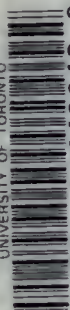


Lives of the Irish Saints

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



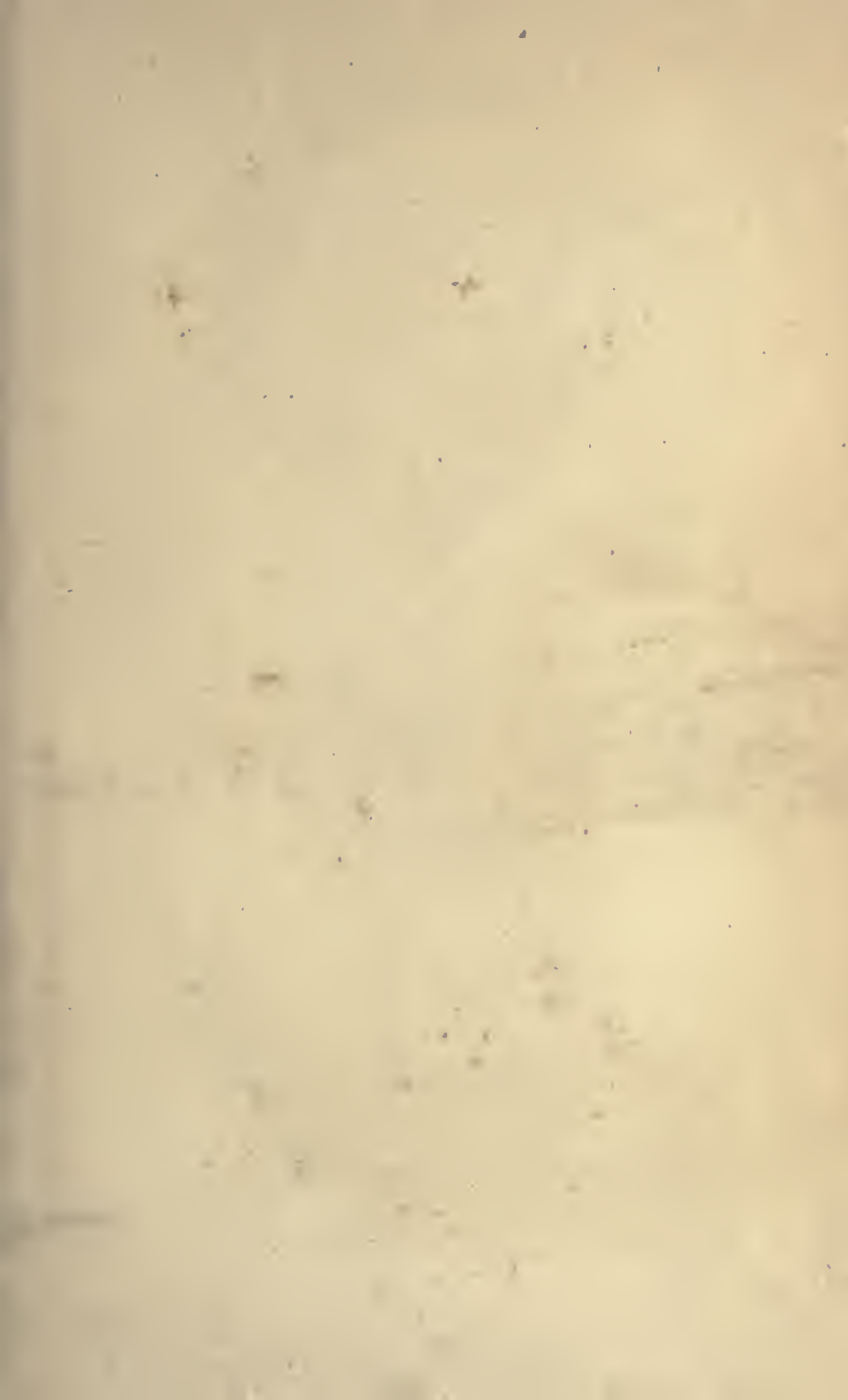
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INISCLOIGHRAN OLD CHURCH, LOUGH REE, COUNTY LONGFORD.

Drawn by George Petrie, R.S.A.

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LIVES
OF
THE IRISH SAINTS,

WITH
Special Festivals, and the Commemorations of Holy Persons,

COMPILED FROM
Calendars, Martyrologies, and Various Sources,

RELATING TO
The Ancient Church History of Ireland,

BY THE
REV. JOHN O'HANLON, M.R.I.A.

—————
VOL. IV.
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LIVES OF THE IRISH SAINTS.

—◆—
First Day of April.
—◆—

ARTICLE I.—ST. CAIDOC, AND ST. FRICOR, OR ADRIEN, APOSTLES
OF THE MORINI, IN FRANCE.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—ACCOUNTS OF ST. CAIDOC, OR CAIDAN, AND OF ST. FRICOR, OR ADRIEN
—BORN IN IRELAND, THEY DESIRE TO BECOME MISSIONARIES IN FRANCE—THEY
PREACH AMONG THE MORINI, AND RECEIVE PROTECTION FROM ST. RICARIUS—HIS
CONVERSION, OWING TO THEIR HOLY INSTRUCTIONS.

THAT lively Faith and noble Charity, which urge men to sanctify themselves, in the first instance, and next to communicate their happiness to others, deserve and obtain highest rewards, from the Almighty Ruler of the human race, He has created and preserved. Nor does our Divine Lord fail to satisfy the most ardent desires of his servants, and to recompense them immeasurably for their labours in this life. We should form most exalted ideas, regarding the all-important affair of salvation, when we reflect on sacrifices made by holy men, in contributing towards the sanctification of their fellow-mortals, redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ. Full of disinterested zeal and love, the missionaries of our holy Church, in all ages, have been ready to accomplish any amount of labour and privation, to abandon endearments and ties of family affection and kindred, and to leave their native country for the shores of distant lands. Whilst in many instances, they went forth in tears, scattering the seeds of the Gospel, an earnest desire to promote the happiness of those creatures, whom God had formed with souls capable of knowing and loving Him, made them hope for a good result, when it should please the Almighty to give increase. Such reflections conferred a pleasure and consolation, the world could not take away, and caused them to disregard every individual inconvenience, while making efforts to procure the salvation of sinners. They powerfully contributed, in this manner, to secure their own happiness. Full of wisdom and earnestness, and with souls ardently aspiring to the attainment of things worthy a Christian missionary's ambition, we should not feel surprised, that God's blessing followed on their track, and wrought wonders through their preaching and ministry. Exertions made through the charity of these holy men, to save their benighted brethren's souls, should serve as examples for us, to labour with a persevering ardour to secure our own and others' salvation. This great and only important affair ought ever present itself before our minds, and inspire us with a resolution, to resist and to overcome the assaults of all our spiritual

enemies. What will it avail us, that early missionaries had rescued our forefathers from degrading errors and idolatries, if their descendants set up idols, which modern Christians depravedly worship? And, if the Bishops and Pastors of our Church, at this present day, are occupied with the sacred duties of their mission among us, shall we be found disinclined to go forth into the vineyard, and labour there, when we hear their pressing solicitations? If we toil not here, we cannot expect to be at rest hereafter, nor to enjoy those fruits, which will ripen for the just, when the harvest of souls must be gathered, and when the labour of their lives shall cease on this earth. These considerations are preparatory to the record of life trial and of everlasting triumph, to which our readers are now brought, and which begins with the Irish Calendar entries for this month.

From the sixth to the eighth century, the Irish Scots were indefatigable, in preaching the Gospel on the European Continent.¹ Among these persons, most distinguished for their zeal and piety, we may regard St. Caidoc, and St. Fricor, or Adrien, as entitled to rank high, among the missionaries from Ireland. The Bollandists have only a very passing allusion to them, at the 1st of April, when they are commemorated, by the Irish, Scottish and English Martyrologies, although the people of Centule had referred their veneration, to the 30th of May.² Their Lives are to be met with, in various collections and works, relating to sacred biography, thus: Malbranq,³ Saussay,⁴ Colgan,⁵ Mabillon,⁶ Bishop Challenor,⁷ the Abbé Corblet,⁸ and other writers, have recorded their names and labours, as referring to their services, in the fold of Christ.

St. Caidoc⁹ is also named Caidan, or Caidin, according to the structural proclivities of the Irish language, especially in the variation of proper names.¹⁰ His festival is placed, at the 24th of January,¹¹ by Colgan,¹² who afterwards unites the name of Caidoc with that of Adrien, at the 31st of March;¹³ but, without affording any good reason for such assignation. These apostolic men were natives of Ireland,¹⁴ according to Alcuinus Flaccus,¹⁵ Malbranq, Saussay, with other writers; and, they are said¹⁶ to have been disciples or companions of St. Columbanus,¹⁷ with whom they visited France, in the reign of Sigebert,¹⁸ King of Austrasia,¹⁹ and, towards the latter part of the sixth

ARTICLE I.—CHAPTER I.—¹ See "Iroschottische Missionskirche der 6—8 Jahrhundrets," by Dr. G. H. A. Ebrard. This valuable work has been published, by Guiker, at Cologne, A.D. 1873.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

³ In his work, "De Morinis," lib. ii., cap. 35.

⁴ In his "Martyrologium Gallicanum."

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Martii xxxi. De SS. Adriano et Caidoco, Apostolis Morinorum, pp. 797 to 799.

⁶ See "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus i., lib. xi., sect. lx., p. 336.

⁷ See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 205.

⁸ The "Hagiographie du Diocese d'Amiens," par M. abbé Corblet, contains notices of St. Caidoc and of St. Fricor.

⁹ Colgan remarks, that he is different from St. Caidoc, who died A.D. 710, as Bishop of Iona. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Januarii xxiv., n. 2, pp. 162, 163.

¹⁰ There is a constant interchange of Irish diminutives, such as *an, en, in, oc* and *og*; hence, in the present name, the transition of Caidoc to Caidan or Caidin.

¹¹ See our brief notice, at that date, Article ix.

¹² See, Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxiv. Januarii, pp. 161, 162, 163, with notes.

¹³ See *ibid.*, xxxi. Martii, pp. 797, 798, 799, with notes.

¹⁴ See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sacra," part i., p. 205.

¹⁵ Speaking of Caidoc, who came "de Hiberniæ partibus," he mentions a companion, and he calls them "duos Sacerdotes."

¹⁶ By Malbranque, "De Morinis," lib. ii., cap. 55.

¹⁷ See his Life, at the 21st of November.

¹⁸ Jonas was mistaken, as regards Sigebert.

¹⁹ According to Malbranq and Menard, in his Appendix ad "Martyrologium Benedictinum."

century.²⁰ But, this appears to have been too early a date, for their arrival in that country,²¹ since in St. Ricarius' ²² Life,²³ written by Albin, or Alcuin,²⁴ it is stated, that St. Caidoc and his companion St. Fricor entered France, during the reign of King Dagobert I.²⁵ This did not commence, before A.D. 622. He was a most potent and religious prince, anxious in every way to aid those worthy of his patronage, and especially the servants of Christ. He was husband to the ill-fated Brunehilde. The two Irishmen entered Ponthieu district,²⁶ in Picardy—others have it that they were in Belgium—and both missionaries appear to have attained the same ecclesiastical rank,²⁷ while they are not spoken of as monks. Hence, it may be inferred, that over thirty years, after the arrival of St. Columbanus in France, must be allowed for the migration of St. Caidoc and of St. Fricor, into that country.

The chief object of these holy men was to spread a knowledge of Christ's Gospel, among people, living in that part of the country, bordering the Somme, and then known by the name Morini. Our missionaries were ill-used,²⁸ and ignominiously treated, at first, by this rude nation,²⁹ and they were almost compelled to leave, when a certain young nobleman,³⁰ called Ricarius,³¹ who lived at Centule, came to their aid.³² He brought them to his house, for protection; and, having repelled the insolence of their persecutors, he treated those holy pilgrims with the greatest kindness and courtesy.³³ In return for such protection, the strangers announced to him lessons of Divine wisdom, which he received, with all humility and attention. The result was, being moved with compunction for follies of his past life, Ricarius burst into tears, and afterwards made a confession of his sins. In fine, this generous man divided his property among the poor; only reserving a portion of it, for a religious foundation. He erected the monastery of Centule, it is said, in the year 625,³⁴ or as other accounts have it, in the year 627. Then he renounced the world and its allurements, in the retirement of this house.³⁵

²⁰ The date given, for this event, by Malbranque, is A.D. 591, apparently relying on the authority of a quoted "Richariense Chronicon."

²¹ For various weighty reasons, adduced by Dr. Lanigan, it is much more probable, that they did not proceed to France, as companions of Columbanus. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xvi., sect. v., n. 31, p. 443.

²² Of Centule.

²³ This is published by Surius, at the 26th of April.

²⁴ Surnamed Flaccus.

²⁵ See an account of this prince, in "Histoire de France," par L. P. Anquetil, Première Race dite des Mérovingiens, sect. v., pp. 52, 53.

²⁶ "Ad pagum Pontivum," according to Saussay, and we are told, it lay near the maritime parts of Gaul.

²⁷ Saussay, in his Appendix to the Martyrology of the French Saints, states, that they were priests.

²⁸ In the Life of St. Ricarius, it is related: "Sed a rusticis, et popularibus illius loci propter insolentiam morum non sunt suscepti, nec digno eorum sanctitate honore tractati: sed magnis injuriis afflictos, et opprobriis castigatos, a finibus suis cæperunt

eos expellere."—Surius, "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis," tomus ii., xxvi. Aprilis. Vita S. Richarii.

²⁹ See Le Comte de Montalembert's "Les Moines de l'Occident," tome ii., liv., ix., chap. v., sect. v., p. 607.

³⁰ Saussay has it "S. Richario tum adhuc adolescente."

³¹ See Malbranq, "De Morinis," lib. ii., chap. 55.

³² It is much more probable, that they were not disciples of Columbanus, and that it was just after their landing in France, as Fleury says, that they fell in with Richarius. See "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome viii., liv. xxxvii., sect. xxviii., p. 269.

³³ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xvi., sect. v., p. 442.

³⁴ According to the Abbé Fleury. At A.D. 627, Mabillon says, that it was founded, not long before Dagobert acquired the kingdom of Neustria, after the death of his father Clotharius II., in 628.

³⁵ The Life of this saint, Richarius, will be found in Surius' "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis," vol. ii., at xxvi. Aprilis, his festival. See, also, the Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., at the 26th of April.

CHAPTER II.

THE JOURNEY OF RICHARIUS TO ROME, IN COMPANY WITH ST. CAIDOC—ASSUMING THE MONASTIC HABIT, RICHARIUS RECEIVES DIRECTION AND ADVICE FROM THE IRISH MISSIONARIES—THEIR DEATH AND HONOURS PAID TO THEIR MEMORY—MARTYROLOGIES COMMEMORATING THEM—CONCLUSION.

RICHARIUS is said to have proceeded towards Rome, in company with St. Caidoc.¹ On their return, the latter embraced a monastic life, in Centule Monastery, over which Richarius presided as Abbot. But, the Superior, notwithstanding, received the instruction of his first teachers, as from Caidoc and Fricor he had already learned many useful lessons, regarding the monastic state. St. Caidoc, with his companion Fricor, who changed his name to Adrien, after the conversion of Richarius, and protected by his influence, preached the Gospel with considerable success, among the Morini.

St. Caidoc died, about the year 640, and he was buried in Centule Monastery. The tomb, placed over his remains, being defaced through the effects of time, St. Angilbert, who was Abbot of Centule, in the reign of Charlemagne, had it restored.² An epitaph was inscribed upon it, in golden letters,³ and in the Latin language.⁴ St. Fricor also became a monk at Centule, and he was there buried. According to Mabillon's arrangement, these transactions are placed, under A.D. 627.⁵ The date for this saint's death, as likewise, for that of his companion, Caidoc, is assigned by the English Martyrology,⁶ to about A.D. 640. The sacred remains of both saints were preserved, at Ponthieu, and they were held, by the faithful, in great veneration.⁷ The names of St. Caidoc, or Caidan, as also of St. Fricor, or Adrien, are placed at the 1st day of April, in the English Martyrology of John Wilson; while by Dempster,⁸ and by Philip Ferrarius,⁹ they are noticed, at the same date. Father Stephen White¹⁰ commemorates both St. Adrian and St. Cadoch, on the 1st of April, at Ponthieu. In the Anonymous Catalogue, as published by O'Sullivan Beare,¹¹ at the 1st of April, both those

CHAPTER II.—¹ According to Saussay's Gallic Martyrology.

² See, "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxxi. Martii. Vitæ SS. Adriani et Caidoci, p. 797.

³ See the second Appendix to Hugh Menard's "Martyrologium Benedictinum."

⁴ The following were the metrical lines:—

"Mole sub hac tegitur Cadiocus jure
Sacerdos,

Scotia quem genuit, Gallica terra tegit,
Hic Domini Christi, gaudens præcepta
secutus;

Contempsit patrias, mente beatus opes.
Hinc sibi concrevit, centeni Copia fruc-
tus;

Et meruit ætherei præmia larga soli.
Hinc Angilbertus, fretus pietate magistri,
Et tumulo carmen condidit et tumu-
lum."

⁵ See "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus i., lib. xi., sect. lx., p. 336.

⁶ Written by John Wilson.

⁷ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiber-

niæ," xxxi. Martii. Vitæ Sanctorum Adriani et Caidoci, p. 799.

⁸ It is remarked by Colgan, that Dempster was the rather unsafe guide, followed by the English Martyrology and by Ferrarius, and he preferred to place those festivals, at the 31st of March: "quam in aliam nobis æque incertam differre, præsertim cum citati videantur sequi fidem Dempsterii; qui sanctis ad placitum natales, uti et patriam his, nempe novam Scotiam assignat; in qua nec pedem unquam posuisse leguntur."—Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxxi. Martii, n. 1, p. 799. Although Dempster may be a doubtful authority, yet as he has been followed by Ferrarius and the English Martyrology, in assigning the 1st of April, as the day of these saints' festivals, I have preferred their arrangement, to the more arbitrary one of Colgan.

⁹ In Catalogo Generali.

¹⁰ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iv., p. 41.

¹¹ See O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholicæ Iberiæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 56.

saints are set down as Sadoc¹² and Adrianus. Henry Fitzsimon has them—as bishops—at this same date.¹³ In addition, Colgan appears to have intended treating about St. Cadoc and Adrian, at the 1st of April.¹⁴ Such arrangement we prefer adopting, for a reason, so far as we are aware, that there is no contradictory statement, calculated to disprove this latter date, for the festival of these holy persons, who laboured so zealously to serve their fellow-beings, and whose merits were so well appreciated by the people, for whom they prayed and watched. Their mission was peace, and their most ardent desires were manifested, by bringing into the pale of Christ's Church scattered flocks, straying from the paths of duty, or moving in the by-places of darkness and error. That men might be comforted and enriched, by spiritual blessings, was their object; while the communications of the Holy Ghost to his elect were revealed to happy souls, desirous to obtain heavenly treasures, through the shepherds who guided them to sweet pastures.

