S. FINNIAN OF CLONARD.

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by

Kathleen Hughes.
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INTRODUCTION.
SURVEY OF IRISH EGCLECIASTICAL STUDIES

SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Since the middle ages Ireland has been described as insula sanctorum, and modern Irish scholarship has taken a keen and devoted interest in hagiographical studies. The foundations were laid in the seventeenth century in those continental seminaries to which Catholics resorted after the subjection of Ireland to England. The Jesuit Father Henry Fitz Simon published the first Irish hagiological work in 1611 with his Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae, and a few years later other members of his order began the great Bollandist undertaking which has included Irish saints in its examination. The greatest achievement of the century belongs however to the Irish Franciscans. Hugh Ward, superior of Louvain, successor to a family of professional historians, drew up a plan for a Thesaurus Antiquitatum Hibernicarum, though it was John Colgan who after Ward's death edited the work in a revised form. Letters were sent out all over Europe to those who might be able to contribute information, and the trained historian Michael O'Clery, with others, was ordered to transcribe ancient hagiographical manuscripts in Ireland. Colgan, whose work is still of great value
Despite the lapse of over three hundred years, published in 1645 material relating to those saints whose festivals occur in the first three months of the year, and followed this two years later with the Triadis Thaumaturgae on Patrick, Brigid and Columcille. O'Clery meanwhile, in collaboration with others, had been compiling in Ireland a martyrology, Annals, and genealogies from earlier manuscript sources. Individual protestant historians, in particular James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, also gave themselves to the cause of Irish learning.

During the eighteenth century, though Irish culture by no means died out, and there were great figures such as Charles O'Conor of Belanagare who kept alive the interest in Irish studies, the professional families and their patrons had in the main disappeared, and there was no movement of research comparable to that of the preceding century. But with the struggle for Irish emancipation and independence, Irish studies revived. John Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History

(1) Acta Senctorum veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae, sanctorum insulae ... tomus primus, qui de septem Hiberniae antiquitatibus est tertius, Januarium, Februarium et Martium completens. Louvain, 1645.
marked a great advance on contemporary productions. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Ordnance Survey of Ireland was conceived. George Petrie was placed in charge of the antiquities section. Much of the field work was done by John O'Donovan, a native speaker with an amazing memory, a sound and critical judgement and a vigorous prose style. Eugene O'Curry the third of this group of friends, had perhaps a wider knowledge of Irish manuscript sources than anyone of his time; he transcribed many of the Royal Irish Academy's manuscripts in his beautiful hand. When their Ordnance Survey work came to an end these three continued to devote themselves to Irish studies. Their younger contemporary, William Reeves, bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore possessed an extensive knowledge of Hiberno-Latin manuscripts, and his sound scholarship and great erudition made his edition of Adamnan's *Vita Columbae* a model for his generation.

Of the many Irish scholars of the past sixty years only a few can be mentioned in this brief summary. Whitley Stokes, a great Irish philologist and a master of English prose, published a large number of Irish texts with English translations and so made available a considerable body of material known before only in manuscript. The extent of his output sometimes prevented him consulting all the available
manuscripts of a text he was engaged in editing. Kuno Meyer, one of the first to bring before the public the conception of Irish as a great historical literature, published and translated much that is of vital importance to the modern hagiological student.

In the generation immediately preceding our own, the work of Charles Plummer is outstanding in both quantity and quality. His editions of the Latin and Irish Lives of Irish saints are marked by the soundest traditions of modern scholarship, his introductions are of great value and he possessed a detailed knowledge of relevant manuscript material. J. F. Kenney's *Ecclesiastical Sources for the Early History of Ireland* supplies an essential bibliographical need and is indispensable to any student. Louis Goggaud, like these other two scholars, was master of the methods of historical research, and had an almost unrivalled knowledge of Celtic hagiology and liturgy. These three are all now dead, but Father Paul Grosjean succeeds to their tradition. Although the Bollandist society has previously numbered among its members (1) those interested in Hiberno-Latin manuscripts, Father

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Grosjeen is its first Irish specialist.

In 1930 Father John Ryan, S.J., brought out his book on Irish Monasticism, a study of its origins and early development between 432 and 660. This is a most stimulating and important contribution to the subject of early Irish ecclesiastical history, and is full of learning and detail. It does however illustrate some of the essential needs of Irish ecclesiastical studies today. The literary sources for the early ecclesiastical history of Ireland are varied and extensive. Secular tales, preserved in the great manuscript collections, often give illuminating side-lights on the saints, while the annals are an indispensable means of checking the Vitae. Rules, penitentials and martyrologies provide early and objective material, supplemented by hymns, litanies and other liturgical sources. It is hagiography however which affords the most direct evidence for the history of the Irish church, and in this field much work remains to be done.

Unlike her Anglo-Saxon neighbours, Ireland produced no great ecclesiastical historian. Nearly all Lives of Irish saints survive in late manuscripts, and were written by men with different abilities and different objectives. Some, such as the Rawlinson Vita Finniani, might be intended for devotional reading in a religious community, others, like Finnian's Irish Life, were written for a lay audience to define
and enforce the obligations due to the saint. In the Vitae primitive material and reliable traditions are found side by side with late legend and borrowed passages. A preliminary desideratum of Irish ecclesiastical research therefore includes a series of studies on certain important saints. It would be necessary to assemble and examine all available evidence on each saint, to establish the relationship between the various strata of material in the Lives and to date the texts. When this need has been met, the work of the historian will be greatly facilitated.

Time and place combine to make S. Finnian a figure of primary importance in the history of the early Irish church. He lived during a period of decisive development in Irish monasticism, when the itinerant missionary was being replaced by the more stable abbot. S. Finnian's monastic school at Clonard was geographically in a position to command students from the north, from Connacht and Munster, as well as from Meath and Leinster. A critical study of his Vitae is therefore desirable.
SECTION I

THE MONASTIC BACKGROUND OF S. FINNIAN.
CHAPTER I

THE DEBT OF IRISH MONASTICISM TO EARLIER MOVEMENTS.

Desert monasticism - Contacts with Southern Gaul - Varying development of monasticism in southern and western Gaul - Attitude of mediterranean Gaul to learning - Contacts between Gaul and Ireland, Gaul and Britain, Britain and Ireland - Celtic emphasis on evangelism - custom of hereditary succession to abbacy - Development of the monastic constitution in Ireland, and of a system of private penance.

The thesis attempts a study of the relative value of the available sources for Finnian's life, and an examination of certain controversial problems which his Vitae raise. Before embarking on this rather detailed and intricate discussion, it is necessary to have in mind a picture of early Irish monasticism built up, not only from Finnian's Vitae, but from the corpus of Irish hagiography and from other earlier ecclesiastical sources. Against this background it will be possible to examine more intelligibly the particular problems connected with S. Finnian, an acknowledged leader of the Irish

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(1) Specified infra, pp. 23-4.
church in the sixth century, and to assess his influence on his own and subsequent generations.

Christian monasticism appeared in the deserts of Egypt in the third century, where it was practised by hermits living in complete isolation: of these S. Antony is the first great figure. Palladius, writing 419-20 about his experiences in Egypt during the last twelve years of the fourth century, describes the semi-eremitical type of life of the monks of Mount Nitria. Here some five thousand men lived separately, but with a common church which they used together on Saturdays and Sundays, praying daily at the ninth hour in their separate cells: they performed the same work and had bakeries and doctors available to all. Pachomius was the earliest exponent of the cenobitic life. His monasteries grew into a fully organized group of nine houses with all the machinery of central government, including a superior general and a system of visitation and general chapters. This conception, which took some time to establish itself in Western Europe, never took root in Celtic Ireland, where each house

depended on the ideas of its individual founder. Though the peruchia of an Irish saint might include a number of houses which he visited from time to time, there is no hint of any regular and organized system of visitation. Since many monks in Egypt, and later in Ireland, felt that the contemplative life could best be practised in solitude, they considered the eremitic life superior in quality to the actuali vita of the cenobium, which was valuable as a training ground.

In both countries therefore there were hermits completely independent of any community, and there were also ample opportunities in cenobitic life for periods of withdrawal. The Benedictine ideal of order and discipline was lacking, and in its place a spirit of individualism showed itself in strong eremitic tendencies within the monastic movement.

The Desert Fathers aimed at achieving a state of contemplation in which God was directly perceived without mediation through creatures. Before the mind could be filled

(1) Cassian, Preface to Collationes, PL XLIX. 479.
(3) Power, Declan and Mochuda, p.144. VSH. II. 237 (xxviii).
with God in this way, it had to be stripped bare of all its passions, thoughts and images. This state of mind, which Evagrius called *apatheia* and viewed as an essential condition of contemplative experience, was to be achieved by a vigorous battle against the flesh. To orthodox Christian ascetics the body was not evil in essence, but its frailty did incite to sin. It must therefore be brought into subjection. This philosophy underlay the asceticism of the desert. For the taming of the flesh fasting and abstinence were the obvious means. Palladius writes of the amazing fasts of the desert hermits. Some ate only on Saturdays and Sundays, or on every other day, or in Lent every five days. Palladius himself was sent for a three years' period of training to Dorotheus, but had to leave before the time was completed owing to a breakdown in his health. He describes Dorotheus's diet as six ounces of bread daily and a bunch of herbs, with water to drink. The Abbot Moses advised a ration of two

(2) ibid. p. 143.
biscuits, weighing under a pound, per diem, and abstention from all cooked food. Sulpicius Severus speaks of an Egyptian saint who subsisted on seven dried figs a day, and of another who undertook an eight days fast. Beside this, the biduanum and triduanum of the Irish saints become a minor feat. Although Irish reductions in diet are probably unique in the west, they were not so severe as among the Eastern monks, and the atmosphere of competitive austerity so pronounced in the desert is much less prominent. There seems to be no parallel to the story of Macarius of Alexandria, who, hearing of another hermit who ate only a pound of bread a day, decided to eat only what could be drawn in one handful through a narrow-mouthed vessel.

The possessions of the desert hermits were few or none. Serapion wore only a loin cloth, and another went completely naked. Dorotheus never slept on a rush mat, and the

(2) Dial. I. 20. PL. XX. 196.
(5) Dial. I. 17. PL. XX. 495.
(7) ibid. p. 49.
Abbot John tells his listeners that the acquisition of material things has grown to such a pitch that (he cannot mention it without shame) anchorites have even begun to keep a blanket in their cells. A similarly fierce denial of sleep was also popular. Dorotheus never slept properly, but dozed over his work or food. Macarius on one occasion dispensed with sleep for twenty nights and only went indoors to get some rest when he felt himself on the verge of complete mental collapse. It is not surprising to find that some hermits, unable to stand the strain of such a life, were driven into madness.

The typical attitude of the desert ascetics to the body is found in the story of Dorotheus, who, when asked by a disciple why he was trying to kill his body by working so violently in the heat, replied: "It kills me, I kill it." Although Irish saints reached amazing heights of endurance, their austerity do not, on the whole, show the same ferocity

(1) Coll. XIX. 6. PL. XLIX. 1136.
(2) Laus. Hist. p. 49.
(3) Ibid. p. 78.
(4) Coll. II. 5. PL. XLIX. 529-31.
as those of the east. Stories such as those of Macarius, who sat naked for six months in the marshes to be stung by mosquitoes, or of the hermit, who, imitating Abraham, was intending to kill his son, are not uncommon in early eastern monasticism, but they are almost without parallel in Irish hagiography.

The harsh temper of desert monasticism did not prevent the monks from regarding the beasts as brothers. There is the story of the old man, standing under his palm tree with a lion whom he fed with dates which he plucked from the lower branches: or of the Egyptian hermit who shared his bread with a she-wolf and was comforted by her presence. But the Irish delight in inanimate nature, in its scent, form and colour, is absent.

The ascetical theology of the desert was transmitted to the Latin world largely through the work of John Cassian, who

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(1) ibid. p. 78.
(2) Coll. II. 7. PL. XLIX. 534-5.
(4) infra. p. 72.
(6) ibid. I. 14.
(7) infra. pp. 73-74.
adapted it to western modes of thought. His Institutes were written for those engaged in the 'active life' of warfare against the deadly sins; the Conferences refer more particularly to the vita contemplativa. His writings are not those of an administrator, and it is difficult to gather from them, as it often is from the Irish rules, any detailed or coherent idea of the daily life of the monks. It appears, however, that during the hundred and fifty years following the foundation of the first monastery in Gaul by S. Martin (circa 360), Gallic monasticism was by no means uniform.

Attitudes to property differed considerably: some men retained a portion of their property after abandoning the world; on the other hand, Caesarius of Arles demanded that adults should legally alienate their property. The organization of Lérins, founded by Honorius circa 410, and of Arles was much more developed than those of S. Martin's monastery outside Tours. Standards of asceticism varied. Though some Gallic saints kept severe fasts, others protested against too much austerity - 'Sed facis inhumane, qui nos Gallos homines cogis exemplo angelorum vivere.' (1) As Sulpicus Severus

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remarks with delightful irony: 'edacitas in Graecis gula est, in Gallis natura'. (1) Faustus of Lérins attached only moderate importance to physical mortifications: Caesarius of Arles made so determined an attempt to follow eastern standards of asceticism that his health broke down.

If, in its engagement of stability, the community of Arles foreshadows the great Rule of S. Benedict, the earliest Irish monastic communities in many ways find their prototype in the little-regulated life of S. Martin's monks as it has been described by Sulpicius Severus. The settlement was in a wild place almost surrounded on one side by a mountain, on the other by a bend in the Loire. Martin himself lived in a wooden hut, while most of his eighty disciples formed cells from caves in the rock. The life was ascetic and semi-eremitic in character, the brethren meeting for meals and common prayer: it afforded plenty of opportunity for

individualism, and there was no obligation to stability.

The outstanding contribution to monastic development of Southern Gaul was its attitude to learning. The area had been thoroughly permeated by Roman influence, and the monastic movement contained men trained in a classical education. Cassian complains that his mind is infected with the songs of the poets - 'mens mea poeticae velut infecta carminibus' - and that even when he is reciting the psalms or asking forgiveness for his sins 'impudens poematum memoria sugeratur'.

The writings of Sulpicius Severus are full of classical allusions and belong to the old tradition in their clarity of style. His friend Paulinus of Nola, living a far more ascetic life than Severus, wrote poems to his friends and in honour of his patron. Cassiodorus, whose writings were well-known in Southern Gaul, in his Institutiones divinerum et saeculariumlectionem, advises not only the reading of the sacred texts, the Fathers and Christian historians, but also the study of the liberal arts as a means to seeking out truth. Southern

(1) PL. XX. 166 (10).
(2) Coll. XIV. 2. PL. XLIX. 978-9.
Gaul had contacts with Palestine, where there were scholars who understood Latin, Greek and Hebrew. This delight in learning, classical as well as Christian, was later sometimes viewed with suspicion by the Catholic Church on the continent. It was for his interest in the disputes of the grammarians that Gregory the Great rebuked Desiderius the bishop of Vienne.

There was undoubtedly direct communication between Gaul and Ireland. In Roman times Ireland was believed to lie between Britain and Spain, and trade routes existed between Ireland and Gaul from an early period. The teaching of Cassian was transmitted to the Irish. His classification of the eight principal sins and the curing of vices by their contrary virtues are found in the sixth century Penitential of Vinnian, as well as in the De Octo Vitiis of Columban, who may have met Cassian's works on the continent. Vinnian's penitential is heavily indebted to Caesarius, from whom Vinnian borrowed unique judicia condemning concubinage, abortion, sacrilege and sins of thought, and at least nine of

(1) Dial. I. 8. PL. XX. 189.
(2) G. Coffey, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century', PRIA XXVIII. 96-106.
(3) PL. LXXX. 259.
the twelve means of remission which he developed. The influence of St. Martin of Tours was widespread in Ireland. Many Irish saints are reputed to have visited his shrine, among them Columba, Colmcille, Colum of Tir-dé-glass, Tigernach, and Molaissé. His relics were in Irish churches: a gospel which had lain on his breast a hundred years at Derry, an ankle bone in Naedoc's church at Drumlane; Ciaran of Saighir brought back relics from Tours, and Senan is said to have received a gospel from St. Martin.

(1) See T. F. Oakley, 'Cultural affiliations of early Ireland in the Penitentials,' Speculum VIII. 494 for detailed references. Owen Chadwick, John Cassian, App. D, pp. 201-3 does not consider the evidence of the penitentials.

(2) P. Grosjean, 'Gloria postuma S. Martini Turonensis apud Scottos et Britannos,' AB. LV. 300-348

(3) Krusch, Vit. Col'mban p. 201.

(4) Lis. 904-5.

(5) CS. col. 448 (7).

(6) VSH. II. 263 (v).

(7) ibid. 136 (xxi).

(8) BNE. I. 266 (232).

(9) ibid. 122 (64).

(10) Lis. 2049-55.
Irish saints are often likened to S. Martin. His prayers were powerful to avert catastrophe. Sulpicius's Life of S. Martin was preserved in the Book of Armagh, and an Irish homily was composed to be read on his festival. Dedications to S. Martin may be found in counties Derry, Antrim, Down, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Cork, and Galway. It is clear therefore that the monasticism of southern and eastern Gaul had considerable influence in Ireland.

(1) VSH. II. 60 (1), ibid 254 (3). Lit. p. 296.
(2) Voyage of Snegdus and Mac-Riagla, RC IX. 22 (23).
(3) AR. LV. 337-9.
(4) It is interesting also to note that the beehive huts found in monastic settlements dating from the sixth century on the west coast of Ireland are also found in southern Gaul and elsewhere: in particular there are large numbers in the Lyonnais and Auvergne districts, in Causses and Périgord. Around the village of Gordes in the Vaucluse there is a striking analogy, bordering on identity, with the Irish oratories. F. Henry, 'Early Irish monasteries, oratories and beehive huts,' Co. Louth Archaeological Society Journal, XI (1948) pp. 296-308.
British saints also travelled to southern Gaul. Faustus the Briton became abbot of Lérins in 433, and it is not surprising to find that early monastic life in Britain, in so far as it may be examined from the available evidence, shows many features of the monasticism of Gaul. Christianity in Britain had strong eremitic tendencies. The hundreds of place-names in south Wales beginning with Llan probably represent many small settlements as well as great monasteries such as Llantwit, Llancarfan, Llandaff. Inside the cenobitic system there was opportunity for withdrawal. Samson used always to go into solitude for the period of Lent: 'ab humanis locis in quodam remotiori loco segregatus, oblationes secum tres portans, inde tantum usque ad paschalis solemnitatis gaudium.' He undertook frequent two-day fasts and sometimes ate only after seven days abstinence.

(1) Most of the British Vitae Sanctorum are post-Norman.
(2) Vit. Sam. p. 120 (20). The life of Samson was written within a century of the saint's death in the first half of the VIIth century. It is therefore more valuable as evidence than the other Lives.
(3) ibid. p. 169 (12).
(4) ibid. p. 168 (12).
He used to spend long periods, sleepless and fasting, in prayer.

David's reputation for asceticism is shown by his title, Aquaticus. In many ways these feats of austerity compare with the endurance of the desert fathers. But in South Wales the standard of severity seems to have varied.

Iltud's monastery was reputed for its tumult and wastefulness. As the individualist element in British Christianity was strong, it is likely that the degree of asceticism depended largely on the abbot or monk.

It would be interesting to know whether Britain followed the learned tradition set by the monasticism of Mediterranean Gaul. The schools of South Wales were sufficiently famous to attract many Irish saints in the fifth and sixth centuries, but it is not clear whether any subjects of other than ecclesiastical interest were taught. Patrick describes himself as 'rusticissimus,' and indeed the meaning of his Latin is sometimes extremely confused, while the style of Gildas is very far from the ease and clarity of Sulpicius. On the other

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(1) Three days and three nights. *ibid.* p.165 (9). See also p.121 (21) for the hermit Pyro, who never slept in a bed.

hand, Iltud, the disciple of Germanus, is described as learned in the liberal arts - 'Ille Eltutus de totis Scripturis veteris scilicet ac novi Testamenti et omnis philosophiae generis, metricae (or geometricae) scilicet ac rhetoricae, grammaticaeque et arithmeticae, et omnium artium philosophiae omnium Britannorum compertissimus erat.' It seems likely however that this was merely a late scribal elaboration of the title Sapiens which was applied in communities where learning was mainly oral to those with a written culture.

Ireland and Britain, in particular Wales, were in constant communication. Intercourse between the two was inevitable owing to their proximity: Ireland can be seen in clear weather from at least three points on the British coast. The languages of the Celtic group were similar. S. Finnian's Life describes how, by a miracle, he was able to speak fluently in the British tongue. Miss O'Reahilly mentions an Irish manuscript containing Welsh glosses which

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2 C. O'Rahilly, Ireland and Wales, p.35.
have the appearance of being written by an Irish monk acquainted with two Celtic dialects. Trading and raiding between Britain and Ireland were frequent, and intermarriage between their chief families is well attested. Ireland was evangelized by a British saint and other British clerics followed him in sufficient numbers to cause a regulation to be directed against the recognition of clerics coming from Britain 'sine epistola'. The Irish saints of the 'second order' received a liturgy from David, Gildas and Docus the Britons.

All the evidence goes to show that Irish Christianity was influenced directly by both Britain and the continent. Professor T. F. O'Rahilly and Professor Gerard Murphy agree that the language of Old Irish contains words of two types, one introduced by missionaries pronouncing Latin as Romans or Tuscans, the other with a distinctly Welsh accent. The

(1) op. cit. p.55.
(3) The wife of Fóidlimid, lord of Trim, was a Briton. Vit. Trip. II. 334.
(6) O'Rahilly, The Two Patricks, pp.42-5. Murphy, 'The Two Patricks', Studies XXXII. pp. 299-301. Professor O'Rahilly (continued next page)
monasticism of Ireland was in the tradition of the desert
monasticism of the east, transmitted via southern and western
Gaul and Britain. It retained the strongly individualist
tendencies and the inclination towards the eremitic life
first found in Egypt. The asceticism of the desert was
transplanted, with considerable modifications, to Ireland.
Ireland became in the seventh century famous for her learning.
(1)
But Ireland was a Celtic country, closely linked in culture
with the other Celtic peninsulae, and especially with Wales.
The evangelistic element seems to have been far more prominent
in Celtic monasticism than in earlier monastic movements. It
was common in the desert for saints to be walled up in their
cells, or to stay for long periods within their cells,
(2)

Footnote (6) continued from previous page.
argues that the first series was introduced by the continental mission of Palladius (431-461), the second by the
British mission of Patrick (461-492). Father Francis
Shaw, (The Linguistic Argument for the two Patricks',
Studies XXXII, pp. 315-22) rejects Professor O' Rahilly's
theory on the grounds that a period of thirty years is too
short to explain the introduction of two modes of borrowing
so radically different. But he admits the presence of
two types of Latin loan-words, one of which shows British
influence while the other does not.

(1) infra, p 79 ff.
never emerging. The urge was to retreat further and further into the desert, shunning a meeting even with those who wanted help. On the other hand Patrick definitely received a missionary call, and returned to Ireland with the express purpose of preaching to the unconverted. The motives of Columcille and Columban in leaving Ireland were primarily penitential, but they led to missionary work, and the Irish mission from Iona to Northumbria was clearly evangelistic in aim. Finnian's aim, as expressed in his Office was 'constanter praedicare Iesum quem corde coluit.' The element of evangelism as a marked feature of monasticism was largely a Celtic contribution: its first great figure was British, and it was gloriously developed by the Irish. Combined with the traditional asceticism it achieved amazing results.

The Mediterranean countries had come within the sphere of the Roman Empire and their organization was centred in the cities. The constitution of the Celtic countries, however, was based on the agrarian tuatha, and this influenced the form

(1) ibid. pp. 71, 108.


(3) T. Messingham, Officia, p.81.
of their monasticism. The founder of a Celtic monastery was often of noble birth, and succession to the abbacy was based on the right of kinship. The system of hereditary succession, found in Ireland, seems to have been the custom in Wales also from an early period. In the monastery of S. Iltud, the abbot's nephew tried to poison Samson: *metuens ipse ne propter sanctum Samsonem a suo hereditario privaretur ac destrueretur monasterio, quod post suum avunculum sperebat possidere.*

Although Irish monasticism was heavily indebted to earlier movements, and in particular its development was so closely entwined with Celtic Britain that it is almost impossible to disentangle the two, there are some contributions which may be regarded as distinctly Irish. In one of the earliest sources for British history, Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniæ*, the monks of whom he approves are a minority in the church, the monastery does not appear as the centre of ecclesiastical government, and the church has the episcopal constitution customary on the continent. In the early period of the British Church as seen in the *Vitæ* the bishoprics were monastic. Abbots of almost all the most important British

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(1) *Vit. Sam.* p.115 (16).
monasteries were also bishops. By the time the history of Wales becomes clear, it is the bishop with diocese and jurisdiction who emerges. The British church therefore appears to have been always episcopal if not diocesan. In Ireland, however, in the sixth century not only was the monastery the centre of ecclesiastical organization, but its abbot was also usually a priest and bishops had spiritual authority only. The Irish system of giving ecclesiastical government to abbots, often presbyter-abbots, with bishops subordinate may have existed in Wales, but there are no traces of it. Even if it was borrowed from Wales, it reached its fruition in Ireland and may thus be regarded as an Irish development. It was in Ireland that monasticism became so strong that it altered the balance of the ecclesiastical constitution.

The penitential aspect was emphasized in Christian monasticism from its beginnings. The desert fathers thought of many of their asceticisms as penitential exercises. The Irish monks were probably the first to introduce a system of private penance: they were certainly the first to popularize

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(2) R.C. Mortimer, *The Origins of Private Penance in the Western Church*, p. 189.
it, and to introduce those handbooks containing detailed schedules of penances which became popular throughout the western church. The sixth-century Penitential of Vinnian is the earliest of these, and it had a wide influence on other Celtic and continental penitentials.

The eastern deserts and southern and western Gaul passed on their monastic traditions to the Celtic world, which modified and developed them to suit its own requirements. British Christianity was one channel through which the Mediterranean current flowed on its way to Ireland; but after the sixth century it lost its vitality, and it was left to Ireland in the spirit of Celtic evangelism to carry on the transmission. By the seventh century, in non-Celtic countries the Irish were encountering a new monastic stream. The junction of Benedictine monasticism with its ordered discipline and stability, and Irish monasticism with its individualism, asceticism, and passion, resulted wherever it occurred, in an enrichment of both spiritual and intellectual life.

(1) 'Through its extensive textual influence, direct or indirect borrowings from Vinnian are present in the Irish penitentials of Cummean and of Columban, and in the Bigotian Penitential; in the English manuals of Theodore, Bede and Egbert; in the Frankish penitentials of Merseburg, of pseudo-Cummean, the Collectio XXXV Capitulorum and the Capitula Theodori.' T.P. Oakley, Speculum VIII, 496. For the authorship of the Penitential of Vinnian see infra p312.
CHAPTER II

ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AN EARLY IRISH MONASTERY.

Monastic sites, buildings, officials - People in the monastery - Monastic vices - the good monk - Degree of severity in monastic life - The monastic day - life both active and contemplative.

Monasticism was the inspiration of the Irish church in its heroic period. All the great Irish saints and missionaries were monks or abbots, and their Vitae give a series of side-lights on monastic living. Many of the Vitae are however late records, written by men who had often little knowledge of early conditions and who were mainly interested in establishing the right of the saints' comarba to certain privileges and properties. Their accounts may be checked by Irish rules, penitentials and poems, which are earlier than most of the Vitae and provide material which is by its nature objective and unbiased. The rules go back to manuscripts of the seventh,

(1) The abbot was spoken of as the founder's 'heir.' For hagiographer's aims and methods see infra, p. 96 ff.
eighth and ninth centuries, while the penitentials were all composed before 800. The Irish rules, unlike the more comprehensive and lucid Benedictine Rule, are short and sometimes obscure, consisting of moral injunctions interspersed with rulings on particular matters: they differ slightly from each other. In Ireland each house followed the rule of its founder, so there was no completely uniform régime. There is however sufficient agreement between the practices of different houses to give a general picture of Irish monasticism, using both hagiography, which provides by far the largest body of material, together with rules, penitentials and poems, sources which have been published but whose significance for the history of early Irish monasticism has not been sufficiently appreciated.

Sixth and seventh century founders of Irish monasteries chose their sites with care. A few saints, wishing to lead a life of severe asceticism, placed their cells in remote and desolate regions. Monastic settlements perched on dangerous heights like Ardillaun or the Skelligs, islands separated from the mainland by rough sea and forbidding coastline such as Inisbofin or Inishmurray, wild and uninhabited districts like Glendalough have captured the imagination, but such settlements are in the minority. They occur from the earliest period
of Irish monasticism: Ardmore was founded by Declan, probably a pre-Patrician saint, and Enda, who flourished in the late fifth and early sixth century, settled on Arran. Later in the sixth and in the seventh centuries some saints continued to choose sites of this kind, but the majority of Irish houses and certainly the most influential, were founded on fertile land on or near well-known routes. Derry was on the Slige Mhidhluachra and Monasterboice was very near it, Kells and Fore were on the Slige Assail, Clonmacnoise and Durrow on the Slige Mhór, Limerick, Roscrea, Aghaboe and Kildare on the Slige Dhdla, besides many other less well-known communities. Other famous monasteries such as Clonard and Bangor, though not on the main roads, were in fertile and accessible positions. Cronan moved his settlement from Sean Ross to Roscrea, after royal guests had failed to find him, saying 'In locum desertum, ubi non possunt hospites et pauperes me facile invenire, non ero; set hic in via publica manebo, ubi ipsi poterunt invenire me.'

(1) The Celtic monks in Britain also seem to have liked the inaccessible positions, e.g. Iona, Lindisfarne, Lastingham. Colman returned to Inishboffin after the Synod of Whitby.

(2) See Colum O Lochlain's map in Féil-sgríbhinn Éin mhic Néill.

(3) VSH. II. 27 (xvii).
The most important of the monastic buildings was the Church. In Ireland this was small, and built usually of wood. Moling's oratory was of wooden planks, and the church at Lindisfarne 'more Scottorum non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam compositum atque harundine textit.' The monastery on Skellig Michael contained two tiny oratories as well as a slightly larger church. The refectory, where the monks ate in common, was probably built of wood like most churches. In some of the larger monasteries a separate school was built. Tallaght contained a 'lecture-room' in addition to church, oratory and refectory, and S. Dega's school was housed in a separate building. Irish monks slept, not in a large dormitory, but in small cells, and here they also worked, read and prayed. Most monasteries contained a guest house: the Rule of Ailbe required 'a clean house for the guests, and a big fire, washing and bathing for them and a couch without sorrow.'

(1) RG XXVII. 288 (47).
(2) HE III. 25. Monasteries standing on rocks such as Skellig Michael where no wood was available were built of stone and designed to withstand the fierce climatic conditions.
(3) 'da madh san eaglaíse no san proinnteach no ina theas urnaigthe no ina theas foiroevalail do rachadh sé' Teaching of Mael Ruain, R. Tall. p.52 (91).
(4) CS, col 893-4 (5).
It seems that special houses were kept for penitents. Their seclusion is implied in the Penitential of Cummean, while the Old-Irish Penitential says the habitual reviler is to be 'expelled from the church to a place of penance'. Some ancient church ruins show the remains of penitential buildings. Kilbarry has a Tech Dorcha (or Dark House) without windows, and a Tech Gael where the penitent could see light. It is to such a penitential prison that the tract De Arreis refers:

'An arreum for a year of hard penance, which Ciaran mac int sair adjudged to Oennu macu Laigse grandson of Comsola grandson of Dibrech: to be three days and three nights at it in a dark house or in some other place where no hindrance comes.'

A marked architectural feature of many early settlements was the standing cross, mentioned frequently in the Vitae. A stone cross stood before the original west wall of the south

(1) 'qui murmurat separetur' ... 'separatus ie iunet'. AK.Kr. LXXXII. 515 (viii. 6,8).
(2) Eriu. VII. 163 (iv.3).
(3) OSL. Roscommon pp. 134-5. O'Donovan says they are of very ancient architecture.
(4) RC. XV. 491 (32). An arreum is a commutation. The less severe penitentials allowed the commutation of long periods of penance into shorter penances of a different kind.
(5) VSH. II. 4 (iv).
church of Monasterboice, and a high pillar before the oratory on Skellig Michael. The Irish school of sculpture later produced the standing crosses at Kells, Clonmacnoise, Monasterboice, Castledermot and many other places. But an early Irish monastic settlement would not have been architecturally an imposing site: it contained a church, oratories, refectory, school, guest-house, and house for penitents, with a standing cross near the centre, a village of wattle huts scattered around, encircled by a rath or cashel.

The abbot of the mother house of a group of monasteries owing allegiance to the same founder was originally chosen from the founder's blood relations, unless they failed to provide a suitably qualified candidate: the Annals record the death of Colman of Clonard, who came from the same Ui Telduith (3) family as Finnian, and Garbán, abbot of Aghowle, was the nephew of Finnian. (4) He was the comarba, or spiritual heir of the founder, inheriting his ecclesiastical privileges and

(2) F. Henry, Irish Art, p.23.
(3) AU. 653 (I.112); Chron.Scot. 651 (p.92).
(4) According to MD. p. 86 (March 26).
the lands and temporal possessions of the monastery. The abbot's power over his monks was absolute, but the good abbot dealt with his monks as his children, gently and wisely: Molua 'nullum per asperitatem increparet, sed per lenitatem et spiritalem intellectum corrigeret.' Fintan knew his monks intimately: 'Hanc quoque gratiam habuit quod cogitationes omnium fratrum ipse sciebat.' Declan showed such 'gentleness and charity .... that his disciples preferred to live under his immediate control, and under his direction as subjects than to be in authority in another monastery.'

After the abbot, the most important official in an Irish monastery was the praepositus. Some documents seem to imply that the monk came into contact with him more frequently than with the abbot. He assigned the monks their various tasks, managed the community's property, superintended the

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(1) The term erenagh (sirchinnech) was usually applied in the post-Viking period to the hereditary lay-abbot who held the same position as the earlier abbas. For later secularization of the office see infra pp.110-11.

(2) CS. col 275 (36).

(3) I bid. col. 413 (33).

(4) Power, Declan and Mochuda, p.34.

(5) Ad. Vit Col. I. 37 he is called dispensator operum. See Lis. 2552-65.

(6) VSH. I. 30 (xlix), II. 212 (xxii).
construction of new buildings for which he supplied the necessary materials. His opportunities for despotism were many. S. Columban's *Regula Coenobialis* shows that the monk could not appeal to the abbot against the decision of the praepositus, unless his appeal met with the praepositus's approval. This passage is so explicit that it deserves full quotation:

'Qui ad praepositum audet dicere, "Non tu iudicabis causam meam, sed noster senior aut ceteri fratres," sive, "Ad patrem monasterii ibimus omnes": XL diebus castigari oportet in poenitentia in pane et aqua, nisi ipse dicat prostratus coram fratribus: poenitet me quod dixi. Frater quilibet in aliquo opere detentus, quamvis fatigatus sit, ita tamen ad oeconomum dicat in propria causa, "Si tibi placet dicam ad abbatem, sin autem, non dicam."' (2).

It is hardly surprising that the tyrannical praepositus is a frequent type, and his harshness appears many times in the Lives. His severity was intended to teach the monk to subdue his pride. In some cases it succeeded: at Rahen the prior's cruelty caused a monk's illness, and when the monk was asked why he had said nothing, he replied "Quia non est meum istud

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(1) *ibid.* II. 308 (xlvii).

(2) *VSH.* II. 62 (v). *VSH.* I. 30. (xliv) he is called procurator omnium rerum.

(3) *ZK.* XVII. 224-5 (viii).
But sometimes it led to rebellion: one of the things to be avoided in a Cese in the Book of Lismore is 'stubbornness towards the vice-abbot.'

In some monasteries the praepositus supplied necessaries to the guests, but a guest master was appointed in the larger houses. The monasteries of Carthage, Coemgen and others had a magister hospitum. All communities had a cook, mentioned frequently in Rules and Lives, who prepared meals for the monks, the guests and the poor. These officials, in particular the abbot and praepositus, were the men who directed the daily lives of the monks within the monastic enclosure, and administered the community's goods.

The number of monks in different Irish monasteries varied greatly. The Irish Life of Finnian of Clonard says that 'there were three thousand saints along with him.' On the other hand, a ninth century poem, Comad Manchín Leith describes a community of thirteen with common church and

(1) VSH. I. 189 (11).
(2) Lis. p. 359.
(3) Reg. Coen. ZK. XVII. 225 (viii).
(4) VSH. I. 188 (xlvi), 252 (xxxviii).
(5) Rule of Ailbe. Briu III. 104 (34), 107 (42), BNE. I. 105 (16), 110 (44), 316 (11).
(6) Br. 192. Lis. 2641.
refectory. Famous communities like Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Bangor, Derry must have been large, but it seems unlikely that three thousand people could have been supported in one place at the same time.

Ruaden's family 'consisted of three fifties continually,' and this is the number of Munnu's monks given in the _II._ Litany: 'the three fifty true martyrs under the yoke of Munnu.' Maedoc of Ferns had a hundred and fifty students. This seems a stock number, but it is reasonable, especially if it is remembered that the men were probably divided amongst the saint's foundations.

There is abundant evidence to show that boys were received into monasteries. One of the litanies refers to 'the innocent boys in Cell Ailche', the Old Irish Penitential mentions 'boys of ten years old,' and the Penitential of Colummean has a section de ludis puerilibus. Their ages seem to have ranged from infancy to manhood. A ruling of the

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(1) Eriu. I. 39 (6-7).
(2) Perhaps a number like this originally referred to the monastic community over a long period.
(3) VSH. I. lxxxiv note 4.
(4) BNE. I. 245 (197). 'ced is caooca mac leiginn.'
(5) Plummer, Irish Litanies p. 64.
(6) Eriu. VII. 148 (9).
(7) AKKr. LXXXII. 519.
Penitential of Cummean reads: 'Parvuli se invicem percutientes VII diebus peniteant; si autem maioris aetatis, XX diebus; si vero aduliscientes, XL diebus peniteant.' Boys were received for fosterage and education. Probably only communities of women habitually received infants, though according to the Lives a few very young children were sent to clerics. Brendan was taken to St. Ita for fosterage when little more than a year old. Colman, a chieftain of east Leinster, sent his infant son Faelan to St. Coemgen to be reared. Cadoc received Elli as his foster-son when he was about three years old, and 'he greatly loved him, above the love of father and mother.' Fosterer and child often cared deeply for one another. When Brendan came to St. Ita he 'was always smiling at the nun whenever he saw her,' and later, when Brendan studied for five years with Bishop Erc, 'to Ita the time

(1) ibid. p. 520 (x.21).
(2) BNE. I. 45 (9).
(3) ibid. I. 129 (28).
(4) VSB et G. p. 56 (14).
(5) Ties of fosterage took precedence even over ties of kinship. See VSH. I. cvi note 8.
seemed long without him.' The majority of boys living in monasteries were older children sent there for purposes of education. Brendan was six when he went to Bishop Erc, Abban twelve when he left his foster-parents for Bishop Ibar. Some of the boys, having studied in the monastery, returned to the world like Cartach the foster-son of Ciaran of Saighir. Others after receiving an ecclesiastical education themselves took the vows.

There were in the monasteries adults of varied ages who had entered with quite different motives. Some came towards the end of their lives, to spend their remaining days in meditation, or in penance for former sins. The penitents often formed quite a substantial part of the monastic community, some performing long period of penance and living apart from the other brethren. Some people, entering the monastery

(1) BNE. I. 45-6 (9,11).
(2) BNE. I. 4 (8).
(3) BNE. I. 109-10. (42), or the Faelan already mentioned.
(4) VSH. II, 258 (xviii).
(5) There were fifty with Fintan Munnu, CS col 404. (22).
(6) Pen Vin. (VIth century) assigns a six year penance to a woman or cleric who misleads another by the practice of magic, seven years for perjury. Pen Cum. (VIIth century) assigns twelve years to the bishop who commits fornication.
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after a life of pleasure and physical satisfaction, found the contrast bitter.

' After feasting by shining candles
To be in the gloom of a prayer-house.

I had my day with kings
Drinking mead and wine:
Today I drink whey-water (1)
Among shrivelled old hags. '

Many others, urged on by a vocation to this way of life, left familiar things and joined communities in youth or maturity. Cormac son of Diarmaid King of Leinster left his home in southern Ireland to become a monk in the north under Comgall of Bangor. Many of the Irish saints were of aristocratic descent and gave up secular power and ambitions for the rigour of monastic life, often against the will or relatives and friends. These found the peace they had long been seeking.

The monastic life was a constant warfare against the flesh and the devil. In the background there was always the possibility of gross physical sin, but the proportion of space

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(1) The Lament of the Old Woman of Beare, translated KM. SAIP. p. 90.
(2) VSH. II. 16 (xlii).
(3) See the poem King and Hermit (SAIP pp. 47-50), where Marvan, brother of the seventh century king Guare of Connacht, has renounced the life of a warrior prince for that of a bishop.
devoted to *gula* and *luxuria* in the penitentials cannot be considered as an indication of their frequency, since these are just the sins for which it is comparatively easy to draw up a detailed schedule of penances. There is plenty of evidence about the less spectacular failings:

'It if he be a cleric, let him not be wrathful.
Let not his voice be raised. Let him not swear falsely.
Let him not be greedy. Let him not be treasure-loving.
Let him not be niggardly, lying.
Let him not be fault-finding at meals.
Do not slander thy fellow.' (1)

Some monks indulged in malicious gossip: 'Have I been an accuser or tale-bearer among the brethren?' asks the boy Cadoc. The Rule of Columban imposes a penance on those who tell idle tales, or who find fault with the work of the others or malign them. Vinnian legislates for the cleric who makes strife, and Cummean for the monk *verbesitate diligens* who injures his brother's good name. There were

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(1) Marginal poem in *MT*. p.110.
(2) *VSB* et *C.* p. 38.
(3) *Reg. Coen. ZK. XVII.* 222 (iv).
(4) *ibid.* p. 224 (vi).
those who refused to pay proper respect to those in authority.
Anger was a sin: penances in the Penitential of Cummean were
graded according to whether the monk 'mente sentit commotionem',
whether he flushed paled or trembled, spoke harshly, cursed or
struck his opponent. There seems to have been machinery
in some houses for judging quarrels. If it was impossible to
settle the dispute by private discussion the matter was brought
before the community, the accuser and accused both being of
the same status. If the accused denied his guilt, he and the
accuser did penance together for one year, at the end of which
time 'alteris communioni sub iduice flammas sociantur et Dei
iiudicio relinquuntur'. This procedure was not such
as to encourage litigation, but it shows that the petty squabbles
of community life did occasionally assume serious proportions.

Slothfulness, wandering attention and accident were due
to lack of determined effort. Inertia was always apt to over­
whelm the monk cut off from the world, as the founders knew.
'A slave to the devil is every idle body,' runs the Verse Rule

(1) ibid. p.516 (viii. 18).
(2) ibid. p.514 (iv. 11-16).
(3) ibid. p.516 (viii. 10-12).
of the Celi De. A Cose in the Book of Lismore deplores 'sluggishness at the bell.' Most of the rules fought a vigorous battle against lassitude, and work and worship were alike strenuous. The monk had to train his mind to concentrate on spiritual things. One tenth century cleric showed his difficulty in a poem On the Flightiness of Thought. During the Psalms his mind skips away among giddypated folk:

'Vain is the hope to hold or bind it,
The unfettered thought
Wanton, unresting, idle-minded,
Sets chains at nought.
The sword's keen edge, the whip's sharp chiding
It scorns, grown bold;
Like an eel's tail it wriggles, sliding
Out of my hold.' (2)

A similar unsteadiness attacked Cormac, son of Diarmaid king of Leinster, who left his home in southern Ireland to become a monk in the north under Comgall of Bangor - 'the ancient enemy inspired in his heart a great and sore longing for his fatherland and children, his kindred and his dear friends.'

(1) Lis. p.359.


(3) Flower's translation, Irish Tradition, p.22.
Sometimes a settled depression clouded the monk's mind. The Penitential of Cummean has a section on Tristitia, and it is mentioned in other Rules and Lives. Comgall, when 'immissit diabolus tedium magnum in corde eius', confessed the temptation to Fintan of Cluain Ednech in whose monastery he was staying, and Fintan prayed for him. 'Et expulsus est ilico dyabolus a Comgallo per orationem sui senioris. Nam cum sanctus Comgallus iuxta crucem .... cum lacrimis orasset, lux superna circumfulsit eum, et repletum est cor eius magna spirituali letitia. Et ex illa hora in omni vita sua nunquam tedium in eum irruit.'

The Irish penitentials borrowed from Cassian the principle of correcting sins by their opposite virtues, so the idler is to be taxed with extraordinary work and the slothful with a lengthened vigil, the man who harbours bitterness is to be healed 'hilaris vultu et leto corde'. 'Patience must arise for anger, kindness or the love of God and one's neighbours for envy, for detraction restraint of heart and tongue, for dejection spiritual joy, for greed liberality.'

The good monk had to subdue his own pride and self-will:

(1) VSH. II. 4 (iv).
(3) ibid. p.514 (v.l).
'Monachus in monasterio vivat sub unius disciplina patris consortique multorum, ut ab alio discat humilitatem, ab alio patientiam.' (1) To preserve this humility in Columban houses a junior was not allowed to contradict a senior brother. Endurance and self-control were high on the list of monastic virtues: 'What is to be followed? No doubt. Staying at penitence .... patience at tribulations.' The monk was to be happy and contented 'without weeping, without weeping after prosperity.' His qualities are summed up in the Rule of S. Carthage:

'Silence and piety, good humour without moodiness, Without murmuring, without envy, is the duty of everyone.' (5)

(1) Reg.Mon. ZK. XV. 386 (x).

(2) 'Qui fratri aliquid indicanti responderit: "Non ita est, ut dicis," praeter seniores iunioribus dicentes simpliciter, superpositione silentii aut L percussionibus; nisi hoc tantum licet, ut respondat coequali fratri suo, si veratius est aliquid quam ille dicit et recordatur: "si bene recolis, frater"; et alter haec audient non adfimet sermonem suum, sed humiliter dicat: "Spero, quod tu melius recorderis; ego per oblivionem in verbo excessi, poenitet me quod male dixi."' Reg.Coen. ZK. XVII. 223 (v).

(3) Lis. p. 359.


(5) 'Tha 7 dichratu, rächince cen cloen, cen fóard, cen imchomairb, dlegr de chech cen.' IER XXVII. 510. French translation by Gougaud, Rev. Bén. XXVIII, 89.
Life in an Irish monastery was not easy, but the exceptionally severe asceticism of individual Irish saints has become so famous that it has tended to overshadow the more moderate standards normally enjoined by the rules. Monasteries varied in the extent of their possessions, which depended partly on the generosity of the grant originally made by the pious layman. Some houses founded on barren soil had at first a hard struggle for survival. S. Samthan 'pauper erat spiritu et rebus. Agros possidere respuit: nec plures unquam simul quam sex vac[es] habuit.' Mochuda had no oxen for ploughing, but his austerity was not approved by other Irish founders. Some communities owned pigs and cattle. It is clear that many must have had property. The Penitential of Vinnian requires the use of church property for the redemption of captives, and orders that money be lent to the poor and needy. There was of course no private ownership of property. The Regula Coenobialis imposed a penance on the monk who said that anything was his own. His needs were supplied by the house.

(1) VSH. II. 260 (xxv).
(2) BNE. I. 297 (32).
(3) VSH. I. 25 (xxxvii), 90 (xii). BNE. I. 185 (17).
(5) Reg. Coen. ZK. XVII. 220 (1).
His clothes were sober, 'without blue, without red, without finery.' (1) Fine clothes were felt to be inconsistent with a life of poverty. 'Once as Moling was praying in his church he saw a man coming in to him. Purple raiment he wore and a distinguished form had he.' The stranger said he was Christ, the Son of God. '"I do not know that," said Moling. "When Christ used to come to converse with God's servants, 'twas not in purple or with royal pomp he would come." (2) But if the monk's clothes were sober, they were probably as adequate, or more so, than those of the majority of laymen. The Rule of Ailbe forbids him to go without sandals and the Regula Coenobialis orders a change of clothing at night.

The quantity and quality of food seems to have varied from house to house. Fintan of Clonenagh's régime was unusually severe. He would allow no milk in the monastery, and when it was brought in without his knowledge he broke the jug which contained it. (5) It is clear, however, from the Rules and penitentials that beer and flesh meats were taken by some

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(1) Rule of Ailbe, Eriu. III. 96 (5).
(3) Eriu III. 96 (5).
(4) ZK. XVII. 227 (viii).
(5) VSH. II. 98 (iv).
communities. The normal drink of Columban's monks was beer, and at Tallaght ale was drunk on the great festivals and on Sundays. The Irish Penitential refers to 'anyone who takes a vow that he will not eat flesh or butter or bacon, or will not drink beer or milk,' so these things must have formed part of the normal diet. The Celi De (except during periods of fasting) ate the flesh of wild deer and swine: the Teaching of Mael Ruain makes it clear that bacon and flesh meats were eaten at Tallaght, and orders the brethren 'not to keep any hoard of flitches of bacon or sirkins of butter and so forth, while the poor need them.' All the rules which mention food either say or imply that bread was the staple part of the monastic diet. In the Rule of Ailbe 'a cake of thirty ounces in measure by twelve inches, it is just unless a famine take it away from them, the brethren should get it about nones.' Except during severe fasts the bread was

(1) Reg. Coen. ZK. XVII. 221 (iii).
(2) Teaching of Mael Ruain, R. Tall. pp. 26 (43), 28 (45).
(3) Erin. VII. 148 (14). See also p. 150 (15).
(4) Rule of Celi De, R. Tall. p. 66 (6).
(5) R. Tall. p. 32 (52).
(6) ibid. p. 20 (34).
(7) Erin. III. 102 (31a). I can find no other reference to the amount of bread eaten. Thirty ounces seems rather much for one person.
eaten with a 'condiment'. In some houses this took the form
of fish, cabbage dressed with milk, butter, cheese, 'dry egg',
apples, leeks. Manchín chose for his community 'fragrant
leeks, hens, salmon, trout, bees.' (1) Flesh meats were eaten
at certain seasons. These examples show that the communities
on whose dietary regulations there is reliable information
normally ate bread, with fish, vegetables, fruit and dairy prod­
duce when these things could be procured. The degree of severity
in penitential diets varied with the gravity of the sin.

The degree of severity in the monastic diet can best be
judged by comparing it with food eaten outside the monastery.
The poor must have lived very near to bare subsistence level:
they had to eat what they and when they could and dared not
undertake long fasts for fear of starvation later. Bretha
Crólige, part of the eighth century collection of customary law

(1) Teaching of Mael Ruain, R.Tall. pp. 2-4 (2,3). See also
Rule of Céli De, ib. p.65 (4).

(2) Comad Manchin Leith, Erin. I. 39 (10).

(3) See Irish Pen. Erin VII. 142 (7) for a mild penitential
fasting (a fast in which no white meats such as cheese, eggs,
milk, were eaten) is mentioned in De Arreis. RC. XV.488 (9).

(4) 'It is not easy to lay a fast on them since they would
have scarce any food at all after the fast, and they might
perhaps die of hunger unless they ate food such as bacon or
butter when they got it.' Teaching of Mael Ruain, R.Tall.
p.35 (58).
known as the Senchas Már, describes the rations which must be supplied to those receiving sick maintenance. The staple fare for all male adults of full status was two 'properly baked' loaves of bread daily, or if no corn was available, the equivalent amount of summer food in butter and milk products. The condiment to go with the bread varied with the rank of the injured man. Every one on sick maintenance was entitled to celery which was thought to have healing properties, and other garden herbs were given though the amount is unspecified. Ale was not supplied to all grades: to some garlic, celery, or sweet fruit might serve as a substitute. Another legal tract serves 'ale, or milk which is a substitute therefore,' to the two highest non-royal grades. It is possible from the Bretha Crólige to produce a table showing the amount of meat supplied to the man on sick maintenance:

(1) Bretha Crólige, ed. D.A. Binchy Eriu XII (1938) 1-77. See also Professor Binchy's article on 'Sick Maintenance in Irish Law' ibid. pp.78-134. Under certain circumstances in early Irish law a man who caused physical injury to another was liable, not merely for the ordinary legal mulct, but for the medical expenses and maintenance of the injured party.

(2) ibid. p. 23 (§ 27).

(3) ibid. p.37 (§ 45).


