90, 216, also called Cromm Cruaich, LL. 213b, which is said to have been the chief idol of Ireland, and also (pp. 216, 218) a special god of Foilge's. It is stated (BB. 393^a) have been of gold, and surrounded by twelve other idols of stone.

To this Cromm Cruaich, according to the dimsenchas of Mag Slecht, LL. 213 b, the Irish used to sacrifice their children (*marbtais a claind*). The poem proceeds thus:—

Blicht is ith	Milk and corn
naid no-chungitis for rith,	They used to ask of him
	urgently,
darcend trin a sotha.	For a third of their offspring.
ba mor a grain is a grith.	Great was its horror and its
	wailing.

Síde. According to Fiacc's hymn *síde* were also worshipped. The passage in the Tripartite Life, p. 100, and in Tírechán, p. 315, ll. 6, 7, seems to show that these *síde* were dei terreni, probably the manes of ancestors. The mounds in which they lived were also called *síde*.

Whether *Erem.* gen. *Erimon* (p. 408) was ever worshipped does not appear. But his name is identical with that of Aryaman, one of the Indian Adityas (p. 408, l. 14). The adoration of the sun is referred to by Patrick, *infra*, p. 374, l. 21.

Well-worship. The existence in Ireland of well-worship is also evidenced by the story told in p. 122, ll. 4-15, and p. 323.¹ In the latter

¹ That the Scottish Picts also worshipped wells appears from Adamanán's story, p. 119.

place it is stated that the magi, i.e., wizards or druids, used to reverence the well Slan, and 'offer gifts to it as if it were a god.' This is the only passage connecting the druids with Druids, any of the forms of worship above mentioned. There is nothing to show that in Ireland they constituted a hierarchy or a separate caste, as they are said to have done in Gaul and Britain. They seem simply to have been one species of the wizards, sorcerers, or enchanters variously named in Irish *druid*, *maithmaire* (p. 42), *tinchlillidh*, and in the Latin of the Book of Armagh (pp. 273, 278) *scini*, *magi*, *aurispices*, *auruspices*,¹ and *profetae*. The *drui*, however, seems to have been distinguished by white garments, pp. 325, 326, and by a tonsure, called *airbaca gúanae*, p. 317, l. 10. The *drui's* incantation (*díedál*), and the *filidhecht druidhecht* (chants of wizardry), are noticed in pp. 54, 56. Druids' spells or charms (*bríchte*) are mentioned in the *Dier's Cry*, p. 50. If Tírechán (p. 308, l. 8) is to be trusted, the druids believed in a doomsday, called *endatho*.

The superstitions mentioned or referred to in the present work are these:—

Superstitions.

1. The effect of cursing with the left hand (p. 326, l. 10). A curse may be weakened by the curser (p. 114, l. 7), or deflected from a human being to an inanimate object, such as a tree (p. 218, l. 7). But it seems to be irrevocable. So throughout the *Kathásaritságara*. See Prof. Tawney's version, l. 555, note.

2. Patrick's covenant (*vetach*) is between Eogan and Eochaid, and should either break it . . . his body decays; not in the earth (p. 154), i.e. (apparently) he becomes a werwolf.

3. After Patrick blesses his eight clerics and their gillie, a *dícheiltoir* (tarnkappe, cloak of darkness) went over them, so that not a man of them appeared (p. 46). The *edtoir comga* which Cúchulainn throws over himself, the *brícht comga*, which his charioteer casts over his horses (L.U. 79^a), had a similar effect. In India if a man repeats a certain charm forwards he will become invisible to his friends; if he repeats it backwards he will assume whatever shape he desires.²

4. The spells (*bríchte*) of women and smiths, p. 50. 'Veneficia' is glossed by *aiphi* in the Würzburg Codex and 'fascinavit' by *airagairt*.

5. Patrick cast his spittle on the rock which lay on his road, and the rock broke into three. A third part of the spittle was then flung a thousand paces (p. 218).

6. *Justitia regis temperies maris, terrae fecunditas*

¹ i.e., *karuspices*. Divination by means of a slaughtered swine is mentioned in *Lebor na hUídre*, 92^b, l. 37.

² Tawney's *Kathásaritságara*, ii. 231.

. . . . segetum habundantia, arborum fecunditas (p. 507, ll. 35-40). To the other instances of this superstition mentioned, *infra*, pp. 507, 670, add the *Lebar Brece*, p. 38^b, the Four Masters, A.M. 3303, 3310, 3311; A.D. 14, 15, 76: the *Senchas Már*, Laws III. 24: Skene, *Ancient Books II.* 483 (*A riev cuwir edwi fraytheu*), and the *Odyssey*, xix., 109-114.

7. The angel Victor . . . used to leave trace and track of his feet in the stone (pp. xlviij, 414): *uestigia pedis angueli in petra huc usque manentia cernuntur* (p. 391, l. 12): *uidit anguelm Domini stantem et uestigium pedis illius usque nunc pene [leg. plane?] adest* (p. 330). 'He (scil. Victor) set his foot on the flagstone: its trace remains: it wears not away' (p. 404). In a bird's shape the angel Victor used to come . . . and the trace of his feet still remains on the stone (p. 414). 'When Patrick blessed the veil on the aforesaid virgins, their four feet went into the stone, and their traces remain therein *semper*' (p. 90).

8. The pestilence does not pass the ninth wave, *supra*, pp. cvii, cviii.

b.—IRISH CHRISTIANITY.

Pre-Patrician Christianity.

As to the form of Christianity preached by Patrick I have already said somewhat. That Christians of some sort existed in the island before his advent in 432, has been argued, first, from the words of Prosper, cited *infra*, p. 493, secondly, from Patrick's own words, *infra*, p. 372, ll. 16-19. 'I journeyed in every direction for your sakes, in many dangers, even to the remote parts, beyond which was no one, and where was no one, and where no one had ever come to baptize or ordain clerics or confirm the people:' from which, says Mr. King, it is evident that some of the less remote parts had been visited by Christian missionaries already;¹ thirdly, from the mention, *infra*, pp. 94, 313, 348, of the subterranean stone altar with its four glass chalices,² in Tirerrill, Co. Sligo; fourthly, from the mention (*infra*, p. 328, l. 7) of the bishop who met Patrick in Mag Tochuir, and another bishop named Colmán, who offered,

¹ *A Primer of the Church History of Ireland*, 3d ed. i. 3. ² Todd. *St. Patrick*, 222, 223.

de uotiuu immolatione in sempiternum to Patrick, his church, called Cluain Cáin (p. 337, ll. 1-3).¹

As to the doctrines held, and, doubtless, preached, by Patrick, I have already spoken. Besides his *Confessio*, the documents now printed constantly recognise the following:—

1. The Trinity (pp. 41, 48, 52, 64, 258, 316), (i. e. to quote Fiace's hymn, p. 408, 'the true Godhead of the true Trinity,' and the Catholic faith (p. 44). According to the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 197^b, blasphemy (*énaoch*) of the Trinity is the one sin that cannot be atoned for.

Doctrines
preached
by Patrick.

The
Trinity.

2. Christ's Birth, Baptism, Crucifixion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, and Judgment are referred to in p. 48, but not his Conception. He is said (p. 316) to be co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. He creates all things (p. 358). The mysteries of the Incarnation and of Christ's Birth and of his Passion are mentioned in the Würzburg glosses, 27^a, 21. According to the *Saltair na Rann* He was born through the crown of the Virgin's head,² and according to the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 257^a, He is the *third* Person in the Trinity.

The Son.

3. The Holy Ghost breathes in the Father and the Son (p. 316) and speaks through the prophets, p. 2. He is septiform (p. 18). He is worshipped (p. 358). He proceeds from the Son (p. 358, where Patrick perhaps refers to S. John's Gospel, xv. 26, xvi. 7), not, according to the Nicene creed, from the Father and the Son. He is invoked in a hymn by Mael-Isu³ to inhabit our bodies and our souls, and to protect us against danger, diseases, devils, sins, and hell. And He is thus spoken of in a tract in the *Lebar Brecc* ⁴:—

The Holy
Ghost.

IS e *innorro* gell *forábad*
icon eclair ifus coláic frisin
fégud sin, in Spirit Noem
nos-aittreband 7 nos-comdí-
mand 7 nos-nertrand fri cech
súalaig.

Now this is the pledge that has been left with the Church here at present for that vision, the Holy Spirit who dwells in her, and who consoles her, and who strengthens her to every virtue.

IS é in *Spirit-sa fódlas a dána*
dáisi fessin dá cech irisech
isi[n]d eclais amal is ail leis, 7

It is this Spirit that deals out His own peculiar gifts to every faithful one in the Church,

¹ See Petrie, *Tara*, p. 23. According to D. Mac Firbis (Rawl. B. 480, fo. 63), Declán of Ardmore was one of the bishops who were in Ireland before Patrick.

² According to the Anglo-Saxons, He was born of Mary 'through her right side' (Kenble, *Salomon and*

Saturnus, p. 204). So Indra (*Rig-veda*, iv, 18, 2), and the Bodhisattva (Kern, *Buddhismus*, 1, 30 v.).

³ Goidelic, p. 174.

⁴ Facsimile, p. 251^b, l. 3, translated by O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 376.

amail canic a n-airtín uad. Uair is on *Spirít Nóim* tíd-naíether na dána óiregda-sadon *Ecláis* itor na dánaib ar-ehena .i. baithes 7 airtíge 7 freséisiu. deare 7 treblati.

as He pleases and as they are capable of receiving them from Him. For it is by the Holy Spirit that these noble gifts are bestowed on the Church besides the other gifts, even Baptism and Repentance, and Hope, Charity, and tribulations.

The Catho- 4. The Catholic Faith (*iris cathlaeadae*, 'Fides Catholica,' 'Fides lic faith. Christi Catholica') is mentioned, pp. 41, 275, 281, l. 6, 507, l. 33; and Secundinus calls Patrick 'festis Domini fidelis in lege Catholica.' And the Unity of the Church is mentioned in p. 316, l. 21.

The Holy 5. As to the Scriptures and their reception as the rule of Scriptures. faith, we may again cite the Lebar Brecc! :—

IS do dánaib airegdai in *Spirít Nóib* in scriptuir diada on inorchaiether cech n-ain-eolus 7 ó comdidantar cech toirsi sagulla ó n-adaintir cech solsi spirítalda ó sonartnaig-ther cech n-indlobra. Uair is triasin scribtaur nóib dichuir-ther irse 7 indluigthe ond ecláis, síthlaigther cech debaid 7 cech dechétfaid. Is imte fogabur comairle forbthi 7 forectul comadaisó cech ceiminn fóleith isind ecláis. Is trithe indarb-ther intledu démná 7 dualach ó cech íresach isind ecláis. Uair is í in scriptuir diada is máthair 7 is máime ailgen dona hulió íresachaió nosn-indithmiget 7 nosn-imraidet, 7 ailtér condat mee thoga do Día triana co-mairle. Uair todáilid ind ena cohermedach dia maen hilblasa ind lema somilis 7 airera in hid spirítaldaí on inmhesehtar 7 ó fáilniget dogrés.

One of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the divine Scrip-ture, whereby every ignorance is enlightened, and whereby every earthly sadness is com-forted, whereby every spiritual light is kindled, whereby every weakness is strengthened. For it is through the Holy Scrip-ture that heresies and schisms are cast forth from the Church, that every quarrel and dissent is pacified. In it is found perfect counsel and fitting in-struction by each and every degree in the Church. By it the snares of devils and vices are expelled from every faithful one in the Church. For the divine Scripture is a mother and a gentle nurse to all the faithful ones who meditate and consider it, and who are nur-tured until they are chosen sons of God through its counsel. For the Wisdom bountifully distri-butes to her sons the many sa-vours of the sweet liquor and the pleasures of the spiritual food, whereby they are continually inebriated and gladdened.

¹ Facsimile, p. 251^b, line 9. Translated by O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 376, 377.

6. Of the Christian Sacraments we may take the list given by the Roman church, viz., Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction.

Baptism is mentioned *passim* in the documents now printed. That by Baptism the person baptised casts off the sin of his parents is stated in p. 316, l. 16. The grace of forgiveness of sins through baptism is mentioned in Wb. 14^c, 19, and in Tur. 15. We are reborn in Christ (*adgairimmar ní hi Críost*), *ML*. 66^b, 6.

Confirmation (Ir. *cosmáit*, a loan from *consummatio*) is referred to in pp. 368, 372, 481, 551.

As to the Eucharist, which Patrick administers as a viaticum, p. 316, the following passage from the Leabar Brecc¹ may be cited to show the views of the mediæval Irish on the subject:—

IS ráin cle dída don ghill
sín forábad ion eclais dia
comdídná .i. corp Críost 7 a
fhuil ídbairther for altorib na
Crístaide.

Now there is another part of that pledge which hath been left with the Church to console her, even Christ's Body and His Blood, which are offered on the altars of the Christians.

IX corp ón rogenair² o Muire
Óig ingin,³ cen díth n-óige,
cen seailind n-indiuda, cen la-
thar ferrdai, 7 roerochad ó
Iudaírib amirsechaib ar tuíth
7 format, 7 itrecht iar trede-
nus a bás, 7 snides for deis Dé
Athar in nim hi ngloir 7 im-
miadamlai fiad ainglib nime,
IS he in corp sín amal ata
isí[n]morgloir domelaít na
fireoin do méis Dé .i. don
altoir nóib. Uair is he in
corp-sa sétlón saídbir na n-
irisech athásenait iar séb aili-
thre 7 aithrige in tsoegail ifus
isind athardai némdai.

The Body which was born of Mary the perfect Maiden, without destruction of virginity, without opening of the womb, without male presence, and was crucified by unbelieving Jews from spite and envy, and arose after three days out of death, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father in heaven, in glory and honour before heaven's angels, it is that Body, even as it is in the great glory, which the righteous consume off God's table, even off the holy altar. For this Body is the rich viaticum of the faithful who journey along the road of the pilgrimage and repentance of the world here into the heavenly fatherland.

¹ p. 251^b of the facsimile. O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 613, 614, translated *ibid.*, p. 377.

² MS. rógenair.

³ MS. ingine.

IS he sin síl na hesergi isin mbethaid sultlain dona frenaib. IS he *immorro* is bunad 7 is adbur *etarthuitme* dona hé-raibdechu nach cretit 7 dona collaidib nach inntsamlaiget cia chretit.

Mairg *didiu cristaide* nach indtsamlaigend in corp noemsa in Choimded iar cáinbesaib, hi ndeire 7 i trocaire, nair is isin churp-sa fogabar desmi-recht na deerei doróisce *cech* ndeire .i. a thidnocul féu cen chinaid darcend chinad síl Adam.

IS he sin *immorro* óige 7 comlantius na hirse cathaldai amal forchantar isin scriptnir nóib 7rl.

That is the seed of the resurrection into the eternal life to the righteous. It is, moreover, the foundation and cause of ruin to the impious, who believe not, and to the carnal, who do not resemble it though they believe.

Woe, then, to the Christian who resembles not this holy Body of the Lord by pure morals, in charity and in mercy! For in this Body is found an example of the charity that excels every charity, even giving Itself without guilt for the guilt of the sons of Adam.

That, then, is the perfection and fulness of the Catholic Faith as is taught in the holy Scripture.

To this may be added the Würzburg gloss 11^d 7: 'it is a re-crucifixion of Christ because they go to Christ's Body *indigne*.'

Penance.

Repentance after sin is mentioned, p. 316, l. 18, and in the Würzburg glosses, 14 c. 19, we read of *dilgud pectho tre aithirgi* (forgiveness of sin through repentance) and of *allúig bite oc pennit* (ex-laymen who are doing penance) in ælesiis. In Ireland every sin could be forgiven by means of penance, except the following four: *coiblige mairb*, *diall fri coibdechaig*, *toitim fo uasalgrad*, *forneis coibsen* (concupitus cum cadavere, incest, falling under a high grade, disclosing confession), L. B., p. 10^b. Confession of sins is referred to, supra, p. xix, where the word used is *coibis* for the usual *coibse*, pl. acc. *coibsena*, Wb. 6^b, 27. But the practice is not mentioned in the Tripartite Life or the Book of Armagh. The expression soul-friend (*anam-chara*), which is generally equivalent to 'confessor' or 'spiritual director' (p. 544) is applied to the angel Victor (p. 424). The cognate abstract noun *ainmchairdine* (leg. *anamchairtine*) occurs in p. 564. The proverb *colann cen cheim duine cen anamcharait* (body without head is man without confessor) shows the importance attached by the Irish to spiritual direction. Frequent confession, however, is of no profit when breach is frequent also (*ni tarba didiu in coibsenugud minic o bis in brissid minic beos*, L.B. 10^a). As to Penance, regarded as a sacrament, nothing is said here.

Confession.

Matrimony will be noticed when we deal with the relation Matrimony of the sexes. There is nothing in the documents now published to show that it was deemed a sacrament.

Holy Orders will be noticed when we deal with the Holy organisation of the Church. There is nothing to show that they Orders. were technically regarded as a sacrament.

Nor is Extreme Unction here mentioned.

Extreme
unction.
Judgment.

7. That we must all give an account, not only of *crimina mortalia*, such as avarice (p. 377, l. 6), but even of the least sins (*rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum*) before Christ's judgment seat, see p. 359, l. 12. Life after death and resurrection after Doomsday are mentioned in p. 316, ll. 19, 20.

8. The B. V. Mary is never mentioned, either by Patrick or Secundinus, Mairehu, or Tírechán. However, of the cultus of the Virgin we have a trace in the Tripartite Life, p. 36, where a wizard who mocked at Mary's maidenhood is said to have been swallowed up by the earth. Her hair is mentioned as a relic, *ibid.*, p. 238. But the document which shows best the feelings of the mediæval Irish to the Virgin is the following litany, the original of which has never been published, except in facsimile.¹ O'Curry considered it to be 'as old, at least, as the middle of the eighth century.' But the forms *nit-fiu sind* ('we are not worthy'), and the infixed pronoun *ar* (us) in *nach-ar-leic, nar-geib*, point rather to the twelfth.

A Muire mor!	O great Mary!
A Muire as mo dona Muirib!	O Mary who art greatest of the Maries!
A romor na mban!	O greatest of women!
A rigan na n-aingel!	O queen of the angels!
A bantigerna ind nime!	O lady of the heaven!
A ben lán 7 forlán o rath in Spirta Nóib!	O woman full and fulfilled of the grace of the Holy Ghost!
A bendachta 7 a robendachta!	O blessed and most blessed!
A máthair na glóri suthaine!	O mother of the eternal glory!
A máthair na heclaisi nemda 7 talmanda!	O mother of the heavenly and earthly Church!
A máthair na báide 7 ind lo-gaid!	O mother of fondness and forgiveness!
A máthair na sollsi forordai!	O mother of the preeminent light!
A onoir ind etheoir!	O honour of the ether!
A chomartha na rethínche!	O sign of tranquillity!
A doras nime!	O gate of heaven!
A chomra órdhai!	O golden casket!

¹ Lebar Brecc, 74 a. A translation "taken from Curry's MSS. in

Catholic University," is printed by Dr. Moran, pp. 224, 225.

Λ thempail na diadachta!	O temple of the Godhead!
Λ lepa na báide 7 na trócaire!	O bed of fondness and mercy!
Λ maíse na n-óg!	O beauty of the virgins!
Λ bantig rna na ciniud!	O lady of the kindreds!
Λ thopair na hubgort!	O fountain of the herbgardens!
Λ glanad na peccad!	O cleansing of the sins!
Λ níge na n-anmand!	O washing of the souls!
Λ máthair na ndíliuachta!	O mother of the orphans!
Λ chích na nóiden!	O breast of the infants!
Λ chomdígnad na truag!	O consolation of the wretched!
Λ rédla in mara!	O star of the sea!
Λ chumal Dé!	O handmaid of God!
Λ máthair Crist!	O mother of Christ!
Λ irnazaid ¹ in Choimded!	O spouse of the Lord!
Λ cruthach imar cholum!	O shapely like a dove!
Λ sochraid mar éasca!	O lovely like the moon!
Λ thogaíde mar gróin!	O chosen like the sun!
Λ díchor aithisise Eua!	O expulsion of Eve's disgrace!
Λ athnuiged na bethad!	O renewal of life!
Λ maíse na mbanscál!	O beauty of the women!
Λ chend na n-óg!	O head of the maidens!
Λ hubgort foíata!	O enclosed herb garden!
Λ fíorthopur glassaigthe! ²	O pure fountain locked-up!
Λ máthair Dé!	O mother of God!
Λ óg suthain!	O eternal maiden!
Λ óg noem!	O holy maiden!
Λ óg threbar!	O prudent maiden!
Λ óg sochraid!	O lovely maiden!
Λ óg genmnach!	O chaste maiden!
Λ thempail Dé bí!	O temple of Living God!
Λ ríghsuide in rig suthain!	O throne of the Eternal King!
Λ sáncatáir in Spíra Nóib!	O sanctuary of the Holy Ghost!
Λ óg doff]reim Iese!	O maiden of the root of Jesse!
Λ chethair slébi Lebán!	O cedar of mount Lebanon!
Λ chuprisec slébi Síóin!	O cypress of Mount Zion!
Λ rós corcorda i[n]feráim Iacoip!	O purple rose of the land of Jacob!
Λ blathnaigthech mar phailm!	O flowering like a palm!
Λ thoirthech mar olachraud!	O fruitful like an olive tree!
Λ maebrethaig glórdai!	O glorious Son-bearer!
Λ sollsi Nazareth!	O light of Nazareth!
Λ gloir Ierusalem!	O glory of Jerusalem!
Λ maísi in domáin!	O beauty of the world!

¹ For *irnazaid* cognate with *irnaidm*. Joseph is called *ernastaid togaide mathar in Choimded*,

'the chosen spouse of the Mother of the Lord,' L.B. 13^a.

² cf. Canticum Canticorum, iv. 12.

A sochen/*laoh* in phopuil *cris-
táide*!

A rigan in betha!

A arad nime!

Eist guide na mbocht! Na
dimicnig eneda 7 osnadaí na
trnag! *Berthar* ar ndúthrecht
7 ar n-ochsada treonut a ífáil-
noise in Dúileman, air nit fíu
sind féu ar n-estecht treuar
ndrocharillíu!

a banntígerna ehumachtach
nime 7 talman!

Dílegh ar einta [7] ar pe-
dai!

Seóis ar eulu 7 ar corbaid!

Tócaib na tuítmeda ina
ndéiblen 7 na ceingaltai!

Táithmig na doertha!

Lessaig tremutsa tressa ar
ndobés 7 ar ndúalaig!

Tidnaice dúimn tremutsa
blatha 7 cumdaige na soghnim
7 na sualach!

Féthuaig duimn in mBríthe-
main ót ghudib 7 ot impidib!

Náchar-léic nait ar thrócaire
i creich riar náimtib!

Na léic ar n-anmain do
dóera!

Et nar geib chucent féu
cháidche ar do chomairce!

Ailmít 7 guidmítne beous
tusa, a noem-Muire, triat mor-
impide ar th'oenMac .i. ar Ísu
Crist Mac Dé bíí, curan-dítne
Dia ona huilib cumgaib 7 ain-
sigib!

O noble-born of the Christian
folk!

O Queen of the world!

O ladder of heaven!

Hear the prayer of the poor!
Despise not the sobs and
sighs of the wretched! Let
our longing and our groans
be borne by thee before the
Creator, for through our ill-
deservingness we ourselves
are unworthy to be heard.

O mighty Lady of heaven
and earth!

Abolish our crimes and our
sins!

Destroy our wickednesses
and our corruptions!

Uplift the fallings of the
feeble and the fettered!

Loose the enslaved!

Repair through thee the
assaults (?) of our evil ways and
our vices!

Grant to us through thee
the blossoms and ornaments
of the good deeds and the
virtues!

Appease for us the Judge
with thy prayers and with thy
intercessions!

Let us not for mercy sake
be (carried off) from thee in a
foray before our enemies!

Nor let our souls be en-
slaved!

And take us to thyself for
ever under thy protection.

We beseech and pray thee,
further, O holy Mary, through
thy great intercession with thy
only Son, even Jesus Christ,
Son of living God, that God
may protect us from all the
straits and temptations!

Et eúin[n]íg dúinn o Dia
na ndúl co fágbauane uli uad
dílgad 7 logud dar n-ulib
pocthaib 7 caintaib, 7 co fágbam
uadsum beons triat impide-siu
síraitreab na flalla nónda tria
bithu na mbethad, i fiadmaise
noem 7 roemóg in domain.
Ros-airil-*lent*, ros-aítt-*reumam* in
saecula saeculorum. Amen.

And ask for us from the God
of the elements that we may
all obtain from Him forgive-
ness and pardon of all our sins
and crimes, and that we may
obtain from Him, moreover,
through thy intercession, the
lasting habitation of the
heavenly Kingdom for ever and
ever in the presence of the
saints and holy virgins of the
world. May we deserve it, may
we inhabit it in saecula saecul-
orum! Amen.

Angels.

9. Angels are mentioned, *passim*. The nine ranks of those that have not fallen, in p. 258, and see the *Leabar Brece*, p. 72^b. An anonymous angel cleanses the king's hearth for Patrick (p. 14); another, named Victor, counsels Patrick during his captivity, pp. 18, 300, 510; guides him to Germanus, brings him a letter, p. 226, and is the angel of the Scotie race, as Michael was the angel of the Hebrews (p. 414). Angels bring Treá's veil from heaven (p. 168), chant at mass (p. 396), and grieve over Patrick's body, pp. 410, 486.

10. The fall of the angels is referred to (p. 258), but not that of Adam; though the fauna of his paradise is mentioned (p. xxx).

II.—THE FAMILY.

Here we shall consider, 1. The Family. 2. Relations of the Sexes. 3. Parent and Child. 4. Fosterer and Foster-child, and 5. Master and Slave.

1. THE FAMILY.—This was called *fine*; but the texts now printed throw no light upon its nature. A parricide is called *finéalach*, and, according to a canon ascribed to Patrick, p. 507, he is punished with death.

2. RELATIONS OF THE SEXES.—Marriage is a recognised institution, and the word for 'husband' is *fer*, those for 'wife' are *len*, *comúdm* (p. 14, l. 4), and *sétig*. To woo is *tochmare*, to wed (or perhaps to betroth) a woman to a man is *ernádm*, p. 176, l. 29, with which *irnazaid*, *ernastáid*, 'spouse,' supra, p. clxvi, is cognate. A married pair is denoted by *lánamain*, pp. 28, 246. But polygamy existed, and hence Patrick, like St. Paul, requires for the bishopric of Leinster a 'a husband of one wife' (*fer óen-sétche*, p. 188, l. 27). A glimpse of the marriage-usages is afforded by the account of Patrick's wedding, *banais* (pp. xlviiii, 20, 440).

The newly wedded pair are put on the wedding-night 'into a house apart.'

The existence of a married clergy in Britain is clearly evidenced, 1, by Patrick's own Confession (p. 357), according to which his father was a deacon and his paternal grandfather a priest, and, 2, by the sixth of the canons attributed to Patrick, Auxilius and Iserninus, and cited *supra*, p. cxxx.

Widows are mentioned in one of the canons, *infra*, p. 607, the king being required to be their defender.

A concubine, *ban-chara*, is mentioned (p. 861), and Patrick unhesitatingly blesses her and her offspring. But the views of Old-Irish ecclesiastics as to connexion with a harlot (*uertreeh*) will be found in Wb. 9^l, 4, 5.¹

The stories told in the *Cám Adamnáin*, p. xxii, *supra*, and the note to the *Calendar of Óengus*, pp. cxlvi, cxlvii, are probably exaggerations; but there can be little doubt that women were compelled to go to battle, and were in other respects treated with cruelty and contempt.

3. PARENT AND CHILD.—The documents now printed throw little light on this relation. Kings are not to allow their sons 'impie agere' (p. 506), whence it would seem that in Ireland, as elsewhere, the father's authority over his son was absolute. On the other hand, the assignment of Benén to Patrick (p. 454) is made by Benén's family, not his parents. The father slept with his children (p. 392), and incest was not an unusual consequence.

Exposure of children is not here evidenced; those 'qui iectant infantes super ælessiam' are mentioned in p. 155, l. 23.

That children were desired is inferrible from one of the penalties annexed to the breach of the contract mentioned in p. 154, l. 21, 'children are not born to him thereafter.'

The obligations of a son to his widowed mother are referred to by *Adamnán*, p. 89^a of the Schaffhausen Codex: Sed post patris sepultionem iterum fratres té acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia.

Women seem to have been delivered on a flagstone (p. 8), a piece of rowan-tree being placed in their hand.

4. FOSTERER AND FOSTERCHILD.—The relations of fosterer (*aite* 'nutritor,' *muinme* 'nutrix'), and fosterling (*dalb*) seems to have been in Ireland almost of more importance than that of parent and child. There was sometimes a plurality of fosterers. Thus Cormac, son of Enda, had four, and King Loegaire's daughters naively ask Patrick whether God's Son had many fosterfathers (si Filium eius nutrierunt multi).

¹ See, however, the curious story | Lugaid, in *Adamnán's Vita Colum-*
of the wealthy and honoured cleric | bae, i. 38, 39, ed. Reeves.

The wizard Caplait is said (p. 102, l. 30) to have fostered one of King Loeguire's daughters.

The authority exercised by the fosterer over the fosterling is exemplified by the story told in p. 212, ll. 15-18.¹ It was probably sometimes tyrannical, and therefore kings are enjoined (p. 507) to be defenders of fosterlings.

A fosterbrother (*comalla*) is mentioned (p. 88), and Patrick (p. 90) calls a son of his old master, Miline, his fosterbrother. The cognate Welsh *cyfaillt* means 'friend.'

5. MASTER AND SLAVE.—The notices of this relation are few and not very trustworthy. The statement, for example, p. 440, l. 22, that the pagan Irish used to free their slaves in the seventh year, seems, like so much in the legend of Patrick, suggested by the Bible. The story of Patrick's wedding to a bondmaid seems to show that marriage of slaves was permitted. But the statement in Fiace's hymn, v. 3, that during Patrick's six years of slavery he ate no human food, if not a mere poetic exaggeration, tends to show that in other respects slaves were harshly treated by laymen. A heavy penance (a hundred blows on the hands and bread and water for a night) is imposed on a Culdee who curses or disgraces his gillie (L.B. 10^b).

The word for master was *colindiu* 'lord.' The words for bondsman were *mug*, gen. *moga* (identical with the Gothic *magus*) and *mogaid*: *guia* or *guial* (lit. workman) also occurs (pp. 401, 408), and *tinthirthili* 'attendants' is found in Wb. 8^o, II. A bondmaid was called *cumal* (which seems cognate with the Old Latin *camilla*), *inaitt*, *cacht*, and *bantraill*. 'Slavery' was *mocsaine* (p. 32, l. 5) = *mogsaine*, or *doere* (p. 412). The slave seems to have had a peculiar tonsure called *bernal moga* (p. xlix), or *irta* (p. 509, note 2).

The master's authority over his slave seems to have been boundless. Thus Derglam sends his slave to slay Patrick, (p. 110).

To the master's possession of his slave the word *selbad* is applied.

The word for redemption from bondage is *taithericc* (p. 430), and a form of manumission is mentioned by Adamuán (Schaffhausen Codex, p. 89^a): *té . . . libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuís resoluens lumbís.*

¹ The word *alumnus* here used for 'fosterer,' should have been placed in the Index of Hiberno-Latin words, infra, p. 660. Et qui alit et alitur alumnus dici potest, Isidorus, Orig. 10, 1.

III.—THE STATE.

This will be treated under the four heads :—*a.* Civil.
b. Legal. *c.* Military. *d.* Ecclesiastical.

a. CIVIL.

The tribe was called *clann* (children, pl. *clanna*, p. 424), *conél*, p. 126, or *tuath*, pl. *túatha* (pp. 406, 408), the latter word cognate with the Umbrian-Oscan *tauta*, *tois*, *toitis*, 'city,' and the Gothic *thiuda*, 'people.' *Túath* is also applied to the whole population of the island (p. 408).

The tribe held meetings (*áilá*), and the statement (p. 208) that the Déisi held theirs at night, shows that, as a rule, these meetings were held in the day. The meeting-place was called *farrach* (p. 134.) The assembly was called *airecht* (p. 138). When it met, and what it discussed, does not here appear.

The head of each tribe seems to have been called a *rí*, gen. *ríg*,¹ a word cognate with *rex* and *rāj*, but not quite equivalent in meaning. Patrick appears to use the words *rex* (p. 372, l. 21) and *regulus* (pp. 369, l. 22, 378, l. 8) as synonymous. Major and minor kings are mentioned, p. 68, and the *ardríge* (overkingship) of a certain district is mentioned, p. 210, l. 14. The consort of a *rí* was called *rígain* = Skr. *rājñī*, and his heir-apparent a *rígdanna* (p. 69). It is not clear how the *rí* and the *rígdanna* were chosen.

The *rí* had a *rechtaire* (steward or reeve) who looked after his tributaries. These were rendered either in service—such as cleansing the hearth of the king-house or palace (p. 14)—or in kind, such as curd and butter (p. 14). Such a tribute was called *cís*, a loan from the Latin *census*. The native words are *borime* or *borome* (pp. 554, 556), cognate with *φέπος*, *ráin*, pp. 212, 214, where Colgan renders the word by *pensio* (tax, impost), and *lobach*, the collector of which was called *toibgóbair*, L. II. 26.

The king's residence was called *ríghtech* ('kinghouse'); and a *tech n-ímacallma* = 'house of conversation,' is mentioned (p. 69), in which his household (*muntar*) assembled, and where he probably gave audience, and held councils. His councillors

¹ *Tore*, gen. *taire*, p. 534, was another word for king, so apparently is *ardrach*, p. 226, l. 13. Whether *mál*, p. 336, meant 'king'

or 'noble' is not clear. *Abb* (the Latin *abbas*) is used for 'king' by Gilla Coeman, p. 535.

should be *senes sapientes et sobrii* (p. 507, l. 28). His edicts were called *esngaire*. *ML*. 105^a 6.

The overking of Ireland is called *ardrí*, or *rí Temrach* (king of Tara), or simply *rí* p. 42. *Adamnán*, p. 36^b, styles him *totius Scotiae regnatorem*. His sole qualification was belonging to the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages.¹ He was called *rí co fressabra* 'king with opposition,' under the circumstances described in p. 524.² *Ardrluith* (pl. n. *ardlathi* *Wb.* Ia β) was used for 'soveran' or 'chief prince.' A joint reign (*comluithius*) is mentioned, p. 526. But this seems exceptional.

Hostages. The kings maintained their authority (O. Ir. *giallae*, 'ditio') by a system of hostageship (*gialluor*, p. 58, *clerius*, p. 462). 'Hostages (*g'éill*) to kings' is one of the four *neimid* or privileges mentioned in the ancient story told *infra*, p. 564. The Scandinavian invaders took hostages from the Irish, and the recapture of these hostages (*giallu Hérenu*) by *Maelsechlainn* is recorded, *infra*, p. 522. The word *giall*, hostage = *W.* *gweystl*, is found also in the Teutonic tongues: *A.S.* *gísel*, *ON.* *gísl*, *O.H.G.* *gísel*, now *Geisel*.

The passage in p. 186 as to the measure of meal which *Cillíne* had brought out of the palace seems to show that the king supported his poorer followers. His other duties are set forth, *infra*, p. 507, and in the *Sermo ad Reges*, *Lebar Brecc*, p. 37^b.

Nobles. Under the king were various classes of nobles and gentlemen, called in the documents now printed *luithi*, *airig*, and *maithi*; in Latin, *satrapae* (gl. *errig*, *ML*. 67^d 17), *duces* (*tigerni*), *principes* (*airehinig*), et *optimates* (p. 278), or *potentes*, p. 210. *Regulus* is glossed by *riyán*, and in *ML*. 51^d 21 *subregulis* by *forigunib*. The rest of the population seems to have been divided into free (*sóir*, *sochenélaig*) and unfree (*dóir*, *dochenélaig*), or *aitlich*.

Social observances. Social observances are numerous. Thus we read of visiting (p. 42), standing up (p. 44), kneeling or prostration (pp. 46, 220, 234, 282, l. 7), as acts of reverence. Cleansing the hoofs of the horse of the person sought to be honoured (p. 144, l. 10) is the strangest of these acts. Walking *dosel* 'righthandwise,' *dextrosam*, i.e., with the right hand towards the person or thing to be honoured, formerly practised in Gaul,³ and still in India,⁴ is frequently mentioned in Irish books. But in the documents now printed it is only once recorded, in connexion, namely, with the site of Patrick's *cathair* at Armagh (p. 472, l. 30). Almost

¹ Reeves, *Columba*, p. 68, note K.

² And see *The Book of Rights*, ed. O'Donovan, p. xiv.

³ τὸς θεὸς προσκυνῶσιν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ

στρεφόμενοι, Posidonius cited by Athenacus, iv., p. 142.

⁴ *Skr.* dakshinam kri.

all the published literature on this curious subject is referred to by the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, *On the Ceremonial Turn called Desial*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for March 1877. Vol. I., Ser. II., and by Prof. Tawney, *Kathásaritságara*, L. 98. 99. 573.

The solitary instance of the use of a honorific title is in p. 218. where the charioteer, Odrán, addresses his master, Patrick, as *a lobba Pátraic!* The solitary mention of the way in which social contempt was expressed is in p. 138, when Patrick prophesied that a certain tribe who had stoned him, would be 'under spittles and wisps and mockery in every assembly.' What these wisps were is not clear.

In this place may be noticed the *géisí* or *gessa*, injunctions or tabus, which seem to have been so important in ancient Irish life. These injunctions were either to do or to forbear doing some act, either generally or under certain circumstances. They might be binding on an individual or on the community. An example is given, *infra*, p. 42. It was a *gess* for any one in Ireland to light his fire on a certain night before the fire of Tara was kindled. Patrick unwittingly 'struck the paschal fire,' and thereby committed a *coll gese*. Here the penalty was death. The same penalty was inflicted on King Conaire for violating his special *gessa*, namely, going to make peace between disputants before they came to him: allowing three red horsemen to ride before him: permitting plunder in his realm, &c. But in most cases it was probably only social ostracism.¹

b. LEGAL.

When there are no statutory enactments, no body of judges authorised to prescribe and enforce rules for the nation, the distinction between law, usage, and morality must be slight indeed; and such terms as *recht* ('law'), p. 564, l. 24, *forbann* (harsh law, p. 564, l. 20), *corus* ('proper order'?), 484, l. 7, 532, l. 14, *nós* ('custom'?), *béscna* (moral law?, p. 34, l. 2), *rechtgac* (jurisprudence?, p. 562, l. 15), *cáin*, gen. *cána*, pp. 42, 504, l. 10), and the loanword *riagol*, (rule, p. 484, l. 4) can only be rendered with approximate accuracy.

In the simplest department, that of criminal law, we find Crimes. (p. 507) the following treated as crimes, as acts, that is to say, punishable by the king as representing the community: theft,

¹ The *gessa* of the Roman Flamen Dialis will occur to every scholar. See on the whole sub-

ject O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, xlvi-xlviii. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, 139, 279.

parricide, perjury, adultery, impiety. The story told in p. 582 shows that murder was a capital offence. Attempts to poison are often mentioned. See pp. xi, xlvi. li, supra, and pp. 51, 182, 381 infra. Poison-making wizards are mentioned in p. 138. The guilty person was called *hibdu* or *cintach*. p. 564, l. 30.

Punish-
ments.

The punishments mentioned in the documents now printed are death, banishment, and sending adrift on the sea.

Death is inflicted by beheading (p. 174, l. 14), drowning (p. 224, l. 10), or driving a chariot over the criminal (pp. 166, l. 2, 234, l. 18, 394, l. 27). To these we may add from the mediæval romances burning (*loscud*), and hanging (*crochad*). Crucifixion or the payment of seven ancillæ was the penalty annexed to the shedding the blood of a bishop, abbot, or scribe, *Wasserschleben. Die Bussordnungen*, 110. Deprivation of burial may have been annexed to capital punishment (p. 374, l. 9).

Banishment is mentioned once, namely, in p. 524, when Diarmait's son is said to have been put over sea (*voared mac dar uir*).

The punishment of sending adrift on the sea is described in p. 222, and more fully in p. 288. The criminal must go unarmed to the shore, having nothing but a small and vile garment. He must bind his feet with an iron fetter (*cos-glas*, Ml. 83^v, 10) and fling the fetterkey into the water. He must then enter a *navis unius pellis*, a coracle whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one fold deep, and without food, oar, or rudder commit himself to the mercy of the sea and wind. A somewhat similar punishment existed in Iceland, but the Icelanders gave the felon oars, flint, and steel, and a supply of victuals.

Besides these punishments, there were doubtless flogging (the word for scourge, *srogell*, is borrowed from flagellum), and imprisonment in the stocks (*cep* = Lat. cippus) and in bonds (*camrecha*, Wb. 53^a 5). Patriek himself was once fettered with iron for a fortnight (p. 372, ll. 26, 27).

SUCCESSION.

The right of certain persons to succeed to the property of the deceased owner is recognised in the stories told in pp. 108-110 and 320, and in p. 309. In the former case, as we are told by the Tripartite Life, two brothers fight a duel about their deceased father's land (*im ferann an-athar iarna héc*) and in Tírechán's Latin (p. 320) this is explained by *vobuerunt dividere hereditatem*. In the latter case, seven sons of Amolngad argue a question of heirship before King Loíguire and Patrick, who decide (without, apparently, any legal assistance) that the sons shall divide the inheritance amongst them into seven parts, 'that they shall, in

other words, take in equal shares as tenants in common. And one of them then 'immolates' his share and his son to Patrick's God and to Patrick.

As to the difference between the *ecclesiastica*, or religious, *progenies* and the *plebilis*, or secular, *progenies*, in the case of the church at Trim, see *infra*. p. 336, and bishop Reeves' *Columba*, p. 355, note c.

These are cases of succession *ab intestato*. Whether the Celts had, without aid from the Romans, evolved the notion of a will is doubtful. The word for 'bequest,' *aidacht* (also spelt *audacht*¹ and *edocht*) occurs four times in p. 346, but always in connexion with ecclesiastics.

The word for inheritance or heritage, *orbe*, gen. *orpi*, acc. pl. *orbe*, occurs in pp. 132, 140. 'Disinheritance' is expressed by *diarpus*, p. 132. In *MI*. 51^a 27, heredum is glossed by *orbman*. The compound *com-orbe* (*Mid. Ir.* pl. *comorbada*, p. 542), means not 'co-heir,' as is usually supposed, but 'successor.' The cognates in other European languages are ὀρφαρός, *orbis*, Goth. *arhja*, Germ. *Erbe*.

The collective ownership in which the greater part of the land in Ireland was doubtless held is evidenced by the record (p. 337, l. 26) of the grant which the genus (leg. gens?) of a certain lady made to Bineán.

But that individual, as distinguished from collective, ownership existed in Ireland in very ancient times appears from the passages above referred to, from the expression *á or[be] saindilés* in *MI*. 51^a 28, from Enda's reference to his ninth ridge (or ninth part of his ridge?) throughout Ireland (p. 80), and from the mention in p. 192 of the fifth ridge (or the fifth part of the ridge?) of Fiacc's father. Whether this individual ownership was absolute, or subject to resumption by the tribe, is a question on which no light is thrown by the documents now printed.

Contract:—

Two words for species of 'contract' occur in the documents now printed, viz., *ernaídm*, pp. 86, l. 29; 176, l. 29, and *colach*, p. 154, l. 21. In p. 176 *ernaídm* is applied to a contract of marriage or betrothal. 'Pactum' is regularly glossed by *caireb* or *smacht*. See *MI*. 91^b 13, 100^a 4. Examples of the contract of sale (or rather barter) will be found in p. 340. 'I buy' is *din-*

¹ See Cormac's glossary, s.v. *audacht*, and O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly, s.v. *udacht*. Another word, said to mean 'bequest' is *cendaite* or *cennaite*.

It is possible that *aidacht* and *cennaite* merely mean donations *mortis causa*. In the Laws, ii. 272, l. 14, *ainbechta* is rendered by 'illegal bequest.'

clim, *cennaitigim*, *eranim* or *erecim*. 'I pay' is *lecim*. 'I sell' is *reim* (= πέρνω), or *reccim*. 'Price' is *log*. Merces is glossed by *cuadrad*. 'Trader' is *cennaitige*. 'I exchange' is *maibtaigim*. Lending (*uain*) and *aidicim* (lending on interest) are mentioned in Wb. 31^r 5. Fenerator is glossed by *airleithid*. Pignus is glossed by *gell*, Ml. 23^a 16, 27^a 6; debiti by *feich*, ib., 55^a 7. The contract of lease is evidenced by the expression *sen-cleithi cona feram* (three *sen-cleithi* with their land), p. 72; *coice sen-cleithi deucc Enda Artich* (E. A.'s fifteen *sen-cleithi*), p. 80. A purchase of a piece of land, with its appurtenances—'wood, and field, and meadow' (= wald, feld, und wiese), with its *less* and kitchen-garden, is mentioned in p. 310. And in a gloss contained in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 29^d 23, we have evidence that, in the ninth century, Irishmen used to buy land as a provision for their unborn children. In the case of the *colach*, the penalty for breach is twofold; non-birth of children and non-decay of the body when buried. But the performance of a contract seems to have been generally secured by *rálho* (sureties or guarantors), which were generally human beings, but occasionally (as in p. 566) natural objects, such as the sun, wind, &c. The words for oath are *oeth* and *firfluge*. For 'sanction' the word is probably *násal*, p. 566, l. 28, which Dr. Petrie (i.e., O'Donovan or Curry) rendered by 'vengeance,' but Mr. Plummer equates with Lat. *noxus*.¹

Cuirde, p. 74, l. 5, is rather a treaty than a contract.

Commendation :—

Commending churches is mentioned in pp. 68, 335, l. 29, and 337. The verb used in *commendavit*, of which the Irish equivalent is *ro-aithe*. English lawyers will be reminded of the practice of the Crown 'commending' livings to bishops in the poorer sees. See also Du Cange, II. 444.

Legal Procedure :—

In the documents now printed we have mention made of 1, the ordeal; 2, the duel; 3, composition; 4, pleading in court; and 5, reprisal (seizure of moveables).

Ordeals.

1. The ordeal by water (*iudicium aquae*) is referred to in p. 56. The ordeal by fire in the same place, and in pp. 88, 90, where a woman with whom bishop Mel was said to have committed fornication, clears herself of the charge by carrying fire in her *casal*.

¹ The *nessaib* (gl. sanctionibus) cited by Mr. Plummer, Rev. Celt., vi. 172, from Ml. 38^a 1, is an erroneous reading, which Prof. Ascoli himself has corrected. The MS. has *messaib*.

2. The duel (*níth, deháid, comrac, urgal, roí*¹) seems mentioned in pp. 108, 320. Two brothers, Bibar and Lochru, fight about some land inherited from their father. Tírechán, or rather his ignorant copyist, says that a *lignum* (leg. *licium*?) contentions, called *caim* by the heathen, was set. In this *caim* (= *campus*?) the brothers fall to with their two-edged swords.

3. Composition for crime (*éire*) is referred to in p. 42, ll. 4, 5, where the king proclaims that neither gold nor silver should be taken from him who should be guilty of kindling a fire before the fire of Tara was lit. It seems to have co-existed with the more modern practice of punishing crime by the State.

4. Of pleading in court a curious instance is found in pp. 126, Pleading, 121, 309. Seven brothers *obtulat in iudicium* (submitted to the jurisdiction) of the overking, who first decides a point as to the right to begin, and then, assisted by Patrick, investigates '*causam hereditatis illorum*,' and decrees that they shall divide it into seven shares. The Irish word for 'cause' is *caigen*. *Fialain* glosses *testem*, Ml. 38^l 11; *foveell* adtestatio, Ml. 42^o 1; *in mesil* judicialiter, Ml. 51^o 21.

5. Reprisal by distress of moveables (*athgabáil, pignoris capio*) Reprisal. is declared (p. 564, l. 35) to be a privilege of champions. This subject has been so fully discussed by Sir H. Maine (*Early History of Institutions*), the late Sir Samuel Ferguson (*On the Rudiments of Common Law discoverable in the Senchas Már*), and Prof. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Revue Celtique*, vii, pp. 29-31) that I will here only refer to those acute and learned essays. It seems to have been the only means of compelling submission to the jurisdiction of the brehon.

6. Fasting. Another means of enforcing a right or duty is Fasting. fasting (*broscadh*), which has long ago been compared with the Indian *dharna*. It forms part of the procedure *athgabáil*, above noticed, and is mentioned thrice in the documents now published. First, in p. 218, when Patrick fasts against (lit. upon) a merciless master to compel him to have compassion upon his slaves. Secondly, in p. 418, where Germanus and Patrick fast against a heretical city to compel it to become orthodox. Thirdly, in p. 556, when Patrick fasts against the pagan king Loeguire to constrain him to his will. I have suggested (*infra*, p. 569 n.) that the primeval 'sanction' of the practice was the suicide by starvation of the person fasted against. In India another kind of *dharna* consists in 'constructing a circular enclosure called a *kurh*, in which the Brahmans raise a pile of wood or other combustibles,

¹ See Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville's paper *Des Attributions judiciaires de l'autorité publique chez les Celtes*, *Revue Celtique*, vi, 12.

and, betaking themselves to fasting, real or pretended, place within the area of the kurb an old woman with a view to sacrifice her by setting fire to the kurb on the approach of any person to serve them with a process, or to exercise coercion over them on the part of the Government or its delegates.¹

Here we have a possible explanation of the strange story of Miliuc's self-cremation, told in pp. 38, 276. Miliuc, who was a wizard as well as a king, when Patrick drew nigh to constrain him and his race to embrace Christianity, constructed a *Kurb* in order to compel the missionary to desist from his attempt; Patrick disregarded his preparations, so he burnt himself alive, in the belief that Patrick, by burning himself alive (according to the rigour of the etiquette), or from dread of some god's displeasure at having been the cause of Miliuc's horrible death, would leave the ancient heathenism intact. But of course Miliuc may have been a devotee, like the Mexican *Nanahuatzin*, who leapt into a fire to propitiate the gods.

Brehons. 7. Judges. The judges (*brithemain*, Anglicised *brehons*), or official arbitrators, by whom the Irish laws were administered, seem mentioned by Patrick (p. 372, ll. 31-34) as the recipients of payments amounting to not less than the price of fifteen men. The derivative *brithennacht* glosses sanctione in *MI.* 40^a.

A brehon, named Ere (afterwards a bishop), is named as one of Patrick's household, and was doubtless useful from his knowledge of customary law. The brehon had, before Patrick's advent, the right to deliver judgment *ar roscadaib ocus fusaigib* (p. 556), which I have rendered, with some doubt, by 'on maxims and precedents.'

Judices ecclesiae are mentioned, p. 507, and some of their duties are prescribed. Whether they had any civil jurisdiction is not clear. The direction that they should have no *timorem hominum* suggest that they had some such jurisdiction.

c. MILITARY.

On military matters not much light can be thrown by such documents as are printed in this work.

Warrior. The warrior or champion is called *trénfer*, p. 264, *feunil*, gen. *fendeda*, pl. dat. *fennethaib*, p. 565, and *óc* (literally juvenis), p. 510, l. 95. In the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 3^e l. stipendium is explained as the name of the remuneration (*lóg*) which is given to soldiers for military service (*doberr do míledaib ar mílty*).

¹ Beaufort, Part II., p. 780. See Sir James Stephen, *Hist. Crim. Law*, ii., 321.

Their offensive weapons were the sword (*claideb* = Skr. *khadga*), which was sometimes of iron (*ferreos gladios*, p. 300, l. 32, and two-edged, p. 320), and adorned *beluinis . . . dolatis . . . dentibus* (Adamnán, p. 88^b), and the spear (*ga*, p. 72 = the Gaulish *gaisos*), of which the shaft was called *crann*, p. 142), and the point *rian* (pl. dat. *rennaib*, p. 536, l. 6). *Jaculum* is glossed by *airebor*. Slings and battle-stones are often mentioned. The axe, *biail*, is mentioned, p. 136, but as being a tool, not a weapon. Nothing is said of the bow (*fidhoc*), which the Irish seem never to have used in war, possibly because the dampness of the climate rendered the bowstring (*tét fulboic*) untrustworthy: ¹ possibly, also, because archery was ineffective in a densely wooded country.

Their defensive armour was first, the shield, *sciath*, which had a rim (*inembel*), and reached to the chin (p. 44), and, second, the corset, *lúvech*, borrowed from the Lat. *lorica*. The corset must have been known to the Irish before the eighth century, as the word is used metaphorically in Fiacc's hymn. There is reason to think that it was sometimes made of horn; but iron is the only material mentioned in this behalf in the documents now published. See p. xxxi.

Defensive
armour.

Arngasciud (p. 566) seems to be a general expression, comprising both spear and shield. *Athorgabu* glosses *arma*, Ml. 66^c 11.

A band of warriors was called *buiden* (p. 148), pl. *buidnea* (gl. *turmae*, gl. *cuneos*), Ml. 112^b 7, 9, or *ám*, Ml. 33^d 17, or *drong*, pl. n. *druing*, p. 476. The first of these words is applied only to footsoldiers (*is for cois in buiden*, II. 2, 16, col. 93), and is cognate with Eng. *band*; the second with the Latin *agmen*; the third is the late Latin *drungus*, whence the Greeks of the Empire took their *δρογγος*. An army was called *dúmad* (p. 324), *sláag* (= W. *llaw*), p. 150, whence *slógad*, 'an expedition,' Ml. 115^a 8, *sovráite*, p. 562, or *airbor*, Ml. 62^b 13. The van was *tossach*, p. 150; the rear *dered*. The only words bearing on the art of war is *airraid*, 'ambush,' pp. 46, 381.

No mention is here made of war-chariots. The existence of Cavalry, cavalry seems implied in the story (p. 182) that the Húi Lilaig pursued Patrick *coicait marcach* (with fifty horsemen), to slay him, and in the gloss *iana marcadachtac* (gl. *acquitatús*), Ml. 72^b 28.

¹ Nothing proves the *Unschtheit* of Macpherson's Ossian more than its frequent references to archery. According to Strabo, some of the

Belgae used bows, but the arrow was chiefly employed for killing birds.

d. ECCLESIASTICAL.

1. Organisation :—

The documents now published mention the following kinds of male ecclesiastics :—

1. archiepiscopus, pp. 353, l. 30; 511, l. 1; *uasalep-scop*, p. 444, whose office is called *archiepscopatus*, p. 510.
2. bishop, *epscep*, 158, l. 4; *ard-epscep*, pp. 404, l. 4.; 528, l. 3.
3. *uasalsacart* = archipresbyter, p. 98; *ard-senoir*, p. 526.
4. priest, *sacart* = sacerdos; *sacart méisc*, pp. 264, 266, 574; lit. 'priest of the table,' and rendered 'chaplain' by O'Donovan; *cruiinther* = prebyter, presbyter, *sraith*, 230, l. 20.
5. archdeacon, *uasaldechon*, pp. 30, 104.
6. deacon, *dechon*, *deochau*, *deochain*, pp. 8, 432; diaconus, pp. 303, l. 4, 305, 357, 365.
7. subdeacon, subdiaconus, p. 305, l. 9.
8. exorcist (pp. 303, l. 4; 305, l. 25).
9. ostiarius, *aistire* (pp. 264, 574) = *fer bein in chloic*, 'bell-striker,' Four Masters, A.D. 448.

The acolyte or *caidllóir* (= candelarius 'qui candelas in ecclesia defert') is not here mentioned, but the word occurs as a gloss on 'acolytus' in Wb. 24^b 32, and in the same MS. 31^d 20. it is said to be 'nomen gradus.' His light was called *lésboire*, Wb. 25^d 3, or *lésaire*.

Besides these we have the anchorite (anchorita, p. 337); anchoritae accessiæ, p. 354, l. 10, who dwelt in a *dísert*, pp. 156, l. 2; 242, l. 2; and the *macc-cléirech*, p. 156, l. 9, who seems to have been a divinity student.

The word *airchinnech* 'princeps' occurs in p. 30 (where it is applied to Pope Celestinus), 214 and 250. In Middle-Irish it generally means the manager of lands annexed to a church or monastery.

In conventual establishments we have the cynubita (*coenobita*), p. 353, and the *cellóir*¹ (= cellarius²) over whom were the *abb*,

¹ Féilire Oengusso, p. clviii., Ml. 144^a, where *cellorib* glosses 'prumptuaris.'

² Reeves, *Columba*, 46, note

acc. sg. *abbáith*, p. 346, or princeps, the *secundabb* or *secnabb* (= secundus abbas), pl. n. *secundapíd*, Wb. 12^b 17, and the *ferthigis* or oeconomus. In p. 30 Pope Celestinus is called *abb* Romae, and in p. 534 the word is applied to a king of Media. Adammán, p. 94^a, calls a nunnery 'puellarum monasterium.'

Intermediate between the regular and the parochial clergy were the Culdees, *cóli Dé*, one of whom is mentioned in p. 198.

Female ecclesiastics were the *cailloch* 'nun,' a derivative of *caille* = pallium, p. 252, the *cailloch léigín* or lectrix, corresponding with the *fer léigín* of the monastery, and the *manchess* = monachissa, pp. 98, 560. We read that Mathona was a manchess of Patrick and Rodan's. The proper name *Cruimtheris*, p. 232, ll. 16, 22, is = presbyterissa. Whether she was a church-officer (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiq.*, s.v. Widows) or the wife or widow of a presbyter, does not appear. Deaconesses (*band-dechain*) are mentioned in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 28^c. A *ban-abb* (abbess) and *ban-airchinnich* (gl. antistita) are also mentioned, but not in the documents now published.

The ordination of bishops, priests, deacons, and clerics is often mentioned. See pp. 30, 62, 260, 262, 326, l. 21, 372 (where Patrick declares that he made no charge for 'distributing the ministry'), and 374. But no light is thrown on the manner of consecration. According to the Tripartite Life, p. 30, when Patrick was ordained bishop by Pope Caelestinus, bishop Germanus and 'Amatho king of the Romans' were present. But according to Muirhu, p. 273, Patrick was ordained by bishop Amatho-rex (leg. Matorix?) without, apparently, any episcopal assistance. Columba went to a single bishop (Etehin) to be consecrated bishop, though, by a mistake, only a priest's orders were conferred upon him. The uncanonical practice of consecrating bishops by a single bishop seems to have prevailed in Ireland down to the twelfth century. Ordination *per saltum* also occasionally took place. An example in the present work is the case of Fiace, pp. 402, 404, who was made a bishop without having been a priest or even a deacon.

For 'diocese' the words 'paruchia' (*παροικία*) and 'diocesis'¹ (*διώκησης*) are used synonymously. In monastic language a paruchia was the jurisdiction of a Superior over the detached monasteries of the order (Reeves, *Columba*, p. 336). The Irish bishops, as is well known, had no territorial jurisdiction.

¹ Adammán, p. 35^b.

The
Bishop's
duties.

The chief duties of the bishop are described in the following extract from the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 12^a, l. 1 :—

IS de ata annumna fer
nErean i timna Patraic, co
raibe primescop cecha prímua-
thi in *Erinn* fria hoirdnead oessa
graid 7 fri coiseocrad eelas,
fri hámmechardine do flathib
7 oirchinn[*ch*]ib 7 d'oes graid,
fri noemad 7 bennachad a
cland iar mbathis. fria for-
congra lubrai *cech* eelasi 7
muc 7 ingean fria legend' 7
crabud, ar minas legat na
meic in *cech* aimsir, itbela
in uile eelas, 7 ní bia cretim,
acht duibgeimtligecht hi tir
nEreanu.

Hence are the names of the men of Ireland in Patrick's testament, that there be a chief bishop for every chief tribe in Ireland, for ordaining ecclesiastics and for consecrating churches, for soul-friendship (spiritual direction) to princes and superiors and ordained persons, for hallowing and blessing their children after baptism, for directing the labours of every church, and boys and girls to reading and piety. For unless the boys read at every time the whole Church will perish, and there will be no belief, but black heathenism in the land of *Erin*.

As to the caution which a bishop ought to show in conferring orders we are told, *ibid.*, p. 11^b, l. 45 :—

Nach escop *didin* dosber
nasalgrad for neoch na be
tuálaing n-airberta i crabud 7
legend 7 ammechardessa 7
eolas *rechta* 7 riagla 7 freuide
cuibde di *cech* pheccad archena
is bídn¹ do Dia 7 duine in
t-escop sin, uair is immdergad
do Críst 7 dia eclais a ndo-
roine, et ideo sex annis peni-
teat,² 7 tabrad *secht* cumnala
oir fria henech in Duileman
beoss.

Every bishop, then, who confers high orders on anyone who is not competent to inform in devotion and reading and soul-friendship, and knowledge of law and rule and of the remedy proper for every sin besides, that bishop is guilty as regards God and man; for what he has done is a reproach to Christ and to His Church: wherefore let him do penance for six years, and let him give, besides, seven *cumuls* in gold for the honour of the Creator.

¹ MS. *bidba*.

² The facsimile has : 7 idiel .iij. añ penitere.

The duties of a priest of the small churches (do mí[n]eclásib) The priest's duties
of the country are thus enumerated in the same manuscript, p. 11^b, l. 35:—

Bathis *didin* nadesium 7
conna .i. sacraic, 7 gabail
u-cenairce beo 7 marb, 7 oi-
frend cech donnaig 7 cech
primsollaman 7 cech prim-
feli. Celebrad cech tratha.
Na .iii. do chedul cech dia
acht minn thoirmesci foceetul
no amuchairdius.

Of him then (is required)
baptism and communion, that
is Sacrifice, and singing inter-
cession for the living and the
dead, and Mass every Sunday
and every chief solemnity and
every chief festival. celebra-
tion of every canonical hour.
The three fifties¹ to be sung
every day unless teaching or
spiritual direction prevent
(him).

Baptismal rites:—

The ordinary baptismal rite is constantly referred to. Patrick himself was baptised in a well (pp. 8, 332, 432), and in a well he baptised the pregnant Fedilm (p. 134), and (it is said) twelve thousand others. That the immersion was trine appears from two glosses in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 21 d. 13, *cesa thréde in tannud* (gl. unum bapisma) 'though the dipping be a triad,' and 27^a 14, *trora tannu torunn* ('three waves over us') in bapismo, *trédenns dosum* ('three days to Him,' Christ) in sepulero, as well as from the Stowe Missal, fol. 56b, *Discendit in fontem et tingitur ter vel aspergitur*. Baptism of an unborn child is twice mentioned, viz., in p. 134, and p. 327, and the rite is thus described in the Lebar Brece, p. 11^a, l. 44:—

Banuseal alacht, dia tie
galar co mbi focharib de bas
airleghar in mbathis for usein
7 fosedegar² in bandseal tar-
cend na geni, 7 doberar Fland
no Cellach do ainm fair, ar is
coitchend do fir 7 do mhnai
cechtar de, 7 hibed in mthair
in usee sin en teit tarsin
ngein, 7 is bathis do.³

A pregnant woman, to whom
disease comes so that death is
near to her, let the baptism
(baptismal office) be read out on
water, and let the woman con-
fess on behalf of the babe, and
let Fland or Cellach be given it
as a name, for either is common
to man and to woman, and let
the mother drink that water
so that it may go over the babe ;
and (this) is baptism unto it.

¹ i.e., the 150 psalms.

² MS. fosedegar. See Windisch's Wörterbuch, s.v. fosísiur.

³ This, and the preceding three extracts, have been published by

Bishop Reeves (with a translation by Dr. O'Donovan) in his essay on the Culdees (Dublin, 1864), pp. 92, 94, 95.

Hence it appears that confession of past sins was in Ireland, as in Carthage,¹ one of the preliminaries of baptism.

When King Loegnire's daughters were baptized Patrick blessed a white veil (*caille*, *veste[m]*) on their heads (pp. 102, 316). So when Patrick baptised the infant daughters of Maine he 'blessed a veil on their heads' (p. 174). For veil (*caille*) mantle (*brat*) is found in the Turin gloss 55. This was laid over the heads of the newly-baptized after the unction with chrism, which is expressly mentioned in the letter to Coroticus' subjects, *infra*, p. 375, as shining on the foreheads of the neophytes. Chrism is also referred to in a gloss (No. 4) in the Turin commentary on S. Mark: 'As catechumens are taught by a priest at first and are baptized, and as they are then anointed by a bishop, so,' etc.² A creed was repeated at the baptism (*ibid.*, No. 68).

Confirmation:—

The rite of confirmation (*consummatio*) is thrice referred to in p. 368, note 2; in p. 372, l. 19, and in p. 484, l. 13, where it is said of Patrick *no-ordned, no-cosmual, no-coisreud, no-bennachad* (he used to ordain, confirm, consecrate, bless). The Irish word for confirmation is *cosmait* (= *consummatio*), the gen. sg. of which, *cosmata*, occurs in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *caplait* (= Med. Lat. *capillatio*, 'capillorum evulsio'):

Capla⁷t .i. nomen de chendló cháise .i. quasi capitolarium
cend-díumach .i. iarsinni benthath cách and, 7 negthair a cend
oc airichill a cosmata isiu cáise.

'*Caplait* ('Maunday Thursday'), a name for the chief day of Easter, i.e., quasi *capitolarium*, 'head-washing,' i.e., since every one is tonsured then, and his head is washed, in preparation for his confirmation on the Easter Sunday.'

Tonsure:—

Tonsuring, referred to in the above quotation, is frequently mentioned in this work. The nickname *Tálcheim* ('adzehead, ascieput') given by the heathen Irish to Christian priests, and to Patrick κατ' ἐξοχήν, pp. 34, 220, 448, 482), arose from this practice. Patrick converts and tonsures two wizards (pp. 101, 103), the expression used in the first being 'he put a shears (*deimness*)

¹ Tertullian *de Baptismo*, cited in Smith's *Diet. Christian Antiqq.*, s.v. Confession.

² Goidelica, 2d ed., p. 6. Compare the Lebar Brecc, p. 244^b, l. 17.

round his hair,' and in the second 'he clipt him' (*ro-m-beir*). Mo-chae is tonsured after baptism (p. 19), but Fiacc is tonsured (*berthir*), apparently, before he is baptised (pp. 190, 344). In the version told in p. 40 the tonsuring seems to consist solely in shearing the beard (*tall tra Patraic a ulchai do Fiacc*). The Culdees were tonsured every month, on a Thursday (L. B. II^b).

Two and perhaps three kinds of tonsure are mentioned: first, Kinds of tonsure. the monachal (*berrad monaig*, xlix, 590; tonsura monachica, p. 510, 'ut cum in monachum tonderet,' p. 25); secondly, the servile (*berrad moga*, p. 509, note: 'seruilem tonsuram,' p. 510, 'more seruorum erat tonsus,' p. 25), which may have been identical with that of Simon Magus, p. 599, note 2; thirdly, perhaps the druidical tonsure (*airbave giannac*, p. 317, l. 11. The verbal noun for tonsuring is *bacholl*, pp. 190, 402.

Liturgical:—

For the altar service we find in the documents now printed the following terms:—

communiō, p. 327, l. 9, whence the Ir. *commain* (acc. sg. 410). See Wasserschleben, *Irische Kanonensammlung*, 20.

eucharitzia Dei, p. 316, l. 28.

idpair, p. 397.

oifrenn, p. 394, l. 24; *oifridel* (offertur), p. 192, l. 26.

sacrificium, 62, l. 17; Ir. *sucarbaic*, p. 192, ll. 23, 24.

viaticum [*séibín*] uitae aeternae, 62, l. 18.

A communion anthem, beginning *Sancti venite, Christi corpus*, is mentioned, p. 396, l. 14.

Patrick's *missa* is mentioned in p. 322, as having been received by certain religious at Ached Fobuir.

The Oblation was called *obla*, gen. *oblaui*, or *oblae*, gen. *oblae*. The hallowed bread broken up for the Eucharist is called *cylogia* (εὐλογία) by Adamnán, Schallhausen Codex, p. 63^a.

As to the mystical meaning of the eucharistic sacrifice see the Irish tracts in the Stowe Missal, pp. 64^b–66^a, and the Lebar Brecc, p. 251.²

The Mixed Chalice:—

The practice of mixing water with the sacramental wine seems referred to by Tírechán, infra, p. 327, l. 9. But there are clear

¹ But the tonsure here described as that of Simon Magus seems to have been formed by shaving the hair before a line drawn from ear

to ear. See Reeves, *Columba*, pp. xlvii, note n, 350, 351.

² Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi, 502–513, xxvii, 441–448.

references to this practice in the tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal (*fin iarum ar leisque hi caelech*, 'wine then on water into the chalice'), and in the following quotation from *Lebor na hÍdre*, p. 117 a.

O robreca bréanai cró	When a shower of gore has speckled
brunni gabra Diarmató	The breast of Diarmaid's steed
núce asa negar Grip	The water wherewith Grip ¹ is washed
ni bosta fri sacarbaic.	Is not clear for the Sacrifice.

Communion in both kinds :—

That this was the practice of the early Irish Church is proved, first, from Secundinus' hymn, *infra*, p. 388, ll. 13, 14; and, secondly, from the legend related *infra*, p. 102, where Patrick says to Loegaire's daughters, 'Ye cannot see Christ unless ye first taste of death, and unless ye receive Christ's Body *and His Blood*.'²

Daily celebration :—

That the eucharist was offered every day seems to follow from a gloss in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 20^l 13: *tesin fuil spirítáilí adáparar each dia forsiad altóir*, 'through the spiritual Blood which is offered every day upon the altar'.

The Paten :—

The paten, *patinus*, Ir. *teisc* (a loan from Lat. *discus*), or *múlbac*, is mentioned, pp. 108, 300, 313. Square patens are mentioned in p. 313, l. 26.

The Ir. *mias* (borrowed from or cognate with Lat. *mensa*) should probably be rendered, not by 'altar' (p. 34, where *mias* is glossed by *altóir*), but by 'altar-slab.' See also p. 250 for the *miasa* made by Tassach, &c. Its place was in the east of the church (p. 34).

The Chalice :—

A chalice, *cailech*, is left (p. 808) by Patrick with a nun, and he leaves in Connaught fifty altar chalices (pp. 146, 300). The chalices made by Tassach, &c. (p. 250) were doubtless of metal, probably of bronze; but four chalices of glass are mentioned in p. 94, one at each of the corners of a subterranean altar.

¹ The steed's name.

² See also Warren, *Liturgy and*

Ritual of the Celtic Church, pp. 134, 135.

The Credence-table :—

The credence-table (*menistir*, *meinistir*, *menstir*) is mentioned pp. 40, 86, 190, 259, 344, 452. Such tables were made by Tassach, &c., and were always probably of metal.

The Fistula :—

A fistula (*buinne*) of gold, through which the sacramental wine was sucked, seems mentioned in p. 86, l. 4.

The Flabellum :—

The flabellum or eucharistic fan (*cuibéath*) is not mentioned in the documents now published. But the Irish word, which probably means 'flytap,' occurs as a gloss in the Carlsruhe Codex Augustinus, No. 86, and (spelt *cuibéad*, *cuibéaidh*, *cuibéaigh*) in various Middle Irish MSS. And the thing itself is represented in ancient Irish illuminations.¹

Vestments :—

The *casal* (pp. 56, 58, 246, 274, 384, 398) used by males as well as females, p. 108, the *cohall* (pp. 384, 398), and the *caille* = pallium used by nuns, are the only ecclesiastical garments mentioned in the documents now printed. The *casal* is described as *bratt tolleann*, pp. 34, 448, or 'domus (casula) capite perforato,' p. 274. A *casula magi* is mentioned, p. 306.

As to the use of colours in sacerdotal vestments, we have, in Colours, the Tripartite Life and the Book of Armagh, only the mention of the white robes (*éaiige gela*) worn by Patrick and his clerics (at matins?) beside the well of Clebach (p. 100), and the *call finn* ('candidam vestem,' p. 316, l. 22) blessed on the heads of baptised girls (p. 102), and the neophytes (p. 375, l. 30). So Adammán speaks only of the brethren going to church die sollempni *abbati* (p. 113^b). But in the later middle ages, in Ireland as well as on the Continent, the ecclesiastical use of colours was greatly extended. Thus the *Lebar Brecc* (p. 108 a, b) contains a tract in which eight colours are mentioned, and the mystical meaning of each is stated. The original² of this curious tract has never been published, except in facsimile. It runs as follows :—

Cacht,³ eia lasa tucait na
datha examla uent isin coehull
n-oiffrind hitús ?

Query, by whom were you
various colours first brought
into the robe of Offering ?

¹ Warren, *Liturgiy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 144.

² A translation (omitting the last paragraph) "from the Curry MSS. in Catholic University" is printed by Dr. Moran, in his

Essays on the Early Irish Church, pp. 171, 172.

³ A scribal error, due to a misreading of the compendium *es*, i.e., *Ceist*.

Ni *anse*. Moÿse *mac* Amra dorat hi cochull oiffrind Ároin *meic* Amra a brathar fessin. Is eside ba *cé*shacart ir-recht Moÿse.

IS físid eia lín dath ro be-
ead la Moÿse i cochull Ároin.
Ni *anse*; *aocht* .i. buide, gorm,
gel, naíue, dond, *de*rg, dub,
corcair. Hit eat sin tra lín
dath dlígíus each cochull oif-
frind ann osin ille.

IS físid eia ara tucthá in
saine [sin] isin cochull n-oif-
frind sech a beth *for*oen dath.
Ni *anse*: *tria* ruin 7 figuir.

Ni techta tra do nach *sac*art
indail¹ cuirp *Crist* dochumm
n-oiffrind cen chochull sroill
táitnemaig imne *cusna* dath-
aib examlu ann, 7 *cura* reithe
a *me*nna fri saíne 7 tuíese
*ce*cha datha sech araile díb, 7
curab lan d'fáitcheus 7 d'na-
man Dé a *me*nna in tsacart
intan dos-bera dia oid saíne
*ce*ch datha fri araile díb 7 *co*
searsat a *me*nmain fri huail 7
dívus amal doforne examlacht
*ce*cha datha.

Not hard to say. Moses, son
of Amram, brought (them) into
the robe of Offering of Aaron
son of Amram, his own brother.
He was the first priest in
Moses' Law.

It is worth knowing how
many colours were set by
Moses in Aaron's robe. Not
hard to say: eight: to wit,
yellow, blue, white, green,
brown, red, black, purple.
That, then, is the number of
colours which every robe of
Offering is bound to have in it
from that time to this.

It is worth knowing why
that diversity was brought into
the robe of Offering instead of
its being one colour. Not hard
to say: through mystery and
figure.

It is not fitting, then, for any
priest to approach Christ's Body
towards the Offering without a
robe of shining satin around
him, with the various colours
therein. And let his mind run
with the diversity and under-
standing of each of these sever-
al colours; and let the mind
of the priest be full of watch-
fulness and of the fear of God
when he takes heed of the
diversity of each of those
colours from the others, so
that they withdraw his mind
from arrogance and pride, as
the difference of each colour
denoteth.

¹ Compare *dail* 'near,' 'within reach,' O'R.

IS *ed tra dofoirne* in mbuidé intan *fégus* in sacart fair i. *conid* *cré* 7 *luaithriud* in *talom* is ádbur dia *churp.* 7 *conid* isin *luaithred cétna ragus* *do-ridise* 7 *cona tarail* *ceimn n-nabair* in sacart *desin iarua.*

IS *ed dofoirne* in ngormm intan *fégus fair,* *cara* *scara* a *menma* *fri diumus* 7 *dualchib* in *táegail,* 7 *co tarda* a *agad* *fri nem* i *n-únlá* 7 i *n-isle* *fri Dia* *Atbair* *fil isna* *nemdaib.*

IS *ed dofoirne* in ngel intan *fégus fair,* *cara* *imndergthor* *imne* ar *fele* 7 *náire* *menip* *genunaid* *táinm* *mach* a *críde* 7 a *menma* *amal* *nan* *tuinde,* *no* *amal* *chaite* *for* *bendchobar* *daurthige,* *no* *amol* *dath* *gesi* *fri gréin* *ce'n* *nach* *n-ernail* [p. 198 b.] *pecaid* *do* *bice* *no* *mor* *do* *airisim* *ina* *críde.*

IS *ed dofoirne* in n-uaine intan *fégus fair,* *cara* *lina* *mifrige* *moir* 7 *torsi* *ndemair* a *críde* 7 a *meanna* ar a *tuicther* *trit* i. a *adnocul* i *crich* a *sáegail* *fo* *úir* *talma,* ar is uaine is *bunad* *datha* *da* *cech* *thalmáin.* is aire *samailte* a *dath* in *co-chail* *n-oifriud* *fri* *huaine.*

Now this is what the Yellow Yellow denotes, when the priest looks at it, to wit, that the earth, which is the material of his body, is clay and ashes; and that it will go again to that same ashes: wherefore, then, a step of arrogance should never visit the priest.

This is what the Blue de-Blue notes, when he looks at it: that he sever his mind from pride and the vices of the world, and turn his face to heaven, in humbleness and lowliness, to God the Father, who is in the heavens.

This is what the White de-White notes, when he looks at it: that he should blush for shame and modesty unless his heart be chaste and shining, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or like chalk on the pointed roof of an oratory, or like the hue of a swan against the sun,¹ without any kind of sin, small or great, abiding in his heart.

This is what the Green de-Green notes, when he looks at it: that his heart and his mind be filled with great faintness and exceeding sorrow:² for what is understood by it is his burial at the end of life under mould of earth; for green is the original colour of every earth, and therefore the colour of the robe of Offering is likened unto green.

¹ Compare Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 1846, vol. II., p. 72, note 1.

[17 10231.

² This must be the meaning, though *lina* is active, and *mifrige* and *torsi* are accusatives.