ARTICLE II.—ST. CEALLACH, OR KELLACHUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, COUNTY OF ARMAGH. [*Ninth Century.*] The Bollandists¹ have observed, that at the 1st of April, in the Martyrologies of Marianus O'Gorman and of Donegal, a certain Kellachus, the son of Soerguss, was commemorated. He is called an anchorite, as also an Archbishop of Armagh; although Colgan² asserts, that his name is not to be found among the Prelates of that see, as he was only a suffragan Bishop of St. Malbrigid.³ The latter is said to have occupied the see of Armagh, for a long time, both before and after the exercise of episcopal functions, by the present holy man, who is thought to have died, A.D. 893,⁴ or as some say, 903.⁵ There is, likewise, a Ceallach,⁶ Deacon of Gleann-da-locha, in Leinster, adds the O'Clerys' Calendar. Whosoever of these two saints is called Ceallach, son of Connmach, must have been intended in this stanza, which is in the Poem,⁷ beginning with, "Patrick of the fort of Macha loves," &c. This is still known as the great fortress, on a most commanding site, about two miles west of where the city of Armagh is built, and it remained, during many centuries, the chief seat of the kings of Ulster. The fortress and its circumvallations were planned,⁸ by the heroine, Macha Mongrua, or Macha of the Red Hair, the daughter of Aedh Ruadh.⁹ In Irish traditional history, she was a famous queen, who flourished seven

¹² Evidently a misprint for Cadoc.

¹³ The Vita S. Richarii, *Mart. Anglic.*, and Surius, are cited, in reference to Saints Adrianus and Cadocus, Epis., in Henry Fitzsimon's "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Hiberniæ."

¹⁴ They are so set down, in his "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordini Nensium et Dicrum."

ARTICLE II.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, pars. iii., p. 296.

³ His Life has been given, at the 22nd of February, the day for his feast.

⁴ According to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 558, 559.

⁵ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 47.

⁶ This saint is venerated, at the 7th of October.

⁷ This metrical effusion Cuimin of Coin-deire is said to have composed.

⁸ Legend says, that Queen Macha drew the plan of the fort with the neck-pin of her mantle (eo, "pin," muin, "neck,") and hence its name; while she compelled the sons of Dithorb to work at its erection. See "Cambrensis Eversus," by Gratianus Lucius, edited by Rev. Matthew Kelly, vol. i., pp. 442, 443.

⁹ Red Hugh and his cousins Dithorba and Kimboath, by agreement ruled Erin in turn, each for seven years; and at the end of his third reign of seven years, Red Hugh was drowned at the waterfall, thence called Eas Aedha-Ruaidh, "As-a-roe." Dithorba and Kimboath having each reigned seven years after this, Macha claimed to reign as her father's successor. She was refused, but fought a battle, in which she defeated both her antagonists. Dithorba was soon afterwards slain, and Macha took Kimboath as her husband and gave him the sovereignty.

centuries before the Christian era. The Latin form of the name given to her palace was Emania, from the Irish, *an Emain*,¹⁰ pronounced, "an Avain."¹¹ The large earthen mounds still encircle the hill, which is now corruptly called "The Navan." In course of time, the adjoining city took from it the name Ard Macha, "the height of Macha," now Armagh. A correct drawing



Fort of Emania, near Armagh.

of this very remarkable fort is here presented.¹² The upper portion represents a low mound, on a hill, and partly fenced with stone. The compartment below, and the intervening space, formed a circumvallation, anciently formed of stone, and in point of fact, it was a huge cashel, with its defences. The lowest portion, at present under tillage, seems to have constituted an outward line of defence, although owing to the changes of time, its exact character cannot now be defined.¹³ In the Martyrology of Donegal, we read, that a St. Ceallach obtained from God, to be blind, deaf and lame;¹⁴ yet, we cannot state, that he was identical, with the present holy man. Colgan mentions a St. Keallach, Abbot of Hy, at the 1st of April;¹⁵ but, it

After his death she ruled Erin for seven years. - See "The Irish Penny Magazine," vol. i., No. 2. Ancient Irish Biography, pp. 10, 11.

¹⁰ Sometimes called Emain-Macha.

¹¹ See a notice of this locality, by William Allingham, in a paper "On the Names of Places in Ireland," published in Frazer's Magazine.

¹² The original was drawn on the spot, by W. J. P. Malcernan, Esq., and transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman. It was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹³ I have been informed, by Mr. Wakeman, that at the *Navan Rath*, most wonder-

ful works in bronze, enamel, glass, stone and iron have been discovered, a collection of which now forms the Museum of the College of S. Columba, Rathfarnham, County Dublin.

¹⁴ Thus Cuimin says:—

"Ceallach, son of Connmach, loved
The religion which tormented his body,
Blindness, deafness, lameness
Which was granted him, a severe request."

¹⁵ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., sect. v., p. 502.

is clear, that he was a distinct personage.¹⁶ He died A.D. 810, *recte* 815, according to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters."¹⁷ The Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁸ at this day, records the name of Ceallach, successor to St. Patrick.

ARTICLE III.—ST. AEDHAN LAECH, OF CILL-AEDHAIN, PROBABLY IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN. A saint is, in the highest sense, a true benefactor to the cause of humanity, although we may little discover about the particulars of his life. At this date, the Bollandists have "Aidanus Læch" entered, in their great work.¹ In the Martyrology of Tallagh,² we have inserted, at the 1st of April, Aidan laech, *i.e.* Tamlachtain Bairci.³ It is supposed, that this place was within the county of Down, if—as seems not unlikely—the present saint was connected with Cill-Aedhain,⁴ plundered A.D. 1149.⁵ The existing name and situation of Cill Aedhain do not appear to have been identified, until the late Dr. O'Donovan offered that solution, but the denomination is rendered Aedhan's Cell. The wording of this saint's festival, in the Tallagh Martyrology, seems to imply, that he was a "soldier," or "layman,"⁶ in Tamlacht Boirche.⁷ If such be the case, his locality must be sought, among the mountains of Mourne, in or near the parishes of Kilkeel,⁸ barony of Mourne, or of Kilbrony,⁹ barony of Upper Iveagh, and county of Down. Perhaps, it might be identical with Killowen,¹⁰ in Kilbrony parish. In the townland of Lisnacree,¹¹ at the south-west edge of the parish of Kilkeel, is the graveyard of Tamlacht chapel.¹² On this day, we find Aedhan, of Cill Aedhain, in Ulster, registered in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹³ as having been venerated.

¹⁶ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," Additional Notes, O. Chronicon Hyense, p. 388.

¹⁷ See vol. i., pp. 422, 423.

¹⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE III.— See "Acta Sanctorum," toms i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, which now can be safely read, from the version of it, in the fine folio volume, so lately copied and collated by Joseph O'Longan and Professor O'Looney, from the original Manuscripts, we find at the Kalends of April *æoan* Læch, *i.e.* Tamlachtain Bairchi. The volume, as published, is intitled: "The Book of Leinster, sometime called the Book of Glendalough, a Collection of Pieces (Prose and Verse) in the Irish Language, compiled in part, about the middle of the Twelfth Century: now for the first time published from the original Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by the Royal Irish Academy," with Introduction, Analysis of Contents, and Index, by Robert Atkinson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Grammar, in the University of Dublin, and Secretary of Council of the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin, 1880."

² It may be rendered Tamlacht, of the Mourne Mountains.

³ So identified, by Dr. O'Donovan.

⁴ By the Cinell-Conaill, Cinel-Eoghain, and Airghialla, while under the leadership of the son of Niall O'Loughlin, when they invaded Ulidia. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1088, 1089, and n. (o). *Ibid.*

⁵ The word Læch is thus rendered, in O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary," *sub. voce.*

⁶ This denomination is not found, it may be observed, on the Ordnance Survey Maps for Down.

⁷ This extensive parish is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57. The townland itself and town are noted, on Sheets 55, 56.

⁸ This parish is noticed, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets 51, 52, 54, 55. The townland of Kilbrony is on Sheets 51, 54, while the denomination of Upper Kilbrony is on Sheets 51, 52.

⁹ The denomination of the Killowen Mountains is found, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets 54, 55.

¹⁰ See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheet 55.

¹¹ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dro-more." Appendix K, p. 207, and Calendar LL, p. 377.

¹² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. TUAN, OF TAMLACHT, COUNTY OF DOWN. The Bollandists record, “Tuanus filius Carilli,” in their collection,¹ at this date, and they quote as authority, the Irish Calendar next mentioned. The Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 1st of April, inserts the name of Tuan, son of Cairill.³ This saint is said to have been called Ruanus,⁴ by Giraldus Cambrensis; yet, we do not find any warrant for such an assertion, although, indeed, that writer has an account of a Ruanus,⁵ who is reported to have survived a great pestilence, which devastated Ireland, A.M. 2820.⁶ The incredible statement is made, that he survived to the time of St. Patrick, who baptized him, and that he lived to be 1,500 years old, when he died.⁷ This is one of the many fables, with which Giraldus Cambrensis was pleased to overload his writings. According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁸ Tuan, son of Coirell, of Tamlachta, in Boirche, had veneration paid him, at this date. The previous identification serves, for this particular locality.

ARTICLE V.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. CELSUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH. According to Marianus O’Gorman and the Annals of the Four Masters, the decease of St. Celsus is placed, at the Kalends of April—the present day. However, the Roman Martyrology and the Bollandists¹ notice him, at the 6th of the present month.

ARTICLE VI.—THE SONS OF GERAN, OR GORAN. Who these holy persons were has not been known, nor can it be ascertained, at what particular time they flourished. In the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ the entry, Mic or “sons of” Gerain, at the 1st of April, will be found, although incorrectly placed by the scribe. The Bollandists² notice them, as “Fili Gorani,” at this date, and on the same authority. On this day was celebrated a festival, in honour of The Sons of Gerán, as we find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE VII.—ST. GOBBAN. The Bollandists¹ have merely a notice of this holy man, at the present date. His record is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 1st of April, as Gobban Sci. Nothing has been ascertained, regarding his locality. There is a Kilgobban, in Kilgobban parish,³

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has, likewise, ΤΥΑΝ ΜΑC CAIRILL.

³ See Stillingfleet’s “Antiquities of the British Churches,” chap. v., p. 275. (London Edition, 1840.) Also, Rev. William Reeves’ “Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore,” Appendix K, p. 207, and n. (h.) *Ibid.*, also Calendar LL, p. 377.

⁴ See Halliday’s Keating’s “History of Ireland,” vol. i., pp. 158, 159, and following pages, for some account of this romantic character.

⁵ For some notices of him, the reader may consult Rev. James Hely’s translation of O’Flaherty’s “Ogygia,” part i., p. 5.

⁶ See Dr. O’Donovan’s “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. i., pp. 8, 9.

⁷ See Giraldus Cambrensis’ “Opera,” vol. v. Edited by James F. Dimock, M.A., Topographia Hibernica. Dist. iii., cap. ii., p. 142.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has ΜΑC ΓΕΡΑΙΝ.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has ΓΟΒΒΑΝΙ ΣCΙ.

Barony of Corkaguiny, and county of Kerry. There is a Kilgobban,⁴ in Clooney parish, barony of Upper Bunratty, and county of Clare; a Kilgobban,⁵ in Ballyclough parish, barony of Duhallow, and county of Cork; a Kilgobban,⁶ in Killala parish, barony of Tyrawley, and county of Mayo; a Kilgobbin,⁷ in Ballinadee parish, barony of East Carbery, and county of Cork. There is a Kilgobbin, in Kilgobbin parish,⁸ barony of Rathdown,



Kilgobbin Old Church, County Dublin.

and county of Dublin, where a very interesting old church⁹ may still be seen, mantled over with ivy. An ancient cemetery surrounds it, on an elevated site. Near it is an ancient castle,¹⁰ or fortified house.¹¹ Outside of the churchyard, there is a fine granite cross, about ten feet, in height.¹² There is a Kilgobbin,¹³ in Adare parish, barony of Coshma, and county of Limerick. There is also a Kilgowan,¹⁴ in the parish and barony of Kilcullen, county of Kildare.¹⁵ There is a sculptured stone, also, in this Killgowan, which is ancient, and which has a cross, on one of its sides. This is supposed to com-

³ This is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Maps for the County of Kerry," Sheets 36, 37, 45, 46.

⁴ This is noted, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Clare," Sheet 34.

⁵ This is noted, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork," Sheet 32.

⁶ This is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," Sheet 15.

⁷ This is noted, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork," Sheets 111, 124.

⁸ This is represented, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Dublin," Sheets 22, 23, 25, 26.

⁹ The present engraving of it, by Mrs. Millard, is from a drawing, taken by the

author, on the spot, and transferred to the wood by William F. Wakeman.

¹⁰ The principal part "lies in mortared masses over its former court."

¹¹ "It was erected by the Walshes, and forfeited by one of their descendants, in the time of Charles I.

¹² For an account of this place, the reader is referred to John D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin," pp. 824 to 828.

¹³ This is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Limerick," Sheets 12, 21.

¹⁴ It is noticed, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kildare," Sheets 28, 32.

¹⁵ See "General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes and Baronies of Ireland," p. 561.

¹⁶ A drawing of it, by the Rev. John

memorate a battle, fought in the eighth century. It is six feet eight inches in height.¹⁶ Whether the present holy man, or some other saint, bearing the same name, had been connected with one, or more than one, of the foregoing places, does not sufficiently appear. The festival in honour of Gobban is entered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁷ as occurring at this date.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. BRACAN, OR BRECAN, BISHOP OF CILL BRACAN. Duaid Mac Firbis enters, under the head of Cill Bracan, a Bracan, or Brecan, bishop, at the 1st of April.¹

ARTICLE IX.—FESTIVAL FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE RELICS OF ST. OSMANNA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR. The Acts of this saint were to have been prepared, by Colgan, for publication, at this day;¹ but, it appears to have been only the festival, for the taking up of St. Osmanna's relics, from a field, near Paris. The chief celebration of this holy virgin and martyr, as the Bollandists² remark, was at the 9th of September,³ or as others have it, at the 22nd of November.⁴

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. AMBROSE. In the Feilire¹ of St. Ængus, there is a commemoration of St. Ambrose, as also allusion to a festival of the Blessed Virgin,² on the Kalends of April, which correspond with the first day of this month.

Second Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. BRONACH, VIRGIN, PATRONESS OF KILBRONY PARISH, COUNTY OF DOWN.

TIME was when the holy virgin, St. Bronach, gave a bright example of faith, and of devotion to her sacred calling, among those majestic

Francis Shearman may be seen elegantly engraved in Miss Stokes' tract "On Two Works of Ancient Irish Art, known as the Breac Moedog (or Shrine of St. Moedog), and the Soisceal Molaise (or Gospel of St. Molaise)," communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, p. 12.

¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy." Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 94, 95.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ In his "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

³ Further notices of her will be found, at that day.

⁴ See a notice of St. Osmana, Virgin, at

22nd of November, where Colgan, also, refers to her, at this date.

ARTICLE X.—¹ The recent publication, "On the Calendar of Oengus," by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., leaves hardly anything to be desired, in the way of learned and judicious editing; and, therefore, gratefully thanking Professor Bryan O'Looney, for his kind and cordial transcripts and translations, as already acknowledged in the previous volumes, our readers will understand, that henceforth, from the three parallel versions published by Dr. Stokes, viz.: Rawlinson B. 505, and Laud 610—as marked in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford,—and the Leabhar Breac, Royal Irish Academy, the text of this latter has been invariably followed, with the English translation, as furnished, in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy." Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i. Dublin, 1880, 4to. Having access

mountains of Mourne,¹ that rise within the modern parish of Kilbrony. Her period, however, does not seem to be known. She is called the Virgin of Glen-Seichis,² which was an ancient name for the modern parish of Kilbrony,³ in the county of Down, also bearing the names of Glentegys,⁴ Clonfeys, Clonseys,⁵ and Kyllbronca, in ancient documents. This parish bears the name of Killowen, in addition to its many other denominations, from a district so called, which lies in its southern part. It is called, likewise, the church of Nister.⁶ This parish was merely a mensal one, belonging to the Bishop of Dromore,⁷ while we find that the M'Keon family—and perhaps other families—styled themselves “servants of St. Bronach.”⁸ This church was called by the present name of Kilbrony, from Bronach, its patron saint, whose festival is placed by the O'Clerys,⁹ at the 2nd of April. Of this parish, likewise, St. Bronach is the special patroness.¹⁰ She is called, also, Bromana,¹¹ and her festival belongs to this day. The old church¹² of this parish¹³ is situated, about half-a-mile north-east of that beautiful village, known as

to the original Manuscript, the text is printed in the old Irish characters, which could not have been done in Calcutta, where the learned editor passed his work through the press. Thus do we find the first stanza for the month of April:—

Soenat kl. appeil
Ambrois comest nglaine
Congaib i rmo raba
feil sopeilib maire.

“He ennobles April's calend, Ambrose guard of purity; he takes—it is an exceeding happiness—a feast of Mary's feasts.”

A note appended informs us, that this was Amhrose, Bishop of Milau, in Italy; although the Bollandists do not notice his festival, at this date.

² A note informs us, that this referred to the building of a tabernacle in Antioch—it may be assumed in her honour.

ARTICLE I.—¹ In Sir Walter Scott's Poem of “Rokehy,” there are allusions to this wild district—

“The woods and wastes of Clandchoy,”

while introducing the romantic character, Redmond O'Neale, in its several Cantos.

³ The name of this place should be equally correct, if written, *Glionn t-peiir*, “*Glen-teichis*.” See Dr. O'Donovan's “Irish Grammar,” pp. 61, 454, note (i.)

⁴ “The earliest instance in which the writer has met this name is in the Registrum Sweteman, where notice is given to the Bishop of Dromore of a visitation of his diocese, to be holden, November 4, 1366, ‘in loco qui dicitur Kyllbronaych.’—(fol. 49.) Previously it was called *Glenseichis*.”—Rev. Dr. Reeves’ “Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore.” Appendix EE, n. (f), p. 318.

⁵ The form is closely followed by the Taxation of 1291, in the word *Glentegys*. See *ibid.*, EE, p. 315, and n. (t.)