(5) Críth Gablach: see Professor Binchy, Eriu XII. 109-10.
## Period of Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rank of injured man</th>
<th>'Noble grades'</th>
<th>'Freeman grades'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. New Year's Eve to Lent</td>
<td>salt meat daily</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>salt meat on Sundays. (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Duration of Lent</td>
<td>garden herbs only</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>unspecified - probably garden herbs. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Easter to end of summer</td>
<td>salt meat twice weekly</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>no meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. End of summer to end of year</td>
<td>fresh meat, probably daily</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>details of fresh meat allowance not clear - c. 47 gloss 1 seems to mean twice a week.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The portion of meat must be not less in amount for any invalid than a piece of bacon two fingers thick. It is not possible from the tract to produce a table for condiment other than meat,

(1) *ibid.* p. 37 (§.46)
(2) *ibid.* p. 39 (§.47). Gloss 1 says twice a week.
(3) *ibid.* p. 39 (§.47 gloss 1.)
(4) *ibid.* p. 37 (§.46 gloss 1.)
and even here the details with which the tract is glossed are not always consistent. It would seem however that the monk ate less meat than the layman. It must also be remembered that the normal monastic diet has been described, and voluntary abstentions could be and were practised. Some ate no meat at all except during Easter, Cormac's Metrical Rule advocates 'an emaciated, miserable body', and the Vitae record almost unbelievable asceticism in diet. The rules however advise moderation. They do not forbid abstention from food, but urge discretion. The Céle De who desires to practise abstinence is to deduct one eighth of his ration for six months, then another: a man whose asceticism causes illness must impose only small additions on himself. An Old-Irish fragment from MS. RIA.C.I.2 says 'He does not practise fasting: he prefers moderate eating always,' and this is in full agreement with the Old-Irish Metrical Rule:

'Eat thy due portion of food
The short, gross devotion, it is the devil who has devised (?) it.' (5)

(2) ed. J. Strachan, Erin II. 65 (11).
(3) Rule of the Celi De, R.Tall. p.76 (46).
(4) ed. O.J.Bergin, Erin II. 224.
(5) ed. J. Strachan, Erin I. 194 (4). See also Rule of Ailbe, Erin,III. 104 (33).
The Rules therefore prove that the food provided in the monastery if not appetizing was usually adequate. When the monk went hungry it was due either to voluntary abstention in which discretion was urged, or to the unavoidable poverty and shortage of the whole community. The monastic diet contained less meat than that of many laymen; on the other hand it was probably better than a peasant's. The measure of austerity for the average monk seems to be expressed not in the starvations described in the Vitae but in the phrase which occurs in more than one rule: 'Eat not till thou art hungry.'

Conditions of living were probably none too comfortable.

The Vitae often indicate a low standard of personal cleanliness, though some of the rules and penitentials contain strict rulings to preserve cleanliness in the preparation of food. Little is known of the sleeping arrangements in Irish monasteries, but 'thy side half-bare, half-cold thy bed' indicates

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(2) CS. cols. 442 (48), 264 (7).

no great degree of comfort. **Columba's Rule** and the **Rule of the Celi De** read 'Sleep not till thou be ready for it,' but Columban's **Regula Monachorum** contains one of its most severe and celebrated passages on sleep: 'Lassus ad stratum veniat ambulansque dormit et, necdum expleto somno surgere compellatur.'

Conditions could not have been so severe as this in all monasteries, as voluntary asceticism in the amount of sleep might be practised, though the monk was warned against injuring his health. Flagellation was always administered by another person in Irish monasteries. The **Old-Irish Metrical Rule** provides for 'Two hundred blows on the hands in every Lent,' the **Rule of the Celi De** shows that castigation was unremitting except between Christmas and Epiphany, and Easter Day and Low Sunday, and the **Regula Coenobialis** shocks by the frequency of its corporal punishment. Its very frequency however shows

(1) Councils, p.121. Rule of Celi De, R. Tall, p.78 (56).
(2) ZK. XV. 386 (x).
(3) Rule of Celi De. R.Tall. p. 76 (46).
(4) Erin I. 197 (130). This stanza was added to the original poem, which is not later than 800.
(5) Rule of Celi De, R. Tall. p.66 (12).
that corporal punishment in small amounts was not considered a heavy penalty by contemporaries. Six strokes are the lightest penalty provided, thirty strokes are equal to the singing of fifteen psalms, fifty strokes equal a superpositio of silence, two hundred strokes are the equivalent of two days on bread and water. It is therefore clear that fasting was considered a much heavier penalty than only a few blows, and that when practised in moderation (six to ten strokes) corporal punishment was thought a light matter.

The physical conditions of life in an Irish monastery were hard, as they probably were outside it. The brethren must often have felt like Colmen's monks - ' Labore et tribulacionibus diversis affligimur, et nescimus qualia sunt premia futuri seculi' - and needed the consolation of the visio Dei. It must be remembered however that severe asceticism was entirely voluntary and was not given unqualified support. Certainly

(1) Reg. Coen. ZK. XVII. 220 (I), 222 (iv). They were given for small misdemeanours, such as coughing at the beginning of a psalm.
(2) ibid. p. 232 (xv).
(3) ibid. pp. 222-3 (IV), p. 223 (V, VI).
(4) ibid. p. 232 (XV).
(5) VSH. I. 265 (xvi).
nothing like the measure of physical severity found in the Vitae can be detected in the early rules, where the advice is rather ‘If there should be anyone who should take the path of repentance, advance a step every day, practise not the ways of a charioteer.’

To the Irish monk physical austerities were a minor struggle as compared with the fight against self-will, for ‘quid prodest, si virgo corpore sit, si non sit virgo mente?’ Instant and absolute obedience was required from the monk. ‘Non faciat quod vult, comedat quod iubetur, habeat quantum acceperit, operis sui pensum persolvat, subiciatur cui non vult….. Passus iniuriam tacet.’ A monk was not allowed to act on his own initiative, or to contradict for such behaviour showed him in the grip of the disease of pride.

(2) Reg. Mon. ZK. XV. 378 (vi).
(3) The Vitae abound in stories illustrating this. VSH. I. 153 (iii), 159-60 (xxi), 169 (1). VSB et G. p. 158 (28).
(4) Reg. Mon. ZK. XV. 386 (X).
(5) ‘Qui facit per se aliquid sine interrogatione…paeniteat...verbum vero contra verbum simpliciter promptum, L plagis vindicandum est, vel si extentiones, silentii superpositions; nam si rixa, septima paeniteatur,’ Pen. Col. ZK. 442 (A.9).
Morbus superbiae: this was the enemy against which asceticism was directed in Irish houses as in all others. No quarter was anywhere admitted, and the severity here was infinitely greater than in the physical austerities already mentioned.

The monk spent his day in the services of the church, in private prayer, devotion and study, in manual work, and in supplying his need of food and sleep. No Irish rule gives a complete account of how these activities were arranged. The celebration of the hours was of primary importance in Irish monasteries, as elsewhere. The number of hours varies in Irish documents from six to eight. An extract from MS. T.C.D. H. 3. 17. contains a comment on the canonical hours:

'Why is celebration made at these hours rather than at other hours? Not hard to say. Terce because it was then Christ was given up to Pontius Pilate, and therein came grace to the Apostles. Sext, for then Adam sinned and Christ was placed on the cross. Nones, for then He yielded up His spirit. Vespers and sext, the same cause of evil therein, for offering used to be made in them according to the Law. Nocturns, however, for then the elements were created. Lauds, for then Peter denied and shed tears of blood always, and then Christ was beaten in the house of Caiaphas.' (1)

(1) 'Cid ara ndenter ceilebrad isna trathain-seas sech na tratha aile? Ni hansa. Teirt, ar is inti rodileiged Crist o Pom Pelait 7 is inti taminic rath super apostolos. Medon lai, ar is and dorcin Adam imarbus 7 is and dorotation Crist i corich. Noin, ar is and rofraid [sa spirut]. Espartu 7 medon lai, anfath uile and, ar donithea audheir intib secundum legem. Midnocht, vero

(continued on following page)
There is a longer version of this tract in the Lebar Brecc, which in addition to the hours of terce, sext, none, vespers (called fescor in L,Br.), nocturns and lauds (tiugnâir in L,Br.) given above, includes prime (prim) and compline (compleit). It concludes 'eight hours do we go to pray now to my Lord the King.' Prime and compline are not met with in Irish texts so frequently as the other hours. This may be because they were a purely conventual exercise.

(continued from page 52)

ar is and dorônta in [h]a dâili. Íarmârge, ar is and radfult Petaìr, noleacred dëra fola and dogrä, is and robtailed Críst i tig Caifas.' ed. R.I. Best, Eriu III, llë. A passage in the Monastery of Tallacht makes it clear that six canonical hours were recognised: 'There was a certain anchorite in Cluain Ua Duban. Great was his labour. Two hundred genuflections he used to perform at lauds (matin), and a hundred every canonical hour, a hundred at nocturns (emerg) - seven hundred in all.' PRIA. XXIX. 141 (34).

(1) ed. R.I. Best, Misc. presented to KM, pp 142-66. There is some difficulty in the terminology of the night hours. Íarmârge ("after-rising") may denote nocturns, matins, or lauds. Other words for the morning office are maten, matain, tiugnâr, tiugnâir, gairm an choilig ("cock-crow"). See Best, ibid. pp.162-5.

(2) At Bangor five day and three night offices were observed. F.E. Warren, Antiphonary of Bangor, II, xvi.
the prayers of the monks on going to bed and rising. The offices therefore said daily by the monks seem to have been terce, sext, none, vespers, matins (combining the midnight office), lauds. At Iona Mass was celebrated only on Sundays and feast-days and on receiving news of the death of some special friend of the house. The Celi De after seven years partook of the elements every Sunday, before that much less frequently. Mass was usually offered in the morning: since terce was the first office of the day, probably after terce. On some occasions, however, it appears to have been celebrated at noon.

(1) Misc. presented to KM. pp.161,165. Cf. R. Tall. p. xxv. According to Dom Jacques Fréger the office of prime was unknown to Cassian and was not evolved until after the beginning of the VIth century in the West, reaching Ireland in the seventh. Les Origines de Prime, pp.74-5.

(2) Ad. Vit. Col. I,40,44; II.45; III,12,17,23.

(3) R. Tall. pp.66-8 (13).


(5) 'to sing the three fifties from terce to terce.' Old Irish Metrical Rule. Erin I.196.

(6) Ad. Vit. Col. II. 45.
S. Columba's Rule divides the monk's work into three categories: his own personal work, the work of the community and works of charity. The monks in some communities seem to have done their own washing and sewing. Intellectual work might be performed either for the profit of the individual or the community. Monks studied and read, some taught in the monastic schools, others were scribes, and the manuscripts of Durrow and Kells show the quality which their work later attained. In some houses all the monks were engaged in study. Mochta's community was 'without tilling, without reaping....Without toil save only study.' Most communities, however, did their own agricultural and manual work. Some saints thought that all monks should share in such work - 'monachus enim labore manuum suarum nutritur est vestitur' - and the Vitae show the saint doing all kinds of menial jobs.

The Rules imply that the monks were employed according to their ability: 'The work of the learned man is in his lips, and the work of the rustic is in his hand'.

(1) Rule of Ailbe, Erín III. 100 (26)
(2) Marginal poem in MT, p.114.
(3) VSH. I. 131 (1xi).
(4) 'soethar ecnadu na ghin: saethar buirb na lăim'. IER XXVII. 510 (C,10). I have adopted Gougaud's translation Rev.Ben.XXVII. 89 (12). See also RIA Dictionary E, col 47. The Pen.Cum. AKKr. LXXXI. 508 (11,3) refers to the operarius, but this might refer to a layman.
Works of charity played a part in the life of the community. Rules and Vitae constantly note gifts of food and money to the poor, and the monk was expected to help his fellows. The Rule of the Celi De notes 'three profitable things in the day, prayer, labour and study: or it may be, teaching or writing or sewing clothes, or any other profitable work that he can do.'

The remainder of the twenty-four hours not taken up by the Opus Dei or work in its various forms, was given to food and sleep. The times and frequency of meals varied according to the degree of austerity practised in different monasteries. In the community of S. Ailbe the main meal was normally taken in the afternoon 'about nones'.

S. Carthage bids his monks between S John's Day and Easter to fast until evening: during the rest of the year meals are to be taken at nones and in the evening. The Rule of the Celi De indicates that one main meal per day was served in the afternoon: in addition to this the monks took a selann earlier in the day and

(1) R.Tall. p.78 (55).
(2) Rule of Ailbe, Ern III. 102 (31a).
(3) IER. XXVII. 512 (18-19).
and sometimes at night. It seems that in most houses the meal was taken in the afternoon, whether before or after nones is not clear, though from the Rule of S. Carthage it would appear that the meal came between nones and vespers. This Rule gives the procedure connected with the main meal. On entering the refectory the monks sang a Pater and performed three prostrations before sitting at table and blessing the meal. The Alleluia was chanted, a bell was rung and the Benedicite recited. After the meal grace was said. The Rule of Columban gives other customs at meals - the monks must respond to the blessing with 'Amen', the spoon was to be signed with the cross before use. During meals one of the Celi De read to the other brethren 'the Gospels and the Rule and the miracles of the Saints.' If communities fasted until evening, or took a selann in the evening, it is likely that the food was eaten after Vespers. After this

(1) R.Tall. p.68 (19), p.64 (3). A selann is a half-portion: the quantum is nowhere defined in this rule.
(2) IHR. XXVII. 514 (27-8).
(3) ibid. p.514. (22-4).
(4) Reg.Coen. ZK.XVII. 220 (f).
(5) Rule of the Celi De, R. Tall. p.72 (31).
the monks retired to rest, rising from sleep to attend the night office. There seems to have been an interval between matins and lauds which may also have been used for sleep.

Although it is not possible to work out the monastic day for any one given monastery, and while it is clear that customs differed from community to community, there is a large measure of agreement in the rules. By bringing together material from all the rules it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the monastic day, although the order of events which will result cannot be rigidly applied to any one monastery. After the celebration of matins the monks retired to their cells, probably to rest, and assembled again for the service of lauds. When lauds was over 'except the ruler and the vice-abbbot no one should stir himself until prime.'

(1) The bell struck to call up the brethren was a favourite theme for monastic poets. See Flower, Irish Tradition pp. 49-50.

(2) Rule of Celi De, R.Tall. p.72 (30).

(3) Rule of Ailbe, Eriu III, 100 (23). O'Neill translates co hanteirt 'until the third hour', but anteirt is an Irish term for prime.
Between prime and terce the monks kept to their cells.
Sext was said at mid-day. The rules give little indication of how the time between terce and none was occupied but this was probably the period devoted to agricultural work or to intensive study. Except during times of fasting the main meal was taken by most communities in the afternoon, probably after none. This was followed by private prayer and reading. After vespers, in some houses the monks ate again, and then retired to sleep, to be awakened by the 'little bell' for the midnight office.

The monastic life was an essentially active struggle against the weaknesses of the flesh and the sins of the spirit. For power to endure in this combat the monk had to pray: 'sine impedimento in oratione et meditacione sancte Trinitatis

(1) ibid. p.100 (26). 'Let the brothers sew, let them wash, until the hour of terce; on the conscience of each in his cell, let it be prayer that strengthens him.'

(2) Rule of S.Carthage, IER. XXVII, 514 (27).

(3) The poems constantly strike this note. e.g. 'Thy side half-bare, thy bed half-cold, From Christ, God's Son, mayest thou have reward. Absence from thy bodily family until the day of thy death. Knowledge, steadfastness, patience, Silence without muteness. Humility, purity, patience. Take not the world, o cleric.' Marginal poem, Mt. p. 112.
persists,' was S. Ita's advice, and Samthann, when asked whether it was best to pray lying or sitting or standing replied 'Omni statu est orandum.' The litanies intended for private devotion show the quality of the religious experience:

'Every good which I did, and marred; every evil which I did, and did not make good, Forgive.' (3)

By his consistent battle against his sins, the monk prepared himself for the heights of contemplation, always 'crying for life beyond life, for ecstasy not of the flesh.' There is in the litanies a spirit of personal communion with God. God visits his saints in the Vitae and poems: a curious monk intruded on S. Fintan's meditations and found him surrounded by a blinding light - this indicating the divine presence. Christ Himself met Mólín in the guise of a leper, and came as a babe to be nursed by S. Ita. In a ninth century

(1) VSH. II. 119 (xi).
(2) VSH. II. 259 (xx).
(3) De Confessio Oratio, Plummer, Irish Litanies p. 14. See also De Confessio Sclerum ibid. p.4. These litanies are much later than the rules and penitentials.
(5) MO. p.44. Translated Flower, Irish Tradition, pp.56-7.
poem a hermit, looking back on his pilgrimage, remarks on the end which has come to tales and visits, but something better has replaced them: 'My Creator to visit me,' he sings.

The monastery provided the best background for spiritual experience. When Landevennec was first built its inhabitants could not die, for they saw a space in heaven open over the monastic enclosure and angels ascending and descending: 'and this was the cause why no one could die where eternal life was seen.'

The contemplative life, in contrast to eastern spirituality, is implicit rather than explicit in early Irish ecclesiastical writings. It was nevertheless towards this end that monastic discipline was directed.

'It were the desire of my soul
   To read closely little books;
It were the desire of my soul
   To live under a clear rule.

... ... ... ... ... ...}

(1) ed. K.M. Eriu. II. 56 (12).
(2) G.H. Doble, Cornish Saints, No 4. p.10.
It were the desire of my soul
To behold the face of God;
It were the desire of my soul
Eternal life with Him." (1)

(1) Mackinnon Cat. Gaelic MSS. p. 88. From a XIV's MS.
Poem printed in full from an XVIII's MS with a trans-
lation by KM, Gaelic Jnl. V. 94-5.
CHAPTER III.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRISH SAINTS.

Hospitality - generosity - asceticism - sympathy with nature - pilgrimage - learning.

Ireland, lying in the interminable sea off the western coast of Europe, was isolated from the civilization which shaped the western world. Roman influences permeated the language and administration of southern Gaul, and left their ineffaceable mark on northern Gaul and Britain, but though the armies of Agricola penetrated to Anglesey, they never crossed the Irish Sea, and Ireland remained largely unaffected by Roman culture until the introduction of Christianity. Even this she received partly through the Celtic medium of South Wales, and accommodated her paganism to the new belief with such facility that it was one of the boasts of Ireland that she made no martyrs. Thus it is not surprising to find that peculiarly Irish ways of thought, instead of being stamped out in a violent conflict, were incorporated into the new faith. The characteristics of Irish saints though found individually
in other groups, in their own peculiar combination and emphasis are unique.

The Irish more than all other western peoples pursued hospitality. The saint, no less than the secular chief dreaded the ridicule he would incur if he failed in liberality. Columcille prayed that he might never 'forfeit his honour of hospitality.' The Canones Hibernenses have a section on the refusal of hospitality, which schedules the penalties for those who refuse to succour a 'poor man' a 'hungry stranger', a bishop, a sexton, scribe, anchorite or judge. There was always the possibility that the stranger might be Christ Himself whom the saint entertained unawares.

'O King of Stars
Whether my house be dark or bright,
Never shall it be closed against anyone
Lest Christ close His house against me.

(1) 'plus omnibus nacionibus hospitalitatem sectantur'.
VSH. I. 3 (1).

(2) ZCP. V. 78. S. Lasair gave away food in time of famine, and was thus preserved 'from the insults and reproaches of the poet-band.' Erim. V. 84.

(3) 'De jectione', Die Bussordnungen, pp. 141-2.
If there be a guest in your house
And you conceal aught from him,
'Tis not the guest that will be without it
But Jesus, Mary's Son.' (1)

The saint's aim was always to provide liberally for the comfort of the guest, whatever asceticisms he himself might practice.

The Vitae, in their accounts of the boyhood deeds of the saints, often tell how they gave away even the property of other people. S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise having given a cow and calf to a beggar in spite of his mother's refusal, proceeded to give away a valuable vessel of the king's, and was enslaved for it. Often when herding they had pity on the hunger of the wolves and gave them permission to take a lamb from the flock. This is a popular hagiographical theme, and the losses were usually made good by a miracle. (4)

(1) SAIP, p.100. Text in Brussels MS, Bibl. Roy. 5100-4 p.5, and last stanza only Lebar Brecc p.93 marg. sup. (facsimile):
'Mabeth aige lat itlaid, mad concela praind aire:
Ni he intaige bis cenni, acht mad Ihesu mac Maire.'

(2) See The feast which Brigit made to Jesus in her heart, O'Curry MS Materials p 616. 'I should like a great lake of ale for the King of kings; I should like the household of Heaven to be drinking it through eternity.'

(3) VSH. I. 202-3, (viii,xi).

(4) BNE. I. 183 (5), VSH II. 94 (xxiv).
The saints gave away their own necessities with the same abandonment. Ciaran gave away his chasuble to lepers who begged from him and 'went in his single thread.' This quite uncalculating generosity has much in common with the spirit of the early Franciscans.

The Irish showed the same prodigality in their asceticisms. Though none of the first Christian missionaries to Ireland suffered 'red martyrdom' they made up for it by other austerities. 'They suffer white martyrdom who for the love of God renounce everything that they love, no matter what privations or troubles they have to pass through. Those who undergo green martyrdom do so through the mortification of their desires by privations and hardships in order to repent and do penance.' (2) Extreme austerities were not encouraged within the monastery. When a certain anchorite of Clonard made seven hundred genuflections every day, Mael Ruain prophesied that there would come a time when he would not be able to make a single genuflection. And the writer of

(1) 'ina ensnaithi' *Lis*. 2390.
(2) *Thes.* *Pal.* II. 247.
the Rule whose sympathies clearly lay with the moderate party, adds that the man became a cripple 'by reason of the excessive number he had formerly made.' (1) In eremitical life however there was always opportunity for uncontrolled asceticism, and it is likely that in sixth century houses, where the organization was not so developed as it later became, individual standards of austerity were severe.

In some of their practices the Irish monks have parallels in the earlier ascetic movements of the eastern deserts and Gaul. They cut down the amount of sleep to a minimum.

S. Patrick slept only a quarter of the night, and that on bare clay, with a stone under his head and a wet mantle about him. (2) The ascetic slept sometimes even on nettles or nutshell. (3) Sleep must be taken in bare snatches, and the Christian must be watchful, lest Christ coming find him asleep. (4) There was a similar denial in food and drink.

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(1) R. Tall. p.60 (103).
(2) Vit. Trip. II. 484.
(3) De Arreis RG XV. 488 (8). Trans p.493.
(4) There are six quatrains on the amount of sleep permissible in MS. BM. Add. 19,995, f.1, a XVth century vellum. They are very difficult to read as the first folio is badly defaced. Flower summarizes the contents Cat. I. 328-9.
Jonas describes his master Columban's way of life: 'Erat cibis ita adtematus, ut vix vivere crederes, nec alius penitus quam agrestium herbarum exigua mensura vel pomorum parvulorum ...... potus aqua erat.' Like other ascetics the Irish hermit sometimes preserved long silences. The vigour with which he pursued this aim is related in the tale of the three penitents who sought the wilderness. After exactly a year's silence the first one said, 'Tis a good life we lead.' At the next year's end the second answered; 'It is so.' Another year being out the third exclaimed: 'If I cannot have peace and quiet here, I'll go back to the world.' Asceticism was for the Irish saints as for the Desert Fathers a mark of sanctity, but the Irish records are on the whole more moderate and reasonable in their severities.

Manual and agricultural work formed a part of many non-Irish rules, but such extremes of hard labour were seldom reached as in some of the Irish communities. The monks of Cluain Ednech ploughed the land with hoes by hand.

(1) Krusch Vit Col'bani pp. 167-8 (9).

(2) O'Grady S.G. I. viii gives this story but had mislaid the reference. It is parallel in tone to the tenth century poem on the Abbot John.

(3) VSH. II. 98 (iv).
community of Mochuda had for a long time neither cows, oxen, nor horses. S. Finan protested to Mochuda: "It is a wretched thing to make your monks into brute beasts, for it were better to have oxen for ploughing and draught than to put such torture on the disciples of God." One of Comgall's monks died 'multum laborans.' Such work was regarded as an ascetic exercise by which the saint wore out and humbled his body.

A peculiarly Irish asceticism was the practice of crossfigell. The saint, standing with his arms stretched out in the form of a cross, thought on Christ's passion and crucified himself. 'It is no great thing for me,' cried Coemgen, 'to bear thus much pain for the sake of Heaven's King, who bore every pain on behalf of Adam's seed upon the Cross of suffering.' Sometimes the position was maintained during a few paternosters, or 'until the arms are tired'; sometimes for much longer periods. Becan

(1) BNE. I. 297 (32).
(2) VSH. II. 14 (xxxii).
(3) 'Crucifixit se ipsum in vigiliis nocturnis.' VSH. I. 63 (xlvi).
(4) BNE. I. 128 (20).
erected a stone cross in the open air, and daily whether it was calm or stormy, cold or hot, crucifying himself at that cross he would sing the whole psalter. Coemgen, so his Life relates, in the time of Lent went into a wattle hut built on a bare stone standing in cross-vigil for six weeks for the sake of God. A blackbird perched on the saint's hand and built a nest, remaining there till she hatched her young. A similar story is told in the Irish Life of Finnian of Colum son of Crimthann who was found 'with his hands stretched forth, and his mind intent on God and birds resting on his hands and on his head.' Cross-vigil was sometimes performed lying face downwards on the ground, and was so ordained by saints such as Patrick, Maedoc of Ferns and Colum son of Crimthann.

The Irish ascetic had a choice of fatiguing and uncomfortable positions in which to pray. He might stand in the sea, lake or river immersed up to waist or shoulders in water. Coemgen stood nightly praying in the lake for the

(1) VSH. I. 17 (xxii).
(2) BNE. I. 127 (20).
(3) Br. 201-3. Lls. 2648-50.
space of an hour. Power to endure this austerity is
in the Vitae confined to the especially holy man. Laisren
used to pray naked in water, but a disciple failed in an at-
tempt to imitate him, finding that the water on one side of
the saint burned like fire, and on the other was as cold as
ice.

(2) Bishop Germanus, visiting S. Cieren of Saighir
went into the water with his host, whose custom it was to
pray in this way: but he found it unendurably cold, so
Cieren performed a miracle for him and raised the temperature.
This practice is found in other Celtic regions besides Ire-
land, notably in Wales and Northumbria. It was not
popular in the eastern desert.

The Irish saints gave themselves without reserve to
the ascetic life. Their austerities concerned mainly re-
ductions in food and sleep and increase of time and energy
spent in prayer and work. Though they were so severe that
the Irish monks were known as martir, they did not

(1) VSH. I. 243 (xviii).
(2) VSH. II. 133 (xii).
(3) BNE. I. 109. (41).
(4) VSB et G. p. 159 (31). Colgrave, Two Lives of S. Cuth-
berr. pp. 60, 168.
usually cut the saint off from his evangelistic work of teaching and healing. The ill-considered asceticisms which must have made the saint a burden rather than a help to his fellow-men were infrequent. A life of asceticism gave the saint moral authority with the laity, and did not necessarily make him act harshly towards the failings of others. Mael Ruain never laid a penance on any man who came to confess to him, without inflicting a severer one on himself. Like the first followers of S. Francis the early Irish saints practised austerities and flung away their possessions not as a hard duty, but because material things were an impediment to the fuller life of the spirit. And even through their deprivations there runs a strain of light-hearted gaiety. It is present in the cautionary tale of Colman's three little

(1) e.g. S. Findchua of Brigown is said to have hung for seven years on iron sickles. Lis. 2937-8 (There is a better text of this Life, independent of the Lismore version in Dublin, Franciscan MS. A 9, which Stokes did not use in his edition). See also L. Gougaud, Erin XI, 147-56 on the practice of mulierum consortia, for which there is some Irish evidence.

(2) This partly accounts for the success of the Celtic mission to Northumbria. HE. III. 26.

(3) SG. I. 41. Translation II. 40.
pents, the cock, the mouse and the fly. Columcille wrote to console him on their deaths: 'Iacturas et damnat non esse nisi ubi substantiae et possessiones reperiuntur.'

Closely connected with the asceticism of the Irish saints is their sympathy with nature. They shared their solitude with beasts and birds, and delighted in the beauty of inanimate things. The early Irish monks and hermits were the founders of the native tradition which was at first closely connected with a religious theme. With the rest of the natural world they praised a common Creator. They looked upon what He had made and found it good:

'Delightful I think it to be in the bosom of an isle on the crest of a rock.' (2)

The hermit had his ivy bower

'With its stars to my wish
With its sun, with its moon.' (3)

The poems show a delight in colour: in the 'brown fowl out of the red heather,' 'the green wall of an oak against the storm,' 'the lark's gaping beak above against the

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(3) ibid. p. 3 (I).
(4) ibid. p. 8 (V).
(5) ibid. p. 6 (V).
dappled sky'. There is an awareness of form - the stag's leap, the thick bush of hazel-nuts branching and green - and the language has economy of words and purity of style. Far from the noise of strife away in his retreat the saint might hear 'the music of the dark torrent,' 'the voice of the wind against the branchy wood', or 'the sound of the shallow waves' and 'the roar of the sea;' or, if he wished for more human sounds the 'gentle humming of insects', the 'lowing of heifers.' Best of all were

'The songs of the bright red-breasted folk, a beloved movement, the carol of the thrush, familiar cuckoos above my house.'

The sweet singing of a little bird charmed Mochoe of Nendrum into a magic sleep, and swans sang to Colman Ela and his disciples to relieve their weariness.

There are many instances of the kinship existing

(1) ibid. p. 5 (IV)
(2) ibid. p. 6 (V).
(3) Studies XX. 99, 95.
(4) Jackson p. 8. (V).
(5) ibid. p. 9 (VI).
(6) ibid. p. 7 (V).
(7) MO. p. 158.
(8) BNE. I. 172 (15).
between saints and beasts and birds. The birds recognised it on Inis Celtra with Colum, 'for as a bird flies' said Colum, 'my mind never ceases to fly to heaven.' Ciaran of Clonmacnoise 'showed unwearied sympathy for the needs of irrational creatures.' Columban was often seen as he went fasting calling the beasts and birds who came to be stroked, with a squirrel on his neck or frisking in and out of his cowl. Ciaran of Saighir's first disciples were a boar, a wolf, a fox and a badger. In the Vitae wolves guard the flocks and herds of the saints, stags plough for them, does provide milk for their foster-children. A fox carries Ciaran's book to his teacher, and an otter rescues Coemgen's book from the lake. When Leisren is in the desert and without a pen, a bird drops a feather so that he may write his book. So, bound in a common brother-

(1) CS col. 454 (17) 'aves celi familiariter illic adher-ebant ei et volentes circa faciem eius ludebant.'


(3) Krusch. Vit Col'bani. pp.185-6 (I.17).

(4) BNE. I. 104 (6-8).


(6) VSH. I. 179 (xxv) (8) Ids. 4044-6.

(7) VSH. I. 67 (iv), 251 (xxxv). BNE. I. 12(8).

(8) BNE. I. 127 (14). (10) VSH. II. 135 (xvii).
-hood of creatures, the saint approached a God whose beauty was fore-shadowed in the world of nature.

In many cases the Irish delight in nature and desire for the hardship of the ascetic life was crossed with an equally characteristic love of change, excitement and adventure. This resulted in the consuetudo peregrinandi mentioned so frequently in mediaeval writings, and may be seen in the Imrama or Voyage Tales. Brendan found some of the islands he visited already occupied, and there is evidence for Irish ecclesiastical settlements as far afield as Iceland. Pilgrimage from a very early period, might be imposed as a penance. Many 'left their country and their land, and their native place and their kindred in the flesh for the sake of the Lord of the Elements, and went on pilgrimage into far off foreign lands.' Sometimes the journey had a fixed destination, and the saint visited a

(1) 'de natione Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conversa est.' Mon. Germ. Hist. II. 30 (47).

(2) VSH. I. cxxii.

(3) 'He shall die unto the world with perpetual pilgrimage.' Pen. Cum. A.K.Kr. LXXXII. 513 (iv,6).

(4) Lis. 731-3.
famous shrine such as S. Martin's or a well-known group of saints. Others left for life-long exile, like Columban, who told his mother that she would never see him again in this life, but that wherever the way of salvation opened, there he would go. Often the saints would put to sea in their skin-covered coracles trusting themselves to the guidance of God. So did the three young clerics who went on their pilgrimage. 'It was fervently and heartily they went. There was no provision taken to sea save three cakes. "I will bring the little cat," says one of them. Now when they reached the shoulders of the main, "In Christ's name," say they, "let us cast our oars from us into the sea, and throw ourselves on the mercy of our Lord."' Whether on long or short pilgrimages, the Celtic saints seem to have moved freely between Ireland, Strathclyde, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, and they were also known on the continent.

(1) Krusch, Vit Col'bani p. 157.
(2) Lis. p. viii.
(3) Senan, an Irish saint, was honoured in Cornwall and Brittany (Doble, Cornish Saints no. 15). Gwinear, born in Ireland, has dedications in Brittany and Cornwall (ibid. no. 8). Ronan, whose Vita says he was born in Ireland, was buried in Brittany, and his relics were later in Cornwall (ibid. No. 42). See also SS. Carantoc (ibid. no. 14), Piran (ibid. no. 29), Meriadoc (ibid. no. 34), and Winnoc (ibid. no. 44).
The element of wandering shown in pilgrimage and exile was present from the earliest period of Irish Christianity. When it did not drive the saint abroad, it often led him far from his own countryside, always seeking the 'place of his resurrection'. Before the saint had been too long settled in one place, an angel would appear to urge him forward, as the angel of the Lord came to Finnian at Ard Relec with the words: 'This is not the place of thy resurrection.' But after the first uprush of ascetic devotion the custom of pilgrimage abroad was open to grave abuses. The Irish were light-minded, complained their hosts, 'deceptores, gyrovagi, cursores.' The devil appears in the Birth and Life of Moling as a scholasticus vagans, and, when he is unable to tempt Coemgen in any other way, gets into his sandals urging him to abandon his own place for pilgrimage - 'quod est malum

(1) Br. 207. Lisc. 2653-4.

(2) S. Baluze, Capit. Reg. Franc. II. 743 (Paris, 1780). Ref. brought to my notice by H. Waddell, Wandering Scholars, p.51. Miss Waddell also points out that most of the IXth century drinking songs come from the Irish.

(3) RC. XXVII. 280.
in specie boni.'  'When one leaves his fatherland in body only,' says the homiletic introduction to the Irish Life of Columcille, 'and his mind does not sever from sins and vices ... there groweth neither fruit nor profit to the soul, but labour and motion of the body idly. For it little profiteth anyone to leave his fatherland unless he do good away from it.'  (2) Though there is nothing parallel to the Benedictine idea of stabilitas in Irish monasticism there was a definite effort on the part of some leaders to discourage the prevalent fever for travel. In the seventh century Penitential of Cummean 'any wandering and unstable man shall be healed by permanent residence in one place.' S. Samthann, a late seventh and early eighth century saint told Daircellach who suggested that he should leave prayer and study to go on pilgrimage: 'Since God is near to all who call upon him, no necessity is laid on us to cross the sea. For one can approach the Kingdom of Heaven from every land.'

The unfettered movement of the Irish must have had its effect on Irish thought and learning. The early saints undoubtedly had a genuine love of learning. Cuimín Pota

(1) VSH. I. 250 (xxx). See also BNE I. 311 (36). 'It is good for a cleric to be in one place and attend the hours; it is mocking devils that put the spirit of restlessness on a man.'

(2) Lis. 700-4.  (3) AKKr. LXXXII. 514 (vi.2).

(4) VSH.II. 260 (xxiv). Irish version EC.II. 294. 'The way to the kingdom of God is the same length from every place (continued next page)
wished for a church filled with books for the students.

In the *Vita* the saint often appears with a book in his hand, and on the last day of his life Columcille was transcribing the *Psalter*. Their devotion to learning can be seen by their eagerness to spread it. Bede writes that at the time of the plague of 664 there were numbers of Anglo-Saxons in Ireland:

'There were at that time many of the nobles and lesser men of the English nation who ... forsaking their native land withdrew thither, either for the sake of sacred learning or of a more ascetic life. And some of them indeed soon dedicated themselves faithfully to the monastic life, others were glad rather to give themselves to learning going about from one master's cell to another. These the Irish willingly received and took care to supply them with food every day without cost, books for study and teaching free of charge.' (3)

(4. continued from previous page)

on earth; and if any one approaches the Lord, he cannot be far from His home.'

(1) *Lis.* p. 304.
(3) *HE.* III. 27.
The monasteries made provision for education. The Rule of the Celi De encourages parents to offer boys for study, and gives details of the fees to be paid to teachers and examiners. The monastic schools of some sixth and seventh century saints were famous, and some of the continental Irish foundations became centres of learned activity. A scriptorium was often attached to the monastic school, and here the young monk was taught to write - not always an easy task when the boy was so awkward that his script looked as if it had been formed by a bird's claw. Books were sometimes borrowed for transcription or given as presents.

The monks of Declan copied the Gospels for Laíreann with miraculous speed, probably a number of them working on the book, according to the practice of Irish scriptoria. A good scribe was a great asset to a monastic school. Columcille, himself a famous scribe, was succeeded by his disciple Baithene 'non solum docendo, sed etiam scribendo.'

(1) R. Tall., p. 82 (61-2).
(2) VSH. II. 13 (xxix).
(3) VSH. I. 59 (xxxii).  
(4) VSH. II. 133 (xi).
(5) The obits of important scribes are recorded in AU at 697, 730, 732, 752, 796, 830, etc.,
The aim of the education provided in the monasteries was always religious. Most of the Vitae speak only of ecclesiastical texts - the canonical Scriptures, in particular the Psalms, and ecclesiastical rules. Irish monastic libraries are known to have contained from an early period gospel books, psalters, hymns and liturgical books, poems, rules, penitentials, martyrologies, decretales, Patristic writings, commentaries on the Gospels, annals and ecclesiastical histories. 'As far as our evidence goes,' says Mario Esposito 'the Latin literature current in Ireland at the end of the sixth century was biblical and ecclesiastical, not classical.' It seems, however, that Esposito in his attempt to correct the unsubstantiated views of Zimmer and Kuno Meyer has perhaps laid too heavy an emphasis on Irish lack of classical culture, which is not entirely rejected as other evidence shows. The learned Irishman was concerned with the interpretation of Scripture, and for this he must have had a general education. Moreover, the study of grammar must

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(2) This list has been compiled from L. Gougaud 'The Remains of Irish Monastic Libraries' Feilsg. Mic Neill, pp 319-334.
have preceded the revision of texts. A few of the Vitae mention writings other than ecclesiastical. The almost contemporary Life of Columban by Jonas described how when the saint reached adolescence, "Liberalium litterarum doctrinis et grammaticorum studiis ingenio capaci dare coepit laborem." (2) S. Columban's own writings show that he had studied grammar and prosody and had read pagan authors. Vergil and Horace were his great favourites, but it seems probable that he was acquainted with the writings of Ovid, Prudentius and Juvenal and perhaps of others also. There is other evidence that Vergil was popular among the Irish. A Latin poem, written on the continent between the seventh and ninth centuries by a Colman to his friend who is returning to Ireland, contains reminiscences of Vergilian poetry. A commentary on Vergil, compiled by a certain Adannanus at the end of the seventh century offers good evidence that Vergil was being studied in Ireland during this period. (4)

(1) Roger, L'enseignement p. 229. Cites Ad.Vit Col. p. 53 (I.23) though this may mean a purely mechanical checking.

(2) Krusch Vit.Col'bani, p.155. See also VSH I, 7 (ix), Abban was learned 'non solum in divinis set ceterarum artium.'

(3) 'Colman's Farewell to Colman,' ed KM. Erin. III. 186-9.

(4) Kenney, Sources, pp.286-7.
There seems to have been no serious study of Greek in medi-

eval Ireland, though some texts show a slight acquaint-

ance with Greek vocabulary which could have been derived

from texts books and glossaries in circulation. Only a few of

the continental Scotti gained any sound knowledge of Greek.

The ninth century saw a flowering of Irish culture.
The Irish were among the most prominent members of the Palace

School of Louis the Pious, and their spirit of free enquiry

may be seen in their output of grammatical, theological and

mathematical works. Latin learning among the Irish only

reached its zenith among the wanderers, but this does not mean

that the intellectual qualities shown by the continental

Scotti were non-existent among their kinsmen in Ireland. Had

intellectual life in Ireland been in a state of decay, it

is most unlikely that so many Irish would have taken prominent

parts in the Carolingian revival of learning. Latin

learning was only a part of the mental make-up of the Irish

cleric. He was heir to a tradition of Irish culture found

in the early mythological cycles, to which the Irish church

was not hostile. While continental ecclesiastics kept alive

their imagination, often against the pressure of the church,

(1) M. Esposito, 'The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland during

the Middle Ages,' Studies I, 665-83.
by a study of the Latin classics, the Irish might let their minds roam at will among their native secular tales. There is therefore no reason for surprise at the freshness and vigour of the ninth century literary revival, for these qualities had never died out in Ireland. The Irish contribution to learning lay in the whole-hearted support they gave it. Their passion for pilgrimage stimulated their Latin scholarship, while the ninth century saw in Ireland a fresh burst of creative imagination in the native tradition.

In the sixth and seventh centuries Irish monastic organization was probably in a more primitive state than at the time of the eighth and ninth century reform - the period from which most of the rules date. Opportunities for individualism were greater. The saint was akin to the heroic chief: he was usually from the same noble class, and dispensed hospitality with the same generous hand. Often he inherited a love of adventure and excitement. But the passion once spent in military contest was now turned to a spiritual warfare. The new warrior poured out his energies in the

(1) see supra pp. 73-4.

(2) VSH. I. 217 (i), 258 (i), II, 60 (i). Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was an exception; he was a rich craftsman. VSH. I. 200 (i).
asceticisms by which he drew nearer to his goal. The fierceness of his physical life often went hand in hand with a delicate appreciation of natural beauty. Delighting in the company of birds and beasts the saint was serene, even gay. In quietness he studied, and learned to write the books for which the Irish scholars were to become famous.
SECTION II.

THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF S. FINNIAN.
CHAPTER IV.

PROBLEMS OF IRISH HAGIOGRAPHY.

Latin and Irish collections - question of chronological priority of Latin or Irish accounts - Effect of the Viking attacks, the XIth century reform and the Norman invasion - Hagiographical development of particular incidents - Most popular hagiographical themes - secular material in the Lives - Materialistic aims of the writer - the saint's claims to tribute enforced by curses - Survival of some passages with a spiritual emphasis.

The history of early Irish monasticism, in so far as it may be discovered, is to be read in the Annals, in the early hymns, martyrologies, rules and penitentials, and in the Lives of Saints. The hagiographical sources, written in Latin and Irish, provide the most extensive body of material. Special problems attach to hagiographical studies. The

(1) The legal tracts also throw valuable light on the constitution of the church. These are a specialist's field which has only recently begun to be explored. See the work of Professor Binchy listed in bibliography.
nature of the Vitae has led some scholars to underestimate their historical value. Others have thought that after subtracting the marvels and anachronisms from the Lives, the remainder (often very small) may be used as historical evidence. But the student must approach the Vitae bearing in mind the aims and methods of the men who compiled them; he must be prepared to compare the Vitae critically with each other and to study them in the light of all the available evidence, liturgical, archaeological and legendary.

There are three great collections of Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae in Latin. One is contained in a Brussels manuscript usually known as the Codex Salmanticensis (CS). This is a XIVth century manuscript and contains a unique recension of Irish saints' Lives of very varying quality, some of which contain primitive elements. The second collection is contained in two fifteenth century sister manuscripts in Dublin, usually referred to as M, and T. The third, R, is in

(1) See H. Delehaye, La Methode historique et L'Hagiographie, pp. 226-9, 231.
(3) Dublin, Primate Marsh's Library, V.3.4.
(4) Dublin, T.C.D. E. 3.11.
two Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian. In most cases CS gives the earliest recension of the Lives.

The Irish Lives are more scattered. The British Museum MS. Add. 30512, and the Book of Lismore, both fifteenth century manuscripts, contain lives of saints in Irish. The seventeenth century saw a great revival of Irish hagiographical studies directed by the Franciscans, and many of the manuscripts which they copied go back to earlier material now lost. The two Irish collections of saints' Lives in Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 2324-40, 4190-200, were copied by Brother Michael O'Clery; and the Stowe MS A.IV.1, now in the Royal Irish Academy, copied by Dineen, probably also formed part of the Franciscan undertaking.

The priority in time of Irish or Latin saints' Lives is an open question. In the opinion of J. F. Kenney the Latin documents, as a general rule, represent an earlier tradition than the Irish, while other scholars hold the opposite view. Possibly the solution may lie in the order

(1) Bodl. Rawl.B. 485 and 505. See infra p.120 ff.
(2) Sources, p 294.
(3) Power, Declan and Mochuda, p. xi.
Latin - Irish - Latin. All the earliest Lives of Celtic saints now extant were written in Latin. Latin was the language of the church. It was used by the author of the *Vita Samsonis* writing probably at the beginning of the seventh century; by Jonas in his Life of Columban (c. 639-42); by Cogitosus in his Life of Brigid (probably mid seventh century); by Cuimine Ailbe, abbot of Iona between 657 and 669, and Adamnán abbot between 679 and 704, both writing of S. Columcille; by Tirechán (c. 670 - 700) and Muireadh (c. 680 - 700) writing of S. Patrick.

It is however clear that Irish was used from an early period in the devotional literature of the church. Adamnán speaks of the singing of Irish hymns in honour of S. Columcille as though it were a well-established custom. The *Amra Columcille* is possibly an eighth century re-editing of a sixth century text. The earliest piece of Irish hagiography

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(1) *Vit. Col. I. 1.* '....quod eiusdem beati viri per quaedam Scotiae linguae laudum ipsius carmina et nominis commemorationem.....' This reference brought to my notice by Kenney *Sources*, p.254.
now extant is the *Vita Tripartita*, which Professor Kathleen Mulchrone has shown was written between 895 and 901.

Although most of the Irish Lives survive in manuscripts even later than the Latin Lives, the Irish recension, as in the case of Finnian of Clonard, often presents a purer tradition. There is considerable evidence to show that many of the Latin Lives dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries were translated or adapted from the Irish. A note at the end of the Life of Cuanea in CS reads: 'The blessings of Cuanna and the saints who made their covenant with him on the soul of the man who translated this Life from Irish into Latin.' Plummer is certain that the *Vespasian* Life of Maedoc is taken from an Irish original. In the primitive CS version of the Life of Ailbe Irish words and phrases are retained which are hopelessly corrupted or omitted in the later recensions. The CS version of the Life of

(1) 'Abfassungszeit und Über lieferung der Vita Tripartita.' ZCP. XVI. pp. 1-94. Professor E. Mac Neill thinks that in its original form Vit. Trip. was Tireschén's work, written in Irish with a mixture of Latin at the latest very early in the VIIth century. Erš. XI. 1-41.

(2) CS col. 937-8. Corrected version VSH. I. xi. "Bennact Cuanna agus noem daroni a cattach fris ar animain into tuc a gaedailch i l-ladin in bethusa."

(3) VSH. I. lxxv-lxxvi.

(4) ibid. I. xxii.
Cainnech also gives Irish words and expressions and place names with Irish prepositions and terminations: it almost certainly goes back to an Irish original.

The evidence collected here is not sufficient to allow of any definite conclusions, but it certainly suggests that the very earliest Lives of Irish saints were in ecclesiastical Latin, though at a fairly early period hagiography in both Irish and Latin was developing. Latin hagiographical writing seems to have received a fresh impetus with the twelfth century reformation which brought the Irish church into line with Rome. In a number of cases these Latin Lives drew on Irish material. The pre-twelfth century Irish Lives would probably date in the main from the lay appropriation of

(1) ibid. I. xliii. No Irish Life of Cainnech is now known. See also Irish prepositions CS col 394 (4) cc Glassaid Assil, col 395 (5) hi KylMair Diathrib; the Irish word cruim(ter) Grellam col 393 (3). The CS Life of Finnian may contain a Latin translation of an Irish idiom:"Non egrediæ, nisi per manum trehâr." Crîmantæus autem, quia filius mortis erat, tenuit manum eius." cols.196-7 (12). The Vit. Trip. I. 118 has the phrase Gebthar do lám, 'Thy hand will be seized,' which seems to mean, 'Thou shalt be expelled.'
monasteries which followed the Viking attacks. It was in the interests of the lay proprietor to attract pilgrims to his church, and to make known the power of the saint and the extent of his parochia. This could best be accomplished by saints' Lives in the vernacular. It is probably from this period that the original Irish Life of S. Finian may be dated.

Lives of Irish saints whether in Irish or Latin, have much in common with other mediaeval hagiographical writing. The scribe believed in, and wished to prove to his hearers and readers, the power and sanctity of his saint. Miracles both great and trivial on the part of the saint, whether dead or alive, were expected by the hagiographer and his audience. The supernatural element was woven into the web of the scribe's thinking, and can be found in primitive form in the most authentic as well as the less reliable hagiographies.

Some of the problems peculiar to Irish hagiography are

(1) After drafting this part of my thesis I was able to discuss this theory with Fr. Felim O Briain who agreed that it was probable.

(2) A large number of trivial miracles are found in Adamnan's Life of Columba, e.g. the saint banishes a demon lurking in a milk pail, Bk.II, 16.
due to political causes. The Irish monasteries had more than their share of destruction. Like other houses, they were liable to damage through natural causes and through internal squabbles. But they suffered exceptionally heavily at the hands of the Danes and Norse. From the end of the eighth century reports of burnings and plunderings become common in the Annals. There was heavy loss of life, the monasteries were pillaged and their valuables carried off. The relics of a saint and books, which were often encased in precious metal, were a prey to the pagan Vikings, and though the attackers were not interested in the books themselves, this did not save them from the flames. Some houses were, for a time, completely subject to pagan rule. The Irish Tract Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh describes how

(1) AU. 782 (I, 256) 'Ventus magnus 7 validissimus distruxit monasterium cluana bronagh.'

(2) AU. 806 (I. 292). 'Bellum inter familiam Corcaidhe et familiam Cluana Ferta Brendain, inter quas cedes innumerabilis hominum ecclesiasticorum et sublimium de familia Corceighi.'

(3) 'martyrdoms' and 'murders' are frequently mentioned. See AU. 824 (I,320), 827 (I,324).

(4) AU. 823 (I,318). The plundering of Bangor by Foreigners, and the spoiling of the oratory and relics of Comgall.

Ofa, the wife of Turges, pronounced her oracles from the altar of Clonmacnoise, and quotes a prophecy of Berchen on the secularization of many monastic houses:

'In the abbacy of every church
The black Gentiles of Dublin.' (2)

Though there is exaggeration in the account of the Cogadh Gaedhel, other authorities provide evidence to support the description given in the tract of how the Danes entered Ireland and 'ravaged her chieftainries and her privileged churches and her sanctuaries, and they rent her shrines, and her relicaries and her books.' (3) The Annals speak constantly of Viking plunderings of Armagh, Benerg, Clonmacnoise, Glendalough, Kildare and other great monastic centres.

(1) 'Ota ben Turge a huricli ar altoir Cluana mic Nois.' ibid. p. 12.

(2) 'In nabbadani cacha cilli
Du dubgentib Duiblinni.' ibid. p. 10.

(3) ibid. p. 40, followed by much more in the same strain.

The Viking raids caused a serious break in the tradition of many monastic foundations in the areas most affected by the raids. Relics, round which the veneration of the founder centred, were sometimes lost, records were burned, and many of the most reliable transmitters of the oral tradition were cut off. The disturbances lasted a long time, and houses were in constant fear of raids. It would seem that in many cases records were not replaced, for when the Lives of many saints were later rewritten it is clear that very little was known of the saint or of the early history of his foundation.

The pillaging and looting carried on by the Vikings seems to have been continued in a lesser degree and for a shorter time by the Anglo-Norman invaders. Giraldus Cambrensis's account, the Expugnation Hibernica, though written from the point of view of the invaders, shows that there must have been

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(1) The attacks began at the end of the VIIIth century, and the Vikings continued to be a menace for two centuries.

(2) 'The bitter wind is high tonight
It lifts the wild locks of the sea;
In such wild winter storm no fright
Of savage Viking troubles me.'
heavy loss of life and property. Armagh was burned in 1179 and 1189; and in 1184 it was plundered by 'the foreigners of Meath', in 1185 by Philip of Worcester, in 1189 by John de Courcy. Other monastic foundations also suffered.

The Anglo-Norman invasion stabilised the process already completed by the twelfth century reform movement in Ireland, by which the Irish church was brought into line with Rome, and its distinctive constitutional arrangements succeeded. Continental religious orders were introduced, and it is probably for their use that the Latin collections of saints’ Lives already mentioned were compiled. Sometimes, particularly in MT and R, distinctively Irish material was omitted and homiletic padding and additional passages were inserted. Many of these Lives mark a further step away from their primitive form.

In some cases, where several recensions of a saint's

(1) See Book I, xv-xvii.
(2) AU. II. 195.
(3) ibid. II. 217.
(4) ibid. II. 203.
(5) ibid. II. 205.
(6) ibid. II. 217.
(7) Plummer, VSH. I.xxxix. ZCP.V.441-2
Life have survived, it is possible to trace the hagiographical development. J.F. Kenney points out that a comparison of the four different recensions of the Life of Finán Cam 'affords an interesting study of the way in which primitive ideas and customs which gave offence, or were not understood, in later times were gradually obliterated in successive editions of saints' Lives.' This practice can also be illustrated by taking one incident from the Vita Brigidis.

Cogitosus describes how Brigid’s parents wished her to marry, though she herself wished to become a nun. She therefore went to Bishop Mac Caille, who placed a pure white veil on her head. As she knelt before the altar she touched the wood supporting the altar. The wood became green and living, and so it has remained and has cured the sicknesses of the faithful. The Old Irish Life of Brigit in Rawl. B. 512, the original exemplar of which probably dates from the first half of the ninth century, gives a much fuller account.

Dubthach moccu Lugair came to Brigid’s father and asked for

(1) Sources, p. 422.