- Brown.** IS *ed doforne* in doud intan *fégus fáir* .i. co tardai dia óid scarad a chuirp 7 a annma fí araile, 7 corup sí a adbai iar n-éaib a aduocul i n-uir talnata co fórcend in bethai 7 ifrúad dia churp 7 dia annmain iar forbu bratha meáip íresach a gnúm ífús isin tságuil.
- This is what the Brown denotes: when he looks at it, to wit, that he take heed of the separation of his body and his soul from each other, and that after death his dwelling is his grave in mould of earth until the world's end, and hell unto his body and his soul after completion of the Judgment, unless his work here in the world be faithful.
- Red.** IS *ed doforne* in *dearg* intan *fégus fáir curra* scendi 7 *curra* crithnaige a chride im-medon a ehléib tría omun 7 ecla Meic Dé. Ar ba *dearg* cueda 7 crechta Meic Dé isin eroich iarna chesad do Iudaíuib amírsechaib.
- This is what the Red denotes: when he looks at it, that his heart should start and tremble amidst his breast through dread and fear of God's Son. For red were the wounds and scars of God's Son on the Cross when crucified by unbelieving Jews.
- Black.** IS *ed doforne* in dub intan *fégus fáir* .i. *curra* chiea coseyb 7 eugoirt ara peedaib 7 díalchib ar omun tocht i n-dáil Diabaíl, do bithaittreb phéine cen eich.
- This is what the Black denotes: when he looks at it, to wit, that he weep bitterly and keenly because of his sins and vices, for dread of going to meet the Devil, to dwell for ever in pain without end.
- Purple.** IS *ed doforne* in *corcair*¹ intan *fégus fáir* in *sacart* .i. co tarda dia óid Ísu fil in ním co a-immud a glóire 7 a miad-amlá 7 co ix ngradaib nime ic molad in Duilemmu tría bithu sír.
- This is what the Purple denotes, when the priest looks at it: that he take heed that Jesus is in heaven with the plentitude of His glory and His honour, and with nine ranks of heaven praising the Creator for ever and ever.
- ISS *ed* is techta don tsacart indsin, co tarda a meamain tar dualchib in tságuil co haire-raib 7 co háibnesaib suthinib
- This is meet for the priest then, that he put his mind over the vices of the world unto the eternal delights and

¹ *Corcair* is, of course, borrowed from *porpora* (*purpura*), which is said, in the Turin fragment on S. Mark's Gospel (*Goideilica*, 12), to

be made from weed which is on the crags. The Devil appears to S. Molling in a purple robe, Book of Leinster, p. 284^a 49.

filet him nim *ieon* Athair nemdai.

Ocus is iat sin na hocht cemendai dofo^rnet na hocht ndatha sin in cochnill oif^rind iar fⁱguir ⁊ rúin in Athar nemdai.

IS e tra in cohall oif^rind in choer cómraic i filet .iiii. ndatha examlai brises ⁊ sráines ilehatha for aslach nDianbail ⁊ for dualchalb in tsægail. tormaigins ⁊ métaigins na ualchí ⁊ na sogníma.

Ní tehta *immorro* do neoch aile in sróll ara thaitnemehe ⁊ ara uaisle do thabairt ina étgud no nach ina errind cennotha in sacart a oenur intan teit do edpart chuip Críst ⁊ a fóla forsin altoir nóim, ar is cochnill srolldai dligins inne intan sin.

Ocus in sacart *immorro* dianus-táidle no dianus-glacca do bie no mor bannseál hi ngue adaltcais ní tehta dó Corp Críst do glacad no do thadall cen anart sroill ctarru, ⁊ co ndernai aitrige ndiera trí re .xii. bliadan ina pcedaib ⁊ ina thairmthechtas.

The Pastoral Staff:—

The pastoral staff or crozier (*bachall* from *bacilla*) is often mentioned. Thus, we have *Bachall Ísu*, given by Christ to Patrick¹ crozier.

¹ In p. 420 it is said to have been found by Patrick at Arles.

pleasures that are in heaven with the heavenly Father.

And those are the eight steps which those eight colours of the robe of Offering denote according to the figure and mystery of the heavenly Father.

This, then, is the robe of offering; the focius wherein there are eight different colours which often rout and overthrow in battle the temptations of the Devil and the vices of the world, and which increase and magnify the virtues and good deeds.

Because of its lustre and its nobleness, no one, therefore, is permitted to insert the satin in his clothing or in his raiment, save only the priest when he goes to offer Christ's Body and His Blood upon the holy altar; for it is a robe of satin that he ought to wear at that time.

Now if the priest approach or handle, little or much, a woman in the way of adultery, he is not allowed to handle or approach Christ's Body without a sheet of satin between them; and he must do fervent penance, during fifteen years, for his sin and his transgression.

(pp. 39, 446), and which the saint employed to lay low the idol, Cenn Cruaich (p. 90), to slay a druid (p. 454), and to mark out the rath at Armagh (pp. 236, 474), and for which Tassach made a case (p. 424). We have also the expression *crann crocheann* (crook-headed staff) applied by the wizards to 'erosier,' p. 31. Hence it appears to have had a crook or volute. The story told at pp. 89, 468 shows that it also had a point (*airn-tiud*) capable of piercing the foot. As to the meaning of the *baculus pastoralis* see the six hexameters cited in the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. clxxxvi.

Incense:—

Incense (*ind inghis*, gl. incensum, Ml. 141^c 2) seems referred to by Tírechán, p. 306, l. 12, where he speaks of the *fumum benedictum* ascending into the eyes and nostrils of the heathen. But perhaps the smoke there mentioned is that coming from the paschal fire and the 'eriales lucernae.'

Offerings:—

Offerings of women's ornaments at the altar are referred to by Patrick, *infra*, p. 371, l. 36. The offering of a caldron is recorded in p. 230; the offering of chariot-horses is referred to, p. 244. We also find recorded offerings, oblations, or *immolationes* of immovable property to God and certain saints (pp. 66, 336), or solely to Ciarán (p. 88) or Patrick, pp. 72, 80, 110 (where the land is given for the sake of the soul of the donor's father), 228, 230, 310 (where it is offered *in scripturam*). The grazing of a certain number of cattle is given to Assicus *in al-bairt suthain* 'as a permanent offering,' p. 96. In one case the record of offering is accompanied by a statement that the king made it free (*liberavit*) to God and Patrick, whence it would seem the land was charged with certain payments to the king. This subject may be left with the remark that according to Patrick it is the duty of the king, *pauperes elemosinis alere*, p. 507, and that the alms of an excommunicated cleric are not to be received, p. 508.

Celebrating the canonical hours:—

It would seem from Patrick's rule (p. 484) that the day and the night were each divided into four *tratha* or watches (*frith-airi*), and that he celebrated the *tratha* in due order. Their names, with two exceptions (*espartain*, *anteirt*, p. 124, l. 7), do not occur in the documents now printed. They are as follows:—

1. *teirt*, gen. *terte*, 'terce.'
2. *medónlati*, *etruth*, *etrud*, *seist* 'sext.'
3. *nóin*, gen. *nóna*, 'nonas.'
4. *fescor*, *espartain*, 'vespers.'
5. *coimpléit* (= *completa*), 'compline.'
6. *meónailehe* (*μεσονυκτικόν*), *iarmerge*, 'nocturn.'
7. *tiugnair*, *matáin*, 'matins,' 'lauds.'
8. *prím*, 'prime.'

Anteirt (p. 124) seems a loan from the Welsh *anterth*, 'the space of time between nine and noon' (Silvan Evans). Whether it is a contraction of *anter-terth* = Ir. *etartrath* (*o etartrath co lotrud*, L. B., 219, c. 34) has not yet been settled.

The grounds of observance of the eight hours are set forth, in prose and verse, in the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 247.

The Sign of the Cross :—

Frequent mention is made of this sign (*Tropæum Crucis*, *airle na cruiche*, *sign na cruiche*), the *signum salutare*, as *Adamnán* calls it. Patrick is said to have crossed himself a hundred times every day and every night (pp. 124, 486), and *Muirehu* (p. 293) raises this number to a hundred times every hour of the twenty-four. Patrick uses it to heal a wound, p. 12; to wither the hands of quarrelling brothers (p. 110); to paralyse a foe (p. 450); to open a giant's tomb (p. 324). It is used over a child's mouth in order to cure (by proxy) his sick father, p. 76; it is cut miraculously in hard stone (p. 78, and see p. 136). Whenever on his journeys Patrick saw a cross he alighted from his chariot and prayed by it (p. 293). A cruciform well is mentioned in p. 8.

Relics :—

Relics (*taisi*, *martraí*, *reilei*) are often mentioned. *Palladius* is said to have left behind him relics of Paul and Peter, p. 30; and relics of the same apostles are mentioned in pp. 86, 396. Ancient relics (*martra sruille*), which Patrick had brought with him over sea from the east, are mentioned in pp. 180, 194, 354, 500, and in p. 238 (cf. p. 474). Patrick is said to have stolen as much of the relics of the apostles (*taissi inna n-apstal*) as he wanted, while the inhabitants of Rome were asleep. As to such pious thefts and *praedones sancti*, see M. Le Blant's memoir, *le Vol des reliques*.¹ Making friendship to Rodan's relics is mentioned in p. 314

¹ *Revue Critique*, 15 Nov. 1886, | of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Relics,
p. 388. See also Smith's Dictionary | p. 1773, col. 2.

in an obscure passage. The adoration of Fiacc's relics is mentioned in p. 283, l. 17: the *taissi* and *reilei* (relics and remains) of Patrick himself at p. 170. Bishop Columban's voyage to Bophin Island *cum reliquiis sanctorum* is recorded, p. 318. Relics were kept in a *tiag* = theca, *θήκη*, p. 556, or *serín* (serinium), p. 192. *Velum quod custodiuit reliquias* is mentioned in p. 329. The relics (*taissi*) of Sen-Patraic (said to have been our saint's tutor) were deposited in a tomb (*ulad*) in Armagh (p. 505).¹

The rite of watching (*aire*) at night before relics, which is recognised in the early pontificals, is mentioned in pp. 238, 240.

Prayer for the dead:—

The Irish word for this seems to have been *ceannairc*. Adamnán, p. 113^b, calls this prayer *consuetu deprecatio*. See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 211, n.

The ideas of the Irish on this subject are expressed in many ancient lapidary inscriptions, and in the following extract from the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 11^a, l. 19.

Niconfil ní dosgnú duine
 tarceud anma indi atbail nat
 cobair do, etir figill 7 apstanait
 7 gabail n-ecnairee 7 bendachtu
 menci. Filii pro mortuis
 parentibus debent penitere.
 Bliadain lán dilú do Móedoc
 Ferna cona muintir uile for
 usee 7 baingin iar tuaslucud
 anma Branduib meic Echach
 o ifiurn.

There is nothing which one
 does on behalf of the soul of
 him who has died that doth
 not help it, both prayer and
 kneeling, and abstinence, and
 singing requiems, and fre-
 quent blessings. Sons are
 bound to do penance for their
 deceased parents. A full
 year, now, was Maedóc of
 Ferns, with his whole com-
 munity, on water and bread,
 after loosing from hell the soul
 of Brandub son of Echaíd.

Holy Water:—

Uisce crnuigthe, 'aqua sancta,' is mentioned in the story of Patrick blessing water, which then, sprinkled over the dead bodies of Dáire and his horses, brings them back to life (pp. 228, 291).

¹ Another word for relic, *mind*, preserved by Muinis, p. 82, and
 is applied to the crozier of Patrick's | see p. 86, l. 5.

Genuflexion :—

Genuflexions or prostrations (*flectenae*, *slechtana*) are often mentioned as religious acts, see pp. 312, l. 32; 440, l. 14; 484, l. 10.

Observing Sunday :—

Patrick seems to have paid much respect to this day. His resting on Sunday (*domnach*) is recorded in pp. 146, l. 2; 192, l. 23; and by Muirchu in p. 394; and he is twice said to have tried to prevent the heathen from digging *raths* on that day (pp. 192, 222, 271, 289). A 'rule of Sunday' (*caín domnaig*), in nowise to transgress upon it, is mentioned in p. 504.

In III, and doubtless in Irish monasteries, on Sundays some addition was made to the diet (*sanctus . . . praecepit . . . aliquam quasi in Dominico, prandioli adiectionem fieri*¹).

Ascetic practices :—

No western Christians were so distinguished for their ascetic practices as the Irish.² Thus we read of Finnehu sleeping with corpses, and suspending himself on sickles inserted in his armpits; of Ultan keeping a stone in his mouth during the whole of Lent; of Ita allowing her side to be eaten away by a stag-beetle; of Ciarán mixing his bread with sand. And the following practices are referred to in the documents now published.

Fasting :—

Fasting (*óine* = *ieiunium*) is frequently mentioned in the documents printed in this work, and there is a short homily on the practice in the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 258. Every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year (except in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday) was a fast-day,³ and this has given rise to the Irish names for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday: *cétáin* or *dia cét-áene*, *dardoen* (= *eter dí-óeni*), and *dia óine didine*. *Ml.* 113^a l. 1, 113^b l. 3. Patrick's habitual fasting is referred to in pp. 260, 262; and his fasting in the wilderness of Slemish (p. 440); his fasting in the isles of the Tyrrene sea (p. 406, l. 1); the fast for three days and nights by which he dispelled the mists which the wizards had brought over Mag Ai; and, last of all, the fast for forty days on Cruachan Aigli, 'after

¹ *Adamnán*, p. 113^a of the Schaffhausen codex.

² See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 335, n. b.

³ Reeves, *Columba*, 348.

the manner of Moses, Elijah, and Christ' (pp. 174, 332, 474, 500), are specially commemorated.

Abstinence from fresh meat in Lent is referred to in p. 333, l. 6.

2. Retiring for a time to a cave:—

Three Patrieks are mentioned, *infra*, p. 27, as *in quodam solitario specu inter montem et mare*, and in p. 242 Fiacc is said to have been used to go from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday to Drim Coblai, where he had a cave (*vain*). Here we have instances of the custom of retiring for a time to a cave, which, says Bishop Forbes, was very common among the British and Scottish saints.¹

3. Standing in cold water:—

Another favourite austerity was standing in a well or tub of cold water. Patrick is said, both in Fiacc's hymn, v. 15, and in the Lebar Brece homily, p. 484, to have practised this custom. Its object is indicated in the story of Scothine, told by the scholiast on the Calendar of Oengus, at Jan. 2. It was also practised by Finnhua of Bri-gobann (Book of Lismore, fo. 28 a b). And see many other instances referred to by Bishop Reeves, *Columba*, p. 219 n.

4. Keeping lepers:—

The leper (*clam* or *trosc*) makes a great figure in Irish hagiology, both as a subject for miraculous cures (see pp. 258, 409, 500), or transits (p. 447), and as an object of humiliating tendence. Thus Patrick commends to his disciple Mochtae twelve lepers, and Mochtae every night takes them a ration (p. 228). The burial of Comlach, a leper specially attached to Patrick (*clam Patraic*) is mentioned in p. 84, and see p. 556. S. Brigit also kept a leper named Lommán (*clam Brigitte*, L. B., 64 a). Possibly, however, the devotion bestowed on lepers by these saints was due to the belief current in the middle ages that Christ Himself was a leper.²

Wearing sackcloth is not mentioned in the documents now printed. *In chilie* (from *cilicium*) glosses 'lugentes habitus,' *MI.* 94^e 12. And in the *Liber Hymnorum*,³ *hi-cilice* is glossed by *hi penmait*, and *cilicium* is explained as the name of a garment made of the hairs of goats or camels.

For instances of prayer as an ascetic exercise, see *supra* p. xix. and *infra* pp. 389, 408, 494.

¹ *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 285, 345.

12th ed., p. 149, n. 3: *Burton's Arabian Nights*, v. 294.

³ *Goidelica*, p. 135.

² See Farrar's *Life of Christ*,

The Liturgical Tract :—

The tract on the origin of certain liturgies, of which the relevant portions are printed, *infra*, pp. 502, 503, has been noticed, *supra*, p. cxix, but must now be further considered. It is the earliest document bearing on the subject. After speaking of the introduction of the Roman liturgy into Gaul by SS. Trophimus and Photinus, the author states that S. John the Evangelist was the first who chanted the Gallican liturgy (*primum cursum Gallorum decantavit*), then S. Polycarp, and, thirdly, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons. He then says (or seems to say) that the liturgy was modified and added to; that in its new form it was used by Jerome, Germanus, and Lupus; and that this is what was called, at the date of composing the tract, the *Cursus Scottorum*. The writer then refers to S. Mark, and declares that Jerome affirms that this *Cursus Scottorum* was chanted by that evangelist, and afterwards, at different times, by Gregory Nazianzen, by Cassian, by Honoratus of Lerins, and by Cesarins of Arles, where Lupus and Germanus were monks. These two, he says, taught Patrick sacred letters, and had him made archbishop in the Scotiae and in the Britanniae (*in Scottiis et Britanniis*). There he chanted the same liturgy (*ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit*).

Ritual :—

Beyond giving the words for certain books, the documents now printed throw no further light on the details of this subject.

We have a *soiscéla* (a gospel) given by Patrick to Mochae (p. 40). This was probably a Latin copy of the portions of the four Gospels which were used in the Mass. It was called in Latin *Evangelium*, *Evangelistarium*, *Evangeliarium*, and in English *gospelar*. The common expression *la terebáil in tsoicéli* seems to embody the Irish word.

a *lebor uird ocus baptismi* which Patrick left with deacon Iustus is mentioned p. 104: a *lebor ortosa* p. 40, l. 6, and *libri baptismatis* p. 318, l. 13:

Lastly, we have *libri legis*, *aeuanguelii libri* (p. 300): which have been explained as meaning copies of the Old and New Testaments.¹ But consider the seven *libri legis*, which Patrick gave Mune (p. 326). These can hardly have been seven copies of the Old Testament.

¹ Olden, p. 41.

Having thus described the codices from which the text of the Tripartite Life has been taken: having endeavoured to fix approximately by historical and grammatical arguments the date at which it was compiled: having noticed the other documents printed in this work, and described at some length the Book of Armagh and the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*, from which the most important of those documents are taken: having tried to set forth with their aid some parts of the personal history of S. Patrick; and having, lastly, indicated the instances in which the contents of this work throw some scattered lights on the social condition of the early Irish, and on their religious tenets and practices, I have now, in conclusion, to express my gratitude to eight scholars, of whom seven, happily, are still alive.

First, to Father John Colgan, with whose Latin paraphrase of the Tripartite Life I compared every sentence of my translation;

Secondly, to Mr. W. M. Hennessy, with whose English version of the Tripartite Life, so far as it extends,¹ I collated mine, and from whom I never differed without much reluctance and diffidence;

Thirdly, to Dr. Reeves, bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, who read a proof of pp. 317-321, 348-353, and made corrections and suggestions of great value;

Fourthly, to Count Nigra, who, in the midst of his diplomatic duties, found time to compare a proof of pp. 402-426 with the transcript which he had made at Rome of the corresponding part of the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*;

¹ It omits pp. 2, ll. 6-29; pp. 4, 6, 8, ll. 1-3; in p. 14, ll. 6, 7, the words *an nochtfanad*; p. 64, ll. 7-30; p. 65, ll. 1-13; p. 72, ll. 1-5, ll. 17-31; pp. 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, ll. 1-27, 88, ll. 27-29 (*ar aroi . . . thocad*), p. 106, ll. 15-22; p. 114, ll. 26-30; p. 116, ll. 1-4; p. 118, ll. 11-6 (*gebthar . . . dig-*

idider); p. 130, l. 10 (*Ferghas . . . aithin*); p. 140, ll. 10-26; p. 142, ll. 13, 14; p. 152, ll. 4, 5 (*acht . . . geill*); p. 158, ll. 24-28; p. 160, ll. 1-11; p. 172, ll. 7-32; p. 174, ll. 1-4; p. 184, ll. 7-10; p. 186, ll. 10-19; p. 190, l. 3; p. 202, l. 4; p. 246, ll. 3-23.

Fifthly, to Mr. S. H. O'Grady, whose keen and practised eyes helped me to decipher the dim photograph, from which, owing to the unexpected refusal of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, to deposit the MS. (H. 3. 18) in the British Museum for a few days, I had to print pp. xlvii-lviii of this Introduction ;

Sixthly, to the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., who, though suffering from a painful ocular ailment, examined for me, in the original MS., some parts of the *Liber Angueli*, infra, pp. 352-356, as to my readings of which I was doubtful ;

Seventhly, to Professor Windisch, of Leipzig, who encouraged me throughout the progress of this long and laborious work, and to whom I am indebted for the explanations of the supposed prefix *for* (supra, p. lxxi), and of *maili*, infra, p. 694.

Eighthly, to the Rev. Thomas Olden, who read a proof of the latter half of this Introduction, and to whom I owe the explanation (p. clxxiv) of *navis unius pellis*.

Also to the late Master of the Rolls (Sir George Jessel), to the late Sir William Hardy, and to the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (Mr. Maxwell Lyte) my thanks are due, for various acts of kindness in connexion with this book.

WHITLEY STOKES.



BETHU PHÁTRAIC.

THE TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK.

BETHU PHÁTRAIC ANDSO.¹

[PARS PRIMA.]

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 5,
a. 1.

POPULUS qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam² .i. in popal deissid indorchaib *ateondaire* soillsi mooir. Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis, lux orta est eis .i. *ocus* inluent robatar hiferand *ocus* hifoscudh báis fóuaratar soillsi díatanic asoillsigud. 5

IN Spirit Nóemh, in Spirit isuaisli each spirit .i. in Spirit dorinfith ind *Eclais* cechtardai innafeatar*iecc* *ocus* indnufiadnaissi órath eena *ocus* fáitsine, isé in Spirit sin roraíde innabriathrasa *triagin* indlátha *Isaias maic* Amois.³ De cuius laude Hieronymus dicit 10 .i. dia moladsíde *atbeir* Cirine noem inníso, Quod non tam dicendus est profeta quam euangelista .i. *conid* córa suisclaighthi darádh *fris indás*⁴ fáith, arasoillsi *ocus* araimehuibhdhe roindis scéla *Crist*. Ita enim uniuersa Christi *ceclesia*[e]que misteria ad l[ue]idum 15 prosecutus est ut non eum⁵ putes de futúro uaticinari, sed de praeterito historiam dicere.⁶ Arroboi dia soillsi roindis huile rúine *Crist* *ocus* na hEalsi noime *conaba* dóig lanech *combad* tairrectal rét todochaide doneth *acht* aisneis rét remthechtach iarnaforphtigud. 20

¹ Beatha Pádraice anso, R., in a modern hand.

² Isaiah ix. 2. These are the only words now legible on the first page of the Egerton copy.

³ Amois, R.

⁴ R. has the usual contraction for the Latin *quam*.

⁵ eam, R.

⁶ dextere, R.

LIFE OF PATRICK HERE.

THE FIRST PART.

Populus qui sedebat¹ in tenebris vidit lucem magnam, that is, the people that sat in darkness beheld a great light. *Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis,² lux orta est eis.* And they that dwelt in the land and in the shadow of death found a light whence came their illumination.

The Holy Spirit, the Spirit that is nobler than any spirit, to wit, the Spirit that inspired the Church, both of the Old Law and of the New Testament, with the grace of wisdom and prophecy, it is that Spirit which spake these words through the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, son of Amos. *De cujus laude Hieronymus dicit*, that is, to praise him saith Saint Jerome this: *Quod non tam dicendus est propheta quam evangelista*, to wit, that it is meet to call him an evangelist than a prophet, because of the clearness and the fitness wherewith he told tidings of Christ. *Ita enim universa Christi Ecclesiaeque mysteria ad lucidum prosecutus est ut non eum putes de futuro vaticinari, sed de praeterito historiam dicere.* For with such clearness did he set forth all the mysteries of Christ and the holy Church that every one deemed that he made, not a prophecy of things future, but a relation of things foregone after they had been fulfilled.

¹ ambulabat, Vulg.

² habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, Vulg.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 5,
a. 1, 2.

Óen, *dino*, día taircclaib failsi anadfiadar hisund
tria aisneis sechmoda[*ch*]tai .i. Populus qui sedebat in
 tenebris uidit lucem magnam. In *popul* desid indor-
 cataid *atcondaire* soillsi móir. Is hé, *immorro*, leth
 atacbi ind aisnéissi lasin fáith codú *inberairt* remi 5
 Primo tempore alleu[*i*]ata est [5. a. 2] terra Zabalon et
 terra Neptalim,¹ *conid* forslicht nambriatharsin roraid
 in fáid “Populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem
 magnam.” In *popal* desid indorchataid *atconnaire* soillsi
 móir. Iuxta historiam, populus Israel captus ab Assi- 10
 ris, in tenebris captiuitatis sedens, uidit lucem magnam,
 id est radios redemptionis, Hestram, Nehemiam, Iosue
 et Zorobabel et cæteros duces populum ex captiuitate
 ducentes. Mad iarstáir cip indus *popul* Israel sin robai
 andorecataid na daire Asardai *atcondaire* soillsi móir 15
 ictichtain asindóirisin immarân re Hestras *ocus* Ne-
 mias *ocus* Zorobobél, *ocus* immaróen ré táisechu mac
 nIsrael archena tancatar asindóire Asardai.

Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta
 est eis. In lueht robatar hiferand *ocus* hi foscad báis 20
 fuar[atar] soillsi móir dia tanie ánin[*š*]orchugud.
 “Sedentibus,” id est stabiles quia erant [stabiles] et im-
 mobiles in malo. Is he in suide itberar doib .i. ambith
 cobsaid nemeumseighthi inhule. “In regione,” id est
 in campo Sendár ubi est Babilonia. In ferand, in- 25
morro, an apar am bith, mag Sennár sin, *ocus* is and
 ata in Babiloin. “In umbra mortis,” id est in peccato
 et in templis idolorum. In foscad báis, *immorro*, an
 apar am bith, peccad *ocus* tempul ídal *ocus* arracht.

Iuxta nero spiritualem intelligentiam, populus gen- 30
 tium, qui sedebat in tenebris ignorantie et peccati.
 Mad iar sians, *immorro*, isé [5. b. 1] itberar hisund
 .i. *popul* na ngente robái andorecataid peccaid *ocus*

¹ Isaiah ix. 1.

One, then, of his clear predictions which is herein set forth through a declaration of the past (is), to wit, *Populus qui sedebat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*, the people that sat in darkness beheld a great light. Now, this is one of the two contexts of this declaration of the prophet's, as far as the place in which he had said *Primo tempore alleviata est terra Zabulon et terra Neptalim*, and after those words said the prophet, *Populus qui sedebat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*, the people that sat in darkness have seen a great light. *Juxta historiam, populus Israel captus ab Assysiis, in tenebris captivitatis sedens, vidit lucem magnam, id est radios redemptionis, Hestram, Nehemiam, Josue et Zorobabel et ceteros duces populum ex captivitate ducentes.* According to history, however, that people of Israel which dwelt in the darkness of the Assyrian captivity beheld a great light (as they were) going out of that captivity along with Esdras and Nehemiah and Zorobabel, and along with other leaders of the children of Israel, who came out of the Assyrian captivity.

Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta est eis. They that were dwelling in the land and in the shadow of death found a great light from whence came their illumination. *Sedentibus, id est stabiles, quia erant stabiles et immobiles in malo.* This is the sitting that is said of them, namely, their being firm (and) immovable in evil. *In regione, id est in Campo Sennar ubi est Babylonia.* Now, the land in which it is said they were dwelling was the plain of Sennar, and therein stands Babylon. *In umbra mortis, id est, in peccato et in templis idolorum.* But the shadow of death in which it is said they were dwelling (was) sin and the temples of idols and images.

Juxta vero spiritualem intelligentiam, populus gentium qui sedebat in tenebris ignorantiae et peccati. Howbeit, according to the spiritual meaning this is what is said herein: to wit, the people (are the people) of the

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 5,
b. 1, 2.

ancolais anallana. Et in regione, id est, in uoluntate humana unieui[us] que dilicia cordis sui proferente. In ferand, *immorro*, hirabatur, oirfitiud na toile doenai insin. Et in umbra mortis, id est, in peccato. In foscad irrabus ann, dorcata [peccai]d insin. Uidit lucem ⁵ magnam .i. atonnaire soillsi móir i.e. lucem Christi et apostolorum euangelium predicantium. Intsoillsi atoneatar .i. soillsi *Crist ocus* nanapstal ie precept sosecla insin. Ipse de se dixit, “Ego sum lux ¹ “ mundi: qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris.” ² 10 Et de apostolis [dixit:] “Vos estis [lux mundi.” ³ Et Christus ergo uera lux est qui illuminat omnem] hominem uenientem in hunc mundum: apostoli uero lux illuminata a Christo. Christus est lux sine initio: apostoli uero lux cum initio. Is sodeithbir ciat- ¹⁵ bermais comad fri Día atberta soillsi indsút. Ar itbeir Eóin conidhé ind fírsoillsi hé triasa rosoillsiged intuile doman. Nox enim erat in mundo usque dum Christus, qui est sol iustitiæ, radios suos aspersit in mundum, id est, apostolos et sanctos su[ce]ssores eo- ²⁰ rum. Uair robai dorcata mor ocus temel dar eridhibh nangente cén eo roscail grían na fírinne, i.e. Isu Crist, a ruithin tré airdib in domain dia in[s]orchugud triána apstalaib ocus triána nâmaib ocus fírenaibh ocus triana fothoscagthib noemdaib olcheanai. 25

Oen, dino, dona ruithnib ocus dona lassraib rofáid grían na fírinde isin domun .i. Isu Crist—ind ruithen ocus ind lasar ocus ind lia logmar ocus ind lochr[5. b. 2]- and lainderda in[s]orchuig iarthar an betha .i. sanctus Patricius episcopus .i. noemPatraic airdescop iarthair ³⁰ domain ocus athair baitsi ocus creitme for [leg. fer] nEreann. Is and at[í]adard ní día geneluch collaide,

¹ R. inserts “ih.c” (Iesus).

² John viii. 12.

³ Matth. v. 14.

heathen which had formerly dwelt in the darkness of sin and ignorance. *Et in regione, id est, in voluntate humana, unicujusque delicias cordis sui proferente.* Now, the land wherein they dwelt, that is the delighting of the human desire. *Et in umbra mortis, id est, in peccato.* The shadow wherein they abode, that is the darkness of sin. *Vidit lucem magnum,* that is, it beheld a great light; to wit, *lucem Christi et apostolorum evangelium praeedicantium.* The light which they beheld, that is the light of Christ and the apostles preaching the gospel. *Ipsa de se dixit:* "I am the light of the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness." *Et de apostolis dixit:* "Ye are the light of the world." And Christ, accordingly, is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world: but the apostles are the light lighted by Christ. Christ is light without beginning: but the apostles are light with beginning. This is reasonable though we should say that God was called Light, for John saith that He is the true light through the which the whole world was enlightened.¹ *Nox enim erat in mundo usque dum Christus, qui est sol justitiae, radios suos aspersit in mundum, id est, apostolos et sanctos successores eorum.* For there lay great darkness and gloom over the hearts of the heathen until the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, scattered his radiance through the quarters of the globe to enlighten it through his apostles and through his saints and just men, and also through their holy successors.

One, then, of the rays and of the flames which the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, sent into the world—the ray and the flame and the precious stone and the brilliant lamp which lighted the west of the world (is), to wit, *Sanctus Patricius Episcopus,* that is, holy Patrick, high bishop of the west of the earth and father of the baptism and belief of the men of Ireland. Somewhat of the carnal genealogy, of the miracles and marvels of

¹ John i. 9.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 5,
b. 2.

dia fertaib *ocus* dia mírbailib indí noem*Patraic* ind ecailsibh na Crístaide isedecim *Kal. April* aráí laithe mís gróine.

Patraic, dino, do Bretnaib Ail-Cluade a bunudus. Calpurnd ainm a athar, huasalsacart¹ he. Fótíd 5 ainm a senathar, deochan atacomnaic. *Concess* ainm a mathar: di Frangaibh dí, *ocus* síur do Mártan hí. Hin*Nemthur*,² *immorro*, rogenair intí noeb*Patraic*. *Occus* ind lee *fors*[a] rogenair intí *Patraic*, cech oen dogní luga neithig foithi dofuisim *husce* amal bid oe 10 cained ingúforgiaill. Mád fir, *immorro*, a luga, tairisid in cloch in a haened chóir.

Ó rogenair iarom intí noem*Patraic* *issed* rucad *cusin* *mac* ndall claireinech dia baitsiud. Gornias ainm intsaicairt, *ocus* nochoraibi *husque* ocai asandénad 15 an baitsidh, eo tarat airdhe na cruiche di láim inna náiden tarsin talmain eo rommid [*sic*] topar *husque* ass. Lait (*i.* Gornias) *faciem* et roeroslaicti a roise dó, *ocus* ro erlég in mbathais intí ná rofoglaind litri ríam. Doróne Dia firt trédai a[r] *Patraic* isin maighin-sin *i.* in 20 topar *husque* asin talmain, *ocus* a roise don *mac* dall, *ocus* airlegend dó uird na baisti cen aithgne a litri cósín. *Ocus* robaitsid intí *Patraic* iarsin. Rofothaiged, *immorro*, eclais *forsintopar*-sin in robaitsed *Patraic*, *ocus* is and atá in topar *ocón* altóir, *ocus* techt[aid] fuath 25 na cruiche amal atfiadat ind éolaigh.³

Nutritus est ergo hi Nemthur ille puer, crescens in bonis operibus et in uirtutibus quas egit Deus per illum. Nam[6. a. 1]-*que* [a] *pueritia gratia Dei præditus erat,*

¹ See Ducange, s.v. *Archipresbyter*.

² Hindemthur, R.

³ *In margin*: de fonte signato crucis figura.

this holy Patrick is set forth in the churches of the Christians on the sixteenth of the calends of April as regards the day of the solar month.

As to Patrick, then, of the Britons of Ail-Clúade (Dumbarton) was his origin. Calpurn was his father's name, an archpriest was he. Fotid (Potitus) was his grandfather's name: a deacon was he. Concess was the name of his mother: of the Franks was she, and she was a kinswoman of Martin's. In Nemthor, however, this holy Patrick was born;¹ and the flagstone whereon he was born, when any one commits perjury under it, pours forth water as if it were bewailing the false testimony. But if his oath be true the stone remains in its proper nature.

Now, when the holy Patrick was born, he was taken to the blind flat-faced son to be baptized. Gornias was the priest's name, and there was no water by him wherewith he could perform the baptism. So with the infant's hand he made the sign of the cross over the earth, and a well of water brake thereout. Gornias washed his face (with that water), and his eyes were opened, and he read the (order of) baptism, he who had never learned letters. God wrought for Patrick a triple miracle in that place, namely, the well of water out of the earth, and his eyes to the blind son, and his reading of the order of baptism without knowing his letters until then. And Patrick was baptized thereafter. A church, moreover, was founded over that well in which Patrick was baptized, and there stands the well by the altar, and it hath the form of the cross, as the wise declare.

So in Nemthor that boy was reared.² And he grew in good works and in the miracles which God wrought by him. For from his childhood he had been endued with

¹ Here Colgan (*Trias Thaum.* p. 117) inserts, presumably from one of his MSS., an account of a

miracle wrought by Patrick while he was still unborn.

² By his mother's sister, according to Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 118.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 6,
a. 1, 2.

antequam inter bonum et malum no[u]isset discernere et uiam uer[ita]tis po[tui]sset indagare, sicut ipse in Libro Epistolarum dicit, inueniens: "et misertus est adolescentie et ignorantie meae.¹ Et custodivit me antequam scirem eum² et antequam distinguerem³ inter bonum et malum; et muniuit me et consolatus est me [sic]ut pater filium."

Mór di fertaib *ocus* di mirbailib doróne [Dia] tré *Patraic* inna gillacht; *acht* aisnefinit uáiti do ilib díb.

Fecht and báí *Patraic* i toig a muime. Dorala ind- 10
ainsir gemrid, collinad tola *ocus* lia *hasque* less a muime co rabatur lestra *ocus* fointreb in tighé for snám *ocus* combáided in tenid. *Patraic*, immorro, rochí for a muime amal is bés⁴ do maidenaib ic tothlagad bíth. Is andsin roráide a muime fríss: "Nísé snim 15
fil foim. Báí ní bud toisigu dún andás biath do dénam duit, lasse ní béu eíd in teni." *Patraic*, immorro, an[n]oelhuined⁵ inna briathra so, tothlaig⁶ alaili locc ná ranie int *usque* isin tig, *ocus* rothuim a láim isindusque, *ocus* doreprendset cóic bainne a méraib 20
Patraic; *ocus* doronai cóic oibli díb focétoir; [*ocus*]rolass in teine *ocus* ní roardraig intuscue. Romóradh ainm Dé⁷ *ocus* *Patraic* don firt-sin.⁸

Fecht aile do *Patraic* icluichiu itir a comacstu .i. a comaltu, indainsir gemrith *ocus* uachta int[sa]indriuth, 25
cotorinol lán a utlaig do bisib ega co tue leis dia thig co a muime. Is and sin roráide a muime fríssom: "Robad ferr dún brossna crínaig do tabairt díámgorad frís andas atucais." Atribairt-som iarsin frí a muime: "Creitsiu uáir is sochmachtu do Día corolassat eíd [6. a. 2] 30
na bissi amal crínach." *Ocus* is deniu-rad, am[h]dar suidigthi na bissi ega forsan teinith *ocus* andorat a

¹ meea, R.

² eam, R.

³ dísinguerem, R.

⁴ Here (the copy in Egerton, 93),
begins to be legible.

⁵ andochluined, E.

⁶ dorothlaig, E.

⁷ ndé, E.

⁸ descin, E.

God's grace, even before he knew how to discern between good and evil and was able to trace out the path of truth. As he himself declares in the Book of Epistles, saying: "And He had pity on my youth and ignorance, and He took care of me before I knew Him and before I could distinguish between good and evil. And He strengthened me and comforted me, as a father does his son."

Many miracles and marvels did God perform through Patrick in his boyhood; but we will declare (only) a few of many of them.

Once upon a time Patrick was bidding in his foster-mother's house. The winter-time came, so that a spate and flood of water filled his fostermother's dwelling, and the vessels and gear of the house were a-swim, and the fire was quenched. Patrick, however, cried to his fostermother, as is the wont of babes when asking food. Then said his fostermother to him, "This is not what distresses us: there is something that we would do rather than make food for thee, when not even the fire is alive." Howbeit Patrick, when he heard these words, sought a certain place in the house into which the water had not come, and he dipt his hand into the water, and five drops flowed from Patrick's fingers, and thereof he straightway made five sparks, and the fire blazed up and the water appeared not. God's name and Patrick's were magnified by that miracle.

At another time, as Patrick was playing among his fosterbrothers in the season of winter and cold especially, he gathered his lapful of icicles and carried them home to his fostermother. Then said his fostermother to him: "To bring a faggot of firewood, that we might warm ourselves thereat, were better for us than what thou hast brought." Then he said to his fostermother: "Believe that it is competent to God that even the icicles should flame like firewood;" and quicker than speech, when the icicles were set on the fire and when he

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6, a. 2. anail fói, rolasaiset fóceoir amal érinach. Romórad ainm Dé¹ *ocus Patraic triasin* firt sin.

Fecht do *Patraic ocus* dia ffair (.i. Lupati²) oc ingaire cairech co tancatar ind úain cohoband³ *docum* a mathrech, amal isbes dóib, do ól lomma. *Otcondaire*⁴ ⁵ *Patraic ocus* a fiur innfsin, roreithset codian dia terbaud. Dorochair indingen *ocus* roben a cend *fri* cloich corbo comfocús bás di. An doadchuiread, *immorro*, *Patraic*, *atconnaire* a ffair commo comfocús bás di inna ligu, *ocus* rodogalsigestar⁵ cohadbál, *ocus*¹⁰ *conuarguib* fochetoir in ffair, *ocus* dorat airde na cruche tarsinrecht, *ocus* roslanaig cen náchgalar. Araidi noardraigtis foillechta in gelerechta and. *Ocus* tancatar iarsin immalle dia tig mar na⁶ comairsed ole friu.

Fecht aile do *Patraic* oena cáirib co ruc in cú allaid¹⁵ cairig huad. Róchairigestar a muimme comór ind. Dobert in cú in cairig slán arabarach eusin maighin-sin cetna, *ocus* ba hingnad aisec asind inut⁷-sin .i. adétaib in *con alita* imonmbiad ngnáthach. *Oteonnaire*, *dino*, in muime [Pátraic⁸] *coforbrad* rath Dé ann .i. hi fertaib²⁰ *ocus* hi mirbuilib, nocharad sí hé comor *ocus* noconocobhrad sí *condigseth* nách leth cen héisium immaróen fríe.

Fecht and luid a muime do blegon nabó. Luid-sium, *dano*, lea do ól dighe lemnachta. *Dástaigher*, tra, immon²⁵ mboin [isin mbuaile⁸] coromarb cóic bú aile (.i. demon dochuaid inti). Boi toirrsi mór *for* a muime-sium,⁹ *conerbairt fris* tódiusead na mbó.¹⁰ Dodíussaig-som, *dano*, na bú comdar slána [6. b. 1] *ocus* ícais inndássacht-aigh. Romórad, *dano*, ainm Dé *ocus* Pátraic trít sin. 30

¹ ndé, E.

² lupait, E.

³ cohoppun, E.

⁴ *Atconnaire*, R.; *Otcondaire*, E.

⁵ rotogáilsigestar, E.

⁶ nach, E.

⁷ inud, E.

⁸ Sic, E.

⁹ .i. do malúirt nabo *dasachtai*[gc] *ocus* na .u. mbó *aile*, E.

¹⁰ .i. intan bó i[c] euingi[d] loma, E.

breathed under it, they flamed forthwith like firewood. God's name and Patrick's were magnified by that miracle.

Once as Patrick and his sister Lupait were herding sheep, the lambs came suddenly to their mothers, as is their wont, to drink milk. When Patrick and his sister beheld that, they ran quickly to separate them. The girl fell and struck her head against a stone, so that death was nigh unto her. Now, when Patrick returned, he beheld his sister, that death was nigh unto her as she lay down; and he grieved exceedingly, and he raised the sister up at once, and made the sign of the cross over the wound, and healed her without any illness. Nevertheless, the traces of the scar were apparent there. And then they came home together as if no evil had befallen them.

At another time, as Patrick was with the sheep, the wolf carried off a sheep from him. His fostermother blamed him greatly therefor. On the morrow the wolf brought the sheep whole to that same stead; and strange was restitution out of that place, to wit, out of the wolf's teeth, as regards the usual food.¹ So when the fostermother of Patrick saw that God's grace was growing in him, namely in miracles and marvels, she loved him greatly, and she liked not to go in any direction without (having) him along with her.

Once upon a time his fostermother went to milk the cow. He also went with her to drink a draught of new milk. Then the cow goes mad in the byre and killed five other kine: a demon, namely, entered her. There was great sadness on his fostermother,² and she told him³ to bring the kine back to life. Then he brought the kine to life, so that they were whole, and he cured the mad one. So God's name and Patrick's were magnified thereby.

¹ Here Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 118) inserts the story of the resuscitation of the dead child, given *infra* in the homily from the *Lebar Brecc.*

² from the destruction of the mad cow and of the five other kine.

³ when he was asking for milk.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 6
b. 1.

Báí, *dano*, dáil mór la Bretnu. Luidson la muime *ocus* la aiti isindail.¹ Dorala *conderbailt* a aiti isin dail. Rosoc[ht]sat na huile de hein. Rochíset a chomnestai *ocus* rochain a c[h]ommam [leg. chommam ?], *ocus* isсед roraide: “A gille, eed arareicis in fer robái cot- 5 imorchor do écaib?” In gilla, *immorro*, an nochetfanad, roreith coa aiti *ocus* dorat a lana immabragait, *ocus* adrupairt² fris: “Eirig *ocus* tiagam diar toig.” Atrúacht foectóir la breithir *Patraic* *ocus* docuatar inslán íarsin díatig. 10

Dobeirtis meic an³ point in roalt *Pátraic* mil dia mait[h]rib asna miltenaib. Is and [sin] adrubairt a muime *fri* *Patraic*, “Cia dobera cech *mae* [aile]⁴ mil dia muime, ní thabraidsi damsa.” Rouce iarsin *Patraic* lestar laiss docum ind *usque*, *ocus* rofin *ocus* roсэн ind 15 *usque* corosóad immil,⁵ *ocus* roic cech ngalar *ocus* cech nancesc forsa tardad .i. roboi do cretraib léo.

Fecht nand dochuaid rechteairi in rig (.i. Bretan) do fuacra for *Patraic* *ocus* for a muime *condigsitiss* do glanad thellaig ind rightighi Ailehluaide. Dochuaid 20 *Patraic* *ocus* a muime. Is andsin tainic intanggel co *Patraic*, *ocus* ised roraide ris: “Dena emaignthi *ocus* ní ba héicen duit ind opar sin.” Oranit *Patricius*. Roglan iarsin intangel a tellach. Is and sin adrubairt *Patraic*, “Ce noloieter a fuil do conduth im- 25 Bretnaib isin tenlachsa,⁶ nóconbia⁷ luaithne de iar-nabarach.” *ocus* ised on comailter beoss.

Fecht naili luith rechteairi ind rig (.i. Bretan) do chuinchid éissa grotha *ocus* imbi⁸ co muime *Pátraic*, *ocus* ní bai leissi ní doratad isin eiss. Isand sin do- 30 rigni *Patraic* in *gruth* *ocus* innim doutsnechta, co

¹ don dáil, E.

² atrubairt, E.

³ in, E.

⁴ Sic E.

⁵ corood amil, R.; corosóad immil, E.

⁶ tellachsa, E.

⁷ nochombía, E.

⁸ imme, E.

Now, the Britons had a great folkmote. He went to the folkmote with his fostermother and his fosterfather. It came to pass that his fosterfather died in the folkmote. All became silent at that. His kinsmen wept and his wife wailed, and she said: "My boy, why hast thou left unto death the man who was carrying thee?" The boy, however, when he perceived him, ran to his fosterfather, and put his arms round his neck, and said to him: "Arise and let us go home." He arose at once at Patrick's word, and they then went quite whole to their house.

The children of the place in which Patrick was reared used to bring to their mothers honey out of the combs. Then said his fostermother to Patrick: "Though every other child brings honey to his fostermother, you bring none to me." Then Patrick took a vessel to the water, and filled it, and blessed the water, so that it was turned into honey, and it healed every disease and every ailment to which it was applied, that is, they held it a relie.

Once the reeve of the King (that is, of the Britons) went to announce to Patrick and his fostermother that they should go to cleanse the hearth of the palace of Ail-Cluaide. Patrick and his fostermother went. Then came the angel to Patrick, and thus he said to him: "Make prayer, and that work will not be necessary for thee." Patrick prayed. Thereafter the angel cleansed the hearth. Then said Patrick: "Though all there is of firewood in Britain be burnt in this hearth, thereof will be no ashes on the morrow." And this is still fulfilled.

At another time, the reeve of the King (that is, of the Britons) came to Patrick's fostermother to seek tribute of curd and butter, and nought had she that was put into the tribute. Then of the snow Patrick made the curd and the butter, and this was taken to the King.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6, b. 2. rucad [6. b. 2] don rí. Uair rotaiselbath iarom don rí. Uair rosodad inna aiened tsnech[t]a dorit[h]issi. Romaithe iarom inri in éiss do Patraic dogrés.

Is hé, *immorro*, tuirthed tuidechta *Patraic* hi tossaig doc[h]um nÉrenn. Battar .iii. meice Fechtmaidi for 5 longais .i. .iii. meice rí. Bretan, *condeochatar* d'oreain inArmaire Letha. Dorala *drem* do Bretnaib Sratha Cluaidi for fecht *docum* ambráthar .i. co Bretnu Armuire Letha, *ocus* roorte¹ isind orgain² Calpuirnd mac Potiti athair *Patraic* *ocus* a máthair .i. Concess 10 ingen Oebaiss do Galluib. Gaibter, dono, *Patraic* isind orgain[sin] *ocus* a di ffair .i. Lupait *ocus* Tigriss.³ Lotar for muir iarom .iii. meice Fechtmaidi *ocus* *Patraic* *ocus* a di feir leu immbraitt. Issel dolotar timchell nÉrenn fotnaith coggabsat isin tu- 15 aiseirt, *ocus* dosrensat⁴ *Patraic* fri Miliuc mac Buain .i. fri rí. Dal-Araidi, *ocus* rorensat a di feir hi Conailli Muirtheimne, *ocus* nimaftir doib. Cethrar, *immorro*, rocendaigseom. Óin dibside Miliuc: is dó sein arróetsom in[n]ainm is Cotraigi⁵ iarsindí foruigenai 20 do cet[h]artreib. Rotecht, dano, ceithir⁶ anmand⁷ fair .i. Sucait a ainm o tustidib. Cothraigi diambai ie fognam do cethrar. Magonius a Germano. Patricius, id est pater ciuium, a papa Celestino. Oteonnaire, *immorro*, Miliuc gurbo mog hiressiuch rocendaig on 25 triur aili co fognad dó a oenar, *ocus* foruigénairsom .iií. mbladna fo bás na nEbraidi. Occus issel roherbath dó, ingairi muce, *ocus* ba comroeu (*sic*) dontí ronortaig samlaid, uair bá córu abith combad aygairi cairech .i. na mac mbethad. Isel dorala dó iartain 30 corúndai .i. comba hægairi na hEcaisi. *ocus* rocess mór niuned in dithrub sle[be Miss].

¹ rohóirethe, E.

² E. inserts: sin indArmuirec.

³ Lupit 7 Tigris, E.

⁴ rorensat, E.

⁵ as Cothraige, E.

⁶ Read ceithri?

⁷ Here a leaf has been cut out of E.

So when it had been shown to the King it was turned again into its nature of snow. Then the King remitted the tribute to Patrick continually.

Now, this is the cause of Patrick's coming at first to Ireland. There were in exile seven sons of Fechtmaide, to wit, seven sons of the King of Britain, and they went to ravage in Armorica. It came to pass that some Britons of Strath Clyde were on a journey to their brethren, that is, to the Britons of Armorica; and in the ravaging were slain Calpurn, son of Potitus, Patrick's father, and his mother Concess, daughter of Oebass of Gaul. Patrick, then, is taken in the ravaging, and his two sisters, namely, Lupait and Tigris. Fechtmaide's seven sons then put to sea, and Patrick and his two sisters (were) with them in captivity. They went round Ireland northwards, and they landed in the north and sold Patrick to Miliuc son of Buan, to the King of Dalaradia. And they sold his two sisters in Conaille Muirthemne, and he and his sisters knew nothing of each other.¹ Now, it was four persons that bought him; one of them was Miliuc: it is thence that he got the name "Cothraige," because he served four households. Now, he had four names upon him: "Sucat," his name from his parents; "Cothraige," when he was serving the four; "Magonius" from Saint Germanus; "Patricius," that is, *pater civium*, from pope Caelestine. Now, when Miliuc saw that he was a faithful servant, he bought him from the other three that he might serve him alone, and he, Patrick, served seven years after the manner of the Hebrews. And he was entrusted with the herding of swine, and it was a mistake of him who ordained thus, for it was meeter that Patrick should be a shepherd of sheep, that is, of the sons of Life. This happened to him afterwards mystically, namely, that he was the shepherd of the Church. And he suffered many tribulations in the wilderness of Slemish.

¹ Lit. "of them nothing was mutually known" (*imma-fitir*).

[Here in both MSS. occurs a lacuna which may be thus filled up from Colgan's translation, *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 119–122.]

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 119,
c. 18.

Inseruivit autem ei fideliter *Patricius* vsque ad septimum seruitutis annum¹ inchoatum; quo more Hebraeorum serui manumitti et libertate redonari solebant. Applicatus autem a domino fuit porcorum gregi pascendo et custodiendo, qui sub ejus cura fecundis foetibus mirum in modum exereuit. Nec grex magis foetibus et numero, quam subuleus virtutibus et meritis interea creuit, de quibus luculentum veridico ipsiusmet ore prolatum, extat testimonium; vt constat ex libro *Epistolarum ipsius*, vbi ait: *Quotidie pecora pascenam, et frequens in die orabam magis ac magis: ac crescebat amor Dei in me, et timor ipsius et fides, et spiritus augebatur; et in die vna vsque ad centum orationes, et in nocte similiter; vbi etiam in syluis et in monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem, per niuem, per gelu, per pluuiam, fundebam: nec sic ulla pigritia erat in me. Sed molò video, quod tum Spiritus in me feruebat.* Quem autem in se feruere dicit, dubiò procul fuit septiformis gratiae Spiritus, qui eum in aduersitatibus consolabatur, et ad illa ardua caelestium virtutum exercitia et sublimia opera, quae postea exereuit, inuitabat et exercitabat, vt ipse alibi indicat, dicens; *Audiebam quosdam psallentes in me, et nesciebam qui essent.*

Et inter alia innumera beneficia caelitus in eum ab infantia collata, non postrema censenda est ille indulgentissima Domini dignatio, qua cum dignatus est visitare et refovere quotidianis apparitionibus et familiaribus colloquijs angeli Victoris; qui eum in aduersis consolari, et in agendis dirigere et instruere modumque orandi et jejunandi docere, et praescribere

¹ annum, Colg. Other such misprints I have corrected silently.

solebat. Iuxta autem montem *Mis* in *Vltonia* solebat angelus cum tempore servitutis frequentare; vbi ejus in specie auis apparentis, vestigia saxo impressa, magna populi deuotione et veneratione visuntur, et frequentantur.

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 120,
c. 19.

Habuit S. Patricij dominus *Milcho* tres liberos, filium vnum et duas filias; qui ob summam sancti adolescentis morum suauitatem, Deique gratiam in omnibus actionibus eius reluctem, omnibus humanitatis officijs, intimoque amoris affectu eum prosequerantur, ejusque colloquijs et aspectu mirifice delectati, cum sepius viserant, necessariam ad corporis refectionem continuo adferentes: erga quos et Patricius reciproco referebatur affectu, spiritualis alimonie mercedem pro temporali reponens. Eos enim in principijs fidei Christiane instruebat, et que docentis angeli magisterio didicerat, in eorum mox aures, et animos suaviter instillabat. Hæc dum clanculum agitantur, *Milcho* in somnijs visionem vidit mirabilem. Vidit enim Patricium quasi domum ejus ingredientem, flammamque de ejus ore, naribus, auribus et oculis egredientem, eumque totum quasi versum in ignem, minitantem et contententem se concremare, similique incendio exurere. Visus tamen est ipse sibi flammam illam a se repellere, ita quod in nullo eum laederent; sed dextrorsum reflecterent ejusque filium duasque filias in vno lecto jacentes comburerent, et in cineres prorsus redigerent: quos cineres ventus validus eleuare, et per Hibernie regiones ventilare videbatur. Hac territus visione *Milcho* Patricium accersitum rogat, vt si valeat, visionis interpretationem velit sibi enotare. Enarrata igitur ex ordine tota visione, Patricius Spiritu sancto illustratus ad *Milchonem* ait; Ignis quem vidisti ex me exeuntem, est sanctissimæ Trinitatis fides, qua ego totus incendor et illustror, cujus postea prædicatione conabor illustratum et accensum reddere. Sed mea prædicatio non faciet in te fructum; nam obstinata

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 120,
c. 20.

mente celestis gratiæ lumen a te repelles, et in tenebris infidelitatis morieris; filius vero tuus et duæ filiæ prædicatam fidei veritatem amplectentur, ignisque Spiritus sancti eos accendens omne vitium et peccatum ab eis profligabit; et postquam in sanctitate et justitia omnibus diebus vitæ Domino inseruiant, et sancto fine requiescent, ipsorum cineres et reliquie per Hiberniam deferentur, plurimosque curabunt¹ morbos et infirmitates. Filius autem hic *Milcho* est Episcopus *Guasactus*, qui est hodie *Granardie*² in regione Carbræ: duæ vero filiæ sunt duæ *Emeric* quæ jacent in *Cluanbronaigh*.

Appropinquabat et tunc tempus redemptionis viri Dei a sua seruitute. Gentilis enim ille populus solebat seruos septimo seruitutis anno manumissos, libertate donare nisi ipsi sponte velint amplius servare. *Milcho* autem omnem excogitabat modum, quo Patricium in suo retineret seruitio. In hunc autem finem statuit ei, etsi nolenti, sponsam conjungere: quam et curauit in eodem cum eo loco de nocte concludi. Sanctus Patricius puellæ fidem prædicauit Christi, eximiumque Christianorum virtutum, præsertim castitatis, orationis et deuotionis fructum et decorem. Vnde reliquam noctem, continua in oratione insomnes duxerunt. Illucescente autem die cum videret Patricius in fronte puellæ quandam cicatricem acceptique antea vulneris vestigium, ab ea petijt cicatricis causam et originem. Illa respondit; Ego, cum paruula existens puella, essem in Nemthor patrio oppido in Britannia, allisi graviter caput ad saxum, quo casu læthale vulnus accepi; sed frater meus, *Suchat* nomine, tunc assistens, signo crucis signauit frontem meam, et mox vulnus curatum, et ego sanitati restituta sum. Patricius autem arridens, ait; Ego sum frater tuus, qui et te curauit; et diuinæ clementiæ

¹ curabant, Colg.

| ² *Grauardie*, Colg.

bonitate factum est, quod jam conuenerimus post tantam quam passi sumus separationem et seruitutem. Tunc autem diuinam extollentes misericordiam, mox ad eremum et solitudinem se contulerunt.

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 120,
c. 21.

Patricio in solitudine agenti apparuit angelus Victor; qui iubens, vt in Italiam ad discendas scripturas, se conferat, dixit; propera, ecce nauis tua parata est. Sed non erat prope; sed vt ipse in libro Epistolarum ait; *Forte habebat ducenta millia passuum, vbi nunquam notum fuerat iter.* Cui respondit Patricius: Non existimo dominum, cui inseruio, mihi recedendi facturum facultatem. Experire, inquit angelus, an sit licentiam concessurus. Patricius autem angelicis acquieuit monitis. *Milcho* vero petenti licentiam recusauit, nisi auri pondus ejus capiti, iusta lance commensuratum, prius rependat. Cui sanctus adolescens respondit; Potens est Deus meus prestare, quod postulas. Et mox se denuo contulit in eremum: vbi apparuit ei angelus sub specie auis in loco qui *Schirec Archaile*¹ nuncupatur, in quo et impressa saxo visuntur in hunc vsque diem, ejus vestigia: cui et *Milchonis* responsum retulit. Angelus autem ei precepit, vt sequenti die ad certi eujusdam de grege porci vestigia attendat, admonens quod in fossura terre ab eo euiscerandæ, reperaturus sit quandam auri massam qua a manu crudelis domini redimatur. Patricius monitis angeli acquiescens, in designata fossura reperit auri pondus non modicum; quod cum auaro obtulisset domino, optata donatus libertate, liber quo vellet abire permissus est.

Emancipatus igitur Patricius, lætus iter arripuit, quo angelica admonitione tendere iussus erat. *Milcho* vero non ad fidem vel honestatem, sed ad vtilitatem præcipue respiciens, mox doluit se seruum tam vtilem,

¹ Hodie hic locus *Schire Padruic* | *Mis* in septentrionali parte Vltoniae, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 171.

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 120,
c. 23.

tamque necessarium, dimisisse. Vnde pactum præuaricans, curat recedentem¹ e vestigio insequi, domumque inuitum reduci. Sed Dei nutu factum est, vt quod perperam conciperat, opere exercere non potuerit. Patricius enim ad notam eremi solitudinem declinans, ab insequentibus reperiri non potuit. Accessit etiam ad doloris ipsius argumentum, et augmentum, nefarii delicti justissima punitio. Nam aurum quod in libertatis pretium, perperam exegerat, paulo post concessam libertatem nusquam comparauit.

Patricius, autem, seruitutis timore alas addente, cursum currens magnum, vnus diei spatio ab eo loco ad vsque Boandi fluminis ostia peruenit, vbi *Kienanum* quendam cognomento seniore, conuenit: qui nefaria et iniqua conuentione vas electionis pro elixationis vase commutans, cum quibusdam mercatoribus pro æneo cacabo diuendidit. Sed miraculo subsequente proditum, et probatum fuit, quàm iniquum hoc extiterit commercium. Cum enim *Kienanus* cacabum domum referret, et ad parietem suspenderet, ipsius manus ita ei, quasi glutino adnexæ adhæserunt, vt eas nulla vi potuerit retrahere. Et cum vxor maritum iuuare vellet, eiusque similiter adhærescerent digiti; totaque denique famil[i]a occurreret, vtrumque dominum iuuatura; omnium ita manus obriguerunt et cacabo cohæserunt, ut nulla vi diuelli possent; donec tandem perpetrati facinoris culpam agnoscentes, ad penitentiam fuerint conuersi, cacaboque restituto, Patricium libertate curauerint redonari.

Post hæc Patricius ad nautas, in Britanniam transmissuros reuersus, ab eis lætanter exceptus, et ad nauem iam soluentem admissus est. Navis Oceano commissa cepit ingenti conquassari tempestate et immanens pati naufragium. Sed viro Dei ad Dominum suum, qui ventis et mari imperat, orante, mox ces-

¹ recedentem, Colg.

sauit quassatio et tempestas: et ventis ad vota spirantibus in optato Britanniae applicuerunt portu.

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 121,
c. 25.

Egressi vero in aridam inuenerunt regionem ad ingentia terrarum spatia vacuum et desertam. Per eam autem vastam solitudinem spatio viginti quinque dierum ambulantes, victualibus deficientibus cœperunt fame haud mediocriter premi. Tunc eorum maior ad Sanctum Patricium ait: Ecce Christiane, nos fame confectos et morti vicinos, nisi mature ad alimonia prouideatur. Cum igitur Deus quem tu prædicas, potens sit et misericors, ora vt nostrae succurrat miseriae, cibique aliqua refectione nos a præsentis liberet interitu. Tunc Christi seruus in Domini firmiter confisus elementia, ait: Vos credite pleno et firmo pectore Deo cæli, qui dat escam omni carni, cuncta esse possibilis; et ego promitto quod eius munificentia saturabimini. Patricio hæc et similia perorante, et mox ad Dominum feruenter orante, qui ad Moysis instantiam Israël olim fame laboranti in deserto, pluit sicut puluerem carnes et manna de cælo; ita ad intercessionem fidelis serui sui, his fame in vasta solitudine pereuntibus gregem porcorum et copiam syluestris mellis cælitus misit: qua prouisione refecti mortis euaserunt periculum, et susceptum per vastam solitudinem peregerunt iter.

Homines autem barbari, et de sancti beneficio ingrati, partem porcorum a vero Deo donatorum, suis idolis immolarunt. Et hinc sanctus vir, nolens porcorum istorum degustare carnes, integro viginti dierum spatio ieiunauit; et diuinæ tandem gratiæ dono factum est, vt non minus primo quam postremo die fame laborauerit. Vnde gentiles illi hæc videntes cœperunt Dei in seruo suo Patricio prædicare et extollere virtutem.

Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis, quos nunc signis et prodigiis clarificat; nunc variis aduersitatibus et temptationibus sinit affligi; vt sciant totam suam virtu-

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 121,
c. 28.

tem et fortitudinem ex Deo esse. Vnde et permisit seruum suum dilectum signisque ad virtutibus jam clarificatum ab angelo Sathanæ grauissime tentari. Dum enim somno vacaret, tentator in dormientem irruit eumque ingenti opprimentis saxi mole ita comminuit, et contriuit, vt omnium membrorum motu et officio funditus destitutum reliquerit. In his autem positus angustiis, quem ore inuocare non valuit, in spiritu semel ac iterum inuocauit Heliam prophetam sibi in adiutorium. Helias autem ei assistens, ipsum ab omni pressura et incursu inimici liberauit, et *restitutæ sunt ei vires eius in integrum*. Toto tamen reliquæ vitæ tempore non potuit excutere memoriam istius terribilis casus; vt ipse dicit *in libro Epistolarum*.

Post tot aduersitates et aerumnas Sanctus Patricius reuersus est in suam patriam, in qua solum tribus mensibus mansit; cum ecce noua eum aduersitate probare placuit Domino. Alii enim prædatores Britones inuaserunt et deuastarunt eius patriam, ipsumque captiuum duxerunt. In ea iam tertia captiuitate solum duobus mansit mensibus, cum diuinæ bonitati, oculo suæ clementiæ, placeret ejus aerumnas alternae consolationis leuamine visitare. Venit enim ad eum Victor angelus; qui eum de instanti liberatione consolatum et securum reddidit, viamque aperuit, qua ex seruitute egrediens ad suos redierit.¹

Tunc Patricius reuersus est ad patriam et amicos; qui rogauerunt eum, vt apud eos de caetero remaneret, dicentes; multos labores, aduersitates et aerumnas hactenus passus es; iam requiesce, et apud nos commorare, et noli amplius de terra in terram peregrinari. Verum non acquieuit monitis eorum, propter

¹ rediit, Colg.

multas quibus continuo visitabatur, visiones. Quotiescumque enim somni quietem capere cupiebat, videbatur sibi ante oculos continuo prospicere Hibernorum insulam, ita quod perciperet sermonem et clamorem puerorum in sylua Fochladensi dicentium: *Veni sancte puer Patrici, et inter nos ambula.*

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 121,
c. 30.

His et similibus visionibus motus, cum vir sanctus animaretur, et a Spiritu Sancto excitaretur ad conversionem Hibernorum, annum iam aetatis attingens trigesimum, statuit prius Romam ad doctrinae et fidei Christianae arcem et magistram proficisci, vt e fonte irrigua verae sapientiae et orthodoxae disciplinae hauriret fluentia, quibus arida gentilis populi irrigaret corda; neque enim decuit, neque licuit eum caelestis doctrinae se exhibere magistrum, nisi prius in praecipua eiusdem disciplinae schola egisset discipulum. Profectus est itaque vltra mare Iecium, donec venerit in Franciam, et vsque ad Alpes australemque plagam Italiae, ubi reperit Sanctum Germanum nobilissimum Europae ea aetate episcopum; et apud eum legit ecclesiasticos canones ad instar Pauli apostoli ante pedes Camaliëlis, ibique Deo seruiuit in laboribus, ieiuniis, vitae castimonia, cordis contritione, ac Dei proximique dilectione.

Postea Sanctus Patricius profectus est Turones ad Sanctum Martinum, vt cum in monachum tonderet. Adusque enim illum diem non nisi more seruorum erat tonsus. Quando uero monasticam a Sancto Martino accepit tonsuram, omnes saeculi curas et voluptates abdicauit, seque totum orationi, et abstinentiae consecrauit; ita quod proposuerit nunquam vesci carnibus. Quadam tamen die grauitus tentatus non potuit se continere, donec carnes acceperit suillas, quas ne alij monachi eius ducerentur exemplo, sub dolio abscondidit. Postquam autem sic carnes reliquerit,

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 121,
c. 32.

obuiam ei factus est quidam oculos et in fronte et in occipite habens. Patricius autem eum penitus intuitus, eiusque conditionem valde admirans, ab eo percontatus est, quid tam monstruosa eius constitutio et habitus prætenderet. Cui ille; seruus Dei sum, iisque oculis qui modo ordinario in fronte sunt, video actiones hominum ordinarias; oculisque in occipite positis video monachum carnes sub dolio occultantem, ne deprehendatur. Et his dictis continuo disparuit. Patricius autem cordis contritione compunctus, in terram corruit, et in orationem fusus tanquam magnus peccator delicti¹ veniam deprecatur. Tunc angelus Victor ei apparuit, dicens: Surge, confortare; quia Dominus transtulit peccatum tuum. Surgens igitur S. Patricius abjurauit de cætero esum carniū, ita vt toto reliquo vitæ tempore carnes non gustauerit. Adhuc tamen humiliter deprecatus est Dominum, vt aliquo euidenti signo sibi demonstraret suum remissum esse reatum. Iussit igitur angelus vt carnes coram monachis in medium producat, et in aquam projiciat. Quod et Patricius fecit, ac carnes postea ex aqua extractæ, repertæ sunt in pisces conuersæ. Hoc autem signum solebat postea sæpius Patricius referre coram discipulis, vt eos ad gulæ irritamenta superanda animaret.

Autissiodorum² nomen erat ciuitatis cuius S. Germanus erat superior et nobilis antistes: Aralanensis vocabatur insula, in qua S. Patricius apud eum erudiebatur. Triginta erat annorum quando venit ad S. Germanum; et alijs triginta litteris et disciplinis operam nauauit, et postea in Hibernia annis sexaginta prædicationi et populi instructioni operam dedit.

Quodam tempore dum esset S. Patricius in mari Tyrreno, venit ad locum, in quo erant tres alij Pa-

¹ dilecti, Colg.

| ² Anthissiodorum, Colg.

tricij. Erant enim hi in quodam solitario specu inter montem et mare, et ab eis petijt licentiam cum eis commanendi. Responderunt se non velle hoc permittere nisi velit ex vicino fonte aquam haurire. Erat enim in illo loco quaedam bestia, quæ hominibus plurimum damni inferebat. Patricius autem annuens venit ad fontem, et bestia eo viso gestiens dabat quasi lætitiæ signa, seque ei mitem ac mansuetam præbebat. Post hæc aquam hauriens domum cum benedictione retulit. Antea illi sancti viri tres medios panes cælitus missos, pro diurna amona accipiebant: tunc autem diuinæ bonitatis indulgentia quartus est continuo adiectus post aduentum Patricij. Et cum illis mansit annis septem; foedusque spiritualis amicitiae et confraternitatis inter se contraxerunt.

Trias
Thaum.,
p. 122,
c. 34.

Egerton,
93,
fo. 2. a. 1.

Intan, *tra*, robo lán a lx. bliadan do *Patraic*, *ocus* rofoglaind indeenai, dodechaid aaingiul *fortachtan* a dochum inti Victor, arbo *fortachtid* dó díambói imoxaini do *Mhiliuc ocus* im eech ní archena atcobrad. *Coner-* bart *fris*, “timarnad duitsi o Día *techt* docum nÉirenn 5 donertad irsi *ocus* cretme, conostuicece *tre* lín intósocelai dochum púirt *bethad*, uair dogairet inna huile Erennaigh atochomnaice¹: is mithig *ocus* is apaig léo do *riéltain*.” *Celebrais* *Pátraic* do German iarsin, *ocus* dobert *béndachtain* dó, *ocus* dodechaid senóir tairise² 10 leis o German *fría* imchomet *ocus* friathestas, *Segetius* a ainm *ocus* sacart *ogra*[d], *ocus* [is] hé nobíth friárdu na *Ecailsí* frí laim *Germain*.

Luid *Patraic* iarom formuir, nónbur ilín.² Isann scéin roláa inninsi, *conaccei* a *tech* núe *ocus* in 15 lánamuin inóitid ann, *ocus* *conaceai* sentani *erín* indorus intighi foralámaib. “Cid daas incaillech?” ól *Pátraic*, “ismór a lobra.” *Frisrograt* indoclach *ocus* isselroradi: “Óa damsa sin,” ol indoclach. “Mad á máthair,” ólse, “a clerig, inainginise atchethesu islobru sidi dori- 20 disí.” “Cía *eruth* aralad sin?” ol *Pátraic*. “Ni anse,” ol indóclach, “ataam súnn *óamsir* *Crist*, doaraill ar[n]dochum díambai *itir* doinib hifos, *condernsam* fleid dó. *Ben*[d]achais a[r] tegdais *ocus* ronbendach fadeissin, *ocus* ní *táraill* in *bendachtusin* ar elanna, 25 *ocus* beimini cen áos, cen échra sunn cobrath, *ocus* isfota órotairged dún,” ol indóclach, “do thuidcehtsu, *ocus* faracaib Día linn *condigesta* do praicept³ do *Gaedelaib*, *ocus* foráccaib comartha linni .i. abachoill do *tabairt* duitsiu.” “Ní gébsa,”⁴ ol *Pátraic*, 30 “co tarda féin a bachoill dam.”

¹ Something seems omitted here.

² MS. tair isé.

³ Read alín.

³ MS. praicept.

⁴ MS. gebsu.

Now, when Patrick had completed his sixtieth year and had learned the lore, unto him went his guardian angel Victor, for he had been Patrick's helper while he abode in bondage to Miliuc and concerning everything that he would desire. And he said to him: "Thou art commanded by God to go to Ireland, to strengthen faith and belief, and that thou mayst bring them (the Irish) by the net of the Gospel to the harbour of Life. For all the Irish cry that thou art (thus); they think thy coming timely and mature." Patrick then bade farewell to Germanus, and Germanus gave him a blessing; and a trustworthy old man went with him from Germanus, to guard him and testify for him. Segetius was his name, and a priest was he in rank, and at the ordinances of the Church he used to be at Germanus' hand.¹

Then Patrick went to sea, nine (was) his number. And it is then that he came to the island, and he saw the new house and the married couple in youth therein, and he saw the withered old woman before the house on her hands. "What is it that the hag is?" saith Patrick: "great is her feebleness." The young man replied, and this he said: "She is a grand-daughter of mine," saith the young man. "If thou wert to see the mother of that girl, she is still feebler." "How came that to pass?" saith Patrick. "Not hard to say," saith the young man. "We are here since the time of Christ, who came unto us when he dwelt among men here, and we made a feast for him. He blessed our house and blessed ourselves, and that blessing came not upon our children, and we shall abide, without age, without decay, here until the Judgment. And it is long since thy coming was foretold unto us," saith the young man. "And God left with us that thou wouldst come to preach to the Gael, and he left a token with us, to wit, his staff, to be given to thee." "I will not take it," saith Patrick, "till He himself gives me his staff."

¹ "Suum in spiritualibus vicarium," Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 122.

Egerton,
93, fo. 2a.
1, 2a. 2.

Anais *Pátraic trí lía ocus trí aidehi occo, ocus luid* iarscin hisliab Hermóin, hifail na insi, coróardraig dó inCoimdiu hi suidiu, *ocus conerbairt fris techt dopro-éupt do Góedilaib, ocus cotárat bachaill nIsu dó; ocus atrubairt ropad fortachtaighid do hi cech guas-acht ocus hi cech écomnart imbiad. Ocus durothlaigestar Pátraic trí itgi fair, i. bith dia deis hi flaith nime, combad é pa breithemh do Goi[d]claiibh hillathi bratha, ocus here in nónbuir choimthecltaigi di ór ocus argutt dia thabairt do Góidelaib ar creitem.* 5 10

Isé, *immorro*¹ aircindech róbae hi Roim isind aimsirsin, Célestinus, indara fer [2a. 2] xl. o Petur. Rofuidside indi Paladius, huasaldechon, dé feraib deac do prairept do Góidelaibh—ar is lí comurba Petair lesúgud na Eurupa—fó cosmailius duluid Barnaiph o 15 Petur do prairept do Romanchaibh *ocus* rl. O doruacht Palladius co erich Lagen i. co Inber Dea, fristarrassair do Nathi mac Garrehon *ocus* ronindarb. *Ocus* robaitsi (i. Palladius) huaiti indu sin, *ocus* rofothaigh *trí ecailsi, Cél Fine, ifarcaib a libru ocus* in chomrair co taisib Poil 20 *ocus* Petair *ocus* inclar iscribad, et Tech na Róman, *ocus* Donnach Airte hifail Silvester *ocus* Solonius.² Icintud dó iarom forculu dafarraid galar hi tírib Cruithmech conderbalt de.³

Otchuala *Pátraic* anní sin, *ocus* rofitir rombo do roir 25 Día apstulacht inna hÉirend, dochuaid farsin coRoim do thabairt *grad* fair; *ocus* Celestinus abb Rómæ, isé róherleg gráda fairscom. *Germanus ocus* Amatho rí Rómanach araird occo.

¹ uéro, E.

² See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 18,
note 33.

³ See Second Life, c. 24 (Colgan,
Tr. Thaum., p. 13).

Patrick staid three days and three nights with them, and went thereafter to Mount Hermon in the neighbourhood of the island. And there the Lord appeared to him and told him to go and preach to the Gael, and gave him the staff of Jesus, and said that it would be a helper to him in every danger and in every unequal conflict in which he should be. And Patrick asked three boons of Him, namely, to be on His right hand in the kingdom of heaven, that he (Patrick) might be judge of the Gael on doomsday, and as much gold and silver as the nine companions could carry,¹ to be given to the Gael for believing.

Now, the chief who was in Rome at that time was Caelestinus, the forty-second² man from Peter. He sent Palladius, an archdeacon, with twelve men, to preach to the Gael—for it belongs to Peter's successor to benefit Europe—in like manner as Barnabas went from Peter to preach to the Romans, etc. When Palladius came to the territory of Leinster, namely, to Inver Dea, Nathi son of Garrehu opposed him and expelled him. And he, that is, Palladius, baptized a few in that place, and founded three churches, Cell Fine, in which he left his books, and the casket with relies of Paul and Peter, and the board on which he used to write, and the House of the Romans, and Domnach Airte, wherein are Sylvester and Solonius. As, then, he was returning, sickness seized him in the lands of the Piets, so that he died thereof.

When Patrick heard that, and knew that unto him God had granted the apostleship of Ireland, he went thereafter to Rome to have (ecclesiastical) orders given him; and Caelestinus, abbot of Rome, he it is that read orders over him, Germanus and Amatho, king of the Romans, being present with them.

¹ Literally "the nine companions' load (*éire*) of gold and silver."

² Rectius, "forty-fifth;" the scribe misread the numeral .u. as .ii.

Egerton,
93, fo. 2a.
2, 2b. 1.

Isin lán *étna* róirdned *Auxilius oculus* Eisir[*n*]inus
oculus alaili domuintir *Pátraic*. *Oculus* isand, dano, doratad
fairsom intainm is *Patricius* .i. ainm eumachtai la *Róman-
chu* .i. fer fuaslaicthea gial. Isé seom, dano, forúaslaice
gialnad *oculus* moxaine nanGóidel do Demon. *Oculus* intan 5
rombóth icairlégunn inangrad musfrícartar natri
classa .i. clas múintiri nime, *oculus* clas inna *Rómanach*
oculus clas namae ó chaillid¹ Fóchlad. *Isel* rochlan huile:
“Heuermenses omnes [rogamus te S. Patrici, ut venias
et ambules inter nos, et liberes nos²”]. 10

O thanie, *tra*, *Pátraic* óRoim, *isel* dorocht có Inber
Dea i Laignib. Tanie, *immorro*, Nathi mac Garrehon
anaaigil seom. Romallach *Pátraic*. Sinell, *immorro*,
mac Findehada, isé toisech roereit Deo in hÉirinn *tria*
praecept *Patraic*. Isaire sin dorat *Pátraic* *benmactain* 15
fair *oculus* forasíl.³

In illis diebus hace gesta sunt in praedictis ita.
Isinnainsirsin robói alaile rí feeboir gentlidi ind-
hÉirinn .i. Loigaire mac Néll, *oculus* isann roboi asosal
oculus a greim rígdla, í Temraig. Cóiced bliadain fatha 20
Loigairi maie Neill tanie *Patraic* dochum nEirenn.
Ochtmad bliadain fatha Lughdach atbath .Uíí.
mbliadna fatha Tethos⁴ tanice *Patraic*, u. fer .xl.
a August .Uííí. annos Celestinus princeps eratt, ut
Gelasius dicit. In rí erodhasa, dino, .i. Loigaire mac 25
Neill, rotecht druidhe *oculus* tinchitlidi doairehaintis *tre-
nandruidecht* [2 b. 1] *oculus* *tréngentlecht* an nobíth
archind dóib. Lochru *oculus* Lucat Mael, ithé robtar
airecha díib, *oculus* roptar auctair indana sin inna saeb-
fáthsine. Dofairehechnatar[s]idi iar[*u*]m doniefed faith 30
forbannach a tir *oculus* forectal nanetarenaid lista molach
trémdeá tar muir anall uathad dodmberad *oculus* sochaidi
aridfeimfed *oculus* fagebad grad *oculus* ermitin la fíru
hErend *oculus* nólafedh na rígu *oculus* na fatha asa rígu

¹ MS. óchaillib.