⁵ Among tables of procurations payable to the Primate, in his provincial Visitations, as found in Primate Dowdall's Registry, it is stated, that “*ecclesia de Clonseys*,” one of the parishes in Dromore diocese “*pertinet ad mensam Episcopi*.” On this passage, the Rev. Dr. Reeves remarks, that Clonseys is a corrupt form of Glen-Seichis, the ancient name for Kilbrony.

⁶ In the Taxation of Dromore diocese, compiled A.D. 1306, Kilhroncy is called, the church of Glentegys, otherwise of Nister, being rated at one mark, and the Teuth being 16 pence.

⁷ At A.D. 1526, the hishop's mensal of Kilhroncy was held by Arthur M'Ganyse, son of Gelacins, for two years, at four marks *per annum*. Reg. Crom., p. 487.

⁸ In the year 1428, August 6th, the Primate granted to Gyllahrony M'Kewyn the “*portiones Solite cum Officio Baculi in Ecclesia Sanctæ Bromanæ Virginis mensæ Episcopi Dromorensis*.” Reg. Swayne, lib. i., fol. 59.

⁹ In their Calendar, we find: *bponat óg o Shliono Seicir*, “Bronach a virgin of Glionn-Seichis.”

¹⁰ It is found, at A.D. 1428, January 14th. Master John M'Gerywey, Canon of Dromore, was presented to the parish church Sanctæ Bromanæ Virginis.—Reg. Swayne, ii., 607.

¹¹ “A.D. Circ. 1427, ‘Agholy M'Dermydan Custos Baculi Sanctæ Bromanæ Drumorensis Dioc.’” Reg. Swayne, lib. iii.

¹² To the west lies St. Bridget's well.

¹³ There is a view of the old church there, among the Manuscripts of the Irish Ordnance Survey, now kept in the Royal Irish Academy, as also an ancient cross, beside it, and this sketch has been traced by the writer. It is faithfully represented, in the accompanying illustration, and the ruin presents a very picturesque appearance, in its remote situation.

¹⁴ The accompanying engraving, by Mrs. Millard, is from a drawing on the wood, by

Rosstrevor, in the county of Down. This church is now a venerable ruin,¹⁴ and in the adjoining chapel-yard an ancient stone cross may be seen.¹⁵ The Kilbrony mensal consisted of certain lands, tithes¹⁶ and dues,¹⁷ which were appendant upon an office, known as that of St. Bromana's *baculus*, in the church of St. Bromana, according to old documents.¹⁸ We find the place



Kilbroney Old Church, County Down.

styled a Rectory¹⁹ and a Vicarage.²⁰ The custody of a certain relic, said to have been possessed by our saint, and attended with some privileges, had been formerly assigned by the bishop of this diocese to a clerical keeper. In the church of Kilbrony, appears to have been preserved the *baculus* or crozier of St. Bronach; and, the guardianship of this relic was entrusted to an ecclesiastic, who farmed certain lands, tithes and dues, belonging to the bishop's mensal in this parish.²¹ In a Taxation of all the Benefices in Dromore diocese, which took place in A.D. 1546, the Vicar of Killbronagh, now Kilbrony, was assessed at two marks. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,²² the patron's

William F. Wakeman.

¹⁵ An antique bell, now preserved in the Catholic Church of Newry, was found in the ruins of Kilbrony. For an account of this relic, see the "Newry Magazine," No. 2, p. 109.

¹⁶ Thus, in the year 1622, the rectorial tithes were leased, to one Anthony Howse, at £5 *per annum*.

¹⁷ Thus, in A.D. 1431, the Primate appointed Philip M'Kewen to collect the revenues and tithes of the lands of the parish church "Sanctæ Bromanæ Virginis."—Reg. Swayne, lib. iii.

¹⁸ "The rectorial tithes and the townland of Kilfeaghan continued to be held under the bishops, until the annexation of the See in 1842."—Rev. William Reeves' "Eccle-

siastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix EE, p. 309.

¹⁹ At the year 1442, November 17th, the rectories of Kyllbronca and Dissertdubunungi were let to farm to John M'Gillaboy, Canon of Dromore, for a term of five years, at 20s. a-year.—Reg. Prene, p. 69.

²⁰ At A.D. 1442, November 16th, Clemens M'Donnoghan, Vicar of Cillbronia.—Reg. Prene, p. 48. Again, at A.D. 1534, the Vicarage of Kilbrony vacant by the death of Patrick M'Brun.—Reg. Crom., p. 766. See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," n. (q), pp. 115, 116.

²¹ The names of some persons, who were nominated by the Primates, *sede vacante*, to this office, are yet extant.

name occurs, at the 2nd of April, as Bronach, Virgin. The Martyrology of Donegal²³ this day registers, Brónach, Virgin, of Cill Sechis,²⁴ as having a festival. The Rev. Alban Butler²⁵ has a record of this holy woman, at the 2nd of April, and she is noticed, moreover, in the Circle of the Seasons.²⁶ Likewise, that Calendar, compiled by the Rev. William Reeves,²⁷ giving her name, festival and locality, may be mentioned, in this connexion.

ARTICLE II.—ST. NENNIDHIUS MUNDIMANUS, OR NENNIDH LAMGH-LANN, PRIEST. [*Fifth and Sixth Centuries.*] The Acts of this saint appear to be lost, for, it is said, they formerly were extant;¹ but, at least, Colgan could not meet with them.² This saint was known as Ninnidh Lamglan, *i.e.* Mundimanus, or of the "clean hand," which is explained, by the legend so closely connected with his memory.³ Another form of this surname was Lamhiodan; the latter compound being rendered "clean."⁴ The name of this saint has been very illustrious in Ireland. There his festival had been formerly kept. According to some writers, it was held, on the 16th,⁵ and others state, on the 18th of January.⁶ Colgan has placed his Acts at the latter date,⁷ thus confounding him with St. Ninnidh,⁸ surnamed Laobh-dearc,⁹ Bishop of Inis-maighe-samh, on Lough Erne.¹⁰ However, not only the surnames, but, likewise, various other circumstances recorded, prove, that they were distinct persons.¹¹ This confusion has set some writers astray, such as Bishop Challenor,¹² and Bishop Forbes.¹³ We learn,¹⁴ that the name Nennio, or Nennius, which is the same as Nennian, was given to the Bishop of Candida Casa,¹⁵ and that he was identical with Maoineann,¹⁶ Bishop of Cloncurry, in the northern part of the present county of Kildare. He seems to have been a prelate, however, altogether different, from the present holy personage. A St. Ninnid of Cluain-Caoich is inserted, at this date, in the Index to the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁷ although omitted in its proper

¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find Uponach u.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

³ In a note, Dr. Todd says, "A more recent hand has written over this word, 'no Glinn Sechir nunc:' *i.e.* "or now Glenn Sechis."

⁴ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv. April ii. There she is called St. Bronacha, or Bronanna. The Rev. Alban Butler alludes to the Manuscripts of Colgan—which he appears to have inspected—for notices of this holy woman, at April 2nd.

⁵ See p. 93.

⁶ See "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore." Appendix LL, p. 377.

ARTICLE II.—⁷ According to a Life of St. Brigid, quoted by Colgan.

⁸ See his account, De Nennidhio seu Nennio Ab. et Ep., in "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Januarii xviii., cap. i., x., pp. 111, 114, and n. 2, p. 114.

⁹ See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. x., n. 1, p. 250.

¹⁰ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xviii. Januarii. De S. Nennidhio seu Nennio Ab. et Ep., n. 17, p. 115.

¹¹ See Bishop Challenor's "Britannia Sancta," part i., at that date, pp. 50, 51.

¹² According to the O'Clerys' Calendar, for which they quote a Life of St. Brigid, chapter xli., as also the Book of Hymns.

¹³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xviii. Januarii. De S. Nennidhio seu Nennio, Ab. et Ep. Ex diversis, pp. 111 to 115.

¹⁴ We have already treated about him, at the 18th of January.

¹⁵ Rendered, in English, "part-eyed."

¹⁶ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. ix., sect. v., p. 451. Also, vol. ii., chap. x., sect. xi., p. 51, and n. 173, pp. 55, 56.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, nn. 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, pp. 452, 453.

¹⁸ See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 51.

¹⁹ See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 425.

²⁰ From Dr. Lanigan, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., p. 438.

²¹ This was according to the custom of naming the Comharb or successor, after the original founder of the see.

²² His feast occurs, at the 16th of September.

²³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. Tables of the Martyrology, pp. 458, 459.

²⁴ A comment is found postfixed, that as

place;¹⁸ and, according to the O'Clerys, he was identical with the present holy man. Were we to follow some accounts, St. Nennidh was son to Eochadh, who belonged to the race of Læogaire, Monarch of Ireland.¹⁹ However, it is more correct to state, that he was son of Ethach, and that he was born, at a place, called Mula, or Muli. This was thought, by Colgan, to have been the Island of Mull,²⁰ in Scotland. Most likely, however, it is rendered Mullagh, at present, and various places in Ireland are so called. Again, St. Nennidh is stated, to have been a disciple of St. Patrick;²¹ but, such an account is not to be found, in any Acts of the Irish Apostle. It is much more rational to suppose,²² that St. Nennidh Lamhglann was brought up, under the discipline of St. Fiech,²³ Archbishop of Leinster. During his early years, our saint was a giddy and frolicsome youth, who attracted the notice of St. Brigid,²⁴ Abbess of Kildare, while she was travelling near that place, in an easterly direction, and probably over the present racecourse of the Curragh. She spoke to him, as he ran from her, and he returned to ask her prayers. Soon his soul was filled with God's grace, and he performed penance, afterwards leading a most holy life. The illustrious Abbess predicted, that she should receive the Body and Blood of Christ from his hand, at the hour of her death.²⁵ The writers of St. Brigid's Acts relate, that Nennidh then proposed to retire from Ireland, for a number of years, in order to prepare for this function. It is stated, moreover, that he felt so sensibly the honour intended for him, that he placed a brass gauntlet, secured by a lock and key, over his hand, so that it might not be defiled by touching any object, until he should be called upon to administer Holy Viaticum to St. Brigid. Hence, he obtained the surname, by which he was distinguished. It is not known by whom he had been ordained, although it has been stated, that he became a priest, at the instance of St. Patrick himself. However, in the Acts of St. Brigid, it is said, that he travelled abroad into Britain. The circumstances narrated, regarding this journey, are sufficiently romantic, and varied according to the fancies of different writers. Some state, that he became an exile from Ireland, owing to the express instructions of St. Brigid. Again, a Latin Hymn,²⁶ in praise of that holy Abbess, has been attributed to him, by some writers,²⁷ and it has been published, by Colgan.²⁸ He is said to have travelled, from Britain to Rome, so that he might visit the shrines of the Holy Apostles. His pilgrimage had lasted for four years, when an angelic vision warned him, that he should return to Ireland. The weakness of advancing years and her incessant labours had told

Ninnidh Laimhiodhain or Ninnid the Pure-Handed, who is mentioned in the Acts of St. Brigid, was not a bishop, but only a priest, the present saint seems to be identical with him.

¹⁹ We are informed, in Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. v., that Ninnidh Lamglan, or Lamioldhan, and Nainedh, of Kiltoma, venerated at the 13th of November, had a common ancestor, viz. : Nial of the Nine Hostages, the latter being fourth, in descent, and the former sixth, from the same king.

²⁰ This one of the Hebrides; its extreme length is thirty-five miles, and its extreme breadth is thirty. It has a superficial area of 420 square miles. See "The Popular Encyclopedia; or 'Conversations Lexicon,'" &c., vol. v., p. 86. Glasgow, 1841, Imp. 8vo.

²¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. iii., cap. xxii., p. 153, and n. 41, p. 185. *Ibid.*

²² See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. ix., sect. v., n. 76, p. 453.

²³ His festival occurs, at the 12th of October.

²⁴ Her feast is held, on the first of February.

²⁵ See a more detailed account of the foregoing incidents, at the 1st day of February, in our Life of St. Brigid, chap. x.

²⁶ This we have attempted to versify, in our Life of St. Brigid, chap. i.

²⁷ Others have it, that St. Ultan of Ardbraccan composed it, while some think it was St. Fiech. See Sir James Ware, "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. i., p. 3.

²⁸ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Tertia

upon St. Brigid, and sailing over the Irish sea, Nennidh soon landed in Ireland,²⁹ where he learned, that the illustrious Mary of Erinn eagerly expected his last visit to her. On his return home, Nennidh found that saint approaching to her happy end. Her chaplain then administered the Sacred Viaticum, without delay, and soon afterwards she expired, about A.D. 523. The legend of his attendance on St. Brigid at the period of her decease, though probably founded on fact, is overlaid with too much of the marvellous, to be readily believed.³⁰ However this may be, it is generally stated, that Nennidh Lamhghlan did not very long survive his great patroness; but, the day and year for his demise have not been exactly ascertained. He flourished in the sixth century,³¹ according to such a synchronism.

ARTICLE III.—ST. CONALL, BISHOP OF CLONALLAN, COUNTY OF DOWN. [*Sixth Century.*] In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ the name of Conall, son of Aedha, is found, entered at the 2nd of April. The Bollandists,² while deferring an opinion on the subject, until the Acts of the Irish Saints should receive further illustration, remark, that the saint, venerated on this day at Cluain-dallain, is thought, by Colgan,³ to have been Connall,⁴ Abbot of Killchonail, in the territory, known as Maine, or Hy-Maine. The O'Clerys state, that the saint, venerated on the 2nd of April, belonged to the race of Irial, son to Conall Cearnach. At first, St. Conall was president over Clonallan church,⁵ county of Down, at an early period. He afterwards succeeded St. Carbreus,⁶ as Bishop of Coleraine, about the year 570. His parish was evidently near Carlingford Lough,⁷ which becomes contracted at Caol, "narrow," in the same sense, as that used by the Scotch, in the word Kyles, now the Narrow Water. The name of this church is said, however, to have been derived from St. Dallan,⁸ who flourished in the sixth century.⁹ The O'Clerys' Calendar states, that his place was near Snamh Each,¹⁰ i.e. the harbour near unto the Cael,¹¹ in Ui Eathach, of Uladh.¹² We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹³ that veneration was paid, on this day, to Conall, son of Aedh, of Cluain, i.e. of Cluain Dallain, now Clonallan parish.

Vita S. Brigidæ, p. 542. It begins with the words, "Christus in nostra insula."

²⁹ See our Life of St. Brigid, chap. xiv., at the 1st of February.

³⁰ See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. x., n. 1, p. 250.

³¹ See Bishop Challenor's "Britannia Sancta," part i., pp. 50, 51.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has Conall mac Aedha.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 57.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Februarii. De S. Attracta, n. 5.

⁴ Called, also, Conallus Droma.

⁵ The parish of Clonallan, in the barony of Upper Iveagh, is marked on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets 47, 50, 51, 54. Clonallan Glebe is noted on Sheets 51, 54 *Ibid.*

⁶ His feast occurs, at the 11th of November.

⁷ The parish of Carlingford, situated in the barony of Lower Dundalk, is described

on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Louth," Sheets 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9. The town and Liberties are on Sheets 5, 8, 9; while the Lough—so celebrated for its size and for the romantic beauty of its scenery on either shore—takes its name from the town.

⁸ His feast was kept, on the 29th of January.

⁹ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," n. (o), pp. 114, 115, and Calendar LL, p. 377.

¹⁰ "Snamh each. i. an cuan laín ris in chaol (Narrow Water, near Newry), in utb echach uladh."—MS. note, by William M. Hennessey, appended.

¹¹ In a note Dr. Todd, says, "Cael, i.e., the Narrow Water. William M. Hennessey says, that Clonallan lies near the Narrow Water, at Newry. I find, also, a note in his handwriting, to this effect, "Cluain Dallain, Armagh," in his comments on the Donegal Martyrology.

¹² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Quarta Vita S. Columbæ, lib. i., n. 105, pp. 380, 381.

ARTICLE IV.—THE FESTIVAL OF ST. AMPHIANUS, AND OF HIS COMPANIONS. In the Bollandists' great work,¹ we find some brief notices of the martyrdom of St. Amphianus² and of St. Victor,³ with fourteen other companions,⁴ as met with in several old Martyrologies, yet with some variations of entry. In the Feilire of St. Ængus,⁵ their festival is entered, likewise, while their martyrdom is commemorated, at the 2nd day of April. The exact place, where they suffered, is not noticed.

ARTICLE V.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. RQUIER, OR RICHARIUS, ABBOT OF CENTULE, FRANCE. [*Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*] This St. Riquier, Riquierus, or Richarius, was Abbot of Centule, in Ponthieu. His feast was kept, on the 2nd of April; and, according to other accounts, on the 9th of October; yet, the 26th of April is generally assigned for his feast.¹ Henry Fitzsimon² places him, as Riquierus,³ in the Calendar of Irish Saints; yet, on no fair grounds that we can discover, if it be not, that his instructors were Irishmen.⁴

ARTICLE VI.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. NICA—PERHAPS ST. NICETIUS—BISHOP OF LYONS, FRANCE, OR ST. NICASIUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR. The festival in honour of Nica,¹ Bishop, was celebrated, on this day, as we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal.² With Irish hagiology, the present holy man appears to have had no special connexion; but, it must be apparent, that either St. Nicetus,³ Bishop of Lyons, who flourished in the sixth century, or St. Nicasius,⁴ Bishop and Martyr, mentioned in certain written additions⁵ of a Carthusian, at Bruxelles, to a copy of Greuen,⁶ can only be meant.

ARTICLE VII.—FESTIVAL OF ST. EUSTASIUS, ABBOT OF LUXEU, FRANCE. In various old Martyrologies, such as in those of Usuard,¹ of Tournay, of Utrecht, of Bruxelles, of Lætiensis, and of Altempsia, as also in a Supplement to the Martyrology of St. Jerome, printed at Paris, there is an entry of

¹³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. De Sanctis Martyribus Afris Amphiano, Victore et aliis xiv., p. 66.

² Galesinus omits his name.

³ His name is omitted in a Manuscript Martyrology of St. Cyriacus, often quoted in the notes of Baronius.

⁴ The number varies, in some accounts.

⁵ The following is from the Leabhar Breac copy, as edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—

MOFFLUAG AMBIFAN
 OAMBDA DEMUN SUBACH
 OPEBRANING IAPCATH CALAO
 IOIHOIO IOEP IOBACH.

"Amphianus' great host, for which the demon was sorrowful, passed after a hard battle into the noble happy peace."

ARTICLE V.—¹ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome v., xxvi^e Jour d'Avril, pp. 33 to 36.

² "Catalogus aliorum Sanctorum Hibernæ."

³ See D. Philippo O'Sullevano Bearro, "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," tom. i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 56.