(2) AA.SS. Boll. Feb. I. 135-6 (3).

her in marriage. She refused because she had offered her virginity to God, but found another bride for her suitor. Her brothers were annoyed by her refusal, as they would have shared in the tinscreae (the gift given by the suitor to the bride's family). One of them named Bacéne said: 'That beautiful eye in your head will be joined to a man though you like it not.' Brigid plucked out her eye. Her staff, thrust into the ground, produced water to wash the wound. She cursed Bacéne. Her father then consented to her taking the veil, so she went with seven virgins to Leth Gróchen where she thought Bishop Mel dwelt. Tol and Etol, two virgins, directed her to Mag Taulach whither she was guided by Mac Caille. At her consecration angels took the veil from the hands of the priest Mac Caille and placed it on her head. The ash beam supporting the altar which she held 'was changed into seithim which is not burnt by fire nor does it grow old.' Though the church was afterwards burned down three times, this beam remained intact beneath the ashes. Bishop Mel did not recognise what he was reading, and by

(1) *IHS. I.* 349.

(2) *From here to the end of the paragraph the narrative is in Latin.*
divine inspiration consecrated Brigid with the orders of a bishop. During the ceremony a fiery column ascended from her head.

The Irish Lives of Brigid in Lebar Brec and the Book of Lismore are less detailed and omit the ever new ash beam from the story, but they give substantially the same account. L. Br. is nearer than Liss. to the Old Irish Life. Colgan's Third Life in Latin contains a similar, though shorter account of the incident. It omits the specifically Irish comment on the tinscrae: it tones down the violence of Brigid plucking out her eye by saying that she prayed for some deformity and one of her eyes became diseased (liquefactus est). It gives fewer topographical details, and does not mention that the church had been burnt three times probably the remark of someone intimately connected with its history.

This long digression shows that, for this particular section of Brigid's career, Cogitosus, writing probably about the middle of the seventh century, knew little apart from

(1) ed. Whitley Stokes, Three Middle Irish Homilies, Calcutta, 1877.

(2) AA. SS. Boll. Feb. I. 121. Kenney regards this Life as fairly early, and thinks that the Irish Lives go back to an abridged translation of a text resembling this Life. (Sources p. 362-3). This, however, seems doubtful.
the story of the sanctified wood. The early ninth century Old-Irish Life contains a mass of new biographical material: the scribe was therefore either using reliable historical sources unknown to Cogitosus or the saint's legend had greatly developed in the intervening years. The L.Br. and Lis. Lives give a less detailed though similar account. Colgan's Third Life, though it may be earlier in date than these two, shows a far less primitive form of the story. There are other Lives of Brigid, including an unpublished Irish recension in Brussels (MS Bibl. Roy 4190-200, ff.3r-30v), which seems to contain a later form of her legend. No one has as yet studied the relationship between the various Brigitine Lives. To trace the development of her legend in the Lives would form a useful and fascinating study.

Not only were incidents belonging to the Life of

(1) It should be possible to define this less vaguely with closer study.

(2) Father Felim O'Brien has been working on S. Brigid for twenty years. He plans ultimately to produce a work on her legend, history and cult, together with an edition of the Irish and Latin Vitae. A new edition of the Life by Cogitosus is long overdue. The Bollandists' work (being the best edition to date) was published in 1658, and since then many MSS have come to light. (See Esposito PHLA. XXX. (1912) 307-26).
a particular saint elaborated, modified or toned down in later hagiography, but when original biographical material ran out, details or whole stories were borrowed from the Life of one saint into that of another, or from the floating mass of hagiographical material. There is reason to believe that the Latin Lives of Finnian borrowed from Patrician material. The second book of Adamnán's Life of Columcille contains miracles (not original when Adamnán used them) which can almost all be found many times in later hagiography. One or two of these may be mentioned to illustrate how stock hagiographical themes were used.

Book II. 10. Water is drawn from a rock.

The miracle is Biblical in origin. As Moses struck the rock in the desert to produce water for the thirsty Israelites, so Columcille struck it to give water to a thirsty disciple. Water springing up at the command of, or on behalf

(1) See infra pp. 158-160.

(2) This incident is contained in a more developed form in the XVIth century Irish Life of Columcille (ed. R. Hensbry and A. Kelleher, ZCP. III -V, IX - XI). ZCP. V. 28.
of a saint, is one of the commonest of hagiographical themes. In the Life of Ailbe the saint brings four streams out of a rock, water appears for the saint three times in the Lives of Finnian, twice in the Old Irish Life of Brigid, and on many other occasions. Water may be found almost everywhere in Ireland, and there are hundreds, if not thousands of wells dedicated to various saints.

Book II. 8. Books written by Columcille unharmed by water.

This is frequently related of Irish manuscripts, in the hagiographies, and it was imported into the secular tales. The Irish book satchels, used from an early period, protected the manuscripts. Later water was sometimes poured over the books and then used for healing purposes.

(1) VSH. I. 52 (xvi).
(2) IT. I. 6 (17), 7 (22).
(3) CS. cols. 253-4 (41), VSH. I. 261 (vii), ibid. II. 90-1 (xv), Lis. 2179-83.
(4) See place names beginning with Tober-, Tiber-, Tipper-, Tober-, Tobbar-, Tobber-, Tobur-, Tubber-, Tubber-, often followed by name of a saint.
(5) BNE. I. 136 (V. Ins. 11-16).
(6) Buile Suibhne. ITS XII. 4.
A saint’s staff was an object of great veneration, and later was often preserved in precious metal as an important relic. It accompanied the saint during his life, and was often credited with miraculous powers, including that of travelling alone. The Life of Caimnech tells how his staff, left behind on En Inis was awaiting him on the shore when he reached Ireland.

Declan, seeing one day the castle of the king of the Deisi on fire, threw his bachall towards it which flew into the midst of the fire and extinguished it.

Other sacred objects beside the saint’s staff travel of their own volition in later hagiography. Bells fly through the air, Carennog casts his stone altar into the sea and it precedes him, the Shannon carries Brigid’s little basket to S. Senan on Inis Cathaig.

These themes, and many others, recur again and again.

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(1) For some staffs in National Museum of Ireland see M. Stokes Early Christian Art, pp. 79-85.
(2) In this respect it is like the staffs of the Old Testament prophets; see II Kings 4 verse 29.
(3) VSH. I, 161 (xxv). This is a rather different account from Adamnán’s.
(5) GS, cols. 229(11), 935 (9). See infra pp. 253-5 for the ‘fugitive bell.’
(6) VSB et G. p. 144 (3) Cp. Lis. 242-5.
(7) Lis. 2399-2415.
in Irish hagiography. The most common themes are grouped round:

1. The infancy of the saint. Visions precede and accompany his conception and birth, and his sanctity is recognized before he is born. His birth may occur without pain and other marvels accompany his delivery.

2. The close sympathy which existed between the saint and the created world. Animals and birds are the saint's disciples and servants. The saint has control over the elements, can still a storm, divide or cross over water, bring sunshine, touch fire without being burned. The virtue of the saint can also miraculously provide food and drink,

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(1) VSH. I. 87 (i), 216 (i), 334 (i). BNE. I. 44-5 (3), 183 (1) (3), D & M. 75, 8.
(2) BNE I. 183 (2). Lis. 1161-73.
(3) BNE I. 3 (2), 123-4 (7).
(4) VSH. I. 258 (i). D & M. p. 8. (5) supra p. 75.
(6) BNE I. 62 (84). (7) VSH. I. 21 (xxx).
(10) BNE. I. 40 (78-81), BNE. I. 69 (114), I. 230 (137). VSH. I. 229-30 (xxx), 78 (ix).
change food and drink of one kind into another.

(3) The ability of the saint to perform all kinds of cures, physical and mental, and to give life to the dead.

(4) The saint's supernatural gifts. He has powers of prophecy and second sight, can detect devils and is visited by angels. Familiarity with these themes is necessary if the Acts of any particular saint are to be viewed in an historical perspective, and the stratum of historical truth in his Life is to be assessed.

On a number of occasions in the Lives of the saints, pagan elements have been confused with Christian material. For example, in the Brussels Life of Declan, there is a


(3) VSH. I. 40 (xvii), 228 (xxvi, xxvii). BNE. I. 105 (12-15).

(4) Book III of Adamnan's Life of Columcille is entirely made up of prophesies.


(6) IT. I. 11 (33).

(7) VSH. I. 49-50 (ix), 63 (xlvi). BNE I. 111 (52), 126 (8). (16) etc. T. Snieders, 'L'Influence de l'aglographie irlandaise sur les Vitae des saints irlandais de Belgique,' Rev. d'hist. eccl. 'Miroirs in the Lives of Irish Saints', IBER LXVI (1945) 331-42, list the principal hagiographical themes. Their arrangement is different and more detailed than that given here.

(8) See O'Brien op. cit. p.348.

genealogical account of the family from which Declan is reputed to have sprung. This is entirely pagan in character, and begins with a story of the incest of the three sons of Eochaidh Feidhleech with their sister. It is followed by an account of Declan's birth in the normal hagiographical tradition. With the coming of Christianity to Ireland the saint took on many of the attributes of the pagan hero, and in the Lives, 'si les anges sont, dans bien des cas, les remplaçants des âmes, les démons sont les successeurs immédiats des génies mauvais.' Charles Plummer, in his introduction to the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, has studied in detail the relationship of the saints to the pagan deities of fire, water, and the other elements; although so little is known of Irish pre-Christian religious beliefs that there is danger of overstatement in finding traces of sun or fire worship in the Lives of the saints.

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(1) Omitted in the Life of Declan in MS Dublin Franciscan Convent A.31. 9XVIIIs: a hitherto unpublished MS and one unnoticed by Power or Plummer.

(2) See D & M, pp.6-10.

(3) There is no evidence for the theory that the early Irish monks and missionaries were hostile to the secular tales. It is Patrick who, in the *Acallamh na Senórach*, is made to question Oisín and Caolte of the heroic tales.

(4) Snieders, op.cit. p.621.
With the saga literature the student comes to firmer ground. Father Felim O'Briain, in a most illuminating article, has analysed some of the main saga themes which recur in Irish hagiography. Tales of men of gigantic strength and appetite, stories of the multiplication of food and drink, so common in saints' Lives, are also saga themes. In this last group one of the most common motifs is that of the triple milking. Fr. O'Briain points out that in the unpublished version of the Irish Life of Brigid, it is Blathnaét, a figure of the secular tales, who milks Brigid's cows. The killing of an animal for hospitality and its resurrection is a folklore theme. An almost identical story of the finding of articles in the belly of a fish is told in Cogitosus's *Vita Brigid* and in the *Tain bo Frael*.

(1) 'Saga Themes in Irish Hagiography,' *Féil-sgríbhinn Torna*, pp. 33-42.

(2) *KM. Aislinge meic Conglinne*, p. 2.


(5) *ibid.* pp. 41-2. See infra p 172.

Many saga tales are based on the theme of a remedy obtained only after a long series of adventures and travel. Fr. O'Briain quotes instances in the Vitae analagous to this, but the idea is nowhere so well illustrated as in the Imrama. These are in structure and content a fusion of hagiography and secular saga. The pagan and Christian elements are intermingled. The 'Terra Repromissionis' is not the Biblical Palestine but the Celtic Happy Other-World, the Tir na m-Béo (Land of the Living), and the Tir na n-Óc (Land of the Young).

The adventures of the seekers are strange and fantastical, before they at length find Paradise among the waves of the sea.

The eighth and ninth centuries were the period par excellence of saga expansion and interpolation, and the Imrama date from or after this time. The Navigatio Brendani of which the British Museum possesses a tenth century copy, probably belongs to this period. It presents a much more

(1) ibid. pp.36-7
(2) BNB.I. 53-4 (49-51), 61 (83), 62 (87), 77-8 (145-8).
(3) ibid. 78 (149).
(4) O'Briain, op.cit. p.36.
(5) BM. Add. 36736. See Kenney, Sources, p.415.
developed form of the legend than the Vita Brendani, which Plummer has shown to be the earlier of the two. The Vita describes how Brendan after the custom of the early Irish saints, forsaking his land and his country, his parents and his patrimony, sets out on pilgrimage in search of a secret country (talamh ndeirrit) far removed from men. Under the influence of the secular tales, this becomes, in the Navigatio, the tír tairgire, the Celtic Land of Promise. It is from the ninth or tenth century that the earliest version of the Voyage of Saedgus and Mac Riáglá probably dates. The Voyage of the Ui Corra in its present setting is very late, but it seems to be a re-casting of a much earlier legend. It shows pagan and Christian elements side by side. The three sons are born at one birth after a compact with the devil. When they grow up they take to plundering and burning churches, until they are sent by a vision to S. Finnian of Clonard. With him they repent of their wickedness. The

(1) 'Some new light on the Brendan legend.' ZCP.V. 136.
(2) BNE. I. 48 (27).
(3) Sources, p.448.
(4) ibid. p.741.
travels they undertake are penitential in motive, but their adventures are epic in type. Saga material has in many cases been successfully grafted on to the main tree of Irish hagiography, and of this development the historian must be aware.

The aim of the earliest hagiography was to set forth the holiness of the saint, but this single-minded purpose was profoundly modified by the secularization of the monasteries which followed the Viking attacks. In the early Irish church the first right to the abbatial succession belonged to the founder's kin; failing a suitable person there, the right passed to the kin of the grantor of the site. In practice, the local ruling families came to have complete control over the abbacies. Even in the seventh century, the abbacy of Kildare seems to have been filled from the royal family of Leinster. In the Brussels Life of Maedoc, a

(1) supra, p. 94-6.

(2) 'The tribe of the patron saint shall succeed to the church as long as there shall be a person fit to be an abbot ....... even though there be but a psalm-singer of them, it is he that will obtain the abbacy.' Laws III. 72.

(3) F.0' Briaín, 'The Hagiography of Leinster,' Feils McNéill, p. 455.
highly composite work, an angel appears to the saint and tells him to leave his churches 'to their native gentry and to their proper heirs after him.' Coemgen likewise 'ordained that the herenagh in his church should be habitually of the children and posterity of Dimma.'

Under the influence of lay appropriation, a mercenary motive becomes prominent in the Vitae. They proclaimed the saint's paruchia, and the tributes, privileges and rights due to the founder's heir. The Lives usually state carefully what churches were founded by the saint, with the name of the place and often the name of the grantor. Long passages in the Brussels Life of Maedoc, the Brussels Life of Grellan and the Life of Caillion in the Book of Fenagh tabulate the

(1) *BNE I. 264 (225). 'ga nurradhailbh ?'ga noighredh-saibh iomcuibhde dia éis.'*

(2) *BNE I. 127 (19).*

(3) see Life of Finnian *infra* p.176.

(4) *BNE II. 195-200 (41-52), 240-3 (200-205), 249-53 (215-21), 259-62 (237-41).*


dues and profits of the saint. The *commotatio*, or circuit of
the relic shrine, which is mentioned frequently in the Annals
from the first quarter of the eighth century, was undertaken
so that a tax (*lex*) might be imposed on the districts visited.
It was also in the interests of the owner to establish the
importance of the saint's cemetery. In the Lives one of the
most popular of the requests the saint makes of God is that
no one buried in his church yard shall taste the pains of
hell.

Many of these claims were supported by frightful male-
dictions, so that the Irish saints now have a reputation for
eloquent cursing. The saint's curse was used to protect his
foundation and to enforce his tribute. S. Lasair 'curses
each one that will not pay my tribute, and I promise ill
fortune and poverty to such as turn against me or my tax.
Anger, hatred and murder of kinsfolk, weakness, wounds and

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(1) AU 733 (I,186), 742 (I, 202-4), 752 (I, 216), 771
(I, 240) etc. See O Briain Hag. Leinster, pp. 457-8.
(3) BNE II. 143-4. This seems to be directed especially
against the Vikings.
great war be their lot, save they pay my tax.' Perhaps even in the earliest period the Irish saints used their curses freely. Certainly at a later time nothing improper was seen in such events as the cursing match between Ruan and Diarmait, and the power of the saint's curse was feared. 'Woe to the man who has as neighbour an angry saint.'

The hagiographer, recasting his earlier material with these material objects in mind, found it more than ever necessary to illustrate the comprehensive power of the saint. There was no want that the saint could not supply, and some of the miracles related in the Lives are silly, or even immoral. His superiority to all other saints was emphasized indirectly, and sometimes even directly: 'Now it is clear from these stories about Colman son of Luachan,' writes the scribe, 'that God thinks no cleric more wonderful than him.' Angels, and even God himself, on some occasions

(1) Erin V. p.100. See also Book of Fenagh, p.190-2.
(2) See Plummer VSH. I. clxxiii, who says it was a druidic function the saints inherited, and points out that the Irish canons defend the practice. Wasserschleben, Die irische Kan. p.68.
(3) BNE. I. 286 (274).
(4) EC.II. 278-9. 'How Brendan of Clonfert changed a child from girl into boy in its mother's womb.' BNE.I. 8-9 (28)
(6) Meyer Colman, p.102 (103).
become little more than the saint's servants. God strikes the
saint's enemies with disease, blindness, paralysis, death
or some other misfortune. The account in the *Vit.Trip.* of
Patrick fasting against God is an unusually blatant example
of the saint demanding his own will. It is for Patrick
and his foster mother also that an angel does the domestic
work, when they are summoned to clean the king's hearth.

In spite of the crudely materialistic emphasis present
in so many of the Irish *Vitae Sanctorum*, the Lives embodied
earlier material, and are not infrequently shot through with
something which makes it possible to gain a more accurate
idea of those saints who drew thousands to their monasteries
by their holiness and learning. There is a tenderness and
compassion in the parting of S. Moling and his mother foreign
to many of the Lives. Ciarán's care for others is
illustrated by a very beautiful story: reading with S. Finnian

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(1) *Vit.Trip.* I. 112-120. Fasting against a person was
an Irish legal custom to secure justice. If the claim-
ent died, the party against whom he had fasted was
responsible for his death.

(2) *Lis.* 121-26.

(3) *Birth and Life of Moling*. RC XXVII. 274-6 (27).
he reached the sentence 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, so do ye unto them,' and said to his tutor, 'Father, this half of the book I have read is enough for me, that I may fulfil it in deed; truly this one sentence is enough for me to learn.' Finan Cam, shortly before his death, told his disciples, 'I am going from you now; howbeit, the soul will not leave my body till I have healed the little girl who is being brought from afar, and when she is healed I shall depart with the angels of Heaven.'

S. Íta advises her nuns on the spiritual life, and tells them 'Sine impedimento in oratione et meditacione sancte Trinitas persistis.' A fine passage towards the end of the Brussels life of Ciaran of Saighir sums up his way of life: 'Moreover, if any injury were done to him, he would always do some good thing in return, for he always forgave injuries. He would labour with his hands for the love of God, to get what they wanted for the poor. And so he passed his life in this world as to receive the crown of eternal life in the world.

(1) VSH. I. 206 (xvii).
(2) ZCP. II. 547 (16).
(3) VSH. II. 119. (xi).
S. Ciaran's advice to his monks as his death approached is the complete antithesis of the veneration of relics which later led to such extravagances. When troubles will come, he instructs his disciples, 'Festinate ad alia loca pacifica, et meas reliquias relinquite quasi ossa arida cervi in monte; melius est enim vobis ut cum spiritu meo sitis in celo, quam iuxta ossa mea in terra cum scandalo esse.' In the same Life a natural shrinking from death has escaped the editing of the later hagiographer: 'Ardua est ista via, et hec necessaria est.'

In spite of the later modifications the real man sometimes emerges. In most of the Lives there are at least scraps of primitive material. The Life of Finnian Mhunnu, one of the most interesting of all, is unusually free from stock incidents and secular influence. It was written

(1) BNE. I. 123 (68).
(2) VSH. I. 215 (xxxii).
(3) ibid. The Irish Life reads 'Awful is this road upward.' Ilis. 4454.
(4) It would be profitable to make a study of the Life of Mhunnu. He is later by nearly a century than Finnian (died 635), his Vitae (in Latin) are comparatively straightforward, and contain references to monastic life and to the political history of Leinster. The saint seems to have been important; he was one of the principal defendants of the Celtic order against the Roman usage in the Easter controversy. He has a number of dedications in Leinster.
some time after the events it describes, by someone connected with Munnu's monastery who knew its traditions well, and relied partly on oral tradition. The Life is longer than most, and gives a clear picture of Munnu as a decided, rather harsh man, on occasions even menacing. From his Vita comes one of the most human and most saintly sayings in the hagiographies: 'Si aliquem hospitem verbo aspero et repentino salutasset, numquam comedebat cibum priusquam hospes ille leniter placatus esset; et dicebat: 'Ego preterita hora carnaliter filius Tulpam; nunc vero spiritualiter filius Dei sum.'

To the historian the lack of contemporary Irish hagiographical material is a drawback; it was due partly to the

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(1) CS. cols. 397 (11), 398-9 (13).
(2) ibid. 403-4 (21-2).
(3) ibid. 409 (28).
(4) ibid. col. 396 (7), 397 (10)(11), 398-9 (13).
(5) ibid. col. 410 (29).
(6) CS. col. 414 (34).
(7) In the history of desert monasticism Cassian and others were writing soon after the events they describe. In Byzantine monasticism the Lives of Dorotheus the Younger, Simeon the Young and other saints are almost contemporary accounts. A considerable amount of Anglo-Saxon hagiography is early.
early flowering of Christianity and partly to the devastating effects of the Viking invasions. The scantiness of early records caused amplifications in the later Lives, with borrowings from one Life into another and from the common stock. In the minds of the Irish sacred and secular tales were not rigidly divided, and saga themes became mingled with purely religious motifs. The lay appropriation following the Viking troubles - a period during which many Lives were probably written up in the vernacular - introduced a very materialistic element into Irish hagiography. It is impossible to accept the Vitae, in their present form, as historical evidence, before analysing their historical content, which may vary considerably from section to section. But once the peculiarities of the compilation are accounted for, the Vitae become a mine of information for the history of the early Irish church.
CHAPTER V

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LIVES OF S. FINNIAN OF CLONARD.

The Latin Vitae - CS and R Lives independent recensions of the same, already abridged, text - CS nearer to the original - The Irish Life - Lis. and St. probably from common exemplar, to which Lis. is nearest - A and Br. present better manuscript tradition - Probable XIth century dating on linguistic grounds.

The Latin Vitae.

There are two Latin Lives of S. Finnian. The first is found in a collection of saints' Lives which once belonged to the Irish college of Salamanca, from which it derives its usual name, Codex Salmenticensis. It is now part of the Bollandists' collection. The manuscript contains 175 folios, and the ancient pagination is numbered from ff. 48 - 229, forty-seven folios having been lost at the beginning and others throughout the codex. There are forty-seven

(1) MS. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 7672-4. Edited and described by J. de Smedt and C. de Backer. It will be referred to throughout as CS.

(2) One folio missing after 87, 169, 191, 206, 217, 219 and 221.
Vitae in the manuscript, some fragmentary, together with a copy of the Catalogus Sanctorum. The Lives are not arranged in any particular order, and are of very varied value. Some appear to be translations from the Irish. The manuscript dates from the first half of the fourteenth century. It is 0\textsuperscript{m}, 332 x 0\textsuperscript{m}, 233 in size, arranged in double columns and written in book-hand, and shows no indications of having been intended for any liturgical purpose. The Life of Finnian from this codex was first published by John Colgan.

The other Latin Life of Finnian is found in three manuscripts, Bodl. Rawl. B. 485 ff. 54\textsuperscript{f} - 58\textsuperscript{f} (R\textsuperscript{1}), Bodl. Rawl. B. 505 ff. 156\textsuperscript{v} - 160\textsuperscript{v} (R\textsuperscript{2}), and Dublin Franciscan Convent A 24 pp. 1 - 14 (\textit{F}). These three codices are collections of Latin Lives of Irish saints. There has been some difference

(1) CS col. 938 note 2. 'Bennact Cuanna agus noem deroni scattach fris animain inti tue a gaedalich illadain in bethuss.' The blessing of Cuanna and of the saints who made their covenant with him on the soul of him who put this life from Irish into Latin.' See also supra p 92 note 1 for some linguistic indications of translation from Irish.

(2) Professor Francis Wormald confirms the Bollandists' dating


(4) Though R\textsuperscript{2} now contains a copy of the Martyrology of Cengus, which was bound up with it later. C. Plummer ZCP. V. 430.
of opinion concerning the date of the two Rawlinson manuscripts. Both were assigned by Hardy to the fourteenth century, by Macrery in his Catalogue to the fifteenth century, though he later put \( R^1 \) circa 1350. Charles Plummer consulted Mr Madan who dated \( R^1 \) in the first half of the thirteenth century, and \( R^2 \) in the first half of the fourteenth. Professor Francis Wormald, who has kindly examined photostats of these manuscripts, is of the opinion that \( R^1 \) was transcribed about 1350, and \( R^2 \) about 1400. Both manuscripts are arranged in double columns. \( R^1 \), which is \( 9\frac{1}{8} \) in. \( \times 6\frac{2}{8} \) in. in size, is written in a very contracted bookhand. The hand of \( R^2 \), the larger manuscript, size \( 14\frac{5}{8} \) in. \( \times 10\frac{1}{8} \) in. is more liturgical in style.

Plummer has shown conclusively that \( R^2 \) is copied from \( R^1 \).

The two codices originally contained Lives of the same thirty-nine saints, though \( R^1 \) was already defective when \( R^2 \) was copied. The scribe of \( R^2 \) arranged the Lives in the order of the calendar for liturgical purposes, and expanded (sometimes wrongly) many of \( R^1 \)'s contractions. The two manuscripts agree in the most minute particulars. Both were connected with the

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monastery on Saints' Island in Loch Ree.

F was copied from R² in 1629 by Father John Goolde, OFM. It is a folio volume containing thirty three out of the thirty nine Vitae in R², and was found in John Colgan's cell at his death. Colgan was intending to publish the Life of Finnian from it on 12 December; he has divided the Life into chapters with marginal headings, in some cases made alterations in the text, and has numbered the manuscript for notes. These numbers agree fairly closely with the notes to his edition of the CS Vitae, but even if they were ever prepared they have not been traced.

(1) Colgan says 'saepius monuim us authorem vel collectorem vitarum in Codice fuisse Augustinum Magradian' (Acta Sanct. p. 710, note 1. See Plummer ZCP V. 453 note 4). Plummer has shown that Colgan's Codex Insulensis is R², that Magradian, whose death is entered in the continuation of An.Tig. at 1405 in his 56th year, was certainly not the author. The date of R¹ seems rather early for Magradian even to have collected the Lives.


(3) Through the kindness of the Franciscana I have been able to compare the hand of the notes with Colgan's autograph in the Franciscan Library. There is also a facsimile of Colgan's autograph in National MSS of Ireland Part IV. II. Plate L.
CS and $R^1$ are therefore of approximately the same date though CS is the earlier. Finnian's Latin Vitae cover exactly the same ground, though they differ throughout in phrasing. CS could not have been copied from $R$ as it contains a number of place and personal names absent from $R$. $R$, on the other hand, does not contain any incident, place or personal name not given in CS, and adds nothing to the value of the CS Life. Nevertheless, it does not seem to have been copied from CS. $R^1$ incorporates glosses into the text. Plummer has drawn attention to a passage in the text of $R^1$ which runs: 'Quo adheret Deo unus spiritus est cum eo. Hugo (hu°) orbita ceditur (ced₂, perhaps a mistake for dicitur) vestigium rote ab orbe dicta. Non solum ..... iste ..... mundum quasi sub una orbite solis videt.' The underlined words, found in $R$ but not in CS, are a gloss on orbita taken from the Latin glossary of Hugo of Pisa, where, under the word rota is the gloss 'hec orbita i.e. vestigium carri vel rote, ab orbe dicta.' The scribe of $R^1$ must almost certainly have been using a glossed manuscript. If he himself had been writing the original.

(1) Plummer, op. cit. p. 438. I owe this explanation entirely to Plummer. The scribe of $R^2$ could make little of it, and transcribes hu° (Hugo) as humo.
glosses in his own manuscript, and not merely copying them, he would have been far more likely to add the glosses in the margin or between the lines, whereas he has incorporated them into the body of the text. CS therefore, where the Vita is not glossed, was almost certainly not his exemplar. Since Hugh of Pisa died in the thirteenth century, and R was using a manuscript glossed from his works, Professor Wormald's dating of R (about 1350) receives additional support. It is unlikely that the exemplar of R should have been glossed from Hugh's works before the first half of the thirteenth century, the date to which Mr Madan assigned R.

CS and R both claim to be extracts from a longer life of Finnian in more than one book: 'Hec de primo libro vite ejus excerpta sunt,' reads CS, and in the margin, 'Secundus liber.' No third book is mentioned, so there were probably only two, though this division occurs less than half-way through the Life. Dr Kenney suggests that R and CS are 'abbreviations of the same original text.' They are

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(1) See H. D. Austin, 'Germanic Words in Uguiccionese Lexicon' Speculum XXIII (1948) 273-83, where 1210 is given as the date of Hugh's death. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. F. J. E. Reby.

(2) CS col. 196.

(3) Sources, p. 375.
rather independent recensions of an already abridged text. In both CS and R accounts of how Finnian is sent by the British prior to fetch wood, oxen are awkwardly introduced at the end of the story, though it is clear from other accounts of this same incident that they should have been mentioned earlier. There is a large gap in the narrative of CS and R between the end of the first and the beginning of the second book, which starts in CS with: 'Igitur Finnianus optimus sanctorum secundi ordinis abbes, volens multiplicare cultum dei altissimi, plures monachos in praefato loco qui Achad Abla dicitur relinquens, ad regionem Barche perrexit,' though no account is given in CS or R of the foundation of Achad Abla. If the scribes of CS and R had been independently abridging a longer life of Finnian they would have been most unlikely to have made identical blunders on two separate occasions. The original of CS and R thus seems itself to have been defective. The account of the founding of Achad Abla in the Irish Life is about 320 words long. Either the scribe of

(1) CS. Col.192 (6).
(2) CS. col.196 (13). R1 f. 55r reads: 'Relinquens quosdam de suis in loco qui Achad Abla dicitur.'
CS and R's original omitted a very considerable portion of his narrative, or his exemplar was defective, having perhaps lost a folio at the end of Book I. If this were so, and it seems very probable, it would make the division into two books occur approximately halfway through the Life. It is possible, though there is no evidence to prove it, that the original of CS and R's abbreviated exemplar (the Life in two books) may have been a libellus. These were usually volumes of rather small quarto size, written in single columns in a round liturgical hand. They contained the official account of the life and acta of a saint (usually in the longest form) sometimes followed by liturgical items, and were popular from the eighth to the twelfth centuries.

The stemma for the Latin manuscripts therefore stands:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Vita Finniani} \\
\text{in two books.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{abridgement of} \\
\text{a Vita Finniani}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CS first half} \\
\text{of XIV.}\text{s.}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
R^1 \text{ c. 1350}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
R^2 \text{ c. 1400}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
F. 1629.
\end{array}
\]
It is possible to determine the relative value of the Lives of Finnian in CS and R. Though both cover much the same ground, R is the longer Vita. This is partly due to the way in which the scribe of R pads his text. The R Life was intended to be read aloud, and the scribe usually seizes the opportunity to point a moral. When CS says merely 'accesserunt Britones ad Finnianum, ut Deum eali contra hostes invocaret,' R reads 'Tunc Britones, de meritis sancti Finniani plusquam de viribus propriis confidentes, ad ipsum suppliciter accedunt, rogientes ut deum sum contra hostes invocaret.' Examples of this kind are numerous.

R includes two long passages not found in CS. One is an account of how Colum of Tir-dá-glas administered the viaticum to Finnian, and himself died soon after. It follows Finnian's prophesy that he will receive communion before his death from the hands of Colum but it clearly was not originally intended to be there, as the account of Finnian's death, occurring in the middle of his Acta is immediately followed by 'Quondam tempore sanctus Finnianus cum assent in itinere...'

(1) R about 5,490 words; CS about 4,130 words.
(2) CS, col. 193 (8).
The account is taken from the Life of Colum found elsewhere in CS and in R, and bears the same relationship to the CS account as does the rest of Finnian's Life. The other passage in R, an abbreviated version of the Catalogus Sanctorum (1) which occurs elsewhere in CS, may possibly have been in R's original. It would fit in quite easily after the opening of the second book in the CS text, which refers to 'Finnianus optimus sanctorum secundi ordinis abbas.'

The original of CS and R itself contained borrowed material. The Latin Life originally ended with an account of Finnian's asceticism and holiness and the good example he left behind him. In R the conclusion is even more marked than in CS: 'Ideo potuit in fine illud apostoli dicere: "Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consumavi; reposita est mihi coronam scilicet glorie, quam deus ei in fine dedit." Amen.' Both CS and R (and therefore their original), follow this with a story of Colman Ela's visit to Finnian's tomb, which has been added from a Life of Colman.

R also differs from CS in that it omits place and personal names. There are twenty-eight place and district

(1) CS. cols. 161-4.
(2) CS. col. 210 (34).
names in the CS Vita Finniani, nineteen in R. CS has fifty-five personal names to R's forty-three.

Various primitive elements found in CS are omitted in R. The scribe of CS relates that Finnian, when opposed by King Tuathal, spent the night in prayer and fasting, and that Tuathal's son died as a result: 'oravit et illa nocte jejunavit, et eadem nocte filius regis carissimus mortuus est.' To fast against a person was an Irish legal custom to compel justice to which the saints frequently resorted. It is found frequently in the Lives, and it is undoubtedly to this custom that CS refers. R merely says: 'deum oravit ut regis iram erga eum mitigaret.'

On another occasion Finnian decided, according to CS, 'in quadam silva densissima habitare.' This habit of retiring to mountains or thick woods was very common amongst the saints, R. tones down the characteristic phrase to 'cum ecclesiam .... edificare conaretur.'

Another phrase in CS which suggests a direct tradition occurs in the account of Gemman's fields made fruitful by Finnian, and remaining so 'usque in hodiernum die'.

(1) CS col. 206 (30).
(2) VSH. II. 247 (xvii), ibid. 305 (xxv), ibid. 18 (xlvi); cf., PRIA XXXVI. 123.
(3) CS. col. 207 (31).
(4) VSH. I. 219 (v), II. 43 (xvi), BNE. I. 126 (11).
(5) CS. col. 202 (23).
a phrase which is omitted by R.

It appears that the CS text is nearer to the original, was less influenced by extraneous considerations and more accurately reproduces the original. The R text adds nothing of value to the account in the CS Vita Finniani, but is useful in the reconstruction of the common original.

The Irish Life.

Six manuscripts of the Irish Life of Finnian are known to me, apart from various nineteenth century transcripts of the Life in the Book of Lismore. The Life of Finnian in the BM, MS. Egerton 180 was transcribed by Muiris Ó Gormáin.

(1) Plummer notes the omission of things likely to cause scandal, and quotes as an example, the prohibition in the CS Vita Finniani only, against manuring Ruadan’s fields: "Agri tui ubertate pleni sint etque fructus uberrimos habeant, et fimo ad impinguendum non egeant usque in sempiternum. Et si quis de industria fimum aut stercora adduxerit super hanc partem agri, hae pars non generabit nisi olora tantum et puaeae spicas," cols. 204-5 (26). But this seems fairly mild for the mediaeval hagiographer, and the scribe of R has not omitted the miracle performed on Tuathal CS 266-7 (30).

probably in 1780-1, from RIA MS Stowe A.IV. 1. It is a clearly written and accurate copy, differing from Stowe only in accentuation and aspiration and occasionally in a more modernised spelling.

Stowe A. IV. 1 (St.) is a paper manuscript, size 7 in. x 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) in, and contains sixteen Lives of saints. It was copied by Dumnall Ó Duinnín in 1627 in the Franciscan house at Cork for Proinsias Ó Mathghamhna, Provincial of the Friars Minor of Ireland, from a lost vellum manuscript. The text of the Life of Finnian in St. is closely akin to that in the Book of Lismore (Lis.), a vellum folio size 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. arranged in double columns. It is written by three different scribes, and now has 197 leaves, having lost at least thirty-six. It contains Lives of nine saints, tales, poems, topographical and historical tracts. The collection was compiled for Findhin Mac Cartaigh Riabhach and his wife in the second

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1. Life of Finnian Eg. 180 ff 46\(\frac{1}{2}\)-53\(\frac{1}{2}\). Paper. 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. x 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. For further details see Flower, Catalogue pp. 451-5.

2. RIA Catalogue of Irish MSS. Fasc. XXII, p. 2782. Plummer thinks that this volume, like the O'Clery MSS, was probably transcribed for the great Franciscan hagiographical undertaking. BNE. I. xii.
half of the fifteenth century. Another recension of Finnian's Irish Life is found in BM. MS. Add. 30512 ff. 6V - 9V (A), Brussels MS. Bibl. Roy. 4190-4200 ff. 203F-210F (Br), and TCD 1285 ff. 111-114.

St. agrees with L1e. in a number of readings where not only the phraseology but the sense of L1e. differs from Br. A. The genealogy of Finnian in St. is identical with that given in L1e., whereas Br. and A continue the genealogy. The two recensions give rather a different picture of Finnian's dealing with the unregenerate. L1e. reads: 'Nochairighedh na daíne a dcoeth ac cræssachd, 7 no ciedh 7 na pendedh a peced.' 'He used to upbraid those whom he saw eating gluttonously, and weep and do penance for their sin.' (3) The St. reading approximates to this, though omitting the latter part of the sentence. (4) The Br. text on the other hand gives a different meaning: 'Ni curssachadh ni chaírigedh na daíne, no chfeadh chana, 7 no pended a pecto dí díraith.' 'He did not

(1) This description is from W. Stokes, L1e. pp v-xliv. The MS is in private hands. A facsimile of this MS is shortly to be published.

(2) infra, p. 140ff.

(3) L1e. 2737-8.

(4) 'Nochairighedh na daíne cræssachd.'
reprove nor upbraid men, he used to weep however and do pen- 
ance for their sin." (1) Lis. and St. also agree in calling 
the disciple whom Finnian left at Achenry Cruimtar Dathi, 
whereas the other manuscripts name him Nathí. They again 
have an identical reading in their account of Finnian and 
Ciarán's visit to the house of nuns which contained Finnian's 
two sisters '7 a mathair, i.e. mathair Ciarain,' and their 
mother, i.e. Ciarán's mother. (2) This makes nonsense, as 
Ciarán was not related to Finnian, and A clearly has the 
correct reading.

These readings where the sense of Lis and St. agrees 
against Br and A, are supported by other occasions where the 
phrasing of Lis. and St. differs from A and Br., though the

(1) Br. 320-1.
(2) Lis. 2710. Br. 285.
(3) Lis. 2662. It is clear from the context that the 
woman was not Ciarán's mother.
(4) infra, p.147.
general sense is unaltered. Sometimes it is one word which
Lis. and St. contain in contrast to a different word in Br.
and A.

(1) egs. Lis. 2708 (St) fer dia mhuinntir seom a man of
his household.
Br. 283. òen dia mhanceibh one of his monks.
L2601 (St) co ndebert an ò-inseal fris till the angel
said to him
Br. 138-9 (A) Tainic iar sin angel an Coimhdeh na ndula
chuisioch co ndorbairt fris There came afterwards to
him an angel from the Lord of the Elements and said to
him
L 2666-7 (St) Do_soud uisqui na tiprat a mblas lenna.
In lind rucoadh do Finnén. The water from the well was
turned into the taste of the ale. When the fluid was
brought to Finnian.
Br. 252-3 (A). Rosóadh usce na tiprat i mblas lenda in
limh. Rucoadh do Finnien. The water of the well was
turned into the taste of the fluid of the elm tree. It
was brought to Finnian... .

(2) egs.
L 2522 (St.) isin mag Br. 27-8 isin dumadh
L 2563 (St.) aingel Dé Br. 90 (A) aingel De nimhe
L 2642 na da airdespec (St. easbudh) dec
Br. 193 (A) na da ard-apstal decc
L 2709 (St.) eclus.
Br. 284 in cathair.
There are omissions in both *Lis.* and *St.* of details found in *Br.* and *A.* The two angels who help Finnian with the woodcarting, and Bécan the swineherd who protests against Finnian's choice of a site, are not mentioned in *Lis.* and *St.* Both *Br.* and *A* name Cross Sailech in the account of Finnian's settlement at Achad Abla, but *Lis.* and *St.* omit all mention of it.

These examples show that *St.* was either copying *Lis.* or a manuscript similar to it. That *St.* did not copy *Lis.* may be seen by the occasions on which *St.* agrees with *Br.* and *A* against the *Lis.* reading. Sometimes *Lis.*'s change of word, or re-phrasing makes no difference to the sense. In one case the *Lis.* reading is clearly a mistake, and *Br., A,* and *St.* preserve the correct reading.

(1) *Br.* 77.
(2) *Br.* 118-120.
(3) There are other less important omissions in *Lis.* and *St.* of words and phrases found in *Br.* and *A.* e.g. co hessamain *Br.* 71.
(4) e.g. *Lis.* 2570, *do thoil* (tol. f. will, pleasure) *Br.* 54 (*A.St.*) *do deoin* (deóin will) *Lis.* 2627. 7 *tucadh dó arís a shúile* and his sight came to him again. *Br.* 173 (*A.* and *St.*) 7 *tucatha a sale dó.* *Lis.* 2558 *ba he it wés he it is he.* *Br.* 78 (*A.St.*) *ise it is he.*
(5) *B.* 221-5 (*A.St.*) 'A coimhde,' ar Findian fri Ciáraen, 'cáiit i foigebham usce dóibh suítt?' 'In bhadh (sic) leacca letsa,' ar Ciáraen, 'éige asin ionad ittíoi?' Atracht Findian. 'Ant ionad asa nérn achtais,' ar Ciáraen (*Lis.* ar Finnén) 'is eísde inaíd na tiprat.'

(Continued next page)
When describing Ruadan's elm-tree which distilled a marvellous liquid, Lis reads 'conadh de nolssighdis na mensia na haighd, conadh do sin batar mensigh Bremn ac togra qu Ruadhan.' 'so that from this the monks used to benefit their quests, wherefore the monks of Erin were longing for Ruadan.'

The other manuscripts run 'Conidh de nolasaigedh an (sic) mensaigh 7 in (sic) Sidigh, conidh doside better mensaigh Bremn occ tocoral co Ruadan.' 'So that from this the monks and quests used to benefit, wherefore the monks of Erin were longing for Ruadan.' This seems to be the better reading.

The occasions when St. in common with A Br. contains a better reading than Lis, although few in number, are sufficient to show that Lis, although few in number, are sufficient to show that Lis, was not Stowe's exemplar.

It would, however, appear from the very close similarity of Lis. and St. in important omissions and other peculiarities, that they had, probably, a common exemplar. The few occasions on which Stowe gives a reading which differs seriously

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Footnote (5) continued from page 135.

'My lord,' says Finnian to Ciaran, 'where shall we find water for them here?' 'Wouldst thou be loth,' says Ciaran 'to rise from the place in which thou art?' Finnian rose up. 'The place from which thou hast arisen,' says Ciaran, (Lis. says Finnian) 'that is the place of the well.'

(1) Lis. 2679-80.

(2) Br. 243-5 (A. St.)
from L is, in meaning, on closer examination merely confirm the impression that they had a common source. The prophecy in L is. of Muiredach's son Bocu is followed by 'i. athair Brenduibh iarsin' i.e. the father of Brandubh afterwards.

But 'i. athair and the i of Branduibh have been inserted, as Whitley Stokes notes, by a later hand. L is. therefore had originally Brandubh iarsin, a reading which does not make sense, and which has been altered by a later scribe in accordance with the much better reading of ABr. The St reading is the exact parallel of the original L is. reading, though the form of the name is slightly different 'Brennamb iarsin.' The scribes of both L is. and St. therefore took down something they probably did not understand. Again, according to the L is. scribe, Finnian stayed six years at Magna Salcain (se bliadhna), whereas St. has tri bliadhna (three years). The original of both must have had this written in numerals, 141, which the scribe of St. mistook. St. 's reading of Finnian's age at his death differs from both

(1) L is. 2379-80.
(2) infra. p. 144.
(3) L is. 2606.
Lis and Br., and cannot be explained by a study of the manuscripts. But the St. reading was probably suggested by the age of Moses, with whom Finnian had been compared in a previous paragraph.

Dowmhall Ó Duinnín, the scribe of the St., cannot therefore be called a careless copyist, as he sometimes, in common with A and Br, preserves better readings where Lis. has made a slip in copying. He does, however, copy very loosely, on many occasions changing the word of the original for another of approximately the same sense which he prefers.

(1) St. 120 years; Lis. 140 yrs; Br. 180 yrs.

(2) For Finnian's chronology, see infra pp. 182-6.

(3) egs.

Lis 2510 (BA) cú mba alachta
Lis 2511 (BA) himtruma
Lis 2512 (BA) edrochta
Lis 2512 (BA) co n-essidh
Lis 3552 (BA) chrann
Lis 2558 (BA) feidhm
Lis 2579 (BA) sheitche
Lis 2579 (BA) don creich
Lis 2685 (BA) banna
Lis 2719 (B) 7 congbhala
Lis 2736 (B) copain
Lis 2743 (B) Buidh bláiith
Lis 2745 (B) leestar
Lis 2541 (BA) do chuinhidh

St. go bó torrach
St. toirchiosa
St. fioralainn
St. go ro thoirling
St. chaolaidh
St. ualach
St. rioghna
St. don tluagh
St. lainge
St. 7 reilge
St. cuach
St. fer reachta
St. soitheach
St. do iarraidh
or changing the phrasing. He frequently omits passages found in Livs. and the other manuscripts. Sometimes these are short descriptive phrases, sometimes important longer passages giving interesting topographical details and traditions found in the other Lives. This is perfectly in accord with what we know of Ó Duinnín's methods. Charles Plummer found, in comparing the Lives copied by Ó Duinnín in Stowe A.IV.1 with Lives copied by O'Clery from the same originals, that Ó Duinnín took 'considerable liberties with the originals,

1. e.g.

Liv. 2509. setig socenelaig. St. ben tshaor tsoicheinelch.
Liv. 2523 (Br.A.) aml ba cubaidh dia airilludh
St. amhail rofhollisigh crioch deirigh a betha
Liv. 2537 (Br.A-) et etercertad in caingin ima taim-ne
St. 7 beiredh breth isin gcuis iomma bfulmidhe, and others.

2. Liv. 2589. coslatra.
Liv. 2668. Roimderg cumor imon cleirech, and similar phrases.

3. Liv. 2549-51 (Br.A.) As dibsidhe...fris. Gives name of Lllancarfin and length of time Finnian spent in Britain.
Liv. 2635-7 (Br.A.) Doberuinn.....tipraiti. Gives part of the conversation between the angel and Finnian, and the fact that the well was finally dug to the east of the church.
Liv. 2652-60 (Br.A.) Tainic....bratha. Describes Finnian's settlement in 'Ross Findouill which is today Leis in Menra', and his encounter with the Druid Freachan.
Liv. 2696-704 (Br.) Story of Finnian's meeting with Moses and Ailmire at Drum Etir da Loch in Ui Ailella, the raising of their sister, and their gift to Finnian.
Liv. 2780-1 (Br) intan.......Crist. Finnian's judgement at doom, together with Patrick and Jesus Christ, of the men and women of Ireland.
... not only in vocabulary and phraseology, but also in such matters as expansion and abbreviation, insertion and omission.

It is therefore clear that while Lis. and St. represent one branch of the manuscript tradition of the Irish Life of Finnian, Lis. is nearest to the original, and St. is only of interest when it preserves a better reading than Lis. In such cases it is usually in agreement with Br. and A. Nor is St. of much linguistic value, as Duinnín has in most cases modernised the orthography and forms of words.

The other recension of the Irish Life of Finnian is represented by the three manuscripts A, Br., and TCD, 1285. The TCD manuscript was copied by Hugh O'Daly in 1752. The Life of Finnian together with other articles, was taken from Add. 30512, a fact which is clear from a comparison of the two Lives even without the evidence of the other articles.

(1) BNE. I. XIII-XIV.

(2) go for Mid. Ir. co, cu, ag, og, for Mid. Ir. ic, ac, acc, oc. St. has the modern forms luigh, aontoigh, naíneith-nígh, séag, rugadh, eglasea; háis, clóin, anósa, and others.

(3) esbodh; do ronset, olse, and others.

(4) For fuller description of MS. see Abbot and Gwynn, Catalogue, pp. 24-35

(5) Many of the contractions are identical eg. 4th C Muiredach Some of the contractions found in A are carelessly read

(Continued next page)
The TCD Life of Finnian breaks off in precisely the same place as A. O'Daly's hand is a most inartistic scrawl, and he makes elementary mistakes owing to careless and unintelligent reading. According to his manuscript Finnian spent twenty years (xx) with the British saints, whereas A and all the other manuscripts have thirty. On one occasion O'Daly copies the same line of A twice, and when the scribe of A has made an obvious slip in repeating a word, O'Daly follows blindly. He expands some contractions into absurdities, and occasionally his grammar is incorrect. S.H.O'Grady offers a happy explanation by suggesting 'that ink was not the only fluid present on the scribal table.'

Footnote (5) continued from page 140, and expanded wrongly in TCD, eg. A. f 6V last line — malle (immalle). TCD. 7. malle.

(1) A. f. 7T, line 21.
(2) A. f. 7V, line 28.
(3) A. f. 7T, line 16.
(4) A. f. 7T, line 6 f' (fri) TCD. fer.
(5) TCD. at hairside Brandubh instead of genitive Branduibh, as in A. f 7V lines 20-1.
(6) O Grady, Catalogue, p.499.
TCD is then valueless. Its exemplar A, is a small quarto vellum manuscript, size 7\(\frac{7}{8}\)in. x 5\(\frac{3}{8}\)in. With the exception of ff.10\(^{\text{r}}\)-18\(^{\text{v}}\) which are later insertions in two different sixteenth century hands, the manuscript is in the hand of William Mac an Léig, one of the most prolific scribes of the second half of the fifteenth century. It contains miscellaneous theological texts in prose and verse. It may be significant that the Life of Finnian is the only item in the original codex which was written in single columns. The Life perhaps goes back to a text written in single columns. The Life in A is incomplete, as one complete folio is missing. In the sixteenth century Add. 30512 shared the same history as Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 610, when both manuscripts were in the hands of the FitzGeralds. It may therefore be identical with the 'Leabur na carraigi' taken in 1462 with Laud Misc. 610 by Thomas Fitzgerald in ransom for Edmund Butler. There is however nothing in the manuscript to make the identification certain, or to show that A was not written after 1462.

Br. is a small paper manuscript, size O\(^{\text{m}}\), 195 x 0\(^{\text{m}}\), 15, written mainly between January 1628 and March 1630 by

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(1) For further details see Flower, Catalogue, pp.470-505.
Michael O'Clery. He was copying the Life of Finnian on 4th March, 1630. On f. 223 of the same manuscript he writes:

As leabhar measmuir fiusras on tsaccart Nicolas Ó Cathasaigh ar aisacht do scríobh betha Phindein Ò Beineoin, 7 gach a bhfuil ina ndiaigh i nAth Cliath.

From a vellum book which I obtained on loan from the priest Nicholas O'Casey I copied the Lives of Finden and Benen and all that follows them, in the house of the brethren in Dublin the first time; and I recopied them here in the house of the brethren on the Drowse, 7th March, 1629. The year in which Gillaglas O'Higgin wrote the old book was 1471.

O'Clery, according to his custom, first made a rough copy of the material when he borrowed O'Casey's book, and recopied them at leisure. O'Clery's exemplar and A are therefore of approximately the same date.

Until the Life of Finnian in A breaks off towards the end of the story of the visit to Ruedan, there is very close agreement between Br. and A. In several important

(1) For further details see J. Van den Ghely, Catalogue V. 381-4. Father Walsh has shown that O'Clery was using O.S. dating, Catholic Bulletin XXVIII. 232.

(2) "4 Marta, 1629" occurs at the foot of f.205X in O'Clery's hand.

instances where the sense of Br. and Lis. differs, A agrees with Br. Br. A's description of Rochu, 'athair sidhe Brandaib iarttain' 'he was the father of Brandub afterwards,' makes perfect sense against the incomprehensible original reading of Lis. St. Br. and A contained the same genealogy of Finnian, longer than that in Lis. St., which traces his ancestry back to a line of Ulster kings, and therefore makes comprehensible the remark in the conclusion of the Life:

\[\text{asail rogenair Pol theas i t\text{\textae}r Cann\ae\text{\textae} a cineal 7 a bunadhais etued a tir Caldea, is eshleith sin rogenair Finden hi fus i lLeighnibh, a cineal 7 a bunadhais eithuid a h\text{\textae}lstaibh.}\]

As Paul was born south in the land of Canaan his race and origin north in the land of Caldea, it is thus Finnian was born here in Leinster, his race and his origin north in Ulster. (2)

According to Br. A Finnian stayed seven years at Mugny, whereas Lis. reads six. Br. A, say that he was digging a well (oc claidhe), Lis. St. that he was cleansing it (oc glamed).

(1) Br. 107. Supra p. 137.
(2) Br. 331-5.
(3) Br. 145. Supra p. 137.
(4) Br. 182.
(5) Lis. 2634.
In the Lis. St. recension Finnian tells Gemmén who brings him a panegyric 'geibh ind uisqui' 'put it into water,' whereas Br. A. reads 'geibh ar uisce,' 'put it over water.' In addition to these readings the two passages found in Br. but not in Lis. St. are also present in A.