² For the words in brackets
(taken from Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p.
123) the MS. has “et reliqua.”
Compare Acts xvi. 9.

³ This paragraph comes in the
MS. immediately before the para-
graph beginning *Isin lán*, etc.

⁴ tethon, E.

On the same day Auxilius was ordained, and Iserninus and others of Patrick's household. Then, too, was the name 'Patricius' given unto him, a name of power as the Romans think, to wit, one who looseth hostages. He, then, loosed the hostageship and slavery of the Gael to the Devil. And when the orders were a-reading out, the three choirs mutually responded, namely, the choir of the household of heaven, and the choir of the Romans, and the choir of the children from the wood of Foehlad. This is what all sang: 'All we Irish beseech thee, holy Patrick, to come and walk among us and to free us.'

Now, when Patrick came from Rome he went to Inver Dea in Leinster. Howbeit, Nathi son of Garrechu came against him. Patrick cursed him. Sinell, however, son of Findchad, is the first who believed in God in Ireland through Patrick's preaching. Wherefore Patrick bestowed a blessing upon him and upon his offspring.

In those days these things were done as aforesaid. At that time there was a certain fierce heathen king in Ireland, namely Loegaire son of Niall, and in Tara were his residence and his royal grip. In the fifth year of the reign of Loegaire son of Niall Patrick came to Ireland. In the eighth year of the reign of Lugaid he died. Patrick came in the eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, the forty-fifth from Augustus. Eight years was Caelestinus chief, as saith Gelasius. This cruel king, then, to wit, Loegaire son of Niall, had wizards and enchanters who used to foretell by their wizardry and heathenism what was before them. Lochru and Lucatmael, these were the chiefs of them, and they were the authors of that art of false prophecy. They foretold, then, that an evil-lawed prophet would come hither over sea to their land and teach that a few would . . . him and a multitude would receive him, and that he would find love and reverence with the men of Ireland, and that he would cast the kings and the lords out



Egerton, 93, fo. 2¹ b. 1. *ocus* nochó scerad na huili arrachta nanídal, *ocus* no-feidligfeál ambéscena tiefeál ann *tre* bitlu betha isimhÉirind. Dí bliadain nó *teora*¹ bliadna ré tichtu Pátraic dochum nÉirenn, ised doairchantais;

Tiefa táileend² tar muir meircem; 5
 a bratt tolleend, a chrand cromhend:³
 a mías⁴ inairthiur a tigi:
fris[g]erat a múinter huili,
 ‘Amen, amen.’

Tiefat taileind,⁵ conutsat⁶ ruama, 10
 noifit cella, ceoltigi bédacha⁷
 ben[n]ehopuir ili: *fla*[i]th limbachla.

“Intan *tra*,” olséat, “tiefat inna airdeise *coscerthar* arnadrachni *ocus* arngentlecht, *ocus* mortidir indires *ocus* in *eridem*.” Amal dorairng[r]ed, *dino*, *ocus* rofiugrad is 15 amlaid foreoinmaenir *ocus* rócomallad.

O fororbáú, *dano*, Pátraic a inmmram *ocus* rogab port along oe Inbiur Dea i *erich* Laigen, tue a lungo dochum thíri. Is andsin tania incoairli oceai techt dopraiceupt doMiliue. Cubaid leis, nair rofognai dó 20 arthas día chury corofognad díaanmuin. Dorat, *dino*, *crand fri* tír, *ocus* huid o inmmrum soinmech sech ór nÉirenn sair *congab* inInbiur Domnand. Nífuair íase ann. Dubert *malduchtain* fair.

Doluid do Inis Pátraic, *ocus* docóos uad do Inbiur 25 Ainge. Ní *frith* ní dó ann. Dobert, *dano*, *malduchtain* fair *ocus* ni toirthiget díblínaib.

¹ The *e* has been inserted by a modern corrector.

² i. *Patraic*.

³ i. *bachall Ísu* ina lám.

⁴ i. a altoir.

⁵ i. baili Cuinn dixit.

⁶ *conuseat*, E.

⁷ i. leo.

of their realm, and would destroy all the images of the idols, and that the usage which would come there would abide in Ireland for ever and ever. Two years or three years before Patrick's arrival, this is what they used to prophesy :—

Adzehead¹ will come over a furious (?) sea ;
 His mantle head-holed, his staff' crook-headed,²
 His dish³ in the east of his house.
 All his household shall answer
Amen, Amen !

Adzeheads will come,⁴ who will build cities,
 Who will consecrate (?) churches, pinnacled music-
 houses,
 Many conical caps (for belfries), a realm round
 croziers.

“So,” say they, “when these signs shall come our worship and our heathenism will be destroyed, and the faith and the belief will be magnified.” As, then, it was prophesied and figured, so it came to pass and was fulfilled.

Now, when Patrick had completed his voyage and his vessel took harbour at Inver Dea in Leinster, he brought his vessels to land. Then he came to the decision to go and preach to Miliuc. This seemed fitting to him, since he had at first done service to Miliuc's body, that now he should do service to his soul. So he shewed (his) mast to land, and went prosperously voyaging eastward along the coast of Ireland till he anchored in Inver Donnann. He found no fish therein and inflicted a curse upon it.

He went to Patrick's Island and sent to Inver Ainge. Nothing was found for him there. So he inflicted a curse upon it (also), and both are barren.

¹ i.e. Patrick (so called from his tonsure).

² i.e., Jesus' staff in his hand.

³ i.e., his altar (*reclius paten*).

⁴ i.e., Said “*Conn's Frenzy*,” a prophetic rhapsody so called, of

which there is a copy in Egerton, 88, fo. 12 b., where it is entitled *Boile Cuium 100 .k.* (i.e., *Céteathaig*). The words above quoted do not occur in it.

Egerton
93, fo. 2 b.
1--2 b. 2.

Is amsin tanic Benen inamunteras. *Contuil farom*
Pátraic iter a mmin[tír], *ocus* an fogebed in gilla
di scothaib (i. boladlunaraib)¹ dobered inulbroic in cleirich.
Adubrtar múinter *Pátraic fri* Benen: "Nadéna² sen,"
arséat, "ar na roduiscid *Pátraic*." Dixit *Pátricius*: 5
"Heres regni méi erit."

Doluid do Inbíur Boindi: fófuair íase ann. Do-
bert³ *bennachtain* fair, *ocus* is toirthech intimber. Fuair
druid isin inadsin, róenaigestar díógi Maire. [2 b. 2]
Senais *Pátraic* in *talmáin ocus* sloceus in drúid. 10

Luid *Patraic* farsin óInis *Patraic* sech Conaille *ocus*
sech or nUlad, coró gaib ininbíur Brémea. Luid farsin
eo inber Slan, corófoilgeset inchlerig a lungai isin-
bailiu sin, *ocus* lotar hi tír dochor ascísi *ocus* do
chlumsanad. *Conid* andsein fósfuair muccaid Díchon *maic* 15
Th[r]icim baile ita Saball *Pátraic* indiu. Orodecai na
srúitli *ocus* na clérchiu doig leis roptar *kátroin no*
meirilig, *condechaidh coneid* dia *tigernai*. Cotanic
Díchu *congreis* achoin fónacléirchiu. Is ann sein ro-
gabh *Patraic* infers *faithech*, "Né tradas bestis ani- 20
mas confitentes tibi,"⁴ et canis obmutuit. O rodecai
Díchu inuí *Pátraic* rongab cong[an] chridi. *Rocreit*
ocus rombaitsestar *Pátraic* *conide* toisech rogab *baihtiss*⁵
ocus creidim inUltaib o*Pátraic*. Is ann sein roédbairt
Díchu do *Pátraic* inSaball. *Pátricius* dixit: 25

Bendacht Dé for Díchuin.

dorat damsa inSaball.

rombi esum darhéisi

nemthech ngleisi nglanóll.

Béndacht Dé for Díchuin, 30

Díchu colín eró,

ní baisfer nach búan báun

elann naciniud dó.

¹ MS. seems boloadh máraib.

² dádena, E.

³ MS. andobert.

⁴ Ps. xxi. 21, or perhaps Ps.
xxxiv. 17. In marg., meus.

⁵ baihtíis, E.

Then came Benén into his service, and Patrick slept among his household, and all the odorous flowers which the gillie (Benén) found he would put into the cleric's bosom. Patrick's household said to Benén: "Do not that," say they, "lest Patrick should awake." Said Patrick: "He will inherit my kingdom."¹

He went to Inver Boinde. He found fish therein: he bestowed a blessing upon it, and the estuary is fruitful. He found a wizard in that place who mocked at Mary's virginity. Patrick sained the earth and it swallowed up the wizard.

Then went Patrick from Patrick's Island, past Conaille and past the coast of Ulster, till he anchored in Inver Brenna. Then he went to Inver Slan, and the clerics hid their vessel in that stead, and went on shore to put their weariness from them and to rest. And there the swincherd of Dichu son of Trichem found them, in the stead wherein to day stands Patrick's Barn. When he saw the sages and the clerics he thought they were robbers or thieves, so he went and told his master. Thereupon Dichu came and set his dog at the clerics. Then Patrick chanted the prophetic verse "*Ne tradas, Domine, bestiis animas confitentes tibi,*" and the dog became silent. When Dichu saw Patrick, grief of heart seized him, and he believed, and Patrick baptized him. So that he is the first who received in Ulster baptism and belief from Patrick. Then Dichu offered the Barn to Patrick. Patrick said:

God's blessing on Dichu,
 Who gave me the Barn!
 May he have afterwards
 A heavenly home, bright, pure, great!
 God's blessing on Dichu,
 Dichu with a number of children.
 No offspring or descendant of his
 Shall die whose . . . is not lasting.

¹ "Hoc est, erit post me supremus Ecclesiae Hibernicae moderator," Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 124.

Egerton, 93, fo. 2 b. 2—3 a. 1. Luid *Pátraic* do *práicept* do¹ *Miliuc* amal a *trubuir* [t], *ocus* ruc ór leis do *crail creitme* fair, huair *rofitir* ba *sántach* immór. O rocuála, *immorro*, *Miliuc Pátraic* do tuidecht, nochorbail dó *creitem* dó *ocus* in *forbann* gentliú inarabi *dfachail*. Mebul lais *creitem* dia mo- 5 gaid *ocus* fomamugud do. Issi comuirli romúin *Demon* dosom. Luid ina ríghcech *ocus* a ór *ocus* a argat lais, co tárat fein tene fair, *conid* loise conógus a muini, *ocus* *condechoid* a ainim dochum nlfirind. Is ann sein tarf[a]sair *Pátraic* dinleith andes dosleib Mis—ata 10 *cross* isinad-sin,—*conaccaiside* uad in tenid diehin. Rosocht *fri* ré da uair *no tri* nuair. Annocited *ocus* annoesed² *issed* rorade: “Tene thaige *Milchon* *sucut*,”³ ol *Pátraic*, “*iarnaloseul* do féin immedon a thaige ar na roerciteth do Día iforciumm aáissi. In fer asaerbaid 15 aire,” arse, “ní bía rí na rígdamna uada, *ocus* isa fognam bías aíl *ocus* a *semen tre* bithu, *ocus* ní terga [a]janum ahlfirinn *cobrath* nach *iarnbráth*.”

Ocus ótrubairt na *briathrasa* imsoi deisell *ocus* dothoet ina *frithlurg* a *frithis* itir nUlud [3 a. 1] 20 co taracht Magh⁴ Inis co Díchoin *mac* *Trichim*; *ocus* roan ann *fri* ré éiana hic silad *creitme*, co tue *Ulu* huili *tre* lín intsoiseclai dochum puirt béthad.

Docheoid *Patraic iarum* on *Saball* fadeis coropritchad doRus *mac* *Trichim*. Is heiside robói in *Derlus fri* 25 *Dún Lethglaisi* andess. Ata cathair becc indiu .i. *Mrechtan*, ubi⁵ est *episcopus* *Lóairn* qui ausus

¹ di, E.

² This is corrupt. Read *Anno-*
ected ocus annoesnaiged = Colgan's
'in gemitu et fletu ro[t]us resolu-
tus.'

³ suguth, E.

⁴ madh, E.

⁵ Here in the left margin stands
the compendium for *post*. The
same mark infra, p. 46, line 12.

Patrick went to preach to Miliuc, as he had said; and he took with him gold to impress belief upon him, for he knew that Miliuc was greedy for gold. Now, when Miliuc heard that Patrick had arrived, he was not willing to believe and to quit the bad, heathen law in which he was biding. He deemed it a shame to believe in his slave and to be subject to him. This is the counsel which the Devil taught him. He entered his palace, along with his gold and his silver, and he himself set fire to it and burnt it with the whole of his treasures; and his soul went to hell. Then Patrick stood still on the southern side of Slemish—there stands a cross in that place—and he saw the fire from afar. He was silent for the space of two hours or three hours. While he was sighing and groaning, this he said: "Yon is the fire of Miliuc's house," saith Patrick, "after burning himself amidst his house lest he should believe in God at the end of his life. He on whom his bane is lying," saith he, "of him shall be neither king nor crown-prince, and in bondage will his offspring and his seed abide for ever, and his soul shall not come out of hell up to doom or after doom."

And when he had spoken these words he turned right-handwise, and went back again into Ulster until he came to Mag Inis, to Dichu son of Trichem; and there he stayed a long while sowing belief, until he brought all the Ulstermen by the net of the Gospel to the harbour of Life.

Then Patrick went from the Barn southwards that he might preach to Ross son of Trichem. He it is that dwelt in Derlus to the south of Downpatrick;—there stands a small town there to-day—namely, Bright—where is bishop Loairn, who dared to blame Patrick

Egerton,
93, fo. 3 a.
1.

est increpare Patricium tenentem manum púeri luden-
tis æclesiam iuxta suam.

Ambáí, *dano*, *Pátraic* hiarnašet *conaccai* maethóclaig
ocingairi mucce, Mochae aaimm. Ropritchai *Pátraic* do,
ocus rombaitsi *ocus* romberr, *ocus* doratt soisceala *ocus* 5
menistir dó. *ocus* doratt dó, *dano*, fecht aile bachaill
tucad doib oDía .i. acénd inucht *Pátraic* *ocus* aecess
inucht Mochae; *ocus* isí sin ind detech [leg. etech]¹
Móchae Nóendroma. *ocus* dorairger Moché mucce
bér[r]tha cecha bliadna do*Pátraic*, *ocus* isel ón ado- 10
berar² fós.

O rocomaiesegestar,³ *dano*, *sollomain* nacase, romídír
Pátraic nad báí baili báí cuidbiu do árd*sollomain* na
bliadna .i. in case do ceilebra[d], *indás* hiMaig Breg.
baili imbai cend íllachta *ocus* drúidechta na hÉirenn 15
.i. hí *Temraig*. Rochéilebraiset iarsin do Díchuín *mac*
Tríchim, *ocus* doratsat a luing for muir, *ocus* dode-
char corrogabsat inInbúir Cholpthai.

Foracabsat a lungai isinInbúir *ocus* dodechotar iar
tír corroachtatar Fertea Fer Fécc, *ocus* rosáided pupoll 20
Pátraic isin inad sein, *ocus* roben in tenid chascu.
Dorala, *dano*, conid si sein aimsir i celearthai ard-
sollamuin nangente .i. feis Temra. Tietis na rígha *ocus*
na flatha *ocus* naairig coLoighairi *mac* Neill doThem-
raig friceilebrad ind líthlaithi hisin.⁴ Tietis, *dano*, in 25

¹ isí sin inditech Mochoc Noen-
droma, Second Life, c. 32: where
itech is rendered "volatilis" by
Colgan. He has *Etrae[h]Mochai*,
Tr. Th. p. 125.

² atberar, E.

³ Orocomaiesegestar, E.

⁴ So in the Second Life, c. 34:
Isisín indámsir sindam [leg. is ind
am] *dorighuedhned* [leg. dorigned]
fris Temradhi [leg. Temrach] *la*
Loegaire mac Neill *ocus la firu*
Ereann [leg. Érenn].

for driving away¹ a boy who was playing close to his church.

Now while Patrick was (going) along his way, he saw a tender youth herding swine. Mochae was his name. Patrick preached to him and baptized him, and tonsured him, and gave him a gospel and a credence-table. And he gave him, also, at another time, a crozier that had been bestowed on them by God, to wit, (it fell from heaven with) its head in Patrick's bosom and its foot in Mochae's bosom, and this is the Etech ("winged thing") of Mochae of Noendruim. And Mochae promised a shaven pig every year to Patrick; and this is still offered.

Now, when the high-tide of Easter drew nigh, Patrick thought that there was no place fitter for the chief solemnity of the year, that is, for celebrating Easter, than in Mag Breg, in the place wherein was the chief (abode) of the idolatry and wizardry of Ireland, to wit, in Tara. Then they bade farewell to Dichu son of Trichem, and put their vessel to sea, and went on till they anchored in Inver Colptha.

They left their vessel in the estuary and went along the land till they came to Ferta Fer Féicc [the Graves of Féicc's Men], and Patrick's tent was pitched in that place, and he struck the paschal fire. It happened, then, that that was the time at which was celebrated the high-tide of the heathen, to wit, the Feast of Tara. The kings and the lords and the chiefs used to come to Tara, to Loegaire son of Niall, to celebrate that festival therein.

¹ The Latin *tenentem manum* | phrase *gabáil lána*, so often used in
seems a translation of the Irish | the Tripartite Life for "expelling."

Egerton. druid *ocus* na maithmaire combitís oc tairchetul doib.
 93, fo. 3 a. Robáideth, dino, téne each tellaig ind hÉirínn anaideche
 1—3 a. 2. sin, *ocus* roescarad laisinrigh naróaddaidi tene indhÉirínn ré tenid inna Temrach, *ocus* na gebtha ór na argat óntí nóataifed, *acht* a techt bas ind. Ní fitir 5
 Patraic inní sein, *ocus* eáa rófessad níntairmeisefed.

Amal batar ann lucht na Temrach conaccatar antene chasada chosecartha uadlib, roaddai¹ Pátraic. Roóilsig Mag Breg uile. Is ann sein adubairt in rí: “Is coll geisi *ocus* cána damsá inní sin, *ocus* findaid eáa doronai.” 10
 “Adchí[a]m,” ol na drúid, “in tenid, *ocus* rofetamar in aidheí indernad manidíbdaithe,”² olséat, “ré matain ní baithfidther cobráth. In fer, dano, adannai foruaisligfe ríga *ocus* flaití na hÉirenn mani tairmiseter imbi.” Othuala in rí inní sein for[f]uasnad comór. Is ann 15
 asrubairt in rí: “Ní ba ed bás de, *acht* regmaidne,” olsé, “coromharbum [3 a. 2] infer roaddai³ in tene. Roindleta, dino, acharpuit *ocus* a groigi don rí, *ocus* dodechator (.i. in fine noctis) co Ferrtai Fér Fec. “Is foimnidi duitsiu, thra,” ol nadruid, “nadechais don luce indernad 20
 intene arnaróadre in fer adidannai; acht an⁴ inmaig, *ocus* co[g]garar duit imach ut iudicet⁵ régem té esse, illum autem subditum; *ocus* tacermaid infar fíadnaisi.” “Is degeomarle,” olsé, “dogéntar amal asberidh.” 25

Tancatar íarsin coroseoirset anechu *ocus* a cairphtiu arbelaib naFertæ. Coggarar Pátraic dóib inmach, *ocus* rosmachtad léu arnaeirsed nech arachínn amarocheided

¹ roaddaig, E.

² manidíbdaithe, E.

³ noadaig, E.

⁴ infer asidan neachtan, E.

⁵ iudicet, E.

The wizards, also, and the augurs would come so that they were prophesying to them. On that night, then, the fire of every hearth in Ireland was quenched, and it was proclaimed by the King that no fire should be kindled in Ireland before the fire of Tara, and that neither gold nor silver should be taken (as compensation) from him who should kindle it, but that he should go to death for his crime. Patrick knew not that, and even though he had known (it), this would not have hindered him.

As the folk of Tara were biding there, they saw (at some distance) from them the paschal consecrated fire which Patrick had kindled. It lighted up the whole of Mag Breg. Then said the King: "That is a breach of a ban and law of mine: (go) and find out who hath done so." "We see," say the wizards, "the fire, and we know that unless it is quenched on the night on which it was made, it will not be quenched till doomsday. He, moreover, who kindled it will vanquish the kings and lords of Ireland unless he is forbidden." When the King heard that, he was mightily disturbed. Then said the King, "This shall not be. But we will go," saith he, "and slay the man who kindled the fire." Then his chariots and his horses were yoked for the King, and they went at the end of the night to the Graves of Fíace's Men. "Thou shouldst take heed,"¹ say the wizards, "not to go to the place where the fire was made, that thou mayst not do reverence to the man who kindled it; but stay outside, and let him be called out to thee, that he may judge that thou art the King, and that he is the subject, and we will argue in your presence." "It is good advice," saith he (the king): "it shall be done as ye say."

They came thereafter and unyoked their horses and their chariots before the Graves. Patrick is called out to them, and they made a rule that no one should

¹ Lit. 'it is to be observed by thee, called to mind.'

Egerton,
93, fo. 3 a.
2.

dó. Atraracht, *tra*, *Pátraic ocus dodechaid* imach *con-*
accai nacairphtiu ocus nahecho forseur. Isann róca-
chain in fers fáithech,¹ Híí in curribus et híí in equis,²
nos autem in nomine Domini Dei nostri magni.³ Robátar,
dino, arachind, *ocus* immbél a scíath *fría* sinechu, *ocus ní*⁵
hétracht nech dib arachind *acht* áonfer namá hirobái
figuir o Día .i. Eree mac Dega. Is héiside epscop
hÉree fil iSlani Maige Breghe indíu. Dorat *Patraic*
bennacht fair *ocus* roereid do Día, *ocus* foruismi in
híris *catholacdaí*, *ocus* robaitsed; *ocus* adrubairt *Pátraic* 10
frís: “Bídh árd, bíd úasal do chathir ítalum;” *ocus*
dlegair do comarbu *Pátraic* aglúu do teebail réna
comharba cibráth tarhesi a humaidlóite.

Rofáiríag each, *dino*, scéla díacheli .i. *Pátraic ocus*
Lóegaíri. Dodechaid Lochru corosir *ocus* coengach, co 15
cosnam *ocus* cestalb, *frí* *Pátraic*; *ocus* is annséin doréll
forénuich na Trínoti *ocus* na hírsi *cathlacdae*. Rofég
Pátraic iarsin co andíarid fair, *ocus* doriucart o guth
mor ré Dia, *ocus* ised roráde: “Domine, qui omnia po-
tes, et in tua potestate⁴ consistunt [omnia], quique nos 20
mísisti huc, [ad nomen tuum gentibus praedicandum,]
hic impius, qui blasphematur nomen tuum,⁵ eleu[c]tur
nunc foras, et cito moriatur.” Et hís dictis eleuatus
est magus⁶ in haera et iterum desuper cito deiectus,
sparso⁷ ad lapidem cerebro, comminutus, et mort[u]s 25
fíterat coram éis. Roimeclaisitar na genti doséin.

Rófergaigestar in rí, *dino*, *frí* *Pátraic* comór, *ocus*
dochuaid doraith leis a marbad. Ised roráde Lóegaire
ré a múintir, “Marbaid in élérech.” Othondaire *Pátraic*
annísín, nagenti dochoméirghi *frís*, doriugart ó guth 30
mór, et dixit:⁸ “Éxsurgat Deus et dissipentur⁹ inimici

¹ fáith.ec, E.

² cirus, E.

³ Ps. xx. 7.

⁴ túa nos potestate, E.

⁵ blasfe niat no. tuam E.

⁶ magiís, E.

⁷ demisus desuper nero, E.

⁸ dixit et, E.

⁹ dissipentur, E.

rise up to meet him, lest he should believe in him. So Patrick arose and went forth, and saw the chariots and the horses unyoked. Then he chanted the prophetic verse "*Some (trust) in chariots and some in horses; but we in the name of the Lord our mighty God.*" They were biding before him with the rims of their shields against their chins, and none of them rose up before him save one man only in whom was a nature from God, namely Ere son of Deg. He is the bishop Ere who is to-day in Slane of Mag Breg. Patrick bestowed a blessing upon him, and he believed in God and confessed the catholic faith, and was baptized; and Patrick said to him: "Thy city on earth will be high, will be noble;" and Patrick's successor is forever bound to . . . his knee before Ere's successor after (receiving) his homage.

Each, then, asked tidings of the other, namely, Patrick and Loegaire. (The wizard) Lochru went angrily and noisily, with contention and questions, against Patrick; and then did he go astray into blaspheming the Trinity and the catholic faith. Patrick thereafter looked wrathfully upon him, and cried with a great voice unto God, and this he said: "Lord, who canst do all things, and on whose power dependeth all that exists, and who hast sent us hither to preach Thy name to the heathen, let this ungodly man, who blasphemeth Thy name, be lifted up, and let him forthwith die!" When he said this, the wizard was raised into the air and forthwith again cast down, and his brains were scattered on the stone, and he was broken in pieces, and died in their presence. The heathen were adread at that.

The king, then, was greatly enraged against Patrick and wished (?) at once to kill him. Loegaire said this to his household: "Slay the cleric!" When Patrick saw this, the heathen arising against him, he cried with a great voice, and said: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be

Egerton, 93, fo. 3. a. 2, 3 b. 1. eius, et fugiant qui ólerunt eum a facie eius. Sicut deficit¹ fumus [sic] deficiant,² sicut fluit caera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei.”³ *Focelóir dodechaid* doreha dar grein, *ocus forco[e]mmacair taluncumséghud* *ocus* arnehriith mor ann. Indarlóo⁵ isnem dorochair *for talmáin*, *condcechatar* nagraigi hí fuaseur, *ocus* coroinluaid⁴ in goeth inuacairphtiu tresna maigib. *Conérracht* [3 b. 1] each dialailiu isin dail, corabi each díib *íarnár* [?] acheili, cotorehair coica fer díib hisin coimeingiu hísín lamallachtain *Pátraic*. 10

Rothcheistar ass ingenti *for* each leth, *conach* tarra-sair *acht triar* namma .i. *Loegairi* *ocus* a rígan *ocus* duine dia muintir, et timuerunt ualde. Veniensque regina ad Pátricium .i. Angass ingen Tassaig maie Lia-thain, dixit ei: “Homo iuste et potens, né perdas régem. 15 Dorega in rí euent *ocus* dobera do réir, *ocus* slechtfaid *ocus* creitfid do Día.” *Dodchéaid*, dano, *Loegairi*, *ocus* roslécht do *Patraic*, *ocus* dorat bree síth dó.

Nír bú cían iarsin róchoggair in rí leis *Pátraic* *for*-leith, *ocus* ised roimraid amarbad, *ocus* ní forchoenna- 20 cair. *Foróilsig* Día do *Pátraic* inní sin. *Adrubaírt* Láogairi fri *Pátraic*: “Tair im díaisi,⁵ achleirig, do *Temraig* corochreitiur duit arbélaibh fer nEirenn.” *OCUS* rosuidigsom calleic etarnaid⁶ ceehbelaig oFerta Fer Féic coTemraig archiunn *Pátraic* diamharbad. 25 *Acht* nírocomarleic dó. *Dodhechaid* *Patraic* ochtor macclérech *ocus* Benén do gillu léu, *ocus* rosbendach *Pátraic* réduidecht. *Dodechaid* dícheltair tairsiu *con-árárdraig* fer díb. *Athonecatar*, *ímmorro*, na gentlidi⁷ batar isna intledaib ocht naige dotecht secu 30 fón sliab, *ocus* iarndóe inmandegaid *ocus* gaile⁸ *for* agúalaind: *Patraic* aochar, *ocus* Benen inandegaidh *ocus* a fólaire *for* a muin.

¹ defecit, E.

² deffi., E.

³ Ps. lxxviii. 1, 2. For ‘pereant’ E. has ‘perient.’

⁴ coroinluaig, E.

⁵ amdáigsi, E.

⁶ etarnaig, E.

⁷ gentligi, E.

⁸ *gaile* usually means ‘stomach.’ I have followed Colgan, who renders it here by ‘sarcina.’

scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before him. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so let them vanish; like as wax melteth at the fire, so let the ungodly perish at the presence of God." At once darkness came over the sun, and a great earthquake and trembling of arms took place there. It seemed to them that the sky fell on the earth, and the horses went off in fright, and the wind whirled the chariots through the fields. And each rose up to the other in the assembly, so that each of them was after slaying the other, and fifty men of them fell in that uprising by Patrick's curse.

The heathen fled thence on every side, so that only three remained, namely, Loegaire and his queen and one of his household, and they feared greatly. And the queen, to wit, Angas daughter of Tassach son of Liathan, came to Patrick and said to him, "O just and mighty man, do not destroy the king. The king shall come to thee and shall do thy will, and shall kneel and believe in God." So Loegaire went and knelt to Patrick, and gave him a false peace.

Not long thereafter the king called Patrick to him apart, and he meditated killing him, and (this) came not to pass. God manifested that to Patrick. Loegaire said to Patrick; "Come after me, O cleric, to Tara, that I may believe in thee in presence of the men of Ireland." And straightway he set an ambush on every path from the Graves of Fíacc's Men to Tara, before Patrick, to slay him. But God permitted not this to him. Patrick went with eight young clerics and Benén as a gillie with them, and Patrick blessed them before going. A cloak of darkness went over them so that not a man of them appeared. Howbeit, the heathen who were biding in the snares saw eight deer going past them under the mountain, and behind them a fawn with a bundle on its shoulder: (that was) Patrick with his eight, and Benén behind them with his tablets on his back.

Tr. Thaum. [Tunc vir sanctus composuit illum hymnum patrio
p. 126. idiomate conscriptum, qui vulgo *Fáed fiada*,¹ et ab
aliis *Lorica Patricii* appellatur. Et in summo abinde
inter Hibernos habetur pretio, quia creditur, et multa
experientia probatur, pie recitantes ab imminentibus 5
animæ et corporis præservare periculis.]

FÁED FÍADA.

E. 4. 2., fo. 19 ^b .	[Atomriug indiu niurt trén, togairm Trínóite. ² Cretim treodataid fóisitin ³ óendataid inDúlemain dail. Atomriug indiu niurt gene <i>Crist</i> conabath]is, ⁴	10
Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 a. 1.	neurt a croetha <i>conaadnacul</i> . neurt aeiseirgi <i>conafreasgabail</i> . neurt athoiniuda <i>fri</i> brithemmas <i>nubra</i> tha.	
	Atto[m]riug [indiu] neurt <i>gráid</i> hiruphín inrlattaid aingiul.	15
	ifrestal nanarchaingiul. ifreiscisin esérgi ⁵ arcend foeracici. inernaigthi uasalathrach. itairceclaib fáthi.	
	ipreceptaib apstal.	20
	inirisib fáismedach. inendecai nóebingen. ingninaib fer fírioin. ⁶	
	Atto[m]riug [indiu] neurt nime. soillsi <i>gréine</i> . etrochta ésci.	25
	[áne thened. déne lóchet.] ⁷ luathi gaitthi. fudomna mara.	30

¹ Feth-fiadha, Colgan.

² trinoit, E. 4. 2., trinoite, Eg. 93,
fo. 19^a.

³ fóisín, E. 4. 2., foisitín, E.

⁴ I have inserted the title, and
have taken the words and letters in
brackets from E. 4. 2. the copy of

Liber Hymnorum in Trinity
College, Dublin.

⁵ ifreiscisin neserghi, R., ifreiscisin
eiserghi, E.

⁶ Read fririan.

⁷ From the Trinity College Liber
Hymnorum, fo. 19^b.

[THE DEER'S CRY.]

- I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation
of the Trinity.
- I believe in a Threeness with confession of an Oneness
in the Creator of the universe.
- I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Christ's birth
with his baptism,
to the virtue of his crucifixion with his burial,
to the virtue of his resurrection with his
ascension,
to the virtue of his coming to the Judgment of
Doom.
- I bind myself to-day to the virtue of ranks of
Cherubim.
In obedience of Angels,
In the service of the Archangels,
In hope of resurrection for reward,
In prayers of Patriarchs,
In predictions of Prophets,
In preachings of Apostles,
In faiths of Confessors,
In innocence of holy Virgins,
In deeds of righteous men.
- I bind myself to-day to (the) virtue of Heaven,
light of Sun,
brightness of Moon,
splendour of Fire,
speed of Lightning,
swiftness of Wind,
depth of Sea,

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 7 a. 1.

tairismigi *talman*.
cobsaidi *alech*.

Atto[m]riug indiu neurt Dé dom lúamairecht. <i>cumachta nDé dom congbáil.</i>	
<i>éiall nDé domimthús.¹</i>	5
<i>rosc nDe dom imcaisin.</i>	
<i>clúas nDe doméistecht.</i>	
<i>briathar nDé domerlabrai.</i>	
<i>lám nDé domimdegail.</i>	
<i>intech nDe domremthechtus.</i>	10
<i>sciath Dé domimdíten.</i>	
<i>sochraití Dé domanacul.</i>	
<i>ar indleadaib demna,</i>	
<i>ar aslagib dualach,</i>	
<i>ar foirmdechaib acníd,</i>	15
<i>ar cech nduine midúthracair dam</i>	
<i>icéin, anoccus</i>	
<i>inuathiucl. isochaidi.</i>	
Tochuiriuir etrum indiu inna hule neurtasa	
<i>fri cech neurt namnus nétrocar fristái dom</i>	20
<i>churp ocus domanmain.</i>	
<i>fri taircetlaib saebfáthe.</i>	
[<i>fri dubrechtu gentliuchta</i>]	
<i>fri saebrehtaib [heretecda.</i>	
<i>fri himcellacht nidlachta.</i>	25
<i>fri brichta] ban ocus goband ocus druád.</i>	
<i>fri cech fis aracuiliu corp ocus anmain duni.²</i>	
<i>Crist domimdegail [indiu] ar cech neim</i>	
<i>ar loscucl, ar bádudh, ar guin</i>	
<i>conimraib ilar fochraici.</i>	30
<i>Crist lim. Crist remam. Crist imm degaid.</i>	

¹ domthúr, R.; domintus, E. | ² dam, R.; duine, E.

stability of Earth,
compactness of Rock.

I bind myself to-day to God's Virtue to pilot me,
God's Might to uphold me,
God's Wisdom to guide me,
God's Eye to look before me,
God's Ear to hear me,
God's Word to speak for me,
God's Hand to guard me,
God's Way to lie before me,
God's Shield to protect me,
God's Host to secure me,
Against snares of demons,
Against seductions of vices,
Against of nature,
Against every one who wishes ill to me,
Afar and anear,
Alone and in a multitude.

I summon to-day all these virtues between me [and
these evils:],
Against every cruel, merciless power which may
come against my body and my soul :
Against incantations of false prophets,
Against black laws of heathenry,
Against false laws of heretics,
Against craft of idolatry,
Against spells of women and smiths and wizards,
Against every knowledge that hath defiled man's
body and soul.

Christ to protect me to day against every poison,
Against burning, against drowning, against death-
wound,
So that I may have a multitude of rewards.
Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me,

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 7 a. 1.

Crist immum. *Crist* isum. *Crist* úasam.

Crist dessum. *Crist* tuathum.

Crist illius. *Crist* ipsius (sic), *Crist* inerus.

Crist hieride cech duine rodomsérúadar.

Crist aingin cech duine rodomlabradar. 5

Crist irusce cech duine rodomdecaadar.

Crist ielúais cech duine rodomeclúinedar.

[Atomriug indiu niurt tréin, togairm Trinóite.

Cretim treodataid fóisitín óndatad in Dulemain

dail.] 10

Domini est salus. Domini est salus. Christi est salus.¹

[Salus] tua Domine sit semper nobiscum.² Amen.

Egerton
93, fo. 3
b. 1.

Dochuaid iarsin *Lócgair*e on dedoil dochum Temrach
combrón *ocus* commebuil³ cosnahuaitib nóernatis leis. 15

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 7 a. 2.

Isind laithiu iarnabarach (i. dominica pasce⁴) dode-
chatar fir Erend dochum Temrach do fledól, ar bá
laithi nairechda leosum indfeis Temrach. Intan roba-
tar oe indfledhol *ocus* imradud in *conflichta* rofersat
allá riám, *conaccatar* *Patraic* cotarvasair for lár na- 20
Temrach, ianuís clausís ut Christus in cenaculum.
Fobíth roimráid *Patraic*, “Rega,” olsé, “coro foillsigiar
moerlataid arbélaib fer nEreenn. Ni ba ‘caindel fó
dabaich’ dogén dím, *conacor*,” olsé, “cía creitfes
dam *ocus* nátereitfi.” Nochanéracht nech arachind 25
istaig *acht* Dubthach mace úLugair namá, rígfíle indsi
hEreenn *ocus* indríg *ocus* móithóeclach dia muintir,
Fíace aainm. Isheside itá iSleibti indiu. InDubthach
sin, dano, isé cétna fer roereit do Día iTemraich isind-
laithi sin. Dorat *Patraic* bennachtain fair *ocus* forasíl. 30

¹ For “Christi est salus,” R. has
“salus Christi.”

² nobiscum, R.

³ combebuil, E.

⁴ domnach casca, E.

Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me,
 Christ at my right, Christ at my left!
 Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height (?):
 Christ in the heart of every one who thinks of me,
 Christ in the mouth of every one who speaks to me,
 Christ in the eye of every one that sees me,
 Christ in the ear of every one that hears me!

I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation
 of the Trinity.

I believe a Threeness with confession of a Oneness in
 (the) Creator of the Universe.

Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is the Lord's, salva-
 tion is Christ's.

May thy salvation, Lord, be always with us! Amen.

Thereafter went Loegaire at daybreak¹ to Tara in
 grief and in shame, together with the few that had
 escaped with him.

On the following day the men of Ireland went to
 Tara to carouse, for with them the feast of Tara was
 an especial day. When they were carousing and think-
 ing of the conflict they had fought on the day before,
 they saw Patrick standing still in the middle of Tara,
 the doors being shut, as when Christ came into the
 dining-room.² Because Patrick thought, "I will go,"
 saith he, "that I may manifest my readiness before the
 men of Ireland. It is not 'a candle under a vat' that
 I will make of myself. So that I may see," saith he,
 who (it is) that will believe in me, and who will not
 believe." No one rose up before him in the house save
 only Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, king-poet of the island
 of Ireland and of the king, and a stripling of his house-
 hold named Fiace. It is he (Fiace) who is in Sleibte
 to-day. Now, that Dubthach is the first man who
 believed in God in Tara on that day. Patrick bestowed
 a blessing on him and on his offspring.

¹ = deluculo.

| ² John xx. 26.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fol. 7 a. 2.

Gairmthír, dino, Patrice dochum leptha indríg co-
tonnolath bíath *ocus* diafomad hifáútsine.¹ Ní roobai,
dano, Patraic innísín, dég rofítir inní arbiad de. Do-
deochair in drúí Lucatmæl do comól friss, fobith
robadh adlaic do aaiti do Patraic aní dorighní fría 5
fíer comtha isindláu ríam i. Loeru. Dorat, dino, intí
Lucatmæl loimm do nim isinnardig robói for lainn
Patraic conaccath cid dogenath [Patraic] fris. Rora-
thaig,² dino, Patraic anísín, *ocus* robennachsidi indair-
lig, *ocus* rochoteg ind lind. Roimmpai inlestar iarsín 10
ocus dorochair ass inneim dorat in drai ind. Roben-
nach Patraic doridisi indairdig *ocus* rosoadh inlind
inmaicned choir. Romórad ainm Dé *ocus* Patraic
Jesín. Issel indso rogab Patrice forsineacilech: “Gaibiu
fol. 7 b. 1. anfis ibiu anfis frí sia [7 b. 1] úathib ibiu lithu in 15
Christo Iesu, amen.”³ i. “ciabeith afis ocund, cenco fil,
íbthar inanmm Ísu Crist.”

Dodeochatar iarsín inmasluaig corobatar sechtair
Temraig inmaig. “Denam,” ol Lucatmæl, “ferta ar-
belaib intslúaig isinmaig morsa.” Adubairt Patraic, 20
“Cateat?” Adubairt in druí, “Tucam snechta for-
sinmag corobgel inmag arambelaib.” Atrubairt Pat-
raic rissom: “Ní hail dam tictain indagaid⁵ thoili
Dé.” Atrubairt indrúí, “Dobérsa insnechta forsinnmag
cincopáil duitsiu.” Tindarscan iarsín inna filidechta 25

¹ i. in uenturis reblus (leg. rebus), E.

² Rorathaid, R. and E.

³ Gaibiu anfis íbu *ocus* rl., E. In Harl. 432 (Mus. Brit.) fo. 1 a. 1 these words are thus given:—Cuael lán do neim dorat druí do na druidib do, *ocus* rofaillsiged do Patraic eisidhi, *ocus* gunad annsin dorinde Patraic nabriathrasa isanlind: “Iubu fis fríbu fis íbu anfis frisbru uatha íhu lithu Christi Iesu.” *Ocus* eidbe gabus sin for nim no linn ní bia írchoit de. No comad e “In nomine Dei Patris”, doneth and *ocus*

rochanad isin lind. (A wizard of the wizards gave him a cup full of poison, and this was made manifest to Patriek, and thereupon Patriek made these words over the liquor, “Iubu fis,” etc. And whoever recites that over poison or liquor shall have no hurt therefrom. Or it may have been (the canticle) “In the name of God the Father” that was made there and was chanted over the liquor.)

⁴ corragabatar, E.

⁵ inaigid, E.

Patrick, then, is summoned to the King's couch, that he might consume food and be proven in prophecy. Patrick refused not that, because he knew what would come thereof. The wizard Lucat-moel went to drink with him, because he had a mind to avenge on Patrick what he had done the day before to his (Lucat Mael's) comrade, Lochru. So Lucat-moel put a sip of poison into the cup that stood at Patrick's hand, so that he might see what he would do unto it. Patrick observed that, and he blessed the cup, and the liquor curdled. He then inverted the vessel, and out of it fell the poison which the wizard had put into it. Patrick again blessed the cup, and the liquor was turned into its proper nature. God's name and Patrick's was magnified thereby. This is what Patrick recited over the cup: *Gaibiu anfis, ibiu anfis,¹ fri sia úathib ibiu lithu in Christo Jesu, Amen;* that is, "though we have knowledge of it, though we have not, it shall be quaffed in the name of Jesus Christ."

Then came the hosts till they were all bidding without Tara in the plain. "Let us," said Lucat-moel, "work miracles before the host in that great plain." Said Patrick: "Which be they?" Said the wizard: "Let us bring snow on the plain till the plain be white in front of us." Said Patrick to him: "I have no desire to go against God's will." Said the wizard: "I will bring the snow on the plain although it be not thy desire." Then he began the chants of wizardry and the arts of devilry, so that the snow fell till it reached men's girdles. They all

¹ These words may mean: "I | ignorance." The rest of the Irish
take in ignorance, I will drink in | is obscure.

Rawl.
B. 512.
fo. 7 b. 1.

druidechta *ocus* inna heladna demnaedai coroferastair¹
insnechta cotoracht fernu fer. Uiderunt omnes *ocus*
romachtaigsetar comór. Atrubairt *Patraic*, “Atchiam
inso. Cuir ass mad *commiceí*.” Atrubairt in drui:
“Ni cumcaimsi innísín *eusín tráthsa imbarach*.”⁵
“Darmo debródh,” ol*Patraic*, “isindule atá docu-
machta *ocus* ní immaith.” Robennach *Patraic* amag
uada focethoira² arda. Is deniu rád rothinaí in snechta
cen fleochad, cen gréin, cen góith, la *bréthír Patraic*.

Dodeochatar iarsin dorchai dar fórgnúis intalman 10
la dícetul³ indruad. Rogáirset nasluaig došen. Atru-
bairt *Patraic*, “Expelle tenebras.” Atrubairt in drui,
“Nocha cumcain indíu.” Rogaid *Patrice* inCoimdi[d]
ocus robendach amag, *ocus* ro indarbanta nadorehai,
ocus doraitne ingrían, *ocus* rognísit⁴ atlaigthi buidi 15
innahuli.

Robatar, *tra*, coeíana *ocon* chónflichtasa⁵ arbélaib
indrig. Et amal roráidi Ner fri Simon [*ocus* fri]
Petar, ait rex ad illos, “Libros uestros in aquam mit-
tite, et illum cuius libri illaesi⁶ euaserint adorabimus.” 20
Respondit *Patricius*, “Faciam ego.” Et dixit magus,
“Nolo [7 b. 2] ego ad iudicium íre aquæ cum ipso:
aqua[m] enim deum habet.” Dég rochualasom is *tria*
usque nobaitsed⁷ *Patraic*. Et respondit rex, “Mittite
ergo in ignem.” Et ait *Patricius*, “Promptus sum.” At 25
magus nolens dixit: “Hic homo uersa uice in alter-
nos [annos] nunc aquam, nunc ignem, deum uenerat-
tur.” “Niba ed dogentar, ann,” ol*Patraic*, “aritberiso⁸
is dea teneth adraimsi, regasu, másathol duit, hitceh
fordunta forleth, *ocus maceléirech* dimmuintirsi hit- 30
[f]arrath, *ocus* mochassalsa immotsu, *ocus* dothonach
drúadsu immom *maceléirechsa*, *ocus* doberthar teine

¹ corofersustair, R.; corroferus-
tair, E.

² uad fóchetheor, E.

³ díchitel, E.

⁴ dogniset, E.

⁵ chonflicht so, E.

⁶ libre illeis, R.

⁷ Sic E.; robaitsed, R.

⁸ Sic E.; aritberisdo, R.

saw and marvelled greatly. Said Patrick: "We see this. Put it away if thou canst." Said the wizard: "I cannot do that till this hour to-morrow." "By my God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is in evil thy power stands, and not in good." Patrick blessed the plain throughout the four quarters. Quicker than speech, at Patrick's word the snow vanished, without rain, without sun, without wind.

Then at the wizard's incantation came darkness over the face of the earth. Thereat the hosts cried out. Said Patrick: "Dispel the darkness." The wizard said: "I cannot to-day." Patrick prayed to the Lord, and blessed the plain, and the darkness was banished and the sun shone, and all gave thanks.

They were for a long while at this contention in the presence of the King. And even as Nero said to Simon (Magus) and to Peter, saith the King to them: "Cast your books into water; and we will honour him whose books shall come out unhurt." Patrick replied: "I will do so." And the wizard said: "I am unwilling to go with him to the ordeal of water. For he hath water as a god." (The wizard said this) because he had heard that Patrick used to baptize with water. And the King answered: "Cast them, then, into fire." And Patrick saith: "I am ready." But the wizard, unwilling, said: "This man, turn about in alternate years, venerates as a god now water and now fire." "That will not be done," saith Patrick, "(but) since thou sayest that I adore a god of fire, thou shalt go, if thou art willing, apart into a house completely shut up, and a cleric of my household before thee, and my chasuble around thee, and thy wizard's tunic round my cleric, and fire shall be put into the house, so that God may deal dooms on

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 7 b 2.

isin tech coruca Día bretha forib ann." Deisid léu in chomarli sin .i. la firu Erenn imLoegaíri.¹

Isand sin tancatar coPatraic natri macaim bátar hingiallnai ieLóigairi. Cúit fri Patraic. Immeomaire Pátraic "eid annsin?" "Fír flatha," ol síat, "do brisiud⁵ hi prímeathraig nanGoedel .i. atech gníther etir indrúí *ocus* dogillae [is anlaid gníther .i. leth de úr *ocus* leth crín .i. in leth úr don drai *ocus* in crin dot gillasu²]." Dobeir Patraic amér forgrúaid ndeiss cech meic dib *ocus* dobeir déir digruaid cech meic forader- 10 naind clí, *ocus* dobir a anáil fóithib, *condernai* teora gema díb. Sloicsitt inmaic nagemai. "Genfit," olPatraic, "teora gemaí airechdai huadib" .i. Colomb *cille* *ocus* Comgall *ocus* Finnía.

Dorónath iarsin intech, indala leth de crín, araile 15 úr. Rofóided, dano, indrúí isindleth núr *ocus* casal Patraic imbe. Rofóided, dano, Benen isindleth crín *ocus* tonach indrúad imsuidiu. Roíadhad intech iarom impaibsium, *ocus* doratad *crand* areleith airi immach arbelaib intsluaig, *ocus* adagar teine and. Forcoem- 20 nacair firt mór and *tre* imaignthi Pátraic. Roloisceth aleth³ núr don tig *ocus* indrúí⁴ immedón nacaisle, *ocus* niromill abec [8 a. 1] dinchasail. Ní roloisced, *immorro*, alleth crín irabai Benen, *ocus* roanacht [Dia] Benen immedón tonaigi indrúad,⁵ *ocus* roloisced in 25 tonach *condernai* luaith di.

Rofergaigestar in rí fri Patraic comór dimarbad adrúad. Adráracht *ocus* dochóid doraith leis a marbad,⁶ *acht* ní rochomarleic Día dó *tre* etarguide Patraic. Dodeochaid iarsin ferg Dé forsinnpopul nécruib- 30 dech, *conerbailt* sochaide mor díb .i. xii. milia in uno die.

¹ E. omits the next paragraph.

² From Lebar Brecc, p. 27 b.

³ alleth, E.

⁴ drúid, R.; drui, E.

⁵ indrúag, R.; indruad, E.

⁶ orcaín, E.

you therein." That counsel was settled then by them, that is, by the men of Ireland around Loegaire.

Then came to Patrick the three children who were biding in hostageship with Loegaire. They weep to Patrick. Patrick asks, "What is the matter?" "A prince's troth," say they, "hath been broken in the chief city of the Gael, namely, the house that is a-building as well for [?] the wizard as thy servant, thus is it a-building, half thereof fresh and half dry, the fresh half for the wizard and the dry for thy servant." Patrick puts his finger on the right cheek of each of the children, and he puts a tear from the cheek of each child on his left palm, and he breathes under them (the tears) and made three gems thereof. The children swallowed the gems. "Three special gems," saith Patrick, "will be born from them," to wit, Colomb Cille and Comgall and Finnia.

Thereafter the house was built, one side of it dry, the other fresh. Then the wizard was sent into the fresh side, with Patrick's chasuble around him. Then Benen was sent into the dry side with the wizard's tunic around him. So the house was closed around them, and a bar was put . . . on it outside, before the host, and fire is set therein. A mighty marvel came to pass there through Patrick's prayer. The fresh half of the house was burnt and the wizard in the midst of the chasuble, and (the fire) destroyed not the chasuble in the least. The dry half, however, wherein Benen was biding, was not burnt, and Benen was saved in the midst of the wizard's tunic, and the tunic was burnt so that (the fire) made ashes thereof.

The King was much enraged with Patrick for killing his wizard. He arose and wished to kill him at once, but, through Patrick's intercession, God permitted him not. Thereafter God's anger fell on the impious people, so that a great multitude of them perished, to wit, twelve thousand in one day.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 8 a. 1.

Adubairt inmorro Patraic frí Loegairi, "Manichreitisiu¹ indossa atbéla colúath, ardoraga ferg Dé fortmullach." Otchualu inri inna briathra sin, rongab úamun mór. Téit iarsin inrí itech nimacallma fríamuintir. "Isferr damsá," orsé, "creitem do Día ol 5 dáas inní báightir rim mo marbad." Isiarsin tra roslecht Loigaire do Patraic ocus dorocreiti² do Día [in l. margin: sed non puro corde credidit], ocus rocreitset ilmili isindláu sin. Isand sin roraide Patraic frí Loigairi, "úair rocreitisiu do Día ocus doratais, 10 moreirsi, dobé'thar fot ságuil duit itrígiu: illóg, inmorro, hanumaloti³ anallana ní bía rí na rígdamna huait cobráth acht Lugaíl mac Loigairi." Cúair rogaíd amáthair Patraic naromallachad ingein báí inabroind. Isel atrubairt Patraic, "cotí frán ní mail- 15 lechub." Rogab dino Lugaíl rígi cotoracht cohAchad Forchai. Isandsin adrubairt, "Nách sí sút cell in cleirig ro roraídi na biad rí ná rígdamhna oLoegairi?" [si]arsin tairlaicid forchai tentide di[na] nemdaib inachend, conidhromarb: conid desin [atta] Achad Forchai.⁴ 20

Egerton 93,
fo. 4 a. 1.

Biat na ferta conicci so indiu.

Ité so ferta atchú[a]idetar srúithe hEirenn ocus dosratsat foglo[s]nathi naisnesen. Atchuaid, cetus, ferta Pátraic ocus roseummai Collum eille macc Fedlimthe: Ultan macc ói Choncobair, Adhamnan óa Tinni, hEle- 25 ran ind ecnai, Cíaran Bealaigh Dúin, Epscop Ermedach ó Clochar, Colman Uamach, Crumthir Collait ó Druim Róilgech.

¹ creitisiu, E.; chreitidsidi, R.

² rocreitt, E.

³ tanahumolloti, E.

⁴ R. omits the next four paragraphs.

Patrick, however, said to Loegaire; "Unless thou believest¹ now, thou shalt die quickly, for God's anger will come on thy head." When the king heard those words great fear seized him. Then the king went into the assembly-house to his people. "For me," saith he, belief in God is better than what is threatened to me, (namely), that I shall be killed." So then Loegaire knelt to Patrick and believed in God, but he did not believe with a pure heart; and on that day many thousands believed. Then Patrick said, "Since thou hast believed in God, and done my will, length of age will be given to thee in thy kingdom: in reward, however, of thy disobedience some time ago, there will not be king or crown-prince of thee save Lugaid son of Loegaire," because his mother besought Patrick not to curse the child that was lying in her womb. Patrick said this: "Till he opposes me I will not curse him." Then Lugaid took the realm and went to Achad Forchai. Then he said: "Is not yon the church of the cleric who declared that there would be neither king nor crown-prince from Loegaire?" After that a fiery bolt was hurled from the skies against him and killed him, wherefore [the place is called] Achad Forchai, the field of the thunderbolt.

Let the miracles be as far as this to-day.

These are the miracles which the elders of Ireland declared, and connected with² a thread of narration. Colomb Cille, son of Fedlimid, first declared Patrick's miracles and composed them. (Then) Ultan son of Conchobar's descendant, Adamnan, grandson of Tinne, Eleran of the wisdom, Ciaran of Belach Duin, bishop Ermedach of Clochar, Colman Uamach, presbyter Collait of Druim Roilgech.

¹ Lit. he believes.

| ² Lit. put under.

Egerton
93, fo. 1
a. 1.

Fer fírian, *tra*, in ferso, congláine aicnid amal hualathrachu. Fír-ailithir amal Abraam. Cendais, dilgadhach ocrídiu amal Moysi. Salmcettlaid molthaidi amal Dabid. Audsud neenai amal Solmhoin. Lestar togai fri fúacra fírinidi amal Pól apstal. Fer lán dirath *ocus* 5 *dicolus* in *Spirta* Naomh [4 a. 2] amal Iohan maccan. Lugbort cáin co clannaib súalach. Gesca finí cotoirthigi. Teinid toidhlech congrís goirthce *ocus* tessaighi na mac mbethad im andud *ocus* im elscud déaircci. Leo treanert *ocus* cumachtai. Colum archennsai *ocus* 10 diuiti. Nathir ar threbaire *ocus* túaclí frímaith. Cendais, umul, ailgén fri macu betha. Fordorchaidi écenais for macu bais. Mog saothair *ocus* fógnama do *Christ*. Rii arórdan *ocus* chumachtu fri cumreech *ocus* tuaslucad, fri sóirad *ocus* dóirad, fri marbad *ocus* 15 bethugud.

Appropinquante autem hora obitus sui, sacrificium¹ ab episcopo Tassach sumpsit, quod uaticum vitæ æternæ² ex consilio Victoris acceperat. Et dé[i]nceps, post mortuós suscitátós, post multum populum 20 ad Deum conuersum, et post episcopos et perspýteros (*sic*) in eclesis órdatós et tóto ordine eclésiastico [rite disposito, et] conuersa tóta Scotia ad fidem Christi, anno ætatis suæ cxxii.³ obdormiuit in uitam æternam, et reliqua. 25

¹ Here in the margin is the compendium for *post*.

² vitæ æternæ, E.

³ oxíí, E. But as Colgan, *Tr.*

Thaum. p. 173, has "cxxii." p. 128 "120," (leg. 122?), the scribe of the Egerton MS. has probably dropped one x.

A just man, then, (was) this man, with purity of nature like the patriarchs. A true pilgrim, like Abraham. Gentle, forgiving of heart, like Moses. A praiseworthy psalmist, like David. A shrine (?) of wisdom, like Solomon. A vessel of election for proclaiming truth, like Paul the Apostle. A man full of the grace and of the knowledge of the Holy Ghost, like John the child. A fair garden with plants of virtues. A branch of a vine with fruitfulness. A bright fire with fervor of heating and warming the sons of Life, as to kindling and inflaming charity. A lion through strength and power. A dove for gentleness and simplicity. A serpent for prudence and cunning as to good. Gentle, humble, mild towards sons of Life. Gloomy, ungentle as to sons of Death. A laborious and serviceable slave to Christ. A king for dignity and power, for binding and loosing, for freeing and enslaving, for killing and quickening.

But the day of his death drew nigh, so he took the communion from Bishop Tassach, which provision for the journey to life eternal he had received by Victor's advice. And then, after having raised the dead, after having converted much people unto God and ordained bishops and priests in the churches, the whole ecclesiastical order being duly disposed, and the whole of Ireland converted to the faith of Christ, in the hundred and twenty-second year of his age he fell asleep into life eternal, and so forth.

[PARS ALTERA.]

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 a. l. "Euntés ergo nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos observare omnia quaecumque mandaví vóbis, et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diébus 5 usque ad consummationem sæculi."

[S a. 2.] Issu (*sic*) Crist roraidi inna bríatraso, iar cloud báiss in¹ eseirgiu, do gresacht a apstal ocus a deiscipul do forectal cenel naniresech in domain ocus diambaitsid innannaim in Athar ocus in Maic ocus 10 in Spirto Nóib, *conebairt*, "EUNTES." Matha, *imorro*, isbé condascríb na briathra cétna for slicht nÍsu, dicens, "EUNTES ergo": habentur et haec ubi dicit "data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra," inde sequitur, "EUNTES ergo nunc," id est, dum mea 15 potestas in omni terra et non in Iudea tantum inuenitur. Quod dúdum pro[h]ibui dicendo, "In uiam gentium ne abieritis," nunc uobis concedo et praecipio, "Ite, docete."

Aptus ordo¹ doctrina ante bautismum. Non enim 20 potest fieri ut corpus bapismi recipiat sacramentum nisi ante[quam] anima fidei suscepit ueritatem. Omnes gentes, [id est] sine acceptione² personárum. Baubtizantes eos, id est homines gentium. In nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti. In [n]omine dicit, non 25 in nominibus. Hic Unitas atque Trinitas Personarum ostentitur. Singularitas enim nominis Unitatem loquitur, appellationum uero diuersitas Trinitatem desig[n]at. "Docentes eos observare omnia quaecumque mandauí uobis." Ordo praecipuus, iu[s]sit aposto- 30

Sic E. ocus, R.

| ² exceptione, Colgan.

THE SECOND PART.

“Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.”

Jesus Christ spake these words after overcoming death in resurrection, to hearten his apostles and his disciples to teach the faithful folk of the world, and to baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, so that he said: “Go ye,” etc. Matthew, however, he it is that wrote the same words, in the person of Jesus¹, saying: “Go ye therefore.” These, too, are implied where he says, “All power hath been given to me in heaven and in earth.” Then follows: “Go ye therefore now,” that is, since my power is found in every land and not in Judæa only. That which I long ago forbade, saying: “Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles,” now I grant unto you and enjoin you: “Go ye, teach.”

Meet is the order, teaching before baptism. For it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of baptism before the soul receives the verity of faith. “All nations,” that is, without acceptance of persons. “Baptizing them,” that is, men of the Gentiles. “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” “In the name,” he saith, not “in the names.” Here is set forth the Unity and Trinity of Persons. For the singularity of “name” expresses the Unity. But the diversity of appellations indicates the Trinity. Teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. An especial order: he directed the apostles first, to teach all

¹ in Christi persona, Colgan. The Irish is, literally, “in Jesu’s track.”
u 10231.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8^a.
2-8 b. 1.

los¹ vt primum docerent uniuersas gentes, deinde in-
tingerent fidei sacramento; et pro fide ac bap-
tismo² quae³ essent obseruanda praecipere. Et ne pútemus
leuia esse quae inssa⁴ sunt, et pauca, addidit: Omnia
quaecumque mandauit nobis ut [qui] crediderint⁵ et qui⁵
in Trinitate fuerint baptizati, omnia faciant quae prae-
ce[S. b. 1]-pta sunt. “Et ecce ego uobis[*cum*] sum
omnibus [diebus] usque ad consummationem saeculi,”
acsi diceret “haec est merces uestra,” et quasi dixisset
“nolite timer[e] ire in mundum⁶ et persecutionibus et 10
tribulationibus uexari in eo. Dum praesens erit uobis
auxilium meum usque ad finem uitae⁷ nestre in sig-
niss et uirtutibus faciendis.” *Rocomailset abstaíl 7rl.*

Othanice *Patraic conacobluch* dochum nErem do
*procept*⁸ doGóidelaib, *ocus* aluid do *Temraig*, forac- 15
caib Lomman indInbúur Boínne icóimét alungai fri .xl.
oidchi in chorgais. Fororcónggart *Patraic* fair aethar
do imrom innagid naBóinde⁹ *congabad* baili hitá Ath
Truim indiu. Dún ind inbaid[sí] Feidlimthe *meic*
Loigairi mac Neill .i. Áth Truim. Condechaíd isin 20
maittin *Fortchernd mac* Feidlimthi cofuair Loman
ocus aósecla arabélaib. Ingnad lais inforectal rochú-
alai. Roereit *ocus* robaitsid o Lomán, *ocus* robaí
Fortchernn icóitsecht *frisín* forectal cotoluíd amathair
foraiarair. Dorighni failti *frisna* cleirchiu arba di Bret- 25
naib di .i. Seoth ingen ríge Bretan [sí]. Tanie Feidilmthi
fóin do accallaím Lomáin, *ocus* roereit *ocus* roedbairt
Áth Truim do Dia *ocus* do *Patraic* *ocus* do Lomán
ocus do *Fortchernn*.

¹ Ordo praecipius iusit aposto-
los, R. For this Colgan has: Ordo
praecipitur visitationis Apostolo-
rum.

² post fidem et baptisma, E.

³ bap-tisma qui, R.

⁴ nisa, R.; iusa, E.

⁵ Sic E.; R. -unt.

⁶ MS. -i.

⁷ Sic, E.; R. uiti.

⁸ praicept, E.

⁹ nobóinne, R.; nabóindi, E.

nations, and then to baptize them with the sacrament of faith, and, in favour of faith and baptism, to enjoin all things that were to be heeded. And lest we should think that the things ordered were few and trifling, he added: "All that I have commanded to you," so that they who have believed and been baptized in the Trinity may do all that hath been enjoined. "And lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world," as if he would say "This is your reward," and as if he had said, "Fear not to go into the world and to be harassed with tribulations, for my help will be present to you therein, even to the end of life, in doing signs and miracles." The apostles fulfilled (this), and so forth.

When Patrick came with his vessels to Ireland, to preach to the Gael, and when he went to Tara, he left Lomman in the estuary of the Boyne, keeping his ship for the forty nights of the Lent. Patrick ordered him to row his vessel against the Boyne till he should get to the place wherein Áth Truimm stands to-day. Áth Truimm was at that time the stronghold of Feidlimid son of Loegaire, son of Niall. In the morning Fortchern son of Feidlimid went and found Lomman with his gospel before him. A marvel to him (Fortchern) was the doctrine which he heard. He believed, and was baptized by Lomman, and Fortchern was listening to the doctrine until his mother came a-seeking him. She made welcome to the clerics, for of the Britons was she, namely, Scotch daughter of the king of Britons, she. Fedilmthe himself came to have speech of Lomman, and he believed, and he offered Áth Truimm to God, and to Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchern.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 8
b. 1.

Dechoid *Patraic* féin *ocus* rofóthaig Ath Truim .xxu. annis ría fothugad Airdd Machae.¹ Do Bretnaib *immorro*, bunad *Lomáin* [in marg. filius Gollit] derfiur do *Patraic* a mathaiv. It é *immorro*, brathir *Lomáin* .i. epscop Munis hi Forenidi [la Cui[r]ceiniu 5 .i. hi tuaisciurt Midi²] *frisind* Eithne andess, Broccaid indImliuch Ech la *Conachta* .i. iC'arraigi.³ Brocán imBrechmaig la hÚ Dothrain, Mogenóce hi Cill Dumai Gluind indesciurt Breg. Inderbehlann, *immorro*, [8. b. 2] is díless do*Patraic* ochomfúilidecht⁴ *ocus* ó iris *ocus* 10 o bathis *ocus* o forcitul; *ocus* inna huli atcotaisiut do thalmain *ocus* do cealsib roelbairset do*Patraic* in sem-piternum.

Post aliquantum autem tempus, orochomaicesigestar eitsecht *Lomáin*, roescmlai *ocus* a dalta [.i. Fortcern] 15 do *acallaim* abrathar .i. Brocado *ocus* roaitlmi a *ecclais* do*Patraic* *ocus* doFortcern; *acht* rofrithbruid Fortchern corairaimed orba a athar, *ocus* ishesidi roerb do Dia *ocus* do*Patraic*. Acht atrubairt *Lomán* “no-conairaimfe m[ó]bennachtainsi maine airaimde 20 moecailse.” Aroirachair, *immorro*, Fortchern iarnetsecht *Lomáin* innabdaine otriblaithib coriacht eo Áth Truim *ocus* dorat iarsin *acclais* Cathlaido *perigrino*. Hæ sunt oblationes Fedelmedo filí Loegairi sancto Patricio et Lomano et Fortcherndo .i. Áth Truim hi 25 *erichaib* Loegairi Breg. Imgæ icrichaib Loegairi iMidi. Isamlaid roedbarthe innahuli edbartaso do*Patraic* *ocus* doLomán *ocus* doFortchern. Pro omnibus regibus maioribus et minoribus usque in diem iudicii.

Prima [autem] feria uenit Patricius ad Taltenam, 30 baili iraba intófnach rigdai, coCoirpri mac Neill. Is eissidi roecobair orcain *Patraic* *ocus* ro[s]roiglestar

¹ Here R. and E. omit a sentence = Colgan's ibique reliquit Lomanum discipulum suum.

² Sic E.

³ Imliuch aech. la ciarraigi chondacht, E.

⁴ comfúilidecht. R.E.

Patrick himself went and founded Áth Truimm, twenty-five years before the founding of Armagh ; [and there he left his disciple Lommán]. Of the Britons, moreover, was the race of Lommán son of Gollit, and his mother was own sister to Patrick. These are Lommán's brothers, namely, Bishop Munis in Forenide, at Cuirene, in the north of Meath, to the south of the Eithne ; Broccaid in Imnliuch Ech, in Comaught, to wit, in Ciarraige ; Broccan in Brechnag in Húi Dothrain ; Mogenoc in Cell Dunaí Gluinn in the southern part of Breg. Now (these are) the progeny that belongs to Patrick by consanguinity and by faith and by baptism and by doctrine ; and all that they obtained of land and of churches they offered to Patrick for ever.

Now after some time, when Lommán's death drew nigh, he went with his foster-son Fortchern to have speech of his brother Broccaid, and bequeathed his church to Patrick and to Fortchern. But Fortchern refused to receive his father's inheritance, and he entrusted it to God and to Patrick. But Lommán said : "Thou shalt not receive my blessing unless thou receivest the abbacy of my church." So Fortchern after Lommán's death assumed (?) the abbacy for three days till he reached Áth Truimm, and afterwards gave his church to Cathlaid the Pilgrim. These are the offerings of Fedelmíid son of Loegaire, to S. Patrick and Lommán and Fortchern, namely, Áth Truimm in Loegaire's territories in Bregia, Inga in Loegaire's territories in Meath. Thus were all these offerings offered, to Patrick and to Lommán and to Fortchern ; (both for Fedilmíid himself and) for all kings, major and minor, even to Doomsday.

Now on the first holiday came Patrick to Taltan, the place in which was the royal assembly, to Cóirpre son of Niall. He it is that desired to slay Patrick, and

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 8
b. 2.

muintir *Patraic* isruith Séili, qua propter appellauat illum [Patricius] inimicum Dei et dixit ei, “Fogní dosíl do sílaib do bráthar *ocus* nocobía rí dotsil co-bráth.” *Ocus* nocobíat brattána isindabainsin *tria* mallachtain *Patraic*.

5

Dodeochuid *Patraic* iarsin coConall mac Neill. Isand robái asosad, dú ita Domnach *Patraic* indiu, *ocus* aroet hé cofailti moír, *ocus* rombaitsi *Patraic* *ocus* rosonairtnig arígsuide in eternam. *Ocus* adrabairt *Patraic* fris, “Fognífe síl do brathar dotslil [9. a. 1] 10 tre bithu *ocus* technaige coderna trocairi domorbaib imdegaid *ocus* domeic *ocus* meic domac corop dligthidi suthain dommacaibse creitmechaib.” Isandsin roto-mais Conall eclais do Día *ocus* do*Patraic* pedibus eius .lx. pedum, et dixit Patricius, “Sicip he dígbas inne- 15 claiisi dotsil nocoba fotta a flaithius *ocus* niba sonairt.” Intan dororaind ráith nairthir inso.

Dororaind¹ *Patraic* Ráith nAirthir abachaill duan-
tith² (*sic*)

timarne natuasa (*sic*) céne marusbith. 20

Bes nded³ násad innatúad hitir ingnád *ocus* gnád
nad mbíad *acht* oengine for a fuot⁴ cobrath.

Quod impletum est.

Dodeochatar moch día domnaig iRáith nAirthir. Cinæd *ocus* Dub-daleithi, dá mac *Cerbaill* meic Maili- 25 Odrae meic Oeda Sláne, conaccatar in lóech inaligu .i. mac Bressail. Mescaid indalanai claideb nand *ocus* tachaitir iarom. Luid indalanai tar Taltin súas im-andírmmain. Luid alailiu⁵ inDomnach *Patraic*.

Isansin [dano] bennachais blæ óinaig Taltin⁶ *conna* 30
berthar marb di cobrath. Boi immairece and illaitib

¹ Doraind, E.
² buan tith, E.
³ Besned, E.

⁴ forafóut, E.
⁵ alailé, E.
⁶ tailten, E.

who scourged Patrick's household into the river Seile. Wherefore Patrick used to call him "God's foe," and he said to him: "Thy seed shall serve thy brothers' descendants, and of thy seed there shall never be a king;" and there will never be salmon in that river, owing to Patrick's curse

Thereafter Patrick went to Conall son of Niall. There was his station, in the place wherein stands Domnach Pátraic to-day. And Conall received him with great joy, and Patrick baptized him and confirmed his throne *in æternam*. And Patrick said to him; "Thy brother's seed shall serve thy seed for ever, and . . . show mercy to my heirs after me, thou and thy sons and thy sons' sons, so that it may be lawful (and) lasting to my faithful children." Then did Conall measure out a church for God and for Patrick with sixty feet of his feet. And Patrick said: "Whosoever of thy offspring shall take from this church, his reign will not be long and will not be firm." When he measured Rath Airthir, . . . this:

Patrick measured Rath Airthir with (?) his crozier

. . .
. . .

That there would be only one slaughter throughout it for ever.

Which thing was fulfilled.

Early on Sunday they went into Raith Airthir. Cin-aed and Dub-dá-leithe, two sons of Cerball, son of Moel-Odrae, son of Aed Slane, saw the hero lying down, to wit, the son of Bressal. One of the two plunges a sword into him, and then they fled. One of the two went over Taltén up in their band. The other went into Domnach Pátraic.

Then he (Patrick) blessed the green of the Assembly at Taltén, so that no corpse will ever be carried from it.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 9.
a. 1.

Domchodo, teor[a] buidne im Coibdenach *macc* Fidgaili, *ocus* Coibdenach asanucht oc imbert ingæ lia sairsi ocoo. Arcesi seis alána diud láí *ocus* asbert “cumang nad chumcabad brothar nabrothraigi dia nguín nicæm-nacair ingæ.” 5

Paschæ quoque clausula finita prima feria exiit ad Vadum duarum Furcarum,¹ *ocus* forothaig eclais indusin *ocus* foracaib na trí braitriu innti conasiar .i. Chathaceus *ocus* Cathurus *ocus* Catneuss *ocus* Catnea intiur. Issidi² noblighed naheillti. 10

Doehóid iar sin coDruim Corcortri *ocus* [9. a. 2] rofothaig eclais hi suidiu, *ocus* foracaib indi³ Dermait *macc* Restitutia [sic].

Oe dul do *Patraic* sair do Temraig [co Loegaire, nair rogniset cairdes,⁴] o Donnach *Patraic*, dobert 15 bendacht for Conall *macc* Neill. O doluid ass dofoid⁵ a leec inna degaid isintailiech sair .i. dú itá⁶ inchross *ocommuliund* osindusciu, dicens :

Dosoí conói iterum
baathnuud frignath 20
adrodad friless na túad
isin port cibráth.

ocus foracaib *Patraic* fairend dia muintir oocalice inDonnach *Patraic*, *ocus* ised adubairt: “Cibbe nodasaraigfed ropad⁷ timdibe seguil *ocus* flaithiusa do. 25 Rodosáraig Cinéed *macc* Irgalaig rí Temrach .i. rogeguin fer forachomairchi, *ocus* doreprendset trí bainne fola cissi focetóir *ocus* ní roansat do silid coro ecbart Cinéed *macc* Congalaig trí senleithi *cona* ferann do-*Patraic* .i. Uachtar Nessa *ocus* Ói Midgnai *ocus* Tír 30 *meicc* Conaigg ó chill sair, *ocus* ní ro an in tress bainde

¹ farearvm, R.; forearum, E.

² isedi, E.

³ inti, E.

⁴ Sie E.

⁵ dufaid, E.

⁶ Here Eg. 93 has lost a leaf.

⁷ In marg. .i. aici [last three letters now cut off].

There was a conflict there in the days of Donnchad, three thousand with Coibdenach son of Fidgaile, and Coibdenach amidst (?) them, plying the spear with his At the end of the day he complains of the weariness of his hand, and said: "A power that could not be able the spear could not slay them."

The octave of Easter being ended ¹ *prima feria*, he went to Áth-dá-laarg, (the Ford of Two Forks,) and founded a church in that place, and left therein the three brothers with their sister, namely, Cathaceus and Cathurus and Catneus, and Catnea the sister. She it is that used to milk the hinds.

Then he went to Druim Corcortri and founded a church therein, and left in it Diarmait son of Restitutus.

As Patrick was going east from Donnach Pátraic to Tara unto Loegaire—for they had made friendship,—he gave a blessing to Conall son of Niall. When he went thence his flagstone ² came after him eastwards to the hill, wherein stands the cross by the mill over the water,

Dosóí conóí ³ again

There was a renewal usually

he gave for the benefit of the tribes

In the place for ever.

And Patrick left a number of his household at his flagstone in Donnach Pátraic, and this he said: "Whosoever should outrage it, his life and his realm should be cut off." Cinaed, son of Irgalach, king of Tara, outraged it, that is to say, he slew a man under its safeguard; and three drops of blood trickled out of it at once, and ceased not flowing till Cinaed son of Congalach offered to Patrick three *senlethi* with their land, ⁴ namely Uachtar Nessa and Oi Midgnaí and Tír maie

¹ Per *clausam Paschae* intelligit octavam Paschae, Dominicâ in Al-bis finitam, Colg., *Tr. Th.*, p. 173.

² *i.e.*, his portable altar, which he had left as a gift to the church.

³ This quatrain is nearly unintelligible.

⁴ "tres villas cum pertinentibus praediis et possessionibus," Colg., p. 130.

Rawl. B.
512, fo.
9 a. 2.

béos cotoracht féin foachroiss .i. cora marb Flaithbertach mac Loingsig Cinéd macc Irgalaig icathl Droma Coreán.

Dochoid *Patrice* iarsin doTemraig coLoegairi, uáir dogniset cairdes etarru connárooirethi *Patraic* inaflai-5 thius. Sed non potuit credere, dicens: "Niall," olsé, "mathairsi, amochuined insebfáitsine tuidecht nacreitme, ro athne dam ná rochreitind *acht* coromadnaicthi inullach Temrach amaib firu cathacha," uáir bá bes lasna geinti anadnacal fonarnaib, facie ad faciem usque 10 ad diem iudicí.

Ambaí *Patrice* forset inocásenám Romæ oc tuidecht fo. 9 b. 1. úadi, ar do chóid fotri doRoim iarbith [9. b. 1] ic foglain isintír, cocomarnic fri seisiur mac elerech, *ocus* se gillai léu, *ocus* allibair ina criss dollotar díanailithri. 15 "Isdinnim dodechas and," ol*Patraic*. "Dénid téig duib don erocundsá fil im coimitechtsa: ishé robai fomsuidiusa *ocus* fontaeb inErind .xxii. annis *ocus* ocoifriund." "Ceist, *ocus* intan scermait, coich uáin hí?" "Ni *anse*," ol*Patraic*, "*nach* congbaill *congaibid* tabraid 20 far téig i talmáin, *ocus* dú dadaslugai isisinport bíeid," quod impletum est. Is hísín in Breifnech *Patraic* iCluain Ernáin. Iseumtabairt cia erocann in rúon nó inecthra. Immdernad iarom di ór *ocus* findruine.