⁴ See the account, already given, at the preceding day, in the Acts of St. Caidoc, and of St. Frigor, or Adrian.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ In a note, Dr. Todd here says, at this name *Nica*: "The more recent hand adds, 'Marian. Est Nicetus de quo Martyrol. Romanum hac die.'"

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

³ See an account of him, in the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. De Sancto Nicetio, Episcopo Lugdunensi in Gallia. His Acts are compiled from various sources. See pp. 95 to 101.

⁴ The day for his deposition is set down as the 12th of December.

⁵ Thus is the feast entered, at this date: S. Nicasii, Episcopi et Martyris, Remis Translatio.

⁶ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 58.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ In the Manuscript copy,

St. Eustasius, Abbot of the Monastery of Luxeu, at the 2nd of April. His Acts have been given, in our previous volume, at the 29th of March. The Bollandists² have a notice of him, at this day; but, it is unnecessary, to devote further space, in consideration of the subject.

Third Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. CUANAN GLINNE, ABBOT OF MAGH-BILE, OR MOVILLE, COUNTY OF DERRY.

[EIGHTH CENTURY.]

IT seems likely enough, that the present holy man was born before the close of the seventh age, as he departed this life, before the middle of the eighth century. He was created Abbot over the famous monastery of Magh-Bile,¹ now known as Moville, in the diocese of Derry. This word, Magh-Bile, is rendered, "Campus arboris Sacri,"² in Latin; it means, in English, "the plain of the sacred tree." It is probable, this place had been so called, for the reason, that in ancient times, some sacred tree—an object of religious veneration—stood near the site of a church, or monastery, here founded. Another church, known as Magh Bile, or Moville, was situated, in the parish of Newtownards,³ not far from the head of Strangford Lough;⁴ and this had been founded, by St. Finian,⁵ or Findbarr, before or about the middle of the sixth century.⁶ St. Cuanan Glinne died, on the 3rd day of April, A.D. 742, according to Colgan⁷ and the Annals of the Four Masters.⁸ The Annals of Ulster, however, place his death, at A.D. 746.⁹ The Bollandists¹⁰ merely allude to his name and festival, at this date.

which belonged to St. Germain des Pres, Paris.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis i. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 56.

ARTICLE I.—It was otherwise called Norborgh, or Maydbylly, as we find from the "Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A.D. MCCCXCVII.," &c. Edited by Rev. Dr. Reeves. See pp. 65, 58, with nn. (o, p, x.)

³ "Bile-Magh-a-dair, i.e. Arbor sacer-campi-Quercus sive adorationis, arbos erat in agro Clarensis," &c.—Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tom. i. Prolegomena, pars i., p. 26, and n. 2.

⁴ This parish, in the baronies of Lower Ards and of Lower Castlereagh, is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets 1, 2, 5, 6, 11.

⁵ "About a mile N.E. of the town of Newtownards stood the abbey church of Moville (mag bile), which, though founded so early as the sixth century, and occupying

a prominent place in the Irish Annals, is not noticed, at least under its usual name, in the Taxation. Its ruins are 107 feet in length, and its cemetery is the parish burial-ground of Newtownards."—Ord. Survey, s. 6.—Dr. Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," n. (r), p. 14.

⁶ His feast occurs, at the 10th of September.

⁷ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. x., sect. vi., p. 25.

⁸ According to Colgan, in his notice of St. Cuanna, Abbot of Lismore. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," iv. Februarii, n. 2, p. 251.

⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 342, 343.

¹⁰ "Cuanan glinne Abbas Maigi-bile moritur."—Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tom. iv. Annales Ultonienses, pars. i., p. 91.

¹¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii. Among the pretermitted saints, pp. 235, 236.

ARTICLE II.—ST. COMAN, SON OF DOMAINGHIN. The Martyrology of Tallagh¹ inserts an entry, at the 3rd of April, regarding St. Coman, who is called the son of Domangin. We may suppose him—from the name of their respective fathers—to have been a distinct person from the St. Comman,² who gave name to Roscommon,³ where, at present, are to be seen the ruins⁴ of a beautiful Dominican Abbey,⁵ founded by Phelim Mac Cathal Crowdearg O'Conor, King of Connaught, A.D. 1257,⁶ and who was buried there,⁷ in the



Roscommon Abbey, County of Roscommon.

year 1265.⁸ On this day, likewise, we find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁹ as having veneration paid to him, a St. Coman, the son of Domainghin. Similar to this record, in the Irish Calendar, which belonged to the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, at the Third of April Nones, corresponding with the same day of this month, we meet only the entry of one saint.¹⁰ The Bollandists¹¹ conjecture, that he may have been the same as Cuanna, Abbot of Maghfile.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has Coman mac Domoingin.

² His feast occurs, at the 26th of December.

³ This is a parish, in the barony of Ballintubber South, and it is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Roscommon," Sheets 39, 40, 41, 42. The town itself is on Sheet 39.

⁴ The accompanying engraving, by Mrs. Millard, is from a drawing on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, after a drawing, taken on the spot, by J. C. Fitz-Gerald Kenny, Esq., in the year 1848.

⁵ See an account of it, in Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 525 to 527.

⁶ See "The Parliamentary Gazetteer of

Ireland," vol. iii., p. 171.

⁷ His tomb is yet preserved, within the choir, where the high altar once stood, and a drawing of this monument, with an account of the founder, will be seen, in the "Irish Penny Magazine," vol. i., No. 27, pp. 293, 294. The drawing and article are by D. C. Grose, Esq.

⁸ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 621.

⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 92, 93.

¹⁰ He is called, Coman mac Domoingin. See the "Common Place Book," F., p. 36, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

¹¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 236.

ARTICLE III.—ST. BENATIUS, PATRON OF CILL-CHUILE, NOW KILLCOOLEY, COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON. A Catalogue of the churches, in the diocese of Eiphin, has a St. Benatius, Patron of Cill-Chuile, or Kill-Chuile church—now Killcooley¹—in the Deanery of Sil-muiredhaigh. He was venerated, on the 3rd of April.²

ARTICLE IV.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. FECHUON, OR FAELCHU, ABBOT OF IONA. [*Seventh and Eighth Centuries.*] At this date—although it does not appear from our Calendars—Colgan seems to have prepared for publication some Acts of a St. Fechuon, an Abbot.¹ He is called, likewise, Faelchu, the son of Dorben, son to Fennius, son of Fergus, son to Liber, son of Nathi, son to Conall Gulban.² This saint became an Abbot, over the monastery at Iona.³ He was born in 642, and he was elected to the seat of St. Columba in 717, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The Community at Hy received the Roman coronal tonsure, while he was Abbot there.⁴ It seems probable, that soon after his accession, the Columbian Congregation had been driven, by King Nechtan,⁵ beyond the Dorsum Britannæ,⁶ or Pictish frontier, because they had been reluctant to obey the royal decree, regarding the time for observing the Pasch, and the custom of tonsure, which had been enforced on other clerics, within his kingdom.⁷ He died in 720,⁸ according to some writers, and others have it 724.⁹ His departure from life was in the eighty-second year.¹⁰

ARTICLE V.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF CUCUMNEUS, A MONK OF IONA. [*Sixth or Seventh Century.*] At the 3rd of April, Colgan enters Cucumneus, a monk of Iona.¹ It appears, he has reference to St. Cucumneus Mocukein, a nephew to the great St. Columkille,² and whose sister Sinecha³ was mother to the holy man noticed. He was a devout priest, who lived to a great age, and happily departed this life, at Iona.

ARTICLE VI.—FESTIVAL OF ST. EVAGRIUS, AND OF HIS COMPANIONS, MARTYRS, AT TOMIS, IN SCYTHIA. In the Feilire of St. Ængus,¹ at the 3rd

ARTICLE III.—¹ The parish of Killcooley, in the barony and county of Roscommon, is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Roscommon," Sheets 22, 23. The townland is on Sheet 23.

² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xlvi., lii., p. 136, and n. 109, pp. 177, 178.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

² According to the Sanctilogium Genealogicum, cap. i.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., p. 481. Also Quinta Appendix, cap. iii., sect. v., p. 502.

⁴ According to the Annalist Tigernach, at A. D. 718.

⁵ He is called Naiton, by Venerable Bede.

⁶ Now that great mountain chain, known

as the Grampion Hills, dividing Perthshire from Argyleshire.

⁷ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. v., cap. 21.

⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 318, 319. The Annals of Ulster have it, at A. D. 723. See n. (c). *Ibid.*

⁹ This is Tigernach's computation.

¹⁰ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Additional Notes O, pp. 381, 382.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See "Trias Thaumaturga." Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, sect. v., p. 501, and *ibid.* Quarta Appendix, cap. ii., x., num. 5, pp. 473, 489.

² His Life occurs, at the 9th of June.

³ She is called "mater virorum Mocucai." See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Additional Notes A, p. 247.

of April, we have an eulogy of St. Evagrius and of his companions, who suffered martyrdom, on this day. While one version sets down the number of martyrs at seventy, another makes it forty.² The Bollandists³ give us the following names, at this date, viz. : S. Evagrius, S. Benignus,⁴ S. Christus, S. Arestus, S. Sinnidia, S. Rufus, S. Patricius, and S. Zosimus. They have a special Article, likewise, relating to the various Martyrologies, which have recorded them, with differences of entry and of statement.⁵ The place, where those valiant champions of Christ suffered, was at a city, called Tomis,⁶ in Scythia.⁷

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF A ST. DIMAUS, OR DINAUS, A MONK, IN SCOTIA. At the 3rd of April, the Bollandists¹ take notice, that citing Wion's Martyrology,² David Camerarius³ has placed Dimaus, or Dinaus, with the title of a saint. John Lesley places him, likewise, among the renowned men, who, in the seventh century, by their lives, examples, and learning, made Scotland so remarkable.⁴

ARTICLE VIII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. EUSTASIUS, ABBOT. In a Manuscript Martyrology of St. Martin, at Treves, there is an entry of St. Eustasius, Abbot, who is thought, by the Bollandists¹ to have been no other than St. Eustasius, Abbot of Luxeu, whose life has been given already, at the 29th of March.

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF HELIAS, A SOLITARY, AND ABBOT OVER THE SCOTTISH PILGRIMS, AT COLOGNE. According to Thomas Dempster, who cites Marianus, in his Scottish Martyrology,¹ the present devout man was Abbot over the houses of St. Martin and of St. Pantaleon, at Cologne. He also was known as the Solitary; probably, because he chose to lead the life of a recluse. The Bollandists² remark, that his feast, at this day, is not among the Cologne festivals, as noted by Gelenius, but rather it is to be found, at the 12th of April.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ This is the stanza given, by Dr. Whitley Stokes, with its translation:—

Sluaḡ euaḡair uairil
 arḡala ræth rætaib
 .lxx. soirḡaib
 arḡoib canib cetaib.

"Noble Evagrius' host went from paths of tribulations, seventy kings with two fair hundreds."

² This is the copy, belonging to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, and marked Rawlinson, B. 512.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii., p. 235.

⁴ In the "Martyrologium Romanum," at this day, we find recorded the birth in heaven of the holy martyrs Evagrius and Benignus, at Tomes, in Sythia. This agrees with the Martyrologies of Ado, of Notker, of Bede, of Bellinus, of Rheineau and of other ancient Kalendars.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii., p. 244.

⁶ In some old Manuscripts, this is called Theumis, Thomas, and Eumis, which are probably clerical errors.

⁷ In certain ancient Martyrologies, errors are to be found, making the place Cilicia and Sicilia; also, Sicia and Nicea Meea are to be met with, a misspelling in the later records.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii. Among the premitted saints, p. 235.

² In his Appendix to the "Lignum Vitæ," the name is rejected.

³ See Entries, in his Kalendar of Scottish Saints. Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 236.

⁴ See lib. iv., p. 159.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii. Among the premitted saints, p. 235.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ Known as "Menologium Scoticum." See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iii. Among the premitted saints, p. 236.

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. FLORENTIN, BISHOP OF STRASBURGH, GERMANY. There is a festival, for St. Florentius Episcopus Argentoratensis, entered at the 3rd of April, by Canisius and Ferrarius; but, his feast is referred by others, to the 7th of November,¹ where an account of this holy Bishop will be found.

The Fourth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. TIGHERNACH, ABBOT OF CLONES, AND BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

[FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—AUTHORITIES—PARENTAGE AND BIRTH OF ST. TIGERNACH—HIS EDUCATION UNDER ST. MONENNIUS—HIS JOURNEY TO ROME, AND HIS RETURN TO BRITAIN—HE EMBARKS FOR IRELAND—MIRACLES.

FORMERLY, in Ireland, the spirit of the ecclesiastic and of the recluse diffused sanctity to the very sheeling of the clansman, to the home of the brugach, and to the castle of the chieftain. Foremost among clerics were the venerable bishops, respected and venerated in this land of St. Patrick. And, at the present day, we are to record the memory of an early and a holy prelate, yet remembered in his own special locality, and there greatly revered.

The Bollandists¹ have published the Life of St. Tighernach,² but not at this date,³ from a parchment Manuscript, which formerly belonged to Salamanca College, in Spain. They compared it with another Codex, belonging to Father Hugh Ward. A third copy had been procured, from Father Henry Fitzsimon, and, as remarked, in the Bollandists' notes, some proper names in it are differently rendered, from those found in the preceding Manuscripts. This Life was written at a period, long subsequent to St. Tigernach's death, and perhaps, after the English invasion, as the editors remark. His biography is based on traditionary accounts of the Saint; but, as traditions have undergone strange alterations and amplifications, in from six to seven centuries, the Acts are of little value, in a historical sense.⁴ Among the Burgundian Library Manuscripts, Bruxelles, there is yet preserved, the Latin Vita S. Tygernachi,⁵ which has been printed by the Bollandists. Again, there is a Codex, probably containing similar matter, in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.⁶ In the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, there is a Manuscript, intitled,

ARTICLE X.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomos i., Aprilis iii. Among the pretermitted festivals, p. 237.

ARTICLE I—CHAPTER I.—See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos i., Aprilis v. De Sancto Tigernaco Episcopo in Hibernia, pp. 401 to 404. This is the Life, to which reference is chiefly made, in subsequent pages.

² In two chapters, containing thirteen paragraphs. This has a commentary preceding it, in six paragraphs, and, it is edited, by Father Godefrid Henschenius, who deems it to contain many fables.

³ At the 4th of April, citing the Martyrologies of Tallagh, and of Greven, in his additions to Usuard, the Bollandists merely notice S. Tigernacus Episcopus Cluaineosensis, referring his Acts to the following day. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 320.

⁴ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 4, p. 62.

⁵ Vol. xxii., fol. 86.

⁶ It is classed B. 505, Vita S. Tigernaci, in a vellum folio Manuscript of the fourteenth century, at pp. 12 to 16.

"Vita Sanctorum," ex Cod. Inisensi. It contains a Vita S. Tigernachi.⁷ Reference is probably made to the latter, where on Colgan's list,⁸ some Acts of St. Tigernach seem to have been designed for publication, at this day. Some brief *memoranda*, regarding this distinguished and saintly prelate, have been placed on record, by Bishop Challoner,⁹ by the Rev. Alban Butler,¹⁰ and by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.¹¹

As his old Acts inform us, St. Tigernach was of royal birth, being grandson to King Eochod,¹² whose daughter Dearfraych, or Dervail¹³, was married to a warrior of her father, named Corbre,¹⁴ a Leinster man by birth.¹⁵ Dearfraych, who was exceedingly beautiful, concealed herself from man's sight, during the time she bore our Saint. When he was born, Corbre brought the infant into his native province. While approaching the city of Kildare, St. Bridget¹⁶ had a revelation, which she communicated to her nuns. It regarded the approach of her respected visitors.¹⁷ That holy virgin went out to meet the infant, whom she pressed to her bosom. The child was baptized by Bishop Conlath,¹⁸ while Bridget is said to have been his sponsor.¹⁹ She requested, that his name should be Tigernach, which is expressive of royalty. The father of our Saint brought the child to his own part of the country, where he was carefully educated.²⁰ One day, while sleeping in the presence of his mother, the latter observed a breath, that issued from his mouth, which presented a white appearance; a second breath, which appeared of a reddish hue; and a third, which had a yellowish colour. On Tigernach's awaking, he was asked, what he had seen during sleep. Then he answered, "I dreamed, that three streams of Divine origin were flowing into my mouth; the first, a rivulet of milk, the second one of wine, the third one of oil; and, afterwards, I saw a man of venerable aspect, clothed in a white habit. He prophesied after this manner, 'In the land of thy mother shalt thou found an illustrious church.'" This was understood, as having reference to the future church of Clones.²¹

Whilst a boy, Tigernach was taken captive by pirates, who brought him to the King of Britain. This monarch was so much captivated with his beautiful appearance and with his virtues, that he allowed our Saint to sleep on the royal bed, which appeared oftentimes surrounded with a miraculous light. Hereupon the queen said, "This Irish child causes light to descend on us from Heaven; and, for this reason, let us remove him to that bed, in which our sons repose." When he had slept with the monarch's two sons, on the

⁷ At pp. 21 to 27.

⁸ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁹ See "Britannia Sancta." Part i., pp. 214, 215.

¹⁰ This writer has his feast, at the 5th of April. See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April v.

¹¹ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 4, pp. 62, 63.

¹² In Fitzsimon's Manuscript, the name is written Confuth. While it is stated, that he lived near the city of Clochor, or Clogher, the Manuscript of Fitzsimon has it in the city of Clones, which was also in the diocese of Clogher.

¹³ According to Fitz-simon's copy.

¹⁴ Fitz-simon's copy has here "Laginiensi nomine Lormock."

¹⁵ The Calendar of the O'Clerys states, that Tigernach descended from the race of

Cathair Mór, monarch of Erin, and that he belonged to the Leinstermen. Dearfraoich, daughter of Eochaidh, son to Criomhthann, King of Oirghiall, was his mother.

¹⁶ Her feast occurs, at the 1st of February.

¹⁷ If this narrative be true, we should suppose, according to Rev. Dr. Lanigan, that St. Brigit must have been in her younger days, and that this event happened, at least, about thirty years before A.D. 506. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. ix., sec. ii., n. 16, pp. 436, 437.

¹⁸ His festival is observed, on the 3rd of May. In Fitz-simon's Codex, he is called St. Collardus.

¹⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Appendix Secunda ad Acta S. Brigidæ, sect. xiii., p. 605.

²⁰ Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. i., sec. i., "Acta Sanctorum," Aprilis, tom. i.