There is also minute correspondence between Br. and A where the word or phrasing in Br. differs from Lis. without affecting the sense. Usually also when there are very

(1) Lis. 2676.
(2) Br. 238-9.
(3) Br. 76-8, 118-20.
(4) Lis. 2509, setige socénaileig.
Lis. 2534, cia himith-emh.
Lis. 2558, ba he
Lis. 2666, ar Finnén.
Lis. 2677, ba toirtech
Lis. 2567 iarsin tocor
Lis. 2568 singel Dé
Lis. 2568 ol sé
Lis. 2580 in ri
Lis. 2619 fri
Lis. 2642 airdespec
Lis. 2667 -------
Lis. 2540 Luidh iarsin
Finden
Lis. 2547 Rohedpartha tra na feranna-sin
Lis. 2552 Laa n-aen ann

(A) Br.10, setige socraigh sochénaileigh
Br. 44 (A) Cia innithmigudh
Br. 78 (A) ise (St. with A and Br.)
Br. 225 (A) ar Cifran (St. -do-).
Br. 240 (A) is toirteach (St. with A and Br.)
Br. 89 (A) toirn tocorrál
Br. 90 (A) angel de nimhe
Br. 91 (A) ar sé
Br. 107 (A) Muireadhach
Br. 163 (A) i frithshet
Br. 193 (A) ard-apstal
Br. 227 (A) 'Mor a lubhrac', ar isidhe
Br. 52 (A). Luidh immóir
Finden iar side
Br. 62 (A) Rohedhbarta na ferannahide iarum
Br. 67 (A) La naen

(Continued next page)
marked differences between the form of a word in Br. and Lis, A approximates to the Br. orthography. There are a few cases of agreements between Lis. and A against Br., but none of these cases affect the sense.

Footnote (4) continued from page 145.

Lis 2554 ------------------------- Br. 71 (A) coheasamain
Lis 2601 co ndeber an Br. 138-9 (A) Tainic iar sin
 t-aingel fris engel an Coimhphd na
Lis 2667 ni cumang ar ndula chucisomh co nder-
nd(tul) i maicsighudh bairt fris.

(1) Lis. 2525 (St) n-ecclasa Br. 32 (A) neoclasacada
Lis. 2572 (St) huidedalb Br. 36 (A) udibh

(2) Lis. 2504 (A) ferta 7 mirbuili in craibhigh-seo Br. 1-2. cinel in craibhtig sin, 7 a fherta et a mior-
Br. 46 'Ma ata' ar David 'rathfair'
Lis. 2526 (A) 'Ma ata' ar David.
Lis. 2575 (A) for an cuicid dia shil Br. 100 dia sfol forin cóiscedh
There are however one or two occasions, which give the A text its distinctive value, when A presents a different reading from Br. While all the manuscripts indicate that Finnian had a flourishing community at Aochadh Abhall, where he stayed sixteen years 'ic fognamh don Coimh~ na nd~ila'
'serving the Lord of the Elements,' A is the only manuscript which gives an explicit foreshadowing of his famous school at Clonard, by saying that he spent his time at Aochadh Abhall 'et ar crath~h 7 tuigh~ib leig~nd' 'between pious people and the elect of learning.' The A manuscript is the only one which solves the riddle of Ciaran's mother. Both Lis. and Br. readings are incomprehensible, but the A reading makes perfectly good sense: 'Righnach 7 Ricenn 7 a mathair 7 mathair Ciarain' 'Righnach and Ricenn and their mother and Ciaran's mother.' In one important instance A presents a different reading from Br. though here its significance is puzzling. After Bresal has refused a site to Finnian, and Finnian has prophesied his death, the accounts proceed:

(1) Br. 137 (A). Lis. 2600.

(2) Br. 137.

(3) Lis. 2662. Finnian's two sisters '7 a mathair .i. mathair Ciarain'; Br. 219. Finnian's two sisters 'et a mathair Ciarain.'

(4) Br. 219.
The Ossorians came afterwards on a raid into the land on the morrow. Bresal went to meet them, he was killed there, and a hawk carried his hand and laid it down in the presence of Finnian at Cross Sailech. God's name and Finnian's were magnified by that miracle.

After that came Muiredach the father of Bresal and gave to him the place which Bresal had refused him.

The Ossorians came afterward on a raid into the land on the morrow. Bresal went to meet them, he was killed there, and a hawk carried his hand and laid it down in the presence of Finnian. God's name and Finnian's were magnified by that great miracle.

Then came Aod mac Corpre king of Laigsi to him to Cross Salech i.e., after that refusal. After that came Muiretac father of Bresal and gave to him the place which Bresal had refused to him.

Laigsi comprised the eastern and southern baronies of the modern county Leix and the baronies of Upper Ossory.

Ancient Ossory was nearly co-extensive with the modern diocese of Ossory, the northern part of which is in Co. Leix. It is therefore not unlikely that the king of Laigsi should be concerned in this quarrel between Finnian, Bresal and the Ossairgi. It seems that Bresal and Crimthann did temporarily succeed in expelling Finnian from Achad Abla. There may have been some sort of alliance between Finnian and the Laigsi and Ossairgi. Be that as it may, after Bresal's defeat by the Ossairgi, A relates that the king of Laigsi joined Finnian at Cross Sailech, and Bresal's father Muiredach confirmed the grant of Achad Abla. The significance of this detail in A is obscure, but it seems likely that the detail given here was in A's exemplar.

The relationship between Br. and A is close enough to indicate that they were either sister manuscripts or that one was copied from the other. The accuracy of Michael O'Clery as a copyist is well known from other sources. There are extant two copies made by O'Clery in 1627 and 1634 from the same manuscript. According to Plummer, who examined the manuscripts closely, they agree so minutely, even down to the contractions and abbreviations used, that the coincidence can

(1) ibid. p. 561.
only be explained by the most painstaking reproduction of his originals on the part of the scribe. O'Clery frequently complains of the orders given him to transcribe literally, and not to amend faulty manuscripts. It is therefore most unlikely that O'Clery would have omitted the passages peculiar to A if they had been in his exemplar, that is, the Book of Nicholas O'Casey did not contain these passages.

A could not therefore have been copied from the manuscript which was written by O'Higgin in 1471. Unfortunately A cannot be accurately dated. Its scribe William mac an Lega was writing both before and after 1471. O'Higgin's copy may therefore be taken from A. The evidence is not sufficient to form any binding judgment, but one or two considerations suggest that O'Higgin was not using A as his exemplar. There are a few cases in which A omits a word, without any dislocation to the sense, which Br. puts in. By themselves, these few examples would have no significance, but in every

(1) BNE. I. xiv.

(2) 'Gidh edh biodh a eithber arna daoibh do athein diomh lorcc na sein-leabar do lenmain, go ham a ságthá'
Let the reproach of it be on the men who ordered me to follow the track of the old books till the time of their revision. BNE.I. 182, xii. and 'I give as my excuse, that it was enjoined on me to follow the track of the old books' ibid. p.xiii.
case L is also has the word Br. includes. This indicates that the word really was in O'Higgin's exemplar, and that this could not therefore have been A. The arguments for the exact relationship between A and Br. cannot be pressed, but it is certain that A Br. together form one recension of the Irish text. A is usually exactly parallel with Br., but in one or two cases includes a passage which Br. omits, or presents a better reading.

The other recension of the Irish text is found in L is, St. and, as we have seen, L is, is by far the more important text. A, Br.'s exemplar and L is, were all fifteenth century manuscripts and all ultimately go back to the same original.

(1) A. 'comba halacht side uadsum' 'so that she was with child by him.'
Br. 10-11 (Lis. 2510) 'do rala go mba halachtasidhe uadhsomh' 'It happened that she was with child by him.'
A. 'Do brethemsin coitchenn roaentaigset Cathmael' 'they asked Cathmael to make a common judgement.'
Br. 42-3 (Lis. 2532) 'Do brithemhain immorro (omitted in L is, ) coitchend roaentaigsett ettorra Cathmael' 'They asked Cathmael to make a common judgement between them.'
A. 'cuiret as in loch mórsa amoig' 'let them expel this great lake outside.'
Br. 56-7 (Lis. 2543) 'cuirett as in loch mórsa amuig itóbh in dúine' 'Let them expel this great lake outside beside the fortress.'
But the Br. A recension is nearest to this. It includes (1) passages and details not in Lis, and on a number of occasions presents a better reading. Finnian founded a church at Achnor, and left Nathi there. Br. reads: 'There is Patrick's well, and his flagstone. (Lis. Finnian's well and his flagstone). Whatever sick man goes into the well, he shall come out of it whole. Whatever troublesome party comes to the eirenagh, his honour shall not be taken away provided he repeats his pater at the flagstone. Thus the well of the blessed one (Lis. the well of Finnian), and the flagstone of the tent at Achad Abla.' There is no well and flagstone dedicated to Finnian here or anywhere else in this area, according to Ordnance Survey maps and papers. There are, however, a number of dedications to Patrick and his disciples in Sligo. (4) Patrick is reputed to have spent three periods in Connacht: 'Fifty bells and fifty chalices and fifty altar-claths he left in the land of Connacht, each one of

(1) supra p. 135.
(2) Br. 285-90. Lis. 2710-3.
(3) For details of maps and papers used see infra pp. 228-30 notes.
(4) Wells dedicated to Patrick in the parishes of Kilmacowen, Drumcliffe, Killespughboro (church of Bishop Bron), Tawnagh, Druncolumb, etc.
them in his church. Seven years was he preaching to the men
of Connacht.' The Ached Abla mentioned here is not
Finnian's foundation in Co. Wicklow, but a place near Achonry
in Sligo. The Annals record a slaughter of the Luighni
(b. Leyny, Co. Sligo), by the Ui Ailella (b. Tirerril, Co.
Sligo), in Ached Abla. Thus, though the Lis. reading of the
passage is what one expects, topography shows that the Br.
reading is correct. When Br. A and Lis. differ in meaning, in
almost every case where there is a parallel passage in the
Latin texts, Br. A is nearer to them. Both CS and R give
the same explanation as A Br. of the relationship of Echu and
Brandub: 'Echu... ex quo natus est Brandub rex et multi alii.'
CS agrees with A Br. in relating that Finnian spent seven years
at Mugny, whereas Lis. gives him only six. The mother of
Ciaran, whom A places intelligibly in Rignach's community is
also mentioned in CS R, where Rignach returns 'ad cellam ubi
mater ejus cum alis sanctis mulieribus, scilicet mater

(1) Vit.Trip. I. 146.

(2) AU I. 268. There was a Tipra Slaingi at Ached Abla,

(3) The genealogy is discussed separately. pp. 165-7.

(4) CS. col. 196 (12). R.
STEMMA OF MANUSCRIPTS OF FINNIAN'S IRISH LIFE.

Common Original.

A transcribed by Uilliam Mac an Lega, second half XV s.

Lost Book of Nicholas O'Casey transcribed by Gillaglas O Huiginn 1471

Lis. transcribed second half XV s.

Br. transcribed by Michael O'Clery 1629

TCD. 1285 transcribed by Hugh O'Daly 1752.

Various XIXs copies.

St. transcribed by Domnall O Duinnin. 1627.

Stg. 180. transcribed by Muiris O Gormán, 1780-1.
Querani et mater Colmani, erant'. A Br. and CS R agree in calling Finnian's disciple Nathi, against L's Dathi.

Finnian's instructions in CS R to the bard who brings him a eulogy 'canta super aquam' approximate to the A Br. 'geibh ar uiscoe' rather than L's 'geibh ind uisqui'. Such manuscript evidence as there is therefore supports the A. Br. readings.

Whitley Stokes in his edition of the L text of Finnian's Life, has partially collated the L text with Br, but his collation is not complete and he is unaware of the A text. The spelling of the A text is often peculiar, and the text is incomplete. Since a complete list of the variants of Br. and A from L would be difficult to handle, the text of Br. has been transcribed in Appendix B, collated with the A readings. A glossary has also been added.

The Dating of the Irish Life.

The language of the Irish Life of Finnian is of the

(1) CS col 201 (21).
(2) CS col 205 (28).
(3) CS col 202 (23).
(4) supra p. 145.
(5) Stokes says (L, p. 342) that there are two Lives of Finnian of Clonard at Brussels in MS 2284-40 and MS 4190-200 (our Br.), and that he has collated the Lismore Life with Br 2284-40. This is however a Life of Finian Cam,
Middle Irish period, but a fairly large number of early forms are found in the text. Some of these are: co ndessidh (Br. 17), co rogenair (Br. 24), rosiascht (Br. 35), otconaire (Br. 43), rohedhbarta (Br. 62), dochottar (Br. 82), ce monopae (Br. 159), co noroét (Br. 180), atfiadat (Br. 194), frith (Br. 201), otcuas (Br. 203), atre (Br. 207), as ass atres (Br. 217), ni oumagar (Br. 227), rogadhettar (Br. 247), cedh tóthte (Br. 257), ni cémhsedh (Br. 314), atbath (Br. 354), arne haplatais (Br. 355). Though these forms, considered singly, prove nothing, as most of them may be found in Middle Irish texts, cumulatively they point to an early date. There are also examples of verbs used in an older form, such as conatctetter (Br. 148), and rofiarfacht (Br. 212), which in Middle Irish develop an e-Preterite, and of verbs used in the deuterotonic form which in Middle Irish frequently adopt a prototonic form, such as echt fogabhár (Br. 74). In a few cases the wording of the sentence is unusual in a Middle Irish text: eg. 'in teospoc...
... dia ndernadh deoin' (Br. 127-8), 'gusin ionad i ndleghar' (Br. 184-5). The double article, unusual in Middle Irish, is also found in the text: 'don coimðhe na ndála' (Br. 157). There is one instance of the neuter article, a ndán (Br. 58),

Footnote (5) continued from page 154. quite different from the Life of Finnian of Clonard, and Stokes has actually collated his Lismore Life with the Life of Finnian of Clonard in Br. 4190-200.
which was already falling out of use in the tenth century. 
In one case Br. seems to have had the old form of the nominative plural article in in its exemplar. In Middle Irish in was used in the singular, so the scribe of Br. has followed the article with a singular noun, 'in bhrathair' (Br. 149), though it is clear from the sense and from the readings of the other manuscripts which have changed the article to its usual later form (A. na braithri) that a plural article and noun was intended. A number of examples of the infixed pronoun also occur in the text: rosbiadh (Br. 58), rombása (Br. 71), dotgí (Br. 306), ródfí (Br. 316). The language seems on the whole to point to a probable twelfth century dating for the Irish Life.

(1) There are comparatively few neuter forms in the Saltair na Rann.
CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL AND LEGENDARY ELEMENTS IN THE VITAE FINNIANI.

The main divisions of the Lives - Material peculiar to the Latin Vita - Material peculiar to the Irish Life - The tour of Connacht - The author of the Irish Life and the general character of his account - the Latin Life - Primitive material in the Life - Note on Finnian's chronology.

The Lives of Finnian of Clonard are typical examples of Irish hagiography, and, if their historical value is to be assessed, they need critical examination in the light of the motives and methods of other writers of Irish saints' Lives. Although no manuscript prior to the fourteenth century of either Finnian's Latin or Irish Lives exists, it is possible to shown from internal evidence that the Vitae contain much earlier material, and to discover whether the Latin or Irish Lives represent the more genuine tradition.

(1) In discussing the Latin Life the GS text will be used, for the Irish Life the Br. text, unless otherwise stated, as these are nearest to their originals. The references to Br. will be to the lines: in cases where no English is given, the reference to the Lismore text will be added so that Stokes's translation may be consulted.
Both Latin and Irish Lives fall naturally into four main divisions:

1. The early life of S. Finnian. CS. cols. 189-195 (1-11), Br. 1-93, Lis. 2504-70.
2. His work in Leinster. CS. cols. 195-202 (12-23), Br. 93-240, Lis. 2571-2677.

The accounts given in the Latin and Irish Lives differ considerably.

The Latin Vita is longer than the Irish, and includes passages absent from the Irish Life, some of which have parallels in Patrician material. When in northern Connacht Finnian met 'senem Maneum, qui a Patricio baptizatus est,' who was being prevented by the king from building a church at Echenach. Finnian overcame the king's resistance and built a church in that place. This is undoubtedly the Bishop Maine connected with S. Patrick. He was probably blessed by

(1) CS. cols. 206-7 (30).
Patrick before his birth, and, according to Tirechán, was baptized by Patrick and ordained by Brón. In the 
\textit{Vit. Trip.}, Maine is spoken of as a bishop of Patrick's household ('\textit{domuntir Patraíc}'). The church of Echenach was founded by Patrick, not Finnian. It is not likely that Maine was alive when Finnian made his reputed journey to Connacht towards the close of his life, or that there were two Maines connected with Echenach, both baptized by Patrick. The compiler of the Latin Life was filling up space with a borrowed character.

On another occasion, when Finnian was in Connacht some girls came to him 'ut eis pallium et velamen castitatis imponeret. Et cum ipse pallium pre manibus non haberet, pallium de celo missum subito apparuit.' This story contains no marks of identification and is immediately suspect. There is a similar, though much fuller story in \textit{Vit. Trip.}:

'After that (Patrick) founded \textit{Cell Atrachta in}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(1)] According to a list of genealogies from MS Laud 610, transcribed by J. Fraser and P. Grosjean in \textit{Irish Texts} III, 99, item 268.
  \item[(2)] \textit{Vit. Trip.} II. 313.
  \item[(3)] \textit{ibid.} I. 144.
  \item[(4)] \textit{ibid.} II. 328.
  \item[(5)] CS. col 206 (29).
\end{itemize}
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 Techet, a sister of Coemán of Airtne Coemán. Patrick sained the veil on her head. Drumanna was the name of the place in which they were biding. It is (called) Machare today. A chasuble was sent from heaven into Patrick's breast. "Let the chasuble be thine, O nun," saith Patrick.'

This account contains genealogical and topographical details, and is convincing. The paragraph in the Latin Vita Finniæni is not an exact parallel, but belongs to the same common theme, by which a saint's needs are supplied directly from heaven. It was almost certainly not in an original life of Finniæn.

When Finniæn returned to Ireland, according to CS, he travelled with Bitheus and Genoc the Britons, via Mag Itha, visiting Coemán of Dairinis and S. Lonen and landing finally at Kylle Caireni. It seems likely that the scribe was here using Patridian material.

(1) Vit. Trip. I. 108.
(2) see infra. pp. 201-6.
The Latin account of Columcille's visit to Finnian has its parallel in Adamnán's Vita.


'Alio in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnnianus intuens suum discipulum Columbanum Kyllle venientem ad se, sit uni de suis monachis: "Vide comitem itineris Columbae." Et respondit ille: "Vide angelos Dei in comitatu eius." Et sit Finnianus: 'Vere qui adheret Deo, unus spiritus est cum eo. Non solum enim iste totum mundum quasi sub una orbita solis videt, ut et angelos et omnes creaturas et mysteria quae sub potestate Dei sunt intuetur.'

The compiler of the Latin Life of Finnian touched up Adamnán's account with a quotation from an epistle of Paul, to whom Finnian was traditionally likened, and included it to illustrate 'quod beatus Finnianus perfectus sit contemplator.'

Two passages from the section dealing with Finnian's visit to Wales, found only in the Latin Lives, seem to be

(1) II. Cor. 6 verse 17.  
(2) LL. p. 370. See Stokes, LIs. p. 298.
inspired by a Life of Cadoc, while the account of Colman's visit to Finnian's tomb, added at the end of the original Latin Life of Finnian, must be derived from a Life of Colman.

There are other incidents found only in the Latin Vitae Finnianoi which, though they cannot be traced to the early Life of any particular saint, yet contain common themes which were the stock in trade of every hagiographer. The founding of Achonry is told in CS quite differently from the Irish Life. Caput Lupi, king of Luigne, intended to expel the saint from his territory. Finnian put the sign of the cross on a rock, which immediately split into three. The king, seeing the saint's power, repented and granted the site of the miracle to Finnian. This method of exhibiting a saint's power is used in other Lives.

The Irish Life relates very shortly the founding of Grellán's church:

'After that Finnian went into Corpre Mor. Aengus

(1) Question of Finnian in Wales to be discussed infra pp. 262-97.
(2) supra, p.128.
(3) CS. cols 205-6 (28), Br. 278-90, Lis. 2705-2713.
(4) BNE. I. 167 (27), 225 (124) Cp. Vit.Trip. p. 218, CS. col. 874 (6). where the saint's curse is transferred to a tree.
was king at that time in Corpre. His son Nectan came to refuse the cleric. The feet of his household clave to the earth, and he himself died. Aengus came afterwards and gave the cleric his will, and he (Finnian) raised his son to him from the dead, and (Aengus) gave a place for a church to him. The paralysis of a saint's enemies is common in hagiography. The compiler of the Latin Life has padded out this story. The GS account, in any case has its parallel in the preceding chapter, where the son of King Tuathal dies, and the king is turned into stone.

The Latin Lives include in their account of Finnian's childhood, a miracle by which the boy produces water with the sign of the cross. This is one of the most common motifs. They also describe how, when Finnian is led by an angel to Clonard, a boar flees from the site of his future

(1) Br. 291-6; Lis. 2714-6.
(2) VSH.II. 298 (xiii). BNE I. 166 (40). VSB et G. p.226 (23) where changed to stone.
(3) GS. col 207 (31).
(4) GS. cols. 206-7 (30).
(5) GS. cols 190-1 (3).
(6) see supra pp.101-2.
monastery. A boar showed Ruadan the place in which to build his church, another was Ciaran of Saighir's first monk. It may be significant that this theme also appears in the Life of Cadoc, where a boar marks the site of Lancarvan, since the Latin Life of Finnian had some connection with a Life of Cadoc.

All the material so far quoted as peculiar to the Latin Vita Finniani is derived either from the Lives of other well-known saints or is made up of common hagiographical themes. One incident only is an exception to this. CS has a story of the virgin Laisre, who, in opposition to her parent's wishes, entered Gill Rignaige and was taught under Finnian's rule. Later she returned to her own countryside and founded the church of Dairi mac Aidmetain. The theme of a holy virgin fleeing from a forced marriage is frequent in hagiography; and Dairi mac Aidmetain and Laisre herself cannot

(1) CS col 199 (18).
(2) BNE. I. 317 (5).
(3) BNE. I. 115 (2).
(4) VSB et G. p. 44 (8).
be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, there was a flourishing community at Cell Rímaige in close touch with Clonard. It is reasonable to suppose that some traditions of the early members of the foundation would have survived, and to these the compiler of the original Life of Finnian would have had access. The story of Laisre probably contains a genuine early tradition.

The material peculiar to the Irish Life is quite different in character from the passages found only in the Latin Vita. The Irish Life commences with a much fuller genealogy. The descent of an Irish hero, secular or religious, was always carefully recorded. For ten generations all texts of Finnian's Irish Life agree, and they are supported by Finnian's genealogies in the Book of Lecan, MS Rawl. B. 502, the Lebor Brehon, Mac Firbis's Book of Genealogies, (1) But see infra, pp. 218-20, 251-2. (2) f 131V col. 3. (3) f 130V col. 2. (4) p. 15 col. 5. These three MSS consulted in facsimile. (5) RIA, C. VI, 2 p. 296 col. 2.
and MS. TCD. H. 27: 'Findian mac Finnain meic Conchraid meic Daircella meic Senaig meic Diarmata meic Aedha meic Fergus a meic Ailella Teldubh meic Celtchair meic Uithechair.'

Beyond this point there is no agreement on his genealogy, though his descent is finally traced to the Rudraige of Ulster. Cealtchair son of Uithechair was one of the Ulster heroes, and was provided with a descent from Rudraige.

(1) P. 178.

(2) The Latin Life of Finnian in R notes his descent from Rudraige: "Pintenam ...... origenis lineam trahens deilio Rudraychi qui temporibus suis erant principiores quasi totius regni hibernie." The family name Loscan is given in the margin of OS f. 83² See col. 189 (1).

(3) There is not complete agreement on the genealogy of the descendants from Rudraige. The Book of Lecan f. 131⁵ col. 2 and Mac Fhirbis p. 296 col. 1 give: 'Cealtchair mac Uithechair meic Fachtna meic Rudraige.' Colgan's correction in the Bp. MS of Finnian's Life approximates to Lecan f. 114⁴ col. 3: 'Cealtchair mac Uithechair meic Fothaid meic Firfilead meic Glaís meic Rosa meic Rudraidhi.' This genealogy is also given in T.C.D. H. 27. p. 178.
In some of the later Ulidian tales *clanna Rudraige* is used as a synonym for Ulaid. This explains why the Irish Lives stress Finnian's racial relations with the north, though he was born in Leinster.

The Irish Life contains a description of the founding of Achad Abla which is missing in the Latin Life. Topographical details are given. Finnian and his disciples went first to Mount Condal. The Irish Life mentions a community here. Leaving Condal they moved into the nearby glen, where Achad Abla was founded in an apple orchard, on land which had previously been used for pigs. The tradition of a quarrel with Bresal and Bishop Cinnethann, in which the king of Laigsi was concerned, has been preserved here. There is unfortunately too little evidence to make much of this tale, but it indicates a fairly primitive stage in hagiographical

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(1) *C Rahilly Hist. and Myth.* p. 349.


(3) *Br.* 110-142. *Lis.* 2580-2603.


(5) *Br.* 113-120. For further details of Achad Abla (*Aghowle*), see *infra* pp. 242-3.
development. A quarrel between a bishop and a holy abbot would certainly have been toned down in a late Life.

The founding of Escayr Branein mac Echach is much more briefly related in the Irish than in the Latin Life, but the Irish account contains some important and obviously genuine details. The name by which it was generally known, Ard Relec, is given: it is clear, as the name indicates, that there was a cemetery here; 'Over whom shall go the mould that thou hast dug,' says the angel, 'he shall receive mercy from the Lord of the Elements.' (1) Finnian, who had been in Kildare, crossed the Boyne ('tairnic .... dar Boinn co hÉscar mBrenán, áit ata Ardrelecc indiu') to reach Ard Relec. The well was dug a little to the east of the church ('sel sair on reclés'). In the Irish Life it appears that Ard Relec was an important community. The scribe, in his conclusion, speaks of the power of its prayers, which, with the prayers of Finnian's household at Achad Abla and Condal, will banish every pestilence and every common disease from the

(1) Br. 188-190. Lis. 2638-9.
(2) Br. 167-9. Lis. 2624-5.
(3) Br. 185-6. Lis. 2636.
(1) The Irish Life suggests that Finnian's famous school had its beginnings at Ard Relec. 'After that, the saints of Ireland came to him from every high place to learn wisdom from him, so that there were three thousand of the saints together with him, and from these he chose the Twelve High Apostles of Ireland.' Later the fame of Clonard, only a short distance away, eclipsed that of Ard Relec, and the compiler of the Latin Life does not bring the scholars to Finnian, or speak of the Twelve Apostles, until the saint is settled at Clonard. The Irish Life also relates that it was Finnian's custom to make his students a parting gift: 'And none of the three thousand went from him without a báchall or without a gospel or without some well-known sign, so that round these they built their churches and their cathedrals afterwards.'

The author of the Irish Life also knew much more about Kilrainy than the Latin writer. In his account

(1) Br. 356-60. *Lis.* 2765-8.
(4) For Kilrainy (Cell Rignaige) see *infra* p. 251.
Finnian's two sisters, Rignach and Nicenn, with their mother and Ciarán's mother, came and settled in Cell Rignaige, and Finnian and Ciarán went to visit them there. The Latin Life reads: 'Quodam alio tempore occurrit ei in via soror sua, Rignach nomine,' though it mentions 'cellam sancte Rignathe' in a later chapter. The Irish Life goes on to tell how Finnian and Ciarán produced water for the nuns, a theme which is common, but which may indicate that there was a well here dedicated to either Finnian or Ciarán.

All this material found only in the Irish Life, which has been cited, is genuine historical tradition which could only have been known to someone connected with Finnian's foundations at Aghowle and Clonard. For this section of the Life the Irish text gives a reliable account.

Finnian is reputed to have visited Connacht and to have planted churches there. The Latin account of this journey is far longer and more detailed than the Irish. Finnian first

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(1) Br. 220. 'dia torramhai.' Lis. 2663.
(2) CS. col. 201 (21).
(3) ibid (22). Is there any significance in the fact that in the earlier Irish account Finnian and Ciarán go to visit the nuns, whereas in the Latin Life they meet them on the road and Finnian performs a miracle on his sick mother without entering Cell Rignaige? See infra, pp. 309-10.
visited Ruadán at Lorrha where there was a wonder-working tree. The tree distilled a liquid suited to everyone's palate, which satisfied monks and guests, so that disciples flocked to Lorrha. Persuaded by his monks, Finnian tried to prevent the flow of the liquid, and finally persuaded Ruadán to live like other monks. Finnian blessed Ruadán's fields, so that they became fruitful. There is nothing in this incident as related in the Lives of Finnian, which could not have been taken from the *Vita Ruadani*.

After this Finnian went into Ailella, where he raised the sister of Moses and Ainmire from death. The girl killed the calf under her only cow to make a meal, and the following day it was found alive under its mother. She brought a pail of milk and water to Finnian, which he changed into the taste of wine (in the Irish Life only.) Moses and

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1. Lorrha is just outside Connacht, but this visit marks the beginning of Finnian's tour and falls in with this group of material.


Ainmire offered their church to God and S. Finnian. The theme of water, or sometimes milk, being changed into wine is found in the canonical scriptures, pagan literature and in the Lives of saints. The story of the calf, killed for the sake of hospitality to the saint who afterwards brings it to life, is common in both saga and hagiography. It occurs in the Lives of Brigid, Finan Cam, Fintan of Duleng and S. Finger. A similar theme is found in the Adventures of Cormac in the Land of Promise. The raising of the sister from the dead has many parallels in the Lives. There is nothing in the least original here except the place and personal names.

Finnian proceeded to Achonry where he was joined by the priest Nathi. He founded a church, leaving Nathi there.

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1. CS cols. 205 (27): Br. 265-77; Lis. 2696-2704.
2. Supra, p.105.
4. CS. col. 305 (13); ZCP. II. 554 (iv).
5. CS. col. 225 (13).
7. Irische Texte III. 214 (42). This reference brought to my attention by O Briain, Saga Themes, p.42.
8. Supra, p.105.
The Latin Life accompanies the account with a miracle based on a common hagiographical theme. The Irish Life mentions a holy well and flagstone dedicated to Patrick at this place, and concludes with a typical promise about their properties:

'Whatever sick man shall go into the well, he will come from it whole. Whatever troublesome party shall come to the eren-agh, his honour will not be taken away provided he repeat his pater at that flagstone.'

The Irish Life, as usual, shows more knowledge of the local topography, but neither Latin nor Irish texts know much about S. Finnian's connection with the place.

The Latin Lives follow with two more paragraphs, both of which can be traced to other sources. The miracles

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(1) Supra, p.162.

(2) Br. 286-9. Lis. 2711-3. There is a parallel of this in the Birth and Life of Moling, RC XXVII, 276-8 (8), where Moling leaves a blessing on Chlain Cín Maeidóc:

'Cid mór n-imresna immorrog beis isin, baile echt cote isin têmpul a ndol fo sídh ass, cen écnach an baile do breith sech crois móir na faithche'. Though much quarrelling be in the place, provided they enter the church they will go thence in peace without bringing the reproach of the place beyond the great cross on the green.

which accompany the founding of Grellón's church, related shortly in the Irish and at length in the Latin Life, are also common hagiographical themes.

It would appear that little or nothing apart from names was known of Finnian's tour in Connacht when his Lives were compiled. The Irish Life contains none of the significant details it has for the account of his work in Leinster, and the miracles are based on stock themes. But even here the Irish text is more straightforward than the Latin, as it does not pretend to give detailed information. The Irish account of the Connacht tour is less than half as long as the Latin, whereas for Finnian's work in Leinster the Irish text has the longer narrative.

The author of the Irish Life was writing at a time when primitive material was still available. He himself seems to have been a Leinsterman, writing in Leinster. He was familiar with the neighbourhoods of Aghowle and Clonard, and

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(2) Irish approx. 480 words; Latin approx. 1000 words.

(3) Irish approx. 1,296; Latin approx. 1,255.

(4) 'Finnian was born here in Leinster.' Br. 333-4. Lls. 2747-2748.
had access to genuine traditions of these foundations and their local houses. He probably used both written and oral material. Finnian's relics were 'with honour and reverence on earth, with miracles and marvels every day.' The author must almost certainly have been a member of one of Finnian's communities, probably of Clonard. On the whole, he presents his material without much ornamentation or addition. He is, however, clearly intending to establish the authority of his patron. The prayers of the communities at Clonard and Ard Feleac, Aghowle and Condál will banish disease, and it is claimed that Finnian's own death at Clonard saved the Irish people from the further ravages of the Yellow Plague.

(1) 'the wise know and the writings tell' Br. 194, Lis. 2643.

(2) Br. 373-5, Lis. 2775-6. How long Finnian's relics survived is unknown. AU refers in 776 to the circuit of his relic shrine to enforce the payment of tribute: 'comotatic martirum Viniani Clunai iraird.' (AU. I. 244).

(3) Finnian died at the height of the Buidhe Conaill. This claim has an interesting parallel in a tract Cán Eimhne Bán (Irish text published in Anecdota I. 40-5, translated by Summer Eriu IV, 39-46) Bran da Faslemín, king of Leinster and forty nine Leinster chiefs, go in a time of plague to Eimhne Bán and offer themselves as monks. Eimhne, after fasting and agreement with his monks, implores God to take the lives of himself and forty-nine monks in exchange for those of the king and chiefs. Bran died later in 692 (AU. I. 142).
He describes the virtue of his relics and his cemetery, and claims that Finnian will judge the men and women of Ireland along with God and S. Patrick at Doomsday. 'God's name and Finnian's were magnified' is a constantly recurring phrase throughout the Life. Finnian's parochia is carefully defined. Even when the author knows very little else, as in the Connacht section, he records the full name of the place, often with the name of the district, and the name of the grantor of the site, or failing that, of the disciple left there. The Latin Lives are much less insistent on this aspect. The Irish Life was early enough to contain genuine traditions. The care the author takes to define the material possessions of Finnian and his heirs may point to the period of secularization following the Danish wars as the time when the original Irish Life was composed.

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(1) 'every one who comes against him is subdued, and every one who keeps with him is exalted.' Br. 375-6. Lis.2777.

(2) eg. 'Finnian went after that into the territory of Connacht to Druim Stir Da Loch in Uf Ailella .... Moysi and Ainmire offered their church to God and to Finnian.' Br. 265-277.

(3) In the parallel passage to the above the Latin text gives the name of the province and district, but not of the place. It says much more vaguely that Moysi and Ainmire 'se et sua viro Dei obtulerunt.' CS. col.205 (27).
The Latin Life of Finnian is longer than the Irish. It is more diffuse in style, and its material is of a different type, giving far less local topography and traditions, and more and longer accounts of miracles. It does not refer to Finnian's relics. In its present form it makes no mention of the foundation of Condal and says little of Achad Abla. The significant local details of Ard Relec and Clonard which the Irish Life gives, are absent in the Latin Vita, which brings the students to Clonard in accordance with the later tradition, and does not appreciate the early importance of Ard Relec. All the passages, except the story of Laisre, which are peculiar to the Latin texts contain common hagiographical themes and are found elsewhere in the Lives of other saints. All this suggests a late date for the Latin Life, almost certainly post-Norman. This dating is supported by the fact that the wonder-working tree at Lorrha is in the Irish Life an elm, which is a native tree, whereas in the Latin Life it is a lime tree, a variety which was introduced into Ireland after the Norman Conquest.

(1) Stokes translates wrongly. *Lis.* 2678.
After deducting from the extant Lives of Finnian the passages obtained from other sources, the following primitive material remains:

Finnian's genealogy. The visions which preceded his birth. The account of his baptism, education and early church foundations. His visit to Caeman and the British saints. His return to Ireland.

A saint's genealogy was always carefully preserved. When Finnian's Life was written, very little historical information about his early life, apart from his genealogy, was remembered. The visions preceding his birth are of the kind customarily included in Irish hagiography. The tradition of his education by Fortchern and of his three early foundations is supported by topography. His connection with the British saints, especially Cadoc, is also too strong to be doubted. But none of the details of his early life survived.

After returning to Ireland Finnian was welcomed by Muiredach. He reached Cendal and founded Aghowle, where he

(1) supra, p. 104.
(2) infra, pp. 236-7.
(3) infra, p. 297.
stayed for sixteen years. He then proceeded to southern Kildare and founded another house, remaining there for seven years. He passed through Achad Fiacla on his way to visit Brigid, and in N. Kildare met Cassan the son of Neman. Crossing the Boyne, he arrived at Ard Relec, where he established a flourishing community, and was joined by many disciples. He was led by divine guidance to Clonard (Ross Findchuill), and there met the Druid Fræchén: the Lives record a friendly conversation between them. Finnian's sisters, their mother, Ciarán's and Colmán's mother joined him, and formed a community at Cell Rignaige, where Laisre was one of the early members. Gemmán the Master was known to Finnian.

This section of the Life is detailed and accurate. The only doubtful episode is the miracle performed at Achad Fiacla, which sounds suspiciously like a topographical legend. The teeth of saints were common relics. Patrick's were particularly

(1) Vit.Trip. I. 138. S. Patrick gives Bishop Bron a tooth. Cf. ibid. p. 140. The inventory of the parish of S. Perran Zabulo mentions a tooth of S. Brendan in a silver reliquary, and a tooth of S. Martin. (Doble. Corn. Sta. no. 29. p.49). There is a Teampull na Bliacail in the parish of Aghagower - the relic left there according to LL by Patrick (AB. L. 349).
prized. The *Vit. Trip.* tells a story of how Patrick's tooth fell into a ford one day as he was washing his hands. When it was sought for, the tooth shone in the water; and from this the ford was named *Ath Fiacla.* This is similar to the account of the *Vita Finnian,* where, when Finnian's tooth falls out, it is put into a bush, and when it is sought the bush appears to be on fire. This gives the place its name, Achad Fiacla (Field of the Tooth). The flaming bush motif is also found elsewhere in the *Vit. Trip.* With this exception, the middle section of the Life seems reliable. Columcille had a tutor Gemmán, probably identical with the man mentioned here: there is no reason why Gemmán should not have been friendly with his neighbour and contemporary S. Finnian.

After having been settled for some years at Clonard, Finnian visited Ruadan, received churches and founded communities in Connacht.

When the Life of Finnian was composed, various churches in Connacht could be claimed as part of his *parochia.* The names

(2) *ibid.* p. 182.
of some of the first clerics of the churches were known, and
of the laymen connected with the grants. Apart from this
the scribe knew nothing and made up with common hagiographical
material. There is not sufficient evidence to be quite
certain that Finnian himself visited Connacht.

The Life closed with an account of Finnian's
asceticism and virtues, his likeness to S. Paul, his
death, at which his disciple Colum son of Criathanna
gave him the viaticum, the power of his relics and of
the prayers of his communities and his own honour in
heaven.

The description of Finnian's asceticism, virtues and death
seems to be based on genuine tradition preserved at Clonard.
The Irish saints were frequently compared with apostles, her-
mits, early fathers of the church. The Book of Leinster
contains a long list of such comparisons, where Finnian of
Clonard is compared with the apostle Paul. The final
emphasis of the work lay on the importance of his relics, the
goodwill of his communities, and his power to judge the men and
women of Ireland at Doomsday in company with Patrick and Jesus
Christ.

Note on the Chronology of the Life of Finnian.

The chronology of the Vitae of Irish saints must, whenever possible, be tested by the Annals, which provide some of the earliest and most reliable evidence available for Irish history, going back to an Old Irish chronicle. According to the Annals, Finnian died in the plague which swept Ireland in the middle of the sixth century (AU. 549).

Finnian's Vitae relate that he went to Wales when he was thirty, and spent thirty years on his pilgrimage. On his return to Ireland he founded Achad Abla, where he stayed for sixteen years. He was for seven years at Munga. Then, proceeding through Kildare and Offaly he came to Meath where he founded ArdRelec, and later Clonard. This account therefore makes him more than eighty-three years old when Clonard was founded. It appears from the Vitae that he did not die until Clonard was well established. The Latin Lives omit his age at his death; the Lismore version gives it as one hundred and forty, Br. as one hundred and eighty. The latter figure


(2) Chron. Scot. 552.
seems to have been traditionally accepted, for the scribe adds a little verse:

'Six times thirty years with fame
Above every high jointed (?) altar
After determination (1) of his pure practice
The Life of Finnian son of Fintan.' (2)

Father Grosjean has pointed out the popularity of the number thirty in the chronology of the Life of S. Patrick. Hagiographers assigned him thirty years before his arrival in insula Aralenensis, a thirty years stay there, thirty years of ministry in Ireland, and thirty years of retreat, making in all one hundred and twenty years. This scheme also finds expression in the Annals, where Patrick's death is recorded in the thirtieth and sixtieth year after his return to Ireland. It is therefore not surprising to find this theme - thirty years of youth, thirty years of pilgrimage - repeated in the Lives of Finnian. The Stowe manuscript even completes the parallel by making Finnian live a hundred and twenty years.

These figures, which are round numbers are a

(1) reading cinned. I owe this emendation to Mrs. O Daly.

(2) Br. 368-71.

(3) 'Les périodes de 30 ans dans la chronologie de S. Patrice,' AB. LXIII. 93-4.
hagiographical convention, and cannot be taken literally. On the other hand, the record of sixteen years at Ached Abla and seven at Magha seems to be based on sound tradition. Finnian probably spent a longer period in southern Meath at Ard Relec and Clonard, where his greatest work was done. The tradition of all the documents is that he was an old man when he died. The Annals also record the obits of some of his disciples within a few years of his own - men who had by this time themselves founded monasteries.

Unfortunately the Annals do not give the date of the foundation of Clonard. The Vitae give a reliable account of this period of Finnian's career, and according to them he visited Brigid shortly before passing into Meath where he founded Ard Relec and Clonard. Brigid's death is given in A.U. at 524, 526 and 528. Finnian's work in Meath could not therefore have begun later than the third decade of the sixth century, and would hardly have commenced much earlier. For twenty three years before this he had been at work in Leinster.

(1) See Birth and Life of Moling. RC. XXVII. 272-4. 'thirty years till today', 'thirty years from tonight.'
His adult ministry would therefore have extended over the first half of the sixth century.

It is impossible to discover the date of Finnian's birth. The great ages assigned to various Irish saints have aroused considerable comment. Abban, according to his Vitae, lived for over three hundred years, Chron. Scot. records the death of Bishop Ibar 'whose age was 303 years,' Mochoemoc of Liath-mor in an Irish verse quoted by the Four Masters is said to have lived four hundred and thirteen years. Alfred Anscome considers that the numbers given as the ages of the saints are really year-dates connoting the end of a period of time which began with the year A.D. 284, styled the era of Diocletian. The terminus a quo he suggests does not fit in with the hundred and eighty years ascribed by the Br. Life to Finnian. It is possible however to offer a suggestion to account for this number on similar lines.

AU has at the year 482 the following entry: 'The battle of Ocha ...... From Cormac to this battle, 116, as

(1) 'The great ages assigned to certain Irish saints', Eriu, V. 1-6.
Guana has written, 'thus calculating the date from the year 366. The Book of Guana was an early source for the Annals, which is now lost. The year 366 for the death of Cormac Mac Airt seems to be faulty, but it may have had some currency. Using the same terminus a quo, and adding to it the hundred and eighty years traditionally ascribed to Finnian in Br. the date 546 is reached, three years before the date of Finnian's death in Au. This may possibly be the origin of the number of years Finnian is reputed to have lived.

(1) The Battle of Ocha probably took place in 483, where it is also entered.

(2) Mr. James Carney drew my attention to the importance of the entries taken from the Book of Guana, though I did not discuss with him the theory which follows.

(3) MM give Cormac's death at 266, and Chron. Scott. says 207 years from Cormac's death to this battle, thus putting Cormac's obit at 275. The Clarendon MS of Au also reads: 'A Cormac usque ad hoc bellum 206, ut Guana scripsit.'

(4) This suggestion can only be put forward tentatively. The study of the Annals requires specialized knowledge, which I do not possess.
SECTION III

AN EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF S. FINNIAN.
CHAPTER VII

FINNIAN'S ASSOCIATES.

A discussion of Finnian's traditional connection with certain saints and laymen.

Fifty six persons are mentioned in the Lives of S. Finnian of Clonard, though some of these people he could not have met in the way described. There are moreover inconsistencies between the Latin and Irish accounts. A study of Finnian's associates is necessary in order to examine his historical and traditional connection with certain saints and laymen, and to illustrate further the historical value of the various sections of his *Vita*.

The Irish Lives of S. Finnian relate that he was taken to Abbán mac Í Chormaic to be baptized. In the Latin Vitae the holy presbiter Abbán met the women who were carrying Finnian to Bishop Fortchern for baptism, and himself baptized the child. The question of Abbán's identity and period is thus the first problem to be met in discussing Finnian's associates.

S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher solve the difficulty
of Abbán's identity by concluding that the copyist made a mistake, and really intended to write Albeus, or Ailbe of Emly. There appears to be no shred of evidence for this statement. The Life of Finnian in CS gives the name twice, once clearly as Abenus, once as Abenus corrected from Albanus or possibly Abbanus. The R Life of Finnian gives the name once clearly as Albanus, and on another occasion with the second and third letters written so closely that the name might be Abbanus or Albanus. Smedt and Backer, in their edition of the CS Vita Sancti Albani, print Albanus throughout.

Plummer, editing the MT Life, shows that the second b in the name is often placed so near the first that there is no room for its loop, and the name consequently looks like Albanus; but he points out instances when the first b comes at the end of a line, while the second b begins the next line, proving that the name is Abbanus. In all these cases

(1) BG and F. III. 31. They say that Albeus or Ailbe of Emly, who also baptized S. David, died at an advanced age in 541; and that this "correction" once made, the anachronism disappears. The Lives of the British Saints contains much interesting information, but the method is uncritical.

(2) CS. cols. 505-40.

(3) VSH. I. 3. note 1. For Life, ibid. 3-33.
In all these cases Abbanus and Albanus clearly refer to the same person, and there is no question of his confusion with S. Ailbe of Emly. If anything further were needed to prove this, all the Irish manuscripts of Finnian's Life refer to the man who baptized Finnian as Abban mac Chormaic. Baring-Gould and Fisher's "correction" cannot therefore be taken seriously.

The key question of the problem is that of Abbán's floruit, and most of the material for its discussion comes from Abbán's Lives. There are two Latin Lives of Abbán in OS and MT, and one Irish Life contained in two recensions in a Stowe manuscript and in Brussels 2324-40. The OS Life has been edited by Smedt and Backer, the others by Plummer. The Irish Life is short and incomplete; the Latin Lives are fuller, including homiletic padding and passages not in Ir. The first parts of the Lives contain an unusually large number of

(1) There is an article by J. B. Cullen on S. Abban of Hy-Kinsellagh in PER XXII (1923), pp. 292-304, but this article does not examine the Vitae critically, nor discuss the vexed questions of his date, merely saying that he was born 'in the early half of the fifth century,' (p.294) and died in 567 (p.302).

(2) VSH. I. 3-33. BNE I. 3-10. For a fuller discussion of the MSS, see VSH. I. xxiii-xxvi.
mythological stories: Abban walks on the water, rides on his back all through the sea, kills a venomous monster, tames dreadful beasts hiding in a mere in Italy, and a dragon in Connacht 'shaped like a cat, with fiery head and tail .... and with teeth like a dog's', and repulses a huge sea-beast 'with a hundred heads, two hundred eyes and two hundred ears' which stirs up a violent storm. The concluding parts of the Lives are in the normal hagiographical tradition, but even here the miracles, though not unique, are of the more impossible variety: Abban raises to life a drowned boy submerged since the preceding day, and, baptism an aged king's only child, a girl, brings her out of the water a boy. The material of

(1) BNE I. 4 (10), VSH I. 9-10 (xi-xii), CS col. 512 (6).
(2) BNE I. 6 (19), VSH I. 14 (xvii), CS col. 516 (12).
(3) BNE I. 5 (14), VSH I. 12-13 (xv), CS col. 515 (9).
(4) BNE I. 5 (15), VSH I. 13 (xvi), CS cols. 515-6 (10). The Latin Lives say in Britain.
(5) BNE I. 5 (27), VSH I. 19 (xxiv), CS cols 522-3 (19).
(6) BNE I. 6 (17), VSH I. 15 (xviii), CS col. 518 (13).
(7) BNE I. 9 (29), VSH I. 21-2 (xxx), CS col. 526 (24).
(8) BNE I. 8 (28), VSH I. 19 (xxv), CS col. 523 (20).
historical value in the *Vitae Abbani* refers mainly to the saint's ecclesiastical foundations, which are spread over a very wide area in Connacht, Munster, Leinster and Meath. In other respects the historical material is slight.

His *Vitae* give Abban an exceptionally long life, Ir. and CS say 317 years, M 310. In all the *Vitae* he is the son of Cormac king of Leinster, the nephew and pupil of Bishop Ibar (who died 500, 501 or 504) and the younger contemporary of Patrick: this would make him a fifth and early sixth century saint. On the other hand he is reputed to have met Pope Gregory (died 604), and the Latin Lives describe him as the friend of Brendan (died 577 or 583), Moling (died 697), Flannan (fl. 700) and Munnu (died 635), and show him visited by Columba (presumably S. Columcille, who died in 597). This makes him a later sixth and seventh century saint.

Abbán mac Úi Chormaic, from Mag Arnaide in Úi Cennselaig and from Cell Abbán in Úi Muiredaig, is commemorated on two separate days, 16 March and 27 October in all the

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(1) The Irish MSS do not record his association with these Irish saints. The visit of Brendan, Moling, Flannan and Munnu comes before, the visit of Columba after, the Irish MSS break off.
main Irish Martyrologies except the latest, the Martyrology of Donegal, which gives him only at 16 March. The Latin Lives relate that after his death, in order to avoid strife, his remains appeared in two places at once. These facts are admittedly suspicious, especially when taken in accordance with the saint's long age-range and widely-spread foundations. The Bollandists, on the basis of this evidence, have suggested that the commemorations are to two different Abbáns. The earlier saint founded churches in Connacht and Kerry and was buried at Kilabban, the later saint founded churches in Meath, Leinster and Cork and was buried in Mag Arnáide. They also think that there has been confusion with another Abbenu, the mythical founder of Abingdon. The suggestion that two Abbáns were confused is in many respects reasonable. All the same, the earliest evidence now extant points to the fact that the commemorations in the martyrologies refer to one and the same saint. The Bollandists in 1867 wrote before the Henry Bradshaw Society's publications of the martyrologies of Oengus, Tallaght and Gorman. They were under the impression that when Oengus composed his Martyrology in the ninth century the two Abbáns had not been confused:

(1) AA.SS. Boll. Oct. Tom XII (1867) pp. 270-6. They put the birth of the earlier saint c.430, that of the later c.520. But this does not solve all the problems, as a saint associated with Munnu, Moling and Flannan must have been alive in 650. 520 is therefore too early for his birth.
they believed that the Martyrology of Tallaght was compiled in the twelfth century and that by this time confusion had occurred. Oengus composed his martyrology between 797 and 802. Gorman between 1166 and 1174. Both these martyrologies, though they have only Abban in the text, have glosses showing that the Abban of both days was understood to be the same person. The glosses are later than the text, but the Martyrology of Tallaght which Drs. Best and Lawlor have shown to be contemporary with Oengus has Abban mac uí Chormaic in the text on both days. The compiler of the Martyrology of Tallaght would have been more likely than any other witness we now have, to know whether the two commemorations referred to the same saint. That Abbán’s relics were preserved in more than one place is not sufficient to prove the existence of more than one person.

In Plummer’s opinion the confusion in the Lives is between a historical and a mythological person rather than two historical persons. He thinks it probable that Abbán belonged to the sixth and seventh centuries and that his life was prolonged backwards by local patriotism, the process

(1) ibid. p. 271.
(2) MO pp. 98, 228, MG pp. 56, 204. In MO 27 October is referred to as the feast of his nativity. If this is correct it would account for the two dates.
(3) The story in the Latin Lives of the miraculous appearance of the whole body in two places cannot be taken literally. There are many instances in the martyrologies where a saint is said to be 'in' or 'from' more than one place, meaning that his relics were preserved there. See for example MG Oct. 27 (p. 204), 30 (p. 206), Nov 2 (p. 210), 10 (p. 214), 24 (p. 224), Dec. 6 (p. 233), 16 (p. 240), 26 (p. 246).
being helped by silently dropping three or four links in his pedigree. The evidence provided by genealogies, which in the case of Irish saints were preserved with care, supports the view that Abbén was a later saint. His Lives make him the son of Cormac, but in the Irish Lives of Finnian and in the martyrologies he appears as *Abbán mac ui Chormaic* (great grandson of Cormac). His genealogy in the *Martyrology of Cengus* makes him fourth in descent from Cormac.

In the *Book of Leinster* (XIIIs) the *Lebar Brec* (c. 1411), and the *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae* (XVIIIs) he appears as *Abban mac Laighnen meic Caidigh meic Labradha meic Cormac*. The historical Abban, i.e. the Abban whose feast days are in the martyrologies, therefore seems to be a later saint.

(1) VSH. I. xxv.

(2) The XVIth century MD says that Miolla, Abbén's mother, was sister to Bishop Iber, but the information was taken, with acknowledgement, from the Life.