Ishe *immorro* in sesiur. Cruimthir Lugach iCill 25 Airthir. Cruimthir Columb iCluain Ernáin, *ocus* Mel-dan Cluano Crema, *ocus* Lugaid macc Eire iFodruim, *ocus* Cruimtir Cassan inDomnach Mór Maigi Echnach: cóice nóib insin do muintir *Patrice* inDelbna Assail,

Conaing from the church eastward. And the third drop stayed not till he himself came under his cross, that is, till Flaithbertach, son of Loingsech, slew Cinaed, son of Irgalach, in the battle of Druim Coreain.

Thereafter Patrick went to Tara, to Loegaire: for they had made an agreement between them that Patrick should not be slain during his reign. But Loegaire was unable to believe, saying, "Niall," saith he, "my father, when he heard the false prophecy, the coming of the Faith, enjoined us not to believe, but that I should be buried in the topmost part of Tara, like warlike men;" for it was the custom of the heathen to be buried in their armour, face to face, even to the day of judgment.

When Patrick was on the way journeying to Rome (or) coming from it—for he went thrice to Rome after having been a-learning in the land,—he met with six young clerics and six gillies with them, and their books in their girdles. They were going on their pilgrimage. "Weakly has one gone there," saith Patrick. "Make for you a wallet of this hide which is along with me. This hath been under my seat and under my side in Ireland for twenty years, and at mass." "Question" (say they), "and when we shall separate, to which of us will it belong?" "Not hard to say," saith Patrick: "at every (ecclesiastical) dwelling wherein ye set up, put your wallet into the earth, and the stead which swallows it up, in that place shall it abide." Which thing was fulfilled. This is the *Breifnech Pátraic* in Cluain Ernainu. It is doubtful what hide (it was), whether a seal's or a cow's. It was then adorned with gold and white bronze.

Now these are the six: Presbyter Lugach in Cell Airthir, Presbyter Colomb in Cluain Ernain, and Meldan of Cluain Crema, and Lugaid, son of Ere in Fordruim, and Presbyter Cassan in Donnach Mór Maige Eelmach. Five saints (were) those of Patrick's household in Dellbna

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 9
b. 1.

ocus cóie míassa do *Patraic* léu. In seised Sen-Cíaran Saigri. Baí immorro Ciaran ocaiarfaigid do *Patraic* caif iggebad.

“Saig Uar,” ar*Patraic*,¹

“dena cathraig forabrá: 5

tricha bliadan, buadach bann,
conricfam and *ocus* tú.”

Ambai *Patraic* oc batis Lugne, dú itá Donnach Mor Maigi Echnach, asbert *frí* Cassan bed namn a ciscirgi, *ocus* nabad mor a congbaíl *italmain* *ocus* 10 nibid imda noiegad nech *condosnaid* chridi oathaisib, *ocus* ismór a aíne inChassan sin hi fertaib.

Alluid *Patraic* inacharput asin tailaig donárraid alaili bandscal and *ocus* amac le. “ArDía, bendach mo macc dam, a cleirig; itá a athair aingalar. Dobir 15 *Patraic* airde na cruichi taragium, *ocus* aithnid occ Casan dolegund. Dicitur sic quod psalm[9. b. 2]-os per .xii. dies légit. Issé andsin Lonan macc Senaig fil hi Caill hUallech. Rigell, immorro, amathair. Fordos- rala muintir Cluana macc Nóis. Corocoímchloiset ia- 20 *rom* *frí* muintir Cluana Iraid ar chill Lothair imBré- gaib *ocus* ar Chluain Alad Deirg tiar.

Do-Lúe Croibigi *ocus* Lugaid macc Oengusa meic Nat-fraich, ishe² fil hinDruim Inasclaind hinDelblma do muintir *Patraic*. 25

Fir oirthir Midi ros bathless *Patraic* oc toig Lais- rend indess itá athipræ indorus inna cilli. Facaib dís

¹ The words *arPatraic* are a gloss, and not part of the line.

² Read *ithé*.

Assail, and five patens of Patrick's had they. The sixth was Old Ciaran of Saigir. Howbeit Ciaran kept asking Patrick where he should settle. Saith Patrick :

“ Seek the Uar,
Build a monastery on its brink.
In thirty years—victorious deed—
We shall meet there, (I) and thou.”

When Patrick was baptizing the Lugni at the stead where stands Domnach Mór Maige Echnach, he said to Cassan that his resurrection would take place therein, and that his establishment on earth would not be great. And [yet] many will not go with sigh of heart from his relics, and great is the splendour of that Cassan in miracles.

When Patrick went in his chariot from the hill he overtook a certain woman there, (having) her son with her. “ For God's sake,” [saith she,] “ bless my son for me, O cleric : his father is ill.” Patrick puts the sign of the cross over his mouth, and delivers him to Cassan to (learn to) read. It is said that he read the psalm in twelve days. This is the Lonan, son of Senach, who is in Caill Uallech, Rígell is his mother. The community of Clonnaenois obtained it (Caill Uallech), and afterwards exchanged it with the community of Clonard for Cell Lothair¹ in Brega and for Cluain Alad Deirg in the west.

Do-Lue of Croibeoh² and Lugaid son of Oengus, son of Natfraech, it is they who, of Patrick's household, are in Druim Inesclaind in Delbna.

The men of the east of Meath, Patrick baptized them at Tech Laisrenn in the south. His well is in front of the church. He left two of his people therein, namely,

¹ Kill-Ochuir, Colg. 131.

² Da-Iuanus de Crocbeach, Colg. 131.

Rawl. B. dia muintir ann .i. Bice *ocus* Lugaid, *ocus* ata ferta
512, fo. 9. Bice fri tiprait antúaid.
b. 2.

Mólúe ailithir di Bretnaib domuintir *Patraic* indIm-
luich Sescainn fri tech Laisrend indes for ur Locha
Aininne. Fordosrola muintir Clúana mac Nóis. 5

Temair Singite la Firu Assail. And robaitsi *Patraic*
Firu Asail. Intslige iter Raith Suibne *ocus* Cluain
Fota Ainmirech ata fert ann .i. rube sciad *ocus* droi-
gen *ocus* cróib. Intí letras ní and ní chuirfi cor
10 búada de. Domnach ainim.

Folamustar tra *Patraic* congbaill ocÁth Maigne ind
Asal. Frístuidhíd fris ann fer écendais .i. Fergus
brathair doBrenainn mace Echach Muimnedoin. Is
airi ní hairdeirce in Fergus[sa] quia in uita patris
defunctus¹ est. Bráthair tra inBrenaind sin, is hé 15
frístudhaid do *Patraic*. Dofornde *Patraic* crois isind-
lice conabachaill, *ocus* atá and beos dísert for leic
Patraic, *ocus* roben incloich amal bid ere mæth. “Ma-
nibataimmet,” ol *Patraic*, “nut scáilfeth nert cumahta
20 Dé amal roscail in bachall in cloich.” Nífil tra scoth
ná comarpa úad don trist dobert *Patraic* fair. “Ar
Dia, a *Patraic*,” ol a scitich, “nim tairle [10. a. 1] do
mallacht.” “Nítáidlibe,” ol *Patraic*, “*ocus* ní aidlibe
in gein fil it brú. Araidi ní fil comarpa úad.”

Maigen inna[f]arrad andess la*Patraic* fer muinteri 25
do conaggaib mace Dieuill² la Colomb cilli indiu
trefoill.

¹ MS. -is.

² m. Dieuill, R; Maedichoill, Colg. 131.

[a virgin] Bice and Lugaid, and Bice's tomb stands to the north of the well.

Molue, a pilgrim of the Britons, and one of Patrick's household, (was) in (the church called) Imnliuch Seseaimn to the south of Tech Laisrenn on the shore of Loch Aininne. The community of Clonmacnois (afterwards) obtained it.

At Temair Singite by Tír-Assail, there Patrick baptized the men of Assail. On the road between Raith Suibni and Cluain Fota Ainmirech is a marvel, namely, a brake of hawthorn and thorns and branches. He that tears anything therein will not cast a winning cast of it.¹ Donnach is its name.

Then Patrick founded a cloister at Áth Maigne in Asal. A merciless man resisted him there, namely, Fergus, brother of Brenaimn, son of Echaid Muimmedon. This Fergus is not renowned because he died during his father's lifetime. His brother, then, was that Brenaimn. It is he that resisted Patrick. Patrick marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay. "If I were not patient with thee," saith Patrick, "the might of God's power would cleave thee as the crozier cleft the stone." Of him (Brenaimn) there is neither son nor successor, owing to the curse which Patrick inflicted upon him. "For God's sake, O Patrick," saith his wife, "let not thy malediction fall on me!" "It shall not visit thee," saith Patrick, "and it shall not visit the child that is in thy womb." Howbeit, of him there is no successor.

A place close by it, to the south, belonged to Patrick. One of his household, Dicholl's son, set up there. Colomb Cille² hath it now through cunning.

¹ That is, will fail in all his undertakings.

² *i.e.*, one of the Columban monasteries.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 10,
a. 1.

Iterum venit oTemraiy combaí indUisnech. Fola-
mastar *congbaíl* ann. Fritúidechetar fris dá mace Néill
.i. Fiacha *ocus* Endai. Dixit Patricius eis, isaclama
notrefitis *ineongbaíl* sin dianairsed failti léu. Rodiult-
sat *friso ocus* rogabsat aláim. “Mallaecht,” ol *Patraic*— 5
“For clocha Uisnig,” ol Sechnall. “Bíth dano,” ol
Patraic. Nífuil nách maith dogníther dib osin amach :
ní dénaiter eíd clocha fotraicthe díb.

Roobbai Fiacha bathis [in marg. .i. iCarnd Fiachach]
húad intansin. Robathis *immorro* Énda *ocus* roedbair 10
a mae rogenair isindaíd *qui* ríam *conaférand* .i. each
nomad imbairi Énda fú Erinn. Arroét *Patraic* in
mae ocus dorat dia altrum di cetrur dia muintir .i.
epscop Donnall, Coimid mac uBairdd, *ocus* Dabonne
mace uBairtt *ocus* alaili. “Rombía linsa doníarrad,” 15
ol *Loegairi* mace Néill “fobíth Énda abrathar, ferand
baí la Enda oLoegairi .i. eóice seneleithi deue Enda
Artich la *Connachta frí Cruachan* antuaid, ithesidi
itat do*Patraic* indíu.

Roaltatar *iaron* in mace hi erich Ennai Artich. 20
Escop Donnall indAilich Moír furóxail muintir Cluana
mace Noiss. Escop Coimid hi Clúain Sennáil. Escop
Dobonne hi Clúain na Manach, ie foigid díandalta
arsamuin obéss saegulla airmitin *tra* aaidi intan doni-
ced, ag *oeach* fiur do. Rolil in dóiri sin *forsna* cellaib 25

He [Patrick] came again from Tara till he was in Uisnech. He founded a cloister there. Two sons of Niall, namely, Fiacha and Endae, came against him. Patrick said to them that their children would inhabit that cloister if he should find a welcome with them. They refused him and expelled him. "A curse," saith Patrick — "on the stones of Uisnech," saith Sechnall. "Be it so," saith Patrick. Nothing good is made of them from that time forward. Not even washing-stones are made of them.

Fiacha refused in Carn Fiachach baptism from him (Patrick) at that time. However he baptised Enda, and (Enda) offered his son [Cormac] who had been born the night before, together with his land, that is, every ninth ridge of Enda's throughout Ireland. Patrick received the son, and gave him to be reared unto four of his household, to wit, bishop Domnall, Coimid Maccu-Baird, and DaBonne Maccu-Baird, and another. "He shall have saith Loegaire son of Niall, "because of Enda his brother, the land that Enda had from Loegaire," to wit, fifteen *senchleithe*¹ of Enda Artech in Connaught to the north of Cruachan. These are Patrick's to-day.

Then they reared the son in the territory of Enda Artech, that is to say, bishop Domnall in Ailech Mór, which the community of Clonmacnois took away, bishop Coimid in Cluain Senmail, bishop Do-Bonne in Cluain na Manach their pupil on All Saints' day veneration for his fosterer (S. Patrick) when he would come, a cow from each man to him.² That

¹ villae, Colg. *Tr. Th.* 131.

² The text is corrupt. The meaning must be, as Colgan says, 131, that the three bishops "quotannis suo discipulo circa festum omnium sanctorum, dum eos visitaret, con-

suenerunt singuli dare unam vac-
eam, propter reverentiam praecepit
S. Patris Patricii, qui ipsum eis
sustentandum et educandum com-
mi-sit."

Rawl., B.
512, fo. 10,
a. 1.

condaforslaic Nuada ab Aird Macha. Cormac Snithene a ainm in meice. Fothirbi Snitheni ata indoras Dermaige Cúli Cóennai. Tír Omma Snitheni ainmníghir. Isosnad domuintir Patrice cen atabairt cueu.

[10. a. 2] Foracaib *Patraic* reilgi sruithiu ilLecain 5 Midi *ocus* fairenn díá muintir léu inCrumáine.

Atuluid *Patraic* for muir atír¹ Bretan doasenam Erend, dotæt *escop* Muinis inadiaid *ocus* indiaid a braithri i. *escop* Mél Ardachaid *ocus* Rióc Insi Bo Finne; *ocus*² maice Conis *ocus* Darece ger[ma]næ 10 Patricíí, ut dicunt muntir a cell *ocus* noco diultaidi insin. Atát *dano* sethra innanásin i. Eiehi o Chill Glaiiss frihArdachad andess iTetbai *ocus* Lallóce oSenliuss la *Connachta*, et putatur quod ipsa est mater filiorum Bairt, comtis secht maie lea *ocus* di ingin. 15

Doluid *Patrice*, dino, formuir. Immesóí desut isindtracht *ocus* foccirt a choeal de, *ocus* dofnabair ammuir forlice *ocus* dusnarrith. Tancatar hErind iarsin.³

Forruim Muinis abachaill for eróib. Nos dermanat and inmbachaill *ocus* lotar ass. Cóiniss Muinis a 20 bachaill fri *Patraic*. Fosreat aracinn foreróib. “Bad do bachallsa bes limsa,” ol*Patraic*, “*ocus* bíth indásin latsa,” *ocus* dognith samlaid. Oím innammind fil iForgnaidiu insin laMuinis. Erpais *Patraic* aili deac Erend dó do baithis. 25

¹ itír, R.

² Some words such as *it hé se* have dropt out.

³ This paragraph is incomplete

and corrupt. It corresponds with Jocelyn's c. 111 and *Tr. Thaum*, p. 132, c. 22.

servitude clave ¹ to the churches until Nuada abbot of Armagh ² released them. Cormac Snithene was the son's name. Snithene's field is before Dermag Cúile Coennai. Tír Omna Snitheni (the land of Snithene's tree) it is named. It is a regret to Patrick's community that it was not given to them.

Patrick left relies of elders in Lecan Midi, and with them a number of his household around Crumaine.

When Patrick went on the sea from the land of Britain to journey to Ireland, bishop Muinis came after him and after his brothers, namely, bishop Mél of Ardachad and Rióc of Inis-bó-finne; and (they are) sons of Conis and Darerea, Patrick's sister, as the households of their churches say, and that is not to be denied. There are, moreover, sisters of those (bishops), namely, Eiche of Cell Glass to the south of Ard Achad in Tethbae, and Lalloce of Senlis in Connaught; and it is considered that she (Darerea) is the mother of Bard's sons, so that she has seven sons and two daughters.

Patrick, then, went to sea. (But first) he turns from it on the strand and casts his cowl from him on a stone, and the sea attacked and overtook it (but did not touch the cowl). They came to Ireland afterwards (and found the cowl there).

Muinis set his crozier on a branch. They forget the crozier there and went thence. Muinis lamented to Patrick (the loss of) his crozier. They find it before them on (another) branch. "Let thy crozier be mine," saith Patrick, "and let this be thine," and so it was done. That is one of the relies which Muinis hath in Forgaide. Patrick entrusted a twelfth of Ireland to him to baptize.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 10,
a. 2.

Diambái *Patraic* hiCruachán Aigli foidis Muinis do Roin uad cocomairli cohapaid Romæ *ocus* dotabairt reileci dóu. Bói debaid intansin diaclaum fri *Patraic* indUmall. *Ised* dohuith dú itá Cluain *maie* Nois indíu. Fogeibsiuim len cuassach and *ocus* di laidir a 5 oinboin ass sair. Saidid *cturru*. Tanie alaili fer am cucai. “Indat creitmech?” ol inclam. “Ed,” ol infer. “Aire danu,” ol sé, “don coinliniu thús danabair asabun. Tue dam illestar glan induisseiu doma [10 b. 1] innadiad.” Ishe indiu is tipraí Chíaran 10 insin. Dognú infer amal asrupart in clam friss. Tue *dano* aidme claidi intalman *conommadnaiss* isund.” Dognither *dano*. Is he cetna marb dochuaid fóuir Clúana *maie* Nóiss.

Gabais aidchi *iaron* for Muinis isind inut sin oc 15 tuidecht oRóim. “Is duine Dé,” olsé, “roadnacht sund; itá tintirecht aingel ann.” Dobertatar i[n]técich *conareileib* isindeuass indlim. Iadais imbi incuass euarabáarach. Bátor toirsich de, *ocus* atelhuatettar do *Patraic*. “Ita *mac* bethad dotiefa,” ol *Patraic*, “rieifa alless inna 20 taissisin” .i. Cíaran *mac* intásáir.

Is andsin roiarfacht *epscop* Muinis do*Patraic* cait iggebad. “Rogabsat mo brathair portu .i. *epscop* Mól *ocus* Rióc.” Isand dosrala dú itá Forggnaidi indíu. “Ismaith in port thís,” ol *Patraic*. “Isindermonai 25 arintelach ard uecat, nipat ili anmand eissi dochum nime, bet ili, immorro, asindí thís.” “Isandsa lim,” ol *epscop* Munis, “indloch im[f]arrath. Niléiefet óice fene *conanilehaib* *ocus* *conananfeth* bethaith dam ann.” Dorigni *Patraic* airnaigthi corue Día in loch 30

When Patrick was in Cruachan A igle hesent Muinis to Rome with counsel unto the Abbot of Rome, and relics were given him. Then his leper separated from Patrick in Umall. He (the leper) went to the place where Clonmaenois stands to-day. He finds a hollow elm there, with two branches from one stem eastwards out of it. He sits between them. Then a certain man comes to him. "Art thou a believer?" saith the leper. "Yea," saith the man. "(Give me a bundle of the rushes below, which thou takest out by the roots. Give me in a clean vessel the water which will break forth afterwards." That is to-day the well of Ciaran. The man doth as the leper said to him. "Bring then tools for digging the earth that thou mayst bury me here." (That) too is done. He is the first dead man that went under the clay of Clonmaenois.

Night then overtook Muinis in that place as he was coming from Rome. "It is a man of God," saith he, "that hath been buried here. A service of angels is therein." They put the case with its relics into the hollow of the elm. The hollow closed round it till the morrow. They were sad thereat, and related (it) to Patrick. "It is a son of Life that will come," saith "Patrick: he will require those relics," namely, Ciaran the son of the wright.

Then bishop Muinis asked Patrick in what stead he should settle. "My brothers, namely, bishop Mól and Ríoc, have gotten places." Then fell to him the stead in which Forognaid stands to-day. "Good is the stead below," saith Patrick, "in the . . . on the high hill yonder. There will not be many souls from it (going) to heaven: there will, however, be many . . ." "Grievous to me," saith bishop Muinis, "(is) the lake beside me. The warriors with their shouts and their tumult will not leave me life there." Then Patrick prayed, and God brought the lake out of the place in

Rawl., B.
512, fo. 10,
b. 1.

asind port irabai, *conid* hé Loch Cróni la hÚMaine. Foraccaib *Patraic* hiForgnáidí *ocus* foraccaib a Deirg-deire leis .i. meinistir nobith fó a coim fadesin: dochrethumu doronat[h] *ocus* buindi óir fuirri thos, *ocus* foraccaib a bachaill ut prediximus, *ocus* foraccaib mind 5 dorigne *cona* laim feissin, Donaidi Matha a ainm, *ocus* doronad cross cruán moithni fair *ocus* ceithri ardda cruannoin; *ocus* foraccaib laiss mind ali .i. cosmailias cometa libair Iohain nád mór hifail martrá Poil *ocus* Petair *ocus* [10. b. 2] alaili *ocus* biid dogrés arbeim 10 innascríne.

Lúith *Patraic* farsin i Tethbai ndeiscirt, dú itá Ardachad, *ocus* rofothaig ecleis isuidiu, *ocus* doercachain dona talmannaib *ocus* donahalachtaib *ocus* dollessaib inna fer, cid nogenfitis *ocus* cindass nobetis 15 na¹ geine.

Isann forácaib *epscop* Mól *ocus* *epscop* Melchu abra-thair, *ocus* rochreit Mane macc Neill do *ocus* rombaitsi. *ocus* do ue Mane banseál nalachtaí banchara dó, *ocus* rogaid do *Patraic* abennachtain innageine bóí inabroim 20 *ocus* abennachtain feisin. Orosín *Patraic* a laim forabroind diabendachad, dosue chuice doridisi, dicens: “Nescio: Deus scit.” Derbaruse leissium insin. Araídi bendachais inmaí *ocus* agein *acht* rofítirseom tre spirut² faítsine ba húa Coirprí mallachda báí inna brú .i. 25 Tuathal Mael-garb. Dixitque *Patricius*, “Dothcadach³ sin, a chóel Mane, noconbía rí uait cobrath.” Roslécht Mane do *Patraic* *ocus* dogní⁴ aitrígi, et dixit *Patricius*, “Rex non erit qui te non habebit,⁵ *ocus* is ternaidm assírem⁶ mérus indÉirind. Bid rí dano intí roben- 30

¹ no., R.

² Here recommences Eg. 93, 5. a. 1.

³ dothócadach, E.

⁴ Sic E.; rogní, R.

⁵ quasi dicret neminem regnaturum in Hibernia, cui pesteri Manij non adhaerebunt *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 132.

⁶ isírem, R.; asírem, E.

which it lay, so that it is (now) Loch Cróni in Húi-Mani. Patrick left (him) in Forгнаide, and left with him his *Derg-dere*, that is, a credence-table which used to be in his own keeping (?): of bronze (*créd-ama*) was it made, and there was a pipe of gold on it above; and he left his crozier as we said before, and left a relic which he made with his own hand, *Donaide Matha* was its name; and a cross . . . was made upon it and four points of . . . ; and he left with him another relic, namely, the likeness of the case of the book of John . . . by the relics of Paul and Peter and others; and it is always on the point of the shrine.

Thereafter Patrick went into southern Tefia, the place where stands Ardaehad. And he founded a church there, and prophesied of the earthly things and of the pregnant females and of the men's dwellings, what they would bring forth and how the offspring would be.

Then he left bishop Mól and bishop Melchu his brother. And Mane son of Niall believed in him, and he baptized him. And Mane brought a pregnant woman, a concubine of his, and prayed Patrick to bless the child that was lying in her womb, and to bless herself. When Patrick stretched forth his hand on her womb to bless it, he brought it (the hand) back to him again, saying, "I know not; God knoweth." That was a proverb which he had.¹ Howbeit, he blessed the woman and her offspring; but he knew through the spirit of prophecy that it was the accursed Coirpre's grandson that was lying in her womb, namely, Tuathal Moel-garb. And Patrick said, "Luckless is that, O slender Mane! There shall never be a king from thee." Mane knelt to Patrick and made repentance, and Patrick said, "There shall be no king in Ireland who shall not maintain thee (*i.e.* thy posterity), and it is thy bond which

¹ See, for instance, *infra*, Book of Armagh, 23 b. 2.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 10,
b. 2.

dachus (i. *Tuathal*); sed nescietur cóich biba coich beba," *ocus* rogab rígi iartain *ocus* roindarb *Diarmait mac* Cerbaill combóí for loch Rí *ocus* for Deingdeire *ocus* for Luimniuch.

Olaili¹ laithi dodechaid *Diarmait* inaethur sech port 5 Clúana *maic*Noiss, coeuala Cíaran fogur *ocus* sesbém innalungai *ocus* doroghrad insinport, et dixit Cíaran, "Tair cucum, ar it *mac* rígi, *ocus* toraind inreclés (in marg. i. *eclais mbic*²) *ocus* edbair dam inport." Qui (i. *Diarmait*) dixit, "Non sum rex." Cui Cíara-10 nus dixit, "Rex eris eras." Isindláu [sin] immortanie *Tuathal* inrí combuidnib morailb do innarba *Diarmata*, *comidromarb* Mael Mór comalta³ *Diarmata*, *ocus* romarbad Mael Mór ind foecéóir. Is [H. a. 1] de atá inderbárusec, "Echt Moile Moire."⁴ 15 Rogab iarom [*Diarmait*] rígi nhÉrend *tre* bennaechtáin Cíarain oc toraind ecailsi bicci. Fathrí tairlimm do *Diarmait* cotanic Temair. Edbairt eachthairlimme úad doCíaran inDruim Ráthe. Occurrit nobis hic uirtus etiam [?] per *anticipationem*. 20

Olaili aimsir atchúas do*Patraic* ein doepscoip Mel fria fair, tre comroreoin indaescarsluaig, ar nobitis in rentegdais oc crnaigthi frísinCoindi[d]. Otcomainre epscoip Mél *Patraic* chucal día cairiugud do Ardachad, dochúaid epscoip Mél do aclaíd *etrache* for a fer 25 flechod. Otechúas do *Patraic* gabail bratán do fommínassin, roráidi *Patraic* inderbárusec nairdire "ar aroi (i. ar na immaire) adclaiss linne. Fortés Mél du thocad, ar ní fortachtaig[i] Día nach mifhir meirb, id est, non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum." Dodechaid 30 dano siur epscuip Mél, *ocus* tene lea immacasa[i]. Ro-

¹ Olailiu, E.

² inreclés *ocus* ind eclais mbice, E.

³ i. dí Chonaillib, E.

⁴ i. romarbad an romarb nech, E.

shall remain the longest in Ireland. Moreover, he whom I have blessed will be a king, namely, Tuathal. But it shall not be known who shall . . . , who shall" And he took the realm afterwards, and expelled Diarmait son of Cerball, so that he was on Loch Rí and on (Loch) Derg and on Limerick.

On a certain day Diarmait came in his boat past the harbour of Clonnaennois, and Ciaran heard the noise and rattle (!) of the vessel, and (Diarmait) was called to the harbour, and Ciaran said: "Come to me, for thou art a king's son, and mark out the *vecles* (*i.e.* little church), and offer the harbour to me." Diarmait said: "I am not a king." To whom Ciarán said: "Thou wilt be a king to-morrow." On that day, however, came Tuathal the king with great troops to expel Diarmait, and Moel-mór, a foster-brother of Diarmait's, slew him, and Moel-mór was himself slain at once. Hence the proverb, "Moel-mór's exploit." So Diarmait got the kingdom of Ireland through Ciarán's blessing, as he was marking out the little church. Thrice did Diarmait alight as he was coming to Tara. At every alighting he made an offering to Ciarán, together with Drúim Raithe. We meet with a miracle here by anticipation.

At a certain time Patrick was told, through the error of the rabble, that bishop Mel had sinned with his kinswoman, for they used to be in one habitation a-praying to the Lord. When bishop Mel saw Patrick coming to him, to Ardachad, in order to reproach him, bishop Mel went to angle in the furrows whereon rain had poured. When Patrick was told that he was catching salmon in that wise, Patrick uttered the renowned proverb, "*On his field, i.e., on the ridges he angled for salmon.*" I will help Mél to luck, for God assists not a feeble ignorant man, *i.e.*, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Then bishop Mel's kinswoman came hav-

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 11,
a. 1.

titir Patraic natbóí cin, eturra, dicens: "Scorsum uiri¹ [et] scorsum feminae,² ne occasionem dare infirmis inueniatur, et ne nomen Domini per nos blasphemaretur, [quod] absit a nobis." Et sic relicit eos, .i. Brí (.i. mons) Leith eturru: sisi in Druimm Chea *fri* Brí 5 leith indiar,³ eissium *fríss* anair in *Arddachud*.

Luid iarom *Patrice* i *Tetba* tuaiscird .i. coerich Coirpri, bali roedbrad dósom *Gránard* omaccaib Coirpri, *ocus forácaib*som indúsin *epscop* Gúasacht *macc* Milcon acomalta *ocus* nadí Eimir sethracha in hísín; *ocus* ité 10 *conáccubsat* itúus i Clúain Brónaig, *ocus* isairi atá atoibad inuacilli *fríalaili* *ocus* airchindech *Grúnaird* ortness cenn caillech *dogres* i Cluain Bronaig. Intan, *immorro*, rosén *Patraic* cailli *forsna* ógaib rémráitib, dochótar a ceitri cossa isin cloich *ocus* feidligit⁴ innti 15 a⁴ follichta semper.

Dochóid *Patraic* iarsin tairinus[ce] do Maig Slécht,⁵ bali iráibi ardídal nah Erend .i. Cend *Crúaich*, cumdachta oór *ocus* [ó]argat, *ocus* dá ídal deac aili cumdachta o unai imme. *Oteonnaire* *Patraic* inídal 20 omuisciu dianid ainm Guthard (.i. gabtha a guth), *ocus* orochomaicsigh doindídal, *conuargaib* aláim dochur bachla Ísa⁵ fair, *ocus* nocorala *acht* dorairbert síar donuiniuth⁶ *foraleith* ndeis arisi[n]deis robái a *agaid* .i. do *Temraig*, *ocus* maraidh slicht innabachla inaleith 25 clíu béos, *ocus* araidi nochoroscaig inbachall aláim

¹ MS. uiris.

² MS. feminis.

³ ania, E.

⁴ Sic E.; feidhit, R.

⁵ Sic E.; i, R.

⁵ Maigslecha, E.

⁶ íssu, E.

⁷ donuiniuth, E.; don inntiud-manu recentiore, E.; qy. read *don irmtiud*, cf. *ermited*, 23. a. 2. ?

ing fire with her in her chasuble. [And her raiment was not injured.¹ Then] Patrick knew that there was no sin between them, saying, "Let men and women be apart, so that we may not be found to give opportunity to the weak, and so that by us the Lord's name be not blasphemed, which be far from us!" And thus he left them, with Bri Leith between them. She in Druim Chea, to the west of Bri Leith. He is to the east of it, in Ard Achad.

Then Patrick went into northern Teflia, namely to Coirpre's territory, where Granard was offered to him by Coirpre's sons. And he left in that place bishop Guasacht son of Milehu, his foster-brother, and the two Emers, sisters (were) those, and they first set up at Cluain Brónaig, and therefore is the . . . of the church against another; and it is the principal of Granard who always ordains the chief of the nuns in Cluain Brónaig. Now when Patrick blessed the veil on the aforesaid virgins, their four feet went into the stone, and their traces remain therein *semper*.

Thereafter Patrick went over the water to Mag Slecht, a place in which was the chief idol of Ireland, namely, Cenn Cruaich,² covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass about him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water named Guthard (*i.e.* he uplifted his voice), and when he drew nigh to the idol, he raised up his hand to put Jesu's staff upon it, and reached it not, but . . . its right side, for to the south was its face, namely, to Tara; and the mark of the staff still remains on its left side, and

¹ Colgan has also: "Et in perennem vtriusque memoriam, locus in quo primum a S. Maele patratum est miraculum, vulgò *an chora thùim* .i. piscina sicca; et secundum,

an *Maoil-tene* .i. fatuus ignis, nuncupatur." *Tr. Th.* p. 133.

² Colgan has *Crom-cruaich*, which is the *Cromm Cruaich* of the *Dinn-senchas* in the Book of Leinster, p. 213, col. 2.

Rawl. B. 512, f. 11, a. 2. *Patraic*; *ocus* rolluice intalam innadí arracht déac aili coniceci acinnu, *ocus* atát fonindus sin icomardugud indferta, *ocus* romallach dondecomon, *ocus* ronindarb indIfern. *Ocus* dorogart *Patraic* innahuili eum rége Lóegairi: ithésidi ro aidraiset ind ídal, *ocus* at con- 5 naretar innahule he (.i. demon), *ocus* roimeclaignset anepiltin mane chuireth *Patraic* hé [im Iffrín].¹ Dorochair dano agrair abrut *Patraic* ocerlad innítho *ocus* inegg-namo frisinnídal. Rolommairscom infróech isin maiginisin, cofúair agrair, *ocus* noconassa fróiche ne isin 10 maiginisin sech inaehad olchenai.

Forothaisium [dano¹] eclais isininutsin .i. Domnach Maige Slécht, *ocus* forácaib and Mabran Barbarus Patricíí, cognatusque ei et profeta; *ocus* itá típra *Patraic* ann ubi bantzavit multos. 15

Luith iarom *Patraic* icríeh Connacht forSnam-dá-én tarSinainn. Isand fo[f]uaír *Patraic* indfertais .i. comuebud intalam súas fó *Patraic* isindáth, *ocus* fogobart indeolaig beos indeiseir sin. *Ocus* dochóid isinport focheoir; *ocus* isand atbath Búadmael ara *Patraic*, *ocus* 20 roadnacht indúsin. Cell [11 b. l.] Búadmaíl ainim, *ocus* isdílís² do *Patraic* [hí³].

Ochúalatar, immorro, druid¹ Loegairi meice Neill innahuili dognid *Patraic* .i. Mael *ocus* Caplait, dábrathair, (ithé roaltatar dí ingin Loegairi .i. Eithni 25 Éinn *ocus* Feidilm Dergg) doratsat dorchai dluth[i] dar Mag nÁi huli, tre nert Demoin, fri ré tri lá *ocus* tri noidchi. Doronai *Patraic* iarsin innaigthe fri Dia, *ocus* rofill [a]gluine *ocus* sénaís inmag combo dorcha donadrúidib *ocus* combo solus docáeh, *ocus* do rogní at- 30 luigthe buide do Día. Roindarbanta inna huile dorchai do maig Ái.

¹ Sic E.² Sic E.; asdiles, R.³ Sic E.⁴ drúide, R.; druidh, E.

yet the staff did not move out of Patrick's hand. And the earth swallowed up the twelve other images as far as their heads, and they [still] stand thus in token of the miracle. And he cursed the demon, and expelled him into hell. And Patrick summoned all with king Loegaire. These are they who adored the idol, and all saw him, namely the demon, and they feared they would perish unless Patrick should cast him into hell. Then his brooch fell out of Patrick's mantle as he was . . . the conflict and the prowess against the idol. He stripped off the heather in that place, and he found his brooch; and no heather-plant grows in that place more than in the rest of the field.

He founded a church in that stead, namely Donnach Maige Slecht, and left therein Mabran [whose cognomen is] Barbarus Patricii, a relative of his and a prophet. And there is Patrick's well, wherein he baptized many.

Then Patrick went into the province of Connaught by Snán dá Én over the Shannon. There Patrick found the *fertus* (bar? bank?), namely, the earth was raised up under Patrick in the ford; and the learned still find that ridge. And he went into the harbour at once, and there died Buad-moel, Patrick's charioteer, and was buried in that place. Cell Buadmóil is its name, and it belongs to Patrick.

Now when the wizards of Loegaire, son of Niall, heard of all the things that Patrick was doing—(they were) Moel and Caplait, two brothers; it is they that reared Loegaire's two daughters, Ethne the Fair and Fedehn the Ruddy—they brought thick darknesses over the whole of Mag Ai, through might of the devil, for the space of three days and three nights. Then Patrick made prayer to God, and bent his knees, and sained the plain so that it was dark to the wizards and light unto every one (else). And he gave thanks unto God. All the darknesses were banished from Mag Ai.

Rawl., B. 512, fo. 11, b. 1. Ocus do dechatar tar Sínaid eu Dumai *Graid*. Isuisidiu roortne Ailbi uasalsacart, *ocus* iseisidi itá¹ iSenchói láchúa Ailella. *Ocus* roincosse *Patraic* dó altóir chlochthla isléib ua nAilella fotalmain, *ocus* ceitri cailig glainid[i] foracheithri uilib (i. altaris), et dixit: 5 “Cauendum ne frangantur ore fosure.” Inter nepotes enim Ailella fuit, et baptiz[a]uit Maneum sanctum quem ordinavit episcopus Bronus filius Icení, qui est icCaisel hIrooe, seruus Dei, socius Patricii.

Luid *Patraic* do Maig² Glass. Is ann fo[ro]thlaig³ 10 Cill Mói[r] Maigi Glaiss, *ocus* farácaib díis⁴ dia muintir and i. Conleig *ocus* Ereleig. Deinde uenit in fines Coreu Oehland fri auu Ailella disiu *ocus* fri Ba[d]gna antuaith. Robátar dabraithair indú sin i. Id *ocus* hÓna, drúid íat. Dixit hÓno ad Patricium, “Cid dobéra 15 dam arintalmainsin?” Dixit Patricius, “Vítam eternam.”⁵ Ait hÓno, “techtaiiu ór, tabair dam airi.” Respondit Patricius, “Doratass⁶ [11. b. 2] mór donahulib, acht dobéra Dia arail.” Arrániesom maiss nóir íartain irraithius (i. mucail) namue *ocus* dobert 20 *Patraic* inbruth nóirsin dó⁷ aratir. Tír inBrotha aainm. Tune dixit Patricius, “Nec rex eris et nec de semine tuo regnabit in eternum.” Illius vero lacrimis misertus est Patricius, dicens: “Nocoba rí intí nadgeba *ocus* nadordnibi,” quod impletur. Cenel maicc 25 Eree istressam *ocus* issonairtem laConnachta, acht nochanfollamnaiget amal ardrígu.

Óno macc Oíngusa meicc Erea De[i]rgg, meicc Bróin de quo Ui Onach, roedbart ategdais do*Patraic*, *ocus* Imlech Onand⁸ a ainm intansin, Ail-find, immorro, indú. 30

¹ ata, E.

² Sic E.; mag, R.

³ foroathaigh, E.

⁴ Sic E.; días, R.

⁵ eternvm, R.

⁶ Donatus, E.

⁷ i. hÓno, E.

⁸ ónonn, E.

And they went over the Shannon to Duma Graid. Therein he ordained Ailbe an archpresbyter, and he is in Sen-chua with the descendants of Ailill; and Patrick informed him of a stone altar in Sliab Húa-n-Ailella under the ground, with four glass chalices at the four angles of the altar, *et dixit*, "Beware of breaking the edges of the excavation." For he was among the descendants of Ailill. And he baptized holy Mane, whom bishop Brón son of Iene ordained, [and] who is in Caisel Irroe, a servant of God, a companion of Patrick.

Patrick went to Mag Glass. There he founded Cell Mór Maige Glaiss, and left therein two of his household, namely Conleng and Ereleng. Then he came into the territory of Corcu-Ochland to this side of the Húi-Ailella and to the north of Badgna. Two brothers were biding in that place, namely, Id and Hono: wizards were they. Said Hono to Patrick, "What wilt thou give me for that land?" Said Patrick, "Life eternal." Said Hono, "Thou hast gold: give (some) to me for it." Patrick replied, "I have given my gold to all, but God will give (me) other (gold)." He afterwards found a lump of gold where the swine were rooting, and Patrick gave him that mass of gold for his land. *Tír in Brotha*¹ is its name. Then said Patrick, "Thou shalt not be a king, nor shall any of thy seed reign for ever." But Patrick took pity on his tears, saying: "He shall not be king whom thou [*i.e.* thy posterity] wilt not accept and wilt not ordain." Which thing hath been fulfilled. The race of Macc Erce is the mightiest and firmest in Connaught; but they do not rule like overkings.

Óno, son of Oengus, son of Ere the Red, son of Brón, from whom descend the Húi-Ónach, offered his dwelling to Patrick; and Imlech Onand was its name then, but Ail

¹ *i.e.*, the land of the mass.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 11, b. 2. Dindail tuargabal isintiprait¹ doronat (*sic*) la *Patraic* isindfoitechi *ocus* itá² for brúch intopair nominatur locus Ail-find; de aqua nuncupatur. Et dixit illi³ *Patricius*, “Bid bendachtha do síl *ocus* bíaid búaid laech *ocus* cleirech huáit cobráth, *ocus* bid léu orba inluicesi.” Et⁴ posuit ibi Assieum et Bíte filium Assicí⁴ et Cipiam matrem Bítei episcopi. Assieus sanctus episcopus [fuit] faber ereus *Patricii*, *ocus* dognúid altori *ocus* miassa ceith[or]ehori *ocus* lebohometá chethroehori inonóir *Patraic*; *ocus* robóí miass chethroehari díb inArdma-10 cha, *ocus* alaili ind Ail-find *ocus* alaili inDomnach Mór Maigi Seolai for altóir Felarti episcopi sancti la úu Briúin Seolai, fota oAil-finn síar.

Dochóid iarom Assieus for techeth⁵ is[in] tuaiseirt⁶ do Sleib Liac itir Bogaimi.⁷ Robóí .iii. mbliadhna 15 ininsi⁸ and, *ocus* connaigtis á manaig hé, *ocus* fó-bhúaratar isnaib⁹ g[I]ennaib sleibidib íarsaethar, *ocus* dofuesat léu ass, *ocus* at[12 a. 1.]-bath (.i. Assieus) ocen isindithrub *ocus* ronadnaigset hirRáith Chnuga hiSerthib, aritrubairt som náicfad doridisi 20 inMag úAi arinngóí roráided úad and. Inde dicitur: “Mithig¹⁰ imbrimm iSeirthi.” *ocus* doratt rí intiri dosom *ocus* diamanchaib iarnahéce ingelt céit bó eum vitulis suis *ocus* .xx. dam inedbairt suthain.¹¹ Atát athaissi hiRáith Chungai, *ocus* la*Patraic* inchell for dos-25 rala muintir Coluim chille *ocus* Aird Sratha.¹¹

¹ asintiprait, E.

² ata, E.

³ ille, R.

⁴ filium fratris Assieus, E.

⁵ tetheth, R.; teithed, E.

⁶ isin tuaiseirt, E.

⁷ Bogaimiu, E. Loquinia, R.

⁸ inúsi, R.; inúsi, E.

⁹ isnaib, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.; mithid, R.

¹¹ Sratha, E.; srathra, R.

Find (White Stone) to-day. The place is named *Ailfind* from the stone (*ail*) which was raised out of the well that was made by Patrick in the green and which stands on the brink of the well: it is called from the water [*find* (*fair*)]. And Patrick said, "Thy seed shall be blessed, and there shall be victory of laymen and clerics from thee for ever, and they shall have the inheritance of this place." And he placed there Assicus and Bite son of Assicus, and Cipia mother of Bite the bishop. The holy bishop Assicus was Patrick's copper-smith, and he made altars and quadrangular tables and quadrangular book-covers in honour of Patrick, and one of these quadrangular tables¹ was in Armagh, and another in Ailfind, and another in Domnach Mór Maige Scolai, on the altar of Felart the holy bishop with the Húi-Briuin Scolai far westward from Ailfind.

However, Assicus [in shame because of a lie told by him,] went in flight into the north, to Sliab Liacc in Tír Boguini. He abode seven years in an island there, and his monks were seeking him, and after (much) trouble found him in the mountain-glens, and brought him thence with them, and he (namecy Assicus) died with them in the wilderness, and they buried him in Raith Cungaí in Serthe, for he had declared that he would not go again into Mag-Ái on account of the falsehood which had been uttered by him there.² Hence is said, "Time to travel into Serthe." And the king of the land gave to him, and to his monks after his death, the grazing of a hundred cows with their calves and of twenty oxen, as a permanent offering. His relics are in Raith Cungaí, and to Patrick belongs the church (although) the community of Colomh Cille and Ard Sratha have come down³ upon it.

¹ Lit. a quadrangular table of | misplaced—the words *aritrubairt* . . .
them. | . . . and coming next after *suthain*.

² In the original this passage is | ³ 'encroached,' Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 12
a. 1.

Luith *Patraic* óAil-find coDumacha óa nAilella, *ocus* foroithaig *ceclais* and .i. Senehell Dumaigi, *ocus* forácaib inti Maichet *ocus* Cetechn *ocus* Rodán úasalsacart *ocus* Mathona síar Binén, quae tenuit caille o*Patraic* *ocus* óRodán, *ocus* robomanchess dóib. 5

Diambóí *Patraic* oc Duma Graid ie ordned intslúaig¹ móir, sóatbi. “Cid insin?” olBinén. “Ni *anse*,” ol *Patraic*. “Brón *ocus* Manach Oleán tecait modóeum iar*Tracht* Eothaili, *ocus* modaltasa *marc* Ercai lén. Dorat tonn intuli *tres* móir *ocus* fubthad don *marc* 10 dia breith.” Fáthsine insen.

Luith *tría* *erichai* úa nAilella, *ocus* fothaigis *in-cclais* sair² hiTammach, [*ocus*] eumdachta hí oDía *ocus* odúinib. Et ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias sancti Rodáni, et successores eorum epulabantur inimicem. 15 Post hoc autem possnerunt episcopum Caircelluma iuxta sanctam ecclesiam hiTammuch, quem ordinaverunt episcopi Patrieí .i. Bronus et Bitens.

Doluid *Patraic* iarsin dontopur .i. Cliabach,⁴ hi sless-aib Cruachan friturgbáil³ ngréne. Deissetar⁵ in- 20 ehleirich *icontiprait*. Dolotar di ingin Loegairi *meice* Neill comoch *dontiprait* donigi alám, amal [12 a. 2]

¹ insluaig, R.; intsluaigh, E.

² Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 135) translates *in-cclais sair* by ‘insignem Ecclesiam’ as if for *sair* his texts had *sóir* ‘noble.’

³ turcubail, E.

⁴ Clibech, E.

⁵ Destitar, E.

Patrick went from Ail Find to Dumacha Húa n-Ailella, and founded a church there, namely Senehell Dumaige, and left therein Maichet and Cetchen and Rodan an archpresbyter, and Mathona Benén's sister, who took the veil from Patrick and from Rodan, and was a monness of theirs.

While Patrick was biding at Duma Graid, ordaining the great host, he smiled. "What is that?" saith Benén. "Not hard to say," saith Patrick. "Brón and Monk Oleán are coming towards me along the Strand of Eothaile, and my pupil Mae Erea is with them. The wave of the flood made a great dash (at them), and the boy was afraid of being carried away." That was a prophecy.

Then he went through the bounds of Húi-Ailella, and founded the church east in Tamnaech, and it was covered by God and by men. And she (Mathona) made friendship with Saint Rodan's relies, and their successors feasted in turns. But after this they placed by the holy church in Tamnaech bishop Cairell, whom Patrick's bishops, Brón and Bite, ordained.¹

Thereafter Patrick went at sunrise to the well, namely, Cliabach on the sides of Cruachan. The clerics sat down by the well. Two daughters of Loegaire son of Niall went early to the well to wash

¹ The text is in great confusion, owing, apparently, to the interpolation of the last preceding paragraph. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 135) has: Peragravit Sanctus Patricius regionem de Hua noilella, et construxit insignem Ecclesiam de *Tamnaecha*; quæ Dei et hominum singulari patrocínio et tutela custoditur. Ecclesie Tamnaecensi præfecit Episcopum Carellum, quem juxta Ecclesie consuetudinem in *Episcopum*

ordinarunt Patricius, Bronus et Biteus. Et ipse fecit amicitiam ad reliquias Sancti Rodani: et successores eorum epulabantur inuicem mutuis conuiuís inite amicitie fœdus et charitatem refoventes. It appears from the Book of Armagh, 12, a. 1, that it was Mathona that founded the church in Tamnaech and made friendship to S. Rodan's relies, whatever this may mean.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 12
a. 2.

[ba] béss dóib .i. Eithne Find *ocus* Feidelmna Dergg. *Connairnechtar* nahingena senod innaclérech *icontiprait* *conetaigib* gelaib *ocus* allibuir araubélaib, *ocus* roin-gantaigset deilb innaclérech. Doruimmenatar bádis fir síthe no fantaitsi.¹ Imcomairect secla do *Patraic*: “Cía 5 ehan duib *ocus* can dodechabair? Inn asíthaib, in do deib dúib?” Et dixit Patricius eis: “Robud² ferr dúib *ereidem*³ do Dia⁴ andás incomare diarecíníulni.” *Adrubairt* indingen roba síniu, “Cia bar ndáeisi⁵ *ocus* cia airm hítá? In inmh no hítalam? In futal- 10 *main* no *fortalmáin*? Inn amuirib⁶ nó hisrothaib? Inn asleibib⁷ no inglenmaib? In failet maic *ocus* ingena laiss? In fail ór *ocus* airget? In fail inmed eecha maithessa in[n]aflaith? Dic nobis notitiam⁸ eius, quomodo uidetur, quomodo diligitur, [quomodo] inue- 15 nitur, si in iuventute, si in senectute, si uiuiss semper, si pulcer, sí filium eius nutrierunt multi, si filie eius⁸ care et *pulerac* sunt hominibus mundi?” Respondit⁹ autem Pátricius¹⁰ sanctus Spiritu Sancto plenus: “Deus noster Deus omnium, Deus coeli et 20 terre, maris et fluminis, Deus solis et lune et omnium siderum, Deus montium sublimium et conuallium humilium, Deus super cælum et in cælo et sub coelo habet habitaculum¹¹ et erga cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ in eis sunt.¹² Inspirat¹³ omnia, uivifi- 25

¹ fantáissi, E.

² robad, E.

³ ereittem, E.

⁴ d. R.

⁵ far ndiasí, E.

⁶ no hí muirib, E.

⁷ in hí sliabaib, E.

⁸ .i. abair dun *cofollus cinnus* docifem e *ocus cinnus* gradaigther *ocus cinnus* dogebthar é, no in og é no in arrsaid? no in beo é dognath, no an saothamail e no iné amace oilfaigther nahuile, no in í aingin, E.

⁹ Dofreccair, E.

¹⁰ *Patraic*, E.

¹¹ ahabitacul, E.

¹² araDiane Dia nanuili, Dia nimi *ocus* Dia *talmán*, Dia namara *ocus* na scothann [leg. *srothán*], Dia na grene *ocus* in esca *ocus* eachuili áirdrem., Dia na sleibti roard *ocus* nanglennta isil, Dia Dia os neimh *ocus* inneim *ocus* fónceimh, *ocus* ata aige tegh[d]ais .i. nemh *ocus* talam *ocus* muir *ocus* eachní ata intu sin, E.

¹³ in spiritu, R.

their hands, as was a custom of theirs, namely, Ethne the Fair, and Fedelm the Ruddy.¹ The maidens found beside the well the assembly of the clerics in white garments, with their books before them. And they wondered at the shape of the clerics, and thought that they were men of the elves or apparitions. They asked tidings of Patrick: "Whence are ye, and whence have ye come? Are ye of the elves or of the gods?" And Patrick said to them: "It were better for you to believe in God than to inquire about our race." Said the girl who was elder: "Who is your god? and where is he? Is he in heaven, or in earth, or under earth, or on earth? Is he in seas or in streams, or in mountains or in glens? Hath he sons and daughters? Is there gold and silver, is there abundance of every good thing in his kingdom? Tell us about him, how he is seen, how he is loved, how he is found? if he is in youth, or if he is in age? if he is everliving; if he is beautiful? if many have fostered his son? if his daughters are dear and beautiful to the men of the world?" Then answered holy Patrick, filled with the Holy Spirit: "Our God is the God of all things, the God of heaven and earth and sea and river, the God of sun and moon and all the stars, the God of high mountains and lowly valleys; the God over heaven and in heaven and under heaven. He hath a dwelling both in heaven and earth and sea and all that are therein. He inspires all things, he quickens all things; he

¹ This curious story is translated | magh by Dr. Todd in his *St.*
rom the Latin of the Book of Ar- | *Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 453-455.

Rawl. B. cat omnia, superat omnia, suffultat¹ omnia. Solis
512, fo. 12 lumen illuminat et lumen lune. Fontes fecit in arida
a. 2. terra, insulas in mari siceas et stellas in ministerium
maiorum luminum² possuit. Filium habet coeternum
sibi et consimilem, sed non iunior³ Filius Patre, nec⁵
Pater Filio senior, et Spiritus Sanctus inflat [in eis].
fo. 12 b. 1. Non separatur Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.
Adeobrainsi *immorro* farnaccomalsi domace inRíg
Nemda, áritib ingena rí g talman." Et dixerunt filiae
amal bid o óingín *ocus* ó óinchridi, "Cindass *conie-* 10
fam creitem donrígsin? Doce nos diligentissime,
conaccomar in Coimdhí[d] gnuiss frígnuiss. Inchoise
dún inmod *ocus* dogénamne amal *atberasu frínd.*"
[Et] dixit Patricius: "INcreitisiu tre baithis pecad var
mathar *ocus* varnathar dochur úaib?" Responderunt, 15
"Credimus."⁴ "INcreitisi aithrígi iarpecad?" "Cre-
dimus." Et bapuzate sunt, *ocus* rosen *Patraic* calle
finn foracendaib.

ocus dorothlaigset imchaisín Críst gnúis frígnúis [et]
dixit Patricius eis: "nocoebumcaissi imchaisín Críst 20
acht mablastí bas arthús *ocus* acht má aurfemaid corp
Críst *ocus* a fuil." Et responderunt filiae: "Tabair dún
insacarbáic cocoimsam intairgerthair d'égad." Ároce-
tatur iarsín sacarbáic *ocus* rochetáilset imnbás; *ocus*
dosrat [Pátraic] fo óubrat inóinlebaíd, *ocus* dorígenset 25
acarait acóine comór.

Dorigensat [tra] indrúid *conflicht fríPatraic* arehre-
item donaib ingenaib *ocus* aratecht dochum nime. .i. Moel
ocus Caplait. Tainic Caplait coraba í[c]eóí *fríPatraic*,
arisé roalt indaraningín. Ropritach⁵ *Patraic* dóu *ocus* 30
roereit doDía *ocus* do*Patraic*, *ocus* dorat [Pátraic] dei-
mess immafolt. Táinice iarsín indrúí⁶ eli .i. Mael, *ocus*

¹ suflat, R.; sufflat, E. = sufultat,
Lib. Arm., i.e. suffuleit.

² lumenis, R. lumeni, E.

³ iunior, R.

⁴ creidimus, R. E.

⁵ Rofritchai, E.

⁶ drúid, R.

surpasses all things; he sustains all things. He kindles the light of the sun and the light of the moon. He made springs in arid land and dry islands in the sea, and stars he appointed to minister to the greater lights. He hath a Son coeternal with Himself, and like unto Him. But the Son is not younger than the Father, nor is the Father older than the Son. And the Holy Spirit breathes in them. Father and Son and Holy Spirit are not divided. Howbeit, I desire to unite you to the Son of the Heavenly King, for ye are daughters of a king of earth." And the maidens said as it were with one mouth and with one heart: "How shall we be able to believe in that King? Teach us most diligently that we may see the Lord face to face. Teach us the way, and we will do whatsoever thou shalt say unto us." And Patrick said, "Believe ye that through baptism your mother's sin and your father's is put away from you?" They answered, "We believe." "Believe ye in repentance after sin?" "We believe." And they were baptized, and Patrick blessed a white veil on their heads.

And they asked to see Christ, face to face. And Patrick said to them: "Ye cannot see Christ unless ye first taste of death, and unless ye receive Christ's Body and his Blood." And the girls answered: "Give us the sacrifice that we may be able to see the Spouse." Then they received the sacrifice, and fell asleep in death; and Patrick put them under one mantle in one bed; and their friends bewailed them greatly.

Now, the wizards, namely Moel and Caplait, contended against Patrick, because the girls had received the faith and because they had gone to heaven. Caplait came and was crying against Patrick, for he, Caplait, had fostered the second girl. Patrick preached to him, and he believed in God and in Patrick, and Patrick put the shears round his hair.¹ Thereafter came the other wizard,

¹ i.e. tonsured him, 'in monachum totundit,' Colgan *Tr. Th.*, 136.

Rowl. B. 512, fo. 12
b. 1. roráidi *frí* *Patraic* : “Rocheit,” arsé, “mobráthair dait-
siu.¹ Nigéba *greim* na torba,” olse, “dóu. Dombersa
dorithisi hinngen[t] *lecht*.” *Ocus* robói *icathaisiugul*.²
Patraic. *Ropritach* [Pátraic] dóu *ocus* *rocreit* do
Dia *ocus* do *Patraic* indrúí, *ocus* *romberr* *Patraic*, *conid* 5
desin isáruse “cosmail Mrel do Chaplait” .i. arisforóen
rocheitset. *Ocus* *fororbaide* laithi *nacanti*, *ocus* *road-*
naiethi inna *hingena* indú sin, *ocus* *rohedbrad* *Sen-*
domnach Maigi Ái do *Patraic* in *eternum*. *Ocus* *asberat*
alaili *tuettha* taissi *innaningen* do *Ard Mache* et ibi 10
fo. 12 b. 2. *resurrectionem* expectant.

Luid *Patraic* iarsin itír *Cairedo* *ocus* *forothaig*
eclais in *Ard Licei* .i. *Sendomnach*, *ocus* *farácaib* inti
Cemán dechon. *Ocus* *arroerachair* *Patraic* *Ard Sen-*
lis, ubi *posuit* *Lallóce* *sanctam*³ et *tenuit* *locum* in 15
campo *Nento*. *Ocus* *docótar* la *Cethecho* *epscop*
diatír. Do *ceníul* *Ailella* *amathair*, Do *ceníul* *Sáí* do
Cíanacht ó *Domnach* *Sairigi* ie *Dom-líace* *Chianán*.
[*aathair*.] *Ocus* *bahé* *béss* *epscuip* *Cethecho* : *isin* *Dom-*
nach *Saí* *noceilebrad* *ineáise* *móir* *ocus* *indAth-da-lárace* 20
iCenannus *noceilebrad* *imneaise* *cum* *Comgilla*, *arit-*
berat *muintir* *Cethig* *conid* *manchess* do *Cheithiuch*
Comgilla.

Luid *Patraic* iarsin *icrích* *Húa Maine* *ocus* *forácaib*
nasaldechon *dia* *muintir* *and* .i. *dechon* *Iús*, *arroera-* 25
chair *Fidarta*. *Ocus* *forácaib* *Patraic* a *lebar* *nuid*
ocus *babtismi* *occai* *ocus* *rombaitsi*⁴ *Húu* *Maine*.
Ocus *rombaitsi*⁵ *dechon* *Iús* *inasentaíd* *Ciarán* *mace*
intsáir *asinlebersin* *Patraic* *quia* *exl.* *fuit* *quando*
*Ciaranum*⁶ *babtizauit*, *ut* *aiunt* *peritissimi*. 30

Fraince *Patraic* *immorro* *dochúatar* *huad* .i. *cóice*
braithir *déce* *ocus* *oen* *tsúr* .i. *Brenicius*, *Hibernicius*

¹ mubrathair duitsiu, E.

² aithisiugul, E.

³ sic, E. ‘sanctum,’ R. Colgan
(*Tr. Th.*, 136) has ‘in quo *Lallocam*
virginem reliquit.’

⁴ robaitsi, E.

⁵ robaitsi, E.

⁶ ciaran 7, R.

namely Moel, and said to Patrick : " My brother," saith he, " hath believed in thee. No advantage nor profit shalt thou get of him. I will bring him back into heathenism." And he was disgracing Patrick. Patrick preached to him, and the wizard believed in God and in Patrick ; and Patrick tonsured him, so that thence is the proverb : " Moel is like unto Caplait," that is, they were at one in their belief. And the days of the lamentation were completed, and the girls were buried in that place, and Sendonnach Maige Ái was offered to Patrick in perpetuity ; and some say that the relics of the girls were taken to Armagh, and there they await the Resurrection.

Patrick went thereafter into Tír Cairedo, and founded at Ard Licee a church, namely, Sendonnach ; and he left therein Deacon Coemán. And Patrick built (?) Ard Senlis, where he placed holy Lallóce, and he obtained a place in Mag Nento. And they went with bishop Cethech to his country. Of the race of Ailill was Cethech's mother. Of the Cenél Sáí of Cianacht from Dónnach Sairigi at Dom-liace Cianáin was his father. And this was the custom of bishop Cethech : in Dónnach Sáí¹ he used to celebrate the Great Easter, and in Áth-dú-Larace in Cenannus² he used to celebrate the Little Easter with Comgilla, for the community of Cethech say that Comgilla was monkess to Cethech.

Then Patrick went into the territory of Húi-Maine, and left there an archdeacon of his household, to wit, Deacon Just, and founded Fidarta. And Patrick left his book of ritual and baptism with him, and baptized Húi-Maine. And in his old age Deacon Just baptized Ciaran son of the wright out of that book of Patrick, — (' in his old age ') because he was a hundred and forty when he baptized Ciaran, as the most skilful say.

Patrick's Franks, moreover, went from him, namely fifteen brothers and one sister, namely, Bernicius, Hiber-

¹ which was situate *in paterno solo* | ² in *materno solo situm*, Colg. Tr. Th., 136.

Rawl. B. [et Hemicus] et reliqui *ocus* intsiúr Nitria. *Ocus*
512, fo. 12 dorata illuic¹ doib. Óin díbsidi Imgae Baislicei iter
b, 2. Úu Mane *ocus* Mag nÁi. Rohincoise *Patraic* dóib eos-
mailius inluice *conaméur* ó chill Garat, quia uenerunt
ad Patricium ut eligeret illis de locis quos inuene- 5
runt.

fo. 13 a. 1. Rofothaig *Patraic* Cill Garad, ubi Cetheg *ocus*
ferta Cethig² immalle. ISand sin dorónai *Patraic*
antopur³ dianid ainm Úaran Garad, *ocus* rocharsom
comór induscuisin,⁴ ut ipse dixit: 10

Uarán gar,
úarán rocharus romchar.⁵
tríag monnallán, a Dé dil,
gan mo dígh ahUarán nGar.⁶
Uarán úar, 15
úar incách dodechaid úad,
mínbad forggairi moRíg,
úad níthergainn cid sín úar.
Fótrí dodechod istír,
trí cóica báse molín, 20
ctír sasám
ba sé modídnad⁷ Úarán.⁸

Doehóid *Patraic* farsin coMag Selee .i. do Dumai⁹
Selece, *ocus* isand robatar se meie Briain .i. Bole
Dere, Derthacht, Eichen, Cremthan, Coelcharna, Ech- 25
aid. *Ocus* roscrib *Patraic* trí hannanna indúsín
hitriclochaib .i. IESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR. Ro-
bendachastar *Patraic* Úu Briúin aduma¹⁰ Selee, *ocus*
itá¹¹ snide *Patraic* and iter natri clochai in quibus
scribsit literas. Et nomina episco[po]rum qui cum illo 30

¹ luic, R., illuice, E.

² Gethích, E.

³ intopur, E.

⁴ inuisi, E.

⁵ domchar, E.

⁶ cen mu dígh a úaran glau, E.

⁷ dígnad, R.

⁸ The second and third quatrains
are wanting in E., which adds to
the first 'deest.'

⁹ codumu, E.

¹⁰ dumu, E.

¹¹ ata, E.

nicius and Hernicus, etc., and the sister Nitria. And many places were bestowed upon them. One of these was Imgae Baisleice between Húi-Mane and Mag Ái. The likeness of the place Patrick indicated to them with his finger from Cell Garad,¹ for they had come to Patrick that he might make choice for them of the places which they found.

Patrick founded Cell Garad, where are Cethech and Cethech's tomb together. There Patrick made the well named Uaran Garad, and he loved that water greatly, as he himself said :

Uarán Gar !

Uarán which I have loved, which loved me !

Sad is my cry, O dear God,

Without my drink out of Uaran Gar !

Cold Uarán,

Cold is every one who has gone from it :

Were it not my King's command,

I would not wend from it, though the weather is cold.

Thrice I went into the land :

Three fifties, this was my number,

Among . . .

This was my consolation, Uarán.

Thereafter Patrick went to Mag Selce, that is to Duma Selce, and biding there were Brian's six sons, namely, Bole the Red,² Derthacht, Eichen, Cremtham, Coeleharna, Echaid. And Patrick wrote three names in that place, on three stones, to wit, JESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR. Patrick blessed the Húi-Briuin from Duma Selce, and Patrick's seat is there among the three stones on which he inscribed the letters. And the names of the

¹ Colgan's text seems to have differed here : uni ex his [scil. fratribus] assignavit Ecclesiam de Imgae Bais-leice . . . aliis ex ordine

digito demonstrando, designavit sua loca, *Tr. Th.*, p. 136.

² Bognam cognomento Rubrum, Colg., *Tr. Th.*, 136.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 13
a. 1.

illic fuerunt .i. Bronus episcopus[, Biteus] Casil Irre, Sachelus Basilici móiri iCíarraigiú, Brocaid Imlich Ech brathair Lomán Átha Truim, Brónachus prespiter, Rodán, Cassán, Benén comarp[a] *Patraic ocus* Benén brathair Cethig, Felartus episcopus *ocus* caillech síur 5 indí sin, *ocus* alaili síur *quae* sit in insola in mari *Commaene* .i. Croch Culi *Commaene*. *Ocus* rofothai-gestar eclais for Loch Selce .i. Domnach [Mór] Maigi Selce, in quo baltizauit Úu Briúin.¹

Luid *Patraic* igGreeraidi Locha Teget. Forothaig 10 eclais and .i. inDruime,² *ocus* roclaid topur oceci, *ocus* nochatechta sruth inti ná eissi, *acht* lán tre bithu; *ocus* isé ainm, Bithlán.

Forothaig iarsin Cill Atrachtæ ingGreeraidi *ocus* ingen Talán inti, *quae* accepit calli delúm *Patraic*, 15
fo. 13 a. 2. *ocus* forácaib teise *ocus* caillech léa. Atracht ingen Talaín³ meice Cathbaid de Greeraidi⁴ Locha Teichet, síur Cóeman Airtne Coemán. Senais *Patraic* calli foracend. Drummana ainm intíri imbátar. Machari indíu. Docoras casal donim⁵ inucht *Patraic*. “Bíth 20 lat inchasal, achaillech,” ol*Patraic*. “Nato,” olsí, “ní dam doratad *acht* dut bonnae.”⁶

Dochóid dono comaccu Eire. Telsat cochu *Patraic* *ocus* rosmallach⁷ *Patraic*, dicens, “Fognífi var síl do síl varmbrathar in eternum.” 25

Luid *Patraic* inMag Airtig et benedixit locum .i. Ailech Airtig iTailaig naCloch. *Ocus* dochóid [iarom] inDrumat Ciarraigi Artig. Arrúnie diis mbrathar and icimchlaidbed imferam anathar iarnahec .i. Bibar *ocus*

¹ E. adds ‘ et benedixit.’

² drummae, E. *Druimnea*, Tr. Th., 137.

³ tail, E.

⁴ gregraiú, E.

⁵ di nim, E.

⁶ bónnæ, E.

⁷ rósmallacht, E.

bishops who werè there along with him, [are] Brón the bishop, Bite of Casel Irre, Sachell of Baslee Mór in Ciarraige, Brochaid of Imlech Ech, brother of Lommán of Áth Truim, Bronach the Priest, Rodán, Cassán, Benén Patrick's successor, and Benén brother of Cethech, bishop Felart, and a nun a sister of him, and another sister who is in an island in the sea of Conmaene, namely, Croch of Cuil Conmaene. And he founded a church on Loch Selce, namely, Donnach [Mór] Maige Selce, in which he baptized the Húi-Briuín [and blessed them].

Patrick went into Greeraide of Loch Teehet. He founded a church there, to wit, in Drumne; and by it he dug a well, and it hath no stream (flowing) into it or out of it; but it is full for ever; and this is its name, *Bith-lán* ("Everfull").

After that he founded Cell Atrachta in Gregraide, and (placed) in it Talan's daughter, who took the veil from Patrick's hand; and he left a paten and a chalice with her, Atracht, daughter of Talan, son of Cathbad, of the Gregraide of Loch Teehet, a sister of Coemán of Airtne Coemáin. Patrick sained the veil on her head. Drummana was the name of the place in which they were biding. It is (called) Machare to-day. A chasuble was sent from heaven into Patrick's breast. "Let the chasuble be thine, O nun," saith Patrick. "Not so," saith she: "not unto me hath it been given, but to thy goodness."

Then he went to the sons of Ere. They stole Patrick's horses, and Patrick cursed them, saying: "Your offspring shall serve the offspring of your brethren for ever."

Patrick went into Mag Airtig and blessed a place, namely Ailech Airtig in Telach na Cloch (the Hill of the Stones). And then he went into Drummat Ciarraigi. There he found two brothers, namely Bibar and Lochru, two

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 13
a. 2.

Lochru dá *mace* Tamanehind diChfarrraigí. Senais úad *Patraic* a[ll]áma corocesat alama immaclaidbiu *conná* coemnaetar asíniud nách atairniud. Dixit Patricius eis, “Saidid,” *ocus* rosbennach, *ocus* doronai sith eturra. *ocus* doratsat intír do*Patraic* aranmain ana- 5 thar, *ocus* forothaig *Patraic* eclais and ifail Conu sar, brathair epseuip Sachall¹ (i. Baslici).

Docóid *Patraic* iarsin iCiarraiige nÁrne, cotarla do Ernaise *ocus* amace Loarnach² fobile and, *ocus* scribais *Patraic* aipgiter do, *ocus* anais sechtmain occai 10 di feraib déac. *ocus* fothaigis *Patraic* eclais indúsin, et tenuit illum abbatem, et fuit quidem Spiritu Sancto plenus.

ocus dochóid *Patraic* doTopur Mucno *ocus* roinsaig³ Senchill, et fuit Secundinus solus sub ulmo frondoso 15 separatim, et est signum⁴ crucis in eo loco usque in hunc diem. *ocus* roseomlai iar sin itir Conmaicne hiCúl Tolaithe, *ocus* rosuidig ecailsi cetharchairi isind inut sin. Óm díbsidi Ardd Uiseon. 7 rl.

Luid imMag Cere. Tarraiset[ar] iCuil Corre, *ocus* fo- 20 rothaig eclais isindlue sin, et baptizauit multós.

fo. 13 b. 1. Íarsin dochoid *Patraic* imMag Foimsen conairnic dá bráthair and i. Luchta *ocus* Derelam. Fóidis Derelam amogaid do oreoin *Patraic*. Rotairmese immorro Luchtheos imbi. Cui dixit Patricius, “Beitit 25 sacairt *ocus* epseuip dotcheniul. Bid mallachta immorro sil dobráthar *ocus* bid uathad.” Et reliquit in illo loco Cruimthir Conán, *ocus* docóid iarum do thopar Stringle isindithrub, *ocus* báí dá domnach forsintopursin.

30

¹ sachnull, E., Saelli, Colg.

² *Loarnum*, Tr. Th. 137.

³ róinsuidig, E.

⁴ separatem . . . signis, R.

sons of Tamanchenn of Ciarraige, fighting with swords about their father's land after his death. Patrick sained their hands, and their hands grew stiff (?) about their swords, so that they were unable to stretch them forth or to lower them. Patrick said to them: "Sit ye," and he blessed them, and made peace between them. And they gave the land to Patrick for (sake of) their father's soul. And there Patrick founded a church, wherein there is Conu the wright, brother of bishop Sachall, namely of Baslie.

After that Patrick went into Ciarraige Árne, and Ermaise and his son Loarnach met him under a tree there. And Patrick wrote an alphabet for him, and remained by him with twelve men for a week. And Patrick founded a church in that place, and took him as abbot, and he was indeed full of the Holy Spirit.

And Patrick went to Topur Mucno (Mucno's well), and erected Senehell. And Secundinus was (there) apart under a lofty elm; and the sign of the cross is in that place even to this day. And Patrick afterwards went into the land of Conmaiene in Cúl Tolait, and established four-cornered churches in that place. One of them is Ard Uiseon, etc.

He went into Mag Cerae. They stopped in Cúl Corre, and he founded a church in that place, and baptized many.

After that Patrick went into Mag Foimsen, and found two brothers there, namely, Luchta and Derglám. Derglám sent his bondsman to slay Patrick. Howbeit Luchta forbade him. *Cui dixit Patricius*: "There will be priests and bishops of thy race. Accursed, however, will be the seed of thy brother, and they will be few." And he left in that place Priest Conan, and went afterwards to Stringell's well in the wilderness, and was at that well for two Sundays.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 13
b. 1.

Luid *Patraic* coFiru Umaill do Achad Fobair. Is-andsin roordned *epscop* Senach. Ishé ainm dobert *Patraic* fair, "Agnus Dei;" *ocus* isé conatig tri itgi co*Patraic* .i. *conatairmtíasad* fogracl, *ocus* co[na]ru-ainmnigthi intineth úad, *ocus* andesta¹ dia ais[s]om⁵ *condigsed forés* amaie *Ængusa*. Is dó sidi roscríb *Patraic* aipgitir isindláu roordned *epscop* Senach.

Folamadair *Patraic* *congabad* cathair ice Achad Fobair: *conerbart*,

Dogegaind 10
anad suncl *for* bice feraind,²
íar timcell cell is dobur,
oram lobur ní regaind.

[Roráil int-aingel fri *Patraic*³]
Bid lat cech ní imrega 15
cech tír eit réidi reba
etir sleibe is cella,
etir glenda is féda.
íar timcell cell is dobur
ciasalobar nórega. 20

Is ann sin forácaib *Patraic* da bratán isindtíprait'
'nambethaid, *ocus* beiti *cobráth*. [;ut ipse dixit.⁴]
Mo⁵ dá bratán cen terbba
cengta fri srotha sirti,
cen caingin is cen cinta 25
biat aingil impu inti.

Luid *Patraic* hiCruachán Aigli dia sathairn initi. Luid int-aingel dia accallaim, *ocus* asbert friss: "Ní tabair Dia duit a *connaigi*, ol is trom leis *ocus* is talchar *ocus* it móra na itgi." "In fair dofuit leiss?"³⁰ ol*Patraic*. "Is fair," olintangl. "IS fair dofuit lemsa,"

¹ anduesta, F.

² feraind, F.

³ Sic, E.

⁴ Sic, E.

⁵ Na, E.

Patrick went to the men of Umall, to Achad Fobair. There bishop Senach was ordained. This is the name that Patrick conferred on him: 'Agnus Dei;' and he it is that begged three boons of Patrick, namely, that he should not transgress (while) in orders; and that the place should not be named from him¹; and that what was wanting to his age should be added to² the age of his son Oengus. For him it is that Patrick wrote an alphabet on the day that bishop Senach was ordained.

Patrick . . . that he should take a city³ at Achad Fobuir, and he said :

"I would choose

To remain here on a little land,
After faring around churches and waters,
Since I am weary, I would not go."

The angel said to Patrick :

"Thou shalt have everything round which thou
shalt go,

Every land

Both mountains and churches,

Both glens and woods,

After faring around churches and waters,⁴

Though thou art weary, (to which) thou shalt go."

Then Patrick left two salmon in the well alive, and they will abide (there) for ever.

My two salmon without separation,

Who go against . . . streams:

Without dealing and without sins,

Angels will abide with them in it.

Then Patrick went unto Cruachan Aigle on Saturday of Whitsuntide. The angel came to commune with him, and said to him: "God gives thee not what thou demandest, because it seems to him excessive and obstinate, and great are the requests." "Is that His pleasure?" saith Patrick. "It is," saith the angel. "Then this is *my*

¹ 'Sicut alias moris erat in populo isto,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 137.

² *Sic* Mr. Hennessy. Lit. 'should come on.'

³ Mr. Hennessy: 'Patrick desired truly to erect a *see*,' as if the text had *catháir* = cathedra.

⁴ 'fastnesses,' Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13
b. 2. ol*Patraic*, niregsa assin crú[ach]ansa combamarbh no-
condartaiter na uili itgi.”

Bái iarum *Patraic conoleus* menman iCruachán cen dig, cen biad, o die sathairn initi codia sathairn cáse fochosmailius Móissi *maire* Amrai; arroptar cos-5 maili inilib. Rosagaill¹ Dia díblínaib asintenid: *secht fichit bliadan* anas díblínaib: isinderb anadnacol díblínaib.

Hiforcíund *tra* in .xl. laithi sin *ocus* in .xl. aideili rolinad fair insliab diénlaithib dubaib *conná congain*² 10 nem nátaimain. Gabais salmu escaine foraib. Ní lota úad airi. Doforbartt³ fergg iarum fríu. Benaíd achloce foraib cocualatar fir *Erenn* aguth *ocus* foccirt forru comnebaíd ass abern, *conidé* sin Bernán Brigitte. Cíid iarum *Patraic* comba fliuch⁴ aagaid *ocus* achas- 15 sal arabelaib. Ní tainic demon tír *Erenn* iarsin cocend *secht mbliadan ocus secht* mís *ocus secht* lá *ocus secht* naidehi. Luid intangel iarum do chomdígnad⁵ *Patraic ocus* glanais incasail, *ocus* dobert énlaithe gela immon *Cruachán ocus* nocantais ceula bindi dó. 20 “Doberausa⁶ alin ueut,” olintangel, “de annannaib apéin, *ocus* aní rosaig dosuil foramuir.” “Nímaiti damsá immísín,” ol*Patraic*, “Ní éian rosaig [mu súil] forsamuir.”⁷ “Rotbía dano iter muir *ocus* tír,” olintangel. *Patricius dixit:*

25

“Attágar techt hieruaich cruind,
druing cen *crabad* armo cinn:
romgab ceia *fri* sét sell
deich *cét* cenn ic *taera* frim.

¹ rosacill, E.² conahaca cungeuin, E.³ Doforbairt, E.⁴ combuluch, E.⁵ comdígnad, R.; chomdígnad, E.⁶ Doberasu, E.⁷ musuil forsamuir, E.

pleasure (saith Patrick), I will not go from this Rick till I am dead or till all the requests are granted to me.'

Then Patrick abode in Cruachan in much displeasure,¹ without drink, without food, from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday, after the manner of Moses son of Amra, for they were alike in many things. To both God spake out of the fire. Six score years was the age of them both. The burial-place of each of them is uncertain.

Now at the end of those forty days and forty nights the mountain was filled² with black birds, so that he knew not heaven nor earth. He sang maledictive psalms at them. They left him not because of this. Then his anger grew against them. He strikes his bell at them, so that the men of Ireland heard its voice, and he flung it at them, so that its gap broke out of it, and that (bell) is 'Brigit's Capling.'³ Then Patrick weeps till his face and his chasuble in front of him were wet. No demon came to the land of Erin after that till the end of seven years and seven months and seven days and seven nights. Then the angel went to console Patrick, and cleansed the chasuble, and brought white birds around the Rick, and they used to sing sweet melodies for him. "Thou shalt bring," saith the angel, "yon number of souls out of pain, and all that (can fill the space which) thine eye reaches over sea." "That is not a boon (?) to me," saith Patrick: "not far doth mine eye reach over the sea." "Then thou shalt have both sea and land," saith the angel. Patrick said:

"I fear to go into the round Rick:

Troops without godliness (are there) ahead of me:

Fear hath seized me against . . .