²¹ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. i., sec. 3.

following morning, both were found dead. The king and queen sent immediately to St. Movennus, or Monennius,²² requesting his attendance at court, to consult with him, in such an emergency. On his arrival, this saint indicated to Tigernach, that he should lie between the children who were dead, and order them to arise with him. To the great joy of the parents, both their sons were restored to life.²³ Our saint was then set at liberty; and afterwards, he became the disciple of a bishop,²⁴ known as St. Monennius,²⁵ or Ninio²⁶—supposed to have been Ninian—in his monastery of Alba.²⁷ It is thought,²⁸ that Rosnat,²⁹ or Whitethorn,³⁰ was the place. Others will say, that the locality was within the principality of Wales,³¹ and not in Scotland.³² By such an experienced master, Tigernach was instructed in science and virtue. It may be questioned, if this holy teacher were not identical with St. Manchan, the master of St. David of Wales.³³ Having received the benediction of his superior, Tigernach set out on a pilgrimage to Rome. Thence he bore relics of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, to his own country.³⁴ He journeyed towards the city of Tours, in company with St. Keeran, son to Euchad.³⁵ It being the time of winter, they were received in a hospice,

²² The Acts of this Saint are found, it is stated, in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," at the 1st of March, on which day his festival is kept. In these, the foregoing notices of St. Tigernach occur. See pp. 437 to 439. Some writers have foolishly confounded Monennius with Nennius, the British historian, who lived, it is thought, in the ninth century.

²³ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. i., sec. 2.

²⁴ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. i., chap. ix., sec. ii., n. 16, pp. 437, 438.

²⁵ Colgan makes him the same as Moena, who died Bishop of Clonfert, A.D. 571. But, as Dr. Lanigan remarks, how could a man, who had been a bishop in Britain before Tigernach became one in 506, be supposed to have lived to so late a period? In the opinion of Dr. Lanigan, the present Monennius was undoubtedly the same person as Nennio, abbot and bishop of what was called the great monastery in Britain, and to whom St. Cailan, of Antrim, is said to have sent St. Finnian, of Maghile. See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 954.

²⁶ When we read of Nennio being the bishop, to whom some Irish students were sent, this, Dr. Lanigan believes must be understood, as originally meaning, that they were sent to the school, held in the See of Nennio, or Ninia, who was dead before Tagerach or Fridian could have repaired thither. In fact, Fridian's master is called Mugentius, and what is very remarkable, the place is denominated Candida. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Vita S. Fridiani, p. 634.

²⁷ Neither the "Monasticon Anglicanum," nor Stevens, nor Tanner, nor Nasmith, nor Camden, have, so far as Dr. Lanigan could discover a single word about it, although so often mentioned in the Acts of some Irish saints.

²⁸ Especially by Rev. Dr. Lanigan.

²⁹ The master of St. Endeus of Aran, said to have been at that school, is called, not Nennio, but Mansenus.

³⁰ Here it is said, he had founded that See, early in the 5th century, and there can be no doubt of an ecclesiastical school having been established there. See Ussher, "De Primordiis." &c., pp. 661, et seq. The Rev. Dr. Lanigan observes, that Candida Casa lay very convenient for students from the North of Ireland; and, it is worth observing, that of those, who are spoken of as having studied at Rosnat, or Alba, scarcely one is to be found, that was not a native of Ulster.

³¹ Colgan concludes, that because this name means "White," it was no other than the famous monastery of Bangor, or Banchor, near the river Dee, some few miles from Chester, and which must be carefully distinguished from the present episcopal town of Bangor, which lies far to the west of where the monastery stood. See Ussher, "De Primordiis," p. 133. Colgan's chief argument is, that *Ban*, in Irish, signifies *White*, and so *Banchor* was the same as *White choir*. But waving certain doubts, concerning said monastery having existed at that early period, it is to be recollected, as Dr. Lanigan remarks, that *Ban* has not such a signification in the British language, which is that to be looked to in this enquiry.

³² There is a village and parish in Dumbartonshire, called Roseneath, anciently Rosnachoich. See "Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. iv., p. 71.

³³ See his *Life*, at March 1st, chap. ii.

³⁴ It is said incorrectly, that St. Tigernach founded an Abbey for Augustin Canons, at Clones, and that it was placed under the invocation of St. Peter and St. Paul. See *Harris' Ware*, vol. i., "Bishops of Clogher," p. 177.

³⁵ From the father's name, it appears he could not have been St. Keiran, Patron of

where nine persons died on that same night. St. Keeran³⁶ requested his companion to compassionate the wailings of their friends, and to unite with him in earnest entreaty, for their restoration to life. Fervently praying together, the Almighty was pleased to grant their request. From that time forward, both saints were joined in the strictest bonds of friendship.³⁷ When our saint approached the shore of the Irish sea, it happened, that Ethnea, daughter to the King of Munster, had been brought to the place, whence he intended to embark for Ireland. She was attended by soldiers, belonging to the King of Britain, a prince who wished to marry her. Seeing the saint, with his companions, at that port, Ethnea said, "O holy Father, do not permit me to remain with the infidels, for I have devoted myself to Christ, whose faith and love animate my whole heart." The saint besought the soldiers to release her, but disregarding this request, they brought their captive to the ruler. Being forced against her inclination into the King's presence, she became insensible, and immediately yielded up her spirit.³⁸ Astonished at this circumstance, the king required his soldiers to give a full account of what had taken place, during their journey. Afterwards, he ordered the royal maiden's dead body to be given without delay to the strange pilgrim, who had required her release, at their hands. This being done, the corpse was placed in a coffin, by Tigernach. He then ordered the sailors to put out for sea. When they were a distance from land, our saint prepared to celebrate the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. It is said, that at a time, when it was necessary to pour water into the wine, a drop of rain-water fell from Heaven. When the navigators had reached the wished-for port, turning towards the virgin's body, Tigernach said, "O Ethnea, thou art buried in a long sleep. In the name of Jesus Christ arise, and disembark from this vessel, first of all." Immediately, she arose, and to the great astonishment and admiration of its crew, Ethnea went on shore.³⁹ Having forgotten a thurible,⁴⁰ at that port from which he embarked, Tighernach found it at the spot, near which he landed. He remained some time with St. Bridgid⁴¹ This illustrious virgin received him with great honour. The fame of his sanctity in Ireland soon brought many to a profession of the true faith.⁴²

CHAPTER II.

ST. TIGHERNACH VISITS MUNSTER AND CHAINS A DEMON—A RULER, NAMED FIACHRIUS, GRANTS HIM THE SITE FOR A MONASTERY—HE THEN VISITS KILDARE, AND ON THE NOMINATION OF ST. BRIDGET, HE IS CONSECRATED A BISHOP—TIGHERNACH RETURNS TO CLOGHER, WHERE HE IS SET OVER A MONASTERY—HE RAISES DUACH, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, TO LIFE—KING TACHODRUS GRANTS HIM THE SITE FOR A MONASTERY, AT CLONES—REMARKABLE MOAT THERE—ST. TIGERNACH'S RESIDENCE AT CLONES.

FROM that part of the country, in which he dwelt for a time, Tighernach went into Munster. He arrived at a place, where its inhabitants worshipped a

Ossory, as his father is differently named, in his Life, at the 5th of March.

³⁶ Ward's Manuscript has this name written Kyeranus.

³⁷ Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. i., sec. 4.

³⁸ The Manuscript of Fitz-simon has "Cum ducta esset ad Regem invita, et in lecto ejus collocata, protinus mortua est."

³⁹ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. i., sec. 5, in the Bollandists' work, pp. 402, 403.

⁴⁰ Cardinal Bona remarks, that the use of Thuribles dates to the Apostolic times, and they are frequently mentioned in the most ancient Church Liturgies. See "Opera Omnia," Rerum Liturgicarum, lib. i., cap. xxv., sec. ix., p. 296.

⁴¹ Most probably, she then lived in Kildare.

⁴² See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 6, Bollandists' work, p. 403.

demon, under the shape of a idol. This evil spirit had excited his worshippers to slay the servant of God. Armed with the shield of faith, and fortified by devout prayer, Tigernach besought the Lord to mitigate their fury. Addressing the multitude, and asking permission to exhibit their idol in its true shape, he made a sign of the cross. Thereupon that image appeared to all, in the form of a foul demon. Afterwards, he was banished to a rock, situated near the sea, where his groans and lamentations were distinctly heard. All of those idolators, acknowledging their errors, became converts to the faith, and they were baptized by our saint.¹ After this, he returned towards his own part of the country. There, he asked for a site, whereon to found a monastery. A king of the territory, who was named Fiachrius,² had possession of the place. Tigernach's request was granted, and that ruler requested him to dig a deep trench around the place, giving him lands to serve as a perpetual foundation for his monastery. On a subsequent occasion, the king requiring hay from one of his servants, and it being brought, he asked where it had been procured. Being told, that it was taken from land given to our saint, Fiachrius said, in a loud voice, to those present, "I shall never use the produce of that land, I have given to God, either for my own wants, or for those of my successors." After this, the ruler asked a blessing from the saint on his arms, so that he might obtain a victory over enemies, who were about to contend with him, on the following day. That request he obtained, for on the very next day, his enemies fled before joining battle with the king.³ Having established his monastery, and left some religious brethren therein, St. Tigernach directed his course towards Kildare, on a visit to his spiritual mother, St. Bridget. She had a revelation, that her godson was worthy of promotion, to the episcopal rank, and having convoked some bishops, our saint was received into their order. The Patroness of Kildare had obtained so much influence, and had so great a reputation for sanctity, that she was privileged, by the clergy and people of Ireland, to nominate several Bishops.⁴ Immediately on his consecration having taken place, Tigernach repaired to his maternal grandfather, Eochod,⁵ who received him with much joy; and, the satisfaction of his mother, Dearfraych, was equally great. The potentate declared, that he would grant the holy Bishop Machadin's rank, and the rule of Clogher monastery, in favour of his grandson. It seems, he expelled Machadin,⁶ from his territories. But, despising worldly honours, and avoiding the king and his parents, the servant of Christ betook himself to a distant mountain. There he remained, buried in a cell, which he had founded.⁷

The fame of our Saint's virtues being diffused abroad, many holy men flocked to visit him, and to engage in useful and pious conferences. Among others, Duach,⁸ Archbishop of Armagh, was received with great honour and attention, by the saint. At his departure, Tigernach offered up earnest prayers to God. While travelling through a plain, called Marchuir-eglas,⁹

CHAPTER II.—¹ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 7.

² In Fitz-simon's Manuscript, he is called Ferrath, and in another Codex, the name is written Fiachra.

³ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 8.

⁴ See Rev. P. J. Carew's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," chap. vi., p. 240.

⁵ In various Manuscripts, he is called Echnus, Coyn, and Confath.

⁶ This Machudin was probably the same as Maccarthen, who died bishop of Clogher, in 506; and, who was succeeded, in his See, by

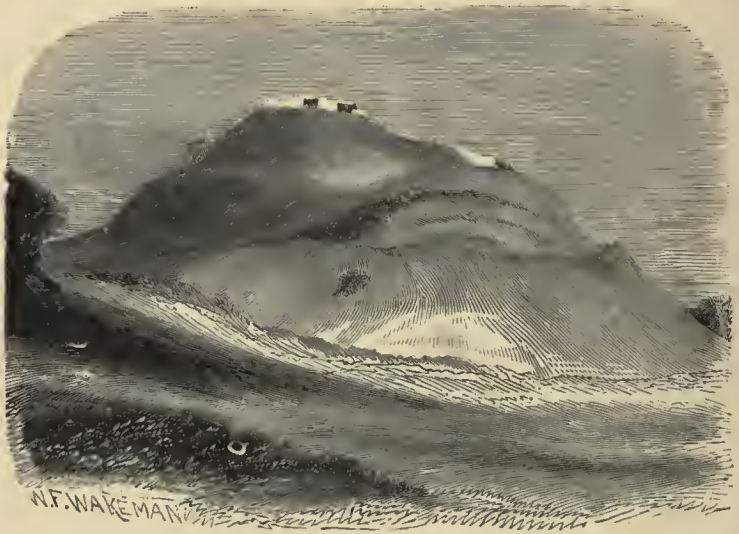
St. Tighernach. If so, the feast of St. Maccarthen is referred to the 24th of March, or to the 15th of August.

⁷ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 9.

⁸ He must have been Dubtach I., who sat as Archbishop, from A.D. 497 to A.D. 513. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," pp. 36, 37.

⁹ Many districts, in various parts of Ireland, were called Machaire, or Maghera; but, the present denomination has not been identified, either in its simple or in its composite form.

or Glassen,¹⁰ the Archbishop departed this life, a circumstance which was revealed to our saint. He ordered a charioteer, to put horses under his chariot. Having ascended it, the driver was desired not to open his eyes, without a special permission. Tigernach declared, likewise, that he would hold the reins, on that day; for, he knew, that the Angels should accompany them, on the way. The event corresponded with his anticipations. Having journeyed a considerable distance, the charioteer ventured to uncover his head, contrary to the Bishop's advice, but not with impunity. He was instantly deprived of sight. However, this was again restored, on his master signing him with a cross. When they came to that place, where the Archbishop's corpse lay, blessing holy water, Tigernach sprinkled it on the body. Then, earnestly addressing his prayers to God, our saint requested the return of the Archbishop's soul to his body. Immediately, Duach arose, and then he said, "Tigernach on earth, Tigernach in heaven;" as if he would say, that whilst our Saint's body remained on earth, his soul and dwelling were in Heaven. Afterwards, both these servants of God, receiving from each other a kiss of



Moat at Clones, County of Monaghan.

peace, conceived most tender sentiments of mutual and fraternal love.¹¹ A short time after this event, the Angel of the Lord advised our saint to go into the territories of King Tachodrus, his grandsire. There, he was ordered to erect a monastery. Our saint complied, and when he had come to the place designated,¹² he built a monastery. With a holy band of brethren, he there engaged in his devotions, and he performed many miracles.¹³

Near the town of Clones,¹⁴ there is a very curious elevated Moat, on the summit of a hill.¹⁵ Three tiers of earth mounds rise in concentric circles, gradually diminishing in area to the topmost height.¹⁶ Immediately north of the

¹⁰ According to Father Henry Fitzsimon's Manuscript.

¹¹ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec., 10, pp. 403, 404.

¹² In the life of Tigernach, this spot is called Gabalnensis.

¹³ See Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 11, 12, p. 404.

¹⁴ This parish is situated, partly in the barony of Clankelly, and this portion is shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Fermanagh," sheets

moat was a square fortification; and resembling one at Dromore, in every particular. It had been most scandalously defaced by an occupier, who hurled its proud ramparts into the ditches beneath, in order to extend his garden, at a time when John O'Donovan visited the place, A.D. 1835.¹⁷ This was regarded, by him, as the principal enclosure around the mansion of the ancient chief of Oriel, while the Moat was his watchtower, each being surrounded by a ditch, filled with water. The inhabitants of Clones state, that there is a cave running from the Diamond, in their town, to the top of this Moat.¹⁸ It is said, that Tigernach fixed his residence at Clones, while he retained the government of Clogher church and See. On this account, he was called Ferdachrioch, or "the Man of the two districts."¹⁹ Some writers have erroneously applied this term to his predecessor, in the See of Clogher, St. Maccarthann. But, all accounts agree, that the real name of Maccarthen's successor was Tigernach, while Ferdachrioch²⁰ was merely a surname, which agreed very well with the circumstances, in which our saint was placed, but it did not suit Bishop Maccarthen. This is a mistake, into which Walter Harris has fallen, and in a measure it is excusable; but, not so his saying, that Tigernach might have been the same as Tigernach, Bishop of Clonmacnois.²¹ There was no religious establishment, either See or monastery at Clonmacnois, until the year 548; while our Tigernach was Bishop at Clones, since 506, nor was there any Tigernach of Clonmacnois, in those ancient times.²² At Clones, a great number of holy men and women afterwards

29, 30, 35, 36, 40; while a part is in the Baronies of Dartree and Monaghan, this being shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Monaghan," sheets 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17.

¹⁵ This Mound commands a very fine view, looking westward from the lofty mountain of Cuileagh, and of Knockninny. It lies north-west of the Slieve Beagh range; on a summit of which *Carn-mor*—where the antediluvian *Biath* was interred—shows its conspicuous *Sturgan*. A view to the east is shut up by a range of uninteresting *Drums* and *Cors*, the most conspicuous among which is a giant's reputed grave, on the elevated head of Calliagh, in Aghabog parish.

¹⁶ The accompanying sketch, taken on the spot by William F. Wakeman, and drawn by him on the wood, was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹⁷ His letter is dated Cluaim Eois, May 31st, 1835. See "Letters containing information relative to the Antiquities of the Counties of Armagh and Monaghan collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1835," p. 147.

¹⁸ According to the County Armagh and Monaghan Letters, now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁹ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," i. Martii, p. 439, n. 9.

²⁰ Thus, in the Calendar of Cashel: "S. Ferdachricus episcopus de Clochar post episcopum Maccarthenum." See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," p. 740.

²¹ Having mentioned the death of St. Maccartin, who died in the year 506, Usher continues, "S. Tigernaco successore relicto, qui in *Cluana-eois* (vulgo *Clunes*, in Comi-

tatu Monachanensi) sedem Episcopalem posuit, & anno DL. *Nonis Aprilibus* mortalitatem exiit: ad quem diem in Martyrologiis (a Molano & Galasinis editis) Natalis ejus ita consignatus est: *In Scotia* (majorem intellige & antiquam) *sancti Tigernaci Episcopi, & confessoris.*"—"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitatus," cap. xvii., p. 445.

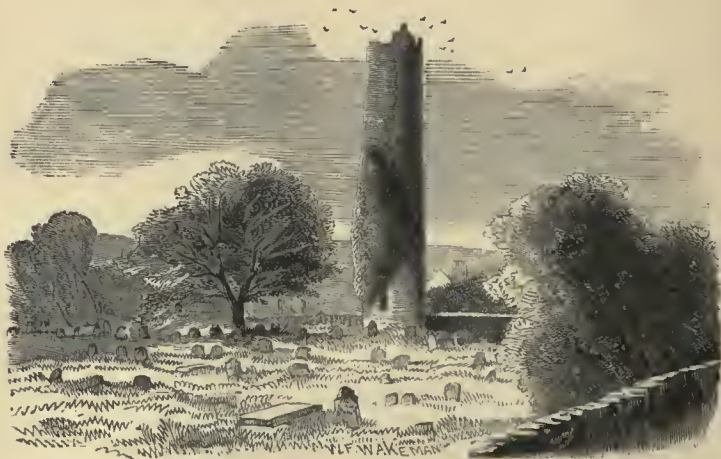
²² Harris confounded Cluain-eois with Clonmacnois, and he applied to the latter what belonged to the former. Thus (at Bishops, Clonmacnois) he has a pretended bishop Tigernach in that place for whom he quotes the Four Masters. Now the Four Masters knew nothing about such a person, but they write: "An. 548 (549) St. Tigernac, bishop of *Cluain-eois*, died on the 4th of April." (*AA-SS. p. 191 and 439*). This passage bewildered Harris, who has given us these dates at *Clonmacnois*. He ought to have known that the Irish Annalists, when treating of Clones, write *Cluain-eois*, *Cluain-eoisensis*; whereas they express Clonmacnois by *Cluain-mhic-nois*, or simply *Cluan*, whence *Cluanensis*. We find both places and names clearly distinguished in a passage of our Annals *AA. SS. p. 150*, in which it is stated that in the year 548 (549) a great plague carried off Kieran *Cluanensis* (of Clonmacnois) and Tigernach *Cluain-eoisensis* (of Clones) the very person whom we are now treating of. Archdall, in obedience to Harris, brings in a Tigernach at Clonmacnois but different, he adds, from the one of Clogher, and makes him succeed Kieran. . . . There was no abbot or bishop Tigernach there in those days."—"Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. ix., sec. ii., m. 15, p. 436.

served God. For the last thirty years of our saint's life, he was deprived of the use of sight. He lived alone, in his cell. There, he led the life of an anchorite, devoting his whole time to prayer and to heavenly contemplation.