(3) MD. p. 228.

(4) f. 352a, f.20c and p. 85 respectively. LL and LB have been consulted only in facsimile. In Rawl. E.502 f.51v col.e (Fac. p.90) he is fifth in descent from Cormac.

(5) The Bollandists make the early Abbán (born c.430) the son of Lugneus, and the later Abbán (born c.520) the son of Cormac, but it is clear from the genealogies that if there were two Abbáns their parentage is the opposite way round.
It is clear that this Abbán could not have baptized S. Finnian of Clonard. The incident, built up with angels, a vision and a prophecy in the Latin Vitae Finniani is briefly mentioned in the Latin Lives of Abbán. On his return from Meath, where he had been founding churches, Abbán, 'beatissimum abbatem Finnanum visitavit, et ab eo honorifice sanctus senior susceptus est. Quem quidem Finnanum sanctus Abbanus baptizavit, cum esset infantulus.' This must refer to S. Finnian of Clonard, though it is an unusual way of spelling his name. Lanigen says that the compiler of the original Life of Finnian derived the incident from Abbán's Life, but it seems more probable that the Lives of Finnian and Abbán drew from some earlier source. The Latin Life of Abbán says that the author was the grandson of a man baptized by the saint. This statement cannot be accepted for the Life in its present form, but it indicates that some earlier material was used. The Lives of Abbán seem to have incorporated traditions of an earlier

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(1) VSH. I. 23 (xxxii), CS. col. 528 (26). The Finan to whom the Irish Life refers (BNE. I. 8 (24)) is not the saint of Clonard.


(3) VSH. I. 20 (xxvi): 'Ego autem, qui vitam beatissimi patris Abbani collegi et scripsi, sum nepos ipsius filii, quem sanctus Abbanus baptissavit, et de quo prophetevit.' Cf. CS. col. 524 (21): 'Unde compiler vitae huius nepos ipsius filii fuit.'
saint Abbán, who was the younger contemporary of Patrick and Ibar and was connected with the Wexford Area. Abbán's Lives insist on his relationship with these two fifth century saints, and relate that he spent many years with Ibar, whose favourite monastery was on Beggary Island. This Abbán would have been middle-aged round about the turn of the century, and might well have baptized S. Finnian. By the time the Vitae Finniæni and the Vitae Abbani were being compiled, he had been identified with the more recent and better known saint. Chronology did not worry the hagiographer, who gave his subject a life-span long enough to cover his various activities.

The evidence therefore shows a S. Abbán whose festivals were observed on 16 March and 27 October, the descendant of Cormac, who lived probably in the late sixth and seventh centuries. There may also have been another Abbán, a younger contemporary of Patrick and Ibar, connected with the Wexford area, who baptized S. Finnian. There is reason to believe that early material for the life of Abbán once existed, and hagiographers, though they borrowed, padded out

(1) VSH. I. 7. (viii–ix), CS. col 509 (5), BNE. I. 4 (8), Beggary Is. is in Wexford Haven. It was on Loch Garmain (ie. Wexford Harbour) when with Patrick and Ibar, that Abbán expelled the sea monster (supra. p.190, note 6).
and composed details, did not usually invent a completely new incident. Finnian could not have been baptized by the Abbán mac ui Chormaic of the martyrologies and genealogies, but the compiler of his life was using accepted traditions which, it seems, referred originally to an earlier Abbán.

According to his Lives, Finnian's first teacher was bishop Fortchern. The Latin Lives imply that Fortchern's church was at Roscurensis, the Irish Lives do not mention Fortchern's church, but name Ros Cuire among three churches founded by Finnian in his youth. The topographical evidence proves conclusively that Fortchern's church was at Cell Fortchern in the parish of Slyguff, and shows that the three churches claimed by the Irish Life as foundations of Finnian, are located near it.

Colgan identifies this Fortchern with Fortchern of Trim, whose conversion to Christianity is related in the Vita Tripartita and in the Additions to Tirechan's Collectanea contained in the Book of Armagh. When

(1) CS. col. 189 (2).
(2) infra. pp. 236-7.
(5) ibid. II. 334-6.
Patrick came to Ireland he sent his disciple Lommen (who was also his nephew) up the Boyne to Ath Truimm, the stronghold of Feidlimid son of Loegaire. Feidlimid's son, Fortchern, found Lommen, believed and was baptized. His mother Sooth, herself a Briton by birth, came to look for the boy and welcomed the clerics. Feidlimid was converted to Christianity, and offered Ath Truimm for an ecclesiastical site. When Lommen's death drew near, he bequeathed his church at Ath Truimm to Patrick and Fortchern. Fortchern assumed the abbacy for three days after Lommen's death and then abdicated in favour of Cathlaid the Pilgrim.

All the main martyrologies commemorated Fortchern of Trimm on 11 October with Lommen. The Martyrology of Tallaght also has them on 17 February. Gorman and Donegal, the two later Martyrologies, identify Fortchern of Trimm with Fortchern of Cell Fortchern in Idrone, and this would seem to be the meaning of a rather obscure gloss in the Laud and Rawlinson copies of The Martyrology of Oengus. 'Fortchern son of Lægaire son of Nfail, and in Ath Truimm of Lægaire he is. Or Fortchern, i.e. in Cell Fortchern in Ui Trea are Fortchern and Lommen. From Ath Truimm in Brega the two of them ... Or Fortchern from Cell Fortchern in Ui Drone. (1) The evidence of the

(1) M0.p.222. 'Fortchern filius Laeguire mic Neill, 7 a n - Ath truim Laeguiri sta. Nó Fortchern, i. a Cill Fortchern i nHuéib Trea staÁ Fortchern 7 Lommen. O Ath truim a mBregaib doib andis. L. ... No Fortchernn o Chill Fortchern i nHuib Drone.'
martyrologies, though not decisive, points to the conclusion that the saint of Trim is identical with the saint of Cell Fortchern. It would also be fitting that Finnian, who left Fortchern of Cell Fortchern to visit the British saints of S. Wales, should have as tutor Fortchern of Trim, son of a British mother and converted under a British saint. If Patrick the Briton arrived in 432, Fortchern would have been

an old man when Finnian went to him as a boy; if Professor O'Reahilly's view is correct and Patrick the Briton arrived in 461 Fortchern would have been in early middle age when Finnian was a boy. In either case the chronology is possible. It seems therefore that Fortchern of Trim is identical with Finnian's teacher, Fortchern of Cell Fortchern in Idrone.

Before leaving Ireland for Britain Finnian spent some time with S. Coeman of Dairinis, an island in Wexford Haven. A number of Coemans are commemorated in the martyrrologies, but the only one whose location fits the facts given

(1) Finnian died in 549. He does not seem to have been fostered by Fortchern, to whom he must have gone probably c. 485-490.

(2) Laegaire, Fortchern's grandfather, died Chron. Scot. 460.

(3) see infra, pp. 237-9.
in the Lives of Finnian is Coeméin son of Talan, of Airdne
Coemáin in Úi Cennseláig on the brink of Loch Garman.
His festival is given at 12 June in the martyrologies. It is
likely that Finnian spent some time with Coeman. The Latin
Lives say that he delayed in order to study; the Irish 'bata
seal immalle, doronsat a m'entaidh.' they were together for
a while and made a union.

The Irish Life of Finnian contains little inform-
ation on his early life. The account of his baptism by Abban,
his education under Fortchern and his association with Coeman
is very briefly related. An enquiry into the identity
of these people bears out the reliability of the Irish account.
If it is admitted that the present Lives of Abban contain tra-
ditions of an early saint of this name connected with the Wex-
ford area, this section of the Life of Finnian presents no

(2) MO. p. 148. Colgan Acta Sanct. p.397 note 6 makes
this identification. A gloss in the Rawl.MO. (see edited
version p. 148 cap. 12), identifies him with Coeman Sant-
letha, who was a little boy in the time of S. Ibar. The
chronology is therefore suitable.
(3) CS. col. 191 (4).
(5) about 115 words.
geographical or chronological difficulties. The Latin Lives of Finnian, in accordance with their general character give a much longer account, but provide no further historical material.

On his return from Wales Finnian landed at Mag Itha in the north of Wexford. Before settling at Aghowle, about fifteen miles inland, Finnian is said to have made a journey down the coast, visiting Coeman and Lonan, and landing finally in the parish of Carn. This implies that Lonan was living in the Wexford area. The episode causes some difficulty. There is no convincing dedication to a Lonan here, and the martyrologies, though they give a number of Lomans and Lonans, mention no one who can be located in this region. Moreover, Finnian's journey and visit to Lonan is related only in CS., a text which borrows Patrician material. The Vita Tripertita speaks of a Lomen who was probably an older contemporary of S. Finnian; he was baptized as a boy by S. Patrick, and later his relics were in Kilullagh, about nine

(1) *Infra*, p. 240.
(2) *infra*, p. 240.
(3) *infra*, p. 241.
(4) *supra*, pp. 158-60.
miles from Clonard, a church which the monks of Clonard
later obtained from the community of Clonmacnoise. Lonan
of Cell Uallech is commemorated in the Martyrology of Gorman
at 12 November. Colgan identifies the Lonan of the Vita
Finnian with this saint, though there is nothing to
show that he was connected with the Wexford area. The account

(1) *Vit. Trip.* I. 77. "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 Cessan to read .... This is Loman,
son of Senach, who is in Caill Uallech. Rigell is his
mother. The community of Clonmacnoise obtained it
(Caill Uallech) and afterwards exchanged it with the
community of Clonard for Cell Lothair in Brege and
for Cluan Alad Deirg in the west." The association
of Loman with Patrick also appears in the Book of
Armagh where 'Lomán mac Senich' is among the catch-
words. Lomenius is named in a list of priests, or-
dained by Patrick, contained in Tirechan's Collectanea,
which incorporated VIIth century material.

of his journey at this time and of Finnian's visit to Lonan in this place, is unconvincing.

The GS text is also alone in naming two of the disciples whom Finnian brought back with him from Wales, Genoc and Bitheus. The Irish, adding a common hypocoristic prefix, turned the former into Mogenoc. The only Mogenoc mentioned in the martyrologies is commemorated at 26 December: 'Mogenoc in Gilla Duama Gluind' in the Martyrology of Tallaght while Gormen and Donegal add that this place is in Bregia, which is a district in the east of Meath, the county in which Clonard is situated. Colgan identifies the Genoc of the Vita Finnian with the saint of Gilla Duama Gluinn. This man was a Briton, possibly a nephew of Patrick, to whom he belonged 'by consanguinity, by faith, by baptism and by doctrine.' His relationship is given both in the Vit. Trip. and in the additional notes to Tirechan's Collectanea contained in the Book of Armagh. Mogenoc

(1) Also named in the ablative case, Biteoc.
(3) Vit. Trip. I. 68.
(4) Vit. Trip. II. 335.
of Cill Dumha Gluinn was a brother of Lómmen of Trim, under whom Fortchern was converted. He could not have been brought by Finnian from Wales.

It is clear that Finnian's friend Genoc must be the Mogenoc of Kyllle Cumli mentioned in the CS list of Finnian's students, though not in the R list. This place has not been identified and no Mogenoc of Kyllle Cumli is mentioned in the martyrologies. No supporting evidence could be found for Finnian's visit to Loman in the Wexford area, though a Loman is found in early Patrician documents. It is significant that a Genoc or Mogenoc of an unknown place returned with Finnian from Wales to Ireland, and that a Genoc, related to Patrick, came from Briton either with Patrick or to join in the Patrician mission.

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(1) *Germanus in Tirescahn's Additions, bráthair in Vit. Trip.*

(2) B.G. and P. III. 243, identify the Genoc of the Vit.Fin., Mogenoc of Cill Dumha Gluinn, and a Welsh Gwynog, son of Gildas, born according to their reckoning between 487 and 507. Gwynog's festival falls on 22, 23 or 24 October, days on which no Genoc occurs in the Irish Calendars. With this discrepancy in festivals and dates, it is impossible that Gwynog is the same as Mogenoc of Cill Dumha Gluinn, though he may be the friend who accompanied Finnian to Ireland.
Bitheus, Finnian's other fellow-traveller, has been identified by Colgan with Mobhi Clarenech of Glasnevin (near Dublin), who is given in the CS and R lists of the Apostles of Ireland. There is a strong tradition that Mobhi was among Finnian's disciples. But though Mobhi's other name, Berchán, is given on his festival 12 October in the Martyrologies of Cengus, Goman and Donegal, he is nowhere mentioned as Bitheus. There is, however, a Bitheus mentioned several times in the Patrician documents. Tírechán's Collectanea relate that he was consecrated a bishop by Patrick. He is also associated with Bishop Bron, and with Brochaid who was a brother of Lomán of Trim and Mogenoc of Cill Dunha Glúin.

The Loman whom Finnian visited on his return from Wales, and the Britons Bitheus and Genoc who accompanied him are mentioned only in CS. None of their churches can be

(1) infra., pp. 211, 213.

(2) Mofh of Inishcourcy, 22 July, is in MD called Bitheus, but he is not the Bitheus of the Vita Finnianí.

(3) Vit. Trip. II. 304.

(4) Ibid. p. 314.

located, and all three have their parallels in Patrician documents. It is likely that they belong to the series of borrowings made in the Latin Vita Finnianii from traditions of S. Patrick.

According to his Irish and Latin Lives, Finnian was greeted on his arrival in Ireland by Muiredach son of Aengus, king of Leinster who granted the site of Aghowle for a settlement. Muiredach had two grown up sons; Bresal, who led the host against the Osorrians, and Bishop Crimthann. Finnian prophesied that his wife would bear a famous son, Eochaid, who was to be the father of Brandub. I have been unable, by referring to the Annals and genealogies, to identify either Muiredach or Bresal and Crimthann. The Chron.Scot. gives the death of Eochaid Find, grandson of Muiredach, at 572, and the murder of Brandub, son of Eochaid, King of Leinster, in 605. The Irish Life of Maedoc refers to this king as Brandub, King of Úi Connelsaig, son of Eochaid son of (1) Muiredach.

(1) AU. Brandub. son of Eocha slain 605. 4 MM. 601.
(2) BNE. I. 215 (98).
(3) A Bresal son of Murchad was engaged in a dispute with clerics in 764 (AU). He was slain after winning the battle of Argamman with the city of Clonmacnoise against the community of Durov. Bresal son of Muiredach was killed after his quarrel with Finnian.
The Amanscript of Finnnian's Irish Life introduces Aod, son of Corpre, King of Laigsi into the dispute between Finnnian and Muiredach's sons Bresal and Crimthann. "Is annsin tanic Aod mac Corpre ri Laigsi cuicci co Crois Salec.' Thereafter came Aod son of Corpre King of Laigsi to him (ie. to Finnnian) to Cross Salec.' Aod is not mentioned again, nor able to identify him. The kingdom of Laigsi was very near to, if it did not include, Magna Sulcain, the place in the territory of the Ui Bairroche where Finnnian, after leaving Aghowle, founded a church for which king Coirpre, according to the Irish Lives, granted the site. The Cairbre son of Neill who occurs in the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters during the last decade of the fifth century is probably too early, but the Four Masters give the death of Cairbre son of Cormac king of Leinster in 546, and he may be the person intended. The Latin Lives do not mention Coirpre, but relate instead that Finnnian met Cormac and Crimthann, two sons of Dermicius. A Cormac son of Diarmaid son of Rocho Guinech of the Ui Bairroche is mentioned in the MS. Rawl. B. 502 genealogies. Rocho Guinech, king

\[supra. p. 148.\]

\[f.65^r col. a. Consulted in facsimile p. 117.\]
of the Úi Bairreche was alive in 490 or 491. The Cormac mentioned in the Latin Lives may be his grandson.

After leaving Mugna Sulcan, Finnian visited S. Brigid of Kildare. This seems likely enough. Brigid was a well-known saint in her own life-time, and an older contemporary of Finnian. On his way from Kildare to Clonard, Finnian met Cassan son of Neman. Little is known of this man, but he is an historical person, commemorated in the martyrologies of Tallaght, Gorman and Donegal at 1 March. The Martyrology of Donegal infers that he may be identical with Cassin of the Dal Busain, though this locality, near Leath-muine in N. Ireland, seems rather far from Offaly, where Finnian met Cassan son of Neman.

Senach, Finnian's successor in the abbacy at Clonard, joined him at Ard Relec. A raiding party from Far-tullagh was passing the church, and left behind them a boy who was too exhausted to go further. The boy, Senach,

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(1) T.F. O'Reilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, p.37.

(2) '1 March: Caissin son of Nemán. There is a Caissin of the Dal Busain, who is of the race of Bochaidh son of Muireadh of the seed of Eremon.' *MD.* p. 60.

received the tonsure, was educated with Finnian's students and became one of his most trusted disciples. He is commemorated in all the martyrologies on 21 August as Bishop of Clonard, and he also had connections with Fartullagh.

In Óengus's martyrology he appears as 'Bishop Senach the eloquent ....... i.e. abbot after Finnian i.e. Failbe's fosterer and a comarába of Finnian, and in Clúain Fine in Fir Itha is bishop Senach, or in Clúain fota Librán, i.e. from Cluain fota macc Fin(e) in the west of Fir Tealach.' The Martyrology of Gorman shows more clearly that these places are identical:

'Senach, a bishop, from Cluain Fota Fine in Fir Tulach i.e Cluain Fota Librán, and he was comárba of Finnian.'

This is Clonfad in the barony of Fartullagh, Co. Westmeath.

The Annals show that Finnian's relics were preserved here

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(1) MO. p.168. 'Senach i. abbas post Finnian L. i. site Failbe 7 comorba Finnen 7 i Cluain Fine i Feraib Itha espoc Senach, no i Cluain fota Libran, F. i. o Cluain fota macc Fin (sic) i n-iarthur Fer tealach.'

(2) MG. p.160.

at the end of the ninth century.

After that the saints of Ireland came to him from every district to learn wisdom with him, so that there were three thousand saints together with him, and from these he chose the Twelve High Apostles of Ireland. These twelve are not formally named in the Irish Life of Finnian, but two unidentical lists are given in his Latin Lives, and the CS list is repeated verbatim elsewhere in that manuscript. The Lebor Breg gloses to the Martyrology of Oengus contain a verse naming the twelve apostles of Ireland, and a list identical with this one is given in the Cycle of Domnall. The Cycle of Díarmaid names nine of the most important saints. A comparison of the lists omitting Finnian's own name shows:

(1) AU 891 (1. 409). 'Conchober son of Flennecan, King of Di Fáilghí, was put to death by fire in Cluain-Fota. The family of Finnian were profaned in the church and the reliquaries of Finnian were profaned and burnt there.' There is a similar entry in L1 p. 40 col. 3 las. 22-6, and in 4 MM, at 867.

(2) Br. 190-193.

(3) CS. col. 164 (5) obviously from same source.

(4) NO. p. 168.

(5) M. Dillon, Cycles of the Kings, p. 61, from an Xllth century recension.

(6) Ibid. p. 98.
Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, in CS, R, MO, Cycle of Diarmait.


Brendan son of Finloga (the Navigator), CS, R, MO, Cyc. Diar.


Colum son of Crinthann, CS, R, MO.

Mobi Clarenech, CS, R, MO.

Lairen (or Moleisse), CS, R, MO.

Caimnech of Aghaboe, CS, R, MO.

Ruadan of Lorrha, CS, R, MO.

(1) Bishop Sensach, CS, R.

Ciaran of Seighir, CS, R. Cycle of Diarmait.

Sinellus, CS, R.

Ninnid, (2) CS, MO.

Mogenoc, CS.

Finnian of Moville, MO, Cycle of Diarmait.

Congall of Bangor, MO.

Caillinn, Cycle of Diarmait.

It is chronologically possible, and there is evidence to prove that the first ten saints listed here were among Finnian's friends, disciples and students. Finnian appears in the

(1) The Cycle of Diarmait gives Senach son of Gaitre. I have been unable to find this genealogy in Rawl. 502 or in Gen. Reg. et Sanct. Hib.

(2) supra, pp. 203-4.
Lives of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, and of Columcille, of Ruadan, of Molaise son of Natfraich of Devenish, and of Colum son of Crimthann: it was Colum who came from his monastery on the Shannon to be with Finnian at his death, and like Finnian, he seems to have died of the Buidhe Conaill. Both Brendans are named, in an Irish text of the Navigatio, among the twelve apostles of Ireland:

'They were studying for a long while, Diligently they recited their lessons Under Finnian with his score of cells - The twelve apostles of Ireland.' (1)

Cainnech of Aghaboe was a friend of Brendan the Navigator, and died in 599 or 600. Finnian is not mentioned in his Lives, but the saints were traditionally connected. Cainnech's descent is from the Rudraige like Finnian's. Both Cainnech and Finnian spent some time with the British saints, and there has been confusion between their activities in Wales.

(1) BNR, I. 96 (3). Brendan of Birr was probably as old as, if not older than, Finnian.
(2) MQ. p. 132 (May 16).
(3) supra, pp. 165-7.
(4) infra, p. 262 ff.
There is no Life of Mothi, but the lists seem to show that he was a student of Finnian's. He died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 545.

Ciaran of Saighir is, in his Vitae, given a lifespan varying between two hundred and four hundred years; he is probably a pre-Patrician saint, 'the first-born of the saints of Erin,' and not contemporary with Finnian. There is not, to my knowledge, any other evidence for including Ninnid and Sinell among Finnian's disciples, nor can either of these men be identified with any certainty. The name Ninnid occurs in the martyrologies at 16 or 18 January and 13 November. The Ninnid whose festival was celebrated on 13 November seems to have been a bishop, great grandson of Laegaire, venerated at Kiltoom in the barony of Fore, Westmeath. According to the gloss in the Franciscan manuscript of the Martyrology of Oengus, Columcille did not know who was buried at Kiltoom. It therefore seems

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(1) VSH, I. liii-liv.
(2) MO, p. 46-8.
(3) GS, col. 230 (19).
unlikely that this saint was a fellow student with him at Clonard. Ninnid of Inis Maige samh on L. Erne in Co. Westmeath was venerated on 16 or 18 January. (1) He was sometimes called Laebderc, so evidently had a squint. (2) It was this saint whom the compiler of the CS list of Finnian's disciples had in mind. It is impossible to decide which of the Sinells in the martyrologies was the disciple of Finnian. Out of those given at 15 June, 1 July, 25 September, 1 October and 12 November, Colgan chooses 12 November. (3) This seems to be the most reasonable guess, as the Sinell on this date is from Cloen-inis on Loch Erne, the region in which Ninnid was found. It is however quite possible that disciples of Finnian might not be mentioned in the martyrologies.

Finnian of Moville and Comgall of Bangor were famous saints of the sixth century, but they belong to the north of Ireland, and had a different sphere of influence from that of Finnian of Clonard. They do not seem to have been among his disciples. It is almost certain that Caillin the remaining saint in the list was not a disciple of Finnian. He is not

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(1) MT. 16 and 18 Jan; Mf. 18 Jan; MG. 16 Jan; MD. 18 Jan.
(2) CS. col 200 (19) Nynmid Læbdærc.
(3) Colgan, Acta Sanct., p.398. 11 Nov. is a slip for 12 Nov.
mentioned in the CS or R recensions of his Life or in the poem from the Martyrology of Oengus. He probably died of old age in the latter half of the seventh century. The lists, which do not occur in the Irish Life of Finnian, seem to be late compilations based on popular tradition without too much regard to historical chronology.

While Finnian was at Clonard, Geman, a master of secular studies, addressed a panegyric to him. Geman seems to be identical with the man whom Columcille studied with before proceeding to Clonard. Reeves notes that 'he was probably a Christian bard, of the same class as .... S. Columba's panegyrist: and, being an inhabitant of the plain of Meath, was brought into communication with S. Finnian, whose church was the principal one in the territory.' The other laymen mentioned in this portion of the Lives of Finnian was the druid Fraochan. Finnian's relations with him seem to have been quite friendly, and his occult powers are recognised.

On the opposite bank of the river to Clonard was the community of Kilrainy, named after Finnian's sister

(1) J. Hynes, 'S. Caillin,' JRSAL LXI, (1931) 42.
(2) Ad. Vit. Col. p.137 note d.
Rignach. Other women in the house included Rignach's mother and Ciaran's mother; and the Latin Lives add Colman's mother, and the Irish, Ricenn, another sister of Finnian. Rignach has no day in the martyrologies: Colgan says she is commemorated on 18 December as 'Rignach, daughter of Feradach', which he thinks is a corruption of Fintan, but as Feradach is clearly the reading in the martyrologies of Tallaght, Gorman and Donegal, there can be no such mistake. Rignach is, however, mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal as the mother of Colman of Clonard, Fintan priest of Fochaillech, and Garban abbot of Aghowle. The Book of Leinster tract on the mothers of Irish saints reads 'Rignach sister (siur) of Finnian, mother of Fintan of Fochaillech and of McColmoc of Clonard and Garban of Cell Garbain near

(1) see infra p. 251.
(3) MD. p. 42 (9 Feb).
(4) ibid. p. 196 (18 July).
(5) ibid. p. 86 (26 Mar).
Achad Aball.' The evidence for Ricenn's existence is less convincing. She is not to be confused with Richenn or Richell, sister of Patrick, or the virgin Richell, commemorated on 19 May, who was a daughter of Atrecht. She is, however, mentioned in the Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae: 'Riognach 7 Ricenn no Riceall dis deirbsether Finnein.'

Finnian's mother was Talech. It is quite likely that in her old age she would come to be with her daughter and near her son. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was at Clonard with Finnian: his mother Derercha would, from this account, seem to have been at Kilrany. Colman's mother, mentioned in the Latin Lives, may have been Mór, of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, mother of Colman Ela. The Latin Lives of Finnian and Colman's own Lives relate how he visited the tomb of Finnian, who appeared to him and promised that he should go to heaven within a year. A visit to Clonard is

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(1) LL p.373 col.1. Inns. 17-20. My attention drawn to this by Lis. p.345.
(3) p.114. 'Riognach and Ricenn or Ricell, two sisters of Finnian.'
(4) but the account in the Vit.Fin. does not seem to have been part of the original narrative. See supra, p. 128.
also mentioned earlier in Colman's Life, so a friendship between Finnian and Colman's mother is not unlikely. But (2) Colman died in 611, according to the Annals of Tigernach (3) in his fifty-sixth year and was therefore born in 555. Finnian died in 549, some years after the foundation of Clonard. The mother of Colman Eta can have been hardly more than a child when Kilreany was established. It is not impossible that she should have been educated there, but she was not a contemporary of Finnian's mother as the CS and R Lives seem to imply.

In the chapter immediately following that which mentions the mother of Colman, the Latin Lives of Finnian describe how a girl named Lasra fled to Kilreany from parents who were trying to force her to marry. Later she returned to her own countryside and founded a church, called in the CS recension Dairi Mac Aidmetain. This account seems to be founded on genuine tradition. The name Lassar occurs many times in the martyrologies, but there is no clue by which any of these saints may be identified with the Lasra of the Vita Finnianii. There is, however, a Lassar, mother of Colman

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(1) VSH. I. 270 (xxviii).
(2) AU. I. 86.
(3) RG. XVII. 169.
(4) CS col. 291 (21).
(5) supra, pp. 164-5.
son of Luachan. The Irish Life of this Colman was probably written during the first half of the twelfth century. The chronology of the Life extends over four centuries, though Kuno Meyer thinks that the genealogies, which vary, prove that Colman was born towards the end of the sixth century. If so, his mother Lassar could not have been at Kilrainy during Finnian's life-time. But in Colman's Life, Bishop Etchen of Cluain-fota-Baetain (now Clonfad, in the parish of Killucen) near Clonard, who died in 578 or 584, baptised him, taught him, ordained him a priest and assisted in the consecration of his main monastery, Lann. Colman's Life also says, unhistorically, that he studied with Finnian 'to the end of three years at the cross to the north of the church.' He seems to have had connections with Clonard, where, according to his Life, Mochoilmoc, Finnian's comarba, gave him a cell. It seems likely that the 'mater Colmani'

(1) LL f. 372 col. b lns. 44-5.
(2) It has been edited by KM, Todd Lecture Series XVII (1911) from a XIVth or XVth century MS.
(3) ibid. pp. ix-x.
(4) AU. I. 66, 70.
(5) op.cit. p. 82 (79).
(6) ibid. p. 94. (92).
and the Lasra of the chapter following may be identified with Lasser, mother of Colmán son of Luachen.

Discussion of the persons in this middle section of the Lives has produced further evidence showing that the Latin account has been padded out. Lornan, Bitheus and Genoc were probably borrowed from Patrician material, and the list of Finnian's disciples is clearly a late compilation. On the other hand, the Irish and Latin Lives give complementary accounts of Kilreany and its inhabitants, and both appear to be based on sound historical tradition.

When Finnian's Lives were written in their present form, nothing was known of the journey he was reputed to have made into Connacht, except the names of certain churches which formed part of his parochia, and the names of the laymen who granted the sites and the disciples who were left there. Apart from this, the narrative, brief in the Irish Lives and much fuller in the Latin, is composed of floating hagiographical material. Unless, therefore, the persons named can be identified it will be doubtful whether

(1) supra, pp. 170-4.
Finnian ever made this journey.

Moise and Ainmire, two brothers whose sister Finnian raised from the dead, dedicated themselves to him together with their church at Druim etir da Loch. Several men called Ainmire are commemorated in the martyrologies, but none can be located here. Moise cannot be found in the martyrologies.

At Achnor Finian was joined by Nathi, a priest.

It does not seem from either Irish or Latin accounts that Nathi had been travelling with him. He founded a church there and left Nathi in it. According to the Br. recension of the Irish Life there was a well and flagstone dedicated to Patrick in the place. Nathi a priest in Achat Chonaire is commemorated in the martyrologies at 9 August. The Latin Lives alone give a story of the opposition of Caput Lupi, king

(1) infra, p. 257.
(2) 10 June, Ainmire of Ailech; 15 Sep, of Cluain Fota; 25 Sep, of Ross-us-Chonna in Mughdhorna (district in west of Co. Louth and north of Co. Meath); 2 Nov of Rath Nuadha (Rathnew, Co. Wicklow).
(3) "Táinig cucce cruimte Nathi co mboi imnaille fris." The priest Nathi came to him and was together with him. Br. 279. 'Post hoc perrexit homo ad quendam (locum) ubi homo Dei, Nathi nomine, officio presbiter manebat.' CS, col. 205 (28).
(4) Br. 285-6, Lls. 2705-6, Supra, p. 152.
of Luigne, to Finnian. His Irish name was probably Ceannfaeladh. It is not possible to identify from the Annals a king of this name and territory at this date.

According to the Latin Lives Finnian met Maine and established a church at Echaneach, but this is the bishop of the *Vita Tripartita* and his church was founded by Patrick. The whole incident is borrowed. King Tuathal is introduced into the story. The dates of the famous Tuathal Maelgarbh, King of Ireland, who reigned from 537 to 544 or 549, fit comfortably into this period of Finnian's Life, as the hagiographer no doubt knew. The Irish Lives do not mention the quarrel of Maine and Tuathal, and Tuathal's connection with Finnian in Connacht is not likely.

Grellan son of Natfraich whom Finnian left in Cairebre Mor seems to have been Grellan of Tir Fischra Muaide.

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(1) CS. cols 205-6 (28).
(2) A king of Connacht called Ceannfaeladh is given by the 4 MM in 649, and died in 680.
(3) *supra*, pp. 158-9.
(4) These are the dates in AU. 4 MM gives 528-38, *Chron. Scot.* 532-44.
(5) *see infra*, pp. 258-50.
He is mentioned only in the De Quibusdam Episcopis, and the date Mac Firbis gives for him is 7 September. The Bollandists think this is a mistake for 17 September, the date on which Grellan, bishop of Lainne, is commemorated in the martyrologies of Tallaght, Gorman and Donegal. Lainne may be the parish of Lynn in the barony of Partulagh, not far from Clonard.

The Bollandists point out that two pieces of evidence for identifying Grellan of Lainne with Grellan of Kilclooney the patron of the Hy-Men. Colgan has noted on the Brussels manuscript 'Cill Clusine ecclesia parochialis S. Grellani dioecesis Clainfortensis, ubi colitur 17 Septembris,'

(1) AA.SS. Boll. Nov IV. 486 col 1. Fr. Grosjean is responsible for the Irish Lives in this volume. A mistake in Mac Firbis's dating is possible, as he gives the feast of Grellan of Graobh-Grellain on 7 Sept, whereas it is given in the martyrologies at 10 Nov.

(2) On. Goed. p. 475. If so, it seems to be the Laind of Colman son of Lauchain, who came from 'Laind meic Luach-sain i n-farther Midhe' (the west of Meath). MG p. 118 (17 June). If Grellan of Lainne was a successor of Colman mac Luachain, he would have lived later than Finnian. see supra, p.219.

and Gratianus Lucius in his edition of Cambrensis Eversus, writes: 'S. Grillanus patronus est Maenachiae et singulari veneratione colitur in ecclesia parochiali de Killuaniae in diocesi Clonfortensi 17 Septembris.' Both these are seventeenth century notes.

Earlier material, though extremely unreliable, seems to identify Grellan of Kilclooney with Grellan of Greeve (Craobh-Grellain), whose festival occurs on 10 November. Grellan of Greeve, according to his Life, was born in Leinster in the reign of Lugaid son of Laegaire after a prophecy by Patrick. His father was Caillin son of Cluaisdeirg. Patrick took the boy with him to Connacht, where the infant son of king Dusch Galach was raised from the dead; the king granted Craobh-Grellain to S. Grellan and tribute was given him. After this Grellan wandered south, 'but his attention was not fixed on any place over which he passed,' until he finally settled at Kilclooney where Cian was king. Grellan made a truce between Cian and the Hy-Manly, for war was imminent between them.

(2) from an Irish Ms, Brussels 4190-200 ff. 88-91, ed. by Bolls, op. cit.
(3) This genealogy also in Gen. Reg. et Sanct. p. 89.
Cian acted treacherously, so Grellan interposed on behalf of the Hy-Meny, who settled in Connacht and in return paid hereditary tribute to Grellan. There is supporting evidence for the identification of Grellan of Creeve and Grellan of Kilclooney in *The Tribes and Customs of the Hy-Meny*. In this tract Grellan of Kilclooney seems to be linked with Patrick as was Grellan of Creeve: the territory between the river Abheinn and the Shannon 'belongs to Grellan and Patrick.'

It seems therefore that Grellan of Creeve and Grellan of Kilclooney may be identical. There is some evidence to suggest that Grellan of Lainne is identical with Finnian's disciple Grellan son of Nafraich of Tir Fiachra Muaidhe. It is however certain that Finnian's disciple and Grellan of Creeve were not the same person. Grellan of Creeve probably belonged to an earlier period. Aengus king of Cairbre Mor, who opposed Finnian, and his son Nectan, whom Finnian raised from the dead, are unidentified.

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(1) transcribed from L.Lec. by J. O'Donovan *Tribes and Customs of the Hy-Meny*, 1843.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 82.

The Latin Lives of Finnian conclude with Colman Ela's visit to Finnian's tomb, 'in tempore Dermici tercii principis,' (1) The account was not in the original Vita Finniani. The Latin Lives of Colman give it, but without mentioning Diarmaid. The reign of Diarmaid, son of Aed Slane, king of Ireland, is somewhat later than the date of Colman's visit. Colman came to Clonard a year before his death, which occurred in 611. Diarmaid commenced his reign in 643 and died in 665 or 666.

It appears that Nathi and Grellan were historical characters, though there is no evidence outside the Vitae Finniani that they were connected with Finnian. An enquiry into the persons mentioned in this section of the Vitae confirms the impression that even the writer of the Irish Life (4) knew very little of the saint's alleged journey to Connacht.

A general study of Finnian's associates therefore supports the views already expressed on the historical value

(1) OS col. 210 (35).
(2) supra p. 128.
(3) CS col 442-3 (49); VSH. I 272 (xxxv). Irish Life is Incomplete.
(4) supra, p. 181.
Apart from the material relating to Kilrainy, the additions of the Latin Lives are late, often borrowed, and of no historical value. In the Irish Life the traditions of Finnian's early career, though scanty, are genuine. The middle section of the Life is reliable. Its accuracy need not be doubted because the secular rulers mentioned have not been identified. It is significant that the only kings whom it is possible to identify in all Finnian's Vitae, occur in two passages in the Latin Lives, which were certainly taken from other sources. Of the Connacht tour the Irish Life frankly knows and says little. The Irish Life seems on the whole to be an honest document, and bears inspection remarkably well.

(1) supra, Chapter VI.

(2) Tuathal and Diarmait.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CONNECTIONS OF THE VITA E FINNIANI.

'Dans ces trois pays' writes Joseph Loth, speaking of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales, 'ce ne sont pas les vies des saints qui nous renseignent le mieux sur l'existence des saints, l'organisation nationale du culte: ce sont les noms des lieux.' (1) Professor E. G. Bowen is in full agreement with this statement, and, ignoring the Vita e, he has during the past six years estimated the provenance of the cults of various Celtic saints, working on the material offered by dedications, place names and archaeological remains.

(1) J. Loth, 'Les noms des saints bretons', R C XXIX (1908) 222
Canon G.H. Doble, in a series of studies on Cornish, Breton (1) and Welsh saints, has integrated the evidence of Lives and topography, using the one to support and supplement the other. He has thus been able to check statements in the Lives by reference to placenames and dedications, and to produce information on the activities of many saints of whom no written Vitae exist.

The various Lives of S. Finnian of Clonard contain forty-five place and district names. Some of these have not been identified, others have been identified wrongly. The topographical connections of Finnian's Lives have been discussed by John Colgan, whose work remains indispensable despite the lapse of three hundred years, and by John Lanigan. Nevertheless the only authoritative statement is that of the late Father Paul Walsh: he unfortunately dealt only with the brief portion of Finnian's career between (4) leaving Kildare and arriving at Clonard. It is clear then that there is room for a further study of the

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(1) G. H. Doble, "Cornish Saints" Series, "Welsh Saints" Series.
topographical evidence, based on the results of more recent work on place-names.

The name Finnian, in its various forms, is a very common one, and there are undoubtedly other saints of this name whose written Vitae do not exist and whose churches are unknown. It is therefore impossible to argue with any certainty that dedications to a saint of this name form part of Finnian of Clonard's parochia, unless this possibility is supported by written evidence or local tradition. Fortunately

(1) The Ordnance Survey Letters, written by John O'Donovan and Thomas O'Conor between 1834 and 1845, have been used in typescript, together with some of the Ordnance Survey Extracts in MS in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and approximately 370 of the Parish Name Books in MS in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, Dublin. See also articles by Liam Price, 'The Place-names in the barony of Newcastle', PRIA, XLIV, (1927-8), 139-79, 'The Place-names in the barony of Arklow', ibid. XLVI (1940-1), 237-86. Place-names of County Wicklow, Dublin Institute, Adv. Studies, 1945-. For other works consulted see general bibliography.
there is no geographical confusion between Finnian of Clonard and Finnian, or Findbarr of Moville, whose activities belong further north. Finn Cam, whose name might be confused with that of Finnian of Clonard in written material, is almost exclusively a Munster saint, though his chief monastery Kinitty, is on the borders of Munster and Meath. No difficulty arises here, as Finnian of Clonard's work lay according to tradition in Leinster, Meath and Connacht.

Finnian of Clonard's name appears in a variety of forms. The earliest occurs in the genitive singular in the eighth or ninth century Carlsruhe Bede as Uinniaui Cluano (2) Irairr, and Uiniaui also occurs in the T.C.D. H. I. 8 MS of the Annals of Ulster. This is probably a sixth century form. From the end of the sixth century, v in absolute anlaut is replaced by f, and in his Latin Vita the saint's name is spelt Finnianus. Of the Irish MSS of his life BR gives Findian, A. Ffinian and Finnen, L. Finden and Findian, St. Findian. The Martyrologies, Annals and

(1) Finnani (gen.,) is the form of Finnian of Clonard's name given in MT, p. 16.
(2) or Uinniani. Thes. Pal. II. 283.
(3) AU. I. 244 note 6.
(4) Thurneysen, Grammar, p.183.
end genealogies give the forms Finniau, Finnian, Finnian.

Finn, Finnun, Finden, Finden, Finnne, Finnio.
Finnio, Finnia, Findia. In nineteenth century manuscripts such as HIA 23.G.24 and 23.G.25 he appears as Finnchin, Finnchin, but this form is not found in the earlier manuscripts. The CS Life provides the saint with another baptismal name Finluch, while a fourteenth century vellum, the Book of Ui Maine calls him Finlach luan airaid. It seems

(1) AU. I. 244 note 6.
(2) MO. pp. 188, 212, 222, 258; MG. p. 236.
(3) MO. pp. 188, 202, 222.
(5) MO. p. 222.
(6) MO. p. 258. 4MN. I. 186.
(7) MT. p. 16.
(8) MO. p. 212.
(9) AU. I. 50.
(10) AU. I. 408. In genitive sg. here.
(11) MS. HIA. C.VI. 2 p 296 col. 2.
however unnecessary to be troubled with these forms in -luch and -lech when searching for dedications, as the saint was not generally so called. Finian, Finden, Fënis, Finnen, Finnén, Finden, Fëndén, Finnic, Finnia, Fëndia, are therefore left as the earliest Irish forms of his name; the forms Finnani, Ùníaui, Finniaui though found in Irish manuscripts show strong traces of Latin influence. Nd appears before vowels in the mid-eighth century Wurtzburg glosses, but nd and nn are in process of assimilation in the ninth century texts of Millon, S. Gall and the Martyrology of Oengus. In middle Irish manuscripts nd and nn have the same value. Not appears in any of the early forms of Finnian’s name so no arguments for Finnian’s presence will be based here on place-names containing the form Finten. The custom of forming diminutives of saints’ names was however a common practice in Ireland, ‘conforme au caractère familier, amical du christianisme celte, tout voisin de l’âme populaire et empreint de tendresse évangélique.’ The suffix -ën as found in Finnën is one such diminutive, but -ën was

(1) Thurneysen, Grammar, p.93.
(2) J. Vendryes EC II (1937) 254.
replaced by the far more common ending -án. It is quite possible therefore that Fínnán might be replaced by Fínnán in oral tradition, and that the form Fionán found in place-names, may refer to St. Finnian of Clonard.

None of the Lives of Finnian gives his birthplace. According to the Irish Life he was taken immediately after his birth to Abban mac Uí Corrmaic for baptism. The Latin Lives say that he was sent for baptism to Bishop Forthchern 'usque ad Roscurensem', but was intercepted by the holy presbyter Abban, who baptized the child. This Abban was connected with the Wexford area, and was later confused with the saint who had a settlement at Ross mac Treuin or Magh Arnaidhe, now New Ross in Co. Wexford. Six miles from New Ross in the townland of Rochestown, parish of Kilcolumb, barony of Ida, Co. Kilkenny, stood a small ancient church called Temple Feeneen, founded, according to oral tradition

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2. Fionn is the modern form of O. Irish fínd, meaning 'white, bright.'

by S. Feenesen of Clonard. The remains of this church and its popular connection with S. Finnian, not inspired by any written authority, support Lanigan's view that 'Finnian was born somewhere near the Berrow, not far from New Ross.'

The argument which leads Lanigan to his location of Roscurensis is based on the Latin Life only and will not bear a comparison with the Irish text. 'At Ross,' he says, 'we have the junction of two rivers, i.e. the Berrow and the Nore. Roscur might have been one or other of the places on either side of the Berrow, of whose name Ros forms a part, such as Rosberkon, Camross, etc.' This guess is quite consonant with the Latin Life, which says women set out with Finnian for Bishop Fortchern at Roscurensis, and represents his baptism by Abban as accidental and unexpected. But the Irish Life says the child was taken to Abban to be baptized. 'and when

(1) O.S.L. Kilkenny II p.186. It is interesting to note that S. Finnian's name is pronounced locally by the peasants at Clonard in this way. Five miles from the parish of Kilcolmia is the parish of Rosinan (the Wood of Fionán) where there are the remains of a church. There seems nothing to suggest that the man who has given his name to this place is our saint.

(2) Eccles. Hist. I. 466 note 120.
he grew up he was taken to Bishop Fortchern, and read the Psalms and ecclesiastical order with him. None of the Irish versions says where Fortchern had settled, and they all name Ros Cuire among the three churches founded by Finnian in his youth. The statements of the Irish Life are here more consistent with the place-name evidence. Bishop Fortchern gave his name to the church of Killoughternane (a corruption of Cell Fortchern) in the parish of Slyguff, (2) barony of Idrone, Co. Carlow, where he had a settlement. The ruins of an old church, with inside measurements 19 ft x 12 ft 2 in. were here in O'Donovan's time. From the neighbourhood of New Ross to Slyguff, though much too far to take a new-born child for baptism, would be a reasonable distance to send a boy for his education. About two thirds of the way lies along the Slige Chualainn, one of the main roadways of ancient Ireland. Moreover, it is possible to locate, within a radius of five miles of Cell Fortchern the

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(1) Br. 30-2. LIs. 2524-5.
(2) O.S.L. Carlow p. 264-78.
(3) See sketch map I.
three churches of Ros Cuire, Drui Mhead and Magh Glas, which the Irish Life says that Finnian founded in his youth. In the parish of Nyshall, barony of Forth is Rossacurra, (1) which Hogen identifies with Ros Cuire. In the same parish is the townland of Kilmaglush, in Irish Cell Maighle Glaise. Drui Mhead would, according to Mr Liam Price, be anglicized Drumfe, and this townland lies in the parish of Fennagh to the north of Slyguff.

After spending the first years of his life in Leinster, Finnian decided to go to Wales, but first he visited Coeman on the island of Dairinis, proceeding directly from this place to Menevia. There are two islands of Dairinis, one at the mouth of the Blackwater, the other in Wexford Harbour. The passage from Wexford to the northern shore of

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(2) P.N.E. Myshall. Stokes, in the Book of Lismore index, identifies Mag Glas with Moyglas in Co. Roscommon, an impossible position. Nor can it be, as at first might appear, the parish of Mayglass in Wexford, as the pattern here was held on 17 February, the feast of S. Fintan of Clonégh.

(3) Slyguff is 4 miles from Nyshall. Nyshall and Fennagh are adjacent parishes. There is also a Killinane only eight miles from Slyguff, but this is not the parish of Agha, a centre of Fintan of Clonégh, so was probably dedicated to this saint.
Pembrokeshire is a very short one, and was the route normally used between Ireland and south Wales. Communications between the two countries were frequent. There were Irish settlements in the west of Britain. An Irish tale describes how part of the tribe of the Déssí, expelled from their territory by Cormac mac Art, migrated to Dyfed in the latter half of the third century. South-east Ireland was likewise open to British influence, as some of the Wexford place-names show. In the parish of Monart, near the river Slaney, are two townlands, Beil Breathnaigh and Beile Dháith. Nearer to the mouth of the river, in the parish of Ballynaslaney, is S. David's Well, where a pattern was formerly held on his day, 1 March. Killinick, in the barony of Forth, was probably named after a S. Winnoc, the -oo being in origin a Brittanic hypocoristic suffix, though found in the names of Irish monks from the sixth century onwards. It is therefore highly probable that Finnian left Ireland from an area so closely connected with Britain. This is


(2) OSL. Wexford II, 95-6.

(3) ibid. I. 282.

made almost certain by the dedications to S. Coeman found on
the mainland near the islands in the north of Wexford Harbour.
Here is the parish of Ardcoavan and near the coast are S. Cavan's
church and well. S. Finnian visited Coeman on the island of
Dairinie in Wexford Harbour.

According to the Irish Life, after his stay in
Britain, Finnian returned to Leinster: the Rawlinson Latin
Life says vaguely 'ad Hiberniam.' CS gives a much more
detailed account of the return journey.

'Completo igitur peregrinationis sue anno xxxo,
cepit iter cum sancto Bito et sancto Genoco et cum
aliis quibusdam religiosis Britonibus, qui propter
vite eius sanctitatem adhserunt ei ...... igitur
navigantes Finnianus et hii qui eum erant mare, cum
Dei adjutorio pervenerunt ad portum quendam in campo
Itha, nomine Dubglaic. Deinde pervenit ad sanctum
senem Coemanum, qui tunc in Dayriensi insula habitavit.
Et post pervenit ad visitandum sanctum Lomanum, et (2)
demum, prospero cursu navigans, in portum Kylle Caireni.'

There was a Mag Itha and a Dubglaic in Cinel Chonall, Co.
Donegal, but the Vitæ Finnianæ cannot possibly be referring
to this area, as a sixth century saint travelling from Wales

(1) See sketch map II.
(2) CS, col 195 (11).
to Donegal would have taken the short sea passage and then proceeded by land. CS definitely says Finnian sailed to Mag Ithaka. Hogan, citing passages from the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan, identifies the area in which Finnian landed with the Mag Ithaka at Luimneach b. Corey, Co. Wexford, in which barony and the barony of Arklow the Fotharta Maige Ithaka had seven tribes. There is no evidence for a port Dubglaise in the place-names here, but there is a Killynanin the parish of Kilmackillog, four miles from the coast, which may be dedicated to our saint. After landing in Mag Ithaka, Finnian, according to CS called on his friend Coeman, and then went on to visit S. Loran, finally landing 'in portum Kylle Ceiren.' All authorities agree that Kylle Ceiren is the Churchtown of the parish of Cam, near two


(2) A parish of Killtinnen, (Kiltinnel on modern maps) lay between the parish of Kilmackillog and the sea. It is shown on Petty's County Map of Wexford and is mentioned under the form Killtynnem, in E. Hogan, The Description of Ireland............in anno 1698, p. 258. This may be Cell To Finnen, the to being a common hypocoristic prefix: but cf. On. Goed. p. 212 where Hogan identifies a Kiltinan in County Tipperary with Cell Teimhnein.
headlands, Carnsore Point and Crossfintan Point, in the
(1) barony of Forth. S. Lonan has not been located.
It seems that Finnian left Ireland from the Wexford area after
visiting S. Coemán at Dairinis. He returned to Mag Itha,
probably in the barony of Gorey. The CS version of the Latin
Life says that he again met Coemán, visited S. Lonan, and landed
in the extreme south-east of Ireland in the parish of Carn.
S. Finnian was welcomed by King Muiredach son of Aengus, who
invited him to choose a site in Leinster for a church founda-
tion: on this site the church of Aghowle in the barony of
Shillelagh was later built. According to CS Muiredach
met Finnian after his landing in the parish of Carn, about
forty-three miles from Aghowle. Though the kingdom of the
Uí Cennselaigh, in which Carn was situated, was large, there
is no evidence to show that it included Shillelagh. This
part of the CS account is for other reasons of doubtful
historical value. It is more reasonable to suppose that
Finnian was greeted by King Muiredach in the Mag Itha area
(3)

(1) See sketch map II.
(2) There is a Rathlonan in p. Kildavin, b. Forth, but
though its position is suitable it is almost certainly
not named after S. Lonan.
(3) supra, pp. 201-6.
about fifteen miles from Aghowle.

Only the Irish Life gives an account of the founding of Aghowle.

'Then Muiredach said to him: "Whatever place in Leinster shall seem good to thee shall be given thee to build thy church." God's angel came before Finnian to the mountain called Condal. The angels of the God of heaven carried him with his household that night from the top of the mountain into the glen which was nearest to him. In the morning he told his household to go into the wood to cut trees to build a church. One of them returned to him, a branch of an apple tree with its fruit in his hand. He (Finnian) went along with him to the field in which the apple tree was standing: "Let the church," saith he, "be built here."

Bresal and Bishop Cripphan, sons of Muiredach, protested against this, and Finnian prophesied disaster for them both. The news of Bresal's violent death was, within a short time, brought to him at Cross Sailch. After that came Bresal's father Muiredach and gave to him the place which Bresal had refused him. It was improved by him and is Achad Aball ("Field of Apple Trees") today. He was sixteen years in that place serving the Lord of the Elements. Thereafter there came to him an angel of the Lord of the Elements and said to him: "This is not the place of thy resurrection," saith he: "howbeit this will be the place of thy meeting with thy monks on the day of judgement."

So from this it is called Sliab Condala, i.e., the mountain of Finnian's meeting with his monks at Doomsday.' (2)

(1) The Irish Life says Muiredach came to meet him dochum puirt, which probably means to the harbour or landing-place. But the word port need not imply a place on the sea coast, and may be translated 'place', 'locality', 'abode.' See Glossary.

(2) Br. 107-142, Isis. 2580-603.
John O'Donovan was the first to identify Ached Abell with Aghowle in the barony of Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow. The church stands on rising ground, on one side the bare lower slopes of the Wicklow Mountains, the valley on the other. Half a mile away there are more apple-trees in Crab Apple Lane, which leads to the church. The north, east and west walls of a church are still standing, the steep gable and rectangular doorway indicating a fairly early period. A plain granite cross, locally known as St. Finden's Cross, stands in the graveyard. Though the present ruin is much later than the sixth century, there is no reason to suppose that the site of the church (which is perfect; well-drained and not too exposed, with splendid views and fertile land nearby) has changed during the intervening centuries.