Ten hundred heads contending against me.

¹ Lit. with badness of mind.

² Lit. filled on him.

³ *Bernan-Brigidie* i. fractum
Brigidie,² Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 13
b. 2.

Fir duba *congraine* déit
condath ée ossruibnib rúl,
téora míli derba dée
deich *cét* cecha míli atát.”¹

“INfail naill² atchota [fo. 14 a. 1.] dam cenmothá iní- 5
sin?” ol*Patraic*. “Fail,” ol intangel, “mórfeisser³ cada
satuirn⁴ dotabairt apíanaib Ifirm cobráth.” “Ma⁵ do-
berad ní dam,” ol*Patraic*, “mo dá fíer dée.” “Rotbia,” ol-
intangel, “ocus dingaib donerúachan.” “Nidingeb” [ol
Pátraic⁶], “ol romchráded *condomdigdider*. INfail naill 10
dino doberthar dam?” ol*Patraic*. “Fail,” ol intangel,
“mórfeisser⁷ cecha⁸ dardáin *ocus* .xii. cada⁹ sathairn
duit apíanaib; *ocus* dingaib dinerúachan.” “Ní din-
geb,” ol *Patraic*, “ol romchráded *condomdigdider*. IN-
fail naill atchotar dam?” ol*Patraic*. “Fail,” ol intain- 15
gel, “muir mór do tuidecht tar hÉirim *secht* mbliadnu
riambráth; *ocus* dingaib dinchrúachán.” “Ní dingeb”
[ol*Patraic*¹⁰], olromeráided *condomdigdider*. “INfail
innaill connesta¹¹?” olintangel. “Fil,” ol*Patraic*, “Sax-
ain ná rotrebat Erind ar áiss nách ar éicin cén mbéosa 20
formim.” “Rotbía,” olintangel, “ocus dingaib din Cru-
achan.” “Ní dingeb,” ol*Patraic*, “ol romeráided *con-*
domdigdider.”

“INfail innaill atchota dam?” ol*Patraic*. “Fail,”
olintaingel, “nách óen gébas do immun húan tráth 25
eo araili, níbá péne na réigi.” “Isfota intimmun *ocus*
isdoraid,” ol*Patraic*. “Nachóen gébas,” olintangel, “ota

¹ E. omits these quatrains.

² na aill, E.

³ mórseiser, E.

⁴ cech sáthairn, E. = the Old-
British *pop Saturan* of the *Tertia*
Vita ii. 88.

⁵ mád, E.

⁶ Sic E.

⁷ mórseisser, E.

⁸ cech, E.

⁹ cech, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

¹¹ naill cóndesta, E.

Dark men with hideousness of teeth,
 With the colour of death
 Thirteen sure thousands,
 Ten hundreds in every thousand are they."

"Is there aught else that He granteth to me besides that?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel. "Seven persons on every Saturday till Doom (are) to be taken out of Hell's pains." "If he should give aught to me," saith Patrick, ["let] my twelve men [be given]." "Thou shalt have [them]," saith the angel, "and (now) get thee gone from the Riek." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else, then, that will be given to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel, "thou shalt have out of [Hell's] pains seven every Thursday and twelve every Saturday; and (now) get thee gone from the Riek." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else that is granted to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "a great sea to come over Ireland seven years before the Judgment; and (now) get thee gone from the Riek." "I will not get me gone," says Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed." "Is there aught else that thou wouldst demand?" saith the angel. "There is," saith Patrick, "that the Saxons should not dwell in Ireland, by consent or perforce, so long as I abide in heaven." "Thou shalt have this," saith the angel, "and (now) get thee gone from the Riek." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed."

"Is there aught else he granteth to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "every one who shall sing thy hymn, from one watch to the other,¹ shall not have pain or torture." "The hymn is long and difficult," saith Patrick. "Every one who shall sing it from

¹ 'singulis diebus,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 14
a. 1.

‘Christus illum’ co dead, *ocus* náchóen dobera ní itan-
maim, *ocus* nachoen donnair¹ aithrigi inEirinn, ní ría
aainim Ifern;² *ocus* dingaib don Chruachan.” “Ní
dingeb,” olPatraic, “ol romchrúided condomdiglídier.
INfail naill?” olPatraic. “Fail,” ol intangel, “fer 5
eacha brothairni fil fort chassail dobéra apianaib Día
láithi brátha.” “Cía,” ol Patraic, “dogenai sæthar
arDía dinoebaib olchena nách tibera insin dochum
nime? Níi gébsa³ tra inni sin,” ol Patraic. “Cest,
cid nogéba?” olintangel. “Ni anse,” olPatraic: “mor- 10
feisser⁴ eccha brothairni bíass forsín chassail dotha-
bairt aIfim dia laithi bratha.” “Rot [fo. 14 a. 2] bíá,”
olintangel, “ocus dingaib dínchruachan.” “Ní dingéib,”
olPatraic. “Gebthar dolám,” olintangel fríss. “Acht má
dothisad Ardrí secht nime dó, níregsa,⁶ ol romchrúided 15
condomdiglídier.” “INfail naill condesta?” olintangel.
“Fil,” olPatraic, “alla mbeite nadá rigsuide déc⁷
hisleib Siain *ocus* mbeiti na ecithri srotha tenth
immonsliab, *ocus* mbeiti na téora muntera and .i.
munter nime *ocus* [muinters⁸] talman *ocus* [muinters⁸] 20
Ifim, corab meissi fein bas breithem for feraib hErend
allásin.” “Bes ní etar forsínCoimdid⁹ innásin,” olin-
tangel. “Mane etar húadsom,” olPatraic, “ní étastar
huaimsi dano techt asin Chruachansa ondú cobrath,
ocus eid amein bíaid comét húaimsi and.” 25

Luid intangel dochum nime. Luid Patraic do oif-
riunn. Tainic intangel trath nóna. [“Cindus sin?”

¹ donair, E.

² anIfind, E.

³ geba, R.; gebsa, E.

⁴ morseiser, E.

⁵ ecch, E.

⁶ E. omits this and the last pre-
ceding sentence.

⁷ deáac, E.

⁸ Sje E.

⁹ Sje E.; coimdi, R.

'*Christus illum*' to the end, and every one who shall give aught in thy name, and every one who shall perform (?) penitence in Ireland, his soul shall not go to Hell; and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else," saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "a man for every hair on thy chasuble thou shalt bring out of pains on the day of Doomsday." "Which of the other saints who labour for God will not bring that (number) into heaven? Verily I will not take that," saith Patrick. "Question, what wilt thou take?" saith the angel. "Not hard to say," saith Patrick. "Seven persons for every hair that abides on the chasuble are to be taken out of Hell on the day of Doomsday." "Thou shalt have this," saith the angel; "and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick. "Thy hand will be seized,"¹ saith the angel to him. "Except (only) if the high King of seven heavens should come, I will not get me gone," [saith Patrick,] "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed." "Is there aught else that thou wouldst demand?" saith the angel. "There is," saith Patrick. "On the day that the twelve thrones shall be on the Mount (Zion), when the four rivers of fire shall be around the mountain, and the three households shall be there, to wit, the household of heaven and (the household) of earth and (the household) of hell, let me myself be judge over the men of Ireland on that day." "Assuredly," saith the angel, "that is not got from the Lord." "Unless it is got from Him," saith Patrick, "departure from this Rick shall not be got from me, from to-day till Doom; and, what is more, I shall leave a guardian there."

The angel went to heaven. Patrick went to mass. The angel came (back) at nones. "How is that?" saith

¹ This phrase seems to mean "thou wilt be driven away or expelled."

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 14
a. 2.

ol*Patraic*. “Indas,” ol intaíngel.¹] “Rogadatar² na huli dúli, aicsidi *ocus* nemaicsidi, im na dá *apstul* dcác, *ocus* atchotasat. Asrubaírt inCoimdiu níthánic *ocus* ní tiefa indegaid nanapstal fer bud⁴ amra manip⁵ do chrúas. Anrogad rotbía. Ben do chlocc,” ol- 5 intangel. “Fírfid glés⁶ fort donim⁷ coticfe glúne *ocus* bíd cosecerad dfeiraib⁸ dolucht inna hEirend huli iter bliu *ocus* marbu.” “Bennacht forsínríg socherndi⁹ dorat,” [ol *Patraic*; ¹⁰] “*ocus* dingéibthar dinChrúachan.”¹¹

Luith *Patraic iarum* combói oc Achud Fobair, *ocus* 10 dorigne orddu na cáise and. Atát *tru* cométaidi domuntír *Patraic* indErind inambethaid béuss. Atá fer húad hiCrúachan Aigli: roclunetar guth achluic *ocus* nífogabar. *Ocus* atá fer huad inGulpain Gurt.¹² Atá intress fer [húad¹³] fri Cluain nÍraird anair *ocus* 15 aseitigh. Dogénsat óigedecht do *Patraic* hiflaith Loeguirí maice Neill. Issed anéss cetna attát *ocus* beítit cobráth. [fo. 14 b. 1.] Atá¹⁴ fer húad inDruimnib Breg. Atá fer aili huad hi Sleib Sláinge]¹⁵ .i. Domongart macc Echach: isé tocéba martra *Patraic* gair riam- 20 brath. Issí achell Ráith Murbuile hitaeb Sléibi Slánga,¹⁶ *ocus* bíid loracc conatimthucc *ocus* chilornn cormna arachind¹⁷ arcach cáise cotabair do æss oifrin[n] die húain cáise dogres.

Ara *Pátraic* dano atbath *ocus* roadnacht etir 25 Chr[u]achán *ocus* muir.

¹ Sic E.

² Sic E.; Rogatatar, R.

³ inua, E.

⁴ bad, E.

⁵ manipad, E.

⁶ gless, E.

⁷ denim, E.

⁸ E. omits.

⁹ soicherni, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

¹¹ Chruaich, E.

¹² in gulban ghuint, E.

¹³ Sic E.

¹⁴ hita, E.

¹⁵ Sic E.

¹⁶ slaingi, E.

¹⁷ arachiunn, E.

Patrick. "Thus," saith the angel. "All creatures, visible and invisible, including the twelve apostles, besought (the Lord) and they have obtained. The Lord said, 'There hath not come, and there will not come, after the apostles, a man more admirable, were it not for thy hardness.' What thou hast prayed for, thou shalt have. Strike thy bell," saith the angel. "A . . . will . . . on thee from heaven, so that thou shalt fall on (thy) knees, and there will be a consecration of the men of the folk of Ireland, both living and dead." Saith Patrick: "A blessing on the bountiful King who hath given; and the Ríck shall (now) be departed from."

Then Patrick went till he was biding at Achad Fobair, and there he celebrated ¹ Easter. There are, moreover, keepers (belonging) to Patrick's household alive in Ireland still. There is a man from him in Cruachan Aigle—they hear the voice of his bell and he is not found—and there is a man from him in Gulban Guirt. There is the third man from him to the east of Cluain Iraid, together with his wife. They showed hospitality to Patrick in the reign of Loegaire son of Níall. They are, and they will abide till Doom, of the same age. There is a man from him in Drummán Breg. There is another man from him in Sliab Sláinge, namely, Domongart son of Echaid: he it is that will upraise Patrick's relics shortly before Doom. His church is Rath Murbuile on the side of Sliab Sláinge, and there is a *lárac* (fork) with its surroundings, and a pitcher of beer before him on every Easter, and he gives them to mass-folk on Easter Tuesday always.

So Patrick's charioteer died and was buried between the Ríck and the sea.

¹ Lit. he performed the orders of | graph has nothing corresponding in
Easter. The remainder of the para- | *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 14
b. 1.

Dodeochuail *Patraic* iarann itir Coreuthemne, agus robaitsi ihuili do dúinib and, *ocus* forothaig .iii.¹ eclassa .i. teora Túaga.

Luid *Patraic* dothopur Éinduaigi .i. Slán aainm.² Atrubrad fri*Patraic* condonóraigtís³ ingeinti intopur 5 and dea. Cethrochair immorro intopur *ocus* cloch cethrochair forabéulu; *ocus* roereitset intóes bæth conderna alaili fáith marb bibliothicam sibi in aqua sub petra ut delavaret⁴ ossa sua semper, quia timuit ignem. Et zelauit Patricius de Deo uiuo, dicens: 10 “Non uere dicitis, quod rex aquarum fons erat.” Hoc enim non cum eis habuit rex aquarum. Et dixit Patricius pétram elinari, et non potuerunt. Eliuauit autem eam Patrici[us] et Cannechus, quem baltizauit. Et dicit, “Erit semen tuum benedictum in sæcula.” 15 Cell Tog itir Coreu Themne, is[ie]di rofothaig Cainnech epscop manach *Patraic*.

Fecht do*Patraic* ocinteacht innaigib maice Ercæ .i. inDichuil *ocus* Erehuil, atcondaire adnaeul mór indib .i. fiche traiged archét inna fut. Postulantibus au- 20 tem fratribus ut suscitaretur⁵ dorodiusaig *Patraic* íarsin inmarb bóí isind adnaeul *ocus* roiarfach scéla⁶ [14 b. 2] dó .i. quando, et quomodo, et quo genere, et quo nomine esset. Respondit sibi, dicens, “Ego sum Cass mace Glaiss qui fui subuleus Lugair rí⁷ Iruate, *ocus* 25 romgon fiann maice [Con⁸] in regno Coirpri Niodfer. Isin cétnad bliudain atáu eosindú.” Ronbathis *Patraic*, *ocus* dochuaid inna adnaeul iterum.

¹ Sic E.; ni, R.

² E. omits.

³ cononóraigtís, E.

⁴ dealbaret, R. and E.

⁵ MS. suscitaretus.

⁶ Sic E.; scéla, R.

⁷ Sic E.; rí, R.

⁸ Sic E.

Then Patrick went into the country of Coreutheinne, and baptized many thousands of people there, and he founded three¹ churches, namely, the three Tuaga.

Patrick went to the well of Findmag. Slán¹ is its name. They told Patrick that the heathen honoured the well as if it were a god. Now the well was four-cornered, and there was a four-cornered stone above it. Now the foolish folk believed that a certain dead prophet had made a *bibliotheca*² for himself under the stone in the water, that it might wash his bones always, because he feared the fire. And Patrick was jealous for the living God, and said, "Ye say untruly that this fountain was King of Waters," for he did not, as they did, hold it to be king of waters. And Patrick bade them lift up the stone, and they were unable to do so. But Patrick, along with Cainnech, whom he baptized, lifted it. And he saith (to Cainnech): "Thy seed will be blessed for ever." Cell Tog, in the country of Coreu-themne, it is this that Bishop Cainnech, Patrick's monk, founded.

Once, as Patrick was travelling in the plains of the son of Ere, namely in Dichuil and Ereuil, he beheld therein a huge grave, to wit, a hundred and twenty feet in length. The brethren asking *ut suscitaretur*, Patrick then brought to life the dead man who was biding in the grave, and asked tidings of him, namely, when and how [he got there], and of what race and of what name he was. He answered Patrick, saying: "I am Cass, son of Glass; and I was the swineherd of Lugar, king of Iruata,³ and Mace Con's soldiery slew me in the reign of Coirpre Niafer. A hundred years have I been here to-day."⁴ Patrick baptized him, and he went again into his grave.

¹ *i. saluiferum*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 138.

² seems to mean a coffin here. According to Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139, this prophet was a 'Magus, qui

aquam ut numen propitium colebat, et ignem habebat ut infestum.'

³ regis Norwegiæ, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139.

⁴ Lit. "In the hundredth year am I till to-day."

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 14
b. 2.

Quis comprehendere ualet¹ modum diligentie orationis eius? omnes namque psalmos et ymnos et apocalipsin ac omnia cantica spiritualia² scripturarum cotidie decantabat siue in úno loco [manens] siue in itinere gradiens.

5

O esspartain oidchi ndomnaig co anteirt día lúain ní-téiged *Patraic* assinnaigin iúibíth. Olaili domnach³ do *Patraic* immaig inhúair [f]lescuir, corosnig flechad⁴ mór [isin talnainsin *ocus* nirinig⁵] isinluc irabai *Pátraic*, sicut in concha et vellere Gedioni accederat.

10

Ba béss do *Patraic* dobered croiss *Crist* tairis cofa-chét cechlái *ocus* cech naidehi, *ocus* notheged diachonair cid míli céimmend nobeith inchross *acht* conaiceed no cofessadh abeith afoeraib⁶ cid hicarpat no *for* euch nobeith noehinged dochum cecha croissi. 15 Fecht and olaili laithi⁷ rosechmaill *Pátraic* tadall croissi robói forsét dóu, *ocus* nífitir arambeith and. Rorádi aara friss immdíud láí.⁸ “Forácbais chroiss indíu fort chonair cen tadall.” Forácaib *Patraic* atech nóiged *ocus* apraind, *ocus* huid foreúlu docum na cro- 20 issi. INTan [tra⁹] robai *Patraic* ocairnaigthi oconchrois, “Adnacul so,” ol*Patraic*. “Cia roadnacht sunn?” Frissrogart asind adnacul, “Geintlidi truag,” ol sé, “missi [*ocus*¹⁰] romadnacht sund. [15 a. 1.] An airt ropso béu robá ocaimless moanna cotorchar occai, *ocus* 25 romadnacht¹¹ sund íarsin.” “Cid tucai[t],” ol*Patraic*, “airdi nacristaide¹² dosuidigud fortadnacul .i. inchros?”

¹ MS. uelet.

² Sic E.; spirituali, R.

³ Olailiu domnach, E.

⁴ flechud, E.

⁵ Sic E.

⁶ hifochraib, E.

⁷ laithiu, E.

⁸ indíudlai, E.

⁹ Sic E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

¹¹ Sic E.; roadnacht, R.

¹² airdina cristaigechta, E.

Quis comprehendere valet modum diligentie orationis ejus? For all the psalms and hymns and the apocalypse¹ and all spiritual canticles of the scriptures he used to chant every day, whether remaining in one place or while going on a journey.

From vespers on Sunday night until the third (Roman) hour² on Monday, Patrick used not to go out of the place wherein he was biding. (And) on a certain Sunday Patrick was afield at the hour of evening, and a great rain poured on that earth, but it poured not on the place wherein Patrick was staying, as happened in the case of Gideon's shell and fleece.

It was a custom of Patrick's to make the sign of the cross of Christ over himself a hundred times every day and every night. And whether he were in a chariot or on a horse, he used to fare to every cross, and he would go from his path, even though the cross were [distant] a thousand paces, provided he saw it or knew that it was near. Now once, on a certain day, Patrick omitted to visit a cross that was on his road, and he knew not that it was there. At the end of the day his charioteer said to him, "Thou hast left a cross to-day on thy path without visiting it." [Thereupon] Patrick left the guest-house and his dinner, and went back to the cross. While Patrick was praying at the cross, "This is a grave," saith Patrick: "who hath been buried here?" Out of the grave [the corpse] answered: "A wretched heathen," saith he, "am I. I was buried here. Whilst I was alive I was hurting my soul, and I fell while doing so,³ and I was then buried here." "What was the cause," saith Patrick, "of setting on thy grave the symbol of the Christians, namely, the cross?" "Not hard to say,"

¹ totum Psalterium cum
Apocalipsi S. Ioannis,' Colgan, *Tr.*
Th. 139.

secundæ sequentis,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.*
139, *i.e.*, 6.58 at the summer sol-
stice, 9.2 at the winter solstice.

² usque ad horam tertiam ferie

³ Lit. at it.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15 a. 1. "Ní *anse*," olsé. "Alaili banscál robái hitír ehána, *ocus amace roadnacht sund isintírsi inahécemais*. Co-tanic atirib eianna,¹ corosuidigh inchross forind adnaculsa.² Indarlea isfor adnacul amaic dorat: ní ernadair lasintoirrsi aichne adnacail amaice." "Is airisin 5 rosechmallussa ineroiss," olPatraic "i. abith foradnacul ingentliði." Tuarcabad [la³] Patraic inchross⁴ iarsin foradnacul in maice christaidi.

Fecht and do ara Patraic testatar aeich airi. Ní chóimnacair afogbail lá doirechi na oidehi. Tuarcaib 10 Patraic aláim súas. Roin[s]orchaiyset achúic meíir inmag nuli amal bítis eóie sutralla,⁵ *ocus rofritha*⁶ naheich fochétóir.

Luit[h] Patraic tarMúed coÁn Amalgada. Dolotar arachenn .xii. filii Amalgada maice Fíachrach maice 15 Echoch, Oengus, Fergus, Fedilmid, Endæ Cromm, Enna Cúllomm, Corbmac, Coirpre, Echaid Diainim, Echaid Oenáin, Eogan Coir, Dubchonall, Ailill Ainechscabaille. Batar maice Amalgada ic⁷ imcosnam immorígi. Cethir chenél fichet [*in marg.* i. sencenela] 20 batar isintír. Ro[f]rithbruithset cogabtais⁸ forru fer co foranmmaim doríg. Dobert dino⁹ Oengus foranmand forabrathri.¹⁰ Isé ropu huallecha¹¹ dieláinn Amalgada intOengus. Fugellsat Lóigairi mace Neill maice Echach ní Temrach *ocus abrathair* i. Eogan mace Neill. 25

Lotar maice Amalgada do Temraig in .xii. curibus sed in libr-[fo. 15 a. 2]-is Patricíi inuenitur quod exierunt in iudicium tantum septem fratres de [e]is. Fuaratar falti ocinríg. Dalta intÓengus isinTemraig doLoguairi. Gaibthir failti sundriud friss and. Guidid Óingus inna- 30

¹ eiana, E.

² formadnaculsa ('on my grave'),

E.

³ Tuarcabad, R. ; tuargaba lá, E.

⁴ in croissi, E.

⁵ sutralla, E.

⁶ fófritha, E.

⁷ oc, E.

⁸ cogabtais, E.

⁹ didu, E.

¹⁰ forabraithre, E.

¹¹ huallecha, E.

¹² exierint, E.

saith he. "A certain woman was dwelling in a distant land, and in her absence her son was buried here in this country. And she came from distant lands and set the cross on this grave. It seemed to her that she put it on her son's grave. She was unable through the grief to recognise the grave of her son." Saith Patrick, "That is why I passed the cross, because it is on the heathen's grave." Then the cross was set up by Patrick on the grave of the Christian son.

It once befell Patrick's charioteer that his horses were wanting unto him. He could not find them owing to the darkness of the night. Patrick raised up his hand: his five fingers illumined the whole plain as if they were five lamps, and the horses were found at once.

Patrick went across the [river] Moy to the Húi Amalgada. There came to meet him twelve sons of Amalgaid son of Fiachra, son of Echaid, [namely] Oengus, Fergus, Fediluid, Endae the Bent, Endae Bare-poll, Corbmae, Coirpre, Echaid the Spotless, Echaid One-ear, Eogan the Just,¹ Dubchonall, Ailill Kettle-face. The sons of Amalgaid were contending about the kingship. There were twenty-four tribes (i.e. old tribes) in the land. They refused to take over them as king a man with a nickname. Then Oengus gave nicknames to his brothers.² The haughtiest of Amalgaid's sons was this Oengus. Loegaire son of Niall, son of Echaid, King of Tara, and his brother Eogan, son of Niall, adjudged [the dispute].

The sons of Amalgaid went to Tara in twelve chariots; but in the books of Patrick it is found that only seven brothers of them submitted to the judgment. They found welcome with the king at Tara. Oengus was a foster-son of Loegaire's. [So] a special welcome was given to him there. Oengus begs the doorkeepers

¹ Eochadius alter, Eugenius Corr, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 140.

² ut sic populi ab eis auerterentur animi, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 140.

Rawl. B. doirsíde arnatailetis isin dún¹ *Conull macc* abrathar
 512, fo. 15 i. *macc* Enda Cruimb. Roinneclai^g Oengus trebairi
 ii. 2. ingilla² octaera³ afir. Atheadai⁴ Oengus insein ona
 dorsirib. Ambói *Conull fir* less anechtair, rochúala
 guth eluic *Patraic* otiprai *Patraic* ocondún. Téit⁵
Conall chuicai. Bennachais do. "Aclerig," ol sé,
 "infetarsa⁵ eod belrai inso fil iforaitmet⁶ lemmsa,
 'Hibernensés omnes clamant ad te pueri,' et reliqua.
 rogabsat dí ingin abroind amathar in nostris regionibus
 dicentes." "Meisi dorograd sin," ol *Patraic*, "*ocus* 10
 rochualasa intan robá ininnsib mara Toirrén. Et nes-
 eíui utrum in mé, ún extra [me] locuta sunt uerba.
 Et íbo tecum in regionem tuam baptizare, doécre,
 euangel[i]zare."

INterrogat autem Patricius qua causa venit *Con-* 15
 all, *ocus* roaisned *Conall* do *Patraic* infoehun, [et] dixit
 narolcicet[h] isin *Temraig*. Cui dixit Patricius. "IN-
 gredire nunc, ianuis apertis, et adii Eogan *macc* Neill,
 amicum mihi fidelem, qui te adiuvabit, capiens tu
 o[e]culte mér tanaissi aloctanán signum inter nos 20
 semper." Et factum est sic. "Fochén," ol Eogan,
 "eíd is toise do *Patraic*?" *Adrubairt* *Conall*, "for-
 tachaig dam." *Toracart* *Conall iarum*, "Masu aróitid⁷
tra," olsé, "istacantha hitig rí^g *ocus* isgabtha ferund
 ismé is⁸ óam. Másu aráiss [fo. 15 b. 1] mathar, [is]si- 25
 nem⁹ ann Énda Cromm." Quibus Loigairi respondit,
 "erlabra dontsinnsiur ém," olsé, "*ocus* acallaim. Dia-
 tarta immorro scúta dochach *ocus* moine,¹⁰ nigataim airi."

¹ isandún, E.

² E. omits.

³ oc taeru, E.

⁴ adeottai, E.

⁵ infetarsu, E.

⁶ iforaitmiut, E.

⁷ óitig, R.

⁸ as, E.

⁹ assinem, E.

¹⁰ seótu 7 moni duchach, E.

not to let into the fortress Conall his brother's son, namely, the son of Enda the Bent. Oengus dreaded the astuteness of the lad in arguing his right. Oengus obtained that from the doorkeepers. While Conall was outside the court he heard the voice of Patrick's bell from Patrick's well by the fortress. Conall comes to him. Patrick blessed him. "O cleric," saith he, "knowest thou what language is this that is in my memory—'All the Irish children cry unto thee, etc.,' which two girls sang out of their mother's womb in our territories?" "It is I who was called thus," saith Patrick. "And I heard it when I was biding in the isles of the Tyrrhene sea. And I knew not whether the words were spoken within me or outside me. And I will go with thee into thy country, to baptize, to instruct, and to preach the gospel."

Then Patrick asks for what cause Conall had come, and Conall declared to Patrick the cause. He said that he had not been let into Tara. *Cui dixit Patricius:* "Enter now, the doors being open, and go to Eogan son of Niall, a faithful friend of mine, who will help thee if thou take secretly the finger next his little finger, for this is always a token between us." *Et factum est sic.* "Welcome," saith Eogan, "what is Patrick's desire?" Said Conall: "Help me." Conall argued then: "If indeed it be according to age that one argues in a palace and land is taken, it is I that am youngest. If it be according to my father's age, (then) Enda the Bent is the oldest therein." *Quibus Loegaire respondit.* "Verily," saith he, "speech is to the oldest, and converse. Howbeit, if jewels and treasures have been given to any one, I take them not away from him."¹

¹ Colgan is more intelligible: Post hæc Conallus causam dixit eoram Rege; et perorando dixit: si juventutis floridaeque ætatis, quæ patriam viribus tueri posset, spectanda sit ratio, sibi, qui in hoc genere omnes adspirantes superaret, regimen esse conferendum: si verò senectutis et justitiæ, patrem

cuis, omnibus esse præferendum, qui reliquos fratres titulo primogenituræ and maturitate judicii superaret. Unde motus eius rationibus Laogarius Rex, licet prope invitatus, adindicavit patri eius paternum solum et solum modò jura suffragantibus persolvi consueti, prius persolvat."—*Tr. Th.* 140.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 15,
b. 1.

Lotar ass *ocus Patraic* cum eis, *ocus* dorat *Patraic* acharpat do *Conoll* combu e intres carpat deac. Lotar iarsin asét *ocus nipa* chen dóib la *Oengus* domacc (i. do *Conall*) abrathar *ocus* do *Patraic*. Dolceice *fría dá-brathair* i. *Fergus ocus* Fedilmid marbad *Patraic*,⁵ *ocus* scarsit fóu *ocus Loegairi* i. iarná erúil fair do *Loegairi*.¹ Lotar² fathuaid do ascenam atíri. Bá aimm inna fingaili la *Oengus* adénam a *Corand*.³ Roint[s]amlastar *Fergus* [suan. “Fir,” ol *Oengus*, “Ferghas ‘] cend for aithin.” Féinthit abrathir anasbertis. “Ni mairfem 10 innendaic⁵ (i. *Patraic*): ní dingnem⁶ dano fingaili forar[m]brathair.” Doluid *Oengus* díb mbuidnib ara-cend díamarbad *ocus* dadrúid leiss i. Reon *ocus* Reohred dochenel⁷ Foelan Fennedo. Ní móu míli itir inport asanacai *Patraic* innanaintiu ón ehrois fri crois 15 *Patraic* aníar co cill Foreland. Asbert Réon dú an-⁸ aiceiged *Patraic* nasluiefed⁹ intalam. Atfess do *Patraic* anísin. “ISmeissi ém,” ol *Patraic*, “citanac-cigi.” Ut midit *Patricius* illum sloiesi intalam síis. “Creitte,” olsé, “mánmanachar.” Focheirtt intalam 20 sías combuí osnabgaitaib, cotorchair síis leithbéo. Crédidit et baptizatus est. Fochoissled dano sías Roéohred, *ocus* doléeced anúass commemaid achend frisinailech *ocus* noloisei¹⁰ tene dinim. Ata and Ail inDrúad: itá¹¹ cell ann. Cross *Pátraic* aainm,¹² fri 25 Caill Foehlad anair. Telach innanDrúad aainm inphoirt hiraba¹ buiden inna[n]genti frícro[15. b. 2]-iss *Patraic* aníar. Glais Chonaig etarra.¹⁴

¹ Loigairiu, E.

² Dolotar, E.

³ hi Corunn, E.

⁴ Sic E.

⁵ innennace, E.

⁶ dignem, E.

⁷ docheniul, E.

⁸ in, E.

⁹ nasluiefed, E.

¹⁰ nollosei, E.

¹¹ ata, E.

¹² a aainm, R.

¹³ irraba, E.

¹⁴ etarru, E.

They went thence and Patrick with them, and Patrick bestowed his chariot on Conall, so that it was the thirteenth chariot. Then they went their way, and Oengus had no affection for them (that is), for Conall his brother's son and for Patrick. He left it to his two brothers, namely, Fergus and Fedilmid, to kill Patrick and Conall; and they (Fergus and Fedilmid) parted from (?) him (Oengus) and Loegaire, that is after he had received his injunction from Loegaire. They went northwards to visit their land. The place in which Oengus had intended to commit the fratricide was in Corann. Fergus simulated sleep. "True," saith Oengus, "Fergus" His brothers refuse [to do] what they said. "We will not kill the innocent (namely, Patrick): we will not, moreover, commit fratricide on our brother." Oengus went with two bands against them to kill them, and he had two wizards, namely, Reon and Reehred, of the tribe of Foelan the Warrior. It was not more than a mile between the place out of which Patrick saw the enemies,—the cross to the west of Patrick's cross,—and¹ Cell Foreland. Reon said that at the place in which he should see Patrick the earth would swallow him (Patrick) up. That was told to Patrick. "Truly," saith Patrick, "it is I that shall first see him." As soon as Patrick saw him the earth swallowed him down. "I will believe," saith he, "if I am saved." The earth flings him up, so that he was above the winds and he fell down half alive. He believed and was baptized. Then Roechred was lifted (?) up (into the air) and was cast down from above so that his head brake against the stone; and fire from heaven burnt (him). There stands the wizard's stone. There is a church there. *Cross Patraic* ('Patrick's Cross') is its name, to the east of the wood of Fochlad. *Teluch inna nDruad* ('The Wizards' Hill') is the name of the place wherein was the troop of the heathen to the west of Cross Patraic. Glaiss Conaig is between them. Oen-

¹ Lit. to.

Rawl. B. Asbert Óengus, "crettfessa diatódúsethar moffiur" i.
512, fo. 15, Fedilm¹ ingen Amalgala atbath ocein.

Fecht and luid² dall arachenn³ Patraic: tairpthech dondechuid laaccobar na íei. Fáithbid fer dinuntir Patraic imbi. "Mo débrod," ol⁴ Patraic, "baubaid⁵ éiabad⁵ tussu bad dall." Ba⁶ slán iarum indall ocus ba⁶ dall inslán. Quod utrumque factum est. Migne ised ainm andí⁷ rodallad ann. Ishé indara fer dimuntir Patraic roan in deserto Patri[c]íí uacuo quod est ifarrad natiprat oc erois Patraic, ocus Domnall⁸ 10 intali, cia bare robúi díasruith frúu. Ruan mace Conenáma ara Amalgala, ishé roicad and. Roi Ruáin ainm ind inaid inroiccad indall, ocus isla Patraic iarum.

Donairthét dabaccach inOchtar⁹ Chérthin. Cóinsit 15 friss andiorpus aranainmib, ocus baandsa doib imthecht itir anorbe hisleib ocus fothuir.¹⁰ Quid plura dicam? Sanati sunt.

Luid do Domnuch Mór ubi est episcopus Muenae. Luid iarum do Crois Patraic ubi venit ad eum¹¹ Æd 20 Fota mac Ehdach maic Oengusa, ocus roníc do baeaiigi ocintiprait frierois Patraic aníar qui obtulit ei di damaise thire fora fothaiged import; et reliquit duos de familia sua .i. Teloc ocus Nemmall.

Uidit Enda magos uolentes occidere Patricium. 25 Dixit filio suo Conallo: "Váde et eustodi Patricium

¹ feidelm, E.

² dolluid, E.

³ arcend, E.

⁴ al, E.

⁵ éiapad, E.

⁶ pa, E

⁷ indi, E.

⁸ dommal, E.

⁹ inóchtur, E.

¹⁰ fothuir, E.

¹¹ Sic E.; eam, R.

gus said: "I will believe if my sister is brought back to life," to wit, Fedlem, daughter of Amalgaid, who had died long ago.

Once a blind man came to meet Patrick. Hastily he went, through the desire of the cure. A man of Patrick's household laughed at him. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it were meet that thou shouldst be the blind man." So the blind became hale and the hale became blind. Mignac¹ is the name of him who was blinded there. He is one of the two men of Patrick's household who remained in the empty Desert Pátraic, *quod est* near the well at Cross Pátraic, and Domnall was the other, though their senior was angry with them. It was Rúan, son of Cú-enáma, Amalgaid's charioteer, that was healed there. Roi Rúain is the name of the place wherein the blind man was healed, and it belongs to Patrick afterwards.

Two lame men come to him in Óchtar Cáerthim. They complained to him that they were (virtually) disinherited because of their defects, and it was difficult for them to travel between their heritages in mountain and in level land.² Why should I say more? They were heard.

Then he went to Domnach Mór, *ubi est* Bishop Muenac. Then he went to Cross Pátraic, where there came to him Aed the Tall, son of Echaid, son of Oengus, and he healed him of lameness at the well to the west of Cross Pátraic. And Aed offered to him two ox-gangs (?) of land whereon the place was founded. And he left there two of his household, namely, Teloc and Nemnall.³

Enda saw wizards seeking to slay Patrick, and he said to his son: "Go and take care of Patrick, that the wizards may not slay him." Patrick himself perceived

¹ Midgna, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

² *inter montem et planitiem, ibid.*

³ Domnaldo, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

Rawl. B. né magi occiderent illum." Ipse Patricius sensit eos ;
512, fo. 15, et combusit ignis etereus eos [in] numero¹ nouem.
b. 2.

Rofothaigestar *Patraic* cill nAlaid, *ocus* ro[f]ácaib²
fer sruith dia muntir and .i. epscop [fo.16 a.1.] Muiredaig.

Robathais *Patraic* mulieres³ .i. Crebriu *ocus* Lesru⁵
dí ingin Glérann maice Cumméni. ITÉ conacartatar
Patraic abronnaib⁴ amáthar quando fuit in insolis
maris Tyrreni. IT hé ata érlama⁵ Cille Förgland
laÁu Amalgada iarMuaid.

Luid híforraig *macc* nAmalgodo, et crediderunt ei¹⁰
.iii. filii Amalgodo: immÉnde *ocus* immínrig. Is hisui-
diu robathes in mnói torrig *ocus* agein, et suscitauit
aliam.

Lottar *iaram* dondferta imbái inben marb (.i. Fe-
dilm) alachta *Patraic* *ocus* Conall iarconair thís doChill¹⁵
Alaid, Oengus, immorro, iarsin conair uachtaraig.
Recait infert.⁶ Dodíussaig *Patraic* immnói *ocus* amac
inabrú, et babtizati sunt ambo in fonte Óenadareæ⁷
.i. dínchnuchai aird bic talman fil inna [f]arrad ro-
aimmigid intopur. Et suscitata illa praedicauit tur-
20 bis de poenis inférni et praemis coeli, et per lacrimas
rogauit fratrem suum ut Deo per Patricium crederet,⁸
quod factum est, et babtizatus est.⁹ Et in illo die
.xii. milia babtizati sunt in fonte Oenadaree, ut di-
citur: 25

Baithsithir inoenlaithiu
dá se míli már,
im *secht* maccu Amalgada,
ised ón ba slán.

xii. *míli* éim rocredset¹⁰ do*Patraic* laÁu Amalgaid *ocus* 30

¹ Sic E.; numero, R.

² foraceaib, E.

³ mulieris, R.

⁴ abbronnaib, E.

⁵ érlama, E.

⁶ infirt, E.

⁷ Sic E.; oendareæ, R.

⁸ credderet, R.

⁹ E. omits ' et babtizatus est.'

¹⁰ rocreitset, E.

them, and fire from heaven consumed them, to the number of nine.

Patrick founded Cell Alaid, and left therein an aged man of his household, namely, Bishop Muiredaig¹

Patrick baptized the women, namely, Crebrin and Lesru, the two daughters of Gléru, son of Cumméne. It is they that called to Patrick out of their mother's womb, when he was in the isles of the Tyrrhene sea. It is they that are patronesses of Cell Forglad in Húi Amalgada, west of (the river) Moy.

He went into Forrach mace n-Amalgodo;² and Amalgaid's seven sons believed in him, together with Énde and the King. Therein it is that he baptized the pregnant woman and her child, and raised another woman to life.

Then Patrick and Conall went to the grave wherein the dead pregnant woman (namely, Fedilm) was biding, along the lower path to Cell Alaid. Oengus, however, went along the upper path. They reach the grave. Patrick raises the woman to life, and the boy in her womb. And both were baptized in the well of Oen-adare ('one-horn'). From the steep little hillock of earth that is near it the well was so named. And when she was brought to life she preached to multitudes of the pains of hell and the rewards of heaven, and with tears she besought her brother to believe in God through Patrick. *Quod factum est*, and he was baptized. And in that day twelve thousand were baptized in the well of Oen-adare, *ut dicitur* :

In one day are baptized
Twice six great thousands,
Together with Amalgaid's seven sons :
That was well.

Verily twelve thousand believed in Patrick in Húi-

¹ Muredachum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

² locum, qui a consessu publico, in quo cum subiectis populis cen-

gregati erant filij Amalgaidij Regis, vocatur *Forrach mhac namalgaidh*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

Rawl. B. uacaillib [leg. chaillid] Fochlad, *ocus foracaib* Maucen
512, fo. 16, Magistir léo.
a. 1.

Luid fodess coferta Locha Dæla.¹ Óengussa intal-
am. Romenair² *Patraic congabal* dó feissin ann.
Donanaice int Oengus immescai: doduaccai dó, ar-
5 nírbo ochridi³ roereit ead intan robaitsed *ocus* foruisne
ereitem.⁴ “Modebród,” ol*Patraic*, “ba cóir [fo. 16 a. 2]
cniptis arda dochongbalasu *ocus* doclainde post té. Bit
coimmgnáithi dochomorbai *ocus* bit fingalaig trít.”

Luid *Patraic*⁵ sair doLice Find, bali dorónai⁶ chroiss 10
isin chloich osChill Móir Ochtair Múaide aniar, aacht
Lia naManaeh aainm indíu .i. cruintheir Monaich
sancti, cell Olcán; aacht nirabai cell and intansin. Et
baptizait Echaich *mace* Nathi mic Fiachrach, et susci-
tavit coniugem eius Echtraí ocÁth Echtraí⁷ hosinglaiss 15
bic ifírdorus Chillí Móiri.⁸ *Ocus* atá fert Echtraí⁹ for
ur indátha. Ismine eulais leosum innatír senchas
coimnigedar infúrta.

Dofoid¹⁰ *epscop Olcan* huad dochongbáil dú hitá Cell
Mór indíu. Ita uenit, biail foramuin.¹¹ Et dixit ei 20
Patricius, dú itoithsad abiail diamuin isand ba cong-
baithi dó. Quod factum est ubi est¹² Cell Mór Uachtair
Muaide.¹³

Luid dano fathuaid doLice Balbeni, ubi filios Amal-
gaid inuenit et benedixit, *ocus* dodechuid asintír do-¹⁴ 25
Bertlachaib aniar im*Bertlachaib* sair¹⁵ ininbiur Muáidi
fríbeolu mara.

Batir ingen fíada and, et benedixit inn imorchu

¹ fades do fertai locho dá cla, E.

² rommenair, E.

³ ó chridiu, E.

⁴ ereitim, E.

⁵ E. omits.

⁶ E. inserts ‘pátraic.’

⁷ Echte, E.

⁸ cille moire, E.

⁹ Echte, E.

¹⁰ Dofaid, E.

¹¹ Sic E.; for muin, R.

¹² Sic E.; R. omits.

¹³ Sic E.; Muaigi, R.

¹⁴ di, E.

¹⁵ im*Bertlacha* tairis sair, E.

Amalgada and from the wood of Foehlad : and he left with them Maucen¹ the Master.

He went south to the Ferta of Loch-Dacla. The land belonged to Oengus. Patrick thought that he would take it to himself there. Oengus came to him in drunkenness to him, for it was not from the heart that he believed, even when he was baptized and confessed (his) belief. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it were right that thy dwellings and thy children after thee should not be exalted. Thy successors will be alebibbers, and they will be parricides through thee."

Patrick went eastward to Lecc Finn, where² he made a cross in the stone over Cell Mór Óchtair Muaide ('the great church of the Upper Moy') to the west; but Lia na Manach ('the Monks' Stone') is its name to-day, that is, Saint Crunther Monach's [or] Cell Olcain: but there was no church there at that time. And he baptized Echaid, son of Nathi,³ son of Fiachra, and raised to life his wife Echtra at Áth Echtra over the little stream right in the doorway of Cell Mór. And Echtra's grave-mound is on the edge of the ford. It is a . . . of knowledge with them in their country, the story which commemorates this miracle.

Bishop Olean went from him to reside in the place wherein Cell Mór stands to-day. Thus he went, axe on back. And Patrick said to him that where his axe should fall from his back, there should his residence be. Which thing came to pass where Cell Mór Uachtair Muaide (now) stands.

Then he went northwards to Lecc Balbeni, where he found the sons of Amalgaid, and blessed them. And he went out of the country from Bertlacha in the west into Bertlacha in the east, in the estuary of the Moy, overagainst (?) the sea. A girl is drowned before him

¹ *Manchonum* cognomento *Ma-*
gistrum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

² Colgan (*Tr. Th.* 141) translates *baile* as if it were compounded

with *finn* ('ad locum *Leac-fionn-*
baile vocatum').

³ 'Eochadium Dathia, siue Dauide
Fiachrij filio natum,' *ibid.*

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 16,
a. 2.

sin, et dixit quod in sempiternum non moriretur aliquis ibi. Profetauit Patricius quod secum essent Bertlacha airtheracha.¹ Atá isenchass leosum rí intúri opera in die belli Pat. illvm regio² et uictor erit.

ISandsin icunglaisi tarlaicset Greeraigi clocha for-
Patraic ocus foramuntir. “Modebród,” olPatraic,
“nach comland imbeithi memais foraib³ ocus betli
foselib ocus sopaib ocus euitbiud hicach airecht⁴ im-
bed.”⁵

“Arddruig, aChonail,” olPatraice, [16 b. 1.] “gabáil 10
bachla duitsiu.” Conall dixit, “Si piwm est tibi faciam.”
“Ni be⁶ ed biass and,” olPatraic. “Bíasu fut gaiscid
causa comarpsa dot cheniul, ocus bid tu inConald
Seíathbachall. Orddan loech ocus clerech uaitt, ocus
nach an úait assascíath imbia toraind mobachlasa 15
nisoifetar óic imbi.” Quod illi Patricius fecit.

Luit[h] sair hierích Oa Fiaerach lamuir. Frísort dó
uisqe .i. riglie mór anaicneta indi, et maledixit ei.
Ata forsinduscui loec, Buale Patraic nomen eius .i.
fert mbecc cocrois and: dunarrastair sain ed mbecc. 20
Andsin donáic epscop Brón noeb Chaisil Irre ocus
macc Ríme noeb Chilli ChoreuRoide, et ibi ei[s] scripsit
alphabétum. Et audiui ab alio quod in illo loco
dedit dentem ex ore suo episcopo Brono, [propterea]
quod carus esset⁷ Patricio. 25

Oc tuidecht dó aníar tarsinMúaid focétóir hinGre-
craigi donarthatar trídrúid nemdenmacha⁸ ocRaith
Rígbaird, qui nihil ei potuerunt, et dixit quod de
illa gente non deficiisset uir illius magice peritie
semper.⁹ 30

¹ airthercha, E.

² This corrupt passage stands thus in E. : rí. intire. ata opera in die belli pá. illam regionem et uictor.

³ foirb, E.

⁴ airiucht, E.

⁵ Written in R. and E. as if it began the next following sentence.

⁶ Nibá, E.

⁷ carum essent, R.

⁸ neimdenmacha, E.

⁹ Sic E. : peniper, R.

there ; and he blessed that port (?) and said that no one should be drowned there *in sempiternum*. Patrick prophesied that the eastern Bertlacha would belong to him. It stands in one of their histories that in the day of war the king of the land shall call on Patrick (to protect) that country, and he shall be victorious.

There at the stream the Greeraige flung stones at Patrick and his household. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "in every contest in which ye shall be ye shall be routed, and ye shall abide under spittles and wisps and mockery¹ in every assembly at which ye shall be present."

"Arise, O Conall!" saith Patrick: "thou must take the crozier." Conall said, "If it is pleasing to God I will do it for thee." "That shall not be so," saith Patrick. "Thou shalt be under arms for sake of thy tribe's heritage, and thou shalt be Conall Crozier-shield.² Dignity of laymen and clerics shall be from thee, and every one of thy descendants in whose shield shall be the sign of my crozier, the warriors with him shall not be turned (to flight)." Which thing Patrick did for him.

Patrick went eastward into the territory of the Húi Fiachraich by the sea. A water opposed him, that is, (there was) a great, unnatural flood therein, and he cursed it. On the water is a stead, Buale Patraic ('Patrick's Byre') is its name, to wit, a small mound with a cross thereon. He tarried a little while there. Then the holy bishop Brón of Caisel Irre came to him, and the holy Mace-Ríme of Cell Coren-Roide, and there he wrote an alphabet for them. And I have heard from a certain person that in that place he gave a tooth out of his mouth to bishop Brón, because he was dear unto Patrick.

Just as he was coming from the west over the Moy into Greeraige, three poison-giving wizards overtook him at Raith Rígbard. They could do nothing to him,

i.e., ye shall be subject to every kind of insult.

² Conallum *Sciath-bachlach* *i.* scuti baculati, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 142.

Rawl. B. MaccEree *macc* Draigin, qui hi Cill Róe Móre est
512, fo. 16.,
b. 1. icrích Amalgaid.¹ *Secht maice* Draigin rosbaiti Pa-
traic, et elegit ex eis *macc* Eree, *ocus* atnóí doepsco-
Brón dia altromm, arnúbuassa abreith ineterceín
arbáide aathar. 5

Dorórand Patraic Caissil² nÍrre, *ocus* atá for lár in-
liss indlece foratorehair fiacail Patraic. Foremaid
epsco-Brón import, et profetauit Patricius quod gen-
tilibus desereretur locus ille, quod factum est.

[16 b. 2] Is annsin rogab Patraic inrand: 10

A fír há

ocus macc nutan immbá

otáam inar[m]bíu

nohotacca *cusindín*.

Céin robámar immalle 15

nírodamar húar nate

bennacht forríg nanuli³

ronsear acnaim senbuidi.

Cidphe⁴ *gellus* dlít náchtan

imanmáim icomadrad 20

gellfassa de fiad ili

dodeoin Fiadat findnime.

INFiada find fil⁵ fornim

conacna frim Crist coemdil

domrosat fobathis [gil]⁶ 25

nimreilce inathis nóenfir. Afir há.⁷

¹ Amalgadha, E.

² Caisiul, E.

³ nanhuile, E.

⁴ Ciphé, E.

⁵ E. omits.

⁶ Sic E.

⁷ These verses are thus given in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, p. 353. Oenfiacail immorro la Patric intan luid a Cruachan. *Ocus* la epsco-oc Achud Fobair rofacbad indfiacailsin .i. Fer ha. ['One tooth, however, had Patrick when he went out of Cruachan. And

that tooth was left with a bishop at Achud Fobair, to wit, Fer hÁ] ut Patricius dixit.

Afir á, facus macnutan imbá.

nocotfacea eosindiu otú imbiu, afir á.

Ón aídchí *condranac frim* atberim fiad rig narend.

nídechaíd feoil tarut sís, nithanic góu anís darteheud.

INFiada find fil fornim *conecnu, conairmitin.*

domíec fobathis báin bil, nomléic fobathis ocufir, A.

and he said that to that race there would never be wanting a man of that magical skill.

[As to] Macc Eree, son of Draigen, who is in Cell Roe Móire in the territory of Amalgad; there were seven sons of Draigen, whom Patrick baptized, and of them he chose Macc Eree, and he gave him to bishop Bron to be fostered, for it was not easy to take him away to a distance, because of his father's affection (for him).

Patrick marked out Caissel Irre, and in the middle of the hall stands the flagstone¹ on which Patrick's tooth fell. Bishop Bron . . . the place, and Patrick prophesied that that place would be deserted by the heathen, which thing came to pass.

Then Patrick sang the stave :

O man . . .
 And . . .
 Since we have been alive
 I have not seen thee till to-day.
 While we have been together
 I suffered not cold nor heat.
 A blessing on the King of all the (elements).
 Whatever I have . . . of thee at any time
 In my name.
 before many
 To the will of God of white heaven,
 The white God who is in heaven,
 Dearly loved Christ, worketh with me,
 He created me under pure baptism :
 He leaves me not in disgrace with any one.

¹ in cuius atrio est saxum, Colg. *Tr. Th.* 142.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 16, b. 2. ISandsin *aspet* *Patraic* *frisna* *híascairiu* *aracointís* dó *innalúna* *isind* *aphaind* .i. *hiSlieig*. *Dixerunt* *ei*: “*Nigaiibter* *bratána* ¹ *indi* *isindlabainnsi* *ingaimrid*: ² *húair* *atbeirsiu* [*immorro*,” ³] *olind* *iascairi*, “*doge-*
namne.” *Rollásat* *allina* *ocus* *rogabsat* *éine* *móra* ⁵ *ocus* *doratsat* *doPatraic*. *Et* *benedixit* *flumini*, *conid* *hi* *Sliech* *gannach* *uisce* *nErend*, *argaiibther* *íase* *indi* *hicachráthi*.

Epscop ⁴ *Rodán*, *buacaill* ⁵ *Patraic*,⁶ *foracaib* *Patraic* *hi* *Muirise* *Aigli* *iCill* *Epscoip* *Rotáin*.⁷ *Nidónaís* ¹⁰ *alóig* *acht* *ani* *conarceiced* *som* *dóib*. *ISdósin* *atberat* *inruitiri* *ocus* *in* *semmairi* *hiríarail*

denait *doloíg* *a* *Rotán* ⁷
roléie *dóib* *dinetán*.

Callraigi *Cúli* *Cernadán* *robátar* *himaigin* *derrit* *ara-* ¹⁵ *chinn* ⁸ *Patraic*, *ocus* *adcoimeaiset* *crandu* *frisceiáthu* *dofub*[*thad*]⁹ *Patraic* *conamuintir*. “*Modebróth*,” *ar-*
Patraic, “*ní* *maith* *andorigensait*[*h*].”¹⁰ *Nách* *cath* *ocus* *nách* *immairece* *doberaid* *ocus* *farelanna* *farndiaid* *isfoirb* *memais*.” *Roslechtsat* *fochetóir* *doPatraic* *act* ²⁰ *eóicfir*. *Roráidi* *Patraic*, “*Nách* *cath* *memais* *foirb*, *ciabait* *Connachta* *uili* *farndiaid*, *níthóith* *lín* *bás* *lía* *indaas* *eucieur* *uaib*,” *amal* *comaltar*.¹¹

[fo. 17 a. 1.] *Fecht* *do* *Patraic* *iartuidecht* *for* *Ber[n]us* *Hua* *nAilella* *do* *dul* *hiMag* *Luirgg*, *cotorechair* *imBúaill* ²⁵ *i*. *ob* *dothæt* *alLoch* *Techet*. *Áth* *Carpait* *ainm* *ind* *átha*, *focus* *do* *Ess* *macc* *nEire*. *Romallach* *Patraic* *alleth* *sair* *dond* *huisciu*. “*Ocus* *alleth* *o* *áth* *sár*,” *ol* *a* *muinter*, “*eid* *ainges* *lat*?” “*Tiefa*” (*olPatraic*) “*macc* *bethad* *gébas* *and* *iartain* (*ocus*) *bid* *ferr* *leiss* ³⁰ *uisce* *torthéech* *icob*(*ali*).” *i*. *Colum* *eille* *macc* *Feidli-*

¹ *nigaiibther* *bráttan*, E.

² *isindinbuidse* *in* *gaimriud*, E.

³ *Sje* E.

⁴ *Espop*, R.

⁵ *Rotan* *búachoill*, E.

⁶ E. omits.

⁷ *Róddan*, E.

⁸ *archim*, E.

⁹ *dofubthad*, E.

¹⁰ *dorigensaid*, E.

¹¹ *chomaltar*, E.

Then Patrick told the fishermen to cast the nets for him into the river, namely, into Slicech. They said to him: "Salmon are not caught in it, in this river, in winter; (but) since thou sayest it," say the fishermen, "we will do it." They cast their nets and caught great salmon and gave them to Patrick. And he blessed the river, so that the Slicech is the mileh-cow of the waters of Ireland, for in it fish is caught in every quarter of the year.

Bishop Rodan, Patrick's herdsman, Patrick left in Muirese Aigle in Cell Epscoip Rodan ('Bishop Rodan's Church.') His calves used only to do what was permitted them. Of him it is that the harpers and the musicians say in

"Thy calves, O Rotan, suck.

He left to them"

The Callraigi of Cúle-Cernadán were in a secret place ahead of Patrick, and they struck spears against shields to terrify Patrick with his household. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "not good is what they have done. Every battle and every conflict that ye and your children after you shall deliver, ye shall be routed therein." Straightway all (of them), save five men, knelt to Patrick. Patrick said: "Every battle in which ye shall be routed, though all Connaught should be after you, there shall fall no greater number of you than five men," as is fulfilled.

Once as Patrick was after passing by Bernas Ua-Oilella to go into Mag Luirg, he fell into Búall, that is, a river which comes out of Loch Teehet. Áth Carpait¹ is the name of the ford, near to (the cataract called) Ess macc [n]Eire. Patrick cursed the eastern half of the water. "And the half from the ford westward, why hast thou spared it?" "There shall come," saith Patrick, "a son of Life, who will set up there afterwards, and he will prefer (to have) a fruitful water at his

¹ id est, vadum quadrigae, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 143.

Rawl. B. midh oc Ess (mac) nEire. Óndáth (i. cosinloch) súas
512, fo. 17, iascrad isdech in hÉri iacách and: húad síis ní mór
a. 1. gabar ann.

Luid iarom [Patraic¹] hierích Maigi Luing, coructha
aeich hicumugg iacnel macc nEire, *ocus* romallaeh 5
dodoinib intíri sin. Acht epscop Maine do úib Ailella
rogaid indi *Patraic* imdiligud dia braithrib, *ocus* rola-
gaig² *Patraic* inmallachtain, *ocus* ronng Maine cossa
Patraic conafolt *ocus* conadérib, *ocus* roimmaig na-
eocha³ ifergort *ocus* roglan acoessa arhonóir *Patraic*, 10
ocus atrubairt *Patraic*, “Biaid gol *ocus* éigem *ocus*
ilach lá lucht intíri sin *ocus* nocobiaid comaitgess
and in sacculum,” ut impletur. *ocus* atrubairt dano
Patraic ropad leiss rand mór dintír sin íartain, ut
impletum est. In[N]odáin¹ locha hUama ata immorro 15
epscoep Maine domuntír *Patraic* *ocus* Gemtene⁵ indE-
canuch⁶ la Uu Ailella.

Luid *Patraic* íarsin hierích Callraigi doDruim Dara
bali atá⁷ indíu Druim Lías. IS ann robaitsi mac Cær-
thaind,⁸ *ocus* roedbrad inportsin do*Patraic* in sempi- 20
ternum. Rogab *Patraic* íarsin forsindedbairt inDruim
Dara, Druimm Lías indíu i. dosost[17. a. 2.]-aib⁹ *Pa-
traic* and *ocus* dinaliasaib roainmnged. Forácaib
Patraic Benén and adalta inapdaine friré fichet
bliadan. 25

Táraill leiss is[n]aib glinnib sair dú itá indíu cenel
Muinremair. Doreiprensat¹⁰ adisróin forsinsét. Ata
and lecc *Patraic* *ocus* coll *Patraic* ed inbecc ón chill
(siar) congab and, Srath *Patraic* ainmnigther indíu.

¹ Sic E.

² rolaegaig, E.

³ echn, E.

⁴ inNólain, E.

⁵ Geintene, E.; *Gemtheno*,
Colgan.

⁶ inechainuch, E.; *Each-ainch*,
Colgan.

⁷ ita, E.

⁸ Córthinn, E.

⁹ disostaib, E.

¹⁰ durébbrenset, E.

stead." That is, Colomb Cille son of Feidlimed at Ess mace nEire, from the ford, that is, to the lake, upwards. The best fishing in Ireland every one has there. (But) from thence down not much is caught there.

Then Patrick went into the district of Mag Luirg, and his horses were forcibly taken by the tribe of the Sons of Ere, and he cursed the people of that country. But bishop Maine of the Húi-Ailella besought Patrick to forgive his brethren, and Patrick weakened the malediction. And Maine washed Patrick's feet with his hair and with his tears, and he drove the horses into a meadow and cleansed their hoofs in honour of Patrick. And Patrick said: "There will be weeping and wailing and lamenting with the people of that country, and there will not be neighbourhood there *in sacculum*," as is fulfilled. And Patrick said that he would have a great part of that country afterwards, as hath been fulfilled in Nódain¹ of Loch Uama. Bishop Maine, moreover, is of Patrick's household, and Gemtene in the Echanach in Húi-Ailella.

Thereafter Patrick went into the district of Call-raige, to Druim Daro, the stead wherein to-day standeth Druim Lias. There he baptized Caerthann's son, and that place was offered to Patrick for ever. Thereafter Patrick set up on the offering in Druim Daro. 'Druim Lias' (it is) to-day, namely, from Patrick's stations and from the sheds (*liasa*) it was named. Patrick left his fosterson Benén there, in the abbacy, for the space of twenty years.

Then he fared into the Glens eastward, where the tribe of Muinremar is to-day. His two nostrils dropped (blood) on the road. Patrick's flagstone is there, and Patrick's hazel, a little distance from the church westward. He set up there. 'Srath Pátraic' it is named

¹ quod impletum est in Aidano de *Coch*-[leg. *Loch*]-*uamach*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 143.

u 10231.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 17
a. 2.

Domnach Sratha (a)ainm océin. Rofóí *Patraic* fo-domnach and, et haec est un[ic]a [eius] eclesia illius regionis.¹

Luid *Patraic* sech Druim Cliab oCh[aisiul hIrre lasna Ro²]ssa sair iarMaig Ene, *conacaib* Domnach 5 Mór Maigi Ene.

ISam sin mallachais do Duib arin era doratsat na iascairiu³ fair. Robennach *immorro* do Drobéiss dint-
sochall⁴ dogénsat na maicc becca friss robátar ie íascach⁵ indí; *ocus* it maic becca gaibthi an[d]⁶ 10 fheos. AE drebéssach cáinem dithon[n]jemaib hErenn. Nách é mór gaibter inEss Rúaid ised atberat indiascairi: 7 “Drobessach intéicni;” fobith is[s]ainred do Drobéiss tonnem cáin and *tria bennachtain Patraic*.

Cobá *thri, tra*, dochúaid *Patraic* tar Sinaind hitir 15 *Connacht* .l. cloe *ocus* .l. calech naltóre *ocus* .l. anart forácaib hitir *Connacht*, cach æ díb inna chill. *Secht* [m]bliadna⁸ dóu ieprocept⁹ do *Connachtaibh*. Forácaib *bennachtain* léu *ocus* ceilebraiss díib.

Luid *Patraic* do Ess Ruaid. Folamustar *cong bail* 20 and dú itá Dísert *Patraic ocus* Lec *Patraic*. Frístulaid Coirpri dó, *ocus* rofóid¹⁰ [17 b. 1] díis día muintir dogabáil aláma .i. Carbacc *ocus* Cúangus ananmann. “Nímaith andagnúí,”¹¹ ol*Patraic*. “Dia leicthe damsa *cong bail* sund ropad tánaissi Romæ Letha *conat*ibir tréithe¹² 25 mo *chathairsi cona*Essrúaid trea, *ocus* ropad do *chlannsa* beitis comarbai indí.” Roopai Coirpre insin,

¹ *i.e.*, in ea regione.

² Sic E.

³ arinnéra doratsat na iascairi, E.

⁴ sochill, E.

⁵ iascuch, E.

⁶ gaibthi and, E.

⁷ Sic E.; indiascaire, R.

⁸ mbliá, E.

⁹ praicept, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.; rofóí, R.

¹¹ andagnúí, E.

¹² trethi, E.

to-day. Donnach Sratha its name from afar.¹ Patrick rested on Sunday there, and this is his only church in that territory.

Patrick went past Druim Cliab, from Caisel Irre by the Rosses eastward, along Mag Ene. He built (?) Donnach Mór Maige Ene ('the Great Church of Mag-Ene').

Then he cursed the (river) Dub because of the refusal which the fishermen gave him. Howbeit, he blessed the (river) Drobéss,² owing to the kindness which the little boys who were fishing in it did unto him. And (even) little boys take (fish) there still. A salmon of Drobéss is the finest of Ireland's salmon. Of any big salmon that is caught in Ess Ruaid this is what the fishermen say: "the salmon is from Drobéss;" because peculiar to Drobéss is the beautiful salmon there through Patrick's blessing.

Thrice, now, did Patrick wend across the Shannon into the land of Connaught. Fifty bells and fifty chalices and fifty altarcloths he left in the land of Connaught, each of them in his church. Seven years was he ap preaching to the men of Connaught. He left a blessing with them, and bade them farewell.

Patrick [then] went to Ess Ruaid. He desired to set up there in the place where are Disert Pátraic and Lee Pátraic. Coirbre resisted him and sent two of his people to expel him.³ Carbacc and Cúangus⁴ were their names. "Not good is what ye do," saith Patrick. "If a dwelling were permitted to me here, my city, with its Ess-ruaid through it, would be a second Rome of Latium with its Tiber through it, and thy children would be (my) successors therein." Coirbre refused that, as Patrick had prophesied. Carbacc then set a dog at Patrick. Howbeit

¹ quae olim *Donnach-Sratha*, id est *Ecclesia prati*, dicta, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 143.

² *Drobhaois*, Colgan, *ibid.*

³ Lit. to seize his hand.

⁴ *Corbhach* and *Coungus*, according to Colgan.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 17,
b. 1.

annal dorairigert *Patraic*. INCarbaec *iarum* mailltis¹
coin fo *Patraic*. BÍ immorro Cuangus in coin culleise.
Aspert *Patraic* naregad cheneil Carbaice tar buidin.
ocus nabíad ordan loech [na ehleirech²] uad. Quod
impletur. Cúangus dano, ore adrodamair láim *Patraic* 5
dogabail arCoirpre, dixit Patricius nabadlía achenel
atabuiden *ocus* nobeitis oirdnidi díb, quod impletum
est.

Dorairigert³ Coirpri do Chúangus argabail láma
Patraic arodarce alla thuaid isleib Cisi.⁴ Intan rosóí 10
dodéicsin arodairec immi, roiad nell dorcha imChúan-
gus conachaccai acht comuir síar *ocus* cosinnuinsin
tair. “Indabandso tue duitsi⁵ Día, aChoirpri,” ol*Patraic*,
“níba toirthech immúaseach docuitsiu inti” .i. aleth
tuaiscertach dind abaim íarfut cuitt Coirpri .i. alleth 15
friCenél Conaill arrupa laCoirpre Crích *Conaill* intan
sin coRáith Cuigai. Cuit immorro *Conaill* alleth
thess toirthech sídi. Síe impletum est usque dum im-
mol[a]uit Muirgíusa⁶ mace Mailiduin maice Scannlám,⁷
rí amra do cheneil Choirpri, araind etoirthig doCholumb 20
chilli, *ocus* iss toirthech indossa icCholumb cilli.

Luid iarsin itir Ess Ruaid *ocus* muir icrich *Conaill*,
[17 b. 2.] dú itá indú Raith Chungai. Saidis elí and
ocus asbert ropad chongbail *ocus* cathir dócum .iii.
episcoporum et ubi est Bite filius fratris Asici óAil fínd. 25

ISandsin dorairigert di Donnall mace Ædo maice
Annirech .i. rosáithsom elí inArd Fothaid *ocus* ara-
bárach ba crumb.⁸ Folamustair⁹ huileth otain, et dixit

¹ mailtis, E.

² Síe E.

³ Dorairigert, E.

⁴ Cise, E.

⁵ duitsiu, E.

⁶ Muirgus, E.

⁷ Scandail, E.

⁸ crumb, E.

⁹ folaimastair, E.

Cúangus smote the dog with a rod. Patrick said that the race of Carbacc would not go [in number] beyond a band, and that dignity of laymen or clerics would not come from him. Which thing is fulfilled. (As to) Cúangus, then, since he had consented to expel Patrick for Coirbre, Patrick said that his race would not be more numerous than a troop, but ¹ that of them there would be ordained men. Which thing (also) hath been fulfilled.

Coirbre promised to Cúangus, for expelling Patrick, all he could see to the north on Sliab Cise. When he turned to take his view about him, a dark cloud closed round Cuangus, so that he only saw as far as the sea westward and as far as the Unsenn ² eastward. "The river³ that God hath given thee, O Coirbre," saith Patrick, "thy share therein shall not be fruitful as regards fishing," that is, the northern half of the river lengthways was Coirbre's share, to wit, the half towards Cenél Conaill, for Coirbre had at that time the territory of Conall as far as Ráith Chungai.—"Howbeit the share of Conall, the half to the south, it (will be) fruitful." *Sic impletum est*, until Muirgius son of Moel Duin, son of Scannlán, a wonderful king of the tribe of Coirbre, gave his barren part to Colomb Cille; and now that Colomb Cille hath it, it is fruitful.

Thereafter Patrick went between Ess Ruaid and the sea unto Conall's territory, where today is Raith Chungai. He set a stake there ¹ and said that it would be a dwelling and a city for seven bishops, and there is Bite son of the brother of Assicus, from Ail-Éind.

Then he prophesied of Donnall son of Aed, son of Ainmire, namely, he set a stake in Ard Fothaid and on the morrow it was bent. And Patrick

¹ I have translated as if the text (which here seems corrupt) were *indá buiden acht*.

² usque ad vicinum fluuiolum *Unsenn* appellatum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

³ *i.e.*, the Erne, according to Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

⁴ *ibique* a fundamentis *Ecclesiam* excitauit, *ibid.*

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 17
b. 2.

Patricius ropud suidi¹ flatha. Quod impletum est in
Domnall.

For síth Óeda robennach² *Patraic Conald mace* Neill.
ISandsin dofuititis láma *Patraic foreend Fergusa*. Ba
machtad la *Conall* inní sin, ubi dixit Patricius: 5

i. Colam cilli.

Gignid *maccan* diafine :
bid saí, bid faith, bid fili.
inmain léspairi³ glan gle
natepera imarbe.⁴

10

Brigit⁵ dixit:⁶

Maccán Eithne tócbfotta,
sech is bal⁷ isblathgud.
Colam eillecan censon⁸
nírburom aráthgud.

15

Iarsindí, *tra*, robennachastar *Patraic ceniul*⁹ *Conaill*,
ocus forácaib *bennmachtain forandúine* *ocus foraninvera*
ocus foracella.

ISsed dochoid iarsin itír Eogain *maice* Neill for
Bernais tíri Óeda himag nItha do Domnach Mór 20
Maigi Itha, cofaracaib¹⁰ *Dudubae mace* Coreain and día
muintir.

Et dixit Patricius *fría* muntír: “Cauete nachaib-
thair inléu Éugain *mace* Neill.” Inmatarraid doib in uia.
Muiredach *mace* Eugain robái itossuch sluaig na nóce.¹¹ 25
Sechnall indered¹² *sluaig naeléirech*. Rorádi¹³ Sechnall
frí Muiredach: “Rott bia alógh limm dianeraili crei-
tem *forthathair*.” “Cid lóg?” olsé. “Bid úait rigi
cibráth *fortcheníul* codeimin,”¹⁴ olSechnall. “Dogén,”

¹ ropad suide, E.

² Aedo robbendach, E.

³ lesbairi, E.

⁴ nad epera immarba, E.

⁵ E. omits.

⁶ E. adds *ol Brigit*.

⁷ bol, E.

⁸ censon, E. ; cen on, LB. p. 31^a.

⁹ cenél, E.

¹⁰ eofaracaib, E.

¹¹ nan óoc, E.

¹² indeiríud, E.

¹³ rotbía, R. ; roradi, E.

¹⁴ codeimimin, R. ; E. omits.

said that it would be the seat of a prince, which thing was fulfilled in Donnall.¹

On Síth Aeda Patrick blessed Conall son of Níall. Then were Patrick's hands falling on Fergus's head. That was a marvel to Conall, when Patrick said :

“ A youth (*i.e.* Colomb-cille) will be born of his tribe,
He will be a sage, a prophet, a poet :
A beloved light, pure, clear,
Who will not utter falsehood.”

Brigit said :

“ Child of long-sided Ethne,
That is fragrant (?), is a blossoming :
Little Colomb of the church,² without noise :
It was not oversoon to perceive him.”²

Now, after that Patrick blessed Cenél Conaill, and left a blessing on their strongholds and on their estuaries and on their churches.

He afterwards went into the country of Eogan son of Níall, over Bernas [Mor²] of Tír Aeda into Mag Itha, and to Donnach Mór Maige Itha (‘ the great Church of Magh Itha ’), and there he left Dudubae³ son of Corean, (one) of his household.

And Patrick said to his household : “ Beware lest the lion, Eogan son of Níall, come unto you.” Muiredach son of Eogan, who was in the van of the host of the soldiers, met them on the way. Sechnall (was) in the rear of the host of the clerics. Said Sechnall to Muiredach : “ Thou shalt have from me a reward for it if thou prevailest on thy father to believe.” “ What is the reward ? ” saith he. “ The kingship on thy tribe shall assuredly be till Doom from thee,”⁴ saith Sechnall. “ I will

¹ In colle vicino *Ard-fothadh* appellato, coepit etiam iacere fundamenta Ecclesiae. Sed die sequenti, inchoata fabrica coepit corruiere. . . . Tunc vir Dei . . . vidit . . . locum non esse . . . destinatum ad aedem sacram, sed ad aulam regiam in eo extruendam. Praecidit enim . . .

Donnaldum, Aido Annirij filio natum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

² Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

³ Dubdubannum, *ibid.*

⁴ *i.e.*, as Mr. Hennessy renders, ‘ the sovereignty of thy tribe shall for ever belong to thy heirs.’

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17
b. 2. olMuredach. IFid-mór isann *conranic Eogan fri Patraic*, dú itá in lecc. *Credidit Eogan Deo et Patricio.* “Mád ittír *noereitti*,¹ ol*Patraic*,” [18 a. 1] *doticfaitis géill Góidel dotír ; acht an rutbia taréissi duairm ocus dosaigtige níticefett geill.* “Niseгда *dam*,” ol*Eogan*, “doberat 5 *mobráthir imainech*² *muétehi.*” “Cídsi *delb doguisiu?*”³ ol*Patraic*. “*Delb inóclaig*⁴ *fil fottéigsi*” .i. *Ríócc Insi Bó Finne. Dossnailgi Patraic foóenbrut : dílaini cehtarnai immolaili. Dormiunt sic, et postea cui-[gi]lant*⁵ *unius formæ, distante tantum tonsura.* “Ni- 10 *coimse lim dano*,” olsé, “*mu mét.*” “*Comaitte?*” ol*Patraic*. *Rigid Eogan alaim súas lía gaisced.* “*Is-cumse lin inso*,” olsé. *Asaid protinus illa longitudine.*

Robennach Patraic iarum Eogan conan[acc]ail. 15
“*Cía*,” ol*Patraic*, “*dít maccaib isdiliu lat?*” “*Muredach*,” olsé. “*Rígi úad eobráth*,” ol*Patraic*. *Ocus innadiaid?*” ol*Patraic*. “*Fergus*,” olsé. “*Ordnidi úad*,” ol*Patraic*. “*Ocus iarom?*” ol*Patraic*. “*Eochu*⁶ *Bindech*,” ol*Eogan*. “*Gaiscedaig úad*,” ol*Patraic*. “*Ocus nadi-* 20 *aid?*” ol*Patraic*. “*Comgrada lem*⁷ *huili*,” ol*Eogan*. “*Bid grád noenfir forra*,”⁸ ol*Patraic*.

Luid *Patraic* co Ailech naRíg corobennachastar indún *ocus cofarecaib aleic and cotairchet rígu ocus ordnidiu for Érenn aAiliuch.* “*INTan*,” ol*Patraic*, 25 “*dobera dochossa asdo lepaid dosaigid, ocus dochomarpa itdiáid, beti fir hÉrenn arerith riut.*”⁹ ISass

¹ nuereitte, E.

² duberat mubraithir immainech,

E.

³ Sic E.; doguidsiu, R.

⁴ inna óclaig, E.

⁵ Sic E.

⁶ Euchu, E.

⁷ leom, E.

⁸ forru, E.

⁹ forerith fritt, E.

do so," saith Eogan. In Fid Mór ('Great Wood'), then, Eogan met with Patrick, in the place where the flagstone is, Eogan believed in God and Patrick. "If thou hadst believed [while] in thy country," saith Patrick, "hostages of the Gael would have come to thy country; but [now] hostages will not come save those that thou shalt have by virtue of thy weapons and thy onslaughts."¹ "Not stately am I," saith Eogan: "my brothers give a great wergild for my ugliness." "What shape dost thou choose?" saith Patrick. "The shape of the youth who is carrying thy box," namely Rióc of Inis-bó-finde ('the Isle of the White Cow'). Patrick covered them in one mantle, the two arms of each of them around the other. They sleep thus and afterwards awake with the same shape, only the tonsures being different. "My size, too, is not to my liking," [saith Eogan]. "What size [desirest thou?]," saith Patrick. Eogan reaches up his hand with his weapon. "I should like this," saith he. He straightway grows that length.

Then Patrick blessed Eogan with his sons. "Which of thy sons," saith Patrick, "is dearest to thee?" "Muiredach," saith Eogan. "Kingship [shall descend] from him for ever," saith Patrick. "And after him?" saith Patrick. "Fergus," saith Eogan. "Ordained persons from him," saith Patrick. "And then?" saith Patrick. "Eochu the Tuneful," saith Eogan. "Warriors from him," saith Patrick. "And after him?" saith Patrick. "All (the rest) are equally beloved by me," saith Eogan. "One man's love shall be on them,"² saith Patrick.

Patrick went to Ailech of the Kings, and blessed the fortress, and left his flagstone there, and prophesied that kings and ordained persons out of Ailech would be over Ireland. "Whenever," saith Patrick, "thou shalt put thy feet out of thy bed to approach (them), and thy successor after thee, the men of Ireland shall be

¹ Lit. attacking.

² reliquorum vero filiorum posteros sine personarum acceptione

iuxta cuiusque merita in pari habendos respectu, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18, a. 1. *immorro robennach Patraic inindsi uili óBelach Rátha, ocus dorat bennachtain nǵaiseid forEogan. Is ann[sein] roraid¹ Patraic:*

“*Mobennacht forsnatúatha
dobiur oBelach Ratha. 5
foraib, [a]cined² nÉogain!
déoraid³ colla nibratha.*

*Céin bess macha fo thoraibh
búaid catha foraferaib:
cenn sluay fer Fáil diamaign, 10
saigid dóib for cechtelaig.⁴*

[18 a. 2.] *Síl nEogain maice Neill
sén, aBrígit bán!
acht condernat⁵ maith,
flaith naidlib eubrath. 15*

*Armbendacht armdís
forEogan mac Néill,
fóreach gigness húad,
acht ropu[a]g⁶ dia[r]réir.⁷*

*Eochaid mac Fiachrach maice Eogain cobabtizatus 20
est cum Eogan, ocus cotach Patraic eturru; et qui
transgreditur, níberar eland dó íarsin, ocus ní loba
achorp hitalam.*

*ISed téit Patraic íarsin inDaigurt imMag nDula.
Secht ndonnaigi⁷ dó imOchaine⁸ (i. flumen) i. Dom- 25
nach Dola, Domnach Senliss, Domnach Dari, Domnach
Senchuc, Domnach Min-cluane, Domnach Cati, Both-
domnach.*

¹ is and-sein roráid, E.

² a chiniud, E.

³ O'Clery's *deolaid* i. *grása*.

⁴ each tailaigh, E.

⁵ condenat, E.

⁶ ruphuagh, E.

⁷ ndonnaig, E.