CHAPTER III.

TRADITION OF ST. TIGERNACH HAVING BEEN LEGATE IN IRELAND, AND OF HIS HAVING RECEIVED THE BISHOPRIC OF CLOGHER FROM ST. MACCARTHINN—ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS AT CLONES—ANGELIC VISITS TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF ST. TIGERNACH'S LIFE—HIS DEPARTURE TO BLISS—HIS FESTIVALS, COMMEMORATIONS AND MEMORIALS—CONCLUSION.

ACCORDING to the Registry of Clogher, our saint is said to have been Legate of Ireland, and to have received the benediction of St. Maccartin, who bequeathed the bishopric of Clogher to him.¹ Moved by an inspiration from Heaven, however, Tigernach resigned his monastery, in this place, to the



Clones Round Tower.

care of his friend, St. Comgall,² while he went towards the east, and to a more fertile country. Here, he founded the monastery of Clones;³ but, we have little information, regarding his course of life, while he presided over the community, there established.⁴

At the present time, a very ancient round tower⁵ may be seen at Clones.⁶ It

CHAPTER III.—¹ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Clogher," p. 177. Harris says, he is mistaken, if Tigernach, bishop of Clonmacnois, and this Tigernach, be not one and the same person. *Ibid.*

² Most probably the celebrated Abbot of Bangor is here meant, and if so, his Life will be found, at the 10th of May.

³ "He fixed his seat at Cluaine, from whence in the Irish annals, he is called Cluainois, for this town originally was named Cluainois, then Clunes, Clownish, Cluinish and last Clones."—Sir Charles Coote's Sta-

tistical Survey of Monaghan, chap. viii., sec. 4, p. 108.

⁴ "This church of Clunes is one of the four principal churches of the Diocese of Clogher, in which, as also in the Church of *Derimoilain*, the Memory of *Tigernach* is held in great veneration.—Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Clogher," p. 177.

⁵ Traditions connected with this tower are very indistinct. They are found in one of Mr. O'Donovan's letters, from the Fermanagh part of this parish, where Irish traditions are better preserved than about the

is broken on the top, however, and round the doorway.⁷ This latter is very low in position, and near the surface of the adjoining graveyard. The old people gave the Round Tower⁸ here the name of Cloichteach, or Belfry.⁹ Very ancient crosses and fragment of tombs are to be seen there. On the other side of the principal street, in Clones, there is a ruined monastery. Fine square and chiselled stones are on its outside.¹⁰ Old tombs lie scattered through the cemetery, which is surrounded by a wall. In the "Diamond," or public square, an old Irish cross stands.¹¹

Towards the close of life, a multitude of celestial Spirits came from heaven, to receive the soul of St. Tigernach, when it was about to leave his body; and, they returned to the place of his rest, singing canticles of ravishing harmony.¹² According to Fitzsimon's Manuscript, our saint died, on the XI. of the Kalends of January (22nd of December); but, the Bollandists remark, that they found no feast recorded, in any of the Calendars, and referring to him, on that day. Two chapters of our Saint's life, as given by them, have been added, from the MS. of Ward's Hymns for Vespers and Matins, in which Tigernach's virtues are particularly recorded.¹³ From the Annals of the Four Masters, we learn, on the year 548, that several saints fell victims to a pestilence, which proved fatal to many of the clergy and people of Ireland.¹⁴ Our saint, however, was not one of the many victims to this plague,¹⁵ although he died within that year. The Annals of the Four Masters state, that Tigernach died, on the 4th of April, A.D. 548.¹⁶ But, Ussher, in his Chronological Index, assigns his death to the year 550;¹⁷ as, in like manner, we find it in the Chronicon Scotorum. The Rev. Jeffrey Keating merely states, that the pious Tigernach, Bishop of Cluain Eois, died during the reign of King

town of Clones. See "County of Armagh and Monaghan Letters of the Irish Ordnance Survey." One volume, pp. 142 to 144. Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Cluain Eois, May 31st, 1835.

⁶ This parish of Clones, in Monaghan County, has been described by Dr. O'Donovan, who remarks, that there are a great number of *Clons* throughout this parish. It is strange, that the townland, on which the principal part of Clones town stands, is not called *Clones*, but *Crossmoyle*. Perhaps this derives its name, as Mr. O'Donovan suggests, from an ancient cross, which stands in the Diamond. This venerable relic, he says, looks as "grey as a *druid*, and as old as St. Tigernach."

⁷ An illustration and a corresponding description of the Round Tower here will be found in Mr. and Mrs. Hall's "Ireland: its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. iii., p. 30.

⁸ A priest of Clones made many efforts to collect as much money, as would repair this Round Tower, or at least, as would fasten the top stones, and prevent them from being constantly blown down, to the rapid destruction of *St. Tierny's work*, and to the great danger of persons passing through the churchyard; but, he did not fully succeed, his flock being too poor, their patriotic spirit could not second those efforts. In extreme poverty, the nobler feelings are either totally extinguished, or greatly deadened by fear of want. Hence, *St. Tierny's Clacker*

—so those who do not speak Irish call the Belfry—is wasting away like a burning taper. It had been lowered only a yard, however, in the memory of a man aged 40.

⁹ Such is a statement, made by Dr. O'Donovan, when he visited the place.

¹⁰ The accompanying illustration was drawn on the spot, by William F. Wake-man, and it was transferred by him to the wood. It was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹¹ The writer noted these particulars, during a visit to the place, in July, 1868.

¹² Vita S. Tigernaci, cap. ii., sec. 13. "Acta Sanctorum," tom. i. v. Aprilis.

¹³ In Harris's Ware, we are told, that the office of this Saint "is extant in the Library of *St. Bennet's College*, Cambridge, with a Hymn beginning thus—*Adest dies Celebris Sancti Tigernaci*."—Vol. i., "Bishops of Clogher," p. 177.

¹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 186 to 189.

¹⁵ Yct, Dr. Lanigan enumerates him, among the victims to it. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. x., sec. xiii., p. 70.

¹⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 186, 187. In the same Annals, the names of several saints are mentioned, who died in the year of a mortality called the *Cron-Chonail*, which was the first *Buidhe-Chonail*. St. Ciaran, Abbot of Clonmacnois, and our saint, did not die of the plague. *Ibid*, pp. 188, 189.

Diarmuid, which he extends, from A.D. 528, to 550.¹⁸ Dr. Lanigan, also, places the death of this saint, at the year 549, following the authority of the Four Masters, with his usual mode of emendation.¹⁹ In a Catalogue of the Bishops of Clogher, according to a Registry of that See, transcribed by Ware, the death of St. Tigernach is said to have occurred, on the 5th of April, 555, or in 549, according to other accounts.²⁰ He died, on the 2nd of March, according to some accounts.²¹ The Nones (5th of April), or as Usher remarks, the day previous,²² was that assigned for his feast. St. Ængus the Culdee²³ has the Feast of St. Tighernach entered, in his Festilog, at the 4th of April. We find, the entry, Tighearnach, Cluna Eoais, only, set down in the Martyrology of Tallagh,²⁴ at the same date. Several ancient foreign Martyrologies commemorate the festival of St. Tigernach of Clones. Thus, the Utrecht Martyrology of St. Jerome,²⁵ Florarius, Maurolycus, Felicius, and Ferrarius;²⁶ the Manuscript Martyrologies of Canons Regular at Albergense, of St. Cæcilia, at Leyden, of St. Gudule, at Bruxelles,²⁷ and of Florarius,²⁸ as also Greven. The Martyrology, printed at Cologne, A.D. 1490,²⁹ and also, that printed, at Lubeck,³⁰ the same year, have notices of this saint.³¹ We find entered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³² as having been venerated on this day, Tigernach, who was Bishop of Cluaineois, or Clones, in Fera-Manach. Between Fera-Manach and Oirghialla, Cluain-eois lies. In Scotland, he was venerated, also, on this day, as we find an entry, in the Kalendar of Drummond,³³ and in Thomas Dempster's "Menologium Scoticum."³⁴ Under the head of Cluain-eois, Dual Mac Firbis enters Tighernach, son of Cairbre, the holy bishop of Cluain-eois, quievit 548,³⁵ April 4th. Even yet, the people in and about Clones have a great veneration for St. Tierney, as the patron is locally called. Several curious memorials of him are remaining. Thus, the natives point out, on the Belturbet road, and close to the town, where stood a stone,³⁶ which was denominated Cloch Tighernach,³⁷ and which seems to have had some former connexion with the saint.

No longer does the matin bell call the cloistered monk from his last slum-

¹⁷ See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." Index Chronologicus, p. 531.

¹⁸ See his "General History of Ireland," part ii., p. 355. Duffy's edition.

¹⁹ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. x., sec. xiii., p. 70, and n. 223, pp. 72, 73. *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Clogher," p. 177.

²¹ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Martii i., p. 439, n. 9.

²² See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," Index Chronologicus, p. 531.

²³ It is thus given, in Dr. Whitley Stokes' version :—

Can Tighernach cneol
 arcyrc cechmbair bhair
 arambpucht rruaim roair
 Cluna aille eoair.

"Sing pious Tigernach—for Christ he vanquished all folly—out of whom burst a stream of knowledge (Tigernach) of beautiful Cluain Eoais."

²⁴ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find Tighnach eapri Cluain eoair.

²⁵ It has, "In Scotia S. Tygernagi Episcopi et Confessoris." Perhaps, this is not the most ancient copy.

²⁶ These have, "In Scotia Tigernaci Episcopi." Molanus, Galesinus and Canisius add "et Confessoris."

²⁷ This has "apud Scotiam."

²⁸ This reads "In Scotia S. Tigernagi Episcopi et Confessoris."

²⁹ In this, the name is written Tigernagii.

³⁰ In this is printed Germagii, the letter G by an error is printed for T.

³¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis v., Commentary, sec. 3, p. 401.

³² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

³³ Thus : "Apud Hiberniam Sanctus Confessor et Episcopus Tigernac migravit ad Christum." See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints, p. 9.

³⁴ Thus : "In Scotia ad Sedem Animarum Tigernaci Abbatibus."—*Ibid.* p. 196.

³⁵ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 100, 101.

³⁶ This is now to be seen in Clones, and it is held in great popular esteem.

bers in Clones. The old procession, the rites and ceremonies of former times, have not been witnessed there, for many a long day; since the sacrilegious spoiler and exterminator have left only ruins, to attest the holiness of this spot. Round tower, moat, abbey church, and old graves, lend an air of solemnity and awe to the scene, which even in desolation must deeply impress the imagination and thought of a pensive tourist or an antiquary, when he turns thither, from the more crowded thoroughfares of our larger towns and cities. The religious mind is filled with like emotions, while the wreck around discloses ample proof of time's changes, and proclaims the mutability of a nation's fortunes.

ARTICLE II.—ST. GALLUS, OF LOCH TECHET, NOW LOUGH GARA, COUNTIES OF ROSCOMMON AND SLIGO. A distinguished statesman has observed, that there is no greater folly being circulated on the earth, than a disposition to undervalue the records of the past, and to break the links, which united human beings of the present day, with the generations that had been called to their account.¹ The Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 4th April, inserts the notice, Gall, Locha Teiget. This lake, at present, is known as Lough Gara, or Lough O'Gara, near Boyle, and on the borders of the counties of Roscommon and Sligo.³ The river Boyle has its source from this lake. We are informed, that St. Patrick,⁴ while in Connaught, resolved to visit Moylurg, and that passing through Bearnas Hua Noililla, or the gaps of Collooney,⁵ he moved onward towards the River Buill—now the Boyle—which takes its rise in Loch Techet.⁶ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁷ on this day was venerated Gallus, of Loch Techet, and in the Bollandists' work⁸ he is likewise commemorated.

ARTICLE III.—CRUIMHTHER CORC, OF CILL-MÓR-UA-NIALLIAN, NOW KILMORE, COUNTY OF ARMAGH. This holy man offered the unbloody sacrifice for his people, and discharged all his duties, with fervour and spiritual advantage to his flock; for, so we may fairly infer, from the prefix, which has been set to his name. This occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 4th of April, as Cruimthir Corc, Cille Moire. The Bollandists² notice him as Crumtherus Corc, Presbyter, de Kill-mor. This particular spot, which is

³⁷ In Irish *Cloc Tigeannaig*. Against that, the countrymen coming to market were in the habit of knocking their backs; for, if they neglected to do so, it was popularly supposed, that no luck should attend them on that day. See the County of Armagh and Monaghan Letters of the Irish Ordnance Survey. John O'Donovan's Letter, dated Cluain Eois, May 31st, 1835, p. 147.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Speech of William E. Gladstone, at the opening of the Welsh National Eisteddfod, at Mold, August 19th, 1873.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy gives it *Σαλλ Λοχα Τειγετ*.

³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 6, 7.

⁴ See the account, in his Life, at the 17th of March, chap. xiii.

⁵ The townland and town, so named, are in the parish of Ballysadare, and Barony of Tirerrill, as seen on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Sligo," sheets 20, 26.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. iii., n. (k), pp. 357, 358.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has *Crumthir Corc Cille moire*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

more fully written in the Martyrology of Donegal, means, the great church of O'Neilland. It is now known as Kilmore,³ in the Barony of O'Neilland West and Lower Orior, in the County of Armagh.⁴ In the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ we find entered, on this day, Cruimthir [*i.e.* Priest] Core, of Cill-mor, Ua Niallain. A great Catholic writer has observed, that society pays for the merchant's commodities their well ascertained values; but it pays not sufficiently the sacrifices of the priest, the justice of the judge, or the blood of the soldier.⁶

ARTICLE IV.—ST. CAEMH, OR COINE, VIRGIN, OF CILL-CAOIMHE, OR COINE, PROBABLY KILKINE, COUNTY OF WICKLOW. The great ones of earth pass away from life obtaining human applause, often undeservedly bestowed; but, the good should be held, in each Christian's grateful and affectionate remembrance, as the present holy woman deserved to be known in her day. On the 4th of April, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ we find her



Kilkine Graveyard, County Wicklow.

name and place inserted, as Coini i-Cillé Coine. The Bollandists² have it, Coina de Kill-Coine. There is a Kilkine³ old church, in the parish of Ballykine,⁴ in the County of Wicklow. The present saint may have been the sister of St. Kevin,⁵ founder of Glendalough, and, it seems not improbable, that she lived in the place previously mentioned; or, at least, we do not find any nearer corresponding denomination, on the Irish Ordnance Maps. The old graveyard of the place is still much used, but only a few fragments of the old church walls are to be seen there;⁶ and the situation—a peculiarly retired one—lies

³ This parish is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Armagh," sheets 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14. The townland proper is on sheet 9.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (c) p. 1010.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

⁶ See Ozanam's "Œuvres Complètes," tome v., Les Poesies de Jacopone, p. 240.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has it Coine Cill, Coime.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

³ This is not found on the "General Al-

within a well-wooded demesne,⁷ known as Whaley Abbey, near Avondale House and Demesne,⁸ as also, near the celebrated Meeting of the Waters.⁹ The festival, in honour of Caemh,¹⁰ Virgin, of Cill Caoimhe, was celebrated on this day, as we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal.¹¹ The first successor of St. Peter, in his chair at Rome, had decreed, that all women should enter the churches, with their heads veiled,¹² as a mark of respect for the holiness of God's House. In after time, this veiling of pious females was peculiarly a distinctive usage of religious Virgins.

ARTICLE V.—ST. CROINSEACH, OR CRONSECHA. Simply the festival Cronsigi, is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 4th of April. The Bollandists² enter Cronsecha, at the same date. We find the name of Croinseach entered, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ as having been venerated on this day.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. BEGHANUS, OR BEGANUS, ABBOT. Such is the name of a Saint, found at this day, in the Anonymous Catalogue of our National Saints, published by O'Sullivan Beare.¹ His name as Beganus, Abbot, at the 4th of April, is to be met with, likewise, in Henry Fitzsimon's "Catalogus Aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernix;" and, he cites the Carthusian Martyrology, for this statement. Again, the Bollandists²—quoting the authority of a Manuscript Copy of Florarius, and Greven, in his additions to Usuard—have a notice of Abbot Beganus, in Hibernia, at the 4th of April.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. COLMAN FIONN, OR COLMANUS CANDIDUS. The poor and unpretending minister of God is often the greatest attraction the lowly and humble find, in a large extent of country. The humble pastor, too,

phabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes, and Baronies of Ireland."

⁴ This parish is situated, in the Barony of Ballinacor South, and it is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheets 29, 30, 34, 35, 39, 40.

⁵ See his Life, at the 3rd of June.

⁶ The accompanying sketch was taken, by the writer, on the spot, in July, 1873. It was drawn, on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁷ The Demesne, and church ruins within it, are noted, on the townland of Bahana. They are shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheet 35.

⁸ The residence of Charles Stewart Parnell, Esq., M. P.; and, for a beautiful description of this place, the reader is referred to J. N. Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 324 to 326.

⁹ Immortalized by Thomas Moore, in the charming Irish Melody, which begins with these lines:—

"There is not in the wide world a valley
so sweet,
As that vale in whose bosom the bright
waters meet.
Oh! the last ray of feeling and life must

depart,

Ere the bloom of that valley shall fade
from my heart."

¹⁰ In a note, Dr. Todd here says, "The more recent hand notes, CAOINE CILLE CAOINE, Mart. Tamlacl; meaning that she is called Caoine of Cille Caoine, in the Martyrology of Tallagh."