Before he reached Aghowle, Finnian and his monks came to Sliab Conda. This mountain was evidently very near Aghowle: 'God's angels carried him with his household on that night from the top of the mountain into the glen that was nearest to him'. Hogan identifies this with Old Connell, five miles east of the hill of Allen, in the centre of Kildare, twenty-eight miles from Aghowle. This is much too far away. The name Condal may survive in the townland of Ballyconnel five miles north of Aghowle church. There is

(1) OSL, Wicklow, pp.112-132.
high land to the north of the townland, but it rises only to a height between five and six hundred feet, and could hardly be called a mountain. The other high land in this area is to the north-east of Aghowle, and local tradition provides a good clue for the location of Sliab Condala here. On the edge of the townland of Barnacashel is land rising to 1044 feet, and at the top, towards the north-west point of the hill, are ruins known as "The Churches". These are stones lying near the north end of a roughly circular cashel, possibly the remains of walls of a building about 16 ft 6 in x 14 ft 6 in. A man named Byrne cutting turf on the mountain gave Mr Liam Price the following story, which Joe Myers of Aghowle also knew. 'The saint was going to build a church here on the mountain, and had brought up all the stones, but the wind took his cape and blew it down to where the church is, and he built the church where the cape lay.' Whether or not the ruins are of an ecclesiastical establishment, this mountain is so near to Aghowle where the church

(1) Mr Liam Price, President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, kindly gave me this information, and allowed me to copy this passage from his notebook. It relates to discoveries made on a journey taken in July 1933.
stands, and the story compares so well in essentials with the details given in the Life, that this must almost certainly be the mountain from which the saint was brought to build a house in the valley.

When he left Aghowl Finnián went into the district of Uí Bárroch where he founded a church, according to the Latin Lives at Múgrá. The Irish Life seems to refer to the same place, but with different details. 'Thereafter Finnián bade farewell to his monks and came into the district of Uí Dúnlainge. There the king Coirpre offered Múgrá Sulcaín to him.' Arguing from the Bull Crede mihi of 1179, Liam Price says that Múgrá seems to be the name of a district stretching alongside the river Barrow from Bullaghmoon to

(1) Colgan identifies Achad Abla with Cross Sailech, the place where Finnián was when the hawk laid Bresal's hand before him. Lis. does not mention Cross Sailech, and neither Br. nor A MSS provide conclusive proof for its identification. It is however clear that Cross Sailech was in the vicinity of Achad Aball. There is a Gleann na Seabhaí (Glen of the Hawks) in the p. Carné, but no evidence to suggest that there was a Cross Sailech here. PNB Carné.

(2) CS. cols. 196-7 (13-14).

(3) Br. 143-5. Lis. 2604-6.
the parish of Kilberry. In this district lay Mugna Mos- 
henoc, a name which is preserved today in the two adjoining 
parishes of Bullaghmoon and Dunmanoge (formerly Monmohenock). 
If not identical with Mugna Moshenoc, it is almost certain 
that Mugna Sulcain lay within this small area. 

Leaving Mugna, Finnnian went to visit Brigid at 
Kildare. On his way there a tooth fell out of his head, and 
he gave it as a relic to some devout travellers. This inci-
dent provided the place-name Achad Fiacla. The place has 
not been identified. The incident may have occurred, or the 
story may have been given to explain a place-name, but there 
is also the possibility that the scribe may have borrowed a 
stock incident in hagiography to pad out his material. 

The late Father Paul Walsh has written in detail of 
Finnian's journey from Kildare and his settlement at Clonard, 
and one can do no better than quote him. 'There is more 
than one indication that in early times an ancient road led
from Cell Dara northwards into Meath through the district of Fid Gaible and the territory of Potherta Airbrech, which latter extended eastwards from Brí Bile into Co. Kildare ..... Finnian, we are told, coming from the south, paid a visit to Brigit at Cell Dara. Proceeding by the route referred to, he came ad fines Forthartensium, where he met Cassanus, son of Neman. Of this Cassanus I find a trace in Cloncassan, the name of a townland in the parish of Clonsast, barony of Coolestown. The Latin Life goes on: 'Post hec sanctus Finnianus devenit ad locum qui Escayr Branán dicitur, et ibi fundavit ecclesiam, etque in circuitu ejus fossavit.' The Irish Life makes it clear that Escer Branán and Ard Relec are identical: 'Findian went after that over the Boyne to Escer Branán which is today Ard Relec. He founded a church in that place.' By comparing the Latin and Irish Lives Father Walsh shows that Ross Findchuiil and Clonard are the same.

(1) ZCP. X. 73-4.
(2) CS. col 198 (16).
(4) In the text of the thesis I give Father Walsh's comparison except where otherwise stated. The notes are my own comments.
17. Finnian finds his successor at Eiscer Brandán.

18. Alio die venit angelus ad eum dicens: Noli hic amplius laborare, quia non erit tua resurrectio sed familia tua tantum. Surgens ergo versus obedientes, secutus est angelum usque ad locum qui Cluyna freyru dictatur. Ingressas ergo locum, hunc versiculum prius dixit. Nec requies mea etc.

Irish Life.

Lis. 2628-39. (Br.174-90)
Finnian finds his successors, but, being warned by God moves a little to the east (seal soir).
Lis. 2640-5 (Br. 190-7). The coming of the three thousand disciples and the selection of the twelve Apostles of Ireland.
Lis. 2646-52 (Br. 196-208). A story and propheesy about Columcille. (1)
Lis. 2652-60. (Br.206-18).
The Lismore text is here slightly wrong owing to the mistake of the scribe occasioned by two occurrences of the word co. (2)

Following the Brussels MS the reading is:-
Tainic eingeal De nimhe co Findian co herbeirt frissa:
'Nochen ess inad thesergesiu, etre dano drem mor dot muintir hisund.' Tainic iarumh an teingel ria Findian co Ross Findchuill ellsie bels in Memore inidiu. Ansdin gabais Findian an thers thathachda:
Nec requies mea.

(1) Father Walsh has made a slip here. The Colum to whom the Life refers is Colum son of Grimthan, later abbot of Terryglass.

(2) Fr. Walsh says Finnén.
Then a boar flies from him.
Then an interview with a magus nomine Fraechanus takes place.

The angel of the God of Heaven came to Finnian and said to him, 'This is not the place of thy resurrection, but many of thy disciples shall rise here.'
The angel came before Finnian to Ross Findchuill, that is Less in Memra today. Then Finnian sang the prophetic verse Haec requies mea etc.

Then follows an interview with the druid Fraechén.

19. Coming of remarkable disciples.


From this comparison Father Walsh concludes that 'the monastery which was founded as Ross Findchuill was afterwards known as Cluain Braird, and was a little to the east of the church Finnian had already founded in the neighbourhood.'

There is one minor point here on which some comment is necessary. Walsh quotes the Irish text as showing that after Finnian had settled at Ard Relec and before his settlement at Glonard, he moved a little to the east. There is nothing in any of the texts to show that Finnian, once settled at Ard Relec, moved until the angel led him to Glonard. The sair refers to the position of a well, not of the whole settlement: 'Once Fíndiæn was digging a well, and there came an angel to him and said, "This is not the place of the well." "Go forward," saith Fíndiæn, "unto the place where it ought to be." After that the angel went before Fínnian a certain

(1) I have given this passage from the Br. text and not as it appears in Fr. Walsh's article.
(1) i.e. Colum of Terryglass.
space east of the church (sel sair on recle) and shewed him the place of the well.' Finnian may have dug an unsatisfactory well in what later became the graveyard, and then found a better spot east of the church. Father Welsh's statement that Clonard was founded to the east of Ard Relec, if it is based, as it seems to be, on this sel sair, is therefore somewhat misleading.

Finnian lived for some years in this neighbourhood before dying in old age. During this period he was well known. The crowds of students who flocked to him are still locally remembered at Clonard, where legends are related of them.

(1) Br. 162-6, Lis. 2634-7.
(2) The angel says: 'Over whom shall go the mould which thou hast dug, he shall obtain mercy from the Lord of the Elements.' Br. 188-190, Lis. 2638-9.
(3) I am unable to find Ard Relec on Sheet 47 of the 6 inch O.S. map to which Father Walsh refers (p.74), but it is listed amongst other names, including Clonard, in a license to Thomas, Lord Bishop of Meath (Plants of Elizabeth no. 6185, ZCP. X. 74 note 5), and there was a rectory there in the sixteenth century. (See N.B. White, Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1, where Arderollage, Ardrollyk, Ardreisleke, is mentioned on pp. 295, 298, 321). It is evidently near Clonard.
(4) eg. 'Once when the students were coming from Ballyboggen three miles away some of them left a book behind. A message was passed back and the students were so many that the late leavers were able to pick up the book and bring it safe to Clonard.' I heard this from Mrs Doyle, Senior. O'Donovan, OSL Meath, p. 207-8, says, incorrectly, that nothing is locally remembered of Finnian except that he taught Columcille for a time.
It is likely that he and his household left some mark of their influence on place-names. Killynan in the parish of Rathconnel, eleven and a half miles from Clonard, possibly retains the name of our saint. There was a Teampull Fionain in the parish of Fore, to which a note, partially cut away, in the upper margin of f.203r of the Br. Life of Finnian, may refer. 'The parish church of Finden ... between bishop ..., and another in the town of Fore in Meath.'

It is clear from the Vitae that a community of women, taking its name from Finnian's sister Rignach, was founded within walking distance of Clonard. This was Kilrainy in Co. Kildare, on the opposite side of the Boyne to Clonard. It was listed with other property belonging to Clonard in an extent made at Carbre in 1540. The virgin Lasra, after leaving Kilrainy, founded in her own countrysdie a church

(1) OSL, Westmeath, II, p.11.
(2) See infra, p. and photostat of Br. f.203r.
(3) N.B. White, Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1.

There is a Templenear two miles from the sea in the parish of Kilbride, b. Arklow, Co. Wicklow, and in the same parish Baile na mBreathnach (the homestead of the Welshmen). These places lie in the area of Mag Itha where Finnian landed on his return from Wales. The Lives state he brought with him friends and disciples from Wales. Is it far fetched to see traces of Finnian's sister and associates in this parish?
called Dairi Mac Aidmetain. If Lasra became the mother of S. Colman son of Luachain of Lann, it is reasonable to expect some trace of her in the Betha Colmáin. There seems to have been a Daire Aidnáin somewhere between Dronn, in the parish of Castleshordan, and Lann, which is three miles south of Mullingar. There was also a Tech Laisrenn near Lann. No traces of either of these places have been found in modern nomenclature, but it is possible that the church Lasra founded was Tech Laisrenn in the Oak-grove of Aidnén. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was a pupil of Finnian's at Clonard. It seems that he has left his name in three places in the immediate vicinity, probably during his years of study there: in Ballincaran in the parish of Rathcore, Caranstowne in the parish of Killacoonigan, and in the parish of Castleshordan, originally called Kilkeeran. Finnian possibly had connections with

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(1) CS col 202 (22). 'The Oak-grove of the son (?meic) of Aidmetán.' For Lasra see supra pp. 213-20.

(2) Meyer, Colman, p. 82 (81). I have not been able to see the MS which is at Rennes, but the name, 'Aidnén', is not written in full. Perhaps more has been omitted than the one letter n.

(3) ibid. p. 26 (27).

(4) P. Walsh, 'Topography of the Betha Colmáin', ZCP. VIII. 568-82.


(7) OSL. Meath, p. 216. 5½ miles from Clonard.
the parish of Killulagh where S. Loman was patron. The church of Cell Uallech was obtained by the monks of Clonard. It is interesting to note that Tola, Bishop of Clonard (died 738) was also venerated at Disert Tola in this parish. Although it is not related in his Lives, S. Finnian must have had a famous bell, about which legends were known in the early middle ages. A form of the legend is preserved at Clonard where one hears that S. Finnian's bell flew out of the church belfry and has never been found since, though its tones can be heard once in every seven years. J. O'Hanlon says that 'an old Irish Life of S. Finan or Finnen, Abbot of Clonard' relates how the saint built a belfry in his first monastery at Achad Abla. He later moved the bell to Clonard, but it returned miraculously to Aghowle and continued to do so as often as it was moved. In both forms of the legend so far quoted, the bell confines itself to Clonard and Aghowle where Finnian's foundations were well known. By far the


(2) Lives of the Irish Saints, IV, 117. O'Hanlon gives no references, and the story does not occur in any Life of S. Finnian known to me. I suspect that O'Hanlon, who is often inaccurate, heard this orally and forgot his source.
earliest account is given in Giraldus Cambrensis's *Topographia Hiberniae* under the title 'De Campana Fugitiva', and here the bell has wandered elsewhere. 'In Leinster, in the land of the Mactalewi, there is a certain bell, which, unless it is adjured by its keeper every night with an exorcism composed for the purpose, and fastened by some cord, however slight, is found next morning at Clunarech (Clonard) in Meath in the church of S. Finnian, from which it had come.'

Tir Mactalewi seems to be the country round Kilmactalway in the south of C. Dublin. There is nothing in the Vitae to suggest that Finnian came here, but the Irish Life tells how, before his disciples left him, he made them each a present of a crozier or gospel or some other relic around which to build their churches. Bells were often exchanged between clerics. Perhaps one of Finnian's unknown disciples

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(1) *Opera Omnia* V. 120. Cp. VSH, p. 136 where a bell of Leisren was called 'the fuggitive', from its habit of constantly coming back to its master.

(2) *On.* Gosed, p. 637.


(4) eg. S. Patrick gave his to S. Ciaran of Saighir. *BNE*, I. 103 (4).
founded a church in Kilmactalway in which he placed a Clonard bell, the gift of his master. Clonfad, seven miles from Clonard, the church of Finnian's disciple Senach, contained some of Finnian's relics. Finnian and his family probably stamped their influence on many places beside the few mentioned here, about which records have perished and place-names in this thoroughly Anglicized area, have been lost.

The journey which Finnian is reputed to have made through the west of Ireland, begun with a visit to his disciple Ruanan at Lorrha. In the parish of Loughkeen, which lies immediately to the east of Lorrha, is a townland called Clonfinane. Finnian would probably pass through here on his way from Meath. Colum son of Crimthann, another disciple of Finnian to whom he was especially attached, had a monastery near Lorrha at Terryglass, though the Lives do not say that Finnian visited him there. From Lorrha Finnian proceeded with his household into Connacht, and we next hear of him in

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(1) 16 miles from Kilmactalway is Kilmacenoge. If Finnian ever had a disciple Mogenoc (see p. 204), he may have been venerated here, though there is no evidence to support the identification. The list of disciples in the CS Vita gives his church as Kylle Cumli. He is not mentioned in the Rawlinson MS.

(2) Supra, p. 209.

(3) P.N.B. Loughkeen. See sketch map IV.
Sligo. He might have passed straight through Roscommon, but there is nothing to suggest that he did. There are, on the other hand, several Finnian dedications in southern Galway. In the barony of Loughrea lies the parish of Killynan (Cill Fhionán), while Killeeneen (Cill Fhínín) is a parish in the barony of Dunkellin. The parish of Kilreekill, barony of Leitrim, is named after a S. Richella, a name which Colgan uses as an alias for S. Finnian's sister Richenn.

Finnian did not shun the society of women, and it is possible that he was accompanied on this journey by his sister. If these three places, Kilreekill, Killynan, and Killeeneen are connected with S. Finnian of Clonard, (there is no proof that they are), the company would have proceeded direct to Kilreekill.

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(1) The suffix -én is sometimes later replaced by -ín. eg. Beithín, (Thurneysen, Grammar, p. 174). The Down Survey 1655 spells this place Killeenan (P.N.B.). M. Redington, writing in the Galway Archæological and Historical Society Journal, IX (1915-6), 47, says that this S. Fíneen is locally regarded as the sister of S. Fiola of Kileely. I know of no example of Fíneen used as a feminine name.


(3) Colgan, Acta Sanct., p. 405. 'Richenna seu Richilla'. I have been unable to find any evidence earlier than the XVIIth century for this identification.
From here to Killynan would have been an easy journey of eight miles, following the higher land which marks the watershed of a number of streams. (The Irishman of this period, unless his way ran along a well known slighe, was usually apt to follow the well drained uplands rather than the river valleys.) It is a five mile walk from Killynan to Killeeneen.

The Vitae offer no help in finding Finnian's way through Connacht, though there is in the parish of Kiltullagh in the west of Co. Roscommon a townland named Cloonfeneen, through which he might have passed on his way north. According to the Irish Life, 'Finnian went into the province of Connacht to Druim Etir Dé Loch;' CS reads 'ad fines filiorum Ailella,' so this 'ridge between two lakes' was evidently in Tirerril. An examination of the six inch and one inch O.S. maps leads to the conclusion that it was probably the highland near Aghenagh between Loch Arrow and Loch Gara.


(2) In order not to suppress any conflicting evidence, it is necessary to point out that a S. Finghin has dedications in the barony of Bunratty Upper Co. Clare, at Quin, Templemaley and Clooney. These are some distance from the Galway group and are all found close together round the river Fergus estuary. See sketch map IV.
This seems to be the only ridge between two lakes in the barony. After this Finnian went west to Achad Chonayri, which the Irish Lives show to have been 'in the Corann in the district of Luigne.' Here, at the modern Achonry, Finnian left presbyter Nathi. In the Latin Lives only there follows an account of the foundation of a church 'in loco qui dicitur Echenach, hoc est equorum locus vel pastus.' Echenach has been consistently identified as Aghanagh in the barony of Tirerril. The author of the original of the extant Latin Lives evidently did not know the position of Druim etir da Loch for he has inserted this Echenach story most awkwardly into his narrative. According to the Latin account Finnian would have gone from the L. Arrow neighbourhood to Achonry, then returned to Aghanagh in the same area, and then travelled back again north west.

After this, continues C.S., 'pervenit ..... Finnianus in terram nomine Croibe Mor.' Having performed various miracles he received a site, and left his disciple Grellen there. The Irish Life gives a shorter account with different

(1) The ridge of high land south of L. Gillis outside Tirerril.
(2) Br. 278, LIs. 2705. C5 cols. 205-6 (28).
details, but it also says that Finnian went into Coirpre Mór, and that Grellan mac Natfraich was left there. Colgan, unable to find any Grellan dedications in the barony of Carbury, identified this place with Creeve in Co. Roscommon, an identification which is made the more acceptable by the CS reading Croibe Mor, for the old name of Creeve was Craeb-Mor or Craeb Grella in. But all the other manuscripts, including R which goes back to the same exemplar as CS give a different form of the name which becomes the modern Carbury. There is no evidence to show that this territory extended to Roscommon, so Creeve must be abandoned. Duaid Mac Firbis, in his tract, De Quibusdam Episcopis, states that 'there are two Cill-Grellans in Tir Fiachra of the Moy.' Tir Fiachra formerly extended from the River Robe in Co. Mayo to Drumcliff river, but Tir Fiachra Muaide seems to have been confined to the modern barony of Tireragh. The Bollandists, however, say

(1) Acta Sanct., p. 399 notes 32, 33. There are no dedications to Grellan in P.N.Bs. for Carbury.

(2) Br, Lis, Stowe and Rawl. respectively, Corpre Moir, Coirpri Mhoir, Cairbri Mhoir, Carpri Mor.

that Carbury once stretched into this region, and suggest that the Grellan commemorated here is the disciple of Finnian of Clonard. This seems to be the only possible solution.

Whoever wrote the Irish Life of Finnian knew the geographical position and topographical details of places which the saint was reputed to have visited. It is possible to trace Finnian and his disciples with confidence in and around his main foundations of Aghowle and Clonard. Place-names also bear out in a most enlightening way the information given in the Irish Lives on his education under Fortchern and his early foundations. They provide additional proof that the material peculiar to the Latin Lives is unreliable: Finnian's journey down the Wicklow coast after his return from Wales is difficult to credit, and it is clear from the topography that an incident in the Connacht journey (which we have already seen to be borrowed) was inserted by someone who did not realize the exact geographical position of the place mentioned. The fact that the places named in the Connacht trip by the Irish Life can be located on a map does not necessarily prove that Finnian visited them, but it does suggest that they were connected with his main foundation at

(1) AA.SS. Boll. Nov. IV. 487, col. 1.
Clonard, and that at an early period their whereabouts were accurately known there. No dedication to Finnian himself can be located with any certainty in Connacht. Topographical evidence thus supports and illuminates the conclusions already reached by a critical examination of the texts.

A study of these passages on the site question, which describes the saint’s experiences in relation to their relationship to other Irish saints, suggests that the lives of Cates, Maedoc, David, Gathelas, Cebba and Scagall,

During the ninth century the Irish church in Wales became, in spite of Gildas’s denunciations, to have been vigorous and flourishing. Her saints visited the other Celtic countries, and in particular their dedications are found in Cornwall and Brittany. Irish saints were attracted to the monasteries of south Wales. According to His Vita, Finnian spent thirty years before beginning his adult ministry in Ireland with the British saints David, Gildas and Cathnessal, usually known as Cates. Most of his time was spent with Cates at his monastery Llanerfan. The Irish saint Aid, or (3)

Maedoc, of Feria, is reported to have stayed with David at

(1) See in particular the works of R.L.Doble, J. Leth in bibliography.

(2) Maedoc formed by adding the hypocoristic prefix mac or suffix aide to the name Aid.
CHAPTER IX.

THE PROBLEM OF FINNIAN IN WALES.

A study of those passages in the Vita Finnian which describe the saint's experiences in Wales in their relationship to other parallel passages from the Lives of Cadoc, Maedoc, David, Cainnech, Teilo and Comgall.

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(1) See in particular the works of G.H. Doble, J. Loth in bibliography.

(2) Maedoc formed by adding the hypocoristic prefix mo- and suffix -o to the name Aed.
Gill Muine, and Cainnech at Achad-bó with the British saint Docco. Similar stories are related of all three Irish saints while they were in Britain. Parallels to passages referring to these saints may also be found in the Lives of Congall of Bangor and S. Teilo. The problem of Finnian in Wales is therefore that of working out the relationship between the various accounts.

In a comparative analysis of the accounts, the earliest or most reliable *Vita* of each saint will be used. These are as follows:

1. The Irish (Br.) and Latin (CS) Lives of S. Finnian.
2. The Life of Cadoc. There are three *Vitas*: the first by Lifris, written c. 1100, has been edited by A. W. Wade Evans, *Vita sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, pp. 24-140; the second by Caradoc of Llancarfan, dating from about the same period, edited by Father Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* IX, 35-67; the third in John of Tynemouth's collection, edited by Carl Horstman, *Nova Legende Anglie*, I, 167-73. John of Tynemouth's Life is an abridgement of the Life by Lifris, and has no independent value. Lifris and Caradoc used

*The Irish name for Menevia.*
the same sources, but Lifris took far greater liberties with them. Caradoc, writing after Lifris, but ignoring his work, gives a much simpler and shorter account.

(3) The Life of Maedoc of Ferns.
The earliest recension of the Life of Maedoc has been edited by Pulmmer, VSH. II. 295-311. It is a Latin Life, written about 1200 and taken from an Irish original.

(4) The Life of David.
The earliest Life of David, written by Ricemarchus about 1090, has been edited by A. W. Wade Evans, Vitae Sanctorum Brittaniae et Genealogiae pp. 150-170.

(5) The Life of Cainnech.
This is contained in three Latin recensions. The Codex Salamanicensis version is nearest to the common Irish original.

(6) The Life of Teilo. The Life in the British Museum MS. Vesp. A. xiv begins by saying that it was written by Geoffrey the brother of Urban Bishop of Landaff (died 1133). The Life of Teilo in the Book of Landaff (edited

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(1) AB. LX. 41-3.

(2) CS. cols. 361-92. See VSH. I. xliii-xliv.
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<td>xxxvi. Returns to Ireland.</td>
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J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, *The Book of Llan Dafy* pp. 97-117) is identical with *Vesp*, except for some important additions. In the opinion of G.H. Doble, Geoffrey may have been writing a little before the compilation of the Book of Landaff. The writer of the latter included Geoffrey's work, inserting passages of his own. As the part of the Life of Taelo which concerns us is in both the *Vesp* manuscript and the Book of Landaff the question of authorship need not trouble us here.

(1) *The Life of Comgall.* This is in two recensions. The first, in *CS* (cols. 772-8) is defective, but the missing portion may be supplied from two Rawlinson manuscripts (edited by Father Grosjean, *AB* LIII. 349-52). The second, a much longer text, has been edited by Plummer, *VSH*. II. 3-21. Only this second version contains the passages relevant to our enquiry.

The Lives of Finnian and Cadoc describe Finnian's stay in Wales at Llancarfan, the Lives of Maedoc and David relate parallel incidents of the period which Maedoc spent at St. David's. Chart I gives a general view of the relationship of the four accounts. Much of the information in this part of the *Vita Finniani* must have been derived from

(1) *Welsh Saints*, III. 5.
material relating to Cadoc. It describes how Finnian went with the British saints to a local landowner and asked for land on which to found a settlement. He refused it, but one of his household said:

"If they want a place to live in, let us grant this great lake which is near them." Now there was in the vicinity a huge lake, on whose shore was a fortress in which kings used to dwell. Cathmael says again: "Not only will this great lake be given to them, but the fortress also will be given them." Then Finnian says to Cathmael: "May I approach and say to the lake, Withdraw from these bounds in the name of the Lord"? And Cathmael is said to have replied: "If this does not contradict the counsel of God, you have permission." The holy youth Finnian approached the shore of the lake with fire, and in the name of the Holy Trinity puts to flight its waters as far as to the sea. And there afterwards many monasteries were built, of which one is called in the Welsh language Melboc, another Nont, and so forth. (1)

The Irish account, in accordance with its usual characteristics, is shorter and lays even heavier stress on Finnian's authority. He does not ask Cadoc's permission for his action, the grant of land is made to him by the British king, and he gives it to the British saints. Three (2) churches are founded there, one of which is today Llanearfan.

(1) CS col. 192 (5).
(2) Br. 52-65. Lis. 2540-2551.
Finnian's hagiographers knew that Llancarfan was founded on marshy ground near the sea—facts which appear in Lifris's Life of Cadoc where the site of the monastery is described:

'in ipse valle nil aridi extitit sed purulenta palus.'

The 'fortress' of which the Lives of Finnian speak seems to be Kastil Cadoci near Llancarfan. In the Life of Cadoc Finnian takes no part in the founding of the monastery. The story in the Life of Finnian seems however to have been adapted from material relating to Cadoc: this would account for Finnian asking Cadoc's permission before driving back the waters, a detail which Finnian's hagiographer would hardly have put in if he had been making up the tale, and which is omitted in the Irish Life.

The Vita Cadoci tells how Cadoc used to stay during Lent on two islands, Barry and Echni (or Flatholm), returning on Palm Sunday to Llancarfan. Finnian, according to his Latin Lives, visited 'viros sanctos qui habitabant in insula qui Echni vocatur', and drove a plague from the island. The material for this chapter may have come from

(1) VSB et G. p.44.
(2) ibid. 46.
(3) AB, IX, 57-8 (16,17); VSB et G. pp.62-92.
(4) CS. col 193 (7).
British sources relating to Cadoc.

In the Latin Lives of Finnian, Elni a disciple of Cadoc is cured from madness by the prayers of the saints. Elni is mentioned nowhere else in the Vita Finniani, and Finnian himself is not mentioned in the story, which adds nothing to the account of his miraculous powers. The incident, thrust into the narrative between Finnian's decision to return to Ireland and his embarkation, has clearly been inserted from some other source. Cadoc had a favourite disciple Elli or Ellinus whom he fostered and who became his successor at Llanarfan. He is mentioned several times in the Life of Cadoc. The two are almost certainly the same, and the compiler of the Latin Life of Finnian must have derived his information from a Life of Cadoc.

It would therefore appear that the Vita Finniani is dependent on material relating to Cadoc for most of its account of Finnian's stay in Wales. It did not use the Lives by Lifris or Geradoc, for with the exception of the woodcarting

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(1) ibid., col. 194 (10). Not in Irish Life.

(2) VSB et G., pp. 56, 58, 80, 102-4, 120, 130-2. There are two places named Llanelli, one in Breconshire, the other in Carmarthenshire.
story there are no exact parallels between the Lives. But it seems almost certain that the author of the Life of Finnian knew traditions of Llanearfan, or an earlier Life of Cadoc than we now possess. During the early middle ages, members of Cadoc's family visited Clonard; they must have brought with them oral, and probably written, traditions of Cadoc's acts.

There are close parallels between Finnian's and Maedoc's period in Wales, but the Life of Maedoc contains some material not in the Vita Finniani. This material includes four short miracles; all of them typical hagiographical themes: the healing of a king's son who was blind, deaf and dumb, the healing of a disfigured man, the blinding of some robbers, and a similar miracle in which a king of the Saxons who tries to deceive Maedoc becomes blind and deaf. The material in the Vita Finniani which we have so far examined, has contained topographical details, place and personal names, all verifiable. The material peculiar to the Life of Maedoc has not a single place or personal name or topographical detail, and is nothing but the common hagiographical padding found in so many Lives of other saints.

(2) infra, p. 296.
Similar accounts of the saint's return to Ireland are found in the Lives of Finnian and Maedoc.

**Finnian.**

Finnian, after receiving a blessing from Cathmael and Cildas, sets sail for Ireland, landing 'in campo Itha' at a port called Dubglais. He eventually reaches Kylie Caireni. Appropriquans ergo ad terram illam misit nuncios ad regem terre qui Muireadach vocatur, filius Engusa, ut liceret ei terram eius intrare. Qui respondens dixit: 'Non solum concedo ei intrare terram meam, sed et ego portare eum volo in numeris meis.' Quod cum opere completeret, vir Dei recompensans ei beneficiaria sua, benedixit eum sic: 'Sicut servum Dei cum gaudio hodie suscepsisti, sic angeli Dei suscipiant te in terram viventium.' The king invites Finnian to choose a site for a church. (1)

**Maedoc.**

Post hec autem sanctus Aidus cum benedictione beati David ad Hiberniam insulam navigavit, venitque ad regiones Fothart campi Itha. By sounding his cymbal, Maedoc rescues some pilgrims who are being killed by the local king.

Cum vero Aidus ad portum venisset, misit rex unum de suis, nomine Dimma filium Cairena, et sanctum Aidum suis numeris de navi acceptit. Statimque rex obtulit ei regionem nomine Brentrocht. (2)

The evidence here offers no decisive proof to show the relationship between these two accounts. It is, however, worth

(1) *GS.* col. 195 (12).
(2) *VSH.* II. 300 (xix).
noticing that whereas in the *Vita Finnian* the journey on the king's back is an integral part of the story, in the *Life of Maedoc* the omission of the two words 'suis humeris' would make no difference to the narrative. John of Tynemouth's *Life of Maedoc*, which is a shorter version of the *Vespasian* *Vita*, omits Maedoc's reception by Dimma and details of his landing, saying only that he sailed to Ireland. There is another incident in the *Life of Maedoc*, almost certainly taken from a *Life of David*, which is not in the *Life of Finnian*, but which seems to show a parallel with sentences from a different story in the *Vita Finnian*. In the *Life of Finnian* 'sanctus Cath- 
maelus persensit clamorem angelorum succurrentium ei. Equon-
imus vero quia virum Dei nimis verbis afflexerat, non quam 
comparuit.' According to the *Life of Maedoc* 'vidit 
sanctus David innumerabiliis aegmine angelorum circa puerrum 
venientem,' and as for the *economus 'sepulchrum illius nemo 
sciet.' Again, the evidence is not conclusive, but the 
story in the *Life of Maedoc* in which the phrases occur is ex-
tremely suspicious for other reasons. If the phrases were

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taken from the *Vita Finniani* by the compiler of the Life of Maedoc, his technique here is in line with his good memory, free adaptation and amplification which may be seen elsewhere in his narrative.

A comparison of the accounts of the Saxon invasion found in the Lives of Finnian and Maedoc yields more definite results.

**Finnian**

At another time the Saxons entered the land of the Britons to lay it waste. When they were encamped in a certain valley which was encircled by high mountains, the Britons came to Finnian (asking him) to invoke the God of heaven against the enemies. The man of God, agreeing to their request, went out to those Saxons asking them to return to their own (place) and not harm others. When they would not heed his warnings, but wished to destroy the British people, the man of God returned to his people and said: 'Let us go round the valley in which the enemy are along the tops of the mountains with the staff which supports my limbs when I pray.' What follows

**Maedoc**

At another time the Saxons came to war against the Britons. Then the holy boy, when asked, went out with the Britons to war. And immediately the Saxons saw him they were turned to flight. And the Britons pursued after them seven days, but by the blessing of the holy boy, not even one man fell in that war. And while the holy boy Aidus dwelt with Saint David in the districts of the Britons, the Saxons dared not come thither. (1)

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(1) *VSH. II. 299 (xvii).*
is wonderful, for those very high mountains are said to rush down on the enemies so that not even one of them escaped. (1)

There is nothing unexpected here in the account from the Life of Maedoc, but this passage from the Vita Finnianiii has interesting features. The theme of the mountains falling on the enemy occurs in Irish mythology. When the god Lugh and the sorcerer Magthen discuss how best to shake off the yoke of the Fomorians, Magthen says: 'By my art I shall throw down the mountains of Ireland on the Fomorians, and they shall fall with their heads to the earth.' (2) Finnian's báchail enircles the Saxons. A custom of an Old-Irish warrior when about to attack a dun, was to go round it lefthand-wise, a practice which is mentioned frequently in the tales of the Ulster cycle. The scribe of the Vespasian Life of Maedoc knew no Irish, and in comparing the two accounts it seems more likely that the incident in the Life of Maedoc has been toned down by someone unacquainted with Irish mythology, then that these imaginative details have been inserted into the

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(1) CS col 193 (3), Lis. 2561-6. The Irish Lives say that Finnian struck the mountain with his staff.
(2) D. Hyde, Literary History of Ireland, p. 286.
(3) J. Strachen, 'Stories from the Téin' pp. 20, 21.
(4) VSH, I, lxxvi note 3.
usually turgid Latin Vita Finnieni. There is moreover a further reason for preferring the account of the Life of Finnien. We know from Gildas that the Anglo-Saxons reached the west coast. But there is no evidence to show that they penetrated to the extreme point of south-west Wales, where Meadoc was staying with S. David. It is far more likely that this battle was fought in the Lower Severn area, within reach of Cadoc's monastery in the Vale of Glamorgan.

(1) 'Confossubur namque ultionis iustae praecedentium solerum causa de mari usque ad mare ignis ......st...... non quievit accensus donec cunctam paene eundem insulam superficiem rubra occidentalem trucidique oceanus lingua delambrarit.' De Excidio, p. 55 (24).

(2) P.K. Johnstone, 'Mount Badon - A Topographical Clue?' Antiquity XX, (1946), 159-60, argues that the battle described in the Vit. Finnieni is the Battle of Mons Badonis. His argument is based on the facts that 1) the Saxons had not yet been checked 2) the Vit. Fin. describes an attempt at negotiation paralleled in the description of the battle in the Welsh tale 'The Dream of Rhonabwy' where embassies are exchanged between Arthur and Osra, 3) the overwhelming disaster of the defenders 4) the invaders' camp was in a fortified position on the side of a hill (Johnstone uses only the Irish Life). There seems to be insufficient evidence to say with certainty that the battle in which Finnien took part is Mons Badonis, though it may be so. Mrs. D. P. Dobson follows up this article (Antiquity XXIII (1948) 43-5) by suggesting Brent Knoll in North Somerset as a site for Mt. Badon which fulfils the required conditions. It is on the eastern side of the Lower Severn and was in the VIth century less than three miles from it. The distance from the mouth of the River Axe, near which the hill is situated, to the coast of S. Wales is ten miles, and the journey might be broken at the islands of Steepholm and Flatholm. It is almost directly opposite Llanearfen (see sketch map V). If J.N.L. Myres is right in estimating that the date of Mount Badon fell between 490 and 516 Finnien may well have been present.
Part of this section of the Life of Maedoc finds parallels in the Life of David. The Life of Maedoc describes the rescue of a cart and oxen through the holiness of the saint. In Ricemarchus's Life of David this is not a separate incident, but forms part of the account of how Maedoc was sent to carry goods for the community.

David.

As the road sloped to a steep precipice the oxen with the cart were hurled into the sea. But when they were rushing down he makes the sign of the cross and so it was that he received the oxen with the cart safe and sound from the waves, and happily went on his way. (1)

Maedoc.

On another day the holy boy Aldus carried a "tribute" vessel full of beer to his monastery. When then he came to a certain difficult road near a valley, the wagon together with the vessel and oxen fell into the valley. The holy boy signed the vessel and oxen, and not one drop perished from the vessel until the wagon reached level ground in safety. (2)

The Life of David is here much better acquainted with the local topography.

The compiler of the Life of Maedoc dealt very freely with his sources. This appears clearly from a comparison between two passages in the Lives of David and Maedoc.

(1) VSB et G. p. 160 (35).
(2) VSH. II. 299 (xiv).
David.

At another time also his other disciple, Modomnoc by name, was excavating a road with the brethren on the hill near the confines of the monastery, by which an easier approach might be made for wayfarers to carry burdens of necessities. He said to one of the labourers, "Why do you work so lazily and slowly?" The man, moved by a spirit of anger against him who said the words, raising up the iron, that is a two-edged axe, he was holding in his hand, tried to strike him on the head. But the holy father David, seeing this from a distance raised his hand towards them, making the sign of the cross; so the hand of the man striking was withered. (1)

Maedoc.

At another time also the prior, moved with envy, thought to kill the holy boy Aldus. One day he sent the boy with another layman and a cart to bring timber from the woods. The prior persuaded the layman to kill the boy in the woods..... When the boy was stooping there to move the timber the layman, his axe raised, launched a blow at his head. But his hands, lifted up, withered in the air. He was cured after confession. A long account follows of how David went to meet the boy after this was revealed to him. At the place of their meeting a cross was erected. David reproached the prior. (2)

The story in the Life of Maedoc is the fuller, and has many details added. The beginning is a repetition of the preceding chapter and piles up the indictment against the malicious prior. The paralysis of those attempting to injure a saint is a common hagiographical theme. The David account seems to be prior to that in the Life of Maedoc. Its topographical details, in this case of a road built to the

(1) VSB et G. p. 162 (41).
(2) VSH. II. 298-9 (xiii).
monastery, are as usual more intelligible, and the story itself is simpler. Moreover Ricemarchus had no reason to alter the name of the disciple, for Maedoc was far better known than Modomnoc. The compiler of the Life of Maedoc had a very strong motive, and it seems probable that in the original of these accounts the story was told of Modomnoc.

Ricemarchus in his Life of David could not therefore have been using the Life of Maedoc. Nor can the Life of Maedoc be taken directly from Ricemarchus's Life; the differences in detail are too great and there are no verbal parallels. It seems therefore that Ricemarchus and the compiler of the Life of Maedoc drew from some common source relating to St. David which Maedoc's hagiographer altered to suit his purposes. There has also been borrowing between the Lives of Maedoc and Finnian. Though it is reasonably certain that the material in this part of the Vita Finnianae came from sources relating to Cadoc, there is only one instance where the Life of Finnian relates the same incident as the extant Lives of Cadoc, and here the parallel between the Irish Life of Finnian and the Vita Cadocii is very close. The author of the Vita Finnianae, unlike the compiler of the Life of Maedoc, seems to have been following his sources fairly faithfully. The writer of the Life of Maedoc adapted freely from his materials. In the account of the Saxon invasion, the version of the Vita Finnianae
is to be preferred. If the compiler of Maedoc's Life borrowed from the Life of Finnian in one case he probably did so in others. The discussion so far seems to suggest the following conclusions:

Material relating to Cadoc

Life of Finnian

Lifris's and Caradoc's Lives of Cadoc

Ricemarchus's Life of David.

Vespesian Life of Maedoc.

It is possible to support the conclusions already reached and to add to the stemma by examining an incident contained in the four Lives already frequently mentioned, and in the Lives of Cainnech and Teilo, paralleled by certain passages in the *Vita Comgalli*. It is given in outline on
Boy C ainnech, a disciple of Comgaill.

Reading.

Cainnech.

Boy C ainnech, a disciple of Comgaill.

Reading.

Cainnech.

Boy C ainnech, a disciple of Comgaill.

David.

Comgaill.

Reading.

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David.

Reading.
Tellie.
Tellie and Hadoc, disciples of David, reading Jeremiah.

Famulus comes saying that wood is needed to prepare a meal.

Set out quickly, hoping to fetch enough wood to last some time and so leave them free for prayer and reading.

Two stags appear and offer to carry wood.
Disciples praise God.

Stags follow Tellie and Hadoc to monastery.

After this stags fetch wood daily.

Native look on in amazement.

David finds book unharmed which had been left open.

Tellie and Hadoc are honoured.

Cedoc.
Two youths, Finnian and Haranoll, reading.

One of Cedoc's family (Caradoc) is prior, cellarer and warden (Liris); tells to go to ask the wood is needed for building (Caradoc) or for the church. (Liris) The boys answer, 'Are we drafted again?'

They are shown two stags which the officials derivatively call oxen. Leaving the book open, the boys order the stags to wait for them. Instead, they submit, and are driven home like tame oxen, carrying a great beam attached to the yoke. Then allowed to return to pastures. (Liris, less detailed in Caradoc).

Cedoc curses the three officers (Liris only).

Heavy rain.

Cedoc enquires where the book was left, and finds it unharmed. This book called Cedoc.

A chapel is said to be erected in honour of St. Finnian. (Liris only)

Kent Garvan named after the stag 'Stags' Valley.'

Finnian: Irish.

Finnian not allowed to accompany monks when they go out to cut wood for church because of their honour for him.

Sub-prior (names) asks Finnian why he had not gone. Finnian defends his action.

Sub-prior tells him to take stags standing in field.

Angels constrain the stags.

Finnian's Load reaches church first.

Finnian's Load reaches church first.

Cathmael sees angels helping him.

Finnian is reproached by equonomus for not going with rest to carry wood for needs of community.

Replies that he will go, the ignorant of the place and having no tools.

Told to go quickly and find accessories.

Goes to wood with the oxen, and with the help of angels brings wood home more quickly than rest.

Cedoc reproaches the three officers: (Liris only). Because he has reproached the boy 'equonomus nusquam comparat,'
Chart II. From this chart it may be seen that the story has four distinct parts:

1) The disciple is sent to fetch materials with untamed beasts, and receives divine help. In all the Lives except that of Comgall.

2) The disciple is preserved from the water. In the Lives of Maedoc, Cainnech and Comgall, with marked differences.

3) A book is preserved from the rain. In the Lives of Maedoc, David, Teilo and Cadoc.

4) Oxen and cart slip over a precipice. In the Lives of Maedoc and David with different details. This has already been examined.

The verbal parallels between the first half of the story in the Lives of Maedoc and Cainnech are most striking.

Cainnech. Maedoc.

Quedam autem die ipse immisericors et iracundus venit ad Kennechum sedentem et legentem, increpans eam et dicens: 'Tota familia cum bobus et plaustris trans fretum perrexit ad ducentas aligas materias necessarias; Quadam autem die, cum ibi sanctus puer Aidos sedens legeret, venit ad eum equo-nomus dicens, 'Surge, et accipe plaustrum, ut cum fratibus ad necessaria onera deferenda pergás.'

(1) Opposite p. 279.

(2) supra, p 275.
tu quoque post eos perge.'
Tunc sanctus Kennechus obedientis surrexit. Deditque ei equon-
imus duos boves indomitos et feros: sed sujugati et mites effecti sunt. (1)

Statimque puer obedientis cito surrexit ...
Dixitque equonomus sancto puero, ut duos boves indomitos et asperos teneret. Set boves isti statim mites et domiti facti sunt sub manu pueri. (2)

It is clear that there is some borrowing here. But after the passages given above the stories branch into accounts of quite different incidents. Cainnech has to cross an arm of the sea.

When he had come to the channel, he found it filled with a great flood of sea, with swelling waves: it was dry when the brethren had crossed over it. Then the Lord divided the channel into two parts, and saint Cainnech crossed over it dry-shod with the empty waggons and returned again with it loaded. (3)

In the Life of Maedoc, the saint, accompanied by a small boy, crosses safely over a bog: and here all similarity ends.

Several considerations suggest that the account in the Vita Cainnechi is the authentic one. M. J. Loth has pointed out that the author of this Life knew the topography of the district where Cainnech was said to be staying. Doccu's

(1) CS. col. 363 (5).
(2) VSH. II. 298 (xii).
(3) CS. col. 363 (5).
monastery, Lannowe, was near the Padstow estuary, one of the main points on the route between S. Wales and Brittany. The estuary through which Cainnech was forced to drive his oxen, which the other brethren had forded at low tide, is Hall in modern Cornish, where the rivers Camel and Allen meet at

(1)

In the Life of Maedoc the incident of which this forms a part is introduced with 'Quodam autem die.' In the Vita Cainnech it follows naturally after an account of Cainnech's education and his popularity with his master: 'Videns autem equonimus quod abbas valde diligebat puerum, instinctu diabuli ipse odivit puerum Kannecham et persecutus est eum.' In both topography and the ease of the narrative, the account in the Life of Cainnech is preferable to that in the Life of

(1) Landoho in the middle ages. The parish is now called S. Kew, but the name Lannowe survives within the parish. See sketch map VI.

(2) Mém. de la Soc. d'hist. et d'arch. de Bretagne, X. (1929) pp. 1-12. M. Loth has shown that Cadoc and Docco were not identical. Samson visited this monastery of Docco's 'citra Sabrinum mare' (Fawtier, La Vie de S. Samson, p. 141 (45)), This seems to be the place mentioned in a Vita Petroci which Samson visited 'secus littus iuxta annem Hailem,' Loth, RC, XXXV, 293-4.
The Life of Caimnech's account is paralleled by a passage from the *Vita Comgalli*.

"Quodam die pro aliqua necessitate sanctus Comgallus vni de fratribus dixit: "Cicius recto tramite, frater, trans fretum festina." Tune frater obedient, nichil cunctatus, perambulevit siccis fretum meris pedibus, et incolmis rediuit ad sanctum Comgallum. Ceteri hoc scientes firmati sunt in humilitate et obedientia."

Some features about this passage indicate that it was not in the original life but has been incorporated from some other source. It begins with the usual 'quodam die': the disciple is first introduced as 'one of the brethren.' It is altogether extremely vague, and were it not for the parallel passage in the Life of Caimnech, might easily be considered a stock hagiographical example of walking.

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(1) In this story there is a further example of the tendency in the Life of Maedoc to amplify material. The hagiographer inserts details of the prior's unreasoning cruelty which are not found in any of the other accounts. 'Dedit quoque equonomus puero iugum sine loris; et adhesit iugum cervicibus boum, quasi loris fortiter constringeretur, quesiuitque ab equonomo pufer lignum transversum quod conjungeret plaustrum. Cui equonomus ait: 'Pro isto ligno digitum tuum pone.' Et sic obedient, pufer fecit; set tamam digitus eius non lesus est.' *VSH*.II. 298 (xii).

(2) *VSH*. II. 15 (xxxv).
on the water. Compared with the account in the Vita Caiinnechi it is very brief, omitting all mention of cart and oxen, and the operation of the tides. The Lives of Caiinnech and Comgall evidently took this incident from a common source, to which the Vita Caiinnechi is nearer. As the topography for Llanowe is accurate, this would seem to have been an earlier life of Caiinnech.

We have seen that Maedoc's hagiographer was using a Life of Caiinnech for his account of the first part of this incident, but the crossing of the strait was not related at all in the Life of Maedoc, for the obvious reason that it did not suit the topography of S. David's. Instead, the Vita concludes with quite a different story. When Maedoc returns from the carting, David comes to the shore with all his monks, to meet him. He asks Maedoc why he has left his book open, and in accordance with monastic custom, Maedoc prostrates himself waiting until forgiveness is granted. David and his monks return to the monastery. Later David asks where Maedoc is, and the brethren say he was last seen on the shore. David sends his monks to the shore and they find Maedoc still lying there, but now completely surrounded by

(1) Supra, pp. 279-81
water. They pull him up by a rope into a ship.

Now it is very interesting to find this same story related much more naturally, and with flashes of vivid detail in the *Vita Comgalli* where it is treated as a separate incident. Comgall and his disciples are crossing a strait into which the tide is advancing. Obediens, a favourite disciple of Comgall, is carrying his master's shoes. He is reproached by a brother, and prostrates himself; and as he is the last to cross his absence goes unnoticed for the time. When he reaches dry land (and presumably wants his shoes,) Comgall asks for Obediens. The monk who has reproached him confesses, and the brethren return to look for him. Meanwhile the tide has come up, and Obediens is lying on the shore, though not quite surrounded. The brethren raise him up and bring

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This account holds together remarkably well and is to be preferred to the narrative from the life of Maedoc.

(1) 'Erat in monasterio sancti patris Congallii quidam iuuenis valde obedientis et mitis, quam fratres cognominauerunt Obedientem, qui iussa omnium illico faciebat, et prohibita quasi venenum vitabat. Igitur quodam die sanctus pater Congallus iter agens, ille iuuenis cum ceteris erat in comitatu eius. Cumque venissent trans quo d[am] litus in quo invandacio veniebat marina, vnae de fratribus increpauit predictum iuuenem Obedientem. Ille autem audiens, statim in faciem procedit suam in littore; et ipse calcamenta sancti Congalli habebat. Consuebat enim ille frater multum obsequi sancto patri. Fratres autem, nescientes quod frater ibi iacuisset, perrexerunt in viam suam. Ille iam frater ceteris posterior erat. Cumque peruenissent ad aridam terram de littore, interrogauit sanctus Congallus ubi esset frater Obediens. Et cum non esset iuuentus, sanctus senior dixit suis: "Numquid aliquis ex vobis fratrem increpauit?" Tunc vnae confessas est quod illum increpasse et; ius[s]itque sanctus Congallus, ut diredent fratres ad illum querendum. Illis autem festinantibus, occurrit eis invandacio maris, et innuerunt fratrem in littore prostratum, et mare replens totum littus. Ad illum autem latitudine domus inter se et terram non accessit. Et excitantes eum fratres, uenit cum eis ad sanctum Congallum. Sanctus pater cum illo ceterisque fratribus laudes Deo dederunt.'

VSH. II. 12 (xxiv).
This story is in both the Life of Comgall and the Life of Maedoc; the story of the disciple passing dry shod through the channel is in the Lives of Comgall and Caínnech. There is reason to believe that there has been borrowing between the Lives of Caínnech and Maedoc. There is therefore a possibility that these two stories in the Life of Comgall refer to the same person. In the Vita Comgalli the rescue from the shore is related in detail, and the disciple's name, Obediens, is given. Eleven chapters further on comes the story of the walking on the water, clearly much abbreviated. If the word Obediens in this chapter is given a capital letter and changed from a participle into a proper noun, it appears that the disciples are the same - 'Tunc frater Obediens....'

If this emendation be accepted, it follows that the two stories came from the same source, and if the walking on the water came from a Life of Caínnech, the rescue from the shore was also there as a separate incident.

(1) Supra, pp. 280-1.
(2) Supra, pp. 279-81.
(3) One other piece of evidence supports this conclusion. Comgall's special fondness for Obediens is paralleled by Doccio's love of Caínnech. On the other hand, if the author of the MT recension of the Vit. Comgalli incorporated the rescue from the shore from a Life of Caínnech, he has done so with unusual skill.
This postulates an earlier Life of Cainnech. In it the walking through the channel story was similar to the version in the present *Vita Cainnechi*. The author of the Ves pasian Life of Maedoc began to copy this, then realizing that it did not suit the topography of S. David's, he branched into another story in the Life of Cainnech. As it happens, both these incidents are related of Comgall's disciple Obediens in one version of the *Vita Comgalli*.

Material relating to Cadoc. — Material relating to David. — Material relating to Cainnech.

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Ricemarchus's Life of David

Lifris's and Caradoc's Life of Cadoc

Vespasian Life of Maedoc

Life of Finnian

CS, MT and R Lives of Cainnech.

MT

Life of Comgall.
There is no close parallel in the stories of the wood-carting related in the Lives of David and Maedoc. The first part of the account in the Life of Maedoc is nearer to the Vita Cainnech than to Ricemarchus's Life, not only verbally but also in content. In the Life of David the praepositus sends the boy to fetch wood from the valley, but in the Lives of Cainnech and Maedoc the 'necessary materials' are unspecified. Although some of the incidents in the Life of Maedoc must have come from earlier traditions of S. David there is no verbal parallel between the Vespasian Maedoc and Ricemarchus's Life of David, and there are great differences in detail. The confusion of the David material in the Life of Maedoc may suggest that the author of the Vespasian Maedoc is using oral David material, or that he is quoting from memory.

The similarity between the Vita Cadoci and the Irish Life of Finnian is striking. Finnian (in the Life of (1) Cadoc, Finnian and Macmoil) is sitting reading, while the

(1) Macmoil was a disciple of Cadoc. According to Lifris he returned with Cadoc from Ireland. See VSB et G. pp. 48, 58, 128. His church was in the parish of Bedwellty, Monmouthshire.
rest of the brethren are away in the woods fetching timber to build the church. These are the only Lives which give this as the purpose for which the wood was needed. One of Cadoc's monks comes and asks why Finnian has not gone to work with the others. Again only these Lives give the Irishman's rather defiant reply: in the Life of Cadoc 'we are not cart oxen', in the Life of Finnian 'we should have gone long ago had we been told. Now it is said we will go provided the means are found by us.' In the Life of Cadoc the boys take stags, in the Irish Life of Finnian the word ἑκατάματα may be translated as 'stags' or 'oxen'. The Life of Finnian approximates to Ceradoc's simpler account rather than to the more developed form of the story in the Life by Lifris. Lifris makes Cadoc pronounce a curse on the officials who have annoyed Finnian: this is omitted in Ceradoc's Vita, while the Life of Finnian merely says 'unknown is the end of the sub-prior who reproached him.' Lifris notes that a chapel was built in honour of S. Finnian: this is not mentioned by Ceradoc, nor in the Lives of Finnian, though the compiler of the Irish

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(1) Heavy stress on the malice of the prior seems to be a late element. See supra, p. 282 note 1, in the Life of Maedoc.
Life would certainly have included it had he known of it.
The Life of Finnian was drawing on material related to Cadoc, but in a more primitive form that Lifris's Life.