⁸ Perhaps we should read imFo-
chaine.

a-tremble before thee.”¹ Now Patrick blessed the whole island (of Eogan) from this—from Belach Rátha, and he bestowed a blessing of valour upon Eogan. Then said Patrick :

“ My blessing on the tribes
 I give from Belach Ratha.
 On you, descendants of Eogan.
 Graces till Doomsday !
 So long as field shall be under crops
 Victory in battle (shall be) on their men.
 The head of the men of Ireland’s hosts to their
 place,
 They shall attack every hill.
 The seed of Eogan, son of Níall,
 Sain, O fair Brigit.
 Provided that they do good
 Rule shall (descend) from them for ever.
 The blessing of us both
 On Eogan son of Níall !
 On every one who shall be born of him,
 Provided he be wholly (according) to our will.”

Echaid son of Fiachra, son of Eogan, was baptized with Eogan ; and Patrick’s covenant (was) between them, and should either break it, children are not born to him afterwards, and [when he dies] his body decays not in the earth.

Thereafter Patrick goes into Daignmrt, into Mag Dula. Seven churches he hath at the river Fochaine,² namely, Domnach Dola, Domnach Senliss, Domnach Dari, Domnach Senchue, Domnach Min-chuane, Domnach Cati, and Both-Domnach.

¹ promittens eos fore gloriâ militari insignes, nec solum dum præsentibus essent in conflictu, sed etiam statim ac ad arma pedem moverent, fore alijs Hibernis terrori et formidini, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

² per septem hebdomas circa flumen *Fochmuine*, regionesque adiacentes moram contraxit. Et intereâ jecit fundamenta septem Ecclesiarum, quæ, etc. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18, a. 2. Luid *Patraic* hitir nEogain na Insi i. hierich Fergussa. Folamastar¹ coingabad disert inalailiu luce. Achad Drumman intainriud ainm intíri hifothaigesdar.²

Gabais Coelbad³ *mace* Fergussa *maice* Eugain aláim ass, et dixit Patricius nadbríad de decleithi 5 lachenél and. Probatum est quod nuper laCommán *mace* nAlgasaich robói inEss *mace* nEíree, docheniul Choelbroth,⁴ dorigne tech nand, *ocus* nithárrad simni tuga⁵ fair, *ocus* robrisiud⁶ la *maceleirech* domuntir Domnaig Móir Maigi Tochuir. “Rotbíasu limsa failti 10 it[f]jarrad,” olOed *mac* Fergussa.⁷ Nihil múr nacasel eturru *ocus* aremepërtha. ISand *conacabsat* Donnuch Mór⁸ Maigi Tóchair, ubi .xl. diebus mansit et *mace* Cairthin reliquit.

ISsed huid⁹ *Patraic* oDonnuch Mór Maigi Tóchair 15 isinnBretaig. Isann faranic¹⁰ natri Dechnán *maice* sethar do*Patraic* *ierich* [18 b. 1] Ailella *maie* Eogain, *ocus* roordnestar Óengus *mace* Ailella isinbailisin; *ocus* fiu and fodonnach. Donnuch Bili ainm.

Diambái *Patraic* inAiliuch Airtich la *Connachta* 20 [hi Ceneul¹¹] hÉndi dodechuid euci Enda. “Dá mihi hunc locum,” ol*Patraic*. “Quasi non habuissemus clericos,” olEnda. Arabarach venit Enda et suus filius secum, Echu Caich Inbir. *Patraic* inairiucht¹² forleith, amunter oebaitsed *ocus* octabairt grad *ocus* ocsilad 25

¹ folamsatar, E.

² intíre hifothaigestar, E.

³ Cúelboith, E.

⁴ Cúelbaddo, E.

⁵ nithardad simintugn, E.

⁶ robrised, E.

⁷ Aed mac Ferghusa, E.

⁸ conaccab Donnach Mór, E.

⁹ doluid, E.

¹⁰ forranic, E.

¹¹ Síe E.

¹² inairnichthi, E.

Patrick went into Tír Eogain na Inse ('the land of Eogan of the island'), that is, into the territory of Fergus. He desired that he might take a hermitage in a certain place. Achad Drumman especially is the name of the land in which he founded (it).

Coelbad son of Fergus, son of Eogan, expelled him thence; and Patrick said that his race would not have . . . there.¹ Which thing hath been lately proved by Comman son of Algasach, of the race of Coelbad, who was biding in Ess mace n-Eire and who built a house there, and a rush of the thatch was not put upon it before² it was demolished by a clerical student of the community of Domnach Mór Maige Tochair ('the Great Church of Mag Tochair'). "Thou shalt have a welcome with me," saith Aed son of Fergus. There is neither bank nor wall between them and the aforesaid. There they erected Domnach Mór Maige Tochair, where Patrick remained forty days and left Cairthem's son.

Patrick went from Domnach Mór Maige Tochair into the Bretach. There he found the three Declmáns, sister's sons of Patrick's, in the district of Ailill son of Eogan. And he ordained Oengus son of Ailill in that place, and rested there throughout Sunday: Domnach Bili is its name.

While Patrick was biding in Ailech Airtich in Connaught in Cenél-Éndai, Éndae came to him. "Give me this place," saith Patrick. "As if we had not clerics (already)!" saith Énda. On the morrow came Éndae having with him his son Echu the One-eyed of Inber.³ Patrick (was) in an assembly⁴ apart, his household baptizing and

¹ neminem in posterum ex eius stirpe focum in illo loco instructurum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

² Lit. and.

³ *Eochacium*, sive Eochannum, cog-

nomento *Luscum*, qui quiescit in *Inbher*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

⁴ Or, if we follow E., 'was in prayer.' So Colgan: contulit enim se ad alium sequestratum locum orationi vacaturus.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 18
b. 1.

irsi. Da *macc* Chairthind and innúairsin, qui est
iClochur et qui est inDomnuch Mór Maigi *Tóchuir*.
“*Taibríd grad nepseoip* for mu *macc*,” ollÉnda. “A ath-
comare do*Patraic*,” oltrenfer *Patraic macc* Cairthinn
Clochuir. “Isé arndán,” olalaili. Duberr an*grad*. Aric[h]- 5
thi¹ *Patraic*, “*Grád ém*,” olsé “dotabairt immée-
maissi *formacc* inehon alta. Bíeid cellach² hicill, in-
dalasar cobráth. Bíeid duana hi *cong*bail alaili.” Quod
implétur: celdach hiClochur: Domnuch Mór Maige
Tóchuir, dommotu³ hisuidiu. 10

“*IMmacc forathet*⁴ *ingrad* immusaicichet díass iarín-
duinorgguin *fora*claid, *ocus* atuindluífessa .exx. annis
cosinnuac genfess isnail randailb deiscertchaib,⁵ *ocus*
doaitheuirfe eucum diridissi.”⁶ Quod totum implétum
est. INloce toíssiuch⁷ irabatar athaisi loce ardd oibinn. 15
Roimorehuired secha suaith bicc *ocus* illoce asisliu.
INloce toíssiuch,⁷ *tra*, iraba, fáss hé, *ocus* clechtait merlig
ocus duineorecuidi aitreb and tré breithir⁸ *Patraic*;
[18 b. 2] *ocus* roóintai[d]iged⁹ acell doCíarán *macc*
intsáir, *ocus* dora[th]ehuir¹⁰ co*Patraic* iterum. Epscop 20
Eeán indiu intÉchusiu *macc* Endai.

Robói *dano* *Patraic* itír Enda Artich iTailaich
Liace ilLeithir. Sadid eclasc ann ropu dos iarum.
ISannsin rooirdui *natri* Domnaill fograd nepseuip .i.
Domnall *macc* Cremhtain inAilíuch Airtig, quod¹¹ supra 25
cogitauimus. Domnall *macc* Coileni iTailaich Liace,
Domnall Cúli *Conalto*.¹²

¹ airichthi, E.

² celdach, E.

³ dommatu, E.

⁴ forateit, E.

⁵ descertachaib, E.

⁶ daridissi, E.

⁷ toisech, E.

⁸ Sic E.; tar breithir, R.

⁹ roóintaidaged, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

¹¹ Sic E.; R. has the compen-
dium for *quia*.

¹² Cuile Conalt, E.

conferring orders and sowing the faith. Two sons of Cairthem were there at that time, one of whom is in Clochar and one in Donnach Mór Maige Tóchair. "Confer ye the rank of a bishop on my son!" saith Éndae. "Ask it of Patrick," saith Patrick's champion, Macc Cairthinn of Clochar. "This is our duty," saith (the) other. The rank is conferred. Patrick perceives it. "Indeed," saith he, "to confer (that) rank in my absence on the son of the wolf! There shall always be contention in the church of one of the twain of you. There shall be poverty in the dwelling of the other." Which thing is fulfilled. Contention (there is) in Donnach Mór Maige Tóchair: poverty in the latter (Clochar).¹ [And Patrick further said.] "The son on whom the rank hath come, two after manslaughter shall see him . . . and . . . me one hundred and twenty years unto the son who shall be born in the southern parts; and it shall revert to me again," whereof the whole was fulfilled. The first place in which Echu's relics were, was a lofty delightful place. He was carried past it in a little while (?), and into a very low place. The first place in which he was is waste, and robbers and manslaughterers are wont to dwell there, through Patrick's curse: and his church was granted (?) to Ciarán the Wright's son, and it fell to Patrick again. That Echu son of Éndae is to-day (called) bishop Ecán.

Patrick, then, was biding in Tír Éndai Artich in Tulach Liace, in Lether. He sets therein a horse-rod, which afterwards became a bush. Then he ordained the three Donnalls in the grade of bishop, namely, Donnall son of Crenthann in Ailech Airtig, which thing we have mentioned above, Donnall son of Coilene in Telach Liace, (and, thirdly,) Donnall of Cúil Conalto.

¹ sedes Clocharensis discordiâ et contentionibus; Dominicensis verò rerum angustia et egestate exinde laborat, . . . Sanctuarium, in quo clerici tui temerè ordinati ossa se-

pelientur, cum latronum duorum, à patrato homicidio redeuntium, domicilium; et à quodam filio lucis, qui in partibus Australibus nasceretur, annis cxx. possidebitur. *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 18
b. 2.

ISed docúaid *Patraic* aDagurt¹ *ocus* amMaig Dola inAird dDáilauig. Forothaigestar cella and i. Dún Cruithne. — Faracaib epseop Beóaed ann iarnoentaíd *eturru ocus* Eogan — Secht ndomnaige do*Patraic* la-Cianacht, imDomnach Brechmaigi,² *ocus* Domnach 5 Airthir Ardda. Atá tipra *Patraic* ann.

ISamsin tánic Sétua macc Dróna maicc Tigernaig co*Patraic* corumbaitless, *ocus* is ann sin robendach ascítig nalachtai *ocus* ingein³ báí innabré i. Cianán Daimliace: *ocus* rolég la*Patraic*, *ocus* isannsín dorarg- 10 gertsom⁴ diChainnech *ocus* commad leiss aferand sin.

Dochoíd farsín isnallei don Bandai airthir, ubi non capiebant⁵ homines pisces nisi in nocte usque ad illud tempus. Deinde imperavit eis Patricius ut in die caperent; et sic erit usque in⁶ finem seculi. 15

Luid *Patraic* autem⁸ [inDail Araidi *ocus*⁷] inDáil Ríata. Isandsín dodechaid Doró ri doCharmn Sétnai antúaid, cocuala seretgaire inmanóiden asintalmáin. Scailter in carnd, taidbegar intadnacul: dothoet bolud fina impu asindadnuceul. Ateíat inmac béu ocin⁹ma- 20 thair mairb, banseál atbath do crithgalar¹⁰ dobert [19. a. 1.] léu darmuir docum nÉrend et enixa¹¹ est infantulum post mortem, qui .i.iii. diebus, ut fertur, uixit in tumulo. “Ole sin!” olinrí. “Bid he aainm,”

¹ aDagurt, E.

² In R. and E. the next four words follow *Eogan* in line 4.

³ angein, E.

⁴ dorairngertsom, E.

⁵ capiebunt, R.

⁶ ad, E.

⁷ Doluid *Patraic* post hacc, E.

⁸ Sic E.

⁹ ocon, E.

¹⁰ di crithghalar, E.

¹¹ Sic E.; enyca, R.

Patrick went out of Daigort and out of Mag Dola into Arl Dáilauig,¹ He founded churches there, namely Dún Cruithne.² He left bishop Beo-aed³ there, after (making) an union between him⁴ and Eogan. Seven churches belong to Patrick in Cianacht, including Domnach Brechmaige and Domnach Airthir Ardda. Patrick's well is there.

There came Sétna son of Dróna, son of Tigernach,⁵ to Patrick, who baptized him; and there he blessed his [Sétna's] pregnant wife and the child in her womb, namely, Cianán of Daimliae; and he read with Patrick, and there Patrick prophesied of Cainnech and [said] that that land should be his.

Thereafter he went into the Lei, on the east of the (river) Bann, where up to that time men used to catch fish only at night. Then Patrick ordered that they should catch them by day; and thus shall it be till the end of the world.

Then Patrick went into Dál Araide and (afterwards) into Dál Riata. Then came Doro king of Carn Sétnai in the north. He heard the crying of the infant out of the earth. The cairn is broken up, the grave is opened. A smell of wine comes round them out of the grave. They see the live son with the dead mother, a woman who had died of ague. She was taken by them oversea to Ireland, and after her death brought forth the infant, who lived, they say, seven days in the cairn. "*Olc* ('bad') is that," saith the king. "Let Oleán⁶ be his name," saith the druid. Patrick baptized him. He is bishop Oleán of

¹ in regionem *Dag-ard* . . . in agro *Ardaoluigh*. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

² *Dun-cruthen*, *ibid.*

³ *Beatum*, *ibid.*

⁴ Lit. them.

⁵ *Sedna ex Trena filio Tigernani nepos*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

⁶ *id est, misellum*, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, a. 1. ol indrúí, "Oleán," quem *Patricius* baltizauit. Ipse est episcopus Oleán *dimuintir* *Patraic* in *Airtiuir* [Maigi¹] soirchaithir Dáil Ríatai.

Ocus roleg *macc* Nissi *Condiri* apsalmu² *ie* *Patraic*, et indignatus sororem illius male[di]xit cedens fratrem³ 5 tribus uicibus .iii. enim die truncata est manus ipsius, isde itá³ *Carn* *Láma*.

Foranic *Patraic* failti isintír *ladamacc* déace *Eirec*, *ocus* *rorádi* *Fergus* *Mor* *macc* *Eirec* *frí* *Patraic*, "di- a[nu]mmairmitesi⁴ *mobrathir* *ocraind* *aferaim*⁵ *atho*- 10 *peraimnsi* *duitsiu*," *ocus* *roedbart* *Patraic* *doepscop* *Oleán* *inraind* *sin* .i. *Airthir* *Maigi*. *Aspert* *Patraic* *frí* *Fergus*, "cinipmór *dobríg* *latbrathair* *indú* *istú* *bus*⁶ *rí*, *bid* *húait* *rig* *cubrath* *istírsi*⁷ *ocus* *for* *Fortrinn*," *ocus* *issed* ón *rochomallad* in *Edán* *macc* *Gabrán* *rogab* 15 *Albain*⁸ *aréicin*.

Forácaib *Patraic* mór *doellaib* *ocus* *docongálaib*⁹ *ierich* *Dáriata*. *Fundauit* *Fótraid* *ocus* *foracaib* *díis* *diamuntir* *indi* .i. *erimmthir* *Cathbad* *ocus* *Dimmán*¹⁰ *manach*, et *fundauit* *Ráith* *Mudáin*. *Forácaib* *eruum*- 20 *thir* *nErelach* *inti*. *Forácaib* *epscop* *Ném* *hi* *Telaig* *cenéoil* *Oengusa*, *da* *Chenn* [f] *indán* in *Domnuch* *Camri*¹¹ *hi* *Coth*- *rugu*. *Enán* in *Druim* [F] *indich*, *epscop* *Fíachrai* *i* *Cuil* *Ectrann*. *Ocus* *robennach* *Pátraic* *Dún* *Sobargi*, *ocus* *atá* *tipra* *Pátraic* *ann* *ocus* *forácaib* *bréthir* *fair*. 25

Luid in *Dáil* *nAraithi* *íarsuidiu*. *Forránic* *dá* *macc* *déce*¹² *Cóilbad* *arachinn*.¹³ *Arbertai* *congaba* [d]¹ *dú* *itá* *Cell* *Glass*. *Dlomtha* *dó* *ass*, *ocus* *islessom* *béoss*. *Ocus* *forácaib* *díis* *diamuntir* *inti* .i. *Glaisiuc* *ocus* *eruumthir*

¹ Sic E.

² asalmu, E.

³ atta, E.

⁴ dianamairmitise, E. We should perhaps read *dianamairmitiigthesa*.

⁵ ocraínd, E.

⁶ bes, E.

⁷ hisintirso, E.

⁸ Alpáin, E.

⁹ dihellaiib 7 dihongbalaib, E.

¹⁰ Dimmain, E.

¹¹ Cúinri, E.

¹² deace, E.

¹³ arachíund, E.

Patrick's household in Airthir Maige, a noble city of Dál Riatai.

And Mace Nisse of Condire read his psalms with Patrick; *et indignatus* etc.¹ Hence is Carn Láma ('the cairn of the hand').¹

Patrick found a welcome in the land with Ere's twelve sons; and Fergus the Great, son of Ere,² said to Patrick: "If my brother respects me in dividing his land, I would give it to thee." And Patrick offered to bishop Oleán that part, to wit, Airthir Maige. Said Patrick to Fergus: "Though thy brother hath not much esteem for thee to-day, it is thou that shalt be king. The kings in this country and over Fortrem shall be from thee for ever." And this was fulfilled in Aedán son of Gabrán,³ who took Scotland by force.

Patrick left many churches and cloisters in the district of Dál Riata. He founded Fothrad, and left therein two of his household, namely Presbyter Cathbad and Dimman the Monk. And he founded Raith Mudain. He left Presbyter Erelach therein. He left bishop Nehemiah in Telach Cencóil Oengusa, two Cennfínláns in Domnach Cáinri, in Cothraige, Enán in Drumman Fíndich, bishop Fíachra in Cúil Echtrann. And Patrick blessed Dún Sobairei, and Patrick's well is there, and he left a blessing⁴ thereon.

After this he went into Dál Araidi. He found Cóilbad's twelve sons before him. He proposed to take the place wherein Cell Glass stands (now). He was refused, and [yet] he hath it still. And he left therein two of his household, namely Glaisiuc and Presbyter Libur,

¹ The Latin is hopelessly corrupt. The meaning is that Mace Nisse having gone astray with a girl (Patrick's sister or niece according to Colgan), the saint prayed that his hand might be cut off. "Et ecce res mira! manus *Mae-nessij* extempto abscissa in terram cadit.

et in perpetuum rei mirabilis, iustaeque vindictae memoriam, in loco qui exinde *Carn lamha* i. tumultus manus, appellatus, tumultata reconditur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

² Ere's junior filius, *ibid.*, p. 147.

³ ex eius semine procedente, *ibid.*

⁴ lit. a word.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 19,
a. 2.

Libair. *Ocus* arbertai dano congabad dú itá Lathrach Patraic. Isandsin atá Daniel aingel *ocus* abacc Patraic. Isoeco itá tipra Patraic, Slan aaimm. Fufriðh and nuuechuir¹ Patraic. Gabais iarum a laim Saran macc Coelbad ass, *ocus* gataiss Patraic nem *ocus* tal-5 *main* airi.

Arroet immorro Conle macc Coilbad Patraic conhumalóit,² *ocus* adrobert dó Domnach Combair. *Ocus* rombennach Patraic *ocus* forácaib nobecitis ríg *ocus* airig dia cenél cobráth. Et fundauit ilecella inDáil 10 Araidi .i. Domnach Mór Maigi Damóerna *ocus* Raith Sithle,—*ocus* foracaib díis diamuntír isuidiu—*ocus* Telach, .i. Cell Comadan, *ocus* Gluari ilLátharnu—*ocus* macc Lessi³ indi—et fundauit Glend-indechta, *ocus* Imlech [Ch]luane iSimniu—Coeman indi—*ocus* Rath 15 *epsceúip* [F]indich itír Oe nDarcachéin.⁴

I Arnalali aimsir dobert inSaran rémráthe dóine imbroit ierich⁵ Dáil Ríatai, connairnic fris *epsceop* Oleán. Batir ocnemela fríssuidiu intruaig. Roseuinnig Olean *ocus* nirosset *acht* madoberad nem doSarán ari. “Ni 20 cumgaimsi ón éin, ol tell Patraic ariut.” “Mairfessu” dano domuntír immutsu *acht* tú thoinur, *ocus* mairfiter⁷ inbratso uili. *Ocus* nách dú ifogebsa tailcenn dosbér fogin elaidib uili.” Corothai[r]nger *epsceop* Olean nem dó. Luid⁸ iarum antúaid dotabairt réiri Patraic. 25 Adchúass dó bare Patraic fris dithogu *ocus* baithis *ocus* nem dothairgiri dondí aratallsom. Conarnactar

¹ nuaechuir, E.

² conhumolloit, E.

³ Láisse, E.

⁴ óe nDarcuchan, E.

⁵ acrich, E.

⁶ mairbfesa, E.

⁷ mairbthír, E.

⁸ Doluid, E.

and he proposed moreover, to take the place in which Lathrach Pátraic¹ ('Patrick's site') is [now]. Therein is Daniel [who is called from his purity] "the angel" and [from his small size] "Patrick's dwarf." By him is Patrick's well. Slan ('healthful') is its name. There Patrick's *nua echuir*² was found. Now, Sarán son of Coelbad expelled him thence, and Patrick deprived him of heaven and earth.

Howbeit Conlae son of Coelbad received Patrick with humility, and offered to him Donnach Combair. And Patrick blessed him and left [as a benediction] that there would be kings and princes of his race for ever. And he founded many churches in Dál Araide, namely, Donnach Mór Maige Damoerna, and Raith Síthe—and in this he left two of his household—and Telach, that is, Cell Conadain, and Gluare in Latharna—and Macc-Lessi is therein. And he founded Glenn Indechta and In-lech-Cluane in Senne—Coemán is therein,—and Raith Epsuip Fíndich in the country of the Húi Darea-chein.

After a certain time the aforesaid Sarán brought men in bondage³ into the province of Dál Riata. And bishop Oleán met him. The wretches were a-wailing to him. Oleán asked for them and he obtained them not, except [on the condition] that he should give heaven to Sarán therefor. "Verily," [saith Oleán] "I cannot do that, since Patrick hath taken it from thee." "Then I will slay thy people about thee, save thee alone, and all these captives shall be slain. And in every place in which I shall find a shaveling, I will put them all under a sword's mouth." So bishop Oleán promised heaven to Sarán. Then Oleán went from the north to do Patrick's will. He had been told of Patrick's anger against him for having promised a blessing (!) and baptism, and heaven to him from whom Patrick had taken them away.

¹ *Lettir-phadruic*, Colgan.

² lit. 'new key,' probably some relic of Patrick.

³ i.e. 'Bishop Fíndech's Strong-

hold'; à Vinnoco . . . appellatur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 147.

⁴ 'out of,' if we follow E., which here agrees with Colgan, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, b. 1. *frí* Chuain Fiaene antuaitl *forsintsligid* cechslechtain¹ asalailiu. “Incarput taris,” ol*Patraic*. “Ní lomar,” olintara, “ad[u]l tarepscop.” Asbert frís nibad ard achongbail italmáin, *ocus* nuregtáis atéora maila tairsi, midgla, áes, toithe fola, amal rochomallad inorggain⁵ orte indi [I]aScandal rí Dalaraidi *ocus* laCoin-euaran; ingnis simul iterun laEchdich *macc* Bressail. “*Ocus* afeiram bid lasin *macc* nibece fil fón téig,” ol*Patraic*, “dit muintir fén, i. *macc* Nissi *Condere*, *ocus* lanech narogenair cose, i. Senau Insi Cathlich.”² “Bid uasal¹⁰ duairliud hinim.” Chín Sarán, [tra], *ised* rolaad forepscop Oleán sund.

Brathir *immorro* Sarán i. Nadslúáig robbu humal-side do*Patraic*, *ocus* ie cimbi³ robúi archiumu *Patraic*. “Ro[t]biasu⁴ limsa,” olsé, “inat doriceclesa.”¹⁵ “Cairm itibri dam?” ol*Patraic*. “Forur naBanna tiar,” olNatslúáig, “dú itaat inmaice ie loscud nara-tha.” “Bid lim,” ol*Patraic*, “cena i. ua damsa *ocus* duitsiu bias ann i. epscop Coirpri *macc* Deggill *maice* Nadslúáig, ishé fil iCúil Raithin forur na Bandæ²⁰ anair. Epscop Brucach [19 b. 2] fil iRáthaib Maigi Óenaich ierich Conaill, ishé dorat *grad*⁵ for epscop Coirpri. *Patraic* dano dorat *grad*⁶ for epscop Brugach conidúa do*Patraic* asinduál sin. Damacc decc,⁷ tra, Coilbaid, nítarat *Patraic* mallachtain fornech ndíb *acht*²⁵ forsinríg namá i. forSarán, ishé dorigni anumaldaóit [sic] dó.

¹ each sechtain, E.

² altich, E. and Colg. *Tr. Th.* p. 147.

³ iec imbi, R.

⁴ Sic E.

⁵ gráda, E.

⁶ grada, E.

⁷ déac, E.

And they met at Cluain Fiacnae in the north on the road ¹ “[Drive] the chariot over him!” saith Patrick. “I dare not,” saith the charioteer, “[make] it go over a bishop.” Said Patrick to him that his cloister would not be high on earth, and that its three evils would come over it, [namely], *midgla*, age [and] stench of blood; as was fulfilled in the slaughter that was made ² therein by Scandal king of Dál-Araide, and [again] by Cú-Cúarain, along with the fire (with which it was burnt), by Echaid son of Bresal. “And his land shall belong to the little boy who is carrying the box,” saith Patrick, [“and who is one] of thine own household,” namely, MaccNisse of Condere, “and to one who hath not yet been born,” namely Senán of Inis Cathaig. “Thy merit shall be exalted in heaven.” Sarán’s guilt was here imputed to ³ bishop Oleán.

Howbeit Sarán’s brother, namely Nat-sluaig, he was humble to Patrick, and in bondage was he when Patrick arrived. “Thou shalt have from me,” saith he, “the site of thy cell.” “In what place dost thou give it to me?” saith Patrick. “On the brink of the Bann, in the west,” saith Natsluaig, “the place in which the children are burning the fern.” “It shall be mine,” saith Patrick, “however. A [spiritual] descendant of mine and of thine shall be there, namely bishop Coirbre, son of Deggell, son of Natsluaig. It is he who is in Cúil Raithin ⁴ on the brink of the Bann in the east. Bishop Brucach, who is in Ratha Maige Oenaich in Crích Conaill, is he who conferred orders on bishop Coirbre. Patrick, then, had conferred orders on bishop Brucach, so that in that matter Coirbre is a descendant of Patrick’s. Now, as to Coilbad’s twelve sons, Patrick left a curse on none of them, but only on the king, on Sarán. It was he that had shown disrespect ⁵ to him.

¹ *cum pervenisset (scil. Oleanus) in conspectum, genuflectendo paulatim accedit, Colgan, Tr. Th. p. 147.*

² Lit. slain.

³ Lit. cast upon.

⁴ Lit. done inhumility.

⁵ *Cúil-raithen, id est secessus filicis, Tr. Th. p. 148.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, b. 2. IS donchursin,¹ *tra*, douc *Patraic* [leis²] *epscop* *Gúasacht mace Milc[h]on acríeh Dál Araidi. Ise forácaib Patraic higGránard ocus nadiEimir³ dano, di ingin Milchon, ithé fil iClúain Brónaig, ut diximus.*

ISSed, *tra*, luíd⁴ *Patraic acríeh Dál Áraidi forFer-5* *tais Tuamma, coUu Turtri. Robái .xl. noidqui iFin-* *dobuir ocus folamastar cathraig dochoingbail and ol* *ba inmaireede leis Loch nEchach dind dala⁵ leith di* *ocus Sliab Calland dind leith ailiu. Dodechaid Carthenn* *Mór, ví intíri, euccai, corodlom ass. Tallsom dano rígi 10* *airison ocus arachlaind. Dorat Patraic iarum rígi* *doChairthiund Biuce robói forlongaiss réna bráithir,* *ocus rombathess Patraic ocus robennach asétig⁶ ocus* *ingein bóí inabrú. “Modébródh,” olPatraic, “bid lán* *dirath Dé ingein fil itbrúsa, ocus bidmeissi bennach-15* *fas cailli forachend.” Mogan ingen Fergusa Móir* *maice Nissi diDail Riatai isí inben, ocus Treae ingen* *maice Cairthinn issí angein bóí inabrú. Ocus isPatraic* *rosén cailli⁷ foracenn, ut profétavit. Indaingil immorro* *tuesat incailli donim ocus rosuidigset forachend tara-20* *súili síis. Ocus tindarsean [20 a. 1] Patraic athoebáil* *súas. “Ced nach [maith⁸]” arTrea, “abith amal foruir-* *med?” “Maith éin dano,” olPatraic. Ní accasi iarum* *inna bíu acht anatconnaire tresin caillisin.*

Secht ndomnaigi do*Patraic* laUu Turtri .i. Domnach 25 *Fainre, Domach Riasead, Domnach Fothirbe, Domnach* *Rigduinn, Domnach Brain, Domnach Maeláin, Dom-* *nach Libuir.*

¹ dínchursín, E.

² Sic E.

³ híGranaurd 7 nat dí Emir, E.

⁴ doluíd, E.

⁵ dindala. E.

⁶ rombendach ascéitig, E.

⁷ ishe Patraic rosén caille, E.

⁸ Sic E.

⁹ accaisí, E.

Now on that occasion Patrick brought with him bishop Guasacht son of [his old master] Milehu, out of the province of Dál Araide. He it is whom Patrick left in Granard, and the two Emers also, two daughters of Milehu, it is they who are in Clúain Bronaig, *ut dirimus*.

Then Patrick went out of the province of Dál-Araide by Fertais Tuamma,¹ unto the Húi-Tuirtri. Forty nights he abode in Findabur, and he desired to build a cloister there, for it seemed to him convenient, Loeh nEchach [being] on the one side thereof² and Sliab Calland on the other side.³ Cairthenn the Great, king of the country, went to him and told him [to go] thence. So Patrick took the kingship away from him and from his children. Then Patrick gave the kingdom to Cairthenn the Little, who was in exile because of his brother; and Patrick baptized him and blessed his wife and the child that lay in her womb. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "the child that is in thy womb will be full of the grace of God, and it is I that will bless the veil on its head." Mogan daughter of Fergus the Great, son of Nesse, of Dál Riata, she is the woman, and Trea daughter of Cairthenn's son, she is the child that lay in her womb. And it is Patrick who sained the veil on her head, as he foretold. Howbeit, the angels brought the veil from heaven and set it over her head, down over her eyes. And Patrick began to lift it up. "Why," saith Trea, "is it not good that it should bide as it was placed?" "Good, indeed, then," saith Patrick. During her life she saw nothing save what she beheld through that veil.

Seven churches [belong] to Patrick in Húi-Tuirtri, namely, Domnach Fainre, Domnach Riascal,⁴ Domnach Fothirbe, Domnach Rigduinn, Domnach Brain, Domnach Maeláin, Domnach Libuir.⁵

¹ per *Fersait Tuama*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 148.

² ab Oriente, *ibid.*

³ ab Occidente, *Tr. Th.* p. 148.

⁴ *Riascaigh*, *ibid.*

⁵ *libuir*, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, a. 1. ISed dochoíd *Patraic* iarsin gu¹ Fíru Gabre *ocus* nírtar huanail *fíris*. *Patricius* dixit, noregtaíss iartain cocúis día chillsom irré gaimrid, *ocus* nogettaís echartar-chenéla atír iartain. Quod impletum est.

ISsed dochóid iarsin coFíru Imchlair, et babtizauit ⁵ et benedixit eos. Foráccaib cruimther Columb leo *ocus* lebor ortosa *Patraic* *ocus* achloce leis.

Biit *dano* naferta coso indíu.

O fororbai, tra, *Patraic* arith mbúada isin bith freenaire *amul* roraide Pol *apstal*: “certamen bonum certauí, ¹⁰ cursum consummaui, fidem seruaui, de cetero repossita est mihi corona iustit[i]e, quam mihi Deus reddet in illa [dic²] iustus iudex,³ arroet commain *ocus* *sacarbuaic* ó *epscop* Tásach.

Atát⁴ athaissi *ocus* areilgi⁵ sund *cononoir* *ocus* *airmi-* 15 *tin* lasindeclais *tabmundaí*. Cid mór aonóir *ocus* *aairmitiu* sund isnaib *tabmundaib*, bid mó, et reliqua.

¹ co, E.

² Sic E.

³ Here R. adds ‘reddet;’ E. ‘redet.’

⁴ ataat, E.

⁵ areilei, E.

Thereafter Patrick went to the Men of Gabrae, and they were not obedient to him. Patrick said that they would come afterwards with tribute to his church in winter-time, and that foreign tribes would take their land afterwards. Which thing was fulfilled.

Thereafter he went to the Men of Imchlar, and he baptized and blessed them. He left Presbyter Columb with them, and with him (were) Patrick's book of ritual and his bell.

So far to-day are the miracles [of Patrick].

Now, when Patrick had completed his victorious career in the present world,—as Paul the apostle said: “I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day”—he received from bishop Tassach communion and sacrifice.

His relics and remains are here in honour and veneration with the earthly Church. Though great be the honour and veneration for him here on earth, greater will be, &c.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 20,
a. 1.

[PARS TERTIA.]

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis. IN *Spirat* noeb ótá
cech deglán ocus cechrath dondEclais cechtardai na-
fetarlaici ocus ind[n]uffadnaissi, IShe roraídi anath-
[20. a. 2.]-ese¹ *cumbairsi tre gin indrigfátha Dabid*
maice lese, de quo scriptum est: "unxit Samuel
*Dabid in regem et profetam."*⁵

IShe in Dabid sin dorigni tri chóeeta psalm do
adhmolad inChoimded² tre metur fileta. Oen, *dino*,³
dona molthaib sin dorigne *Dabid* donChoimded in
sechtmad psalm⁴ arsescat asaforba hifil inInesi .i. mi-
10 rabilis Deus in sanctis suis, i.e., per signa laudabilis;
quae sine in angelis suis, *sine* in hominibus sanctis qui
eius iusionibus obsecundant operatur ipse. Est enim
qui facit mirabilia magna solus, unde Iacobus Apos-
tolus dicit: Omne datum optimum, et omne donum
15 perfectum, desursum est, descendens a Patre lumi-
num. At vero tunc mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis in
conspectu gentium revelatur quando eis regna celo-
rum pollicentibus (i. doctoribus) dedit potestatem in-
firmos curandi, mortuos suscitandi, leprosos mundandi,⁵ 20
demones ieciendi, cecos illuminandi, claudos et sordos
sanandi, et cetera. Huiuscemodi vero⁶ magnitudinem
promissorum probat magnitudo signorum. Sic[ut]
ergo Deus mirabilis est in sanctis, sic sancti quoque,
qui haec facta⁷ faciunt, laudabiles sunt in Deo, 25
qui⁸ quicquid miraculorum agunt, non suis uiri-
bus sed Dei auxilio deputant. Igitur qui Deo dant
laudes seipso faciunt esse laudabiles, et qui illi dant
honorem sibi adquirunt sine dubio dignitatem.

Oen, *dino*,³ donaoebaib *ocus* dona fir[20.b.1]-énaib tresa 30
tánic molad *ocus* adamrugud inChoimdedh fia[d]dáinib
tresnafirta *ocus* tresnamirbaili⁹ dorigni Dia trid,¹⁰ octo-

¹ intathese, E.

² Sic E.; anchoimdedgh, R.

³ Or perhaps *didu* = O. Ir. *didiu*.

⁴ .i. Exsurgit, E.

⁵ Sic E.; sanandi, R.

⁶ Sic E.; ut, R.

⁷ Sic E.; ca, R.; omnia, Colg.

⁸ quam, R.

⁹ tresnafirtu 7 tresna mirbuli, E.

¹⁰ trit, E., where it is written over
tresna.

THE THIRD PART.

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis. The Holy Spirit from whom cometh every goodly gift and every grace to the Church of each of the two, the Old Law and the New Testament, He it is that uttered this short declaration through the mouth of the royal prophet David son of Jesse, of whom it hath been written, "Samuel anointed David king and prophet."

It is that David who made in poetic metre thrice fifty psalms to praise the Lord. Now one of those praises that David made for the Lord is the sixty-seventh psalm, in the end whereof is this line, namely, *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*, that is, praiseworthy through the signs that He himself effects, whether in his angels or in holy men who obey his commands. For He it is who doth great miracles alone. Whence saith James the Apostle: "Every good and every perfect gift is from above and cometh down from the Father of lights." But truly God is revealed in the sight of the heathen as "marvellous in his saints" when he hath given to those who promise the kingdom of heaven, namely to the teachers, power to cure the sick, to raise the dead, to heal lepers, to cast out devils, to give sight to the blind, to heal the halt and the deaf, and so forth. So that the greatness of the signs proves the greatness of the promises. As, then, God is marvellous in saints, so also are the saints, who do these things, praiseworthy in God. And those who perform any miracles ascribe them not to their own power but to God's help. Wherefore those who give praise to God make themselves praiseworthy, and those who give Him honour, without doubt gain credit for themselves.

Now, one of the saints and of the just, through whom came praise and glorification of the Lord before men by reason of the miracles and marvels which God wrought

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, d. 1. dásend mar), oe glanad clam, oe indarba demna, oe ie dall, *ocus* bacach *ocus* bodar *ocus* aesa cecha todna olchenai, infirén, uasal, airmitnech, diata airtach inecmong naréas *ocus* nahainsiri .i. sanctus Patricius episcopus.

Forácaib *Patraic* crunther *Conaed* inDomnuch Air- 5
thir Maigi hierich Uu *Briuin*¹ intuaiscirt. [Fiusam
fodomnach ann.²] Luidsom indiaid *Patraic* asindluce
sin³ corrici infid sair. “Cid dotuce?” ol*Patraic*. “Ni
rucaim form tingnaissiu, asruith.” “ISdedbir am duit,”
ol*Patraic*, “ni bailt *maice* bethad imat⁴ and, acht fer 10
ista mucca hitferand cubrath, niforderggfaither ferand
do puirt.” Quod probauimus. Doluid⁵ *Connaean mace*
Colman *maice* Néill Frossig hisatír cosluag. Fogluaset
.ix. uiros ab uno ligno: artifex rothaich inailithir decol-
latus est .iiii. vero in agro eius liberati sunt. 15

Luid iarsin cuTelaig⁶ Mane *ocus* foranaic failti la
Mane *mace Conlaid*. Dorigne humalloit dó *ocus* rom-
bendach [*Pátraic*²] *ocus* robennach asétig cumbu alachta,
combert dí ingin. Rosbaithess *Patraic ocus* rosen caille
[20. b. 2] *foracend*, *ocus foracaib* senóir leu diaforci- 20
tul. Ni tharaill *Patraic* inMachai don ehursin,⁷ *acht* ised
dochoid, híerich UaCremthaimn: *forfothaigestar*⁸ *cella*
ocus congála and.

Fecht and oe tuidecht do*Patraic* doClochar antuaid
dofuargaib⁹ athrénfer dar doraid and, .i. epscop *mace* 25
Chairthinn. Issed adrubairt iarturgbáil¹⁰ *Patraic*, “Uch,
úch!” “Mo debróth,” ol*Patraic*, “nipu gnath in focul

¹ nabriuin, E. Read Ua mBrinin.

² Sic E.

³ hisin, E.

⁴ immutt, E.

⁵ dialluid, E.

⁶ dothelaig, E.

⁷ dincuirsin, E.

⁸ forfothaigestar, E.

⁹ dafuareab, E.

¹⁰ iar turchail, E.

through him—raising the dead to life, cleansing lepers, casting out devils, healing the blind and halt and deaf and all manner of diseased folk besides—[is] the noble, venerable, just man for whom there is a festival on the occasion of this season and time, to wit, Sanctus Patrieius Episcopus.

Patrick left Presbyter Conaed in Dommach Airthir Maige in the province of the Northern Húi Briuin. Conaed rested there throughout Sunday. He went after Patrick from that place as far as the Fid ('wood') westward. "What hath brought thee?" saith Patrick. "I cannot bear thy absence, O elder," [saith Conaed]. "Truly" [saith Patrick], "thou hast reason; there are no sons of Life around thee there, but . . . swine will feed on thy land for ever.¹ [Howbeit the] land of thy place shall not be reddened" [with bloodshed]. *Quod probarimus*, when Connaeán son of Colmán, son of Níall the Showery, came into the land with an army. They move nine men from one log:² an artist who fled into another land was beheaded (there), but the eight who remained in Conaed's land were set free.

He afterwards went to Telach Maine ('Maine's hill'), and he found a welcome with Maine son of Conlaed, who showed respect to him. And Patrick blessed him, and blessed his wife so that she became with child and brought forth two daughters. Patrick baptized them, and sained a veil on their heads, and left an old man with them to teach them. Patrick did not proceed to Armagh on that occasion: but he went into the district of Húi-Cremthainn, and there he founded churches and cloisters.

Once as Patrick was coming from Clochar from the north, his champion, to wit, bishop Mace Cairthinn, lifted him over a difficult place. This is what he said after lifting Patrick: "Oh, oh!" "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it was not usual for thee to utter that

¹ sed viri sanguinum, et pecorum raptores, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 149. | ² sub quadam arbore in agro illius Ecclesiae sedebant. *Tr. Th.* p. 149.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, b. 2. sin dorád duitsiu." "Amsenoir *ocus* anlobar," olepscop *macc Cairthinn*, "*ocus* forácaibsiu inocomalta¹ hi cellaib *ocus* meisi fós for conair." "Fotuigebsa dano icill," ol*Patraic*, "napa roacus, arnapadimicnithi, nipa rochian, dano, coroastar immathigid etrom." *OCUS* 5 forácaib *Patraic* iarom espoe *macc Cairthinn* hiClochur, *ocus* inDomnach Airgit less, doralad do*Patraic* donim diamboi formuir octudecht dochum nErenn.

Luid *Patraic* iarsin hiLemuin .i. Findabair ainm na tailcha inpropritchad *Patraic*. Triláa *ocus* teora aid- 10 chi do iconproicept, *ocus* nirpu sía léu oldaas oenuáir. ISandsin conatail Brigitt frisinpraicept *ocus* nirléie *Patraic* aduseud, *ocus* roíarfacht *Patraic* disi iarsin eid atchonnaire. Dixit illa :² "Atcondare senada³ gela *ocus* dumu finna *ocus* gorta gelai,⁴ daim breca inandi- 15 aid *ocus* daim duba iarmu.⁵ Post haec uidi oués et sues et canes et lupos inter se discordantes. Atconnare iarsin dichloich, indara [21 a. 1] cloch bec *ocus* araile mór. Rosenaich bróen forru diblínail. For[r]ubart inlia bec frisinmbræn *ocus* dobruichtais óebli airgidi ass. Ro- 20 sercai immorro inlia mór." "ITÉ insin," ol*Patraic*, "da *macc* Echaich maice Crimthainn."⁶ Roereti Coirpri Damarcait, *ocus* robennach *Patraic* *ocus* robennach asil. Rodiultai immorro Bresal *ocus* romallach *Patraic*. Ruc, tra, *Patraic* forsiunnaislingi olchenai in- 25 nahi Brigti amal as nairdire.

Doroidiusaig *Patraic* Echaig *macc* Crimthaind ab s. Rotecht Echu ingin .i. Cinnu. Popuáil dia athair aernaídm do fiur sochineluch .i. domacc Cormaie maice Coirpri maice Neill. Sanctum ambulans Patricium cum 30

¹ muchomaltu, E.

² alla, R.

³ Síe E. ; senagha, R.

⁴ domhu finda 7 gortu gela, E.

⁵ iarma, E.

⁶ eraimthin, E.

word." "I am [now] an old man and I am infirm," saith bishop Macc Cairthinn, "and thou hast left my comrades in churches, and I am still on the road." "I will leave thee, then, in a church," saith Patrick, "that shall not be very near, lest there be familiarity (?), and shall not be very far, so that mutual visiting between us be continued." And Patrick then left bishop Macc Cairthinn in Clochar, and with him [he placed] the [silver reliquary called] Domnach-Airgit, which had been sent to Patrick from heaven when he was at sea coming towards Ireland.

Thereafter Patrick went into Lemain. Findabair is the name of the hill on which Patrick preached. For three days and three nights he was preaching, and it seemed to them not longer than one hour. Then Brigit fell asleep at the preaching, and Patrick let her not be wakened. And Patrick asked her afterwards what she had seen? *Dixit illa*: "I saw white assemblies¹ and light-coloured oxen and white cornfields. Speckled oxen behind them, and black oxen after these. Afterwards I saw sheep and swine and dogs and wolves quarrelling with each other. Thereafter I saw two stones, one of the twain a small stone and the other a large. A shower dropt on them both. The little stone increased at the shower, and silvery sparks would break forth from it. The large stone, however, wasted away." "Those," saith Patrick, "are the two sons of Echaid son of Crimthann." Coirbre Damargait believed, and Patrick blessed him and blessed his seed. Bressal, however, refused [to become a Christian], and Patrick cursed him. Patrick, besides, expounded the vision of Brigit in an excellent manner.²

Patrick raised Echaid son of Crimthann from death. Echaid had a daughter, to wit, Cinnu. Her father desired to wed her to a man of good lineage, namely to the son of Cormac, son of Coirbre son of Niall. As she

¹ candidatorum synodum, *Tr. Th.* p. 150.

² visionem, quae erat et praesentis

et futuri status Ecclesiae Hiberniae imago, eorum adstantibus exposuit S. Patricius, *Tr. Th.* p. 150.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 21,
a. 1.

soe[i]is, obuiam inuenit. Ropritach *Patraic* di coroso-
comlad don tairgertaig¹ spirtalta, *ocus* roceiti, *ocus*
dorochoaise *Patraic*, *ocus* rosbaiti *Patraic* post. Ambói
iarum aathair foraiarairsiu² diatabairt diafiur, dode-
chaid si *ocus* *Patraic* diaacallaim. Rogauit Patricius³
ut patri³ aeterno copul[an]dam Sponso permitteret. Ro-
comarleic dano Echu aní sin dia tarta nem dó airi,⁴
ocus conarochomeenichthi fadéin do baithis. Doraing-
gert *Patraic* indéidi⁵ sin ciarbo dodaing⁶ leis. Rochom-
arleic *iarum* inrí aingen i. Cinnu do ocomul do-
Christ, *ocus* doronai *Patraic* combo bandescipul dó,
ocus rosaithni dialaili óig dia forcutul i. Cechtumbair
Dromma Dubain, in quo loco ambe uirgines pausan-
tur.⁷

Iarnilbliadnaib *immorro* intEchu remráiti rosiacht 15
dered abethad, *ocus* an doairistis acharaitt [21 a. 2] imme,
roráidi: "nirim-adnaigid," olse, "coti *Patraic*." *ocus*
o fororbai Echu nabri[a]thrasu⁸ rofuid aspirut. *Patraic*,
immorro, isand robái ocSaball *Patraic* inUlltail, *ocus*
foroillsige⁷ dó etsecht Echach *ocus* romidair athasenam 20
doClochar *mace* nDomini.⁹ Isandsin arránic Echaich
esanmide per .xxiiii. horas. O dochoid *Patraic* istech
hirraibi incorp, rolái immach inlucht robói immonecorp.
Rofill glúni donChoimdid *ocus* dofarlaic déra *ocus*
rogaid, et dixit post clara voce, "O rex Echu, in no-
mine omnipotentis Dei, surge!" et statim ad serui Dei
vocem surrexit. O deisid *iarum* cocobsaid loquebatur,
ocus rosoad cói *ocus* golgairi inpopul in gaudium.
Et tunc statim sanctus Patricius regem de ratione
fide[i] instruxit et bautizauit; *ocus* forcongart *Patraic* 30
[fair¹⁰] fiad inpopul coro aisneded dopianaib nane-

¹ tairgertaig. E., leg tairger-
taid?

² foraiarairsi, E.

³ Read "patrem ut filiam"?

⁴ aire, E.

⁵ andeidi, E.

⁶ dogaign, R.; dodaig, E.

⁷ pausant, E.

⁸ -sa, E.

⁹ Doimni, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

was walking she met holy Patrick with his companions. Patrick preached to her to unite herself to the Spiritual Spouse, and she believed, and followed Patrick, and Patrick baptized her afterwards. Now, while her father was a-seeking her to give her to her husband, she and Patrick went to converse with him. Patrick asked her father to allow her to be united to the Eternal Spouse. So Echu allowed that, if heaven were given to him for her, and he himself were not compelled to be baptized. Patrick promised those two things, although it was difficult for him [to do so]. Then the king allowed his daughter Cinnu to be united to Christ, and Patrick caused her to be a female disciple of his, and delivered her to a certain virgin to be taught, namely [to] Cech-tumbar¹ of Druimm Dubain, in which place both virgins have their rest.

Now, after many years the aforesaid Echu reached the end of his life; and when his friends were standing around him, he spake: "Bury me not," he saith, "until Patrick shall have come." And when Echu had finished these words he sent forth his spirit. Patrick, however, was then at Saball Pátraic in Ulster, and Echu's death was made manifest to him; and he decided on journeying to Clochar Mace nDoimni. There he found Echu [who had been] lifeless for twenty-four hours. When Patrick entered the house in which the body was lying, he put forth the folk who were biding around the corpse.² He bent [his] knees to the Lord, and shed tears, and prayed, and afterwards said with a clear voice: "O king Echu, in the name of Almighty God, arise!" And straightway the king arose at the voice of God's servant. So when he had sat down steadily he spake; and the weeping and wailing of the people were turned into joy. And then holy Patrick instructed the king in the method of the faith, and baptized him. And Patrick ordered him, before the people, to set forth the punishments of the ungodly and the blessedness of the saints, and that he

¹ *Celamaria*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*

² Compare Math. ix., 25; Mark v., 40; Luke viii., 54; Acts ix., 40.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, a. 2. *cráibdech ocus do[ff]inlfuth nanoeb, et prædicaret plebi, ut crederent uera esse quæ de penis inferorum prædicantur et de gaudiis beatorum qui obaudierunt. Ut ei præceptum est de utroque prædicauit. Ocus tarcaid Patraic roga¹ dó .i. xu. bliadna inardrigu athiri dia nairbereth⁵ bith cucraibdech ocus eufren, no diamad ferr leis dul docum nime. At rex consequenter ait: "Cia dobertha [damsa²] ríge³ inna huli cuarta, ocus eia atberaind⁴ bith o ilbliadnaib, adrimfinn arnempni icondiulee inmaithi-
assa tarfas dam. Isairi togainsi⁵ inmo ocus inmo eurom-
særthar ótrogib inbetha freenairee [21. b. 1] ocus co-
rothadenirer cossnafailti suthaine tarfása dam." Cui inquit Patricius: "Váde cum pace et ad Deum emigra." Rogní Echú atlaigthi buide do Dia i⁶ freenare-
us amuinteri, ocus roaithne aanmain donChoimdid¹⁵ ocus doPatraic, ocus rofáithe⁷ aspirut docum nime!*

Ised dochoid Patraic iarsin hierích Ua Meith Tíri do Tig Thalán, ocus forácaib episcop Cilline and ocus æs sruith diamuintir olcena ocus martra sruithe tue less tarmuir anair.

20

Is annsin tallsat Ui Torrorre, do Oib Meith Tíri antanriud,⁸ indala boce nobíth octabairt usci doPatraic, ocus dodechatar dia luga⁹ inetheuch doPatraic, coromeglestar inboe abrondaib intrir dusfell. "Mo debród," olPatraic, "fordíndet inboe feisin dú indæs. Ondú²⁵ obráth," olPatraic, "lilit gabair bharr cla[í]nd ocus barr cénél." Quod impletur adhuc.

¹ rogu, E.² Sic, E.³ rigu, R.; rígi, E.⁴ arberainn, E.⁵ dogoimsi, E.⁶ Sic, E.; a, R.⁷ rofoithi, E.⁸ intainriud, E.⁹ lugu, E.

should preach to the commonalty that all things which are made known to them of the pains of hell and of the joys of the blessed who have obeyed were true. As had been ordered to him, Echu preached of both things. And Patrick gave him his choice, to wit, fifteen years in the sovranly of his country if he would live quietly and justly, or, going (forthwith) to heaven, if this seemed better to him. But the king at once said: "Though the kingship of the whole globe should be given to me, and though I should live for many years, I should count it as nothing in comparison to the blessedness that hath been shown to me. Wherefore I choose more and more that I may be saved from the sorrows of the present world, and that I may return to the everlasting joys which have been shown to me." Patrick saith to him, "Go in peace and depart unto God." Echu gave thanks to God in the presence of his household, and he commended his soul to the Lord and to Patrick, and sent forth his spirit to heaven.

Thereafter Patrick went to the district of Húi-Meith Tíre,¹ to Tech Talan. He left Bishop Cillíne there, and aged folk of his household besides, and relics of ancients which he had brought with him over sea from the east.

Then the Hui Torrorrae, of the Húi Meith Tíre especially, stole [and ate] one of the two goats that used to be carrying water for Patrick, and they went to perjure themselves to Patrick; but the goat bleated out of the bellies of the three who had deceived him. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "the goat himself announces the place in which he was eaten. From to-day for ever," saith Patrick, "goats shall cleave to your children and your race." Which thing is still fulfilled.²

¹ quae est Orientalis Vltionie re- p. 150), the descendants of these
giuncula, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 150. thieves had always beards "capri-

² According to Colgan (*Tr. Th.* . . . nis subsimiles."

Rawl. B.
512, fó. 21.
b. 1.

Eugan *maec* Briuin, *maice* Muiredaig, *maice* Imchatha, *maice* Collai daerich,¹ ishé ropa rí Óe Meith quando crediderunt illa[e] gentes, et benedixit eis. Rogaid Eogan indí *Patraic* inthodáscul ásenathar .i. Muiredaig. Dorodinsai² *Patraic* iarsuidiu *ocus* rombaithes, 5 *ocus* ronadnacht afrithisi ocOmne Rende hi coerich Mugdormd *ocus* UaMeith, *acht* islaMugdormd[u] inloc sin.

ISed docuaid *Patraic* ierich Mugdormd do Domnach Maigen intainriud. INtan rocnala Victor robái [21 b. 2] isindlue sin *Patraic* dotichtain² a dóc[h]um tanic Victor 10 doimgabail *Patraic* asinpurt corrabai inuiniu draigin bai hitab inballi. Doronai Dia [firt] ar*Patraic*, roso-illsig inmuine isindaidechi dorchai curbu reill and. Dodechaid Victor iarsin co*Patraic* *ocus* dobert areir. *Ocus* dorat *Patraic* incill dó,³ *ocus* dorat *grud* nepseuip 15 fair (in marg. .i. for Victor), *ocus* forácaibh inDomnach Maigen. *Ocus* robaithes *Patraic* Mugdormdu. *ocus* asbert ordnidi læch *ocus* cleriuch díb, *ocus* rocelebrustar díb, *ocus* foracaib bennachtain leu.

ISed docóid *Patraic* iarsin coFiru Rois do Enach⁴ 20 *Conglais*. Rofiu *Patraic* ann fodomnach. Isand tuc-satar Uí Lilaig neim⁵ do*Patraic* isna faserib grotha. Rosén *Patraic* iarsin inna faseriu condergeni clocha díbh.⁶

INtan dochóid *Patraic* iarsin fòrsind áth dia lúain 25 tairis fades, dochotar Uí Lilaig cóicait marcach fòrsindáth inadiaid diamarbhadh. Tintái *Patraic* friu fòrsinenuchai frísinnáth andes, *ocus* tuargaib alaim elí, [et⁷] dixit: “sech ni tergaid a-sinnath ille *ocus* ni regaid amund. Bethé⁸ isindusquesin cobrath.” Dode- 30

¹ foerich, E.

² do thiachtain, E.

³ dau, E.

⁴ enneh, E.

⁵ anneim, E.

⁶ rosen inna fa-era condereni clocha díbh, E.

⁷ Sic E.

⁸ innúnd. beithi, E.

Eugan son of Briun, son of Muiredach, son of Imnachath, son of Colla-clá-chrích, it was he who was king of the Húi Meith when those people believed and Patrick blessed them. Eugan entreated Patrick to raise to life his grandfather, namely Muiredach. Patrick raised him to life after this, and he baptized him, and buried him again at Omne Rende, on the border of Mugdoirn and Húi Meith; but that place belongs to Mugdoirn.

Patrick went into the province of Mugdoirn, to Domnach Maigen. When Victor,¹ who dwelt in that place, heard that Patrick had gone thither, Victor came, to avoid Patrick, out of the place till he was in a thorn-brake that lay beside the stead. God [then] wrought a miracle for Patrick. He lighted up the brake in the dark night so that [all] was clear therein. Thereafter Victor went to Patrick and submitted to him. And Patrick gave the church to him, and bestowed the order of a bishop upon him, that is, on Victor, and he left him in Domnach Maigen. And Patrick baptized the men of Mugdoirn, and said that distinguished laymen and clerics would be of them. And he bade them farewell and left a blessing with them.

Thereafter Patrick went to Fir Roiss, to Enach Conglais. Patrick rested there throughout a Sunday. There the Húi Lilaig gave poison to Patrick in the cheeses of eurd. Patrick thereafter blessed the cheeses and made stones of them.

When Patrick went thereafter on Monday over the ford southward the Húi Lilaig² went with fifty horsemen by the ford after him to slay him. On the hillock to the south of the ford, Patrick turned towards them, and he raised his left hand and said: "Ye shall not come out of the ford on this side and ye shall not go out of it on that side. Ye shall be in that water till Doom."

¹ loci illius possessor. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

² tanto miraculo nihil commoti, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, b. 2. *chaid intusque tairsiu fochetóir. Áth Ua Lilaig ainim indátha cobrath, ocus itat¹ ind[f]ascrí clochai oc Enuch² Conglais hiforaithmet indferta cosind laithi si indiu.³*

Luid iarsin cuRáith Chúli, curo *bennach* Fíru Cúli 5 .i. Uu Segain, dicens:

Bennacht for Fíru⁴ Cúli:
fó lem cía della meithe,⁵
for Fíru Ross cen derba
otha Lerga⁶ cuLéire.

10

[22 a. 1] Luid iarsin co⁷ Biliu Thortan; et fecit *eclesiam Iustiano prespctero iuxta Bili Tortan, quae est apud familiam Aird Brecain.*

Oc tascnam do*Patraic* hierích Laigen ó*Domnach* Tortan, fiu aidehi ie *Druim Urchaili.*

15

Luid *Patraic* iarsuidiu doNáiss. Atá *lathrach* apup-aill isindfaigthi⁸ indúne *frísligid* anair, *ocus* ata atipra *frídun* antuaith, dú robaithis *damacc* Dunlangi Ailill *ocus* Illand, *ocus* dú robaithes dí ingin Ailella Mogain *ocus* Fedelm; *ocus* rosnedhbair anathair doDía²⁰ *ocus* do*Patraic* óógi cosecartha. *Ocus* rosen cailli *foracenn.*

Docuas ó*Patraic* dogaimm *rechtairi* dune Nais⁹ .i. Failen. RoingaiB *Patraic* *ocus* rodoll *cotlud* dodenam. Ticht cu *Patraic* do *erchoitmed frís*, *ocus* atrubrad báí²⁵ *inrechtairi innacotlud.* “*Modebrod*,” ol*Patraic*, “ní

¹ ataatt, E.

² Oenuch, E.

³ adferto cosinlaithiusa indiu, E.

⁴ fíru, E.

⁵ fo lemm eusatella méithe, E.

⁶ lerca, E.

⁷ do, E.

⁸ faithgi, E.

⁹ Náiss, E.

The water went over them at once. Áth-Húa-Lilaig ('the ford of Lilach's descendants') is the name of the ford for ever, and in commemoration of the miracle the cheeses of stone are at Enach Conglais to this very day.¹

Thereafter he went to Rath Cúle, and blessed Fir Cúle, that is, Húi Segain, saying:

"A blessing on Fir Cúle.
I am pleased though . . .
On Fir Ross without . . .
From Lerga to Léire."

He went thereafter to Bile Tortain ('Tortain's Tree'); and near to Bile Tortain he built for Justian the presbyter a church,² which [now] belongs to the community of Ard Breccáin.

When Patrick was journeying into the territory of Leinster from Domnach Tortain, he slept a night in Druim Urehailli.³

Thereafter Patrick went to Naas. The site of his tent is in the green of the fort, to the east of the road, and to the north of the fort is his well wherein he baptized Dunling's two sons (namely) Ailill and Illann, and wherein he baptized Ailill's two daughters, Mogain and Fedelm; and their father offered to God and to Patrick their⁴ consecrated virginity. And Patrick blessed the veil on their heads.

Patrick sent to summon the reeve of the fort of Naas, to wit, Faillén. He shunned Patrick, and feigned to be sleeping. They went to Patrick to make excuse to him, and they said that the reeve was asleep. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is not strange to me if this be⁵ [his] last sleep."

¹ Lit. to this day to-day.

² quae et *Domnach-Tortan* postea dieta est, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

³ Venit in terram Jaogaire: ibique metatus est locum extruendae Ecclesiae *Domnach-Vrchaile* postea vocatæ, *ibid.*

⁴ For *ógi* I read *anógi*: compare infra, p. 224, line 10.

⁵ *i.e.*, as Mr. Hennessy translates, "I should not be surprised if it were."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 22, a. 1. hingnad lem eid tiugeotlud." Docuatur amuinter dia dáscud cofrith marbh hé arin anunnaloit dorigní do-Patraic; conid dihin isáruse¹ laGaidelu, 'cotlud Fail-len an²dún Náiss.'

Drieriu isé bári Ua nGairehon³ arcind Patraic intan-
sin, *ocus* ingen Loeguirí maice Nell leis domnai, coro-
diultai friPatraic immafeith icRaith Inbír arLæguiri.
Dorat immorro Cilline failti dó, *ocus* romarb a ænboin
dó.⁴ *ocus* dorat doPatraic innairmid mini tue dia fulang
atoig⁵ indrig. ISandsin roraidi Patraic frisín mnai 10
fúne *ocus* sí oc tergorad⁶ amaic:

Aben, talaig domaccan.
dotáit tore mór diorecan :
diaibill tie breo :
bid beo, bid slán domaccan. 15

INarbar
isdech dolosaib⁷ talman.
isMarcan mace Cilline,
bas dech doUibh Garreon.

[22 a. 2.] Luid iar sin⁸ iMagh Liphí. Rofóthaig cella 20
ocus congála hisuidiu, *ocus* forácaib Úsaili ieill Úsaili
ocus Iserminum *ocus* Mace Tail hiCella Culind. et ali[i]
sancti.

Oedul doPatraic indiarthar Lifi, doronsat maice
Láigsi euithecha usci forsind sét forachind *ocus* brath- 25
lang tairsiu. "ArDia," olinmaice becca, "tochomluid⁹
far nechu." "Comluid dano," olPatraic, "arDia for-

¹ dihin asarase, E.

² in, E.

³ húa nGarrehon, E.

⁴ óenboin dóu, E.

⁵ fulung a taig, E.

⁶ tergorud, E.

⁷ anarbór asdech dílossaib, E.

⁸ iarsuidiu, E.

⁹ dochmmluid, E.

Then his people went to awake him, and he was found dead, because of the disrespect which he showed to Patrick. Wherefore the Irish have a proverb, *Faillen's sleep in the Fort of Naas*.¹

Dricriu, he was king of Húi Garrechon when Patrick arrived at that time: and a daughter of Loeguire son of Níall he had to wife, and for Loeguire's sake he refused to invite Patrick to his feast at Rath Imbir. Howbeit Cillíne² gave him a welcome, and killed his one cow for him, and gave Patrick the measure of meal which he had brought for his support out of the house of the king. Then said Patrick to the cooking-woman, while she was warning her (and Cillíne's) son.

O Woman, cherish thy little son!
 A great boar comes from a pigling:
 From a spark comes a flame:
 Thy child will be quick, will be sound.
 The corn
 Is best of earth's plants.
 It is Marcán son of Cillíne
 Who is best of Garrechu's descendants.

Thereafter he went into Mag Liphí; he founded churches and cloisters therein, and he left Auxilius in Cell Úsaili and Iserminus and MaccTail in Cella Cúilind. and other saints.

As Patrick was going into western Liphe the boys of Láiges made on the way before him pits of water with a gin³ over them. "For God's sake," say the little boys, "drive on your horses." "Drive on, then, your horses," says Patrick [to his charioteer] "for God's sake."

¹ quando alieni volunt imprecari
 eorum noxiam, dicant: *dérniat*,
et Faillennus in arce Naziensis,
 Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

² a man *tenueris conditionis,
 Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 152.

³ quas [scil. foveas] inducto de-
 super recenti cespite palliarunt, ut
 sic eos dolo interimerent, *ibid.*

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 22,
a. 2.

nechu;” *acht* niderna ole doib. *Ocus* dobert mal-
lachtain forLaigis .i. forLáigis meic Find dú itá Moin
Columb indiu. *Ocus* asbert *Patraic* nabiath rí na
epscop úadib, *ocus* isflaith ectrand¹ bias forru cubráth.
Uíid immorro Brig ingen Fergnai maice Cobthaig de 5
Lib Eircan conéicid do*Patraic* indancride² báí ara-
chinn. Dobert *Patraic* bennachtain fuirri *ocus* for-
aathair *ocus* forabraithrú *ocus* for[Ú]u Ercán huili,
ocus asbert *Patraic* nat beitis [cen³] oirduide læch
ocus clérech díib cobrath. 10

Isand tarblaing *Patraic* isindtailig diambu ainm
intansin Bili macc Crúaich: indiu immorro is Forrach
Patraic ainmnigther. *Ocus* asbert dano *Patraic* nad-
mbiad rí narechtairi echtrand forru cubráth. Ag fu-
dálfidí la ríg Laigen inarígthoig indala lorace donríg, 15
alaili do ríg Óa nErcán. Airmed *Patraic* leo. Forrach
Patraic leo. Ordan loech *ocus* clérech leu. Anç *ocus*
suthaine dóib. Ocht flaithi leo coflaith *Conchobair*
maice Donnchada hiTemraigh. O aimsir *Patraic* am-
brethemnas leo in[n]acrích. [22 b. 1] Láichess immorro, 20
cenel inna macc dorigensat anole. Niconbía rí na epscop
huadaib cubráth: flaith echtrann nudusfoilnaibed: noco-
nainfe ingreimm *ocus* acreg díibh cubráth.

Doluid *Patraic* oTemraig corancatar *ocus* Dubthach
macc úu Lugair⁴ oc Donnach Mor Maigi Criathar la 25
Úu Ceinselaig, qui credidit Patricio. Áiliss *Patraic*
fair ócláig⁵ nálaind bed soescuir,⁶ “toisclim⁷ fer óen-
setche, denarucha⁸ acht oenmacc.” “Ni⁹ segtha⁹ damsá⁹
en,” oDubthach, “Fiac macc Erecç, ishé¹⁰ lim fer inna

¹ echtrann, E.

² anancride, E.

³ Sic E.

⁴ maenLugair, E.

⁵ óclach, E.

⁶ nabad oscair, E.

⁷ E. omits.

⁸ donarucat, E.

⁹ E. omits.

¹⁰ hecal, E.

But he did no evil to them. And he inflicted a curse upon Láiges, namely on Láiges of the son of Finn, in the place in which Moin Coluimb ('Columb's bog') is to-day. And Patrick said that of them there would neither be king nor bishop, and it is a foreign prince that will be over them for ever. Howbeit, Brig, daughter of Fergna son of Cobthach, of the Húi Ereáin, had gone and declared to Patrick the wrong that was intended for him. Patrick bestowed a blessing upon her and upon her father and her brothers and upon all the Húi Ereáin. And Patrick said that they would never lack distinguished laymen and clerics.

Then Patrick alighted on the hill which was then named Bile Mace Crúach ('the tree of Crúach's Sons'): to-day, however, it is called Forrach Pátraic ('Patrick's meeting-place.'). And Patrick then said that over them there never would be a king or a foreign reeve. Should a cow be divided by the king of Leinster in his palace, one of the two forks¹ goes to the king, the other to the king of Húi Ereáin. Patrick's meeting-place they have; Patrick's measure they have; dignity of laymen and clerics they have; wealth and lastingness are unto them. Eight princes they had till the reign of Conchobar son of Donchad in Tara. Láiges, however, was the tribe of the boys who did the evils. Of them there will never be king or bishop: a foreign prince should rule them: persecution and complaint shall never cease from them.

Patrick went from Tara, and he and Dubthach Maccu-Lugair met at Domnach Mór Maige Criathar in Húi Ceinselaich. Dubthach believed in Patrick. Patrick asked him for a comely youth who should be well-born: "I desire a man with one wife,² unto whom hath been born only one child." "Verily," saith Dubthach, "this

¹ *i.e.*, two of the four quarters? |
 quarta pars, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 152. |

² See 1 Tim. iii. 2.

Rawl. B. 512. fo. 22. b. j. immisin¹ sin, docóid huainisi hi tírib² *Connacht* com-bairdnu donaib rígaibh.” His uerbis aduenit ille. Trécheil Dubthaig arbertar aberrad dochlérchiucht.³ “Cid airmmbertar lib,” olFíac. “Dubthach dobach-uill,” olseat.⁴ “Bith ainim ón ém do sochaidi,” olFíac: 5 “baabrain⁵ nachangaibthersea taracenn.” “Nutzgeb-thar em,” ol *Patraic*. Berthir,⁶ baitsithir, scríobthir abgitir dó. Légaid asalmu anócnól,⁷ ut mihi traditum est. Ordinatur gradu episcopali, *ocus* doberar episcopoti Laigen dó o*Patraic*, *ocus* oirdhuidir *dano* aoen-10 tuace Fíachri.

Ishe iarum Fíac episcop cítaraoidned⁸ laLaigniu. Dobert *dano* *Patraic* cumdach⁹ doFíac .i. clocc, meinistír, bachall, pólairi, *ocus* fácaib morfeiser¹⁰ diamúntir leis .i. Moch[22 b. 2]atóc insi [Fáil], Augustin 15 insi Bice, Tecán *ocus* Diarmait *ocus* Naindid *ocus* Pol *ocus* Fedelmid.

Congab iarsuidiu inDomnach Féic, *ocus* báí and contorcraitar trí fichit fer leiss diamuintir. Annsin dolluid intangel cuice et dixit frís: “Is fríabainn 20 aníar ata du esergi hiCuil Majgi. Ainm hifuirsitis intore arm[b]ad ann foruimsitis¹¹ apraintech: port hifuirsitis inelit armbed and *dano* foruimtis indeclais.¹² Dixit Fíac frísindangel nádregad cotisad *Patraic* do-

¹ innisen, E.

² tír, E.

³ E. omits this sentence.

⁴ oll*Patraic*, E.

⁵ eid, E.

⁶ .i. Fíace, E.

⁷ in Fíacc sin episcop cítaraoidned. E.

⁸ inócnolou, E.

⁹ cumtach, E.

¹⁰ forácaib morfeisser, E.

¹¹ foruimtis, E.

¹² an eclais, E.

is not fortunate for me. Fíacc son of Ere, he, I think, is a man of that description : [but] he is gone from me into the lands of the Connaught-men with bardism for the kings." At these words Fíacc arrived. Through Dubthach's cleverness it is proposed to tonsure him for the clerical order. "What is proposed by you?" saith Fíacc. "To make a bishop of Dubthach,"²¹ say they. "Verily this will be a blemish to the commonwealth," saith Fíacc : "it is a grief that I am not taken in his place." "Truly thou wilt be taken," saith Patrick. He is tonsured ; he is baptized : an alphabet is written for him. He reads his psalms in one day, as hath been handed down to me. He is ordained in the episcopal rank, and the bishopric of Leinster is given to him by Patrick : and moreover his only son Fiachrae is ordained.

So Patrick gives a case to Fíacc [containing] to wit, a bell, a credence-table, a crozier, [and] tablets² ; and he left seven of his household with him, to wit, My-Catóc of Inis Fáil, Augustín of Inis-bece, Teeán, and Diarmait and Naindid and Paul and Fedelmid

He set up after this at Donnach Féicc (Fíacc's Church) and he dwelt there till threescore men of his community had fallen beside him. Then came the angel to him and said to him "To the west of the river³ in Cúil-maige is thy resurrection." The place in which they should find the boar, it should be there that they should set the refectory. The place in which they should find the doe, that it should be there that they should set the church. Fíacc said to the angel that he would not go till Patrick should come to mark out his stead with him and to con-

¹ Lit. 'Dubthach for the crozier' (baculus).

² cymbalum nempe ministeriale, Epistolas Paulinas, et baculum pastoralem, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 155. But *meinistir* is = *ministerium* (credence-table) and *pólaire* is either = *pugil-*

laris, one of the names of the tube through which the sacramental wine was imbibed, or (as I think) *pugillares* 'writing-tablets.'

³ the Barrow, according to Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B.
512. fo. 27.
b. 2.

thoraim¹ aluic leiss *ocus* diaoisecead, *ocus* combel
uad nogabad² aloce. Doluid dano *Patraic* coFiace
ocus dororainn aloc leis, *ocus* forruim aforrieh; *ocus*
adopart Cremthan inportsin do*Patraic*, arba*Patraic*
nodbaithis. *ocus* hiSléibti [atá].³ ISann iarsin oird- 5
nidi Fiace.

Batar intausin foingreim lúrig Laigen Cremthan
mace Censelaig, collotar forlongais. Isdlíib inManaig
laÚu Cremthain *ocus* inManaig laUltu *ocus* Cenel
ndEndai⁴ laMumain. Isdlíib inFiace reimerbartannar.⁵ 10
Quinque fratres: Fiace, Oengus, Ailill Mar, Conall,
Etarsecla. Pater eorum *mace* Eree. Tre imthuus Pa-
traic rongab inríí forferand, cóiced imbairé aathar.
Isfair conacab Sleibti.

INTOengus hisin roort inrig iartain Cremtan *mace* 15
Censelaig dodigail aloingsi.⁶ Hishitrichtaib *ocus* ceth-
rachaib ataat innacella dorat do*Patraic* inairther⁷
Laigen *ocus* laÚu Censelaig imDomnach Mór Maigi
Criathair *ocus* im Insi Fáil hita Mochonoc *ocus* Moch-
[23. a. 1.] -atóc. Erdit *ocus* *Agustin* hisindinsi as- 20
laigiu, *ocus* iarnagabail dogentib hiSlebtu ascrina atáat.

Domnach Mór Maigi Réta, báí *Patraic* and fo
domnach. Both oc claidi Ratha Baccain isindomnach
sin, rígdún innatuate. Dochúas o*Patraic* diaergaire.
Nocha dernad ní airi. Roráidi *Patraic* bid terbrutech 25
acuntach mani oifrider and cechlai. Roraide *Patraic*

¹ dothóraind, E.

² nóngabad, E.

³ Sic E.

⁴ nEndai, E.; *Kinell-Emma*,
Colgan.

⁵ remierbartmar, E.

⁶ Sic E.; a áloingsi, R.

⁷ airthiur, E.

secrate it, and that it should be from him that he (Fíace) should receive his stead. So Patrick went to Fíace and marked out his stead with him, and fixed his meeting-place; and Cremthann offered that spot to Patrick, for it was Patrick that had baptized him, and in Sleibte he is [buried]. It is there that Fíace was afterwards ordained.

They [the Húi Ereáin] were at that time suffering persecution from the king of Leinster, Cremthann son of Censelach, wherefore they went into exile. Of them are the Manachs ('monks') in Húi Cremthaimn and the Manachs in Ulster, and the Cenél Endai in Munster. Of them is the Fíace whom we have before mentioned. Fíace, Oengus, Ailill the Great, Conall and Etersecla were five brothers. Their father was MaccErae. Through Patrick's intervention, the king received him (Fíace) on land,¹ his father's fifth ridge. Thereon he built Sleibte.

That Oengus afterwards slew the king Cremthann son of Censelach, to avenge his exile. In thirties and forties are the churches which he (Cremthann) gave to Patrick in the east of Leinster and in Húi-Censelaig, including Donnach Mór Maige Criathair and including Inis Fail wherein are My-Conóe and My-Catóc. Erdit and Agustín are in the lesser island, and since it was taken by the pagans² their shrines are in Sleibte.

Donnach Mór Maige Reta ('the great church of Mag Réta'), Patrick abode there throughout a Sunday. And on that Sunday they were digging [the foundation of] Rath Baccain, the royal stronghold of the district. Patrick sent to forbid this. Nothing was done for him. Patrick said: "The building will be unstable, unless

¹ This probably means (as Mr. Hennessy translates) 'granted him land': concessit S. Fieco non solùm ædificandæ Ecclesiæ, sed et por-

tionem eum conti[n]gentem, siue quintam partem de paternis prædiis, Colgau. *Tr. Th.* p. 155.

² *i.e.*, A.D. 819.

Rawl. B. nataittrebtha¹ indún cotísad ingaeth aichtur Ifim. Isé
512, fo. 23, Gaithini son mace Cínæda : iseiside roadeumtaich² indún
a. 1. hitaith Feidilmid *ocus Conchubair* hiTemraig.

Larsindi tra foroithaigestar *Patraic* cella *ocus cong-*
bala ilLaigniu. Forácaib *bennachtain* la Ouib³ Cen- 5
selaig ocus la⁴ Laigniu huli. *Ocus* iarsandi⁵ roordd-
nestar Fia ce Finn hiSlehti, indepscopóti⁶ inchoicid.

Luid iarsuidiu forBelach Gabran hitir nOsráigi.
ocus foroithaig cella *ocus congbala* and, *ocus atrabairt*
nobeitís ordndidiu⁷ lech *ocus eléruich* díib, *ocus* ni biad¹⁰
furaíl nách coicid forru eéin_nobeitís doreir *Patraic*.
Ceilebrais *Patraic* dóib iarsuidiu, *ocus forácaib* martrai
sruthi oecu *ocus foirenn* dia munntir dú hitá Martar-
tech indiu imMaig Roigne.