¹¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

¹² See "Breviarium Romanum," at the Feast of St. Linus, the 23rd of September.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has Cronseach.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ See "Historix Catholice Ibernix Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has Colmanus Finn.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

generally produces greater effect on a congregation, by simply saying, "God is good, and therefore love him," than could the most eloquent and courtly of preachers, by the most cultivated art of rhetoric, or by the most eloquent sermon he could preach. We have no doubt, many of the almost unknown saints of Ireland might be instanced as examples. An entry appears, of Colman Find, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 4th of April. The Bollandists² mark this festival, also, as one sacred to the memory of Colmanus Candidus. A festival, in honour of Colman Fionn, was celebrated on this day, according to the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE VIII.—KING CONUALLUS, SAID TO HAVE BEEN VENERATED, IN SCOTLAND. [*Sixth Century.*] According to Camerarius, there was a King, named Conuallus, and the first bearing this name, who was venerated in Scotland, at the 4th of April.¹ He was remarkable, for his piety, and for his respect to the clergy;² while, he is said, to have merited the commendation of St. Columba himself. The name is Irish, but little seems to be known, regarding the origin of this Conuallus.

ARTICLE IX.—DEPOSITION OF ST. CELSUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH. [*Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.*] Already we have alluded to the death of St. Celsus, as having occurred, on the 1st of April; and, on this day, the Annals of the Four Masters state, that he was interred at Lis-mor-Mochuda.¹ However, the chief celebration of this holy man, at present, is on the 6th of this month; on which day, it is noticed, in the Roman Martyrology. This is said to have been owing to an oversight of Baronius, the compiler, who mistook a IV. for a VI.,² in consulting his authority for the insertion.

ARTICLE X.—ST. ULTAN, SON OF CAIT. An entry of this name is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 4th of April. The Bollandists² record a festival, for Ultanus filius Caidi, at this same date. Again, Ultan, son of Cait, is registered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ as having veneration paid him, on this day.

ARTICLE XI.—ST. AITHBE. We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ that a St. Aithbe was venerated, at this date. In Kilturk Parish, County of Wexford, a patron had been formerly held, on the 4th day of April.² Whether it referred to any of the foregoing holy persons, or to some local saint, not specified, we are quite unable to state.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See Scottish entries in the Kalendar of David Camerarius, in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 236. See, also, p. 315.

² See Boethius "Historia Scotiae." Lib. ix., fol. 166a. Par. ed. 1575. Likewise, Lesley, "De Origine Scotorum." Lib. iv., p. 147.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. i., pp. 1034, 1035.

² See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 6, p. 109.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy it is written ULTAN MAC CAITTE.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis iv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 319.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

² See the County of Wexford Irish Ordnance Survey Records, now preserved, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii.

Fifth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. BECAN, AT IMLECH-FIAICH, IN FERA-CUL-BREAGH,
NOW EMLAGH, COUNTY OF MEATH.

[SIXTH CENTURY.]

THE present holy man was distinguished, among the Saints of Ireland. The Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ recording his festival, at this date, calls him St. Begain mic Cule; and, as we are told, the name is thus derived, from his mother. Referring to the same authority, the Bollandists briefly enter, on the 5th of April, Beccanus filius Culæ.² The same paternity is assigned to him, in the "Feilire" of St. Ængus. He descended from the race of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilioll Oluim, according to the O'Clerys' Calendar. St. Becan, or Began, is said to have lived contemporaneously with St. Columkille.³ He founded a monastery, about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, at Kilbeggan,⁴ a town, situated on the River Brosna.⁵ According to one account, when St. Colum-Cille⁶ and the King of Erin, Diarmait, son of Fergus Cearbheoil, after killing Bresal, his son, came to where Becan was, they found him erecting a fort, with a wet cloak about him, and he praying.⁷ The saint felt highly incensed against the monarch, whom he humbled in a miraculous manner; but, afterwards, he relented, owing to the prayers of Columba.⁸ However, we cannot find these statements, in the proper Acts of the latter saint. That locality with which Becan was connected, Imleach Fia, or Imleach Fiaë, was also denominated Imleach-Becain,⁹ from this saint. His old church, at Emlagh,¹⁰ gave name to a parish, so called, and lying in the barony of Lower Kells, towards the north-east of the town of Kells, in the county of Meath.¹¹ After the Anglo-

ARTICLE I.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has *begain mac Culæ*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms i., Aprilis v. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 396.

³ See Rev. Anthony Cogan's "Ecclesiastical History of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. iii., chap. lxxiv. p. 576.

⁴ The parish so called is situated, in the barony of Moycashel, and, it is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Westmeath," sheets 32, 37, 38. The town, and townland, in its separate divisions, north and south, are noted, on sheet 38.

⁵ Its after history seems lost, but a Cistercian Abbey was subsequently founded here, about A.D. 1200. See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," pp. 717 to 720.

⁶ His Life will be found, at the 9th of June.

⁷ It was said, by an old poet, regarding this saint:—

"Making a wall, praying,
Kneeling, pure prayer,
His tears flowing without unwillingness,
Were the virtues of Becan without fault.

"Hand on a stone, hand lifted up,
Knee bent to set a rock,
Eye shedding tears, other lamentation,
And mouth praying."

⁸ The O'Clerys' Calendar thus states the occurrence in that dramatic form of narrative, which was so peculiar a usage among old Irish writers:—

"Becan looked aside, and he saw Diarmaid. 'Into the earth, thou murderer,' said he. Diarmaid sunk into the earth and to his knees. 'Under my protection, he has come to thee,' said Colum Cille, 'to resuscitate his son for him.' Becan, afterwards, resuscitated Bresal this king's son, from the dead."

⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., at A.D. 990, pp. 726, 727.

¹⁰ It is noticed, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Meath," sheets 11, 17.

¹¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i. n. (y), p. 329.

Norman invasion, Emlagh became a parish church.¹² By some writers, the present holy man is represented as the patron of Kilbeggan,¹³ a town of some importance, in the County of Westmeath.¹⁴ Here there were two churches, here, the abbey and parochial church. The site of one is occupied, by a Protestant house of worship, while a green mound, called "the Church of the Relic," marks the other spot. The site of the Cistercian Abbey is now a green field; every stone of that fine and once-frequented structure having been removed. Only the cross, on the modern tombstones of the faithful, remains, to afford a trace of former Catholicity.¹⁵ The Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁶ on this day, records a festival, in honour of Becan, son of Cula,¹⁷ at Imlech Fiaich, in Fera-Cul-Breagh. The Rev. Alban Burler,¹⁸ and the "Circle of the Seasons,"¹⁹ commemorate St. Beacon, Abbot, at the 5th of April. He is noticed, likewise, in the Kalendar of Drummond.²⁰ At the Nones, corresponding with the present date, the *obit* of this holy man being there is recorded.

ARTICLE II.—ST. VINCENT FERRER, CONFESSOR, AND A MISSIONARY IN IRELAND. *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*] This illustrious saint, so distinguished for his missionary zeal and virtues, deigned to honour our Island, by his living presence. To God, he gained many souls abroad, by the force of example and precept; while in Ireland, it is to be hoped, his short stay had been productive of incalculably good results. The Acts of this saint are recorded, by many writers. Among the earliest composed may be mentioned the Life of St. Vincent Ferrier, by Pedro Ranzano, in 1455,¹ and another account, which was drawn up, by Francis Castilione, in 1470. Both of these Acts are to be found, in the Bollandists' great collection,² while they are edited and annotated, by Father Godefrid Henschenn.³ The first of these Lives is the most complete narrative of his saintly morals, learning, labours, miracles, prophecies, and zeal, which has been discovered; while the latter account is chiefly a narrative of miracles, wrought after his death, in Armorica Britain. The Bull of this Saint's canonization has an account of various miracles, wrought by him during life, and through his intercession, when called out of this world. St. Antoninus treated about St. Vincent Ferrer's virtues and miracles, in the fifteenth century.⁴ In "Hispania Bibliotheca, seu De Academiis," &c.,⁵ the reader will find an account of this holy man. An anonymous Spaniard, belonging to the Convent of Placentia, Surius, Joannes Antonius Flaminius, and Leander Albertus, wrote Lives of

¹² See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. xxiii., p. 136.

¹³ According to some, the Anglicised rendering of this denomination should be "the Church of the Small Stream."

¹⁴ See the "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 363, 364.

¹⁵ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. ii., chap. xix., pp. 520, 521.

¹⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 94, 95.

¹⁷ Archdall makes the present saint the son of Murchade, of the blood royal of Munster. See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 717.

¹⁸ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April v.

¹⁹ At p. 96.

²⁰ Thereweread: "Apud Hiberniam Sanctus Confessor Becan hoc die ad Christum migravit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 9.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Afterwards, the author became Bishop of Lucera. The Bollandists publish it, from a Utrecht Manuscript. It has Four Prologues, and it is contained in Four Books, comprising Fourteen Chapters.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis v. De S. Vincentio Ferrerio Ordinis Prædicatorum Veneti in Armorica, pp. 477 to 529.

³ He has prefixed a commentary, in four different sections, comprising seventeen paragraphs.

⁴ In "Historiarum," pars. iii., titulus xxiii., cap. 8.

⁵ See tomus ii., pp. 187, 188.

St. Vincent Ferrer.⁶ The Annals of the Cistercian Monks contain notices of this celebrated saint.⁷ Also, Surius,⁸ Touron,⁹ Du Pin,¹⁰ Adrien Baillet,¹¹ Godescard,¹² the Rev. Alban Butler,¹³ L'Abbé Rohrbacher,¹⁴ Rev. S. Baring-Gould,¹⁵ and Bishop Forbes,¹⁶ relate the particulars of St. Vincent Ferrer's life. In "Les Petits Bollandistes,"¹⁷ there is a long biographical notice of this renowned Saint; and, the chief events of his life are there narrated. From several of these various sources, the following incidents are chiefly gleaned and succinctly arranged. The pious parents of this illustrious saint were William Ferrier and Constance Mignell. He was born at Valentia, in Spain, on the 23rd of January, A.D. 1357.¹⁸ From his earliest years, St. Vincent was remarkable for his precocity of intellect and for his deep spirit of piety. His personal appearance was most attractive, his features were beautiful, and his body was distinguished for form and grace. He received a very excellent education, and he improved it, by habits of close and of constant study. Yet, he took care, that devotion should direct it, and his chief maxim was, that it ought conduce more to sanctification than to mental adornments.¹⁹ He had a very retentive memory, and especially was he able to bear in mind the good sermons he had heard preached in the churches. Such instructions he was accustomed to repeat, afterwards, to those little companions with whom he associated.²⁰ When he had grown to be a young man, the Saint's father proposed to him, that he might accept of three different conditions. It was suggested, that he should marry, and settle in his native town; or again, it was permitted him, to cultivate his talents, especially in elocution, by removing to the Universities, at Paris or at Rome; or, in fine, that he might chose the religious state, and become a friar of the Dominican Order. The latter state of life was most congenial to his wishes, and, accordingly, he applied for admission, to the monastery of St. Dominic. This he entered, in the year 1374.²¹ Among this fraternity of preachers, very soon he became one of the most distinguished pulpit orators. On a certain occasion, taking great pains to frame his discourse, on the approved rules of Rhetoric, having to preach before a great noble, his sermon proved to be a failure, and it made little impression, on those who were present. Next day, being also required to preach, he took care to kneel before the crucifix, and to fix his mind in meditation, on the wounds of our Divine Redeemer. Afterwards, he preached with great fervour and pathos, so that his hearers felt, as it were, spell-bound, by his eloquence. The prince happened to be present, and when speaking to the preacher, afterwards, he asked how there happened to be such a re-

⁶ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis v. De S. Vincentio Ferrerio, Commentarius Prævius, sec. i., pp. 477 to 479.

⁷ See vol. iv., at 5th of April, pp. 428 to 433.

⁸ See "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis," &c., tomus ii., Aprilis v., pp. 64 to 82, Edition Coloniae Agrippinae, A.D. clc lxc xviii. fol.

⁹ In "Hommes Illustres de l'ordre de St. Dominique," tome iii.

¹⁰ See "Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques," &c., tome xii., cap. iv., pp. 86, 87.

¹¹ See "Les Vies des Saints," tome i., pp. 68 to 78, or tome iv., Avril v., pp. 134 to 153. Paris edition of 1701, 8vo.

¹² In "Vies des Saints de Bretagne," at the 5th of April.

¹³ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and

other principal Saints," vol. iv. April v.

¹⁴ See "Vies des Saints pour tous les jours de l'année," tome ii., 5 Avril, pp. 309 to 315.

¹⁵ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 5, pp. 87, 88.

¹⁶ See "Calendars of the Scottish Saints," p. 458.

¹⁷ See tome iv., Avril 5, pp. 215 to 243.

¹⁸ See "Les Petits Bollandistes," tome iv., 5 Avril, p. 215.

¹⁹ See M. L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Vies des Saints pour tous les jours de l'année," tome ii., Avril 5, pp. 309, 310.

²⁰ See his Life in Surius, "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis," tomus ii., Aprilis v., lib. i., cap. iv., p. 66.

²¹ See L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Vies des Saints," Avril 5, p. 310.

markable difference, between both his sermons. The saint immediately replied, "It was only Vincent Ferrier that preached yesterday, but to-day it was Jesus Christ, speaking through him."²² At this time, the Popes had left Rome, and they resided at Avignon, in France; as dreadful schisms had greatly distracted the peace of the Church. After the death of Pope Boniface VIII., October 11th, A.D. 1303,²³ and of his successor, Pope Benedict XI.,²⁴ who was obliged to quit Rome, owing to dissensions then prevailing, especially the quarrels of the Guelfs and Ghibellines disturbing Italy; Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected to the dignity, and taking the name of Pope Clement V., established himself at Avignon, in France.²⁵ French influence now prevailed, and a Cardinal-Bishop of Porto was elected to the Papacy, in succession, he taking for title John XXII.²⁶ Popes Benedict XII.,²⁷ Clement VI.,²⁸ Innocent VI.,²⁹ Urban V.,³⁰ and Gregory XI.,³¹ all resided at Avignon.³² On the death of this latter Pontiff, the election of Urban VI.,³³ as Pope, ensued at Rome,³⁴ while the French Cardinals elected Cardinal Robert, Count of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII.,³⁵ and he chose to remain at Avignon.³⁶ His papal Legate, then received in Spain, was Peter de Luna. To reward Vincent's learning and talents, the degree of Doctor was conferred, by the Pope's representative in 1384, while he was at Lerida, the most celebrated University in the province of Catalonia. At this time, our saint was in his twenty-eighth year.³⁷ Afterwards, he was recalled to Valencia, and there, with extraordinary zeal, Vincent preached God's word to the people. While here, he was obliged to sustain and overcome dangerous temptations of the devil; and even his virtue was exposed to various external assaults, which were ineffectual, however, but which taught him still more the necessity for prayer, penance and vigilance, to avoid all occasions of sin. He lived for six years, at Valencia; and, in 1390, the Cardinal Legate induced him to visit France, as he had a mission to the Court of its King, Charles VI. While the Legate was chiefly engaged on political affairs, St. Vincent occupied himself with the work of God, at Paris. In 1394, refusing

²² See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv. April v., p. 87.

²³ See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 202.

²⁴ He died at Perugia, July 7th, A.D. 1304. See Matthew of Westminster, "Flores Historiarum," at Anno Gratiæ MCCCIII., p. 444.

²⁵ See an account of him, in Alfonsus Ciaconius' "Vitæ et Gesta Summorum Pontificum a Christo Domino usque ad Clementem VIII. necnon S. R. E. Cardinalium cum eorumdem Insignibus," lib. ii., pp. 664 to 679. Romæ, 1601, fol.

²⁶ He reigned, from August 7th, 1316, to December 4th, 1334. According to Ciaconius, he is called "Joannes XXI. dictus XXII. P. CXCIII." See *ibid.*, pp. 680 to 702.

²⁷ His term lasted, from December 20th, 1334, to April 25th, 1342. According to Ciaconius, he is noticed as "Benedictus XI. dictus XII. P. CIC." See *ibid.*, pp. 703 to 709.

²⁸ He ruled, from May 7th, 1342, to December 6th, 1352. See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome xx., liv. xcvi., sec. xliii., pp. 125, 126.

²⁹ He presided, from 1352 to 1362.

³⁰ He sat, from 1362 to 19th of December, 1370. See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 203.

³¹ He ruled, from 1370 to 1378.

³² For very complete Acts of the foregoing Sovereign Pontiffs, who were French, the reader is referred to L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome xx., liv. lxxix., lxxx., pp. 65 to 493.

³³ His reign dates, from 1378 to 1389. See Rev. Joseph Reeve's "Short View of the History of the Christian Church," vol. ii., cent. xiv., sec. vi., pp. 402 to 409. Excter, 1802, 1803, 12mo.

³⁴ See Dean Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," vol. v., book xiii., chap. i. ii., pp. 396 to 423.

³⁵ He ruled, from 1378 to 1394. See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome xx., liv. xcvi., sec. xlvi., and liv. xcvi., sec. i. to lxvi., and liv. xcix., sec. i., ii., pp. 271 to 408.

³⁶ See Albertus Crantzius, "Saxonia," lib. x., cap. liii., pp. 711, 712.

³⁷ See the Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April v.

to accompany the Cardinal to the court of Clement VII., at Avignon, our saint returned to Valencia. Meanwhile, Pope Urban had died at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1389; and, immediately, the Roman Cardinals elected Boniface IX.,³⁸ as his successor. Each of the rival pontiffs anathematized the other, to the great scandal of Christendom; but, while the Doctors of the University of Paris laboured to close the schism, Clement VII. died, September 16th, 1394.³⁹ Again, owing to a promise made to restore peace to the Church, but which was afterwards as craftily evaded, the Conclave, at Avignon, elected the friend of our saint, Peter de Luna.⁴⁰ There, he bore the title of Benedict XIII.; and, having been elevated, chiefly through the influence of the French and Spaniards, he resided at Avignon, during that great schism, which so greatly disturbed the Church, in the fourteenth century.⁴¹ As a result of this election, St. Vincent was appointed chamberlain by that Pope, and he resided for some time in the Court, at Avignon. Vincent chose to continue his evangelical labours, in the pulpit, while he had charge of household affairs, and he was confessor to Benedict XIII.⁴² He laboured most zealously to reconcile or dissipate the factions and broils of the unhappy period; but, wearied with ineffectual exertions to promote peace and concord, he determined to leave the Papal Court, at Avignon. Our saint was grieved, at the state of ecclesiastical and civil anarchy which reigned; and, he advised Benedict to resign his position, in order that peace might prevail in the Church. This motion had been assented to, as he thought, but soon was Vincent undeceived, by the action of the Pontiff. Then, he expressed his intention, to withdraw from the court. The Pope remonstrated, as being unwilling to lose his society and services; but, Vincent retired to a convent of his order, at Avignon, where he was seized with a fever, from which he recovered, however, in a truly miraculous manner.⁴³ St. Vincent chose a missionary career among the poor, and afterwards devoted himself with extraordinary labour, to announce the Gospel, in different parts of Europe. At the age of forty-two, he set out from Avignon towards Valencia, and he preached everywhere, through the towns, to large crowds, who were attracted by his fervent discourses, while these produced very wonderful fruits. Numbers of public sinners were converted, even many among the Jews and Mahomedans. Heretics and Schismatics abandoned their errors. He preached in Catalonia, and visited every province of Spain, except Galicia, in prosecuting the work of his mission. From Spain, he went into France, and there he travelled through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny. From France, he journeyed to Italy, preaching along the coast of Genoa. He visited Savoy, Piedmont, and Lombardy. Another course of instructions and of missionary labours he undertook, about the Upper Rhine, in parts of Germany, and in Flanders. The usual subjects of his discourse were on the exciting and serious topics of God's judgments, on sin and on sinners, on death, on hell, and on eternity. Extraordinary manifestations of feeling took place, among the congregations

³⁸ He was the generally recognised Pope, and he ruled from 1389 to 1404.