The *Vita Teiliavii*, the remaining Life in which this story is given, has affinities with the Lives of both Cadoc and David. Ricemarchus's Life tells it of Aidanus, whom he thinks identical with the Irish Aed, or Meadoc. The Life of Teilo gives the names of the disciples as Teilo and 'Maidocus'. The hagiographer introduces Maidoc without saying who he was - a sure mark of literary larceny - and ornaments his story with many details and pious ejaculations found nowhere else. (1) There are, however, some details which agree with the Life of Cadoc: in both cases the boys take stags, not oxen. Moreover, there are verbal parallels (2) between the Life of Teilo and Lifris's *Vita Cadoci*.

**Cadoc.**

Ipsi .... pergentes...
pre magna festinatione...
statim sue fecit omnis
obliti, mansuetius operantes
illos, indomita colla iugo
submittunt (3)

**Teilo.**
nimia festinations perrex-
erunt..... colla prebentes
adsubiugandum.....quasi
dicerent 'Deus.....exuit
nobis fecit nos mansuetas pectora
et fecit nos mansuetas pectora
ut laborem quam vos initis
subeamas.' (4)

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(1) eg. the disciples are reading Jeremiah, the wood is needed to cook the meal.
(3) VSB et G. p. 52.
Cadoc.
VSB et G. pp. 52-4.

Teilo
Book of Llan Dey
p. 102.

David
VSB et G. pp. 159-60.

Maedoc
VSH. II. 298 (xii).

Ipsi...apertura codicem
...quo sebekant, sub
duo aperturn reliquens

Unde vir premissos dis-
cipulos, quo illorum
reliquissent codicem in-
quisiuit. At illi paupentes
dixerunt, 'Quo sebekant,
lectioni vacantes eius,
pre nimia operatione
immemores, aperturn sub
duo dimissimus.'

David...librum
nec claudendi
librum....

...ubi librum reliq-
uerat ingreditur,
librum apertum et a
pluvia ille sum
repperit sicut
dimissit.

David.... puero sancto
dixit: Quare dimisti
librum apertum sub pluvia?
Aed prostrates himself
and is left lying on the
shore. See pp. 283-4.
According to Canon Doble, Geoffrey the author of the Vita Teilo, was copying from Lifris's Life. For our present purpose it is not necessary to examine this question in more detail since it is clear that the story, as it stands in the Life of Teilo, has no independent authority.

The remaining strand within this story, the open book unharmed by rain, is a common theme in Celtic hagiography. It is clear from Chart III where the parallel passages are set out that there is a close connection between the accounts in the Lives of Cadoc, Teilo, David and Maedoc. It provides further proof that the whole story in the Life of Teilo is borrowed, as the book episode is tacked on to the end of the other narrative without any previous mention of how the boys had left the book open in their haste. The Life of Maedoc too shows its usual mixture of borrowing and amplification. In the Life of Cadoc the incident is connected with a famous book of the saint's called "Memoria sancti Cadoci." It is strange that if this story was in an earlier Life of Cadoc, the author of the Life of Finnian did not copy it with the narrative of which it forms part.

(1) S. Teilo, p. 15.
(2) AB. LX. 66.
Of the four accounts, the Life of David gives the story in its simplest form.

The story of the young saint carting wood with oxen or stags was told in Llancarfan traditions of S. Finnian, in Menevian traditions of S. Maedoc, and it was also related of S. Cainnech, disciple of Docado. Now both literary and topographical evidence show that there was a Welsh saint named Maedoc. He appears with a number of other famous Welsh saints in Caradoc's Life of Gadoc, and the number of dedications to Maedoc in Pembrokeshire would point to there being a Welsh saint of this name associated with David in the evangelization of S. Wales. Canon Doble, citing this evidence, goes on to suggest that there has been a confusion of two different legends, one Welsh, the other Irish. The idea that the name Maedoc, spelt Maidoc, might be a hypocoristic form of Aidan led to his identification by some early hagiographer with the well-known saint of Ferns, a monastery with which S. David's was closely connected, and to the insertion of Menevian traditions about Maedoc into the Life of an Irish

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(1) With David, Teilo, Iltud, Tudy and Cenneu. _AB_. LX. 63 (22).

(2) Canon Doble was unable to use it since it was not pub-
saint, where they have all the appearance of excrescences.' This is a most reasonable explanation of how the story became attached to the Irish Maedoc, but it suggests no explanation of why the same legend is related of Finnian. Here, however, Caradoc's Life of Cadoc gives some help. A far more accurate idea of the sources of the Vita Cadoci may be obtained from Caradoc's work than from Lifris's, since Caradoc used his materials with much less freedom that Lifris. In Caradoc's Life the story of the wood-carting occurs twice; the first time it is related very briefly and the disciples are not named. Caradoc's sources therefore contained two versions of this story, one much simpler than the other where the legend was not attached to any particular saint. The purpose of this shorter story was to provide an etymological explanation for the name Llancarfan, - 'Unde fluvius qui supradictam interluit convallam Carbena a cervo sumpsit vocabulum, ut in fluvii nomine hoc factum posteris tradetur memorie' - an explanation which is given in more detail

(2) Canon Doble was unable to use it since it was not published until 1942.
(3) AB. LX. 52-3 (11).
at the end of the much longer account. It seems however that the original form of the story was with oxen, not stags. There is no question that the Lives of Finnian drew for this period of Finnian's career on any other traditions than those of Llancarfan. In his Latin Vitae he is definitely helped by oxen (cum bobus), which suggests that they were in the compiler's source. It is impossible to provide a scientifically proved solution for the problem which arises from the parallel passages in the Lives of David and Cadoc, but the following suggestion is offered as one which fits the known facts. The story, in which oxen drew the timber, was first told of a Welsh saint Madoc at Nenevia. Little was known of the early saints, and a good deal of borrowing went on between their acta. In this way the story entered Llancarfan traditions, not at first attached to any particular saint, though it later became attached to S. Finnian. At some time

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(1) ibid. p. 66 (26). Cf. VSB et G. p. 54. 'A duobus vero supradictis ceruis, more boum subiugatis sine plastraum gerentibus, principale sancti Cadoci oppidum a priscis Brittonum colonis Nant Caruguan, id est, Vallis Ceruorum, inde Nancarbenia, ex valle scilicet et ceruo, vocabulum accipit.'

(2) Scadam of Irish Life 'oxen' or 'stags', see supra, p. 289.
subsequent to this, it was taken over by the Life of S. Finnian. The theme of stags drawing vehicles or carrying loads was familiar in secular tales, and the oxen in the original story were turned into stags by some enterprising hagiographer to provide an etymological explanation for the name Llanearfan.

Confusion between legends of Cadoc and Doccio under whom Cainnech studied, would have been very easy. Traditions of Doccio were soon forgotten: he is identified with Cungar in Capgrave's *Vita Cungari*. Who was this Doccio with whom Cainnech stayed is uncertain. He could hardly be the saint whose death is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* at 474. He is probably the patron of Llandoche Fawr and Llandoche Fach, who was venerated 1 May and seems to have lived after Cungar. These two Doccio dedications are on either side of Cadoc's main foundation at Llanearfan, and are in an area well sprinkled with churches dedicated to S. Cadoc. Near to Llanowe in Cornwall stood a well and

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(1) *eg. Stories from the Táin*, p. 19.
(3) 'Quies Doccii episcopi sancti Britonum abbatis.' *AU*. I.24. Cainnech died 599 or 600.
(4) *AB*. XLII. 114. Cungar's date is uncertain. He may have been a 6th century saint. *AA.SS*. *Boll*. Nov.III, 403-4.
parish dedicated to S. Cadoc on the western edge of Padstow parish in the valley that goes down to Harlyn Bay. Cadoc was also associated with Denzell Downs, and probably with a place named Ballecadew about two miles south west of Denzell. The houses of Docco and Cadoc were thus close neighbours.

Moreover the names of the saints were similar. A confusion of legends is quite understandable.

For the Welsh period of Finnian's career his Lives use material from sources relating to S. Cadoc. The account in the Latin Vita is much fuller than in the Irish Life. The relationship between the Lives of Cadoc and Finnian illustrates the connection between their foundations which is known to have existed. It seems from Lifris's Life monks of Cadoc's familia were eligible for the coarbship of Finnian at Clonard. 'The learned of the Irish who live at Clonard in the monastery of his blessed disciple Finnian, also testify that, if any one of the clergy of S. Cadoc should

(1) See sketch maps V and VI. Topographical information from J. Loth, Mems. de la Soc. d'hist. et d'arch. de Bretagne X. 1-12; G. H. Doble, Cornish Saints Series, no. 40, 'S. Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany', no 12, 'S. Docco and S. Kew'; A. W. Wade Evans, 'Parochiale Wallicanum,' YC XXII (1910) 22-124.

(2) From the XVIth century until Loth's article in 1929, modern writers have accepted the identification of Cadoc and Docco.
go to them, they receive him honourably, and make him an heir even as one of them. And this is said to be a prognostic of their justice and an ancient token, that he should undo the lock of the monastery by touch of hand without a key. (1)

The tradition of Finnian's stay in Wales is strong enough to be certain only that he did visit Cadoc and spend some time at Llancarfan. (2) Apart from this, surviving material illuminates the methods of the mediaeval hagiographer, but does not add to our knowledge of the saint's life.

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(1) VSB et G. p. 114.
(2) Finian,Scottus witnesses a Llancarfan charter, VSB et G. p. 128.
SECTION IV.

CONCLUSION.

The ancient way of life was retained and practised in Ireland from the first introduction of Christianity. The sons of the first and the daughters of Ulster were born to have "large houses and virgins of Christ," wrote St. Patrick.

Yet it is clear that the Patriarchal Church was episcopal in constitution, the diocese probably corresponding to the island of the province. Trim was the principal church in the territory of Meath, from which received episcopal jurisdiction over the Clanns, and "the first bishop to be consecrated among the Leinstermen." (2) Patrick's early successors at Armagh are described as bishops in the "province of Ulster." Armagh, Auxilla, Benicrus, Erin, and others of his ecclesiastics and...

(1) R. M. O. White, "Life of Saint Patrick," MILA XVII, 269 (Chap. 48).

(2) Yone, Irish Constitution p. 64, quoting from the Book of Armagh. For Yone has shown the fulness of the belief that the constitution of the Irish church was from the beginning monastic. His general conclusion is accepted by W. Craig, see MILB, 102-106.
CHAPTER X

S. FINNIAN'S PLACE IN EARLY IRISH MONASTICISM.

Constitution of Irish Church at first episcopal - becoming monastic during first half of sixth century - extent of British influence. - Finnian one of first presbyter abbots. - His relationship to women - his asceticisms - Penitential of Vinnian. - His fame as a Magister.

The monastic way of life was respected and practised in Ireland from the first introduction of Christianity. 'The sons of the Scots and the daughters of chieftains are seen to have become monks and virgins of Christ', writes S. Patrick. Yet it is clear that the Patrician church was episcopal in constitution, the diocese probably approximating to the bounds of the tuath. Trim was the principal church in the territory of Feidlimid, Maine received episcopal jurisdiction over the Cuircne, Fiacco was 'the first bishop to be consecrated among the Leinstermen'.(2) Patrick's early successors at Armagh are described as bishops in the Annals of Ulster. Iserninus, Auxilius, Benignus, Bron and others of his assistants and

(1) N.J.D. White, 'Libri Sancti Patricii', PRIA XXV, 248 (Conf. 41).

(2) Ryan, Irish Monasticism p 84, quoting from the Book of Armagh. Fr Ryan has shown the fallacy of the belief that the constitution of the Irish church was from the beginning monastic. His general conclusion is accepted by Fr Grosjean AB L. 199-200.
contemporaries were bishops, and so also were Declan of Ardmore and Ailbe of Elny, reputed to be pre-Patrician saints.

The *Vitae* and some early texts such as the *Catalogus Sanctorum* show that by the sixth century the Irish church had assumed its peculiarly monastic constitution, and the causes of this change provide a major problem of Irish ecclesiastical history. In Father Ryan's opinion, sixth century Irish Christianity was heavily indebted to British influence: 'We may regard it as certain that in the opening half of the sixth century the relation between the churches was largely that of master and disciple. Britain, the elder sister, taught whilst Ireland, the younger sister, gladly learnt.'

Comings and goings were frequent between saints of the two countries. The Irish saints of the second order had various liturgies (*diversae missae celebrabant*) one of which they received from Britain. Irish saints visited British abbots, and British clerics may also be found in Ireland in this period. A British priest tried to expel S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise from an island in Loch Ree, Britons visited S. Brigid, and S. Gildas came to Ireland. The evidence

(3) Supra, pp. 262-3. (4) *Lis.* 4344-5.
(5) Colgan *Trias Thüm.* p. 529b (25).
(6) The *Vita Cadocii* of Lifris says that Cadoc studied under Mo-chuda at Lismore. This seems doubtful, and is omitted in the Life of Cadoc by Caradoc. See VSH I. cxxiv for further examples of British saints in Ireland.
supports Dom Louis Gougaud when he says that 'the two countries aided one another in their progress in the religious life.'

Father Ryan's conclusions of the relationship between the British and Irish churches are of particular interest here as they concern S. Finnian of Clonard. In Father Ryan's opinion, Cadoc and Gildas by their influence on S. Finnian were 'indirectly responsible for the progress and character of the monastic movement in Ireland in the first half of the sixth century.' Any discussion of early British ecclesiastical history is complicated by the lateness of the Welsh Vita, the obscurity of Gildas, and the difficulty of dating the British saints. Most scholars are now agreed that Gildas was born in the year of the siege of Mons Badonicus which occurred some time between 490 and 516, and that he was writing his De Excidio in the forty-fourth year after the battle.

(1) Christianity in Celtic Lands, pp.68-9.
(2) Irish Mon. p.116. See also pp.147,165.
(3) This seems to be the meaning of the phrase: 'quique quattuoragesimus quartus ut novi orditur annus mense uno emenso qui et meae nativitatis est'. (De Excidio c.26.) The arguments are summarised with references by J.N.L. Myres, Roman Britain and the English Settlements, pp.460-1.
According to the *Annales Cambriae* he visited Ireland in 565 and died in 570. Cadoc, whose dates are not known, was a contemporary of Gildas. There was a traditional connection between Finnian and Cadoc, friendly relations were maintained between their foundations, and it is likely that Finnian visited Britain. Beyond this I can find no evidence for the statement: 'The fact is that Finnian, under the influence chiefly of Cadoc, transformed Clonard, founded originally after the loose Patrician pattern, into a monastery strictly so called.'

'To Gildas's teaching more than to any other,' writes Father Ryan, 'the distinct monastic form assumed by the church in Ireland is chiefly due.' Gildas corresponded with a S. Finnian, and his *De Excidio*, in its denunciation of bishops and other secular clergy, from which only a few of the secular clergy and the monks were exempt, was probably acceptable in sixth century Ireland, where all save spiritual power was passing from the hands of the bishops to the great monastic bodies.

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(1) *Irish Mon.* p.115.
(3) Most probably the author of the Penitential, who seems not to have been Finnian of Clonard. See *infra*.pp.328-15. Cf.Fr. Ryan: 'It is certain that he (i.e. S. Finnian of Clonard) corresponded with Gildas on matters of monastic discipline.' *Irish Mon.* p.115.
There is, however, evidence to show that the monastic constitution of the church had already taken firm root in Ireland towards the beginning of the sixth century, though there is no trace of it in Britain in the writings of Gildas. Enda, whose settlement on Arran dates from the late fifth or early sixth century, is reputed to have been a great presbyter-abbot and a magister second in importance only to Finnian. A tract in the Book of Leinster listing the coarb of Patrick, refers to Cormac (died 513) as the first abbot of Armagh (primus abbas). It seems likely that during Cormac’s pontificate the community at Armagh was reorganised on a formally monastic basis. Finnian of Clonard appears to have had native precedents.

The development of the monastic constitution of the Irish church seems to have been due primarily to internal rather than to external factors. Christianity was first preached in the urbanized Roman Empire, and the episcopal system which grew up was based on a civilisation centred in the town. In fifth century Ireland the civitas or complete political community was a rural city, a 'city of fields'. Ireland contained a large and varying number of these small tuatha, each ruled by a king whose office was partly elective

(3) This is the view of Dom Gougaud, Christianity in Celtic Lands, p.66.
(4) E. Mac Neill, Early Irish Laws and Institutions, p.100.
and partly hereditary. A Christian king often made a grant of land to a saint, on which he founded a monastic settlement. The grant was confirmed by the assembly of free citizens, and could not easily be revoked, though the grantor retained certain rights. The choice of the comarba or heir of the founder rested on a combination of elective and hereditary principles familiar in secular society. Temporal power was thus concentrated in the hands of the abbot, while the bishop exercised only the spiritual functions of his office.

The burning zeal of the apostles of Ireland and the ardent temperament of the newly won converts found fitting expression in the monastic life which was so well suited to the social and political conditions of the country. Father Ryan has pointed out how similar in externals the early episcopal and later monastic settlements must have been. Under the Patrician system the bishop lived with his clergy in the narrow confines of a liss. The first enclosure at Armagh contained a guest house, a kitchen and an oratory. A community life of this kind must have been ordered and disciplined in some way resembling that of the later monastery. The transition from an episcopal settlement to a formal monastic organisation would have been easy. Although the British church must have exerted considerable influence on Irish ecclesiastical history during this period, the evidence

(1) Vit.Trip.I.236.  
(2) Irish Mon. pp.95-6,89.
seems inadequate to justify the theory that Britain had a
decisive end note merely contributory responsibility for the
development of the Irish church in the sixth century.

The sixth century saw the rise of the great presbyter-
abbots, and the building up of those monastic families which
often extended over a number of tuatha, and even over several
provinces. S. Finnian of Clonard, at work during the first
half of the sixth century, the period of decisive constit-
tutional change, must have exerted considerable influence
on the new monastic developments. He has generally been
recognised as one of the early presbyter-abbots. He is
named among the saints of the second order in the Catalogus
Sanctorum, and heads the priests in a Book of Leinster
list. In the opinion of Father Ryan S. Finnian was a
bishop. The evidence which has led scholars to such diff-
erent conclusions is inconsistent. Adamnan, the earliest wit-
ness, describes how Columcille spent some time in Ireland as a
young man and a deacon with the holy bishop Finbarr.

(1) Churches recognizing Columcille as patron are found in the
modern Irish counties of Tyrone, Londonderry, Down, Donegal,
Sligo, Galway, Clare, Longford, Meath, Dublin, Kildare,
Kilkenny and Wexford. Finnian's parochla, according to his
Irish life, stretched over the provinces of Leinster,
Meath and Connacht.

(2) Ussher, Works VI, 478. (3) Irish Texts III, 34.

(4) 'We know with certainty from the testimony of Adamnan that
he had received the episcopal order.' Irish Mon. p. 117.

Here he miraculously changed water into wine when it was required for the celebration of the mass. According to the Irish Life of Columcille in the Book of Lismore and the Life written in 1532 by Manus O'Donnell, this Finnian was the bishop of Moville. There seems no reason to doubt this: Columcille, himself of northern origin, might well study at first under a northern saint. The form of the name points to this identification. Finnian bishop of Moville was often called Findbarr. The two earliest Irish martyrologies give Findbarr of Magbile on 10th September. The Book of Leinster, in a list of aliases of Irish saints' names 'Findbarr aírm Finneoin Maige-bili.' On the other hand, Finnian of Clonard is nowhere, in Lives, Manyrologies or Annals, called Findbarr. It is therefore almost certain that Adaman's bishop Findbarr is the saint of Moville.

Adaman has however another incident relating to Finnian. He tells how Columcille, when still young, went to

(1) ibid. II.1. (2) Lis. 837-41. ZCP IV.69.
(3) Cf. Irish Mon. p.120 note. (4) MT p.70. MO p.193.
(5) Lis. p.301. Cf. List from BM. Egerton 92 f.27f(Irish Texts III. 81-2) which gives 'Finnbharr aírm Fhinndia Mhuighi Bile', but no alternative for Finnian of Clonard.
visit bishop Finnian his former master who was by this time an old man. Finnian sees an angel of God accompanying him. As Father Ryan points out, Finnian of Moville who died in 579 cannot be described as an old man while Columcille was young. Columcille died in 597 at the age of seventy-six, and would have been a young man when Finnian of Clonard was old. The crucial phrase also occurs in the earlier Life of Columcille by Cuimine: 'vir sanctus sanctum episcopum Fennianum suum magistrum iuvenis senem adiit.' This evidence for Finnian of Clonard's episcopacy seems at first sight conclusive, but it is by no means certain that the chronology of Cuimine and Adamnan is here reliable. Adamnan concludes the chapter with the words: 'Iisdem diebus sanctus cum duodecim commilitionibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit.' Columcille was forty-two when he left Ireland in 563, Finnian of Clonard had long been dead, and the bishop of Moville may perhaps be described as senis at this period. The anachronism in Cuimine is even more marked. He gives the visit of Columcille juvenis

(1) 'Vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnionem, suum videlicet magistrum, juvenis senem, adiit.' Ad. Vit.Col. III.4.

(2) Irish Mon. p.120 note.

(3) Colgan, Trias Thaum. p.321a(iii). The incident is given in the Latin Lives of Finnian, but would seem to have no independent authority. See supra p.151.
to episcopum Fennianum ... senem, follows it with 'iisdem diebus sanctus ... ad Britanniam transnavavit,' and puts the churning of water into wine for bishop Finnian just before Columcille's departure. Adamnan has tried to correct Cuimine's account by putting the eucharist miracle earlier, but he is still left with Columcille a iuvenis at forty-two. Although the accounts of Cuimine and Adamnan are on the whole reliable, both naturally know more of Columcille's life on Iona than of his early career in Ireland, and both are here undoubtedly confused. It is quite clear that both authors identify bishop Finnian and bishop Findbarr. Bishop Findbarr must refer to Finnian of Moville. In view of the anachronism it seems that bishop Finnian senis also refers to this saint.

Once the evidence of Cuimine and Adamnan cited in support of the episcopal orders of S. Finnian of Clonard is seen to be at best inconclusive, the main argument for the theory has disappeared. Finnian is called bishop in one or two Vitae of other saints. All the other accounts however refer to Finnian as magister and abbas but never as bishop. Neither the martyrologies nor his own Vitae mention any episcopal orders. His office, which presents a later tradition than his Vitae, is entitled 'Officium B. Finniani

(1) Life of Ruadan CS cols. 319 (1); 324 (11); but not in MT recension. Life of Colman Ela CS col. 442 (29); but not in MT recension. Life of Colum of Tyr-da-Glas CS col. 446 (4). In the Life of Molaise of Devenish the saint asks Finnian 'ut dignaretur secum venire ad suum monasterium consecrandum a ceremony for which a bishop would have been necessary; Irish Mon., p.120 note, VSH II. 137 (xxv).

(2) See infra, pp. 376-80.
episcopi et confess', but in the text Finnian 'sanctus', 'doctor', 'pater', 'thesaurus', is called 'pontificalis' once only, in the prayer which Lanigan maintains is a later composition than the other part of the office.

Finnian seems therefore to have been one of the many great presbyter-abbots of the sixth century. His importance for the development of the monastic constitution of the church in Ireland rests in the fact that he was among the pioneers of the movement. His was one of the earliest of the monastic paruchiae. Many of those who came under his influence went out to found their own monasteries, and themselves never sought episcopal orders.

One of the results of the growth of monasticism may be seen in the changed relationship between women and the clergy. The eighth century (?) Catalogus Sanctorum says that the saints of the first order, to which Patrick belonged, 'mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant, quia super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant.' Patrick was accompanied on some of his journeys by women, but the danger arising from lack of segregation was recognised:

(2) Others were Enda of Arran, Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, Brendan of Birr, Colum of Tir-da-glas, Columcille, etc..
when Bishop Mel and his kinswoman caused a scandal by praying together in the same house Patrick ordered men and women to keep apart, 'ne occasionem dare infirmis inveniemur.'

Even in this early period of apostolic zeal complications might arise: 'Dare's daughter loved Benen. Sweet to her seemed his voice at the chanting. A disease came upon her and she died of it. Benen took relics to her from Patrick and straightway the holy virgin rose up alive, and afterwards she loved him spiritually.'

The second order of Irish saints, of which Finnian was one, fled the society and administrations of women and excluded them from their monasteries. A sixth century penitential disapproves of friendly relations between monks and women, and prescribes a penance for any cleric 'qui habuerit familiaritatem alicujus feminine et ipse nihil mali fecerit cum ea nec manendo nec in osculando illecebros.'

It seems however that women were admitted to Clonard in the early years for purposes of study: Lasra was educated under Finnian's rule, and a king's daughter read with Ciaran in Finnian's school. Finnian's Lives show no extreme avoidance of women of the kind found in some other Vitae. Any

(1) ibid. i.90. (2) ibid. i.232.
(3) Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen p.111(14).
(4) 'litterasque sibi competentes sub regimine sancti Finniani didiscit.' CS col.201-2(22).
(5) Lis.4128-30.
rigid chronological division between two groups of saints must be a generalization. Finnian's period probably marks the steady tightening up of relations between men and women. Later the attitude to women became much more severe. S. Lugaid avoided the sound of sheep, for 'ubi enim fuerit ovis, ibi erit mulier, et ubi fuerit mulier, ibi peccatum; ubi vero peccatum, ibi erit dyabolus; et ubi dyabolus, ibi infernus erit'. S. Maignenn of Kilmainham would not look on a woman for fear of seeing her guardian devil. The opinions of the later hagiographers are expressed in an Irish poem attributing the cause of all sin and hardship to a woman: The lament is put into the mouth of Eve, but the poet adds his own exasperated comment, 'So long as they endure in the light of day, so long women will not cease from folly.'

In his ascetic way of life Finnian followed the practices of the early Irish saints. He slept on the bare ground with a stone for a pillow. His food was normally barley-bread and his drink water; on festival days he ate wheaten bread and salmon, and drank whey or ale. From the time of Cassian the monastic girdle had symbolized the

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(1) The first order is said to have lasted 432-544, the second 544-598.
(2) GS col. 273 (32)  
(3) SG I. 37, translated II.35.
mortification of the flesh and the monk's readiness for
duty. Finnen wore an iron girdle which may be referred
to in a poem from a 'codex regularum' at Klosterneuburg, near
Vienna. The poem is in the language of the tenth, or possibly
the ninth century: the writer, himself a monk girded against
the snares of the world, invokes some of those saints who had
worn the monastic girdle.

1. Cris fínneáin dumimdegail imum imécuáirt.
   Néarntairthea imméat tineccalas intuaith.
   Lurech dé dumimdegail otamind gombond.
3. Cris fínneáin muchris ergaler arches
   Arupt[h]alb 'ban mb[a]eth arasch adamles.
4. Cris eoin muchris relé g súdí Áglan.
   Claith fega fer súd uptha ban.
5. Cris nathreach muchris nethair iméta.
   Néramgonat fir naramilet mná,
   Durenaib romóra fonóir iméta.
6. Fobrut muri dam f[r]serabí inri
   Pótrochlanib [dam] fochochlan mubi.
7. Muchcolmec remcharestar arfágad arfis.
   Isairei remcharestar uair istend mochris.

1. The girdle of Finnan for my protection round about me.
   May the way not harm me which encircles the tuath.
2. May the hand of the Creator come to me for the protec-
tion of my belly.

(2) The poem was first published by Zeuss, Grammatica Celtica,
pp. 954-5, with a Latin translation. The text and trans-
lation were corrected and reprinted by Whitley Stokes,
RC II. 112-5.
The loric of God for my protection from the crown of
my head to the sole of my foot.

5. The girdle of Finnian my girdle against disease, against
grief, against the enchantments of foolish women, against
the enemy who approaches me.

7. The girdle of John my girdle, who read pure wisdom,
It overcomes sharp glances of men, it turns away the
charms of women.

9. A girdle of serpents my girdle, a serpent about me,
So that men may not wound me, so that women may not
destroy me. (1)
To the stars may it exalt me .............

12. Under the cloak of Mary (am) I, under which the king was
Under the doomed(3)............... under the little
hood of Mobí.

14. Mocholmoc has loved me for study, for knowledge,
It is for this he has loved me, because tight is my
girdle.

Finnian of Úlonard was known for his ascetic disci-
pline. Some scholars have attributed to him the earliest Irish
penitential. The Vinnian who wrote this penitential consulted
the scriptures and 'certain learned men.' Columban used it when

(1) Cf. Br. 303-5 'Moreover he saw the worm coming out of his side
and this was the reason - from the cold girdle of iron which
was about him for a penance to the body which cut to the
bone.'

(2) The Irish idiom implies 'makes great' not 'raises up'. There
may be a line missing.

(3) Possibly a compound of tru.

(4) 'Opinionem quorundam doctissimorum', Wasserschleben,
Die Bussordnungen, p.119.
compiling his penitential, and knew something of its authorship. In a letter to Gregory the Great he wrote: 'Vennianus auctor Gildam de his interrogavit et elegantissime ille rescriptit.' Around this quotation most of the discussion on the authorship of the penitential has centred. The 'Vennianus auctor' is generally agreed to have been the author of the penitential which bears his name, but whether he was Finnian of Clonard (died 549) or Finnian of Moville (died 579) or some other, is disputed.

F.W.B. Wasserschleben ascribes the penitential to Finnian of Clonard, though admitting that no direct evidence exists for its identification. Professor J.T. MacNeill is the strongest supporter of this theory. He bases his argument on:

(1) The traditional connection between Finnian of Clonard and Gildas. Following Arthur de la Borderie Professor MacNeill would put forward the floruit of Gildas, making him more or less contemporary with Finnian of Clonard. Gildas's usually accepted obit (570) makes him younger than Finnian of Clonard and more or less contemporary with Finnian of Moville.

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(2) Die Bussordnungen, p.10.

(2) A connection between Columban and Finnian of Clonard through Columban’s teachers Sinell and Comgall of Bangor, who, according to Professor MacNeill, were disciples of Finnian of Clonard. But Comgall of Bangor, though included in the list of the twelve apostles of Ireland, seems to have had no connection with Clonard, while the evidence for regarding Sinell as a pupil of Finnian of Clonard is based on late material.

(3) The lack of connection between Columban and Finnian of Moville. Some connection between these two saints does however seem extremely likely. Moville and Bangor were geographically very close, and Finnian of Moville was middle-aged or elderly when Columban was young.

(4) Professor MacNeill concludes by saying that the penitential shows none of the direct and contemporary continental influence one might expect if its author had been Finnian of Moville, who is reputed to have visited Rome: instead it was written by an Irishman under Welsh influence. Professor T.P. Oakley, who has during the last twenty-five years published a series of scholarly and careful studies on the penitentials, points out that the Penitential of Vinnian is greatly indebted to Caesarius of Arles and that it varies so greatly from the Welsh penitentials of David and Gildas that it could not possibly have been influenced by them.

(1) supra, pp. 214-5.  (2) 'Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland in the Penitentials,' Speculum VIII. 495-6.
In the opinion of Otto Seebass and Mario Esposito Finnian of Moville is the author of the penitential. Gildas visited Ireland in 565 and Finnian probably consulted him then. Seebass finds Gildas's reply to Finnian's question in a letter written between 565 and 570. It is impossible to prove conclusively the authorship of the penitential, but there are strong objections to the Clonard theory, whose only prop is the traditional connection between Finnian and Gildas. Few traditions of Finnian of Moville have survived. Only one short Life, in Latin, is known, and this is a fourteenth century abridgement of a text obtained from Welsh sources. A connection between Finnian of Moville and Wales is therefore not improbable. Chronological considerations and the proximity of Moville and Bangor suggest the likelihood of the authorship of the northern saint. In any case it would seem that such evidence as there is points away from Finnian of Clonard.

Finnian of Clonard was one of the first great presbyter-abbots and must have played an important part in the movement which, by its new emphasis on monasticism, changed the constitution of the Irish church. With his community he lived under the same ascetic discipline as the other early Irish saints. But his chief claim to fame undoubtedly rested

(1) Seebass, 'Das penitentiale Columbani,' ZK XIV. 435-40.
Esposito, 'Latin Learning and Literature in the Middle Ages,' Hermathena, XLV. (1950) 239. Gougaud seems to support this view, op. cit. p. 65.
(2) ed. H and S. Councils I. 110.
(3) He may have had a dedication in Anglesey, BG and F, III. 13.
on his greatness as magister. In these early days of monasticism the abbot was responsible for the educational duties which were later assumed by the fer leiginn. His school attracted a large number of disciples, and its reputation for learning continued after Finnian's death. Aileran 'the Wise' (died 665) who is reputed to have written on the miracles of Patrick, Brigit and Fechin of Fore and whose treatise Interpretatio mystica progenitorum domini Jesu Christi survives, is described in one of the glosses on the Martyrology of Oengus as fer leiginn Cluana Iraird.

Among those who came to Clonard in the early days were the three sons of the Ui Corra. They left behind them a trail of wrecked churches and murdered clerics, and when they appeared at Clonard the monks fled and left Finnian to face them alone on the green. But they had come repentant, and Finnian put them under a tutor to read for a year. The community had evidently been doubtful about their behaviour, for 'when they had finished that (year) the assembly was thankful for their good manners.' After this the Ui Corra asked Finnian to pass judgment on them. 'You will not succeed' said Finnian 'in putting souls into the men you have murdered, but there is one thing you could do, that is, build

(3) VSH II.80(xii), I.Ixvii. (4) PL LXXX.327-42.
(5) Mo p.184. If Aileran was fer leiginn of Clonard and wrote the Acta of these saints, a Life of his own patron, Finnian, must surely have already been compiled.
houses in place of the churches you have burned and restore everything else you have destroyed in those churches. (1)
The tale in its present form is late, but embodies very much older material. It illustrates the control which Finnian exercised over a rather heterogeneous community. Calm reasonableness and a cool head must have been necessary, for dangerous situations were not uncommon. Finnian's first successor, Senach, came to Clonard with a raiding party, and was found exhausted in the monastic enclosure.

Finnian was one of the earliest Irish saints to link the monastic life with study. The outstanding personality and vision needed to establish his monastic school on a firm basis have been lost sight of in his vita, but they are implied by other hagiographers, who, disregarding chronological considerations, have sent their saints to the 'Master of the Saints of Ireland', as Finnian came to be called. He was father and teacher to many who went out to found monasteries and churches in all parts of Ireland. There is a legend in the Lebor Bráéic of a vision shown to Finnian. 'Two moons rose from Clonard, even a golden moon, and another, a silver moon. The golden moon went into the north of the island, so that Erin and Alba shone thereby. The silver moon

(1) The Voyage of the Úi Corra, ed. W.S. ROC XIV. 22-69; pp. 32-6 relate to Clonard.
went and stayed by the Shannon so that the centre of Ireland shone thereby. Columcille (was the golden moon) with the gold of his noble birth and his wisdom, and Ciaran son of the Wright the silver with the brightness of his virtues and good deeds.' Finnian of Clonard is a shadowy figure beside his two illustrious pupils, but these and others were living witnesses to his influence on early Irish monasticism.

(1) _LBR._ p.31 b, lines 41-8. _LIG._ p.357.
APPENDIX A.

The text of Mr. is here given, collated with it. The
numbered lines and marginal notes are alternated with chapter divisions in the Brancad PL add in a
manner other than Gathright's, [probably Selman's], unless stated to the contrary. The punctuation has been modernised.

Notes on the Brancad PL have been numbered in the
text and given at the foot of each page. The collation:
with A is given separately, line by line, at the foot of
each page, to avoid the confusion of many numbers in the
text. Not every occasion on which A differs from Mr. has
been noted, since the differences sometimes have no sign-
ificance. The few occasions on which the word order in
A agrees with A, against Mr., are pointed out in the notes,
because in a reconstruction of the original text, the
A reading would be given.
NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text of Br. is here given, collated with A. The chapter divisions given in Br. are followed unless otherwise stated. All marginal and interlinear notes and alterations and chapter divisions in the Brussels MS are in a hand other than O'Clery's, (probably Colgan's), unless stated to the contrary. The punctuation has been modernised.

Notes on the Brussels MS have been numbered in the text and given at the foot of each page. The collation with A is given separately, line by line, at the foot of each page, to avoid the confusion of many numbers in the text. Not every occasion on which A differs from Br. has been noted, since the differences sometimes have no significance. The few occasions on which the word order in A agrees with Lis. against Br. are pointed out in the notes, because in a reconstruction of the original text, the A Lis. reading would be given.
Bétha Findéin Clusna híreiríd.

1. Atfiadh bheith a cuma fir cinéil in craibhtig sin, 7 a fherta et a micbuiile, 7 an forbhadh dorat fora rith mbuadha i bhús is in mbith fhraoche. Atfiadh bheith ar air fítheadh anma na níriseach. Findéin so bheith mac

5 Fíntéin meic Conraidh meic Daircella meic Senagh meic Diarmaid meic AEdha meic Fergusá meic Ailella Teldubh meic

B. (1) In the upper margin is a note, not in O'Clery's hand, which has been partially cut off: [temp] pull Findéin porraisde ........ etir episcop dúnain 7 aroile i mbeile fháthair sao midha the parish church of Finden .... between bishop .... and another in the town of Fore in Meath.

A. 1-2. a chumuir fherta 7 mibrúilí in craidig seo 7 an forbata dorat dia.

3. iain bith fhraonairce

4. eirmidéidh ...... i. Fíntéin
(1) Crossed out, end in margin not in O'Clery's hand:
Firfileadh meic Glas meic Rossa meic Rudraige a quo clanna Rudraige.

(2) Fionnflughsa mac interlined.

A. 7. Uichuir meic Phiacona.
8-9. Phiachnai ... do shíl na ríg a núltaib atacomaic
9. doraidseim.
10-11. do rala om. co mba halachtsidhe uadsum. A naimisir
13. etrochtai for cula in conair cetnaí. Dola
14-15. enlaithi Lethi Moigha ...... crand
séasta uile occasomh, a thichtain ind éoin i Lleith Cuinid
có ndessidh dano ansaidh for barr craínd aile. Éoin
immórro 7 leaithe Érenn uile do thichtain cuicce ansaidh
có rostaí ocaí. Atcuidh diidu Táileach ind [sic]

20 sislingsin dia céile. 'Coimpart craibdech ecín', ar
eisidhe, 'fil it innbh. Scaram diidu', ar se,
'coimleabaidh, ecín beása fon indus sin.' Do righnedh
amrhoaidh. Ni chaithedh Táilech feissin bidhia inmara,
echt lubhe ailgena 7 airera ettroma co rogenair in

A. 17. có ndesid for barr craínd ansaidh.

18. chuce

19-20. có russasta .... Adchuíad .... Táilech inn
sislingsin dia céile. Compert

21. Scaram

22. coimepáid besum fon indis sin.

23. Ni caithdon dano Táilech bidhia inmara

24. ailgena ...... rogenar
ff. 203²-203⁵.

25. ngein bódha sin.

2. Ruccad iarradh an tì naeabhfhíndisn co Abbán mac ui Cormaic co rombaitse. Eatar didiá da topár isin dunadh in robaitseomh, Bal 7 Dimbal a nannanna. Asin topar dono dianid ainm Bal robaitseomh amail be.

30. cubaildhrí frí aíridh. O róforbhrí immorro an tì naeabhfhíndisn ruccad i beh co Forcenn episcóp, co rolega a shelma 7 ind [sic] ord nechastacda oc. Rofhothaighsiúinb tri heccallsi asa chillacht focetóir, i. Ros Care 7 Drumh Fláig et Magh nGlas.

35. O rosiacht immorro co aas xxx luich der muir.
Tarailí co Dairinis. Fuair sennor era chend inti, Coeman

A. 26. hApan
27. rumbaitsi he ..... thopar
28. nínadh ind robatseddum
29. topur
30. toforbre
31. naomfínden ... co hespoch Forcennrn co ralegha
32-3. Rofhothaighsiúin immorro tri heccallsi
34. Fiaich ... Mag nGlas
35. co haos trichad abliadán
36. Dhairinis ... arachinn ... Geóghan
f. 203⅖.

A. 38-9. tri síde fora dh' Und annsin ...... namman

40. cosnum cennachta
41. inse .... etir dibh
42. immorro om. etorra om.
43. Odoconaire
44. co hindithmech hé
45. óclaig nanachníd
47. 'Méatá' ar David 'rath far laphrath
48. etercertadh in cangen ... támna

a sinn. Batar seal immalle, doronsat a n-nántaíd. Luidh Findian iarsin co Cill Muine. Fuair triur suidhe fora chhind annsin i. David et Gillas et Cathmael a nannman.

40. Rob e fath a comh-thionoilisidh cosnamh cendraichte 7 abhaíne inaí Brethenn etir disidh i. David 7 Gillas. Do brithemhain immorro choitichend roéantaigeant etorra Cathmael. Odoconaire immorro Cathmael inn néesbh-Find'in rofhegh go hinnithmeacht: 'Cia innithmigidh romor', ar

45. David fri Cathmael. 'dobere forsan óclach nanaichnídhe dodechaidh istech?' 'Rath mór', ar Cathmael, 'airighim fair.' 'Ma ata', ar David, 'labhradh indossa esín berla Bretnach, et etercertadh in chaingen [sic] immé támna.'
A. 49. Dorat Finden ... croche ... gin

50. Bretnais

51. fhindsirecht
52. cuingid inaith

53. cuingid inaith
54. naad raba oca
55. hesamhuin

56. curet ... amyg
57. i taoibh in dainge om. ... inaith

58. ndermatsum ... i ndunsas
59. inaith

60. rothuim ... cor rotheich

61. co instead of isin ... nDé ... trisin mirbul
moirsín. Roedhberta na ferannasáide iarum do Dfa 7 dFinnén.

Doratsidhe iarumh dona sruthib Bretnach mhíhb batter immaile
fris. Rofothaighthe tri cathracha ocasidhe imthibh.

65 Dibhaidhe Lend Garbhain indhu.

5. Bui immurro Findian xxx bliadain occ foghlaim
immaile frisna suidibhaisín. La mén lottar in mhanaigh
isin ceille do bhusan crænd do cuntach eolas. Nocha
roleiscétt immurro indi noebhFindén léo ar chadhás dó.

70 Tainic an secnadh tara neisi ce Finnín co nerbhairt co
hessamain fris: 'Cidh rómbás', ar eisiumh, 'na dechad
isin chaillé?' 'Cidh ó chisnaibh', ar Finden, 'atbèrtha
frind, nó raghnaí. An tan dano atberar frind raghnaí
t

A. 62. Roedparta

63. iat instead of iarumh ..... malle

64. Rofothaigthea  65. Gharban

66. Bói .... xxx icc foluium 67. na manaih

68-9. cailli ..., busín ..., eolasí. Nocharlécset Finden ...
cadus

70. Tainic in secnadh

71. 'Cid rómbás' ar esimh 'na dechais

72. calle
aonadh éimeach isin aghadh: timeircisi let iatt,
7 éirich isin caille.' Luid iarúth Finden frisin umaloit.
Dodeochtar da angél De nimhe ina frithsett, co rotimaircsett na duma. Luidh Finnen leo isin caille, et ise feidim
toisech do rocht an eolais a theidhm. Ní fes immorro
dil an tseanapad rodaoursaighshumh. Rornadh ainm
De 7 Findein tresen mirbeil sin.
6. Feachtas tangattar Saxain do indriúdh Breatan. Rogabsatt
longport hi tosh sleibhe airtt. Dochóttar Breatain i

A. 74. co fogabur
75. amuig
76. círe ... calle
77. Da dheocatar
78. dumhu ... calle ... feidm
79. tasech do rocht isind eolais a feidm
81. triasín mór sin
83. sléui aird
muinighin Findéin im chuinghidh osaidh doibh o Shaxanaibh.

85 Luidh Finden frisin umhalditt. Dorattsatt Saxain era far. Doratt Findfan buille dia bhachaill isin sliabh, co torchaír an sliabh for Shaxanaibh cona terna fer indisin sceol diph. (1)


B. (1) no chapter division here in margin of MS.

A. 84. osada

85. umuloit

86. bhachaill

87. co rothorchair in ... conach terne

88. scéil

89. thocrai

90. a fhoghluama ... cuce

91. con nderbert

92. Erc 7 athnaighidh ... creitim in Erinn
Finden de de cin Dé dochum nÁrren. Luidh Muiredhach mac

AEngusa ri Leighean ina fhrithséilt dochum puirt, conatucc
fora muin i tri udibh darna tri achdu reptar nesa don purt.
Andside atbert fer do mhuinatir in righ: 'Is tréimhshai
stai, a chlerigh', ar sé, 'frisín righ.' 'Espach side',

B. (1) cap 7 in margin.

A. 94. dhéithe

95. dochum puirt ina fhrifthshád (this word-order is also
    in LIs. and St.)

96. fora muin om ........... hachdu

97. muinatir
ff. 204v-205r.

ar Fhianain, 'ar in lin fechtus nómgeadhasa fora muin, no 100 biadh in liom rígheain dia sfol forin céicceadh. Uair as fo tri dano', ar se, 'romgabh, gebhait tri righ dia sfol céicceadh Leighen.' Robhennach Fhianain iar side Muireadhach Modén 7 atbért: 'Amail fuair', ar se 'moch Dé fálte occut, co fagbusa', ar se, 'fálte in 105 muintir nimhe i ttír na mbéo.' Robhennach dano broinn a shetchi, co ruaconside mac sainemhail, Eocha a aína, athair sidhe Brandaib iarttain. Atbért iarum Muireadhach frísiumh: 'Cipe inad', ar se, 'i LLeichnibh bas maith lat, dobertar duí in denamh do reclesa ann.'

A. 99-100. fora muin no biadh a lin .... forin céicceadh dia sfol (this word-order is also in Lis. and St.)

101. gebuit
102. shil ... Robhennach
103. atbért om.
104. mod ... co fagbhhasa failtí co muintír
105. setoi ... Eocha
108. Cibe inat
109. denum
f. 205r.

110 8. Tainic iarumh eisg el De nimhe ria Finnian cosin
aliabha dianid aima Condal. Reimmurcuirseatt angil De
nimhe he cona muintir inid aidheas in de mhullach en talebhe
isin ngiend ba nesa do. Atbertsonh isin mettain fria
muintir teacht isin caillidh do bhus air crend do curstach
reolea. Dedeachaidh een dibh chucisiumh er eula, ' geoc
do abhall cona teadh ina laimh. Luidsiuimh immaile
frissieth cosin schadh in mboi em abhall. 'Dentar', ar
seisiunh, 'in reules hisunda.' Bei chena Becan mucuaidh
Muiridhaigh isin ionadhas in ercoitheadh friana cleicribh,
ar is ann boi in mucal in bhaile in ndernadh in declas.
Dia mbattar forsa briathraidhsin, conacatar chua Bresal
mac Muireadhagh et Crichtenn espec a brathair. Luidh an
Bresal co realbh eo saltra laimh in chleirigh do dhóin

A. 110. Tainic angil iarum ria Finden gusun
112. in taleibe 113. nesu ... Atpertsum
114. buain 115. recglessa
116-7. imalle frisium gusin inud a mboif anid aball
118. Bof ... dene instead of chena
119. inut ... eo iochuitmiudh
120. Artus between cleicribh and ar is ann ... in mucal bail
121. condacatar cuco 122. Cremthann
123. saltra
In lamh', ar se, 'rostinedh do dlembadh
damhsa, d'orua in tratse imbarach i ningnibh sebeic, co
ro fuirmidheir im thiadhnaisisi. In tepscop dena iar-
side dia ndernadh decin, ni ba hard a chongbhal is na
telmandaibh 7 ni fester cith inad a esérge induside.

Tancatter iarumh Ossairge for creich isin tir iarna bharach.
Luid Bresal dia fuabairt co romarbadh ann, co tucc an
sebac a laimh co rosfuirimh hi fiadnaisi Find€in ac
Crois Sailech. Go romaradh ainm De 7 Find€in tresan

A. 124-5. Rogaib ... ferg ... co nderpert: 'Ind laim'

126. amarasch ... sebuic

127-8. An teaspoc ... iarside om.

128. bud

129. fes

130. Tangatar ... Osargiú ... merach

131. fobairt

132-3. i fiadnuse ... ac Crois Sailech om.... Co romorad
mirbail sin. | Tainic iar sin Muiredhach athair Bresail
co tarrd dó in inadh as rodlomh Bresal dó. Rolasáigedh liaisiumh conidh e Achadh Abhall aniu. Beisiumh se bliaedh x isin inudsín ic fognamh don Coimhde na ndúla.
Tainic iar sin angel an Coimhdeadh na ndúla chucisomh co nderbairt fris: 'Nocó hé so', ar se, 'inadh thesergesu.
140 Bídhe é cena inad do chomhala frit manchu i lle bratha':

B. (1) 4 máirt, 1629 in margín in O'Glery's hand.

A. 135-4. triasín mirbúil mor sin. Is ann sin tanic Aod mac Corpre rí Leigil cuicci co Crois Sáilech, i. iarsín dleomad sin. Tainic iarsín Mîreadac
135. an dhúmadh
136-7. Achadh Aball indiu. Boisom se bliaedh dhéic eitr cradbhrísh 7 tuighsib leigind annsan inuth sin
138. en Comaid
139. inuth heseréi so
comid desín átberar slíabh Condala i. slíabh comhala
Fíndisín fria mhanchú i lló bráthra.

9. Ceilebraisiumh iar sin dia mhaneabhr, 7 tainic i
crích Ul nDunlainge. Andsidhe roedhbaír íd ri Corpre

Tainic iarsín co háchad Fiaclai. Andsidhe dórochaír
fíacaí asa cendomh, co rofholaígsiumh an fíacaí i
muíne dresa. Ac tect dosomh iar site asa, comaitcettar

A. 142. brathai
143. manchu
144. nDunlunge .... roedpair
145. Mugnaí Sulcháin ... Boisom vfi mbliadna
146. Fhiacla ... strochaír
147-8. gu rofholaíghsom hí a muíne dresa. Ac tiachtain ....
ihar side om. .... comaitcettar
in bhreithair [sic] dadh comhartha dfacail acu, co
150 aerbairstsiun fhriu: 'Mirgida,' ar se, 'cosin muine
ndressa ut atcidd, 7 tucaidd ass an fhiacail forfacbuse
and;' Dochtar fuerattar in mune for lasadh. Tuscoat
an fhiacail lèo, 7 is uadh rohaimnigedh in baile .i.
Achad Ficla.
(1)
155 10. Tainic iar sin ce Gill Dere co Brigitt co mboi ic

B. (1) Ficla interlined.
(2) originally mBrigitt.

A. 149. na braithri ... comhartha
150. ndebertsom ... Eigid ... cusen mune
151. ucut
152. Dochtar 7 fuerat ... ar lasad
153. aim[n]igster
153. Ficlaic
155. Tanic
tichtain leigind et sec precept fri re. Celebrais iar sin de Brigitt. Dohbert Brigitt fainne nofr dó. Nirbo santachsomh immorro immorno saeghal, ni regaibh an fainne. 'Ce nomopæ', ar Brigitt, 'rosficfa a les.' Tainisciumh

160 ier sin ce Fotharta Arbreac, dorala uiscoce dó. Roindail a lamha ass. Tuoc lais asan uiscoce an fainne tarccaich Brigitt dó. Tainic iar side Caisin mac Nemain co sealti

B. (1) innti interlined.
(2) fora bhois in lower margin.

A. 157. do Brigitt omo... fande
158. immorro omo. uman saegal ... ind fainde
159. norphes .... ar roricfa .... Tanicsom
160. Arbrech .... usge ..... roinnuill
161. fora bais asin dusci ind fane (this word-order also in his.)
162. Cassin ..... falte
moir i frithshet Findfain, ronedbair féin dó. Roaccaín
cena friss ri Fothart i cuincidh cír fáir ara sháíre.

165 'Cia mét', ar Findien, 'connaighsiúin? 'No gseadh
ungla nóir', ar Caisin. Rotoimsigh iar side in fainne.
Frith unga and. Dorratt Caisin hi ara sháíre. Tainic
Findfain iar sin dar Boinn co hEiscir mBranán, dit sta

B. (1) cap 11, originally cap 10, in margin.

A. 163. ronedpair

164. Fotharta i cuinacgd ... shaeri

165. cuinacgdom

166. unge ...... Rotomsig ...... ind fannne

167. Caisin hi don ríg ara sháíre. Tainic

168. Boind ...... hEiscir mBranain mac Echach ... ada
Ardrelece indiu. Ro fothaigh eolas isin dusin. Tainic

iarumh eraile dune etrocar cuisomh. Boeth a ainm. Atbert
frisin clerech na d biadh isind inudsin. Roberta immorro
a ruisec huidh focettoir. Doroine immorro aitriche
focettoir, 7 tuatha a suile d'.