Druimma *Conchind* hiMairec, memaid domuin carpaít 15
Patraic ocdul cumMumain.⁸ Dogníth do⁹ fiuth in-
dromma. Memaid focetóir. Dogníth *dano* dorithisi
Memaíd *dano*. Roráidi *Patraic* nat mbiad aiedi¹⁰ do-
gnethi di fiuth¹¹ nacaillisin cobráth. Quod impletur.
Cid delec ni derntar¹² de. Ataa ann Disert *Patraic*, 20
acht isfás.

[23 a. 2] Luid *Patraic* iarsuidiu hierích Muman
doChaisiul narígh. INtan asráracht Oengus mace Nat-
fráig isinmataim *bátar* innarraichta huili innaligib, *ocus*
fauránie¹³ *Patraic conamuntir* hi toeb indúne. Rofer 25
fáilte frúu, *ocus nusbeir* leiss isindún comaigin hitá

¹ nad aittrebatha, E.

² roathchumtaig, E.

³ for huib, E.

⁴ huiliu 7 iarsinni, E.

⁵ hiSleibín inepsco, E.

⁶ nOssairgi, E.

⁷ oirduide, E.

⁸ do Mumain, E.

⁹ di, E.

¹⁰ nadmbiad aiede, E.

¹¹ dífid, E.

¹² delg nidertar, E.

¹³ faránaicc, E.

offering is made there¹ every day." Patrick declared that the stronghold would not be inhabited until the wind (*gáeth*) should have come out of the lower part of Hell. This was Gáéthíne ('little wind') son of Cinaed. He it is that rebuilt the stronghold in the reign of Fedilme² and of Conchobar in Tara.

After this, then, Patrick founded churches and cloisters in Leinster. He left a blessing with Húi-Censelaig and with all Leinster, and after this he ordained Fáice the Fair in Slehte, into the bishopric of the province.

He then went by Belach-Gabrain into the land of the Osraige and founded churches and cloisters there. And he said that of them there would be most distinguished laymen and clerics, and that no province should prevail over them so long as they should be obedient to Patrick. After this Patrick bade them farewell, and he left with them relics of ancient men, and a party of his household in the place where Martarthech ('relic-house') stands to-day in Mag-Raigne.

At Druimn Conchinn in Mairg the *domuin*³ of Patrick's chariot broke as he was going to Munster. [Another] was made of the wood of the ridge. This broke at once. Again, [one] was made. It, too, broke. Patrick declared that never would any building be made of the wood of that grove. Which thing is fulfilled. Even a skewer is not made of it. Patrick's hermitage stands there; but it is waste.

After this Patrick went into the province of Munster to Cashel of the Kings. When Oengus, son of Natfraich, arose in the morning, all the idols were on their faces.⁴ And Patrick with his household found him beside the

¹ *i.e.*, mass is celebrated.

² Ob. A.D. 847.

³ "cross-beam," Mr. Hennessy.

⁴ *lit.* in their beds: 'in facie

prostrata simul in terram corruere. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 155. Compare the story of Dagon, 1 Samuel v. 3, 4.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23. a. 2. Use *Patraic* indíu. *Ocus* robathis íarsuidiu maceu Nat-fráich *ocus* firu Muman olchenai. *Ocus* forácaib *ben-nachtain* *ocus* sobarthain forru, *ocus* robennach¹ indún .i. Caisel, *ocus* asbert nad mbíad *acht* oengvine and eubrath. *Ocus* robái *secht* mbliadna la Mumain. ISsed⁵ dorimet indeolaig dorónai oifrend for cech sechtmad imbairi² doncoch inrulaid inMumain.

ANbái³ *Patraic* oebait⁴ *sed* Oengussa, luid ermted⁴ na bachlai tréna⁵ *traigid* Oengussa. Asbert *Patraic*, “Cid rombá naderbairt⁵ frímm?” “*Ised* andalem⁶ rombasí¹⁰ córus nacreitne,” olsé. “Rotbía alóog,” ol*Patraic*, “nirega do comarba (.i. sil Oengusso *ocus* Ailella maicc Natfraich) oided⁷ ngonai óndíu cobráth” .i. ní rí Caisil euronorddnea comarba *Patraic*, *ocus* cutarda grád fair. *Patricius* dixit: 15

“Maceni Nat-froich, fuaim sonaid,
huadib ríg, huadib rurig.
Oengus aiathaib Femen
ocus abrathair Ailill.”

Ocus xxiii. ríg rofallnaiset⁸ fobachaill hiCaisiul curé²⁰ Cinn géacán⁹ dosil Ailella *ocus* Oengussa.

ISed dochóid *Patraic* iarsin iMáscraigi mBregoin *ocus* foro¹⁰thaig cella *ocus* cong¹⁰bala and. Laa nann báí oc innlat alám indáth and co to¹⁰chhair fia¹⁰cail asacinn isindáth. [23. b. 1] Luid *Patraic* isind¹⁰taile¹⁰chai 25 fr¹⁰isindáth antú¹⁰aith, *ocus* doti¹⁰aghar uad do¹⁰chuine¹⁰hid ind¹⁰fi¹⁰acle, *ocus* doratne foc¹⁰etóir ind¹⁰fi¹⁰acail isindáth amal

¹ rosbendach, E.

² immbairiu, E.

³ Amboi, E.

⁴ ermted, E.

⁵ naderbartais, E.

⁶ indalem, E.

⁷ oceded, E., oiged, R.

⁸ rofallnaistar, E.

⁹ Coindgécan, E.

fort. He gave them welcome and brings them into the fort to the place where Patrick's flagstone is to-day. And after this Patrick baptized Natfraich's sons, and left blessing and prosperity upon them; and blessed the fort, namely Cashel, and said that till Doom only one slaughter should take place there. And he abode seven years in Munster. The learned count that he celebrated mass¹ on every seventh ridge which he traversed in Munster.

While Patrick was baptizing Oengus the spike of the crozier went through Oengus' foot. Said Patrick: "why didst thou not tell this to me?" "It seemed to me," saith he [Oengus], "that it was a rite of the faith." "Thou shalt have its reward," saith Patrick: "thy successor;" that is, the seed of Oengus and Ailill son of Natfraech, "shall not die of a wound from to-day for ever." No one is King of Cashel until Patrick's successor installs him and confers ecclesiastical rank upon him. Patrick said:

"The sons of Natfraich, happy sound!
From them are kings, from them are sovrans.
Oengus out of the lands of Femen,
And his brother Ailill."

And twenty-seven kings of the race of Ailill and Oengus ruled in Cashel under a crozier² until the time of Cenn-gecáin.³

Thereafter Patrick went into Muscraige-Breogain and founded churches and cloisters there. One day, as he was washing his hands in a ford there, a tooth fell out of his head into the ford. Patrick went on the hill to the north of the ford, and sends to seek the tooth, and straightway the tooth shone in the ford like a sun; and

³ lit. made offering.

¹ This seems to mean that the twenty-seven kings were also

ecclesiastics, 'in Monachos tonsi,' says Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 156.

² Slain A.D. 897.

Rawl. B. grein; *ocus* Áath Fíacla ainm indátha *ocus*-Cell Fíacla
512. fo. 23. ainm innacilli hifargaib *Patraic* indfiacail *ocus* .iiii.
6. 1. dia muntir .i. Cuirethi¹ *ocus* Loscán, Cailech *ocus*
Beoán. Roclebrai dóib *ocus* forácaib *beannaichtain* leo.

Luid iarsin do² Araclu Cliach combái indOehtar Cuil- 5
lem la Ū Cúanach. Rosis *fris*³ Ailill *maice* Cathbad,
maice Lugdach diEoganeicht airt[h]ir Cliach. Doluid
aséitig isintelaig irrabatar. "Dootar mucca armace.
aOíill!" arís, "trianainmide." Et dixit Ailill, "Creit-
fessa dia tódíuseai momace dam." Roraidi *Patraic* a- 10
enamai in *maice* dothinol, *ocus* fororeongart for eéli
úD⁴ dia muntir .i. Malach Brit,⁵ athódíuseud. "Ní
dliggen," olse,⁶ "ammas [for]sinCoimded."⁶ Amiris-
rodngab. Rorádi *Patraic*: "Tróg sin, aMalaich! nibu⁷
ardd docongabail hitalmáin, bid tech nóenfir dotech."⁸
15 Atá achongabail innuillim airthir tua-certaig na Déisi
deiseirt. Cell Malaich ainm. Ding .u. bai do be-
thugud and eubrath. Fororeongart *Patraic* [iarsin⁹]
forepscop Ibaír *ocus* forElbi todíuseud inmáice. *ocus*-
rogáidsium inCoimdid leo. Dorothodíuseud inmace 20
iarsuidiu treumaigthi⁹ *Patraic*.

Roprídach immorro iar suidiu donaib slógaib *ocus*
donaib sochaidib ifiadnaisi¹⁰ *Patraic*. Rocreiti iarsuidiu
Ailill [23 b. 2] *ocus* a séitig, *ocus* rocreitset Ū Cúanach
olchena, *ocus* robaitside isinmaigin sin, *ocus* atá asuidi 25
achethrur isind luesin inrotodíuseud inmace .i. *Patraic*

¹ Cuirethe, E.

² co, E.

³ Rossís, E.

⁴ britt, E.

⁵ digen ols, E.

⁶ forsincoidid, E.

⁷ niba, E.

⁸ Forórchongairt *Patraic* iarsin, E.

⁹ tre airnaigthe, E.

¹⁰ hifadnaisiu, E.

Áth-fiacla ('Ford of the Tooth') is the name of the ford, and Cell Fíacla ('Church of the Tooth') is the name of the church in which Patrick left the tooth and four of his household, namely, Cuirethe¹ and Loseán, Cailech and Beoán. He bade them (the Museraige Breogain) farewell and left a blessing with them.

After that he went to Arada-Cliach and abode in Óchtar-Cuillen in Húi Cuanach. Ailill son of Cathbad, son of Lugaid, of the Eoganaecht of Airthir Cliach, withstood him. Ailill's wife went to the hill on which they were biding and said, "Swine have devoured our son, O Ailill!" saith she, "through their brutishness." And Ailill said [to Patrick]: "I will believe if thou bringest my son to life again for me." Patrick ordered the bones of the son to be gathered together and directed a Culdee of his household, namely, Malach the Briton, to bring him to life. "I will not tempt the Lord," saith Malach. Unfaith had seized him. Said Patrick: "Sad is that, O Malach! Thy cloister will not be lofty on earth. Thy house will be the house of one man." His cloister is in the north-eastern angle of the southern Deisi. Its name is Cell Malaich. Five cows can hardly be fed there for ever. Thereafter Patrick ordered bishop Ibair and Ailbe to bring the boy to life, and he besought the Lord along with them. The boy was then brought to life after this, through Patrick's prayer.

Howbeit he (the boy) preached after this to the hosts and to the multitudes in Patrick's presence. Ailill and his wife then believed, and the Húi Cuanach also believed and were baptized in that stead. And in that place in which the boy was brought to life is the seat of the (aforesaid) four persons, namely, Patrick, and Ailbe

¹ Cureneus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 156.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, b. 1. *ocus* Ailbe *ocus* epscop Ibair *ocus* impace bec. Dixit Patricius¹: "Per manus medici sanat Deus."

Gatis cethrur echu *Patraic* antuait. Daloig *Patraic*. Légaís fer díb, Cainchomracc aainm. Sár alaile Osacóir alaile. Quartus vero ehere dó, Áed⁵ aainm. Dorogart *Patraic* anísín, *ocus* robennach alama, et dixit ei com[h]ad hé a ainm Lam-æd onláusín, *ocus* isúad atát Lamraige.

IS annsin tarraid galar setig² nalachta Aililla combu comoeraib bás dí. Roiarfacht *Patraic* ced rombái. 10 Respondit mulier: "Ius atconnare isindeúr; *ocus* ní accai hitalmáin aleitheit, *ocus* atbelsa, no atbela ingein fil imbroind, no atbelom díblínaib, mane tomliur inlussín." Roraidi *Patraic* frie: "Cinnas ind lossa?" "Amal luachair," ar inben. Bennachais *Patraic* ind- 15 luachair combo folt-chep. Dusromalt inben iarsuidiu *ocus* ba slán fóchétoir; et postmodum peperit filium, et benedixit Patricium. Et dicitur quod Patricius dixit: "Omnes femine quae[cum]que³ de illo holere manducaverint sanæ erunt." 20

Folamastar fedlegud hitoeb Clare oc Raith Coirpri *ocus* Brocán, *ocus* nirelged dó. *ocus* asbert *Patraic* co-brath nabíad ri na epscop doceniul Colmain frístudchaid⁴ dó. Asbert *Patraic* ropad leiss iartain, *ocus* foráccaib fer día muntír [24. a. 1] and iarnaímsir móir²⁵ .i. Cóemán Cell Ráth.

¹ MSS. patri eius.

² seitgi, E.

³ Sic E.

⁴ frístudchad, E.

and bishop Ibar and the little boy.¹ Patrick said (on that occasion): "God heals by the physician's hand."

Four persons stole Patrick's horses in the south. Patrick forgave them. One of them, named Cainchomrae, was a leech,² another was a wright, another was an attendant,³ but the fourth, named Áed, was a groom of his. Patrick called him and blessed his hands, and told him that, from that day, his name should be Lám-áed ('Hand-Aed'); and it is from him that the Lámraige descend.

Then disease attacked Ailill's pregnant wife in such wise that death was near unto her. Patrick asked what had befallen her? The woman answered, "I beheld an herb in the air; and on earth I never saw its equal; and I shall die, or the child that is in my womb will die, or we shall both die, unless I eat that herb." Patrick said to her: "What is the semblance of the herb?" "Like rushes," said the woman. Patrick blessed the rushes, so that they became a leek. The woman ate it afterwards and was whole at once; and afterwards she brought forth a son and blessed Patrick. And it is said that Patrick declared that all women who shall eat of that herb will be whole.

He desired to remain beside Clar at the rath of Corbre and Broccán, and this was not permitted to him. And Patrick said that there never would be a king or a bishop of the race of Colmán who had resisted him. Patrick said that (the place) would belong to him afterwards, and after a long time he left a man of his household there, namely, Coemán of Cella Rath.

¹ quatuor praegrandes lapides in
praedictorum quatuor sanctorum
. . . memoriam erecti, Coígan, *Tr.*
Th. p. 156.

² vir litteratus et doctus, *ibid.*

³ Oeconomus, *ibid.*

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 24
a. 1.

Adrochaibair¹ *dano* congbaíl inGréin laAradhau. Fristudchaid Dola² dó. Asbert Patraic nad mbiad congbaíl áad and no diambeith nibadlia andás dias no *teiar* .i. cid eisidi bíe dóir *ocus* docenél arcenai regait ass. Rocomallad anísin. Docodar³ condafil inair- 5 *thiur* Cliach. Dál Mo Dala ainmnighter usque hodie.

Doluid cucí Nena. Dlomsidi dó. Ille dixit: "nípa ní⁴ Nena." Ní conragaib comarba dó and ósein, *acht* ataat indóiri láMóseraigi Mitini. Menraigi nominantur. 10

Oc tuidecht ass *iarum* doPatraic dolluid banchairi innaGréine doguba⁵ tuidechta Patraic uadib. Patricius benedixit eas, et dixit nacheland nobertís doechtarcenelaib beitis ordlnidi.

Bai Patraic la Aradu Cliach ocTediul *nomen* telchai. 15 Ambái iccelebrat iarnifórid damae dia muntir. Etha forasliucht. Inuenti sunt dormientes⁶ foinuinu and. Atfes doPatraic: "hie erit resurrectio⁷ eorum." Quod uerum est. Muin *ocus* Lomchu iCill Tidil laPatraic.

Luid iarsnidiu eu Ua Fidgenti, *condernai* Loman⁸ 20 *mace* maic Eirgg fleid doPatraic inMullach Cē friCarn Feradaig andess; *ocus* báí fer muntiri doPatraic oc denam⁹ innafleidi lasindríg .i. dechon Mantan. Tarraid eleir esa ceird¹⁰ inni Patraic dochuinchid bíid. Ní-

¹ Adrochaibair, E.

² fristuidchaid Dolá, E.

³ Dochótar, E.

⁴ ní, E.

⁵ guba. E.

⁶ dormientes, R.

⁷ resurrectio, R.

⁸ Louán, E.

⁹ denum, E.

¹⁰ ceird, E.

Then he desired to reside in Grian in Arada (Cliach). Dola opposed him. Patrick said that there would not be a residence of Dola's there, or, if there should be, that its inhabitants would not be more than two or three, and even that these will be slaves and of lowly race, and the rest will emigrate. That was fulfilled. They went forth until they were in Airthir Cliach. Pál-mo-Dola¹ they are named until this day.

Nena went to him. Patrick refused to receive him and said: "Of Nena will be nothing." There is no successor of his there thenceforth, but his descendants are in bondage in Museraighe Mitini. They are called Menraighe.

Now, as Patrick was going thence, the women of Grian came to bewail Patrick's departure from them. Patrick blessed them, and said that every child which they should bear to (men of) foreign tribes would be dignified.

Patrick was at Arada Cliach at Tedel, (the name of a hill.) When he was bidding farewell two boys of his household remained (?) behind. Men went after them, and they were found there sleeping under a brake. This was told to Patrick, [and he said:] "Here will be their resurrection," which thing is true. Muin and Lomnecht [are buried] in Cell-Tidil, which belongs to Patrick.

After this he went to Húi Fidgente, and Lommán,² son of Macc Eire, made a feast for Patrick in Mullach-Cae,³ to the south of Carn-Feradaig; and a man of Patrick's household, namely deacon Mantán, was preparing the feast at the king's. A train of jugglers⁴ came to Patrick

¹ i. stirps Dolae, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 157.

² Lomannus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 157.

³ vertice montis *Kca*, *ibid.*

⁴ Quidam ex Druidibus, Magis, et aliis jocularibus terrae illius, *ibid.* They are called *druthaib* lower down.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fó. 24, a. 1.

damthatar¹ erchoimded. “Ergid,” ol*Patraic*, “coLo-
nán *ocus* codechon Mantán immomchobair.” Qui
dixerunt: “Non praecones benedicent [24 a. 2] nobis
principium cenae² nostrae.” Tunc dixit *Patricius*:

“INmaccáin dotáet antuaithe
is dó roernad anbuaid
dochum Cothraigi dotfáil³
conamoltán foramuin.”

5

Illa vero hora alius iuuenis cum sua matre gestante
arietem coctum in dorso portandum ad cenam regis¹⁰
uenit. Rogaid *Patraic* forsinnmacc immolt do thesorgain⁴
a einich. Dobert in macc fócetóir lafáiltiu. Níbu thol
diamathair immorro arhuaman⁵ indríg. Dorat⁶ *Patraic*
ambiaid⁷ donaib druthaib, *ocus* rodosluice in talam
focetóir. Derec macc Seirire dinDéissi tuaiscirt¹⁵
atóisech. *ocus* asbert *Patraic* nat biad rí na rígdamna
ná epscop díachined⁸ (i. Lomáin) cubráth. Asbert im-
morro do dechon Manntan,⁹ nábad ardd achongbáil
atalmain,¹⁰ *ocus* robad adba daiscairsluaig, *ocus* darmi-
regtais cairich *ocus* muca tarathaissi. Asbert im-
20 *morro fri* Nessan doresart a enech: “Potens es gen-
tis,” et baubtizauit eum et ordinauit diaconum, et
fundauit eclesiam sibi [i.] Mungairit. Dixitque ma-
tri¹¹ excussanti quod non in loco filii sui sepeli[r]etur.
Quod uerum est. Atá afert isintír *fri* Mungarit aníar,²⁵
ocus niuinter inlocc asincathraig móir isinluc sin.
Pene [simul]¹² sunt, segregante tantum muro.

¹ ní damnitatar, R.; nidaundatar,
E.

² cereae, R. and E.

³ dotfáil, E.

⁴ thesorcuin, E.

⁵ arhuamuin, E.

⁶ Dobert, E.

⁷ ambiaid, E.

⁸ díachiniud, E.

⁹ dechoin Mantán, E.

¹⁰ italmáin, E.

¹¹ nri, R.

¹² Sic E.

to ask for food. They suffered no excuse. "Go," saith Patrick, "to Lommán and to deacon Mantán that they may help me."¹ But they (refused and) said, "It is not public eriers that shall bless for us the beginning of our banquet." Then said Patrick :

" The boy who arriveth from the north
To him the victory hath been given.
Unto Cothraige ² he is near
With his wether on his back."

At that very hour came a certain youth [named Nessán] along with his mother, carrying a cooked ram on her back, to be brought to the king's feast. Patrick begged the boy to give him the wether [that he might bestow it on the jugglers] to save his honour. The boy at once gave it gladly. The mother, however, was not willing for fear of the king. Patrick gave the food to the jugglers, and straightway the earth swallowed them up. Derg, son of Seirire,³ of the Déisi, was their leader. And Patrick said that of Lommán's race there would never be king, nor crown-prince, nor bishop. He said, moreover, of deacon Mantán, that his cloister on earth would not be lofty, and that it would be the dwelling of rabble, and that sheep and swine would come over his remains. He said, however, to Nessán, who had saved his honour: "Thou art mighty of race." And he baptized him, and ordained him deacon, and founded a church for him, namely, Mungret. And he said to Nessán's mother as she was excusing herself, that she would not be buried in her son's place, which thing is true. Her grave is in the ground to the west of Mungret, and the bell out of the great Caher is not heard in that place.⁴ They are close together, a wall only separating them.

¹ by feeding the jugglers.

² a name for Patrick, v. supra, p. 17.

³ Dergio Schirij filio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 157.

⁴ ad tantam distantiam quod pulsus campanarum majoris Ecclesie Mungairetensis in ea non audiatur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fol. 24, a. 2.

Tuathmunnæ¹ *fri*Luimnech antuait, *lotair* inur-
choblaigib arcenn *Patraic* fadec cuDomnach Mór Maigi
Áine .i. Dun nÓacténe intansin *ocus* indiu. Et bap-
tizavit [24 b. 1] eos iTir-Glass *fris* anairdes.

Luid iarum hiFinnne² *fri*Domnach Mór aniantuait 5
telach asanacastar³ intuath *fri*Luimnech antuait, co-
tarat *bennachtain* arTuathmumain⁴ aradudrachaigi
dodechatar *cominbiud* angabal arcenn *Patraic*.

Káirtind⁵ *macc* Blait sen clanne Tairdelbaig rocreit
donChoimíid, *ocus* rombaiti *Patraic* oc Saigul .i. 10
sain aingel. Dodechaid dia aeallainsium alla sin,
ocus nisé Victor. Nochabertis clanna doCharthium[n]
acht nichorthi [cosein⁶]. ISandsin rucad Eochu Baill-
deirg *macc* Cairthinn. *Patraic* rocruthaig dinpairt
chrou *ocus* curabai inballsinnachurp do comartha 15
indferta.⁷

Nochadechaid feisin .i. *Patraic*, isatir; *acht* atchid
atir ass inLuimnech siar *ocus* fothuaith, *ocus* *ben-*
nachais innairiu, *ocus* aninsiu,⁸ et profetauit de sanctis
qui in eis fierent nominibus et tempore quo perueni- 20
rent.⁹ "INTailen glas tian," ol*Patraic*, "imbelaib in-
mara, ticfe¹⁰ inchaindel domuintir De ind bes cem-
nathchomaire dintuait si .i. Senan Insi Cathaig dia
sé *fielät* bliadan ósin .i. Senán *macc* Gerginn¹¹ *maicc*
Dubthaig. 25

¹ Tuath munnæ, E.

² hi Finnne, E.

³ ásanacastar, E.; asacastar, R.

⁴ for tuait mumain, E.

⁵ Kairthend, E.

⁶ Sic E.

⁷ dochomurtia indferta, E.

⁸ innairiud *ocus* a insi. E.

⁹ peruenissent, E.

¹⁰ ticfaid, E.

¹¹ Gerginn, E.

The men of North Munster to the north of Limerick went in sea-fleets to meet Patrick southward to *Domnach Mór Maige Aine*: that is to say, *Dún n-Óac-fene* at that time and to-day, and he baptized them in *Tír-glass* to the south-east of it.

He afterwards went into *Fininne*, to the north-west of *Domnach Mór*, a hill from which is seen the country to the north of Limerick. And he bestowed a blessing on (the people of) North Munster for the willingness with which they had come with abundance of their gifts to meet Patrick.

Cairthenn, son of *Blatt*, senior of the children of *Toirdelbach*, believed in the Lord, and Patrick baptized him at *Sangal*; that is, a different (*saín*) angel (*ángel*) went to converse with him on that day, and it is not *Victor*.¹ No children save mis-births used to be born to *Carthenn*. Then *Echu Redspot*, son of *Carthenn*, was brought forth. [He was a shapely boy.] Patrick had formed him of the clot of gore, and that spot was in his body as a sign of the miracle.

Patrick himself did not go into the land (*Thomond*); but he saw² the land round Limerick in the west and to the north, and he blessed the territories and their islands, and he prophesied of the saints who would be therein, their names and the time at which they would arrive. "The green island in the west," saith Patrick, "in the mouth of the sea. Therein shall come the candle of God's household who shall be the chief of counsel for this district," namely, *Senán* of *Inis Cathaig*, six score years thence, *Senán*, son of *Gerrehenn*, son of *Dubthach*.

¹ qui aliàs solebat ad virum beatum venire, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158. See above pp. 21, 26.

² à vertice montis *Fininne* dicto, iuxta *Domnach-mor*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 24. b. 2.

Nochadechaid dano Patraic tarLuachair siar an-Iarmumain.¹ Profetauit doBrenainn mace uuAltae qui nasceretur .cxx. anno. Quod impletum est.

Luid iarum isinDeis deiscirt. Folamadar² *congball* inArd-Patraic, *ocus* ata lec Patraic and, *ocus* torainu 5 achilli. Frístudechaid do as Derball mace Æda. Asbert Derball friPatraic, “Diacumseaignthi in [24 b. 2] sliab isinmaiginsin *connacinn* Loch Lungæ tairis faless hi-Feraib Maigi Feine, noceitfind.” Cend-Fébrat ainm intsleibi *ocus* Belach Legtha ainm inbelaig rolegai and. 10 Dixit Derball fri Patraic otharinnscan insliab legad, “Cia dogne ní ba ní airi.” Asbert [Patraic³] fri-Derball: “Níbia rí na epscop dotcheniul cobrath, *ocus* bid dilmain doferaib Muman (fa)rlomrad each sechtmad bliadain do(gréis) amal fol[t]cheip.⁴ 15

Diambai Patraic hicrieh nanDeisi oce idnaidi⁵ rig intire .i. Fírgair mace Rossa, asbert Patraic fris iarnatiachtain: “ismall eutudehad.” “Isimrighin intuath.” “Fír,”⁶ ol Patraic, “rí níbia uáit tré bithu; *ocus* cid fotroiraig⁷ indiu?” olPatraic. “Fonroiraig⁸ flechod,”²⁰ ol inrí. “Bid frosaig⁹ far ndalai cobrath,” olPatraic. Ata (tipra) Patraic indú sin *ocus* atá cell maicc Clarid di muntir Patraic, *ocus* ní gleter dala lasnaDéisi acht indaidechi, ol forácaib [Patraic¹⁰] (br)eithir foráib, ol is frihaidechi dodech(atar) elhuice. 25

¹ iniarmumuin, E.

² dogné ní, E.

³ Sic E.

⁴ foltecip, E.

⁵ idnaidiu, E.

⁶ is fir em, E.

⁷ fotroiraig, E.; fotroraigh, R.

⁸ fónroiraid, E.; fonroraigh, R.

⁹ frossaig, E.

¹⁰ Sic E.

Now Patrick did not go over Luachair on to West Munster. [But] he prophesied of Brenainn Maccu-Ailte who should be born [in that country] one hundred and twenty years afterwards; which thing hath been fulfilled.

Then he went into the southern Déisi. He desired a cloister in Ard-Pátraic;¹ and Patrick's flág-stone is there, and the plan of his church.² Derball son of Aed³ opposed him. Derball said to Patrick: "If thou wouldst remove the mountain in that place so that I might see Loch Lungae over it to the south in Fir Maige Feine, I would believe." Cenn-Fébrat is the name of the mountain, and Belach Leatha ('pass of melting') is the name of the pass that melted there. Derball said to Patrick when the mountain began to melt: "Though thou do it, there will be nothing for it." Said Patrick to Derball: "There will not be till Doom either king or bishop of thy race; and it shall be lawful for men of Munster to peel you always, every seventh year, like an onion."

While Patrick was in the province of the Déisi, awaiting the king of the country, namely, Fergair son of Ross, Patrick said to him after his arrival: "Thou hast come slowly." "The country is very stiff," [saith the king]. "True, indeed," saith Patrick: "there shall never be a king from thee; and what is it delayed thee to-day?" saith Patrick. "Rain delayed us," saith the king." "Your folknotes shall always be showery," saith Patrick. Patrick's well is in that place, and there is the church of Macc Clarid, one of Patrick's household; and folknotes are not held by the Déisi except at night. For Patrick left that word upon them, since it is at night that they came to him.

¹ i. collis Patricij, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 158.

² metæ Ecclesiæ tunc positæ expressis vestigiis visuntur, *ibid.*

³ regionis illius Dynasta, *ibid.*

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 24 b. 2.

Romallach¹ dano *Patraic* glaisi inmennattasin íar-
saní robathi² (ali)bair indib, *ocus* doratsat indíascari
era *foramuintir*. Asbert *Patraic* naptis torthig *ocus*
nabeitís³ muilli *foraib* cobrath [acht hisimaceai muilenn
echtrand nobeitis cobráth⁴] íarnaroeimbed cosin. Ro- 5
bendachastar (*immorro*) inSúir *ocus* intír olchenai, *ocus*
istoirtheach éise *acht* maigen atíagat nagla(issi) inde.⁵

Luid *Patraic* iMuscraigi Tíri, bantzare atque prae-
dicare fidem et fundare⁶ fidem ibi. Inueni[un]tur tres
fratres illius regionis potentes, Fuirce *ocus* Munnech 10
ocus Mechar meic Forat maice Conlai. Credidit Mun-
nech protinus, *ocus* [25 a. 1] rombaitsi *Patraic* *ocus* rom-
bennacha,⁷ *ocus* forácaibh ordnidi léech *ocus* cleirech
uad eubráth, *ocus* ardrígi athiri úad eubrath, sicut
dixit connotare :⁸

15

Creitis Munnech mar do*Patraic* riacách,
combia *foratuaith* tóisiuch uaid⁹ eubráth.

Creitis Mechar cerp : ba fer *condile* fir.

dobert *Patraic* *bennacht* mbuain cetlud do fri rí.¹⁰

Frithmbert infer fereach Fuirce¹¹ ciarbu riglach 20
liath :

adál fudíud iarcách bith amin cobrath, nilíach.

Sicut praediximus, Munnech a fratribus in regnum se-
gregavit. Duodecim vero Munnich filios sustenuit
ad se uenire, hoc est Muscán, Cellachán, Imchad,¹² 25
Dubthach, Gairtne, Lannid, Trián, Carthach, Niall,
Nainnid,¹³ Macc nissi ; Coninn, qui tarde¹⁴ venerunt ex-

¹ Romallacht, E.

² iarsindi robate, E.

³ nadbeitis, E.

⁴ Sic E.

⁵ hitiagait naglaissi indi, E.

⁶ fundara, R.

⁷ rombendach, E.

⁸ conotare, E. ; conôte, R.

⁹ tóisech uad, E.

¹⁰ for rí, E.

¹¹ Fuirgg, E. ; Fuirce, R.

¹² Imchath, E.

¹³ Naindid, E. ; Nandith, Colg.

¹⁴ Sic E., tarte, R.

Then Patrick cursed the streams of that abode because his books had been drowned in them, and the fishermen had given his people a refusal. Patrick said that, notwithstanding¹ their great abundance up to that time, the streams would not be fruitful, and that there should never be mills upon them, but that they should always be in the neighbourhood of foreigners' mills. Howbeit he blessed the Suir and the land besides; and the Suir is fruitful in fish except where the [said] streams enter it.

Patrick went into Museraige Thíre, to baptize and to preach the faith and to establish the faith therein. Three brothers, dynasts of that region, are found—Fuire, and Munnech and Mechar, sons of Fora, son of Conmla. Munnech believed at once, and Patrick baptized him and blessed him, and left illustrious laymen and clerics from him for ever, and the overkingship of his country [to descend] from him till Doom. As [the poet] said, to connote [this]:

Munnech the great believed in Patrick before every one,

Wherefore over his tribe the leader is always from him.

Mechar the keen believed: he was a man of true counsel.

Patrick gave [him] a lasting blessing, companionship to him with the King.

The furious man Fuire opposed, though he was a hoary royal hero.

His lot [is to be] at the end after every one; he will be thus for ever; not lamentable.

As we said before, Patrick set apart Munnech from his brothers in the kingdom, but he permitted Munnech's twelve sons to come to him, that is, Muscán, Cellachán, Immchath, Dubthach, Gairtne, Lammid, Trián, Carthach, Níall, Naindid, Mace-nisse, Coninn, who all came late,

¹ Lit. after.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fol. 24, b. 2.

cepto Muscano, cui propter¹ hoc prae omnibus fratribus regnum distinauit [vir Dei²]. Quod adhuc ma-
[net] sine commotatione.³ Coninn [vero se] excusauit
causa⁴ sepis exponendae. Cui Patricius dixit, quod
progenies eius nunquam in eter(num) muris a[ut] sepi- 5
bus potuisset habitacula, aut⁵ agros ad integrum
munire; nam sí terram fodiunt, dehiscit, si sepem
ponunt,⁶ cadit cito, si insolas in gronna,⁷ nunquam fir-
miter posunt stare. Cell[ach]án⁸ dixit, quod causa mu-
nerum debendorum,⁹ utrum illi ab alico seu alicui 10
ab eo [nescio,²] tarde peruenit. Cui Patricius dixit:
“Omni¹⁰ spatio, quo apud Muminenses¹¹ amnestia mea
uitiata fuerit, et tu transgressus fueris, etiamsi alii
liberi fuerint aliqua causa, nunquam tu et gens tua
euadet, aut reum morti¹² aut .iii. ancillas reddere 15
[debet²].” Carthach dixit, quod credidisset si tantum
expectaret¹³ alumnum (.i. a aiti) suum, [volens videre²]
utrum prohiberet eum, an non. Patricius dixit quod
prudentes et ingeniosi mundialibus causis ex se et
progenie eius, fuissent regno hoc alienati. [25 a. 2] 20
Sic quod uerbum unicu[i]que ex eis dixit: quod im-
pletum est.

Orule Coathraigi¹⁴ cáin for Érinne uaig
forslog inna insise dobert bendacht mbuaín.
Bá samlaid inbennacht sin, dosmbert cu fasecht 25
for each aen conoaba¹⁵ acáin réil, arecht.
Ciphe condascarasi incain condelec sóer
asbert nimanaccigtis hitír innanab,¹⁶
Ocus nad mbad iarfasti achiniud la cách
ocus natmbiad a athgabail diachiniud cubráth. 30

¹ cum prop, R.

² Sic, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159.

³ commutatione, Colgan.

⁴ Sic Colgan; causvm, R.; causam, E.

⁵ an, R.

⁶ si terram fodiunt, et dein sepem ponunt, Colgan.

⁷ gronda, Colgan.

⁸ Cellachan, E.; Keallachan, Colg.

⁹ munnervm debendarum, R.

¹⁰ Sic Colgan; omnis, R. and E.

¹¹ Muminenses, Colg.

¹² Colgan has ‘in ream morti.’

¹³ expectaretur, R.; expectarent, Colg.

¹⁴ Cathirge, E.

¹⁵ for each naon conoabad, E.

¹⁶ inna nóeb, E.

except Muscán. Wherefore the man of God destined the kingdom for him in preference to all the other brothers, which thing still remains without alteration. But Coninn excused himself on account of setting out a fence; so Patrick said to him that his offspring would never be able to fortify completely their dwellings or their fields with walls or fences. For if they dig the earth it gapes. If they put up a fence it falls quickly. If they [build] islands in a bog (*crannogs*¹) they never can stand firmly. Cellachán said he had come late because of debts, whether due to him by some one, or to some one by him, I know not. Unto him Patrick said: "At any time in which my amnesty on Munster is out of force, and thou shalt have transgressed, even though others may be free from some cause, never shalt thou and thy race escape, but must either give up the accused to death, or pay seven cumals." Carthach said that he would believe if only they would await his fosterfather, wishing to see whether he would forbid him or not. Patrick said that from him and his descendants there would come persons expert and subtle in worldly questions [but] that they would be separated from this kingdom. Unto each of them he thus said a word; which hath been fulfilled.

When Cothraige² imposed a rule³ upon virginal Ireland
On the host of this isle he conferred a lasting blessing.

Thus was that blessing, he gave it up to seven times,
On every one who shall keep his clear rule, his law.

Whosoever breaks the rule,³—noble comparison,—
He said that they would not see him in the land of
the saints,

And that his race would not be with everyone after . . .
And that his race would never have its reprisal.

¹ or, in German, Pfahlbauten.

² i.e. Patrick, v. supra, p. 17.

³ pensio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159;

and see Reeves, *Primate Cotton's Visitation*, iii.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 25,
a. 2.

Cáin *Patraic* la[mór]Mumain¹ fueres for each *claind*
condarochaill Dungalach, do síl² Failbi *Flaind*.

Dungalach *macc* Fælgusa ua[Na]d-froich fir
ishé cita tairmdechoid cain *Patraic* oprim.

Atfiadar hisenchasaib, rofitir each lin, 5
nad fogabar achomarbás iCaisel³ naRíg.

Noconfil dia genelach,⁴ cia rocatha⁵ clói,
epscoep ardd, na airchinnech, na flaitheam, na sói.

Soergus damaile⁶ coblith síl angbæ án míad
collais cáin coretegair do Dungalach dían. 10

Deccastar nach oirdnidi día chined⁷ ingnád,
manid fil ni fuigebthar ondiu coti bráth.

IARsindi,⁸ *tra*, foroithaigestar *Patraic* *cella ocus cong-*
bala laMumain; *ocus* roorddnestar *Patraic* *æs gacha*
gráid,⁹ *ocus* roic *æs gacha tedma*,¹⁰ *ocus* dorothodiusaig 15
marbu. Ceilebrais dóib iarsuidiu *ocus* fácbais *ben-*
nachtain leo.¹¹

Luith iar suidiu coBrosnacha. *Lotair* fir Muman ina-
diaidh feib *dusnucsat* éach díb¹² dialailiu, *ocus* imroi-
set atelechai [innandegaid¹³] *dođula indegaid* *Patraic*. 20
Robennach *Patraic iarum* innatelcha tarrasatair¹⁴ in-

¹ mormumuin, E.

² disíl, E.

³ hi Caisiul, E.

⁴ genelaich, E.

⁵ rochathu, E.

⁶ ócamaile, E.

⁷ chiniud, E.

⁸ Iarsuidiu, E.

⁹ cachgraid, E.

¹⁰ cech tedmæ, E.

¹¹ léu, E.

¹² díib, E.

¹³ inadegaid, E.

¹⁴ tarrastar, E.

Patrick's rule¹ in great Munster was imposed upon every clan

Until Dungalach of the race of Failbe Flann broke it.

Dungalach son of Faelgus, the grandson of true Nat-fráich,

Is he who first transgressed Patrick's rule¹ from the beginning.

It is told in old tales, every multitude knows it,
That his successorship is not in Cashel of the Kings.

Though he won battles, of his offspring there is not
A high bishop nor an *airchinnech*,² nor a prince nor a sage.

Sóergus³ splendid honour,
Broke the law he had for vehement
Dungalach.

It is seen that no illustrious man is of his strange race.
If there is none [now] none will be found from to-day
till Doom shall come.

Now, after that Patrick founded churches and cloisters in Munster; and Patrick ordained folk of every grade, and healed all manner of sick folk,⁴ and raised the dead to life. After this he bade them (the Munstermen) farewell and left a blessing with them.

After this he went to Brosnacha. The men of Munster went after him as if each of them would outstrip the other. And their households⁵ fared after them to go after Patrick. Then Patrick blessed the households that

¹ pensio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159.

² manager of church-lands, or here, perhaps, abbot.

³ *cujus tempore per culpam Saer-gassii Hua-moelcobhthaich, huius devotae pensionis tot annis continuata solutio primo reensata vel*

neglecta est, et hinc idem Dungalacius in suo semine creditur severe punitus a Domino, Colgan, Tr. Th., p. 159.

⁴ Lit. folk of every sickness.

⁵ Lit. hearths. Colgan renders by 'colles' (tropicè nempè).

Rawl. B. naninedaib. ISann, *tra*, duairthetar fir Muman inti
 512, fo. 25, *Patraic* .i. feraib, *macaib*, *mnaib*, oc Brosnachaib. Co-
 a. 2. rolsat¹ mórgáir *ocus* morbroscur arfailti derchaisen²
 for*Patraic ocus* ishohein roainmnigthi Brosnacha.
Ocus isandsin [25. b. l.] dorothiusaig *Patraic* Fot 5
 mace Deraig do feraib Muman .xxvii. *Ocus* isand sin
 robennach fleith inméich iCraibechaib³ icepscop *Trián*
*perigrinus*⁴ de Romanis diarosásta fir Muman *ocus*
 sruithi hErenu olchenai. ISandsin rochelebaib *Pa-*
traic iterum doferaib Muman, *ocus* dobert *bennachtain* 10
 foraib, dicens :

“ *Bennacht* for firu Muman,
 feraib, *maceaib*, *mnaib*,
bennacht forsintalmain
 dobeir tarad dáib. 15

Bennacht forcech nindbas
 gignes forambrugaib,
 cennach forécobair,⁵
bennacht De forMumain.

Bennacht forambenna, 20
 foraleca loma,
bennacht foranglenna,
bennacht forandroma.

Gainem lir folongaib
 robat lir ateallaig, 25
 ifánaib, ireidib,
 isléibib, imbennaibh.” *Bennacht*.

Luid *Patraic* iar suidiu icrioh Ua⁶ Falgi; *ocus* ro-
 máidi Foilgi Berraidi nomairbfd *Patraic*, dú icom-
 raicfed *fris*, indígail [ind idail 7] Cinn Chruaig, ol iscside 30

¹ coraltsat, E.

² dercaisin, R.; dercaisen, E.

³ eraibechaib, E.

⁴ Sic E.; *perigrinus*, R.

⁵ foré cobair, R.; fore cobair, E.

⁶ Sic, E.: va, R.

⁷ Sic, E.

had remained in their places ; so then the men of Munster, that is to say, men, women and children, overtook Patrick at Brosnacha, and they uttered a great cry and great joyful clamour (*broseur*) for gladness of looking upon Patrick ; and from that the Brosnacha were so named. And it was there that Patrick brought to life Fot son of Derach, of the men of Munster, [who had been dead] twenty-seven [years]. And it is there that he blessed at Craibecha the feast of the bushel [given] by Bishop Trian, a pilgrim of the Romans, when the men of Munster and the elders of Ireland also were satisfied. Then Patrick again bade farewell to the men of Munster, and bestowed blessing upon them, saying :—

“ Blessing on the men of Munster,
Men, boys, women !
Blessing on the land
That gives them fruit.

Blessing on every treasure
That shall be produced on their plains,
Without any one (being) in want of help,
God’s blessing on Munster !

Blessing on their peaks,
On their bare flagstones,
Blessing on their glens,
Blessing on their ridges.

Like sand of sea under ships,
Be the number of their hearths :
On slopes, on plains,
On mountains, on peaks.”

After this Patrick went into the province of Húi Falgi ; and Foilge Berraide boasted that he would kill Patrick wherever he should meet with him, in vengeance for the

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25, b. 1. robu día do Fíoilgi.¹ Doceltatar, *tra*, amúinter ar *Patraic*, aní romáidi Fíoilgi. Láa ann asbert aara (i. Odran) *friPatraic*, “Ol atúsa eiana ice² araidecht duitsiu, abobba *Patraic*, nomléicesi isinprámsuidiu indiu. *Bátusu bus ara.*” Dorigni *Patraic*. Iarsin dochóid 5 Fíoilgi cotarat úúasma *tria*Odrán hi richt *Patraic*. “Mómiallacht,—” ol*Patraic* —“*forbile Bri-dam,*” olOdrán. “Bíúd dano samlaid,” ol *Patraic*. Atbath Fíoilgi stáitim *ocus* dochóid in*fern*. Fíoilgi Ros *immorro*, issi *acland* fil isintír indiu. *Ocus* rombennach *Patraic ocus* ishúad 10 flathius intíri cubráth.

Fecht luid *Patraic for* sligid Midlúachra dothecht hi tír n*Ulath*, cucomarnaic and fri sáiru *batar* ocesorcain ommái³ ibair. *Conaccai Patraic* dolluid afeuil tríanandernanda na mogad ocon[d]essorgain.⁴ “Can du- 15 ibsi?” ol*Patraic*. “*Mogaidne,*” ol síat, “do Tríun *mace* Féic, *maice Amalgaid* i. *brathair* do *Thrichem.*”⁵ *Ata* am indóiri⁶ *ocus* imór [25. b. 2] -inniud. *connaléicether* dún eid aithingud arniarnd *frilie*, gurab mesaiti dun⁷ *ocus* curap andsati⁸ dotoct⁹ ar fuil trianarlána.”²⁰ *Bennachais Patraic* na iarnu comdar soimberta¹⁰ de, *ocus* luid *docum* *indríg* doRáith Trena. *Ocus* troisciss *Patraic* fair. Ní derna *Trían* ní ari. Soiss *Patraic* arabáarach ondún. Focheird asaili *forsindailig* báí dóu *forsindtset*, corroemid¹¹ hitrí indail. Dolcic[ed] dano in- 25 tresrann dontseili¹² mili cemenn. *Asbert Patraic*: “*dá-trian* *introisethi* *forsindailig*, *trian* *forsindríg* *ocus* *forsindun* *ocus* *forsintúait*h. *Niconbia* rí na rígdamna

¹ Fíoilgi, E.

² oc, E.

³ ommna, E.

⁴ *tria* na dernanda (i. na modad) *ieondesórcain*, E.

⁵ *Trichem*, E.; *Trithem*, R.

⁶ *indoirsi*, E.

⁷ corup messude dun, E.

⁸ corup ánsude, E.

⁹ cotact, E.

¹⁰ soimbertude, E.

¹¹ Sic E.; coromid, R.

¹² dontseliu, E.

idol Cenn-cruaich, for he was a god of Foilge's. Now, his household concealed from Patrick what Foilge had boasted. One day his charioteer Odrán said to Patrick: "Since I am now a long time charioteering for thee, O Master Patrick, let me to-day sit in the chief seat and do thou be charioteer." Patrick did so. Thereafter Foilge went and gave a spearthrust through Odrán in the shape of Patrick. "My curse—" saith Patrick,—“on the tree of Brí-dam," saith Odrán. "Be it so then," saith Patrick. Foilge died at once and went into hell. As to Foilge Ross, however, it is his children who are in the land to-day. And Patrick blessed him, and from him is the sovereignty of the land for ever.

Patrick once went on the road of Midluachair, to go into the land of Ulster, and there he met with wrights who were felling a yew-tree. Patrick saw that the blood came through the palms of the slaves at the felling. "Whence are ye?" saith Patrick. "We are slaves," say they, "to Tríán son of Fiácc, son of Amalgad, a brother of Trichem's. We are in bondage and in great tribulation, and we are not allowed even to sharpen our irons against a flagstone, so that it may be the worse for us, and so that it may be the more difficult. Wherefore blood comes through our hands." Patrick blessed the irons so that they became the more easily used, and he went to the king, to Rath-Tréna. And Patrick fasted against him. Tríán did nothing for him. Patrick turned on the morrow from the fortress. He cast his spittle on the rock which lay on his road, and the rock broke into three. A third part of the spittle¹ was then flung a thousand paces. Patrick said: "Two thirds of the fasting on the rock, a third on the king and on the fort and on the district. There will be

¹ For *dontseili* we should perhaps read *dond-ailig* "of the rock."

Rawl. *diclaind* Trenai. Atbélai immuichi¹ fadeisin *ocus*
B. 512,
fo. 25, b. 2. regaid anifern serb síis.”

Trian fadeisin luid dochenglad *ocus* dobúalad in[na]²
mogul doratsat contan dóu. Nosrengat ae[i]ch ina-
charput *ocus* a ara, colotar isinloch. Loch Trena 5
a ainm. Bid he sin a oscur dedenach. Ní terga asin-
loch sin cotí [ass²] *fri* espertain nibratha, *ocus* nibá
archenn sonnig[i]³ cid hisodain.

Seitich indríg luid indegaid *Patraic*. Dogene aith-
rígí, slechtais. Bennachais *Patraic* abroind *ocus* age- 10
in[i]⁴ .i. Setna *macc* Trena [*ocus* Iarlaídi mac Trena].²
Sechnall robaithis Setna. *Patraic* robaitsestar Iarlaídi,
ocus adubart *Patraic* robbad⁵ chomarba dóu iartain.⁶

Bái alaili [duine⁷] andgaid hitirib Ulad .i. iMaig
Inis intansin .i. *macc* Cuill; eceraildech *ocus* *macc* 15
báis, nobíd oeslatairecht *ocus* nomarbad na⁸ cuitechta.
Fecht ann luid *Patraic* inalailiu laithiu sechai cum
suis soci[i]s, *ocus* ropail dó⁹ marbad *Patraic*. Ised
roraidi *macc* Cuill *fria* muntír: “Ishe so,” olsé, “intail-
cenn *ocus* insáibthaid fil ic bregad cáich.¹⁰ Tiagam 20
cutartam ammus fair dús in fortachtaigfé adea.” Ised
rodolb[26 a. 1]-sat¹¹ [dídu,¹²] fer dia muntír dotabairt¹³
forfúat, amal bid marb, dia thodúscud do*Patraic* *ocus*
dobrégad¹⁴ *Patraic*, *ocus* doratsat brat dar achorp *ocus*
daragnuis. “Íc dún,” olsíat *fri* *Patraic*, “arfer comtha,¹⁵ 25
ocus dena guidi inChoideth eurothodúsci¹⁶ hé abás.”

¹ immochai, E.

² Sic E.

³ sónmigi, E.

⁴ ingeni, E.

⁵ rubu, E.

⁶ In R. and E. this paragraph comes before the paragraph beginning *Trian fadeisin*.

⁷ dúni, E.

⁸ Sic E.; no, R.

⁹ Sic E.; do, R.

¹⁰ breccud chaich, E.

¹¹ rodolpset, E.

¹² Sic E.

¹³ dothobairt, E.

¹⁴ dobréccud, E.

¹⁵ commtha, E.

¹⁶ doChoided coruthodiusci, E.

of Trían's children neither king nor crownprince. He himself shall perish early and shall go down into bitter hell."

Trían himself went to bind and beat the slaves who had given an account (?) of him. His horses drag him and his charioteer off in his chariot, and went into the lake. Loch Tréna is its name; that was his last fall. He will not come out of that lake until the vespers of Doomsday; and it will not be for happiness even then.

The king's wife went after Patrick. She repented, she fell on her knees. Patrick blessed her womb and her children, namely, Sétne son of Trían and Iarlaide son of Trían. Sechnall baptized Sétne. Patrick baptized Iarlaide; and Patrick said that he would afterwards be a successor of his.

There dwelt at that time a certain wicked man in the lands of Ulster, namely Mace-Cuill. Impious he was and a son of Death. He used to be plundering and he used to slay the congregations. Once on a certain day Patrick with his companions went past him, and he desired to slay Patrick. Mace-Cuill said to his people: "This," saith he, "is the shaveling¹ and the falsifier who is deceiving every one. Let us go and make an attack upon him to see whether his God will help him." This is what they feigned, a man of his household to be put on a bier as if he were dead, to be brought to life by Patrick and to delude Patrick. And they put a mantle over his body and over his face. "Heal for us our comrade," they say to Patrick, "and make prayer to the Lord that He may raise him to life out of death." "My

¹ Lit. adze-head.

Rawl. "Mo debróth," ar*Patraic*, "ní ingnad lem eíd marb."
 B. 512, Garban a ainm indfir: isde roraide *Patraic*:
 fo. 26, a. 1.

"Brat Garbain
 biaid forcolainn marbain,
 acht adfesar duib innó 5
 ishé Garbán bías fó."

Roláiset amunter inbrat diaaigid *conidfuatarar secc*.
 Rosochtsatsom *iarum* et d[i]xerunt: "is duine Dé
 iarfír induinesi" (i. *Patraic*). Rocreitset fóchetoir
 huli *ocus* rocreiti *macc* Cuill, *ocus* luíd for muir hieú-10
 rach¹ oenseichel laforcongra *Patraic*. Dorodiuscad
 dano Garban atbass *ria* írnaigthi *Patraic*. Dochoid,
tra, *macc* Cuill inlaasin for muir *ocus* alám dess fri-
 Mag Inis, coriacht Manainn, *ocus* fóúair² díis nadam-
 raigthi isininsi forachinn. *Ocus* iteisidi ropritchaisét 15
 bréthir nDé hiManainn, *ocus* [is³] trenaforcetal roba-
 itsidi doine inna insi sein *ocus* rocretset side. Coninnrí
ocus Romuil ananmann.⁴ Otconnarcatar dino⁵ infirsi
macc Cuill inachaurach dofucsat don⁶ muir *ocus* ar-
 [r]oetatar hé cofáilti, *ocus* rofoglainn [i. mac Cuill³] 20
 in mbesena diadaí oca.⁷ *Ocus* dorochaid huli aimsir⁸
 abethath occu corogaib episcopoti innadegaíd. Ishe inso
macc Cuill dimana⁹ *episcopus* et antistes¹⁰ clarus.¹¹
 Ardde Uimnen, cuius nos sufragia adiuuent sancta!

Fecht rocotail *Patraic* illáithiu domnaig osin muir 25
 occ Druim Bó. Cocúala fogar mór innangenti iclelaide¹²
 rátha isind donnach. Dorogart íat *ocus* atrubáirt friú

¹ curueh, E.

² fofuair, E.

³ Sic, E.

⁴ ananmandai, R.; aanmann, E.

⁵ Read, perhaps, *didu* = O.Ir.
 didiu.

⁶ din, E.

⁷ occu, E.

⁸ aimsir, E.

⁹ Read de mari = *don* (*din*) *muir*,
 supra, line 19.

¹⁰ Sic, E.; antestis, R.

¹¹ Sic, B.; antestis, R.

¹² fogur mór innangente occlaide,
 E.

God's doom!" saith Patrick, "'tis not strange to me though he should be dead." Garvan was the name of the man. Of him said Patrick :

" Garvan's mantle
Shall be on the body of a corpse,
But I will declare to you more :
It is Garvan who shall be under it."

His people cast the mantle from his face and found him dry.¹ Then they were silent and said : " Truly this man Patrick is a man of God." They all forthwith believed, and Macc-Cuill believed, and at Patrick's behest he went on the sea in a coracle of [only] one hide. Then through Patrick's prayer Garvan was brought to life out of death. Now Macc-Cuill went on that day to sea, with his right hand towards Mag Inis, till he reached Mann,² and found two wonderful men in the island before him. And it is they that preached God's word in Mann, and through their preaching the men of that island believed and were baptized. Conindri and Romuil³ were their names. Now when these men saw Macc-Cuill in his coracle they took him from the sea and received him with a welcome ; and he learnt the divine rule with them, and he spent the whole time of his life with them, until he took the bishopric after them. This is ' Macc-Cuill from the sea,' the illustrious bishop and prelate of Ard-uinnen.⁴ May his holy suffrages assist us !

Patrick was once sleeping on Sunday over the sea at Druim-bo. He heard a great noise of the heathen digging a rath on a Sunday. He called to them and told them

¹ Mr. Hennessy translates *secc* by ' so,' as if it were written for the Latin *sic*. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 160) has ' ad instar trunci rigidum reperunt.'

² *Manniam* siue *Euboniam*, *ibid.*

³ *Conderium* et *Romailum*, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ard-ebunensis*, *ibid.*

Rawl. bith inatoss; *ocus* noea[n]der[26 a. 2]-sad airi, *acht* is oc¹
 B. 512, fochuitbiud robátor. Et ait *Patricius*: “Modebroth! labor uestrum (*sic*) non proficiat.” Quod probatum est. Sequenti enim nocte uentus flans turbauit mare, et omne opus tempestas destruxit secundum uerbum *Patrici*. 5

Asbert *Patraic* frihEchaich *maice* Muiredaig nadmbiad rí huad cobráth, *ocus* nadmbiad buiden diaceniul² dochum ndala nadunaid laUltu, *ocus* is iscóiliud *ocus* inescréidiud nobiad achenel: ropad gair asáigal³ féin, *ocus* noregad inaidid.⁴ ISairi bai⁵ *Patraic* doEuchaig, 10 ut periti[s]simi dicunt. Di óig róedbratar⁶ anóigi donChoimdid. Roscuinrig Echaid⁷ isintracht fonatonnaib diambádud, uair⁸ ro[f]rithbruithset adrad idal *ocus* lanamnas. Otchuala *Patraic* insin rogaid inrig impu *ocus* nirosét. “Do brathair inCairill, huair dorat 15 degimpidi damsá,” ol*Patraic*, “*ocus* do benaissiu he dileise,⁹ bid rí fein, *ocus* biait¹⁰ rig *ocus* flaithi huad os do¹¹ elainnsiu *ocus* os Ultaib huili.” Conid he sin sil narig cubráth sil Demáin mic Cairill, *maice* Muiredaig, tri bréithir *Patraic*. 20

Ben, immorro, Ehdach¹² slechtais focosaib *Patraic*. Rosbathis *Patraic* *ocus* robennach inge[i]n bai in[a]-broind¹³ .i. im*maice* amra airdaire Domangort *maice* Ehdach, ishe foráccaib *Patraic* inachurp, *ocus* bieis¹⁴ ann cubrath. 25

¹ eo, R., no condermasat aire acht is ic, E.

² diachinél, E.

³ asaigul, E.

⁴ anaigid, R.; anaidid, E.

⁵ robái, E.

⁶ roedbartatar, E.

⁷ Echuich, R.; Echaid, E.

⁸ uairi, E.

⁹ dofleise, R.; dileise, E.

¹⁰ biaid, R.; biait, E.

¹¹ ós du, E.

¹² Ehdach, E.

¹³ ingein boí ina broind, E.

¹⁴ bieis, E.

to be silent; and they did it not for him, but they were mocking him. And Patrick saith: "My God's doom! let your labour be of no avail": which thing was proven; for on the following night a wind blowing stirred up the sea, and the tempest destroyed all the work, according to Patrick's word.

Patrick said to Echaid son of Muiredach,¹ that no king would ever descend from him, and that of his race there would never be a troop [large enough] for a folk-mote or an army in Ulster, and that his race would be in scattering and in dispersion, that his own life would be short, and that he would come to a violent end. For this reason was Patrick [hostile] to Echaid, as the most skilled say. Two maidens had offered their maidenhood to the Lord. Echaid bound them on the seashore under waves, for they refused to worship idols and to marry. When Patrick heard that, he entreated the king concerning them, and got them not. "Thy brother Cairrell, whom thou smotest with a rod,² he," saith Patrick, "since he granted me a goodly boon, will himself be a king, and from him there will be kings and princes over thy children and over the whole of Ulster." Wherefore *that* is the seed of the kings for ever, the seed of Demán son of Cairrell, son of Muiredach, through Patrick's word.

Howbeit, Echaid's wife knelt at Patrick's feet. Patrick blessed her, and blessed the child that lay in her womb, namely, the wonderful, renowned son Donnagort son of Echaid. He it is whom Patrick left in his body, and he will live therein for ever.

¹ de . . . Dalfietaciorum oriundus familia, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 161.

(*Tr. Th.*, p. 161), Cairrell had begged his brother not to incur Patrick's indignation.

² Because, according to Colgan

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 26, a. 2.

Luith *dano foreúlu*¹ coFiru Rois cotorinsean cong-
bail inDruim Mór hierich Rois os Clúain Cáin. Isand
dodechaid intaggel² adlochum et dixit: “ní sunn do-
rath³ duit airisem.” “*Cest, cairm?*” olPatraic. “Saig
inMachai fothúaid,” olintangel. “Is cáin em⁴ inclúainsi⁵
tís,” olPatraic. “Bid ed a ainm,” ol intaingel, “‘Cluain
Cáin.’ [26. b. 1.] Tiefa ailithir do Bretnaib *congeba* and
ocus bid latsu iartain.” “*Deo gratias ago,*” olPatraic.

Ised dochoid Patraic iarsin doArd Patraic fri Lug-
mag⁵ anair, *ocus* folamadair *congobail* and. Dodechaid 10
Dál Runtir innadiaid dia astad, feib doue cáeh dib⁶
dialailiu. Ro[s]bennach⁷ Patraic iarsuidiu *ocus* foráe-
caib ordnidiu læch *ocus* cleirech díib, *ocus* ardrach
forru friatír anechtair fodéigh dodechatar asatír in-
degaid Patraic. 15

Ticed Patraic anair eachdía o Ard Patraic *ocus*
Mochta anár o Lugmag,⁵ cocomraictis immacallaim⁶
eachdía oe Lice Mochtæ. Laa nand tue intangel
epistil eturra.⁸ Arlega Patraic indepistil, *ocus* *ised*
robái hisuidiu: 20

“Mochta craibdech credal,
bíid inaim irragab:
téit Patraic labreithir aRig,
iMachai mín anad.”

¹ forenta, R.; foreulu, E.

² intaingil, E.

³ nisand rorath, E.

⁴ is cainem, E.

⁵ Lúgmad, E.

⁶ díib, E.

⁷ rosbendach, E.

⁸ eturru, E.

So Patrick went back to Fir Roiss, and began a cloister in *Druin-Mór* in the district of Ross over *Clúain Cáin*. There came the angel unto him and said: "Not here hath it been granted to thee to abide." "Question, what place?" saith Patrick. "Go to Armagh in the north," saith the angel. "Fair, verily,¹ is this meadow below here," saith Patrick. "Let it be its name, Fair-meadow," (*Clúain cáin* ²), saith the angel. "A pilgrim of the Britons will come and set up there, and it will be thine afterwards." "I give thanks to God," saith Patrick.

Thereafter Patrick went unto *Ard Pátraic* ('Patrick's height'), to the east of Louth, and he desired a cloister there. The *Dál-Runtir* went after him to retain him, as each of them delivered him to another. After this Patrick blessed them, and he left [as his blessing that there would be] of them famous laymen and clerics, and that a sovran would be over them outside their country,³ because they had gone out of their country after Patrick.

Patrick used to come every day from the east from *Ard Pátraic*, and *Mochtæ*⁴ from the west, from Louth, so that they came together for conversation every day at *Lecc Mochtai* ('Mochtæ's flagstone.') One day the angel placed a letter between them. Patrick reads out the letter, and this is what was in it :

"Mochtæ pious, believing,

Let him bide in the place wherein he has set up

Patrick goes at his King's word

To rest in smooth Armagh."

¹ Or (if we read *cáinem*) 'Most fair.'

² *Cluain-Chaoin*, id est, secessus amoenus, sine delectabilis, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 162.

³ *praedicens eorum posteritatem, tametsi exteris dominis subiectam,*

multum tamen tam militum tam clericorum delectum producturam, ibid.

⁴ *quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, saneti Patriei discipulus, Maucteus nomine, Vita Columbae, ed. Reeves, p. 6.*

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 26, b. 1.

Roithne *Patraic* na dá clam deace doMochta forae-
caib inArdd *Patraic*, *ocus noberthi aenamad oMochta*
doib¹ each naidchi.

Dodechaú, *tra*, *Patraic* iarsin donMachai la brethir
indangil comagin hitá Ráith Dare indiu. Báí alaili fer 5
soimn airmitech isuidiu, Dáre ainm .i. [Dare²] *mace*
Findehadai, *maice Eogain*, *maice Niallái*. *Conaitigir*
Patraic ined areglesa³ fair. Atrubairt Dairi: “Cia
dú adeobrai?” “Hisintailaig mórsi thís,” ol*Patraic*,
dú hita Ard Machai indiu. “Nithibér,” olDári; 10
“dóbr duit chenai ined doreglesa⁴ isinráith chob-
saidsi thís,” dú ita ind Ferta indiu. Rofothaig, *tra*,
Patraic re cianai⁵ hisuidiu.

Laa and tuctha dá ech Dare chuca inareglés⁶ for-
fér, arrubu[f]éarach indreilec. Roferecaigestar *Patraic* 15
frú. Marba indeich fóchétóir. Atfét agilla do Dári
indínisin,⁷ dicens, “INerístaigisi,” olsé, “rom[26. b. 2]-
arb teochusu⁸ argleith in[d]feóir báí inareicles.” Bá
fergach Dári disuidiu *ocus fororeongart foramogadu*
orgain inleirig ocus aindorba asan inat (.i. asinFerta).⁹ 20
Dofanie tregat obbund focetóir combu comochraib bás
dó. Arogart insetig oreain *Patraic*, et dixit doDáre
combu hé fochan¹⁰ abáis tacrád do *Patraic*. *Ocus do-*
*chúas huaidi*¹¹ dochuinehid *usque* enaighthi doDáre
ó*Patraic*.¹² “[Ma]nisechfaid andorigni anben,¹³” ol- 25
Patraic, “ní biad eiséirgi Dári abás cobráth.” Roben-

¹ doab, E.

² Sic E.

³ areclesa, E.

⁴ doreclesa, E.

⁵ ré cian, E.

⁶ inna reclés, E.

⁷ aní sein, E.

⁸ thechusa, E.

⁹ aindarbu asa inatt (.i. in ferta),
E.

¹⁰ fochun, E.

¹¹ huadaí, E.

¹² E. inserts *Respondit Patricius*.

¹³ inben, E.

Patrick delivered to Mochtae the twelve lepers whom he left at Ard Pátraic, and their ration was carried to them by Mochtae every night.

Thereafter Patrick went, at the word of the angel, to Armagh¹ to the place where Rath-Dáire ('Dáire's fortress') stands to-day. Therein abode a certain rich, honourable man, named Dáire,² to wit, Dáire son of Findchad, son of Eogan, son of Níallán. Patrick asked him for the site of his cell. Said Dáire: "What place dost thou desire?" "On this great hill below,"³ saith Patrick,—the place wherein Armagh stands to-day. "I will not give it," saith Dáire: "howbeit I will give thee a site for the church in this strong rath below"—the place where is the *Ferta* ('grave') to-day. So Patrick founded [his cell and remained] therein a long time.

One day Dáire's two horses were brought to him into his church for grass, since the graveyard was grassy. Patrick was enraged against them. The horses were dead at once. His gillie told that to Dáire, saying, "this Christian," saith he, "hath killed thy horses because they grazed on the grass that was growing in [the close around] the church." Dáire was wroth at this, and he bade his bondsmen attack the cleric and banish him out of the place, that is, out of the *Ferta*. A sudden cholie came to Dáire at once, so that death was nigh unto him. The wife [of Dáire] forbade the attack on Patrick, and said to Dáire that the cause of his death was the annoying of Patrick; and she sent to ask Patrick for holy water⁴ for Dáire. "Unless what the woman hath done," saith Patrick, "Dáire's resurrection from death would never take place."⁵

¹ lit. 'to the *Macha*,' an elliptical expression for *Ard-Machae*.

² cognomenco *Dcarg*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.

³ For *this* we should probably read *thúas* 'above.'

⁴ Lit. water of prayer.

⁵ nisi maturè ita prouideretur de remedio, Darium certò fore irrenocabiliter extinguendum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.

Rawl. nach *Patraic indusque, ocus* dorat donahib¹ timthirib,
 B. 512. *ocus fororcongart atabairt tarsna heuchu ocus* tar
 fo. 26, b. 2. Dáre. Et sic fecerunt, *ocus asraracht Dári ocus*
 a cochu² fochetóir abás.

Rucad coiri humai³ do*Patraic* inedbairt⁴ óDáre. 5
 “Deo gratias,” ol*Patraic*. Roiarfacht Dare diamogad-
 aib cid adrubairt *Patraic*. Responderunt: “‘Graz[i]-
 cum’ dixit.” “Isbee inlóg degedbarta *ocus* degeori
 insin,” olDári. Fororcongart⁵ dorithisi achori dotabairt
 dó. “Deo gratias,” ol*Patraic*. *Ocus* roiarfacht Dáre cid 10
 asbert *Patraic* octabairt an⁶ choiri úad. Dixerunt
 serui: “Issel incétna atbert⁷ ocatabairt uad .i. ‘gra-
 ticum.’” “ISdegbriathar leisseom,” olDári, “in gratiam⁸
 .i. *graticum*, oca edbairt dó *ocus graticum oca tabairt*⁹
 húad.” Luid Dári iarsin *ocus* aseitig cona ogreir do- 15
Patraic, ocus adrodbertar¹⁰ incori doridisi do*Patraic*.
ocus intelcha conaitigair ria sund. Et accepit Patricius,
 et benedixit ei. Et fundavit in eo loco ecclesiam cui
 est nomen Ard Macha.

Luid *Patraic* iarsuidiu conasruithib *ocus* Dari comai- 20
 thib nanAirthir olchenai isin telchai dia toraind *ocus*
 dia bendachad *ocus* dia coisre cad. Forancatar ailit cona
 loeg maigin ita inSaball indiu. *Ocus* docuatar amun-
 ter dia [27. a. I.] orccain. Et prohibuit Patricius, et
 dixit seruiat sibi¹¹ postea. *Ocus* ro[s]fúid¹² asintelechai 25
 fothuaid comaigin hita Telach naLici indiu: ibi [Do-
 minus per eam intuitu meritorum famuli sui¹³] magna
 mirabilia fecit.

¹ donaib, E.

² asraráchtatar huili, E.

³ umaidi, E.

⁴ inedbairt, E.

⁵ forchongart, E.

⁶ in, E.

⁷ asbert, E.

⁸ E. omits.

⁹ breith, E.

¹⁰ adrópartadar, E.

¹¹ sibe, R.

¹² rosfaid, E.

¹³ Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 162.

Patrick blessed the water and gave it to the servants, and ordered them to put it over the horses and over Dáre. And thus they did, and Dáre and his horses arose at once out of death.

A cauldron of copper was given to Patrick as an offering from Dáre. "*Deo gratias [agamus]*," saith Patrick. Dáre asked of his servants what Patrick had said. They answered he said, "*grazacum*." "That is a small reward for a goodly offering and a goodly cauldron," saith Dáre. He ordered his cauldron to be brought again to him. "*Deo gratias, [agamus]*," saith Patrick, and Dáre asked what Patrick had said when the cauldron was brought from him. The servants replied he said the same when it was brought from him, that is, *grazacum*. "It is a good word he hath," saith Dáre: "*grazacum* when it is offered to him and *grazacum* when it is brought from him." Thereafter Dáre and his wife went to Patrick with complete submission to him; and they offered the cauldron again to Patrick and the hill which he had asked for before. And Patrick accepted, and he blessed Dáre, and he founded in that place the church which is named Armagh.

After this Patrick went with his elders and Dáre with the magnates of the Airthir¹ besides, to the hill to mark it out, and to bless it, and to consecrate it. They found a doe with her fawn in the place where the Saball² ('Barn') is to-day, and his people went to kill her. And Patrick forbade them, and said that she should serve him afterwards. And he sent her from the hill northwards to the place wherein Telach na Licee ('the hill of the flagstone'), stands to-day; and there the Lord, in consideration of his servant's merits, did through her many marvellous things.

¹ *Oirthir*, id est Orientalis, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162. *Airthir* (still preserved in the form *Orior*) means Orientales, or Anteriores.

² An oratory, to be distinguished from *Saball Patraic*, or Saul, near Downpatrick, Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 15.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 27, a. 1.

Carais ingen Dáre induí Benen. Robu bind lee aguth iceond erlégund.¹ Dorala galar *fuirri* combu marb de. Bert Benén cretra dí o*Patraic*, et [illa sancta virgo²] surrexit confestim uiua, et postea spiritualiter dilexit eum. Ipsa est Ergnat³ ingen 5 Dáre fil aTamlachtau⁴ Bó.

Fecht and dodechatar noi ningena rig Longbard⁵ *ocus* ingen ríg Bretan dianailithri dochum *Patraic*, Tarrasatar *fri*Ard Macha anair, du hitá Coll na nIngen indiu. Dodechos húadib dochum *Patraic* dás in reg- 10 tais adochum. Asbert *Patraic* frismatechta: “Regait téora ingena díib docum nime *ocus* anadnacul isinmagin atáat (.i. ocCull⁶ nanIngen), *ocus* tiagat inna ingenai⁷ arcena doDruim Fendeda, *ocus* tait ingen dib coraib isinenuchaise thair.” Quod sic factum est. 15

Dodechaid Cruimtheris iarsuidiu corogaib ie Cengobu, *ocus* nobered Benén acnabad di cech naidche ó*Patraic*. *Ocus* roclann *Patraic* [aball] inAchad⁸ inna Elti, rucsom asinráith ituaisciurt inpoirt .i. Cengoba, *conidhé* inmachadsin Aball *Patraic* iCengobu. Blegon 20 na elte sin, *tru*, *iscal* doberti dommeschoin báí hifail inna ingine .i. Cruimthiris.

Fecht naili robai [*Patraic*⁹] innachumsanad indered ai[d]chi oc*Tiprait* Cernai iTir *Tiprait*. Doluid intan-

¹ ocundúrlégunn, E.

² Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.

³ Erenat, E.

⁴ itamlachtu, E.

⁵ Langbhardd, E.

⁶ occúl, R. ocell, E.

⁷ ingena, E.

⁸ Sic E., omachad, R.

⁹ Sic E.

Dáre's daughter loved Benén. Sweet to her seemed his voice at the chanting. A disease came upon her, and thereof she died. Benén took relics¹ to her from Patrick, and straightway that holy virgin rose up alive, and afterwards she loved him spiritually. She is Erenat, Dáre's daughter, who is² in Tamlachta Bó.

Once upon a time came nine daughters of the King of the Lombards, and a daughter of the King of Britain, on their pilgrimage to Patrick. They tarried to the east of Armagh, in the place where Coll nan-Ingen ('the maidens' hazel'), stands to-day. They sent to Patrick to find out whether they should go to him. Patrick said to the messengers: "three of the virgins will go to heaven, and bury them in the place in which they are, namely, Coll nan-Ingen. And let the rest of the virgins go to Druim Fendeda ('champion's ridge'), and let one of them go as far as this hillock in the east," which thing was done thus.

After this Cruimtheris went and set up at Cengoba,³ and Benén used to carry her ration to her every night from Patrick. And Patrick planted an apple-tree in Achad inna-Elta ('the field of the doe'), which he had taken out of the fort in the north of the place, namely, Cengoba. Wherefore that field [is called] Aball Pátraic⁴ ('Patrick's orchard') in Cengoba. The milk of that doe it is that used to be given to the lapdog that was near the virgin, namely Cruimtheris

At another time he was resting at the end of a night at Tipra Cerna ('Cerna's well') in Tír Tiprat. The

¹ uisce coiseretha ('consecrated water'), *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 301.

² quae quiescit, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162, citing the 'author vetustus.'

³ in cella siue lapideo inclusorio in monte vulgo *Keungobha* vocato,

Arduache versus orientem vicino, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 163.

⁴ i. pomus, siue pomarium Patricij, *ibid.* According to Colgan, S. Patrick had a shed (*tugurium*) built for this doe in *Abhall-Phadruic*.

Rawl. *gel* adocum *ocus* donússaig. Dixit ei Patricius: "Hín fail ní hieráidim doDia, nó in fail abaraínd frim?"¹ ol*Patraic*. "Noconfail," ol intaingel; "*ocus* timarnad duit oDia," ol intaingel, "masued ismaith lat *conabia* euit donach [27 a. 2] ailiu indhÉiriu *acht* duit toenur. 5 *Ocus* ishé comus *termuind* do cathrach oDia coDromma Breg *ocus* cosliab Mis *ocus* coBri nAirigi." Respondit Patricius: "Modbrol ém," ol*Patraic*, "tiefat *maice* bethad inidiaidsi, *ocus* ismaith limsa honoír dóib óDia domceisisi isintír." Respondit angelus: "isdereaigi son dano; *ocus* dorat Dia hÉriu² huili duitsiu," olintaingel, "*ocus* nachsoer bias inhÉiriu bid latsu." "Deo gratias," ol*Patraic*.

Robáí baru³ do*Patraic* *fría* fiair .i. Lupait, di peacad etraid foriachtaide⁴ combu alachta de. Intan dodechaid⁵ *Patraic* hisinchill anair dodechaid Lupait arachinn contatarligg⁵ innaslechtand arachiund⁶ incharpait dú itá inchros imBoith Archull.⁷ "In carpat tarsi," ol *Patraic*. Dochóid inearpat tarsi cobathri, olnoteiged sí⁸ beos arachind. Conid and dochoid docum nime ooc- 20 undfertaí, *ocus* roadnacht la*Patraic* iarum, *ocus* rogabhad a cenaire. Colman, immorro, macc Ailella, deÚib Bressail, ishé rolaa [aidi⁹] arLupait ocImduail. Ædan macc Colmáin, nóeb insi Lóthair, filius Lupate et Colmáin erat. Rogaid Lupait ar¹⁰*Patraic* arnatallad nem 25 arCholman eum [sua⁹] progenie. Ní thall dano *Patraic*, *acht* asbert roptis galraig.¹¹ ISdiehlaind, tra, inCholmáin¹² sin hUi Failain *ocus* hUi Duib Dare.

¹ forum, E.

² héirind, E.

³ bara, E.

⁴ foruichide, E.

⁵ conda tarlice, E.

⁶ archiund, E.

⁷ Archall, E.

⁸ olnotegetsí, E.

⁹ Sic, E. Read, perhaps, *oided*.

¹⁰ do, E.

¹¹ galraig di, E.

¹² in Chohnain, E, in Cholman, R.

angel went to him and awoke him. Patrick said to him, "Is there aught in which I am wont to offend God, or is His anger against me?" saith Patrick. "There is not," saith the angel; "and it hath been ordained for thee by God," saith the angel, "if it seems good unto thee, that no one else shall have a share in Ireland, save thee alone; and the power of the sanctuary¹ of thy see from God is even unto Dromma Breg and to Slíab Mis and to Brí Airgi." Patrick answered, "My God's doom! verily," saith Patrick, "sons of Life will come after me, and I desire that they should have honour from God after me in the land." The angel answered: "That is lovingness; and God hath given all Ireland to thee," saith the angel; "and every freeman that will abide in Ireland shall be thine." "I give God thanks," saith Patrick.