(1)

11. Crech dodechaidh in ionbaidhsin a F eruibh Telach

sech recles an chlerigh, co roladh eraile gillee don
creich co ndecheid hi sorn na hatha boi in ffoccus
in reclesa. Rofollsighedh dFinnian innisin. Luidhsidhe,
7 aidhmh an bertois leis, co rocoraighed occu in duinesin

B. (1) cep 12 in margin.

A. 169. eclas isin fnuth sein. Tainic

170. iarumh om. eraile dune

172. Dorone aitrigi focetoir

173. a shule

174. do dhechaid

175. in cleric ..... arole don gilla

176. crech ..... i sornnd ..... bu' a focus

178. adme in bertha les co rocoronaiged
ff. 206r-206v.

fon eccosoc neclastacna, co rolegh ac Finden, co
180 noroét gradha oaca, conid hésin episcop Senach cétne
comharba roghabh iar Findian.

(1)

12. Feachtas do Phindian oc claidhe tiprat, et tainic an
taingel co mórbaír: 'Nochan éso', ar se, 'inat na
tiopratt.' 'Romhainn didiu', ar Findian, 'gusin ionad
185 i ndleghar.' Luidh an taingel iar sin ria Finden sel
sair on reclus, co rofhoillsiúch ionad na tioprat dó.
'A mo coimde', ar Finden, 'a nseathar doronsaimme o
chianaibh, cidh bhais de?' 'Cipe | Cipe [sic] dara ndeacha
ind úr roclaidhis', ar in taingel, 'dogentar trocaire
190 fris on Coimhe na múla.' Tengatar iar sin neisbh

B. (1) cap 12, originally cap 12, in margin.

A. 180. ndorat gradha comidh sin espec Senaich
182-3. tiprat oaca. Tainic in tangel con nderpert
185. ria Finden om.
186. gur rofhoillsíg dó inut na tiprat (this word-order
in Lis.)
187. A Comdiu 188. bhias ... Cidpe dara racha
190. on Comdiud. Tangatar ....... nofb
hÉrenn sucsosomh as cech aird do foglaíom sceana occai, combatar tri mile dona noebhainn immeille fris, conid dibsidhe rotoighson bh na da ard-aspéval décc na hÉrenn, ameil rofetætær ind soleáigh et stfiadat na scriíonna.

195 cona deochaid nach dona tri milibhesn huadhson bh cen bhaithill no cen soscela no cen comarta suaschnidh ecin, conidh impuside rogabhset a reclesa et a ccathreacha iarttaín.

13. Feachtus rofhaisiúimh a dala epscop Senach do thsceladh for luacht a scóile dia fhis cîdh doognittis.
200 Ba sain tra ni ica fagaibhthea cach dibh, echt batis maithhe mile. Frith tra Colaim [sic] mac Criumtain 7 a lámhu hi áinuidh uadh 7 a menna inníthmech i ndfa et ecin i tairisemh fora lamhaibh 7 fora cend. Oícuas

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B. (1) a added below the line.

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A. 191. Brenn ... fhoglaíom sceai
194. rofhetæter ... scriíetna
195. decóchaid ... bhaithill
196. tsooscela no cin chomhradh saugníd
197. umpu sin 198. rofhaisom ... dhalta espoc Senuch.
199. scóle ... fis cîd doognittis
201. matas methi ule ... Colom mac Cirimthuind
202. lama isinfud
203. tairisem fora cenn 7 fora lamhaibh
do Finden innisín, etbert: 'Lamh tra ind firsin', ar se, 'dobéa comain et sacarfaic damhse friese deichdenchu.'

Tainic aingeal De nimhe co Findien co herbairt friss:
'Nochan éso inad thesergesiu, atre dano drem mór do muinntir hisund.'

14. Tainic iarumh en taingel ria Findian co Ross

210 Fincheuill eiside Leis in Membre indiu. Andsin gabaís Findian in fhera fhathachta: Hec requies mea. Annsin tainic Froechan dríi a dochumsomh. Rofiarfachtomh:
'In ó Dia', ar se, 'ata duitse in fis fil occut?'
'A phromhad duitse', ar Fraechan. 'Abair iarumh',

A. 205. sacarbac .... deigenchu
206. Tainic angel .... ndebert

207-11. inath hesergisiu .i. Ros Fincheuill is eiside Lis in Membra indiu. Annsin gabaís Findén in fersa fhathachta, Hec requies. 'Atré cena', ar se, 'drem mór do muinntir isund.'

212. Fraochán .... Rofhiarfochtsum
213. itá occultae in fis
214. fromad dutsi .... Apair
215 ar Findian, 'inad mesergi.' 'Atchim i nnímh 7 ní fhéicim i talmain.' Atracht Findian. 'And ionad asa néarchtais indóss', ar Froechan, 'as ass atres do mórdáil bróntha.' Tenceter iar sin a dé saóir co Findian, Rignach 7 Ricend, et a mathair Ciarain co rogbalsait hi.

220 cCill Rignaigh. Luidh Findían 7 Círín dea torrannai. Batter na caillecha aga accain bith ce nusce. 'A coindhe', ar Findian fri Círín, 'cát i foighbham usce dóbh sutt?' 'In bhád leisce leis', ar Círín, 'éirge asin ionad i tí? Atracht Findian. 'Ant ionad asa nérrectaís', ar Círín, 'is eside inad na tipret.'

Rofiarfacht Findian do Rignaigh cínnus boi in caillech a mathair. 'Mor a lubhrá', ar isidhe, 'ni cumagar cedh comhfoiccssiugadh dhí ar thromdacht a hanala.'

A. 216. in tinuth 217. nerimir an osa
218. Tangadar 219. 7 a mathair 7 mathair Círín instead of et a mathair Círín
220. torrumai
221. caillecha ic eithcaine bidh
222. Comde ... foigbimn usci
223. siut. An ba ... ergi
224. inuth a tál ... In tinuth
226. Findian om. 227. Lubra
228. comacsugud di .... tromdacht
Rhoimdercédh coc an mon clerech et aitberthomh:

230 'An Coimhde', ar se, 'eairchise dhoo chec oen in chiniudha
deinda dhe haireiseach.' Luidh Righnach iar sin dia
teach, fuaire a matair noghslain la breithire noebhPhindin.

15 Moladh tuoc Geman maighistir feachtus donal
noebhPhindin iarna denama tria rithim. 'Ní hóir tró na
arcacht na étach loghaire', ar Geman, 'chuintimsi
fortsa ar in moladhso, eacht oen ní ferann becc fil
occumasa is é étortech, co ndenasu eanichthe corop
toirteach.' 'In timmond dorighnis', ar Findin, 'geibh
ar uisce et sreith an tuiscesin tarsin ferann. 7 bidh
toirteach.' Dorighnedh samhlaide, 7 is tóirteach in ferann.

16. Grand limh bdi occ Ruadhain Lothra, grand ón asa

A. 229. Rhoimdergad .... crecrech
230. In Comdiu airchesas
232. noghslain
233. tuc Geman
235. hargat ... hétach ...
236. molatsa

237-8. ernaghdhich curob tóirteach. Hí tim mond ... geb
239. usse 7 sreit in duscesin dersin
240. tóirteach. Dorighnedh amlaide sin ... tóirteach an
241. boí ... Lotrai

B. (1) esiom interlined. (2) imtheirisium interlined.

airrdhe na croiche tairis, rosoadh focettoir in nacnedh uscidhe. 'Cia tarba side', ara senad fri Finn, 'meni cosother in tipra?'. 'A braithre inmaine', ar Finden, 'cadh tath do Ruaidn? Ar cih na fuil do usce isin monaisea i taibh a reclesa bas díl leis doshóadh i llinn soamblastra doghéna Dia aire.'. Roighadatfar iarumb dibhлинаibh Findén 7 na nseibh intí Ruadan combeth a bhetha amhail each. Atbert Ruadhan do dénadh sin ara sitte.

B. (1) na altered, possibly from no.

A. 254. arde na croiche tairis
255. usci. Cia tarba ara senudh
256. braithre inmaine
257. tathi .... thuil
258. monaisi
259. nseibh inni
260. betha .... A breaks off after each. At the foot of the folio is written in the same hand:

i. braidhbéic
Cíncolt crúinn tucaid don fhíliad a dhluínd.
i. fuichid
i. én
ni fhaoicféd braith dé icud uaidh bheo lempur
i. Indraidlean
lendódar
ar Phindén. Rocsnaigh dánó an ferann beco bóí immon recles do bheith ettoirtech. Robennach dánó Findén an ferannsin comich toirtech o an ille.

265 17. Luídh Findén iarsín lí eich Connacht co Druim Étir De Loch ind húbh Ailella. Fuair Moysi 7 Aomhair ann ara chand. Íteitsidhe toirsigh ar a chinn do eocaibh a sethair ind lásin. O roairigh Findén inside, luidhsidhe isin tech i mbú corp na sethair, dónnne díbéricidit

270 ndiocra ndeóirn fri Dísa, co rothóiduseigh an ceilling a bás, co mbóc icca erdaisí. 7 co marbh in loégh boi fo hoenboin et co tucc droimneigh nenglaisí do. Co robbennach Findén in englass co rosoadh i mblass fina. Frith dánó in loégh beco lárna bheach fo mathair.

275 Roimordh aímn Dé et Findín tresna mirbhalbh morálbh sin. Roedhbairst et iar side Moysi 7 Aomuir a recles do Dísa 7 do Phindén.

18. Luídh iarsín Findén isin Choran i eich Luighne.

B. (1) extension stroke has been added over si making sin.
f.208r.

Táinic cuisce cruimter Nathi com boí imseile fris.

280 Táinic singil De nimhe co mbarait fris: 'In baile', ar se, 'ind epre fer dot muintir frit, 'Is cain an tachadhse,' 'Thisghaí eóles ann.' Ni fha céan co mbarait den dia mhacairebh: 'As cain,' ar se, 'an tachadhse.' Rofhthaighedh in cathair is in udsin.

285 Foraiche cruimter Nathí is in udsin. Ata annsin tipra Patraic 7 a lec. Ci fhe aichte deach is in tipraitt, tlefna slan eisi. Ci fhe d'mh duilidh ti cuaidh aircinnech, mi bertar a enach acht co rashba a pater icona leic. Si ce tipra in findfadaigh, 7 leic in pusaill

290 i c Achadh Abhall.

19. Táin ic ier sin Finden i Corpre Moir. Oengus ba ri in ionbaidsin i Coirpré. Táinic e macidhe Nechtain do dlochadh don cleirsech. Rolensatt immorre cosa a

(1) expanded from foéd

(2) somh fein interlined in O'Clery's hand.
295 Oengus co tard a réir don cléireach, co rodiusaigh a mhac
(1)
dó a bás, 7 co tarat inad reclessa dó. Foraaisbium
Greallán mac Natfaich annsein. O rofotaigh tra Fíndían
(2)
ceall 7 congála fon indueside, o ropricha breithir nDe
dfearaibh Erenn, dodechaíd dochum a reclessa co Chuain Iraird.

300 20. La náin ansidhe do épiscop Senach dia dhalta ica
fhéaghadhsonbh / amhlaidh atacandaíre i caile et i troighe
moir he ammeth co nármitis a esaí triana étach
inmedhonach amach. Atconnaíre dán in cruimh do tichtain
asa táibh, et ba he in fath on, usair cris iairn bai
305 imbe ar daigh peanns don churp co rotesc co chnaimh. Giis
iar síde épiscop Senach, 'Cidh dothni torsiuch?' ar

B. (1) altered from tartset in O'Clery's hand.
(2) a added below line.

21. Is líu tra tuireadh 7 eiseis na dherna [sic] in Coimde na ndáil do ferteibh 7 do mhirbhuilbh erinní noebhFinnén, uair acht ma tisdech a spiruif fein no aingel de nimhe no dia fein dia ninnisín, ni cóemhsaith nech ele, ar madh a betha inmedhánach et a comhairbert bith ceech laithide, is Déma námma rodafur. Ba sí a proinn laitidhe, boim di arán eornae et deogh duse, I ndomhaighibh immorro et hi solomneibh. boim di arán cruirnicta et orru di brattán fonsathe, 7 lén a copain do mede no do chormaím.

315 Ni eurscachdh ni chairigedh na daine, nochfadh chéna 7 no pended a peitho dia réith. Ni chotlaidh for cluih no choleadh co comairse dh a toebh fri huir noight, et cloch di ri theadbh fo cion. Glen-edhbartach do Dia amhail Abel mac médaim. Diprecoitech eamal Enoch mac Iseret.

320 Luamhaire lenfholtortaigtech do thollamhnaic na hecsaile etir thondaibh an tseogail amhail Noe mac Lemiech. Fir-ailithrech eamal Abram. Báidh, bleith eamal Moysa mac Amhres, feidil, fodeittnech eamal Iob. Eoneidh, eolach...
ameil Sholmain mac mDavid. Prim-preceptoir coitchend
330 7 lestor toccaidhe ameil Pol napstal; et costaitighther
somh ó mhodháibh imdaibh fri Pol napstal, er amhail
rogenair Pol thes i ttiir Cennán a cinel 7 a bunadus
stuaid a tir Cellde, is amhlaith sin rogenair Finden
bi fus i llaighnibh a cinel 7 a bunadus aithuid a
335 nútlaibh. Ameil roleagh Pol is Gamalel ic síi in
rechte re re xxx bliadhna corbo síi, is amlaith sin
(1) roleagh Findien ocna suidhíbh Bretmacaib adubhramar corbo
síi. Amhail rotairmisse an tsaingel Pol na digeas do
Dhamasc acht ce tísadh do síoladh irse 7 creittme do
340 cheach, is amlaith sin rotairmíse in tangle Findien na
digeas do Roimh, acht ce tísadh do síoladh irsi 7 creittme
dféiraisb Eireann. Amhail ronertadh o Dhí a Pol iar
fotuchcad cell 7 cetrach isind athardha i rogenair co
tísadh do forthcettel irsi 7 creitme [sic] co Roimh,
345 sic sin rogreiseadh omh o Dhí a noebhFhindfan

B. (1) _originally suidh._
(2) _fri re xxx bliadhna interlined._
iar fotuchead cell 7 cathrach isind athatheada i rrogenair
co tisadh do munadh 7 dfórcetal noebh nÉrenn co Clusain
Iraird. Amair rothairgir an tainghel do Phól na buidh
(1)
ifernach iar mbraithe cecá ean dara rach ár Romha, sic sin
rotairgir an tangel do Findian na buidh ifirndach iar
(2)
mbraithe cecá ean dara rach a ar dèréol, Amhail atbath
Pol i Róimh dar oend an popuíl cristaidhe ar na herbalais
huile hi píanaibh et hi todernaeabhl ifirnd, sic sin
atbath Fíndian i Clusain Iraird dar oend in popúil
cheadchágh arna haplatais huile don buidhche conseall.

22. Is annsin rothairgir an tangel dosúin co nindorbthanar
cech teidm 7 cecá galar cóitcinn a Clusain Iraird tre
ernaithe in tsamhta, 7 co nindorbthanar a hÉrind huile
tre troscoadh samhtha Fíndín isin pupall le Arttreol: sic
ic Achadh Abhall 7 i Gondal. O dotheachaid immorrí cosna

B. (1) udh interlined.
(2) dh interlined.
deidhanchu dondí nóebhfinden rofhoodhestair a anghel coemhtehta co hínis mac nóirc for Luimnigh co tucsidhe Colum mac Criomtain cona gilla 7 cona theigh liubhar for díbh neiligh connicce Cluain Fhraid, co nároett Find'án 365 conain 7 sacarfaic díla láimh, co rofheidh a spirut dochum an Choimhnedha na ndula díla rofhogheàin, i. a cionnn ochtmoghett ar c. bliaden, smail derbus in remn:

Se trichait bliadna co mblaich
uas ceech altóir eird altaig

iar cinel agréasa glain

sé chal Findéin meic Findtín

Ata iarum ainim Findein ind eabhindius 7 ind airfitiudh etir muintir nimhe hi fiadhnuse Dé. Atat a relci 7 a taiisí co nóoir 7 co naírmitinn i tálmaí, co fertaibh 375 7 co micbourlibh ceech laithe, co troethadh gach éin ticc friú, co moradh ceech éin congbus leo. Cidh mor indi nóemh Finden in ettarsccartaiche a chuirp 7 a ana on mudhsin coléice, bidh mó a nóoir iar neiseirge in

B. (1) tain crossed out, and luigh interlined. 
(2) náemh interlined.
éantaigh noemb nemhtruailnídhe i mmordail bratha, in
380 tan bas bríthem for feradhb Erenn 7 fora mnaigh imnaille
fri noebhPatraicc 7 fri hisu Christ. Is annsin taitnebas
emhail gréin. Bialdh isin maith moirsín i nóenteidh
noebh 7 noebbogh in domuin i nóenteidh ix ngradh nimhe
na dernsættar imææbus, is i nóenteidh is uaisle oceh
385 náenteidh i náenteidh na noebh-trincitte, Athair, Mæc
7 Spirút Naomh. Ailim trocaire nde roisam, roairiltnigem,
FINIS.
As there is no differentiation between perfective and preterite forms in this text, verbs which are perfective in form and preterite in meaning have been listed in the preterite. The article, the substantive verb, prepositions and other common words have been omitted from the glossary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABALL f.</td>
<td>apple-tree. ge. abla. de. do abhaill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCAINE f.</td>
<td>wailing, lamenting, complaining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCAINID</td>
<td>wails, laments. Pret. 3s. ro-accain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCALLAM f.</td>
<td>act of addressing. vn of ad-gladathar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACHAD m.</td>
<td>a field, plain, green, lawn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADAIGH f.</td>
<td>night. ds ind aidhche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD-CI</td>
<td>sees. Pres. indic. 2p. atcich. Pret. 3s. otconnaire Pret. 3p. conacater. vn aicsiu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD-FET</td>
<td>tells, relates. Pres. indic. 3p. ad-fiadat. pass. atfiadhar. Pret. 3s. atcuaidh. pass. s. otcuas (3 at-cuas).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADNACUL n. later m.</td>
<td>burying. ge. docum nadmacail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD-RIMI</td>
<td>enumerates. Past sub. pass. p. conarmittis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD-SUIDI</td>
<td>stays, remains, holds fast, keeps, binds. Pret. 3s. roasta.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIBHINNIUS</td>
<td>delight, pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AES</td>
<td>age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AICHNE</td>
<td>acquaintance, knowledge; act of knowing, understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDHIM</td>
<td>an instrument, means; np. aichme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIL</td>
<td>fitting, desirable, proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AILD</td>
<td>is entitled to, deserves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AILITIR</td>
<td>a pilgrim, an exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIMSER</td>
<td>time, ds. aimsir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIMN</td>
<td>name; np. anmand, anmanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRCHISSECHT</td>
<td>succour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIREC</td>
<td>preparation, composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRKER</td>
<td>food, victuals; sp airera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRFITIUD, AIRFITTED</td>
<td>delight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRIGID</td>
<td>perceives, notices; Pres.indic. ls. airighim; Pret.3s. roadirigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRILLIUD</td>
<td>act of deserving, merits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIRMITE, AIRMITIES</td>
<td>veneration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AISLING</td>
<td>a dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AISNDIS, AISNÉIS</td>
<td>act of relating; vn of ass-indet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AITE</td>
<td>fosterfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AITHINNE</td>
<td>a firebrand</td>
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<tr>
<td>AITHURGE</td>
<td>repentance; vn of ad-eirrig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALACHT, ALACHTA</td>
<td>pregnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAICHNIID</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANAL</td>
<td>breath; gs. anala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANIM f.</td>
<td>soul</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARAN m.</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR-CESSI</td>
<td>has compassion on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARDE n. later AIRDHE m.</td>
<td>sign, token</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARFOIM</td>
<td>receives. Pret. 3s. acett, oret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARGAT m.</td>
<td>silver. gs. airgit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-BEIR</td>
<td>says. Pres.indic pass. s. atberar.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imper. 2s. abair</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fast. sub.pass. s. atbertha</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fut. 3s. epre.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pret. 3s. atbert, co nberhaint.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perf. 1p. adubhramar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASLUI</td>
<td>escapes. Pret. 3s. cor 6la.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT-BAIL</td>
<td>dies. Sec.Fut. 3p. herbalatais, haplatais.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pret. 3s. atbath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT-COMNAIC</td>
<td>is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATHAIR m.</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATHARDE n later f.</td>
<td>home, fatherland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATNUADAILGID</td>
<td>renews. Imper. 2s. athnadhaigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATREBA</td>
<td>dwells, possesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATREIG</td>
<td>arises. Fut. 2s. atres. Pret.3s. atract.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perf. 2s. erachtais. vn. éirge, érge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACHALL f.</td>
<td>staff, crozier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAID</td>
<td>fond, affectionate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAILE m.</td>
<td>place, spot, homestead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAINDE f.</td>
<td>a drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAITSID</td>
<td>Baptizes. Pret.3s. co rombaitsae. pass. s. ro baitsed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>BARR m.</td>
<td>the top, tip, peak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BÁS f.</td>
<td>palm (of the hand).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BÁS n later m.</td>
<td>death. ds bas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEG</td>
<td>little.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEL m.</td>
<td>lip, in plural mouth, ap. beclu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENDACHAID</td>
<td>blesses. Pret.3s. robennach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERID</td>
<td>brings, carries, bears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BERLA m.</td>
<td>Fast sub. pass. s. no bertaes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BERRAD</td>
<td>Pret. 3s. beraid pass.2. bertar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BETHA m.</td>
<td>Pret. pass. s. bertaes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIAD n later m.</td>
<td>pass.p. roberta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLAITH</td>
<td>language, speech, dialect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLASS m in Mod.Ir.</td>
<td>act of shaving, cutting, tonsuring. vn of berraif, gs. berta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(O.Ir. mlass)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLIADAIN f.</td>
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<td>BÓ f.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BOÍMM n.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRATAN m.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BRÁTH m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRIATHAR f.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>BRITHEM m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRÚ f.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>year. ge bliadnae. np. bliadh(a)i.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a cow.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a piece, bit, morsel.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a salmon.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>doom. ge. brátho, brátha.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word. dp. briathraibh.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a judge. ds. brithemain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>womb, belly. es. broinn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BUADACH
victorious, triumphant, prevailing.

BUAIN f.
cutting down, breaking, vn. of bongaid.

BUAN
lasting.

BUILLE f.
a blow, stroke.

BUNADAS m.
origin.

CADUS m.
reverence, veneration, esteem.

CAILL f.
a wood, forest.

CAILLECH f.
a nun.

CAIN
good, excellent, beautiful, smooth.

CAINGEN f.
business, affair, question, cause, dispute.

CAIRIGID
blames, rebukes. Impf.3s. ni chairigedh.

CAITHID
eats. Impf.3s. caithed.

CATHRAIG f.
a city, monastic settlement.

CELEBRAID
bids farewell to. Pret.3s. celebrais.

CELL f.
a church.

CENEL n later m.
a race, lineage, kindred.

CENN n later m.
head, gs. cinn. ds. ciunn.

CESNAIGID
complains. Pret. 3s. rocesnaigh.

CIID
weeping. Impf.3s. no chiad (the usual Impf. form would be no chied)
Pret. 3s. ciis, rochf.
CLAI'DID  
digs. Perf. 2s. roclaidhis.  
vn. claida ds. claidi.

CLÉRECH m.  
a cleric. gs. clériche, clériche.  
sp. cléarcha. gp clérech dp. clerchib.

CLOCH f.  
a stone.

cloch.

CLÚM f.  
down, plumage.

CNAÍM m.  
a bone.

GOICED  
m in Mod. Ir.

COITCHIND  
a fifth; one of the five provinces of Ireland.

COICED  
com, general.

m in Mod. Ir.

GOICED  
a flock-bed, quilt.

COILJACAI  
m in Mod. Ir.

COMAIRBERT BITH  
material.

COMAIRBA m.  
way of life. vn. of com-air-ber.

COMARBA m.  
successor to a see or other ecclesiastical dignities, coarb.

COMARTHA n later m.  
mark, sign, token.

COMDÁL f.  
a meeting, tryst. gs. comhála

COMPHOILCOSI UGD  
act of drawing near.  
vn of comphoilecosigid.

COMPLÉPAID f.  
a cohabiting, a joint-bed.

COMPERT f.  
a conception.

COMTHINOL  
assembly, gathering, congregation, community. gs. comhthionoil.

CONAIR f.  
a way.

CON-AIRICC  
comes against. Past Sub.3s. comairseidh.

CON-AITCHI  
asks, requests, demands.  
Fret. 3p. condaitceter, conatcettar.
| CONGBAID | holds, keeps. Pres.indic.3s.rel. congbus. |
| CONGBAL f. | a holding, settlement, (monastic) establishment. |
| CON-IC | is able. Pres. indic. pass. s. ni cumager. Past. sub. 3s. ni cosmhsadh. |
| CONNAICID | asks, requests, demands. Pret. 3s: connaigh. |
| (O. Ir. con-dieig) |  |
| CON-SECHA | hinders, stops. Pres.indic. pass. s. coscther. |
| CON-TUIL | sleeps. Impf.3s. ni chottlad. |
| COPPÁN m. | cup, goblet. |
| CORÔNAIGED | tonsures. Pret. pass.s. rocoronaiged (A reading: corresponds to B. rocoraighed.) |
| CORÔNAICID |  |
| CORP m. | body. |
| COSMAILTICID | compares, likens. Pres.indic.pass.s. cosmailtighther. |
| CRÁBSACHAD m. | gluttonous eating. |
| CRÁLEDBECCH m. | pious, devout person. gs. craibhtig. |
| CRANN n later m. | tree. gs. cruinn, crainn. |
| CRECH f. | a raid, foray. |
| CRETEM f. | faith, belief. |
| CRİCH f. | a territory, country, border, boundary. |
| CRİSS m in Mod.Ir. | a girdle, belt. |
| CROCH f. | a cross. gs. cruchi. |
| CRUIM f. | a worm, reptile. |
| CRUIMTHER m. | a priest. |
| CRUITHNECHT f. | wheat. ge. cruitnecta. |
| CUBALD | hermonious, fitting, proper. |
| CUINGID | seeks. Free.indic. 1s. cuincim. |
| CUINGID | vn. of con-dieig. |
| CURUR | puts. throws. Imper. 3p. cuiret. |
| CUIRM n later f. | ale. |
| CUL m. | back. and. ar cula back. |
| CUMANG m in Mod.Ir. | power, ability, force. |
| CUMMAIR n. | short, brief. |
| CUMTACH n later m. | a building, construction. |
| CURSAIGID | reproves, reprimands. Impf. 3s. ni curseachadh, curseaigh. |
| DÁL f. | Perf. 3s. recurrence. |
| DALTA m. | assembly, meeting, rendezvous. |
| DAM m. | da. do mordhaidl to the great assembly. |
| DEDENACH | a fosterchild, pupil. ge. daltai. |
| DEDGAIR | an ox, a stag. |
| DELB f. | last, final. sp. dedenchu. |
| DEOG f. | earnest, fervent, zealous. |
| DEOIN f. | shape, form, figure. da. deilbh. |
| DEPRECÓIT f. | a drink. |
| DERBAID | will, pleasure. |
| DÍCHRA | an earnest prayer. |
| DERBAID | makes clear, asserts, declares. |
| DÍCHRA | Free.indic. 3s rel. derbus. |
| DÍCHRA | fervent, eager. |
DIL m. end, fate, destiny.
DLIGID has a right to, deserves. Pres. indic. pass. s. déghar.
DLOMAID expels, refuses, rejects. Perf. 3s.rodloimh, vn dlomad.
DO-ADBAT shows. Pret. pass. tárfas (Mod. Ir).
DO-AIDLEA visits, alights on. Pret. 3s. taraill.
DO-AIR-I CC comes. Imper. 2s. tair.
DO-AIRMESCA hinders, restrains, prevents, prohibits. 
Pret. 3s. rotairmisc.
DO-AIRNGIR promises. Pret. 3s. rothairngir.
DO-BEIR gives, brings, puts, carries off.
Pret. indic. 2s. dober.
Imper. 2p. tucaidh. Fut. 3s. do-béar.
3p. do-bérat pass. s. do-béartha.
Sec. Fut. pass. s. dobera.
Pret. 3s. dobera, dorat, dorad, tucc, rucc, tard, tarat. 3p. doratsat, tuccsat, pass. s. rucad, pass. p. tuca tharoberta.
vn. tabart. s. ds. tabhairt.
DO-CUIRETHAR puts, brings, happens. Pret. 3s. impers. do-raíta.
DO-DIUSCHI awakens, restores to life. Pret. 3s. rothodúscaigh.
DO-ESC cuts. Pret. 3s. roisce.
DO-FÓIDí sends. Pret. 3s. rofhaid, rofhoidhéstair.
DO-GNI does, makes. Imper. pass. s. denter. 
Pres. Sub. 2s. coinmhnasu 3p. denat.
Past Sub. 3p. coinmhnaisumh, do-gníth. Fut. 3s. dogéna.
pass. s. dogentar. Sec. Fut. 3s. doghenadh.
Pret. 3s. do ghdheine, doreine, dorene, dorimne, rel. derah. 3p. doronsat, dernsat, do ghnis 3p. dornad, dorignedh.
Perf. 2s. do ghdheine, lp. doronsaimne.
vn. denamh. m.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DO-GOA</td>
<td>chooses. Pret.3s. rothog, do roigu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-ICC</td>
<td>comes. Pres. indic.3s.rel. ticcus. Imper.3s. tair. Past Sub.3s. tissadh, tisadh. Fut.3s. ticfa, Pret.3s. tainic. 3p. tancattar, tangattar. vn. tichtu, tlaichtain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-IMMOIRG</td>
<td>drives together, compels, chastises. Imper. 2s. timairccsi. Pret.3p. rotimaircset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMNACH m.</td>
<td>Sunday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMUN, m.</td>
<td>world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-RALÁ</td>
<td>see do-cuirethar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-SÓI</td>
<td>turns. Pret.3s. roscadh, pass.s. do shoadh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-TÉT</td>
<td>comes. Pret.3s. dodechaid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO-TUIT</td>
<td>falls. Pret.3s. do rochair, torchair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DROMLACH m.</td>
<td>a wide, deep, wooden vessel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRUI m.</td>
<td>druid, wizard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DÚN n later m.</td>
<td>fortress. gs. dúine, dúine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÉC m.</td>
<td>death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECNA(E) n later f, rarely m.</td>
<td>wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECNAID m.</td>
<td>a sage, scholar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÉCOSC n later m.</td>
<td>appearance, countenance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÉN m.</td>
<td>a bird. gs.  sóin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENECH n later m.</td>
<td>honour, repute, good name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGLAS f.</td>
<td>milk diluted with water, whey.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENLAITH f.

flock of birds, n.f. enlaithe

BOLACH m.

knowing, learned, skilled one, n.p. ind eolaigh.

BORNÁ f.

barley.

ERA f.

act of refusing, a refusal, vnf of éraid.

ERCHOITMED m.

an excuse.

ERNIGDE f.

a prayer.

ESBACH

useless, vain, purposeless, foolish.

ES(S)ANNAB,

boldness, confidence.

ESSAMAIN f.

resurrection.

ESNACH m. (collect.)

ribs.

ESSEIRGE n later m.

a garment, clothes.

ÉTACH n.

separating, parting, dividing, vnf of etascara.

ÉTARSCARAD m.

decides, determines. Imper, 3s. eter-certadh.

ÉTOIRTHECH

unfruitful, barren, unprofitable.

ÉTRÓCAR

unmerciful, relentless, cruel.

ÉTROCHTA

bright, ge. etrohta, etrochtma.

ÉTROMM

light, airy, bouyant.

FÁILTE f.

a welcome.

FÁINNE m.

a ring, finger-ring.

FÁTH m.

subject, cause, reason.

FÁTHACDA

oracular, prophetic.
FÉGAID  looks at, considers, scans. Pret.3s. rofhegh. vn. fegad. m.

FEIDIL  constant, faithful, enduring.

FEIDM n later m.

FERANN m.

FERG f.

FERTHICIS m.

FÍADNAISE f.  presence. i fíadnaísaí in presence of.

FINDFADACH m.  happy, blessed one. Used especially in a religious sense. tipra in findfadaigh well of the blessed one.

FIS n later m.  knowledge, information. Used as vn of ro-fíitr.

FIURT m.  a wonderful work, miracle. np. ferte, fertae, ferta. ap. firtu.

FO-ÁCAIB  leaves. Pret. 3s. foraícaibh. vn. fácaíl f.

POFÉTRA  causes. Fut. 3s. fóirfe.

FO-GAIB  finds. Pres.indic. pass. s. fogabhar. lmpf. 3s. fora fagbhudh. pass. s. ica fagchaibhthea. Fut. 2s. fogbusa. lp. 1 folgebhham. Pret. 3s. fúair. 3p. fúarrattar.

FOGÚÁIM  learning. vn of fo-glenn-

FO-GNI  serves. Pret. 3s. rofhogain. vn fognam.

FOILSIGHID  shows, discloses. Pret. 3s. rofoilisigh pass. s. rofoilisiged.

FOLLAMUGAD m.

FO-LUIGID  act of ruling, governing.

hides, conceals. Pret. 3s. rofholeig.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FONAI THE</td>
<td>cooked, past, part. of fo-noi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOPAIR T f.</td>
<td>attacking, ds, dia fuabsairt, vn of fo-pair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORBA, FORBAD m.</td>
<td>end, completion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOR-BMR</td>
<td>grows, increases, Perf. 3s. forbri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORCITAL n later m.</td>
<td>teaching, vn of for-cain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORBAID f.</td>
<td>a covering, vesture in general, a winding-sheet in particular. (? originally forbiuth, vn of forbi. Gwynn, <em>Hermathena</em>, 1926, p. 71.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOTHAI CID</td>
<td>founds, Imper. 2s. fothaigsi. Pret. pass. s. rofothaiged, pass. p, rofothaighthe Perf. 3s. rofothaigh, vn fothugud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREACNAIRC f.</td>
<td>present time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRI THADART m.</td>
<td>pillow, ds. do rithadhart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-FUIRMI</td>
<td>places, sets, Pres, Sub, pass. s? rofuirimdher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAIBID</td>
<td>takes, utters, sings, says. Imper 2s. gaib, gelbh. Pres, Sub, 3s. raghba. Fut. 3p. gebhait. Sec, Fut. 3s. no gebed. Pret. 3s. rogaibh, gabhais. 3p. rogbasatt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAINITHI R</td>
<td>is born. Pret 3s. rogenair. vn gein. ge. gene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALAR m.</td>
<td>illness, disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEC f.</td>
<td>branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GILLAE m.</td>
<td>led.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAD n later m.</td>
<td>grade, order, (ecclesiastical) orders. ap. gradha. ap. gradh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRESSID</td>
<td>incites, stirs up. Pret. pass. s. rogreisedh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GRÍAN f.  sun, as. gréin.
GUIDID  prays. Pret.3p. rogadhatar.
FARANN m.  iron.
FARMI-FOICH  seeks, demands, questions. Pret.3s. ro-
IDBARTACH flaracht.
IFERN m.  adj. from idbart vn of ad-opair offering
IMB-ARCHUIRETHAR up sacrifices.
IMDA  hell. ge. ifirnd.
IMM-DERGA  carries. Pret.3p. roimmaruirsett.
IMMTHROMMA f.  many.
IND-ARBAN  causes to blush, rebukes. Pret.pass.s.
INDLAID  rohimherceadh.
INDRED n later m.  great heaviness, pregnancy.
washes the feet or hands. Pret.3s.
INDRED roindell.
INNFEI THMECH, act of invading, attacking. vn of ind-
INNEI THMECH, reith. ds. indriugh.
INNTHMECH  a nail, claw, talon. dp. ingnib.
INMEDÓNACH  an island. ge. indsi.
INNTHMECH  beloved.
liquid. drink. bear. ge. leons.
INNTHMECH  inward.
liquid. drink. bear. ge. leons.

weakness, sickness. leons.

LEIRA, LEIRA f.

LORHA, LORHA f.
INNISIN  
act of telling, relating. vn of in-fét.

IRES f.  
faith, trust, religion. as. iris.

ITHFERNACH m.  
a being in hell, a dweller in hell.

LÁ n later m.  
a day.

LABRITHIR  
speaks. Imper.3s. labhradh. Pret.3s. ro-
-labhair. vn. labrad. m.

LAITHIDE  
daily.

LÁM f.  
hand. gs. lámae np. lama, lámhu,
dp. lamhaibh.

LÁN  
full, complete. lán de full of.

LASSAR f.  
flame.

LEBAR m.  
book. gp. liubhar.

LEC f.  
a flagstone.

LÉGAID  
reads. Pret.3s. rolegh.

LÉGICID  
leaves, allows. Pret.3p. nocha roleiccsett

LEM m.  
elm. gs. lim.

LENAID  
follows, adheres to. Pret.3p. rolensat.

LES m.  
advantage, ro-ic les plus genitive he
needs.

LESALCID  
looks after the good of, makes good,
maintains, repairs, heals.
Impf. 3s. no lessagedh.

LESC  
sluggish, lazy.

LESTAR m.  
vessel, boat.

LINN, LENN  
liquid, drink, beer. gs. leensa.
m and f. in Mod. Ir.

LOBRA, LUBRA f.  
weakness, sickness, leprosy.
LOEG m.
LOGMAR
LUAMAIRE m.
LUCHT m.
LUEB f.
MAITHE f.
MANACH m.
MARBAID
MATAIR f.
MEDC m.
MEIT, MET f.
MENMA m.
MIADAMLAE f.
MRBAIL f.
MOD m.
MOLAD m.
MORAID
MUCCAID m.
MUCCAL m.
MUG, MOG m.
MUIN f.
calf.
precious.
helmsman, navigator.
people.
herb, plant. ap. lubhe.
goodness.
a monk. np. menaig. dp. manchu, menchaib.
kills. Pret. 3s. co marbh.
mother. gs. máthar.
whey.
greatness, magnitude. Cia mét? how much? in méit & relative clause as much as.
mind, thinking faculty. gs. menman.
honour, dignity, glory.
a miracle, wonder. np. mirbuile, -i.
manner, fashion, habit.
act of praising; a song of praise.
a panegyric. vn of molaid.
makes great, magnifies, exalts. Pret. pass. s. romorad.
swineherd.
a sow's litter.
a male slave or servant.
the upper part of the back between the shoulders and below the neck.
MUINE m. a brake or thicket; generally applied to thornbushes.

MULNIGIN f. trust, confidence. teit in mm (with genitive) trusts in, relies on, has recourse to.

MUINTER f. a community or group of persons connected by some common bond: a family or household; followers, adherents; a religious community or monastery; inhabitants. ds. muintir.

MULLACH m. the topmost part, top, crown.

MUNAD m. act of teaching, instructing. vn of mulinid.

NÉL m. a cloud.

NEM n later f sometimes m.

NEMTHRÁILLENIDE

NERTAID strengthens, confirms. Pret. pass.s. ronertaidh.

NES(S)A nearest. Used as compar. and superl. of ocus.

NOCHT naked, bare, uncovered.

ÓCLACH m. young men.

OENTU m and f. association, fellowship, alliance. Often a covenant between two saints. as. ds. aentaidh, aentaidh.

ÓG whole, unsullied. With adj. in sense of entirely, perfectly.

ÓIGI m. a quest. gs. oiged, np. òegid, ofhigh.

ÓNÓIR f. honour, respect, dignity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPAID</td>
<td>refuses, declines, rejects. Pres. sub. 2s. ce no nopaé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR m.</td>
<td>gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS(S)AD m.</td>
<td>e respite, cessation, truce. gs. ossaidh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHAR, UTHAR m.</td>
<td>sickness, illness. gs. uithir as an attribute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENDAID, PENNAID</td>
<td>does penance. Impf. 3s. no pendedh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENNAIT f.</td>
<td>penitence, penance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PÍAN f.</td>
<td>punishment, pain, torment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POPUL m.</td>
<td>a people, folk. gs. popuill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PORT m.</td>
<td>place, locality; a stead, monastic settlement; a bank, shore, landing-place. ds. puirt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECEPTÓIR m</td>
<td>teacher, preacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIDCHAID</td>
<td>preaches. Perf. 3s. ropritche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROIND, PROINN f.</td>
<td>meal, refection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMAD m.</td>
<td>making trial of, testing, proving. vn of promaid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUPALL m and f.</td>
<td>tent, pavilion. gs. puaill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAIDLD</td>
<td>speaks. Perf. lp. roráidsem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RATH, RAD n later m.</td>
<td>grace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECHT m.</td>
<td>law. gs. rechta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REICLES m.</td>
<td>Not found in O.Ir. Originally an oratory or small church, a monastic cell. Later used of a church connected with a monastery. gs. reclésa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REILEC, REILEC f.</td>
<td>a burial place. In plural relics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI m.</td>
<td>king, sp. rig, later riogh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIAR f.</td>
<td>will, wish. ag.reir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITH</td>
<td>act of running; a run, rapid course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITHADART</td>
<td>see frithadart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RITHIM m.</td>
<td>rhythm (used strictly of irregular or free verse).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO-CLUINETHAR</td>
<td>hears. Pret.3s. rocuala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO-FITIR</td>
<td>knows. Pres.indic.3p. rofetattar. Pres.sub.3s. festar. Perf.pres. rofess is known. vn. Fiss. m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO-IC</td>
<td>attains. Pres.sub.1s. risam. Fut.3s. rosficfa ales you will need it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO-LA</td>
<td>puts. Pret.pass.s. roladh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMANN</td>
<td>before us. (Used elliptically. Prep. re plus Ip. suff.pron.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO-SAIG</td>
<td>reaches, comes to. Pret.3s. rocht, rosischt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROSC n later m.</td>
<td>eye. np. ruiscc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACARBAIC f.</td>
<td>Communion, consecrated elements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÆGUL m.</td>
<td>a human lifetime; of the end of life; worldly life, the ways of the world; worldly goods, pelf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÆETHAR m.</td>
<td>work, labour, toil; difficulty, exertion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SÆLDID</td>
<td>sits. Pret.3s. do-essid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAINEMAIL</td>
<td>special, excellent, brilliant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eastward.

freedom, liberty; nobility; privileges, immunities etc., enjoyed by members of the free classes, churches, etc.; More specifically exemption.

congregation, assembly. ge. samtha.

greedy, desirous.

parts, separates (from). Pres.sub.ha. scaram.

story, tidings. ge. scéoil.

school.

a writing. np. scribenna.

a while, a time; a distance.

a hawk.

wife, spouse. ge. séitche.

seed. ds. do shiol.

act of sowing, disseminating.

vn. of silaid.

drops, flows, drips; sheds, causes to flow. Impf. 3s. sileadh.

stretches, stretches out, extends.

Pret. pass. s. rosínedh.

seniority, birthright; chieftainship.

sister. ge. sethar. n. dual. shdair.

sound, safe.

bold, daring.

mountain. ge. sléibe.
SO-CHENÉUIL well-born.
SOCHRAIDE beautiful.
SOMBLASTA well-tested, palatable.
SRUITHID casts, Imper.2s. sréith.
SRUITH m a sage, senior, elder.
SÚIL f. eye, np. súle.
TÁEB m and f. side, taeb amuig outside.
TAIRISSEM m. remaining, stopping, halting. vn of do-airissedar.
TAISCÉLAD m. exploring, examining, spying, reconnoitring. vn of do-scéla.
TALAM m. corpse, remains, relics.
TAISI (plural)
shines. Fut. 3s. taitnebas.
TAITNEMAIID earth. gs. talman. ds. talmain.
TARCAID had offered. Perf.3s. (See Bergin, Briu XI, 139-40.)
TECH n later m. a house.
TECHID
ejees. Pret.3s. roteich.
TEIDM n later m and f. disease, sickness, pestilence.
TEIT goes, Imper.2s. ercc, eirc, eirc. Eip. eirgídh. Pres.sub.3s. deacha. Past.sub.2s. digsed. Fut.3s. racha. Lp. raghmaid. Sec.fut.3s. rachadh, rachad. Lp. raghmares. Pret 2s. deched. 3s. luidh, dechedh, do chothed. 3p. lottar, dochottar -deochatar.
TÉNE m and f. fire. gs. tened.
-TÉRNAL
TESS
TIACHTAIN
TIAG f.
TIPRA f.
TIR n later m and f.
TO CRA n later m.
TODERNAM m.
TO-ESS-RO-SNÍ-
TOGAIDE
TOIMSIGID
TOIRM f.
TOIRTHECH
TOIRSECH
TOISECH
TOL f.
TOMMAÍD, TUMMAÍD
TUIMMAÍD
TONN f.
TORBAE n later f.

see to-ess-ro-sní-
south, in the south.

act of coming, reaching, taking
place. vn of do-ioc.
ic tiachtain leigind engaged in
learning.

wallet, satchel. (especially for
books.)

well, spring, fountain, source.

earth, ground, territory, province.

act of seeking a way, of desiring,
of attempting. vn of tocráid.

pain, torture.

escapes. Pret.3s. –térnei

chosen, elect. partic. of do-goia.

measures, estimates. Pret.3s. ro-
toimsigh.

sound, tumult, report, fame.

fruitful.

sad.

first, former.

will. as. toile.

dips, plunges, emerses. Pret.3s.
corotuim.

a wave, outpouring, sea, swamp.

profit, benefit; usefulness, work.

vn of dororban.
TORRAMA m and f. act of ministering to, act of 
visiting. ds. dia torramhai.

TRAETHAID subdues, abates. Pret. pass. s. 
tróethadh.

TRÍCHA m. thirty. gs. tríchat.

TRÓCAIRE f. mercy.

TROMDA oppressive, importunate.

TROSCAD m. fasting. vn. of troiscid.

TRUAIGE f. misery, wretchedness, affliction, 
thinness.

TÚAID north, in the north.

TUIREM f. act of enumerating, recounting, 
relating. vn. of do-ríml.

ÜAR cold.

ÜIDE m later m and f. a journey.

ÚIR, ÚR f and m. mould, earth, clay, soil.

UISCE m. water. gs. usci. ds. usciu, usciu.

UMALDÓIT, UMALDÓIT f. humility, lowly service of any kind.

UNGAE, UINGE f. an ounce.
APPENDIX B.

was published at Paris in 1645, under the name of "..." (1). Bessinham gives only a very meager indication of his sources and methods in his Preface to the Liber.

From this it appears that he had a number of examples, some of which were printed. and that in editing his material he did not always reproduce his original exactly. the Office of S. Patrick has been "reduced to the norm of the Roman breviary."

He explains that by a careful selection of his exemplars he hopes to remove some faults while avoiding unnecessary conjectures.

(1) . Bessinham, Officin 00, Patricii, Colmoglas, Priset, et aliquantur omniae literatae. S. Patrick, Paris, 1880.

(2) "Unter illa multa communicata manuscripta, non nostri, qui non habitant in hac regione, (qui videtur quasi sine infinitis typographiae erroribus).

(3) "reductus ad normam Breviarii Roman."
THE OFFICE OF S. FINNIAN.

An office of 'the blessed Finnian bishop and confessor' was published at Paris in 1620 by Thomas Messingham, together with offices of Patrick, Columcille, Brigid, Cainnech and Fiacrius. Messingham gives only a very general indication of his sources and methods in his Preface to the Reader. From this it appears that he had a number of exemplars, some of which were printed, and that in editing his material he did not always reproduce his original exactly: the Office of S. Patrick has been 'reduced to the norm of the Roman breviary.' He explains that by a careful collation of his exemplars he hopes to remove some faults while avoiding rash conjecture:


(2) 'inter illa multa communicata manuscripta, non nullorum etiam vetustissima excusa, (quae videntur quasi sub infantiam typographiae evulgata)'

(3) 'reductum ad normam Brevierii Romani.'
some blemishes must remain in the text until other more correct exemplars have been collected. John Colgan, who reprinted the Office of S. Finnian from Messingham's work, seems to have been ignorant of the sources which his predecessor had used.

In the Officium Beati Finniani which Messingham prints, the second nocturn is dedicated to S. Finnian and three lessons are given. Since writing the thesis however I have examined a manuscript in Brussels which contains an Office of S. Finnian.

Bibl. Roy. 8530-4 is a volume of miscellaneous hagiography on paper in various seventeenth century hands, with the exception of ff. 147-64 which are in a hand of the fifteenth century. Ff. 165 and 190 served as a cover for a collection of offices of Irish saints on ff. 166r-189v. These folios are 0\(m\), 205 x 0\(m\), 16 in size, and show fold marks 36 mm. from the outer edge, 10 mm. from the inner edge, 20 mm. from the upper edge and 25 mm. from the lower edge. The manuscript was originally made up of four quaternions, of which the first is missing. It was once part of the Bollandist

collection. The cover, f. 165 shows the Bollandist number

MS 168 changed to 131 b. A list of contents is given on f. 165 in a hand different from that of the inner folios. They are as follows:

f. 166. Office of S. Patrick. Incomplete, begins towards the end of Lectio 7.
f. 167v. Blank.
f. 171v. Blank.
f. 172. Translation of SS. Patrick, Columcille and Brigid.
f. 175v. Mass of the translation.
f. 176v. Office of S. Finnian.
f. 182. Office of S. Caimnech.

The Office of S. Finnian gives nine lessons, with hymns, prayers, antiphons, versicles and responsories. Though Messingham's edition contains nothing which cannot be found in the Brussels Office, the manuscript has a considerable amount of material not in the printed Office, and is differently arranged.

When the Lectiones in the manuscript office are compared with the Latin Life of Finnian, it is found that the office omits the accounts of Finnian's expulsion of the plague from Bohni and the care of the mad boy in Wales. These two stories are not in the Irish Life; and, as we have already seen, there is reason to believe that they were borrowed. (1)

(1) pp. 177, 267-8.
The office adds an incident concerned with the foundation of Aghowle, which is now missing from the Latin Life, but must once have been included there. With these exceptions the office covers exactly the same ground, and relates events in the same order, as the present Book I of the Latin Life. The office therefore, bears out the conclusions already reached on the original contents of Book I. It is probable that the nine lessons of the office which cover the first book of the Latin Life were for Finnian's feast day, and that the second book of the Latin Life was divided up into twenty-one short lessons covering the remaining seven days of his octave.

Lambeth Palace MS 213 is a fifteenth century liturgical book, size $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. x $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., written in double columns. Folio 230 contains twenty-eight lines headed (in red) 'In festo sancti Finniani officium.' These lines include one of the prayers found in the Brussels office, but no lessons are given. It seems that the Lambeth manuscript must have had some connection with a church where Finnian's cult was

(1) p. 125.
practised. In the calendar at the beginning of the manuscript Finnian's name is the only addition to the ordinary Sarum feasts. At 12 December, S. Finnian's day in all the Irish calendars, is given in red: 'S. Finniæni ep. et conf. duplex festum in midis.'
When full details are given elsewhere in the bibliography,
only the title of the work, with the name of editor or
author, will be list of abbreviations.

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A 29, 30. Hall, Acta Sanctorum Belgaliae, Antwerp, etc.
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A 32. Angelate Belgaliae. Bruges, 1667—.
A 34. Vitae. Vita De Colgan, ed. written by M. J.
V. Suneau, Dublin, 1857.
A 35. Arcoz. Archivio Istitut Catholico Archiurtic, Mainz, 1863—.
A 37. Annale de Metz. See J. Hehaney.
A 38. and X. B. Stalingvoud and J. Hanesz. Lives of the
British Saints. See B. Coudiau.
A 40. Life of St. Walrand found in Brussels MS. Bibl. Sec.
1196—1200.

CHRON. Sac. Chronicon Sacrorum. See T. M. Hehaney.
Cust. Jocut's Book. See J. A. White, Libri Sanctorum
de Hacq. See J. de Hacq.
C 32. Bessarabia or A. de J. A. Johannaehen.
C 33. Praedapatriae. Paris, 1565—.
C 34. St. Anna or the Mission of Ireland by the Poor Becter.
See J. O'Keefer.
C 35. Res. et Sac. Sanare Sacrorum Notitia or Sacrorum Historias
See J. O'Keefer.
C 36. Bedes. Historiarum Ecclesiae gentis Anglicanarum. See
C. Tener.
C 37. Irish Ecclesiastical Record. Dublin, 1858—.
C 38. Irish Historical Society. Dublin, 1858—.
C 40. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of
Ireland. Dublin, 1858—.
I. ABBREVIATIONS.

When full details are given elsewhere in the bibliography, only the title of the work, with the name of editor or author, will be found in the list of abbreviations.

AA,SS. Boll. Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana. Antwerp, etc. 1643 -.

AB. Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels. 1862 -.


AKKr. Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht. Mainz. 1862 -.


AU. Annals of Ulster. See W. M. Hennessy.


BNE. Bethada Naem Ócrenn. See C. Plummer.


CS. Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salisiatrici. See C. de Smedt and J. de Backer.


Die Bussordnungen. See F. W. B. Wasserschleben.

EC. Études Celtiques. Paris. 1936 -.

4 MM. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. See J. O'Donovan.


HE. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum. See C. Plummer.

IER. Irish Ecclesiastical Record. Dublin. 1864 -.

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IT. Irish Texts. See J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J. G. O'Keefe.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

Original Size.
Aghowle  
(a) West Gable  
(b) Doorway in West Gable  
(c) Window in North Wall from interior  
(d) S.Finnian's Cross from west side  
(e) Portion of South Wall  

Clonard  
(f) Clonard from the bridge.