Patrick was enraged with his sister, namely, Lupait, for the sin of lust which she committed (?) so that she became pregnant. When Patrick came into the church from the east Lupait went to meet him, and she cast herself down on her knees before the chariot in the place where the cross stands in Both-Arcall. "The chariot over her!" saith Patrick. The chariot went over her thrice, for she still would come in front of it. Wherefore she there went to heaven at the Ferta, and she was afterwards buried by Patrick, and her requiem was sung. Colmán, however, son of Ailill of the Húi-Bressail, it was he that cast this destruction on Lupait at Imdual. Aedán son of Colmán, saint of Inis Lothair, was the son of Lupait and Colmán. Lupait besought Patrick not to take away heaven from Colmán with his offspring: so Patrick did not take it away; but he said that they would [always] be sickly. Now, of the children of that Colmán are the Húi-Failáin, and the Húi-Duib-Dare.²

¹ or, perhaps, the extent of the boundary.

² The text (from E.) and trans-

lation of this paragraph are given by Dean Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, pp. 50, 51.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 27, a. 2.

Fecht and robái munter *Patraic* ocbúain orba dorigensat aTrian¹ *Conchabair*. Rosgab ita² mór occai. Corucad drolmach med[e]usque³ doib o*Patraic*, *ocus* rosaslacht⁴ foraib ainmne do denam⁵ ó theirt co esper-tain. Conerbail⁶ fer dib ar ítaid, conid hésin incetna fer 5 roadnacht la*Patraic* .i. Colman Ítadach iconchroiss indorus tigi *Patraic*. Ised roráidi *Patraic* feib atchuas dóu: [27 b. 1] “Modebrod! bíaid immed lenda *ocus* bíid *ocus* sobarthan isinchathraig diarnéisi.”

Fecht and dodechatar indaingil corucatar incloich 10 don *conair* robói areind incharpait, conided a ainm, Lecc innan-Angel. IS asinmaigin sin tra .i. aDruim Chaili, robennach *Patraic* asa díb lámaib inMachai.

Is amlaid, tra, dororaind⁷ *Patraic* inraith, intangel reme *ocus* *Patraic* inadiaid conamuntir *ocus* cosruithib 15 hÉrend, *ocus* bachall Ísu iláim *Patraic*. *Ocus* asrubairtsom rombad mór achin doneoch immroimsed indi, anal bíd⁸ mór a foehraic doneoch dogénad toil nDe inde.⁹

ISamlaid dano doroinisi *Patraic* indfertai .i. secht 20 fichit traigid isindlis *ocus* secht traigid fichet isintig mor *ocus* secht traigid deac isinchuli: secht traigid isind aregal. *Ocus* ba samlaid sin nofothaigedsom nacongbala dogrés.

¹ hitrium Conchobair, E.

² hitu, E.

³ medcuisci, E.

⁴ roaslacht, E.

⁵ dénum, E.

⁶ conderbalt, E.

⁷ dodororaind, R.; doróraind, E.

⁸ bad, E.

⁹ nDé indi, E.

Once upon a time Patrick's household were reaping a farm which they had made in Trian Conchobair ('Conor's third.') Great thirst seized them; whereupon a pitcher of whey-water was taken to them from Patrick, and he entreated them to have patience¹ from tierce to vespers. And one of them died of thirst, and he was the first man who was buried by Patrick, namely, Colmán the Thirsty at the cross before Patrick's house. This is what Patrick said when he was told of the death: "My God's doom! there will be plenty of ale and food and prosperity in the see after us."

Once upon a time the angels went and took from the road the stone which lay before the chariot.² Wherefore this is its name, Lee inmanAingel ('the angels' flag-stone'). Now it is from that place, namely, from Druim-chaili, that Patrick blessed Armagh out of his two hands.

The way in which Patrick measured the rath was this—the angel before him and Patrick behind the angel; with his household and with Ireland's elders, and Jesu's Staff³ in Patrick's hand; and he said that great would be the crime of him who should sin therein, even as great would be the guerdon of him who should do God's will therein.

In this wise, then, Patrick measured the *Ferta*, namely, seven score feet in the enclosure, and seven and twenty feet in the great-house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, seven feet in the oratory⁴; and in that wise it was that he used to found the cloisters always.⁵

¹ *i.e.* not to drink it (inhibuit ne biberent, Colgan).

² 'quodque nullis humanis viribus vel artificio amoueri potuit.' The angels brought it 'in vicinum collem *Druim-chaula* dictum,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 164.

³ See above, p. 30, line 4.

⁴ Sic Todd, *S. Patrick*, 475; but 'argyrotheca seu vasarium ubi supellex reponcbatur,' Colgan, *ibid.*

⁵ The buildings referred to were probably circular, and the measurements above given are their respective diameters.

Rawl. Dodeochaid angel coPatraic indArdmachai. "Indiu,"
 B. 512, olsé, "fodlaiter taissi innanapstal iRóim fóchetharaird
 fo. 27 b. 1. indomain, *ocus* beraitse¹ atatecomnaicsiu coróis"; et
 portabat *Patricium* angelus in aera.

INehros deiscertach indOenach Machai, isand tuetha 5
 quatuor currus ad Patricium. INehros tuascertach
 inamorro, isoccai tarfaid Dia dosom indeilb bias fair
 in die iudicii. Et exiit in una die eu Combur tri
 n*Usque*.

Foracaib Sechnall inepscopoti lafiru Erend co tised 10
 in bare do breith oBordgail Letha. Luid *Patraic*
 hisuidiu. Et uenit ad² Romam; et peruenit somnus
 super habitatores Romæ, cotue *Patraic* afolortataid
 dona martraib. Ructha iarum innamartrasin do Artt-
 machai acomarli Dé *ocus* acomarli fer nErend. ISed 15
 tucad and cóic martir artrifichtib artrib cétaib, imreilcib
 Póil *ocus* Petair [27 b. 2] *ocus* Laurint *ocus* Stefain et
 aliorum plurimorum, *ocus* anairt³ and cofuil *Crist* *ocus*
 co folt Mairi Ingeine. Forácaib *Patraic* inteclainsin
 huili inArd-machai doréir Dé *ocus* indaingil *ocus* fer 20
 nErend. Conselsat amartraí ar*Patraic* seta lethá od⁴
 co comarli imbi co abaid⁵ Romç dobreth epistil o suidiu
 arambethe icconairi collochrandaib *ocus* sóutrallaib⁶
 indaideli cobrath, *ocus* oifrend *ocus* salmceatul fride,

¹ beraith sé, E.

² Sic E. at, R.

³ anart, E.

⁴ ód, E.

⁵ eu abbaid, E.

⁶ collocharnaib *ocus* sutrullaib,
 E.

An angel came to Patrick in Armagh. "To-day," saith he, "the relics of the apostles are divided in Rome throughout the four quarters (of the globe), and I will carry . . . and the angel carried Patrick into the air.

At the southern cross in Oenach Macha four chariots were brought ¹ to Patrick. By the northern cross, however, God appeared to him in the shape which He will have on the Day of Judgment; and he went in one day to Combur Trí n-Uisce ('Meeting of Three Waters.')

He left Sechnall in the bishopric with the men of Ireland until the ship should come from Burdigala ² of Letavia to carry [him]. Patrick went in this and came to Rome; and sleep came over the inhabitants of Rome, so that Patrick brought away as much as he wanted ³ of the relics. Afterwards those relics were taken to Armagh by the counsel of God and the counsel of the men of Ireland. What was brought there was three hundred and three score and five relics, together with the relics of Paul and Peter and Lawrence and Stephen, and many others. And a sheet was there with Christ's blood (thereon) and with the hair of Mary the Virgin. Patrick left the whole of that collection in Armagh according to the will of God and of the angel and of the men of Ireland. They took away his relics from Patrick . . . from him with advices concerning him to the abbot of Rome.⁴ A letter was brought from him [the pontiff, directing] that there should be watching of them with lamps and lights in the night always, and mass and psalm-singing by

¹ caelitús missi, Colgan.

² Now Bordeaux. Cf. in *Quinta Vita*, e. 14, "venit eum Gallis . . . ad Brotgalum, inde Trajectum."

³ *Lit.* his sufficiency.

⁴ According to Colgan, the relics

were taken back to Rome by angels, and Patrick sent messengers to the pope, qui eam eum ipsi proponerent et remedium postularent, *Tr. Th.* p. 164. The Irish text is here unintelligible.

Rawl. *ocus* aurnaigthe ind aidehi *ocus* a toucbail¹ ineech-
B. 512, *biadain* arrouuinset doib sochaidi impu.
fo. 27, b. 2.

Da brathair diUltaib, Duban *ocus* Dubæd, gatait da gerran *Patraic* atír itoeb innehid² anair. Tír Suidi *Patraic* a ainm. Nosberat fades fon sescan. “Ni-⁵ bérsa,” olDubán, “lasintailcend.” “Bérasa am andom-roig,” olDubæd. Dótoet Dubán *ocus* gnith aithrigi. “Ní maith cuairt docheli,” ol*Patraic*. Roescrad co[r]-roimid achenn *ocus* atbath. Fogleinn Duban et ordinatur. Cui Patricius dixit: “Hic erit resurrectio 10 tua.”

Fecht naili dobreth marelach cruidnechtæ³ oSetna⁴ *macc* Dallain do*Patraic* din maind rosenaign⁵ donim isin-disiurt uas Druim *macc*Ublæ. Gerran *Patraic* foa.⁶ Dó-
tuit *grainni* cruithnechtæ³ asinmarchuch, *ocus* ni etas¹⁵ onneuch⁷ ergi corricht o*Patraic*. “IS*scel* inso daas,” ol*Patraic* per profetiam. “Grainne cruidnechtæ³ dorochair asindala bulce dú ita inchross forsligid ind nemid dess. Bid Nemed dano nomen inpoirt ind dellechuir ingerran,” ol*Patraic*. Quod uerum est. 20

Fecht nali luid Sechnall do Ardmachæ, *ocus* ni raibi *Patraic* hifoss. *Conaceai* da ech *carpait* lamuntir *Patraic* forachiund forseur, *ocus* roráidi Sechnall: “Bacoru indeich ucet dobreith donescop⁸” .i. do [28 a. 1] Fiace. Uáir dornacht *Patraic* atcúas dó anísin. 25

¹ athurebal, E.

² ind nemid, E.

³ ernithuechta, E.

⁴ osetnu, E.

⁵ mainn rosenaign, E.

⁶ fóu, E.

⁷ ondeuch, E.

⁸ epscop, E.

day, and prayer in the night, and that they should be exposed every year for multitudes (to see them).

Two brothers from Ulster, Dubán and Dubáed, steal Patrick's two nags out of the land beside the chapel in the east. Tír Suidi Pátraic ('the land of Patrick's seat') is its name. They take them southwards throughout the moor. "I will not take what belongs to the Adzehead,"¹ saith Dubán. "Truly, I will take what befalls me," saith Dubáed. Dubán comes and repents. "Not good is thy fellow's course," saith Patrick. Dubáed was cast down, so that his head brake and he died. Dubán studies and is ordained, and Patrick said to him: "Here [in Armagh] will be thy resurrection."

Once upon a time there was brought from Sétina son of Dallán to Patrick a horseload of wheat that had dropt like manna² from heaven in the hermitage over Drúim maice Ublai. Patrick's nag was carrying it. A grain of wheat fell out of the horseload, and the horse [lay down and] could not be got to rise until Patrick came. "This is the cause (?)" saith Patrick by prophecy: "a grain of wheat hath fallen out of one of the two sacks"—at the stead where stands the cross on the road to the chapel (*nemed*) southwards. "Let, then, *Nemed* ('chapel') be the name of the place where the nag lay down," saith Patrick. Which thing is true.

At another time Sechnall went to Armagh, and Patrick was not (then) residing (there). Sechnall saw in front of him, with Patrick's household, two chariot-horses unyoked. And Sechnall said, "It were better to bring you horses to the bishop," that is, to Fáice. When Patrick arrived, that was told unto him. The chariot was

¹ Táilchem, see above, p. 34, line 5, and p. 35, Note 1. | makes no sense; "ad instar mannae," Colgan.

² lit. "of the manna," which

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 23, a. 1.

Roinled acarpatt *forsna* euchu, *ocus* nosfáidi¹ *Patraic* cen duni léu coféotar² inadisiurt la Mochtæ. *Lotar* desill³ arabarach coDomnach Sechnaill. *Lotar* iarnamarach doChill Auxili. *Lotar* iarsuidiu doChill Monach. *Lotar iarum* coFiaice coSlébtí. 5

Issi tucait incharpait dobreith coFiaice amóteiged diasathairnd initi combith oc Cnoc⁴ Dromma Coblai. Uaim dó ann .u. baingin leis, ut fama⁵ est. Día sathairn éase dathaiged⁶ docum Sleibti, *ocus* dothuarethed boimm leis de quinque panibus. Issi tucait in- 10 charpait dobreith doFiaice. Roenai dáil aehoiss combo chomfoeraib bás dáu.

Asbert Sechnall *friPatraic*, “Ciachiuin⁷ dogensa molud⁸ duitsi?” “Ní tecair, ol*Patraic*. “Nied asbiursa fritsa,” olSechnall, “in dingentar, ardogentarsom éicim.” 15 “Mo debród,” ol*Patraic*, “ismithig seuich⁹ dó hitraiti. Rofitir Pátraic nipuchian¹⁰ cohainsir eitseehta Sechnaill, arisé cetna epscop dochoid fóúir nErend.

INTan baisom oedénam indimnuin roboth oc dénam óenaig inna[f]arrad. Asbert úathsom *friu condigsitis* 20 ass. Rogabsat achuitbiud. Asbertsom *friu*: “Sloicis¹¹ in talam.” *Ocus* rosloic¹² daeharpait deace díb fóchétoir.

Asbert Sechnall *frimuntir Patraic* ocFerti Martar: “Maith fer *Patraic acht* minapad óen. Fófer *Patraic* acht nipad óen.¹³ Othhuala *Patraic nabriathrasa* lamun- 25

¹ nusfoidi, E.

² Sic, E.; coféotar, R.

³ deisell, E.

⁴ enuce, E.

⁵ Sic E. fama, R.

⁶ dotaiged, E.

⁷ ciachiuin, E.

⁸ molad, E.

⁹ Sic, E.; seuich, R.

¹⁰ nirbo cian, E.

¹¹ sloicus, E.

¹² rosluice, E.

¹³ For this and the preceding sentences E. has: Math fer *Patraic* acht nabad óen.

yoked to the horses, and Patrick sent them without any human being with them till they rested with Mochtæ in his hermitage. On the morrow they went righthand-wise to Dommach Sechnaill ('Sechnaill's church'). On the day after they went to Cell Auxili. After this they went to Cell Manach. Then they went to Fíace, to Sleibte.

This is the cause of giving the chariot to Fíace, because he used to go on Shrove-Saturday² till he was at the hill of Druim Coblai. He had a cave there, and five cakes he had, as the tradition is. On Easter Saturday he used to go (back) to Sleibte and there [always] remained with him a bit of the five cakes. This is the cause of giving the chariot to Fíace; because a beetle¹ had gnawed his leg, so that death was nigh unto him.

Sechnaill said to Patrick: "When shall I make a panegyric for thee?" "[The time] is not come," saith Patrick. "I say not to thee," saith Sechnaill, "shall it be made? for indeed it will be made." "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is meet to be done with it quickly." Patrick knew that it was not far to the time of Sechnaill's death. For he is the first bishop who went under the mould of Ireland.

When he was making the hymn they were holding a fair near him. He told them to go thence. They began to mock him. He said to them: "The earth hath swallowed up." And it forthwith swallowed up twelve chariots of them.

Sechnaill said to Patrick's household at Ferte Martar: "Patrick is a good man, were it not for one thing. Patrick is an excellent man, if only there were not one thing." When Patrick heard these words among his

¹ Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 165) makes this a scorpion.

² 'sabbatho ante Dominicam primam Quadragesimæ, *ibid.*

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 28 a. 1.

tir, roíarfacht *Patraic* do Sechnall ind aithese riam. Et dixit Sechnall: "Ammosruith, ideo dixi: isbee no-prítchaisiu dodeseíree." "Amaccáin," ol *Patraic*, "isardeseíre naprítchaimsi deseire: ar dia prítchaid [28 a. 2] ní fóicebaind seor da ech carpuít alicui de sanctis 5 praesentibus et futuris in hác insola; sed mihi totum quæ mea et suorum sunt."

Luid Sechnall *cona* inmon do *Patraic*. Doluid *Patraic* for Belach Midluac[h]ra hierich *Conailli*. Fillis lasliab síar. Dororaid Sechnall. Bendachais cách díb dialailiu. 10 "Ba toise dam," ol Sechnall, "molad dorignes¹ dialailiu dunc nDé coeloithersu." "Fochen," ol *Patraic*, "molad muntiri Dé." Intindscana Sechnall iarsin, et dixit: "Beata Christi custodit [mandata]" ne prohibuisset Patricius si protinus nomen suum audiret. Canit² 15 usque 'Maximus nanque [in regno caelorum uocabitur.] Surgit Patricius. Elda ainmnichtir atír hi[r]rogab cosin. "Cíd tói," ol Sechnall, "corrisam locc derrit fil dím indoccus,³ is and gébthair ani arathá." Roíarfacht *Patraic* in uia, "Quomodo de homine diceretur⁴ 'Maximus in regno caelorum'?" Respondit Secundinus: "Pro positio ponitur [superlativus,] vel de pluribus generis sui precellit, Britonum⁵ vel Scotorum." Adeunt locum quem iam tunc Dallmuine dicebatur, ubi orauit et sedit; et postea quod superfuit cecinit ymni 25

¹ dorignius, E

² Canti, R. and E.

³ inoccus, E.

⁴ Sic E. dediceretur, R.

⁵ Sic E. bitorum, R.

household, Patrick asked Sechnall what he had previously said. And Sechnall replied: "O my elder, *ideo dixi*: little dost thou preach of ebarity." "My little son," saith Patrick, "it is for charity that I do not preach charity. For if I preached it, I should not leave a yoke of two chariot-horses for any one of the saints in this island, present or future; but unto me would be given all that is mine and theirs."

Sechnall went to Patrick with his hymn. Patrick fared by the Pass of Midluachair into the district of Conaille. He knelt¹ at the mountain westward. Sechnall hastened to him. Each of them blessed the other. "I desire," saith Sechnall, "that thou hear a panegyric which I have made for a certain man of God." "Welcome," saith Patrick, "is praise of God's household."² Sechnall then begins and he said: "*Beatu Christi custodit mandata,*"³ lest Patrick should prevent him [going on] if he (Patrick) should hear his name at once. Sechnall recited as far as *Maximus namque in regno colorum cocubitur.*⁴ Patrick gets up. The land on which Sechnall recited so far is named Elda. "Why art thou (so)?" saith Sechnall, "let us reach a secret place which we have at hand. There what remains will be recited." On the way Patrick asked how it could be said of a human being that he was 'greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' Secundinus⁵ answered: "The superlative is put for the positive, or he excels most of his race, Britons or Scots." They reach the place which was even then called Dallmuine, where Patrick prayed and sat down; and afterwards Sechnall recited the remainder

¹ I take *fillis* to stand for *fillis glúne* (genua flexit). Colgan, however, has 'ad pedem montis sedentem.' Perhaps it only means 'he turned.'

² or, perhaps, 'of a servant of God.'

³ This is the fifth line of the

hymn. If Sechnall had begun his recitation at the beginning, Patrick would have heard his name in the second line: *uri in Christo beati Patricii episcopi.* See infra.

⁴ the forty-fifth line.

⁵ The Latin name of Sechnall.

Rawl. Secundinus; et audiuit Patricius nomen, et postea
B. 512, gratulatus est ei.
fo. 28, a. 2.

28 b. 1. "Doas ind imuin" [ol Sechnall]. "Lín brothirni dochasla," olPatraic, "mad nech bed daltae duittsiu ocus nadloititis besse," olSechnall (?) "Adethad oDia 5 chena úr dophoirt," olPatraic. "Dor[o]jega inní," olSechnall. "Ciphe doferaib¹ hErenn," olPatraic, "diatairset natri caiptil, nó natri line, no [na²] tri focaill dedencha fribás comimithim glain,³ bidernama aainim." "Deo gratias ago," ol Sechnall. 10

Ymmon Patraic gaibsi Colman Elo innapraintig fátrí. Stetit Patricius forlar intigi, conerbairt⁴ alaili tuata: "Nafil ocunn airnaigthi aili nogabumais acht so?" Et exit Patricius post.

Cainnech formuir tess, conaccai dubnéll nandemna 15 secha. "Taidlith lib octuidecht," olCainnech. Venerunt postea narrantes demones: "Exiimus uero in o[b]uiam animæ alienius rustici diuitis pertinentis feriam Patrici facientisque, sed filii et soceri eius edebant. Et duo capitula uel trea de imno Patrici 20 canebat, ocus tartortansu, ismoo ba ær⁵ oldas ba molad doPatraic amal nochanad: tamen per hoc uicti⁶ sumus.⁷

28 a. 2. Dobretha tri fáseri grotha dó ocus imm olánamain irisig .i. Berach ocus Bríg. "Asso donaib maccaib 25

¹ diferaib, E.

² Sic, E.

³ Sic, E.; glan, R.

⁴ conderbart, E.

⁵ éer, E.

⁶ Sic E. uicti, R.

⁷ In R and E this and the two preceding paragraphs come next after the paragraph in p. 248, infra, beginning *Sreid Patraic*.

of the hymn; and Patrick heard his name, and afterwards wished Sechnall joy.

“The reward for the hymn!” [saith Sechnall.] “The number of hairs in thy chasuble,” saith Patrick, [“the same number of sinners shall go to heaven.”] “If there be any one who is a pupil of thine and the customs are not broken,” saith Sechnall. “Besides, the clay of thy place hath been sent from God.” “I have chosen it,” saith Sechnall. “Whosoever of the men of Ireland,” saith Patrick, “if the three last chapters or the three last lines, or the three last words, shall come at death with a pure intention, his soul shall be prepared (?)” “I give thanks to God,” saith Sechnall.

Patrick’s hymn, Colmán Elo recited it in his refectory thrice. Patrick [appeared and] stood in the house-floor. And a certain layman said, “Have we no other prayer but this, which we might recite?” And Patrick after that departed.

Cainnech, while at sea in the south, saw the black cloud of devils passing him. “Visit me when ye come, [back],” saith Cainnech. The demons afterwards came, saying: “We went forth to meet the soul of a rich countryman ¹ who was accustomed to celebrate [every year] Patrick’s feast [with a banquet] which his sons and sons-in-law consumed. And he used to repeat [every day] two or three stanzas of Patrick’s hymn; and, by thy dignity, as he used to repeat them, it was rather a satire than a panegyric on Patrick. Nevertheless, by this we have been vanquished.”²

Three curd-cheeses and butter were brought to Patrick by a religious couple, namely Berach and Bríg. “This

¹ animae cuiusdam divitis peccatoris, quae sepeliri meruit in inferni barathro, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 166.

² et nobis nostra praeda erepta est, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. becaib," olinbanscál. "Maith," ol*Patraic*. Tanie *drúí*¹
 512, fo. 28 and, Galldrúí nomen eius, qui dixit: "Credam tibi sí
 a. 2. in lapides conuersi fuerint *fascrí*." Quod Deus² per
 Patricium fecit. "Iterum conuerte in *fascru*," et fecit.
 "Iterum conuerte in lapides." Fecit. "Conuerte iterum." 5
 Cui dixit Patricius: "Non, sed sic in [facti] commemo-
 rationem erunt us[que] quo perueniát famulus Dei
 huc," qui est Dicuill indErnaidi.³ Magus cred[id]it.

Sreid *Patraic* achluene⁴ fomune ndluith and. Ás-
 said beithi *triadoirnnin*.⁵ Ishé fə[28 b. 1]-núair Dicuill. 10
 Bethechan cloc *Patraic*, cluene bece íairud⁶ qui est
 isindErnaidi Dicollo, *ocus* ataát and indichloich do-
 ronta dinaib *fascríb*. INtress *immorro* rucad laDí-
 cuill doLugmag⁷ diambu abb and. Itá⁸ indíu inGort
 Chonaich, dochuindehith ani isineill. 15

Lau *etrebrad* firt *Patraic* inso :

i. Ineú hierich Galeng⁹ ocTelaig Mane.

INboce dofogur abroinn namerlech hierich Ua Méith.

Rethair ingerrain cennech leis doDruim macc Ublæ
ocus laige dau¹⁰ ocon *grainni* cruithnechta. 20

Incarpat cen araid, cen eolach oArd-Machai coSleibti.

Coirtech¹¹ ri Bretan irricht sinnaich innatir.

¹ drui, E.

² dx (*i.e.*, dixit), R.

³ indErnaidi, E.

⁴ achluene, E.

⁵ bethe tria doirun, E.

⁶ íairud, R.; iairud, E.

⁷ doLugmad, E.

⁸ ata, E.

⁹ Galleng, E. This miracle is not mentioned elsewhere. For a similar miracle wrought at Inverlany see supra, p. 36, l. 19, and the *Lebar Brece homily*, (LB. p. 26) infra.

¹⁰ dá, E.

¹¹ Coirthech, E.

is for the little boys,"¹ saith the woman. "Good," saith Patrick. A wizard came there, Gall-drui ('foreign wizard') was his name; and he said: "I will believe in thee if these cheeses are turned into stones." Which thing God did by means of Patrick. "Turn them again into cheeses," [saith the wizard]. And Patrick did this. "Turn them again into stones." He did so. "Turn them back." But Patrick said: "Nay, but thus shall they remain in commemoration of the deed, until hither shall come a servant of God,"—who is Dicuill in Ernaide. The wizard believed.

Patrick flings his handbell under a thick brake there. A birch (*bethe*) grows through its handle. It is this that Dicuill found, the Bethechán ('Betullanum'), Patrick's bell, a little bell of iron, which is (now) in the Oratory (?) of Dicuill. And there stand the two stones that were made of the cheeses. The third, however, was brought by Dicuill to Louth, when he was abbot there. It stands to-day in Gort Conaich. [It is] to be sought in the church.

A little catalogue (?) of Patrick's miracles, this, namely:—

The hound [quelled] in the territory of Galeng at Telach Maini ('Maine's hill').

The goat that spake out of the thieves' bellies in the territory of Húi Meith.²

The running of the nag without anyone beside him to Druim Maice Ublai, and his lying down beside the grain of wheat.³

The chariot without a charioteer without anyone who knew [the way] from Armagh to Sleibte.⁴

Corotieus King of the Britons [changed] into the shape of a fox in his country.⁵

¹ quos in pietate et litteris vir sanctus educabat, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 166.

² supra, p. 180, l. 21.

³ supra, p. 240, l. 12.

⁴ supra, p. 242, ll. 1-5.

⁵ infra, p. 271, l. 19, and Probus, lib. 2, c. 27 (*Tr. Th.* p. 55)

- Rawl. B. Firt bithbeo, blaé Oinaich [28 b. 2] Tailten cen marb
512, fo. 28. do.¹
- b. 2. Rí Caisil cenaidid² ngon *acht* rop sil Oengusa
maice Nadfráich.
- Namáclairise³ cen togail .i. Ráith Airthir. Sendom-5
nach imMaig Ái. Eccur⁴ Sendonnaig (.i. senbriathar).
DunSobairgi.
- Sentu dona airchinnech*ib*⁵ .i. Soppaltair la For-
braigi, *ocus* Domnach Naissi, *ocus* Mag itir daGlais
imMachai. 10
- Nau[i]gatio abBertlaig imBertlaig Calrigi Culi⁶
Cernadan.
- Nasrotha dobennach⁷ ingilla oc Drobáis.
- INgabail fridei ocBanna⁸ airthir.
- INgabail cachráithi oce Sliecech.⁹ 15
- Saméir theiti¹⁰ alloch*ib*¹¹ Éirni¹² immuir: toirthech
alleth¹³ sair friCenél Conaill, étort[h]ech alleth síar
friCinel Coirpri tri brethir Patraic.
- Findglais ocMartarthaig, Druim Cáin *ocus* Druim
Cruachni. 20
- Rígi dogait arLáigairi, arCoirpre, arFiacha, arMane.
Arrigi do tabairt do Eujan, do Chonall, [do] Crem-
thann, doConall Erbhal.
- Na gobaind oc denam¹⁴ na cloce .i. Macc-cecht *ocus*
Cuanu *ocus* Macc-tail. 25
- Na cerdda oc denam¹⁴ nammías *ocus* namenistreach
ocus nacailech naltora .i. Tassach *ocus* Essu *ocus*
Bitiu.

¹ di, E.² Sic E. aigid, R.³ Sic E. Namáol airise, R.⁴ ecor, E.⁵ airchinnech*ib*, E.⁶ Cairrige Cuile, E.⁷ robendach, E.⁸ Bandai, E.⁹ Slieich, E.¹⁰ Samer. Teite, E.¹¹ Sic E.; illoch*ib*, R.¹² Éirne, E.¹³ Sic E.; illeth, R.¹⁴ dénum, E.

An ever-living miracle, the green of Oenach Tailten without a dead person [being carried] thence.¹

The King of Cashel not to be slain by a wound, provided he be of the seed of Oengus son of Natfráich.²

The consecrated residences not to be destroyed, namely, Rath-Airthir, Sen-donnach in Mag-Ái.—*Eccur Sen-donnaig*, that is a proverb—[and Sen-donnach at] Dún Sobairce.

Old age to the *airchinnechs*, that is, of Sopaltair in Forbraige, and Donnach Naissi and Mag Itha and Mag itir dá Glais in Armagh.

The sailing out of Bertlach³ into Bertlach of Calrige Cule Cernadan.

The streams which the lad blessed at Drobáis.⁴

The taking of [fish] by day in the eastern Bann.

The taking [of fish] at every season in Sliccech.⁶ The Samcir which goes out of the lochs of Erne into the sea: fruitful is the half eastward towards the Cenél Conaill: barren is its western half toward Cenél Coirbri, through Patrick's word.⁷

A stream of fair water at Martarthech, Druim Cáim and Druim Cruachni.⁸

The taking of kingship from Lóiguire, from Coirbre, from Fiacha, from Mane.

The grant of their kingship to Eogan, to Conall, to Cremthann and to Conall Erbal.

The smiths making the bells, namely, Macc-cecht and Cúana and Macc-táil.

The artizans making the patens and the credence-tables and the altar-chalices, namely, Tassach and Essu and Bitiu.

¹ Supra, p. 70, line 30.

² Supra, p. 196, l. 12.

³ à Bert-lacijs Occidentalibus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. Supra, p. 136, l. 25.

⁴ aquas Drobaisij fluminis reddiderit piscibus fecundas propter

puerorum charitatem, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. Supra, p. 146, l. 8.

⁵ Supra, p. 160, l. 12.

⁶ Supra, p. 142, l. 7.

⁷ Supra, p. 148, l. 13.

⁸ Colgan omits.

Rawl. B. [Na cailecha oc dénum nananart altóra] i. Coch-
512, fo. 28, maissi² *ocus Tigris ocus Lupait ocus Darerce.*
b. 2.

I Arsna mórmirbailibsi, *tra*, rochomfoicsechstar³ lai-
thi eitsehta *Patraic ocus* atechta *docum* nime. *Isel*
dorinscan techt do Ardmachai, combad and nobeith a 5
eisceirgi. Tanie Victor angel adochum. *Isel* rorádi
fris: “Ni and rorath duit eisceirgi. Eire *forteúla*⁴ don-
baili asatanac i. dont⁵ *Saball*, arisand [sin]⁵ atbéla, *ocus*
nisan Machai dorath⁶ duitsiu oDia,” ol intangel,
“Tordan *ocus* tairechas, *docrabad ocus* tforcetal inArd- 10
machai *amal* nobeithi fein beo and.” *Patricius dixit*:

“Doroega⁷ [29 a. 1] port neisceirgi,
Ardmacha moehell;
nida coimsech mosoiri,
isdoire cocend. 15

IS Ard-macha nocharaimsi,
innmain treb, innmain tulach,
dún gus tathaig manimse:
bidfás Emain nacurad.”⁸

Angelus dixit:

“Amal nobethe *fris* bachaill buan ell⁹
linfaid dogreit ordan oll. Ardmacha dochell.” 20

F'orácaib intangel comarli oce *Patraic amal* noad-
nasta, dicens: “Tucaiter,” ol sé, “dá ócdam disciri
do cethrai *Conaill* aFindabair i. oClochor,¹⁰ *ocus* sui- 25
digther dochorp hiearreine forru, *ocus* sicipleth tíassat
indocdaim anocnar *ocus* an bale¹¹ hi tairisfet, bad and-
sin notadnastar. *Ocus* notabar fereubat fir isind ad-
nacial¹² armatucaiter do reilei *ocus* do thaisi ass.” Do-

¹ Sic, E.

² Cochmaiss, E.

³ rochomfoicsechstar, E.

⁴ Eirgg fortechulu, E.

⁵ Sic, E.

⁶ nissi Machai rorath, E.

⁷ Doroeta, E.

⁸ E. omits this quatrain.

⁹ buanéll, E.

¹⁰ oChlochur, E.

¹¹ ambaili, E.

¹² adnucol, E.

The nuns making the altar-cloths, namely, Cochmaiss¹ and Tigris and Lupait and Dareree.

Now after these great marvels, the day of Patrick's death, and of his going to heaven, drew nigh; and he began to go¹ to Armagh in order that his resurrection might be therein. The angel Victor came towards him, and this he said to him: "It is not there that resurrection hath been granted to thee. Go back to the place from which thou hast come, namely, to the Barn; for it is there thou shalt die, and not in Armagh. It hath been granted to thee by God," saith the Angel, "that thy dignity and thy pre-eminence, thy piety and thy teaching shall be in Armagh as if thou thyself wert alive therein." Patrick said:

"I have chosen a place of resurrection,
 Armagh my church:
 I have no power over my freedom,
 It is bondage to the end.
 It is Armagh that I love,
 A dear thorpe, a dear hill,
 A fortress which my soul haunteth;
 Emain of the heroes will be waste."

The angel said:

"As thy crozier . . .
 Great dignity will fill thy . . . , Armagh
 thy church."

The angel left advice to Patrick as to how he should be buried. "Let," saith he, "two unbroken young oxen² of the cattle of Conall be brought out of Findabair, that is, from Clochar, and let thy body be put into a little car behind them. And on whatsoever side the oxen shall go alone, and whatsoever place they will stay in, let it be there that thou shalt be buried; and be thou put a man's cubit³ into the grave, that thy remains and thy relies be

¹ ex finibus Vliidae, in qua tunc erat, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

² Compare 1 Sam. vi. 7.

³ Lit. a man's man-cubit.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29 a. 1. rigned *samlaid* iarnaieitsecht. Rucsat nadainn *conice*¹ baili itá indíu Dún Lethglasi. *Roadnacht* isind inatsin² *cononoir ocus* airnítin.

Occus fri re da aidheili deacc .i. anairet robatar sruithi hÉrend *occóare conimmnaib ocus* salmaib *ocus* 5 canntaicib, nocho raibi adaig³ hiMaig Inis acht soillsi aingelaeda⁴ and. *Ocus* atberat araili robái soillsi *angelaeda*⁵ hiMaig Inis cocend mbliadne iarnetsecht *Patraic*, quod nulli ad tanti uiri meritum declarandum accidisse dubium est. Et ita non uissa nox in tota 10 illa regione in tempore luctus Patrici, qualiter Ezechiae lang[u]enti, in [h]orologio Achaz demonstrato⁶ sanitatis indicio, sol per .x. lineas⁷ reuersus est. Et sicut sol contra Gabon et luna contra uallem Achilon stetit.

ISin cétna aidehi aingil inCoimded nandúlai roba- 15 tar iefrithairi choirp *Patraic* cocetlaib *spírtaltuib*. *Ocus* bolod⁸ indraith diada tánic dinchurp [29 a. 2] noeb *ocus* ceol nanangel dorat súan *ocus* failti donasruithib⁹ fer nÉrend batar icairi inchoirp isnahaidchib iarum. Corochomailled *fris bennachtu* Iacoib foramacc 20 .i. Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni quem benedixit Dominus.

Bái immorro¹⁰ tríall *cumling* móir *ocus* catha etir choiced nÉrend .i. Ultu *ocus* Uu Neill *ocus* Airgiallu iceosnam chuirp *Patraic*—Airgiallu *ocus* Uu Nell¹¹ ictri- 25

¹ na doimm conici, E.

² inntsin, E.

³ aghaid, R.; adhaig, E.

⁴ ainglecgha, E.

⁵ E. omits.

⁶ Sic E.; R. ta.

⁷ Sic E.; xii. unias, R.

⁸ bolodmaraib, R.; bolomairib, E.

⁹ dosruithib, E.

¹⁰ vº, E.; R. omits.

¹¹ ní Neill, E.

not taken out of it." Thus was it done after his death. The oxen brought him as far as the stead wherein to-day standeth Downpatrick. He was buried in that place with honour and veneration.

And for the space of twelve nights, to wit, the time during which the elders of Ireland were watching him with hymns and psalms and canticles, there was no night in Mag Inis, but an angelic radiance therein. And some say that angelic radiance abode in Mag Inis till the end of a year after Patrick's death. And no one doubts that this came to pass in order to make manifest the merit of so great a man. And so night was not seen in the whole of that region during the days of lamentation for Patrick, just as when Hezekiah was sick, the sun went back ten degrees on Ahaz's sundial,¹ as a manifest sign of his recovery. And even so the sun stood over-against Gibeon and the moon over-against the valley of Ajalon.²

On the first night the angels of the Lord of the elements were watching Patrick's body with spiritual songs. The odour of the divine grace which came from the holy body, and the music of the angels, brought sleep and joy to the elders of the men of Ireland who were watching the body in the nights afterwards. So that in his case was fulfilled the blessing of Jacob to his son: "Behold the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed."³

Howbeit, there was an attempt at a great conflict and battle between a province of Ireland, namely Ulster, and the Húi Néill and the men of Oriel, contending for Patrick's body—the men of Oriel and the Húi Néill

¹ 2 Kings, xx. 11.

² Josh. x. 12.

³ Genesis xxvii. 27.

Rawl.
B. 512,
fo. 29, a. 2.

all atabarta doArdmachai, *Ulaíd* ocóastud occu. *Condeochatar* hÚi Néill coalailiu¹ *husque* and, cotuarcab ind ob *fríu tria* nert Dé. Odochóid inlía asindobaind dochuatar nasluáig fochombáig .i. hÚi Neill *ocus Ulaíd* dobreith chuirp *Patraic*. Ised tarfas dochach díib, 5 breith inchuirp leis dochum athíri. Corusetarscar *Dia* fon nindassin *triarath Patraic*.

Biat naferta *connici* so indín.

ITÉ so ferta atchuidetar sruithi hÉrend *ocus* dosratsat fo glo[s]náthe² naissnésen. Atchuaid *cetus* ferta 10 *Patraic ocus ruscummai Columb* cilli *macc Fedlimthe*. Ulañ *macc ói Conchaboin*.³ Adamnan óa Tinni. hElerán indecnaí. Cíarán Belaig Duin. *Epscop Ermedach* óClochur. Colman Uamach. Cruimmthir Collait oDruim Roilgech. 15

Fer frían, *tra*, inferso *conglaini* aicennid *amal huasalathracha*. Fír-ailithir *amal Abram*. Cennais dílgadach *óeridi[u]*⁴ *amal M[o]ysi*.⁴ *Salmchetlaíd* molbthaidi *amal Dabid*. Etsud⁵ necnai *amal Solmoin*. Lestar togai *frífuacra* firinni *amal Pol nabstal*. Fer 20 lán dorath *ocus dodeolaidecht*⁶ inSpirta Noeb *amal Iohain maccáan*. Lugbart⁷ cáin coclannaib sualach. Gesca fíni cotorthigi. Tene taidlech *congris* goirthi *ocus* tesaigthi na *macc mbethad imandud ocus imélseud* deairci. Léo *tria* nert *ocus cumachtai*. Colum 25 arcennsa *ocus diuti*. [29 b. 1.] Naithir artrebairi *ocus tuaichli frímaith*. Cennais, humal, áilgen frí *maccu bethad*. Fordorchaidi, écennais *frímacen báis*. Mog

¹ co alaili, E.

² glonathi, E.

³ Chonchobair, E.

⁴ Sic, E.

⁵ Etsúd, E.

⁶ dirath 7 doéolas, E.

⁷ Lubgort, E.

proceeding to take it to Armagh, the Ulstermen retaining it with them.¹ So the Húi Néill made for a certain water there, and through God's might the river rose against them. When the flood went out of the river the hosts, namely the Húi Néill and the Ulstermen, marched to battle to carry off Patrick's body. This is what seemed to each of the hosts, that they were bearing the body with them to their [own] country. So in that wise God separated them through Patrick's grace.

Thus far let the miracles be to-day.

These are the miracles which the elders of Ireland have declared and which they connected with a thread of narration.² Colomb-cille son of Fedlimid, first, declared Patrick's miracles and compiled (?) them. [Likewise did] Ultán son of Conchobar's descendant: Adamnán descendant of Tinne: Elerán of the wisdom: Ciarán of Belach Duin: Bishop Ermedach of Clochar: Colmán Uamach: Presbyter Collait of Druim Roilgech.

A righteous man, verily, was this man, with purity of nature, like the patriarchs. A true pilgrim, like Abraham. Mild, forgiving from the heart, like Moses. A praiseworthy psalmist, like David. A student (?) of wisdom, like Solomon. A choice vessel for proclaiming righteousness, like Paul the apostle. A man full of the grace and the favour of the Holy Spirit, like John the child.³ A fair herb-garden with plants of virtues. A vine-branch with fruitfulness. A flashing fire with the fervour of the warming and heating of the sons of Life, for kindling and for inflaming charity. A lion through strength and might. A dove for gentleness and simplicity. A serpent for prudence and cunning as to good. Gentle, humble, merciful unto the sons of Life. Gloomy,

¹ ubi sanctus Sabhallense primum in Hibernia monasterium fundavit. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 168-169.

² Scripti enim sunt de actis huius

Thaumaturgi Occidentis Apostoli libri sexaginta sex, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

³ Luke i. 15, 80.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, b. 1. sáthair *ocus* fognoma doCrist. Rí arordan *ocus* cun-
 achta fricúimrech *ocus* tuaslucud, fri soerud *ocus* do-
 erud, frímarbud¹ *ocus* bethugud.

IARsnamórmírbuilbisi, tra, .i. iartódúscud marb, iar
 níc clam *ocus* dall [*ocus* bodur²] *ocus* bacach *ocus* æs 5
 cacha tedma archenai, iar nordned epscop *ocus* sacart
ocus deochon *ocus* áosa cacha gráid olchenai isindeclais,
 iarforcetal fer nErend *ocus* iarnambaisted, iar fothugud
 cell *ocus* mainistrech, iareosrad ídal *ocus* arracht *ocus*
 eladna³ druidechta, rochomfoisigestar⁴ huair eitsechta 10
 indí noeb-Pátraic. Arroét corp Crist onepscep, óThasach
 doréir comarli Victoir aingil. Roféad aspirut iarsin
 dochum nime isind fichetmad bliadain ar cét a óisi.⁵
 Atá achorp hifoss isna[ib]⁵ talmannaib calléice cono-
 nóir *ocus* ermitin. Gid mor aonóir hifoss, bid mo ind- 15
 onóir bias dáu⁶ hilló bratha, intan midfess for torad
 aproaecepta⁷ amal cech nardapstal, inoentaid apstal
ocus deiscipul Issu, inoentaid noi ngrad angel na-
 tarmdechatar, inoentaid Deachta *ocus* Dóenachta Maice
 Dé, isindoentaid isuaisli cech oentaid,⁸ inoentaid na- 20
 noeb-Trindoiti, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Alim trocairi Dé tre impidi Patraic. Roíssam huili
 indoentaid sin! Roattrebam in secula seculorum!
 Amén.⁹

INnafertasa dino¹⁰ atchuademar doronai in Coimdiu 25
 arPatraic¹¹ ciabeith nech ris¹² nitatmorai. Araidi isat
 úati do ilib, arnifil foraimmet dóenai conísad achuim-
 niugud. *Ocus* nihil scribhnid conísad ascribend innan-

¹ fri sóerad *ocus* dóerad fri mar-
 bad, E.

² Sic, E.

³ eladan, E.

⁴ rochomocsegestar, E.

⁵ a aese, E.

⁶ dó, E.

⁷ praeceuchta, E.

⁸ uaisliu cech óendacht, E.

⁹ E. adds f.i.n.i.t.

¹⁰ Perhaps didu = O. Ir. didiu.

¹¹ er Phatraic, E.

¹² res, E.

ungentle to the Sons of Death. A laborious and serviceable slave to Christ. A king for dignity and power as to binding and loosing, as to liberating and enslaving, as to killing and giving life.

Now, after these great marvels, namely, after raising the dead to life, after healing lepers and blind and deaf and halt and sick folk of every kind besides: after ordaining bishops and priests and deacons and folk of every other grade in the Church: after teaching the men of Ireland and after baptizing them: after founding churches and monasteries: after destroying idols and images and the knowledge of wizardry, the time of holy Patrick's death drew nigh. He received Christ's Body from the bishop, from Tassach, according to the angel Victor's counsel. Then he sent forth his spirit to heaven in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. His body is here still on earth with honour and veneration. But though great be his honour here, greater will be the honour that he will have on Doomsday, when he will give judgment on the fruit of his teaching like every high apostle: in the union of Jesu's apostles and disciples: in the union of the nine ranks of angels that have not transgressed: in the union of the Godhead and Manhood of the Son of God: in the union that is nobler than any union, in the union of the Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. I beseech God's merey through Patrick's intercession. May we all attain to that unity! may we dwell [therein] for ever and ever! Amen.

These miracles, then, that we have related, which the Lord wrought for Patrick, though one should be . . . they are not great. However, they are a few of many, for there is no human memory¹ that could remember

¹ Lit. recollection.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, b. 2. dernai dofertaib *ocus* domírbuilib isna¹ ferand [21 b. 2]-aib ir[r]oacht.

IARfothugud dino² eclas nimdai, iarcoisecrad manistrech *ocus* iarmbaitsed fer nErend, iar mor ænimne *ocus* iarmorsæthar,³ iarcosecrad ídal *ocus* arracht, iar 5 comainsem ríg nimdæ nadenaitis⁴ areir, iartecbail inna fairni dognétis⁵ areir, *ocus* iarnordned dodeichenbor ardib⁶ fichtib artrib cétaibh doepscoapaib, *ocus* iarnordned do teora míle do sacartaib *ocus* ócs cech uirtt [archena⁷] isindeclais, iarnáine *ocus* ernaighi, 10 iar trocairi *ocus* cainuairrigi, iarcondsai *ocus* ailgine frínaceu bethad, iar seirc Dé *ocus* comnesom,⁸ arroet corp Crist ond epscop, oThasach, *ocus* rofáid iarsin aspirut docum nime. Ata immorro achorp hifoss hitalmain calléice cononoir *ocus* airmitin. *ocus* eid 15 mór ahonóir hifoss bid mó aonoir illou brátha, INTan taitnifes amal grein hinimh, *ocus* intan midfes for thorad a procepta amal Petar no Pol. Biaidh iarsin innoentaid⁹ uasalathrach *ocus* fátha, inoentaid noeb *ocus* noebuag indomain, inoentaid apstal *ocus* discipul 20 Issu Crist, inoentaid naeclaisi cechtarda nime *ocus* talman, inoentaid noi ngrad nime natarmdechatar, inoentaid Deachta *ocus* Dóenachta Maicc Dé, issind-*ocus* inoentaid isuaisliu cechnoentaid, inoentaid naTrinóiti, Athair *ocus* Macc *ocus* Spirit Noeb.¹⁰ 25

Ailme trocairi nDÉ¹¹ tre impidi Patraic. Roisam uili¹² indoentaid sin! roáirilem!¹³ roaitrebam! in secula seculorum, amén.

¹ isnaib, E.

² Perhaps *didu* = O. Ir. *didiu*.

³ iar mórenmne 7 iar mórsoethar, E.

⁴ nadentais, E.

⁵ dognitis, E.

⁶ di no tri, E.

⁷ Sic E.

⁸ coibnesam, E.

⁹ inoentaid, E.

¹⁰ E. adds: in sécula seculorum, Amen.

¹¹ ailimm, E.

¹² uili, E.; R. omits.

¹³ roarlem, E.

¹⁴ E. omits.

it. And there is no writer who could write all the miracles and marvels which Patrick wrought in the lands into which he came.

Now after founding churches in plenty, after consecrating monasteries, after baptizing the men of Ireland, after great patience and after great labour, after destroying idols and images and after rebuking many kings who did not do his will, and after raising up those who did his will, after ordaining three hundred and three score and ten bishops, and after ordaining three thousand priests and folk of every grade in the Church besides; after fasting and prayer: after mercy and clemency: after gentleness and mildness to the sons of Life: after love of God and his neighbours, he received Christ's body from the bishop, from Tassach, and then he sent his spirit to heaven. His body, however, is here still on earth, with honour and veneration. And though great be honour to it here, greater will be the honour to it on Doomsday, when it will shine like a sun in heaven,¹ and when it will give judgment on the fruit of his preaching, even as Peter or Paul. It will abide thereafter in the union of patriarchs and prophets, in the union of the saints and holy virgins of the world, in the union of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ, in the union of the Church both of heaven and earth: in the union of the nine ranks of heaven that transgressed not, in the union of the Godhead and Manhood of God's Son, in the union that is nobler than any union, the union of the Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost.

I beseech God's mercy through Patrick's intercession. May we all attain to that union! May we deserve it May we dwell therein for ever and ever!

² Cf. Daniel xii. 3; Matth. xiii. 43.

Rawl. B.
512, fo. 29,
b. 2.

Post ig[itur] fundatas ecclesias,¹ post monasteria consecrata, post homines² bapuzizatos, post fidem [per totam patriam praedicatam,] post tantam patientiam et tantum laborem, post euangelice gratie largitionem, post idula distructa, carminibus et sectis gentilitatis e[uae]uatis,³ post magicas artes superatas: prop[h]etatis turbis filiorum Dei futuris,⁴ potestate demonum fugata, multis [30 a. 1] per spiritum profetie⁵ in honorem et regnum subleuatis, multis quoque regibus contemp[ti]s, nam quos soluebat [a Deo soluebantur, et quos uin- 10 ciebat] uineti fiebant⁶ [apud Deum,] merito accepta apostolica potestate, uelut dictum est a Christo ad Petrum " quaecumque⁷ ligaueris super terram erunt ligata in caelis et quaecumque⁷ solueris in terris erunt soluta⁸ in caelis; post episcopos ordinatos et sacer- 15 dotes et prespeteros et diaconos et reliquo[s] ecclesiastico[s] ordinato[s];⁹ post obpropria et conuicia tyrannorum perpressa: post minas et temptationes tolleratas, cotidie pro Christo moriendo; post tantam [pa]cientiam¹⁰ et ieiunium, post misericordiam et benignitatem, 20 post mansuetudinem et lenitatem, post tantam caritatem, praemisís filiorum Dei de fructu laboris sui cateruis, post sacrificium assumptum ab episcopo Tassoeh, migrauit ad Dominum, et in pace dormiuit, et inter choross angelorum congauget praesentia¹¹ Domini 25 sui, merendo [illum] uidere, ut merito illi dicatur: ¹² " Euge,¹³ serue bone et fidelis, intra¹⁴ in gaudium Domini Dei tui." In qua exaltatione¹⁵ et beatitudine

¹ ecclesias, R.; aeclesias, E.

² Sic, E, omnes, R.

³ viatis, E.

⁴ profuturis, R. and E.

⁵ uirtutem, dei, Colg.

⁶ Sic E.; fiebunt, R.

⁷ quoscumque, R. and E.

⁸ solutam, R.

⁹ reliquo æcclesiastico ordine ordinato, E.

¹⁰ praecentiam, R.; praesentiam, E.

¹¹ patientiam, E.

¹² dicatur, R.

¹³ uige, E.

¹⁴ in terra, R.

¹⁵ exultatione, R.; exultatione, E.

So after founding churches, after consecrating monasteries, after baptizing human beings, after preaching the faith throughout the whole country, after so much patience and labour, after bestowing the grace of the Gospel, after destroying idols, the spells and practices of heathenism being made void: after the wizards' arts had been overcome; having foretold the future crowds of the sons of God, put to flight the power of the devils, raised by the spirit of prophecy many unto honour and kingship, also brought many kings into contempt (for those whom he loosed were loosed by God and those whom he bound became bound before God—the apostolic power having been deservedly received, as Christ said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth will be loosed in heaven"): after ordaining bishops and priests and elders and deacons and the other ecclesiastics: after patiently enduring tyrants' taunts and reproaches, after suffering threats and temptations, in dying daily for Christ¹; after so great patience and fasting; after mercy and kindness, after gentleness and tenderness, after much charity, troops of God's sons being sent before from the fruit of his labour; after receiving the eucharist from bishop Tassach, he departed to the Lord and slept in peace. And among the choirs of angels he rejoiceth with them in his Lord's presence, deserving to behold Him. Wherefore it is justly said to him, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord thy God."² In which

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 31.

| ² Matth. xxv. 23.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 30, a. 1. perfruitur in presentia Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Alme¹ trocairi, et reliqua.

In E. this chapter comes immediately before the sentence *Biat naferta connici so indiu* (supra p. 256), and begins with the following piece of Latin:— 5

Haec ergo quae denuntiauimus opera, quae diuina gratia, per uirum sanctum Patricium, ut essent concess[s]it, quoduis audientibus grauiam et magna uideant[ur] pauca tamen sunt de plurimis,² parua de multis, uasi memoriae ex ipsis commendata sunt. Summatim excerpta uidentur, quasi sensus,³ quae recordatio continere potest; quis [enim] scriptor perstringere ualet singula, quique signa, miracula, prodigia, quae in singulis régionibus, prouinciis, uicis, castellis,⁴ locis, confecit.⁵ 15

Eg. 93, fo. 18, b. 2.

The Egerton MS. adds the following chapter:—

ISiatso in cethrur ar .xx. boi innúrd la Pátraic .i.

Sechnall aepscop.

Mochta asaccart.

Epscop Eire abreithem. 20

Epscop mace Cairthinn atrénfer.

Benen asalmchetlaig.

Coeman Chill Riada amaccoem.

Sinell o Chill Dareis aastire.

Athgein Bothi Domnaig achoice. 25

Cruimthir Mescan oDomnach Mescan oc Fochain

a cirpsere .i. a scoaire.

Cruimthir Besena oDomnach Dala a sacart meisi.

Cruimthir Catan ocus Cruimthir Acan a da foss.

¹ ailim, E.

² MS. plaurimis.

³ MS. quissi senus.

⁴ cf. Vulg. Luc. xxiv. 13.

⁵ Of this the Irish paragraph beginning supra, p. 258, line 25, is, apparently, an abridged translation.

⁶ Translated by Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167; see also Book of Lecan, fo. 35 b., cols. 3 and 4, and Annals by the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 448.

exaltation and blessedness he enjoys in the presence of the Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. We beseech mercy, etc.

These works, therefore, which we have proclaimed, which Divine Grace hath granted to be wrought by the holy man Patrick, may, to those who have heard any one of them, appear wonderful and great. Yet they are but a few from a multitude, little from many, which have been committed to the receptacle of memory. They are to be regarded as a summary, as it were, an epitome, such as recollection can grasp. [For] what writer could detail every particular regarding the signs, the wonders, the prodigies, which he wrought in the several regions, provinces, towns, villages, and places?

These are the four and twenty persons who were in orders with Patrick, namely:—

Sechnall his bishop.¹

Mochta his priest.²

Bishop Erc his judge.

Bishop Macc Cairthinn his champion.

Benén his psalmist.

Coemán of Cell Riada his chamberlain.³

Sinell of Cell-Dareis his bell-ringer.⁴

Athcen of Both Donnaig his cook.

Presbyter Mescán of Domnach Mescáin at Fochain his brewer.

Presbyter Besena of Domnach Dala his chaplain.⁵

Presbyter Catán and Presbyter Acan his two waiters.⁶

¹ fuit ipsius Vicarius in spiritualibus et suffraganeus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

² Archi-presbyter, *ibid.*

³ *maccoem*, lit. 'youth'; Colgan here reads "eubicularius."

⁴ *astire* (=ostiarus), "campanarius," Colgan, *ibid.*

⁵ Sacellanus, *ibid.*

⁶ *Catanus* praesbyter et *Ocanotus* praesbyter, duo hospitalarij, siue hospitum ministri, *ibid.* The Book of Lecan, as cited by O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, A.D. 448, has: Cruimther Cádán ó Tamlachtaiu Ardda, 7 Cruimther mBrogán a da fosmesi.

Egerton
93, fo. 18,
b. 2.

Odran oDisiurt Ódrain inUib Failgi a ara.

Cruimthir Manach afer cónnadaig.

Rottan abuachail.

A thri gobaind .i. Macc Cecht, [Laebán] oDomnach
Laeban, ise doroine indFindfaidech, *ocus*: Fort- 5
chern iRaith Adine.

Essa is Bite is Tasach *athri* cerda.

A theóra drúinecha .i. Lupait *ocus* Ere ingen
Daire *ocus* Cruimtheris hi Cengoba.¹

OCUS isiat sin lín dlegar inoentaig Iosep, *ocus* ise 10
lín dlegar immeis righ Caisil o ré Feidlimid
maicc Crimthain ille .i. ri da choiced Mumun,
ocus rl.

¹ This list is thus given in the
Book of Leinster (facsimile, p. 353,
col. *d*) :

ISiatso incethrur arfichet batar
inurd laPatrie .i.

Sechnall aepscop.

Mochta asacart.

Epscop Ere abrithem.

Epscop macc Cairthind atrenfer.

Benen asalmchetlaid.

Coeman Cilli Riatai a maccocem.

Sinell Cille Aires a astiri.

Athgin Bothi Domnaig achoic.

Crumthir Mescan, oDomnuch
Mescan, achirbsiri.

Crumthir mBesnai, oDomnuch
Dula, asacart mése.

Athri gobaind, [macc Cecht]
oDomnuch Armoín (*no* Arnoin),
ocus Loibán, *ocus* Fortchern.

Atri cerdda, Essiu *ocus* Biti *ocus*
Tassach.

Atri drúnecha, Lupait *ocus* Ere
ingen Daire, *ocus* Crumthiris.

Odrán inDisiurt Odrain in hUib
Falgi, a ara.

Crumthir Catan .i. oThamlach-
tain Ardda, *ocus* Crumthir Brocan,
ada foss.

Crumthir Manach afer deama
connaid.

Roddan abuachail.

Odrán of Disert Odráin in Húi-Failgi his charioteer.

Presbyter Manach his fire-woodman.¹

Rottan his cowherd :

His three smiths, namely, Macc-Cecht,² [Laebán] of Domnach Laebáin, (it is he that made the [bell called] *Fíndfúidech*),³ and Fortchern in Rath Adine⁴ :

Essa and Bite and Tassach his three artisans :⁵

His three embroideresses,⁶ namely Lupait, and Ere daughter of Dáre, and Cruimthiris in Cengoba.

And that is the number that should be in Joseph's company,⁷ and it is the number that should be at the King of Cashel's table down from the time of Feidlimed son of Crimthann, king of the two provinces of Munster, &c.

¹ Monachus . . . focarius, lignorumque provisor, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

² ó Domhnach Arnoin, Book of Lecan, cited by O'Donovan.

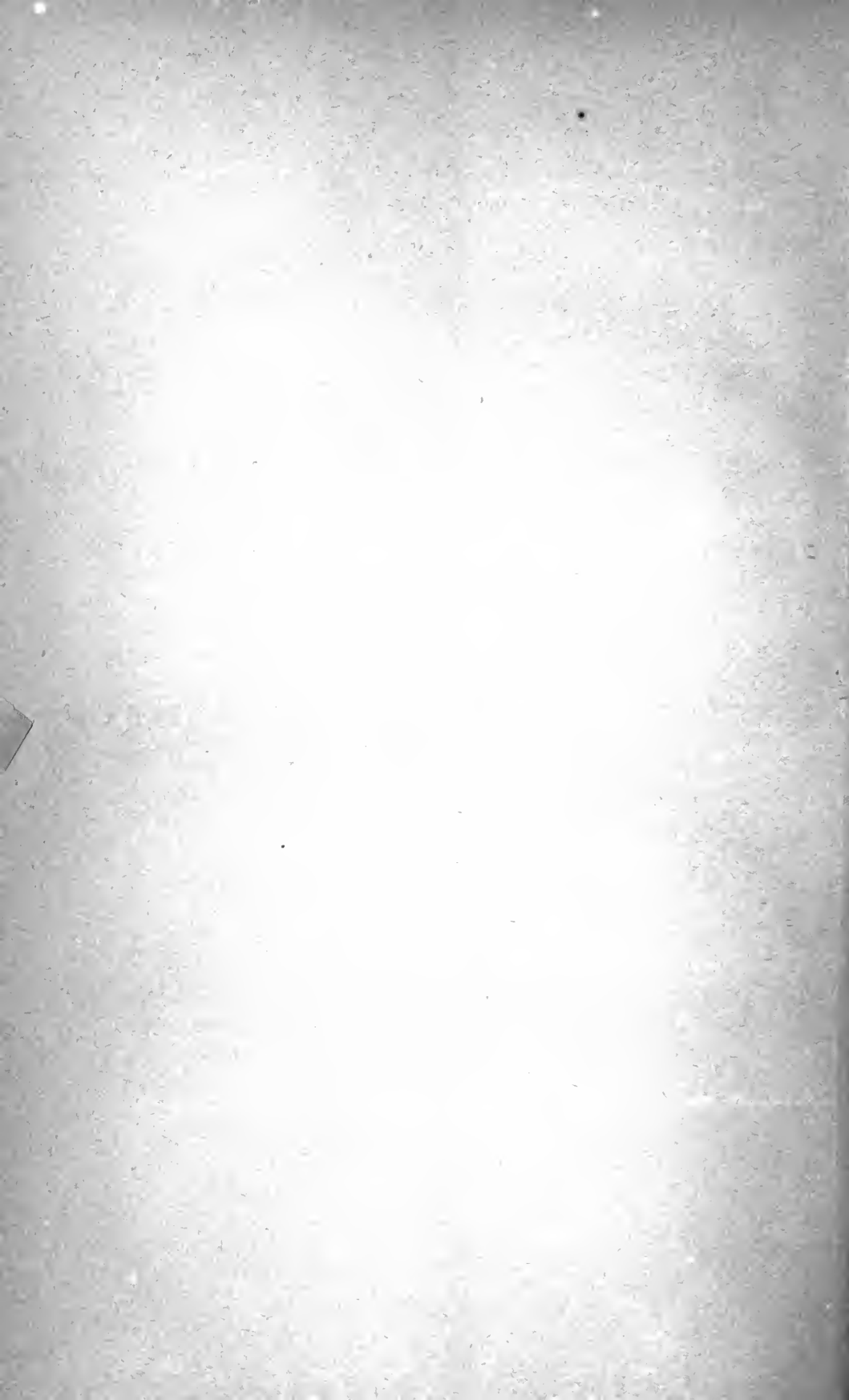
³ reliquarium illud famosum, *Finn-fúidheach* nuncupatum, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. See Reeves, *St. Patrick's Bell*, Dublin 1877, p. 29, where this name is rendered by 'sweet-sounding.' Colgan gives only two smiths, Maccetus of *Domnach-loe-bain* and Fortchernus of *Rathaidme*.

⁴ i Raith Semni, Book of Lecan, cited by O'Donovan.

⁵ fabri aerarii, vasorumque sacrorum fabricatores, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

⁶ textrices, et sacrorum linteorum erant confectrices, *ibid.*

⁷ lit. 'unity.' This Joseph may have been the Iosep, the thirty-ninth of Patrick's successors at Armagh, who flourished A.D. 945.



DOCUMENTS CONCERNING S. PATRICK.

1.—NOTES BY MUIRCHU MACCU-MACHTHENI.

Quoniam quidem, mi domine *Aido*,¹ multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem utique istam secundum quod patres eorum et qui ministri initio fuerunt sermonis tradiderunt illis, sed propter difficilimum narrationis opus diuersasque opiniones et plurimorum plurimas suspicione, numquam ad unum certumque historiae tramitem peruenierunt; ideo, ni fallor, iuxta hoc nostrorum prouerbium, ut deducuntur pueri in ambitheathrum, in hoc periculossimum et profundum narrationis sanctae pylagus, turgentibus proterue gurgitum aggeribus, inter acutissimos carubdes per ignota aequora insitos, a nullis adhuc lintribus, excepto tantum uno patris mei *Coguitosi*² expertum atque occupatum, ingenioli mei³ puerilem remi cymbam deduxi.

15 Sed ne magnum de p[ro]p[ri]etate mear[um] fingere, pauca haec de multis sancti Patricii gestis parua peritia, incertis⁴ auctoribus, memoria labili, attrito sensu, uili sermone, sed affectu p[ro]f[un]dissimo, caritatis etiam sanctitatis tuae et auctoritatis imperio oboed[i]ens, carptim grauatinque

20 explicare aggrediar.⁵

De ortu Patricii et eius prima captiuitate.

De nauigio eius cum gentibus, et uexatione diserti, [et] cibo sibi [et] gentilibus diuinitus delato.

De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab 25 inimicis pertulerat.

Book of Armagh, fo. 20, a. 1.

¹ The Irish vocative of *Aid* (*Aedh*), Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 401, note 1. This and other non-latinised Irish words occurring in the portions of the Book of Armagh now published, are printed in italics.

² MS. *cognito si*. As Bishop Graves suggests, *Coguitosi* (for *Cogitosi*) is intended as a transla-

tion of *Machtheni* (leg. *Machténi*?), cognate with the noun *machtad*, *machdad*, *magthad* 'miratio,' and the verb *machtuaigim* 'I ponder over,' 'I wonder at.'

³ MS. *ingeniolime*.

⁴ MS. in certis.

⁵ This prologue is translated by Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 402.

Book of
Armagh,
fo. 20, a. 1.

De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnouerunt eum.
De aetate eius quando iens uidere sedem apostolicam uoluit discere sapientiam.

De inuentione sancti Ger[mani] in Galliis, et ideo non exiuit ultra. 5

[20 a. 2.] De aetate eius quando uissitauit eum angelus ut ueniret adhuc.

De reuersione eius de Gall[i]is et ordinatione Palladii et mox morte eius.

De ordinatione eius ab Amatorege¹ episcopo, de-10 functo Palladio.

De rege gentili habeto in Temoria quando uenerat sanctus Patricius bap[ti]smum portans.

De primo eius itinere in hoc insola ut seipsum redemeret o*Miliucc*² priusquam alios a demonio traheret. 15

De morte *Milcon*³ et uerbo Patricii de semine eius.

De consilio sancti Patricii ubi hessitum est de celebratione primi pascae.⁴

De oblatione primo pasca in hac insola facta.

De festiuitate gentili in Temoria eadem nocte qua 20 sanetus Patricius pasca adorauit.

De gressu regis *Loiguri*⁵ de Temoria ad Patricium in nocte pascae.

De uocatione Patricii ad regem, et fide *Eire* filii *Dego*,⁶ [et de] morte magi in illa nocte. 25

De ira regis et suorum ad Patricium, et plaga Dei super eos, et transfinctione⁷ Patricii coram gentilibus.

De aduentu Patricii in die pascae ad Temoriam et fide *Dubthaich maccu-Lugir*.⁸

De conflictu Patricii aduersus magum in illa [die] 30 et mirabilibus uirtutibus.

¹ MS. Amatho rege.

² 'from Miliucc.'

³ 'of Milchú.'

⁴ The words 'de celebratione, p.p.' stand in the MS. as a separate title: 'hessitum est' is for haesitatum est, 'there was uncertainty.'

⁵ gen. of Lóiguire.

⁶ 'of Ere son of Deg.'

⁷ Perhaps for *transfiguratione*, i.e. from visibility into invisibility. The sign z (i.e., *σφαιρε*, Matth. vii. 7) is here written.

⁸ 'of Dubthach descendant of Lugar.'

De conuersione *Loiquiri* regis,¹ et de uerbo Patricii de regno eius post se. Book of Armagh, fo. 20, a. 2.

De doctrina et bapismate signisque sancti Patricii secundum exemplum Christi.

- 5 De *Macc Cuill* et conuersione eius ad uerbum Patricii.²
De fabula *Dairi* et equo, et oblatione *Airdmache*³ ad Patricium.

De gentibus laborantibus die dominica trans praeceptum Patricii.

- 10 De fructifera terra in salsuginem uersa ad uerbum Patricii.

De morte *Moneisen* Saxonissae.⁴

De eo quod sanctus Patricius uidit caelum apertum et Filium Dei et angelos eius.

- 15 [20 b. 1.] De conflictu sancti Patricii aduersum *Coirthech* regem *Aloo*.⁵

Haec pauca de sancti Patricii peritia et uirtutibus *Muirchu maccu Machtheni*,⁶ dictante *Aiduo*⁷ *Slehtiensis* ciuitatis episcopo, conscripsit.⁸

20 De aetate eius quando uissitauit eum angelus ut ueniret adhuc.⁹

[Factisque ibi multis temporibus quasi, ut alii [dicunt] xl^{ta}, alii, xxx^{ta} annis, ille antiquus ualde fidelis *Victoricus* nomine, qui omnia¹⁰] sibi in Hiber-

Book of Armagh, fo. 2, a. 1.

¹ 'of King *Lóiquire*.' Here in the MS. "et conuersio," but with puncta delentia over *con* and *sio*.

² Here a title, "De morte *Moneisen*," (with *z* after the *D* and over the *Mon*) which is repeated four lines infra, and which the scribe has accidentally omitted to cancel.

³ 'of *Dáire*' . . . 'of Armagh.'

⁴ The chapters of which this and the two following paragraphs are, respectively, the headings are omitted in the Book of Armagh, but occur in the Brussels codex, *Analecta Bollandiana*, i. 575-577.

⁵ 'Ceric king of *Ail*, i.e., *Ail-clúade*, 'Rock of Clyde,' Dum-

barton, according to Sir Samuel Ferguson.

⁶ 'M. descendant of Machthene.'

⁷ Probably the anchorite who died 698, Todd, *S. Patrick*, p. 314, note 2. But see Reeves, *Columba*, li.

⁸ This summary has obviously been misplaced by the error of the transcriber.

⁹ This and the titles in pp. 272-292 I have inserted from the summary, pp. 270-271.

¹⁰ The words in brackets are taken from the Brussels Codex as printed by Father Hogan, in *Analecta Bollandiana*.

Book of
Armagh,
fo. 2, a. 1.

nica seruitute posito antequam essent dixerat, eum crebris uissionibus uissitauit, dicens ei adesse tempus ut ueniret et aeuangelico rete nationes feras et barbaras, ad quas docendas misserat illum Deus, ut piscaret;¹ ibique ei dictum est in uissione: "Vocant te filii et filiae siluae Foclitae," et caetera.

De reversione eius de Gallis et ordinatione Palladii et mox morte eius.

Oportuno ergo tempore imperante, comitante diuino auxilio, coeptum ingreditur iter ad opus in quod ollum¹⁰ praeparatus fuerat, utique aeuangelii, et missit Germanus seniore[m] cum illo,² hoc est Segitium prespiterum, ut testem comitem haberet, quia nec adhuc a sancto domino Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est. Certe enim erat quod Pa[l]ladius archidiaconus¹⁵ pape Caelestini urbis Romae episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem apostolicam quadragensimus quintus a sancto Petro apostolo, ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insolam sub brumali rigore³ possitam conuertendam. Sed prohibuit illum⁴ quia nemo potest ac-²⁰ cipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo. Nam neque hii feri et inmites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam eius, neque et ipse uoluit transgere tempus in terra non sua: sed reuersus ad eum qui missit illum. Revertente uero eo hinc et primo mari²⁵ transito coeptoque terrarum itinere in Britonum finibus uita functus est.⁵

De ordinatione eius ab Amatorege⁶ episcopo, defuncto Palladio.

[2-a. 2.] Audita itaque morte sancti Paladii in Britannis, ³⁰ quia discipuli Paladii, id est Augustinus et Benedictus et caeteri, redeuntes retulerant in Ebmoria⁷ de morte

¹ Cf. Secundinus' hymn, infra, "Dominus illum elegit ut doceret barbaras Nationes, ut piscaret per doctrinae retia." Muirchu must (Dr. Todd thought) have had this hymn before him. But cf. Matth. iv. 19.

² in marg. z.

³ Read frigore?

⁴ B. (i.e., Cod. Brux.) inserts

Deus, but the meaning may be: (this) prevented him, that no man can receive, etc.

⁵ Sic B.; factus, A.

⁶ Amatho rege, A.

⁷ Curbia, B., Euboria, Probus (Quinta Vita, c. 25), Eboria Secunda Vita, c. 27, and Quarta Vita, c. 31; in marg. z., A.

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CONTENTS.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.	Page 3
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES	9
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c.	27
WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY	29
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION	31
REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS	35
<hr/>	
SCOTCH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	39
IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS	40

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CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867-1873.

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Vol. II.—1575-1588.	Vol. VI.—1603-1624.
Vol. III.—1589-1600.	
Vol. IV.—1601-1603.	

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, in the Lambeth Library, are unique and of great importance to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862-1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485-1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509-1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katherine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPACHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873-1886.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525-1526.

Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527-1529.

Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529-1530.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Vol. IV., Part 2.—*continued*.—Hen. VIII.—1531-1533.

Vol. V., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1534-1536.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864-1884.

Vol. I.—1202-1509.

Vol. II.—1509-1519.

Vol. III.—1520-1526.

Vol. IV.—1527-1533.

Vol. V.—1534-1554.

Vol. VI., Part I.—1555-1556.

Vol. VI., Part II.—1556-1557.

Vol. VI., Part III.—1557-1558.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FÆDERA. *By* SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.—Edw. III. 1066-1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.—Chas. II. 1377-1654. Vol. III., Appendix and Index. 1869-1885.

The "Fædera," or "Rymer's Fædera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fædera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2s. 6d.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2s. 6d.

In the Press.

- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. Vol. VII.—1559, &c.
- CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V., Part 2.—1537, &c.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XIV.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND. OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. V.—1592, &c.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XIX.—1644, &c.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c.
- CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.
- CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. XI.—1536.

In Progress.

- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XV.
- CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. XII.—1537.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.
- CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VII.
- CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XX.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. Price 10s. each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective: that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1827 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection: an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1161. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1177. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I. shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house: and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei II.*—*Vita Beati Edwardi Regis et Confessoris.* III.—*Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit.* Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 1,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1140 and 1150, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1071, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. *MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA*. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. Edited by RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. *FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO*. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of færes are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. *THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND; OR, A METRICAL VERSION OF THE HISTORY OF HECTOR BOECE*; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. *JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS*. Edited by the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1146, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. *HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS*, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. Edited by CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1118, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. *EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS)*: Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. Edited by F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858-1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andree Tholosatis Vita Regi Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historian, Bernard Andree, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmano auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859-1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1199, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859-1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. THE "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon; also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiae*."

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON. MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449-1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSGOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Cædwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399-1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1411, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual medieval reward—persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. David's, by Bleecwryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861-1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. David's to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the rich and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185-6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the *Topographia* of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Cambriæ et Descriptio Cambriæ*: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861-1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Dépôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated*

by BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1151, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. **LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.** Vols. I. and II. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861-1863.

The papers are derived from the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. **LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time.** Edited by HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III. but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. **DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. By Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. **ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.** Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. Selected and edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. **CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381; Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE PRECENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793-1290; Vol. II., 1290-1349; Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^{mo} FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIS JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTI; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSRIPTUM; Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM.** Edited by HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Preceptor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219-231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III. fols. 306-331; an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground; a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.; a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with *Annales Regum Angliæ*, probably by the same hand; and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.; Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.; a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum; with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. **CHRONICON ABBATIE EVESHAMENSIS, AUCTORIBUS DOMINICO PRIORE EVESHAMLE ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBATE, A FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM 1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1418.** Edited by the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Erwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. **RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTORIALE DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLIÆ.** Vol. I., 447-871. Vol. II., 872-1066. Edited by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863-1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355-1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 417 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sadbury, a monk of Westminster fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Britannie* in 1747.

31. **YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.** Years 20-21, 21-22, 30-31, 32-33, and 33-35 Edw. I.; and 11-12 Edw. III. Edited and translated by ALFRED JOHN HORWOOD, Esq., of the Middle Temple Barrister-at-Law. Years 12-13, 13-14 Edward III. Edited and translated by LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1886.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of Cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. **NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY 1449-1450.** —Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conférences between the Ambassadors of France and England. Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. *HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ*. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. II. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863-1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. *ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO*; with *NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ*. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "This Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. *LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND*; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864-1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. *ANNALES MONASTICI*. Vol. I.:—*Annales de Margan, 1066-1232*; *Annales de Theokesberia, 1066-1263*; *Annales de Burton, 1004-1263*. Vol. II.:—*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277*; *Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291*. Vol. III.:—*Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1-1297*. *Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042-1432*. Vol. IV.:—*Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066-1289*; *Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1-1377*. Vol. V.:—*Index and Glossary*. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrar of the University, Cambridge. 1864-1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. *MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS*. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. *CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST*. Vol. I.:—*ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI*. Vol. II.:—*EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSIS*; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864-1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his

death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. **RECUEIL DES CHRONIQUES ET ANCIENNES HISTOIRES DE LA GRANT BRETAGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN.** Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864-1879. Vol. IV. 1431-1443. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1884.

40. **A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN.** Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vols. I. and II.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864-1887.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in Morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Guyluyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. **POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865-1886.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. **LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE.** *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. **CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406.** Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866-1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. **MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICTUR, HISTORIA MINOR.** Vols. I., II., and III. 1067-1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866-1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicle, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. **LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455-1023.** *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq.* 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval English.

46. **CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1135; AND SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING THE EVENTS FROM 1141 TO 1150.** *Edited, with Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. **THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II.** *Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A.* 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. **THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.** *Edited, with a Translation, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin.* 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not an eye-witness, must have derived his information from eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. **GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169-1192, KNOWN UNDER THE NAME OF BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH.** Vols. I. and II. *Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian.* 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. **MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts).** *Edited by the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.* 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. **CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDENE.** Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* 1868-1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1061, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (see No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials; but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.* 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172-1320. *Edited by JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland.* 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A.* 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L.* 1871-1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prync ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These eminent volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Beekinton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

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This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Watts, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

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This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).* 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. **MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II.** *Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873-1877.*

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

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