³⁹ See Rev. James Craigie Robertson's "History of the Christian Church," vol. iv., book vii., chap. v., p. 173.

⁴⁰ Surius states, "anno 1394 Kal. Octob." See "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis," &c., Life of St. Vincent Ferrer, lib. ii., cap. ii., p. 70.

⁴¹ For an account of these lamentable disorders, see Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. iii. Second

Epoch, part second, chap. i. to iv., pp. 1 to 180. Dublin edition, Translation.

⁴² See "L'Histoire de l'Eglise," par Bérault-Becastel, nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée de sa continuation depuis 1720 jusqu'à Léon XII, par M. Pelier de Lacroix, Chanoine de Chartres et Aumonier de S. A. R. Le Prince de Condé, tome vii., liv. xlvii., p. 413. Edition, A Paris, A.D. 1829 et seq.

⁴³ See "Les Petits Bollandistes," tome iv., 5 Avril, pp. 220, 221.

he addressed, and great conversions were a usual result. He appealed, however, as well to the understanding, as to the feelings, of vast crowds, who were convinced and moved, by his eloquent exhortations. While St. Vincent was engaged preaching the Gospel, in France, Henry IV.,⁴⁴ King of England, sent him a pressing invitation by messengers, to visit his realm, and the holy man complied with his request. Then, he predicted many things, that should happen in the future, and his prophecies were exactly fulfilled. He spread the word of God with great fruit. Afterwards, leaving England, he directed his course, by sea, to Scotland.⁴⁵ From the latter country, he passed over to Ireland; and, most probably, he landed somewhere, in the province of Ulster. However, he did not remain for any considerable time, in Ireland, when he deemed it necessary to revisit Gaul.⁴⁶ His own manner of life was known to be most austere, self-sacrificing, and abstemious. He fasted every day, except on Sundays, and he never eat flesh-meat; on Wednesday and on Fridays, he lived on bread and water, for a great number of years. After returning from the British Islands, he gave missions, in Gascony and Picardy. This remarkable man preached, also, in the Island of Majorca. St. Vincent had a wonderful aptitude, for the acquisition of languages, and after a little study, he was enabled to preach, in the various foreign countries. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, gifts of prophecy, and the performance of miracles, very many of which are recorded by his biographers. Notwithstanding his unremitting occupations, in the work of the ministry, our saint found time to compose the following valuable works: A Treatise on a Spiritual Life, or on the Interior Man; a Treatise on the Lord's Prayer; a Consolation under Temptations against Faith; besides seven Epistles. Having spent some time, in the province of Burgundy, he went from Dijon to Bourges. There, his labours in the ministry were exercised, with great unction. While here, pressing letters were received from John V., Duke of Brittany, who asked him to come, for the purpose of preaching in his own province. St. Vincent readily complied with his request, and travelled by way of Tours, Angers, and Nantz. Along the route, miracles were wrought by him, and many sinners were converted. The chief city of the duke was Vannes, and preparations were made there, to receive the saint, with the highest honours. The sovereign, clergy, nobles, and people, vied with each other, in the welcome accorded to him. From the fourth Sunday of Lent, until Easter Tuesday, of the year 1417, he preached in the city of Vannes, with remarkable effect; for, he produced a thorough change, in the morals of the people. While he remained in this place, Vincent received a message, from Pope Martin V. He had been elected Pope, by the Council assembled at Constance, in the November of that year. This indult confirmed all his missionary faculties and authority. King Henry V., who ruled over England and Normandy, at the time, happened to be at Caen, and he entreated St. Vincent, to visit his French dominions. The holy man complied, and thenceforward, for the remainder of his life, his labours were confined to the provinces of Brittany and Normandy. At length, worn out, with incessant labours and advancing years, he sought the city of Vannes, for the purpose of finding there his grave. A fever had already seized upon him. In this extremity, he received the sacraments of the Church, with most edify-

⁴⁴ His reign lasted, from A. D. 1399 to A. D. 1413.

⁴⁵ As connected with this country, in Adam King's Kalendar, he is thus noticed, at this day. "S. Vincentius confess. of ye ordre of blak freiris vendr frederic 2."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendar of Scottish Saints,"

p. 148.

⁴⁶ See Vita, auctore Petro Ranzano Ordinis Prædicatorum, dien Episc. Lucerino. Ex Codice MS. Ultrajectino, lib. ii., cap. ii., sec. 8, in "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis v., p. 493.

ing piety. With patience, resignation, and continuous prayer, he passed away from life, on the 5th April, which happened to fall on Wednesday in Passion week. He died, in the year 1419, having lived exactly sixty-two years, two months, and thirteen days. His remains were religiously deposited, in the choir of the cathedral church, at Vannes, and a great number of miracles having been wrought there, through his intercession, Pope Calixtus III., in 1455, drew up the Bull for his canonization. This, however, was only published, on the 7th October, 1458, by his successor, Pope Pius II., after the saint's remains had been taken from the tomb, and deposited in a rich shrine. An unsuccessful application of the Spaniards, to have his body removed to Spain, was made in 1599. Then, the shrine was actually buried in the earth, from which it was recovered, on the 6th of September, 1637.⁴⁷ Great honours were paid the saint, on the recurrence of this festival; and, during the revolutionary period, in France, the relics of St. Vincent were concealed, until the times allowed their restoration. The shrine is yet borne in procession, through Vannes, on the occasion of great solemnities. His feast, at this day, occurs, in various calendars. Thus, in the Manuscript Martyrologies of Bruxelles and of Florarius; in the Martyrology of Cologne and of Lubeck, printed A.D. 1490; in Greuen and in Molanus; in Bellinus, Maurolycus, Felicius, Galesinus, and in Canisius; we find his festival cast, for the 5th day of April. At the same date, the Roman Martyrology records him.⁴⁸ This holy man is mentioned, with special encomiums, in the Martyrologies of Saussay, and of the Spaniard, Tamaius Salazar. In the Martyrology of the Dominican Order of Preachers, the octave for his feast is set down, at the 12th of April.⁴⁹ The feast of St. Vincent Ferrer is to be found, Avril 5, in the succinct calendar, prefixed to the "Heures de Notre-Dame a l'usage du Mans." The Missal of the Order of Preachers, and which was printed at Venice, A.D. 1504, the "Circle of the Seasons,"⁵⁰ and various other authorities, chronicle our saint, at the 5th day of April. His was a life of extraordinary activity and labour; although his constitution was naturally weak, yet this was never an excuse with him for rest, and his ardour seemed unconquerable, when God's work and the salvation of souls required his attention.

ARTICLE III.—FEAST OF ST. TIGERNACH, BISHOP OF CLOGHER, AND ABBOT OF CLONES. [*Sixth Century.*] In Rev. Alban Butler¹ we find an account, at the 5th of April, of St. Tigernach, who is styled Bishop and Confessor. A short notice is given of him, among the Lives of the Saints, as published by "Les Petits Bollandistes,"² at the same date.

According to several respectable authorities, the death St. Tigernach, Bishop over Clogher, took place, on the 5th of April. His Acts have been given, at the day preceding, as the reader may have already perceived. Henry Fitzsimon, on his list and at this date, has Thigernogus, Epis.; while, as he states, Molanus call him Thigernachus.³ In the Anonymous Catalogue, published by O'Sullivan Beare, a St. Thibernogus is mentioned, at this day.⁴ St.

⁴⁷ Afterwards, a chapel was built, in the cathedral, and over its altar, the shrine was placed. There his remains are still exposed for veneration, to the faithful. See Godescard's "Vies des Saints de Bretagne," at the 5th of April.

⁴⁸ See "Martyrologium Romanum," &c., by Cardinal Cæsar Baronius, p. 153. Editio Romæ, 1586, fol.

⁴⁹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis v., De S. Vincentio Ferrero, &c. Com-

mentarius Prævius, sec. i., num. 5, p. 479.

⁵⁰ At p. 96.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April v.

² See vol. iv., April v., p. 203.

³ He also quotes Floratus, as an authority. See "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernæ."

⁴ See "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50.

Tigernach's festival is noted, at this same date, in the Roman Martyrology; as also, by Father White, who styles this saint a distinguished preacher of the Gospel.⁵ John Molanus, the Circle of the Seasons,⁶ with Adam King's Kalendar,⁷ Dempster,⁸ and David Camerarius,⁹ agree, as likewise the Bollandists, in assigning his feast to this day.¹⁰ Bishop Forbes has some notices of this saint.¹¹

ARTICLE IV.—FEAST OF SAINT PATRICK'S FIRST BAPTISM, IN IRELAND. This means, not the day, on which St. Patrick himself was baptized, but the day, on which he baptized his first convert. It seems to have been celebrated, from a very remote period, since it occurs, in the "Feilire" of St. Ængus, on the 5th day of April.¹ From the commentary appended, we learn, that "The first baptism of Patrick" means how Sinell,² the son of Finnchadh, of the Ui Garchon, was the first person baptized in Ireland, by Patrick.³ On the 5th of April, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁴ we find entered, *Baptisma Patricii venit ad Hiberniam, i.e.* "the Baptism of Patrick came to Ireland." The remarkable event of St. Patrick regenerating, in the saving waters of Baptism, his first Irish convert, is recorded, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal;⁵ and, in reference to it, the "Feilire" of St. Ængus is quoted:—

"On the great festival of the son of Cula,
Of Becan with the victory of austerity,
The first baptism of Patrick
Which he performed in Erinn."⁶

ARTICLE V.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. FINIAN, ABBOT OF CLONARD. [*Sixth Century.*] In a Manuscript Benedictine Kalendar, there is a commemoration of St. Finian, Abbot, in Hibernia; while the Bollandists,¹ who notice the entry, at the 5th of April, state, that he was identical with a holy man, bearing the same name, and venerated, at the 12th of December.²

⁵ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. ii., p. 15. Again, his name occurs, at the 5th of April, as S. Frigermanis, a bishop of old Scotia or Hibernia. See cap. iv., p. 37, *ibid.*—He is the same person, although there is an in correction of spelling.

⁶ See p. 96.

⁷ Thus, in Adam King's Kalendar, at Apryll 5, we find "Tigernakebisch. and confess. in Scotland vnder King Alphine."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of the Scottish Saints," p. 148.

⁸ See "Menologium Scotorum," p. 196. *Ibid.*

⁹ In the Scottish Entries to his Kalendar, we read at 5 Die "Sanctus Tigernacus Episcopus et Confessor."—*Ibid.* p. 236.

¹⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms i., Aprilis v. See pp. 401 to 404.

¹¹ See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 452.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ The following are the words of the text:—

híreil moir maic cula
Beccan combuaro lepi
Baither patraic píumoa
acraimao mepi.

They are thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—"On the great feast of Beccan

mac Cula with a victory of piety, excellent Patrick's baptism was kindled in Ireland.

² The Scholium on the stanza of the Feilire thus explains it.

³ In his note on the O'Clery's Calendar, the Rev. Dr. Todd remarks:—"The gloss on the word píumoa is here aipeíosa, honourable; but the same word at April 15 is glossed epíosa, learned. The Scholiast seems to have taken it to signify here *first*, agreeing with *baptism*, if the other signification be adopted, it must agree with Patrick."

⁴ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has βαπτίσμα πατρικίου uenit ad hiberniam.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁶ In a note, Dr. Todd here says, "The more recent hand adds here, f. Oenguir, meaning that this quatrain occurs, on the 5th of April, in the Feilire or Martyrology of Aengus. The same hand adds also, in Roman letters: "Baptismus S. Patricii, M. Taml," where we have the words, "Baptisma Patricii venit Hiberniam."

ARTICLE V.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms i., Aprilis. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 397.

² His Life is to be found written, at the same date,

Sixth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. CELSUS, OR CELESTINE, OR CELLACH MAC AID, ARCH-BISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.]

AMONG the very remarkable prelates, that ruled over the See of Armagh, the name and actions of the present holy man deserve a special mention. He was remarkable for his great abilities, as also for his distinguished virtues, while he ruled happily over the clergy and people, committed to his charge.

Sir James Ware,¹ and his editor Walter Harris,² have given us an account of St. Celsus. Colgan would seem to have collected some Acts of this holy Bishop, for publication, at the 6th of April,³ had he lived to complete his work. The Bollandist Father, Daniel Papebroch, has inserted the Acts of this holy man, at the same date.⁴ The Right Rev. Bishop Challenor⁵ and the Rev. Alban Butler⁶ have some brief notices of St. Celsus, at the 6th of April, the date most usually assigned for his festival. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould has a Life of this saint, at the same day.⁷ In Irish, the present holy man's name is written Cellach Mac Aid, so called from the etymon of his father, while his grandfather was known as Mac Maelisa. The name of our saint has been Latinized Celsus, while some writers call him Celestine. It is said, that he received his education at Oxford,⁸ and, it is affirmed, that he was a man, universally skilled in the circles of Science,⁹ while recognised, as possessing varied erudition.¹⁰ By the unanimous suffrages of the clergy and people, after the death of Donald Mac Amalgaid,¹¹ St. Celsus was elected Archbishop of Armagh, and he was consecrated, on the 23rd of September, A.D. 1106.¹² Incorrectly is the date set down in Ware, as being on the 2nd day of the month.¹³ Celsus was indefatigable, in zealously discharging the functions of his office. We are informed, that he ordained bishops, priests, and persons of every degree; that he consecrated many churches and cemeteries; that he bestowed jewels and wealth; that he established rules and good morals among all, both laity and clergy; and that he spent a life of fasting, prayer, and mass celebration.¹⁴ During the first year of his consecration,

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. I., cap. viii., pp. 53, 54.

² See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," pp. 51 to 54.

³ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur Ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁴ They are written, in ten paragraphs. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus I., Aprilis vi., De Sancto Celso Archiepiscopo Armacano in Hibernia, pp. 619, 620.

⁵ See "Britannia Sancta," part i., pp. 215, 216.

⁶ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vi.,

⁷ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April vi., pp. 106 to 109.

⁸ See Dr. Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 202.

⁹ Such is the statement of Brian Twine, on the authority of Bale.

¹⁰ "Antiq. Oxon. academ. Apolog," lib. ii., sec. 280.

¹¹ He ruled, from A.D. 1092 to A.D. 1106.

¹² See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 51.

¹³ See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. viii., p. 53.

¹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1032, 1033.

Celsus visited Munster. The tribute given to him, in acknowledgment of his primatial rights, on this occasion, was very considerable. Thus, every cantred or district, which contained a hundred villages, contributed seven oxen, seven sheep, and half an ounce of gold, with many other presents. During this year, also, the primate made a visitation, throughout the province of Ulster.¹⁵ However, the Annals of the Four Masters¹⁶ state, that in 1108, Ceallach, successor of Patrick, went on his visitation of Munster, for the first time, and obtained his full demand. Meantime, Murrough O'Brien, King of Munster, engaged in a serious military enterprise, with the troops of his own province, and with those of Connaught and of Meath. Against him, an army was led, by Domhnall Mac Laughlin,¹⁷ with the people of the North of Ireland, to Sliabh-Fuaid, in 1109; but, Ceallach effected a truce for one year, between Mac Laughlin and Ua Briain.¹⁸ In the year 1110,¹⁹ Ceallach, the successor of Patrick, went on his visitation of Meath, for the first time, and obtained his demand.²⁰ At the instance of the Monarch of all Ireland,²¹ Muirchearthead or Mortough O'Brian, son of Teige, son to the renowned Bryan Boroinhe, it was resolved to gratify the desires of that pious ruler, who had the interests of religion much at heart. A celebrated synod was summoned, and it was held, at Fedh-Mac Ængusa, or "the Land of the Sons of Aenghus," in the year 1111,²² or 1112.²³ The place is said to have been near the Hill of Uisneach, in the county of Westmeath. St. Celsus, the Comorban or successor of St. Patrick, presided. We are told, that no less than fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand ecclesiastics, or students, assisted. Among them was Maelmury O'Dunan, called the noble or Arch-Senior of Ireland, who is supposed to have been Meiler O'Dunan, Archbishop of Cashel.²⁴ Besides the ecclesiastics mentioned, Murchertach O'Brien, monarch of Ireland, with many nobles and chiefs of Leth-Mogha, or the southern division of Ireland, assisted.²⁵ This synod was convened, to prescribe rules and good morals for all, both laity and clergy. By some, this convention has been named the Synod of Uisneach, which spot was celebrated, in being a favourite place, for various public meetings of the kingdom, owing probably to its very central position in Ireland. Among the writings, attributed to our saint, by John Bale,²⁶ were "Constitutiones Quasdam;" and, by these, Sir James Ware thinks, he meant perhaps the statutes of this celebrated synod.²⁷ It ought to be observed, however, that the synod of Fidh Mac Aengusa must be distinguished from that of Uisneach; for, after giving an account of the former, the Annals of Inisfallen state, that in the

¹⁵ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," pp. 51, 52.

¹⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 986, 987.

¹⁷ By some writers, he is called Donnell O'Loughlin, and he was a rival for the sovereignty of Ireland, with Murrough O'Brien, who died A.D. 1119. See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland," chap. xv., pp. 164, 165.

¹⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 988, 989.

¹⁹ According to the Clarendon Codex of the Ulster Annals, tome 49.

²⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 990, 991.

²¹ He ruled for twenty years, viz., from 1110 to 1130, according to Dermot O'Conor's Keating's "History of Ireland," part ii., pp.

509 to 515, Duffy's edition.

²² This is the year assigned for it, in Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 990 to 993.

²³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Appendix ad "Acta S. Patricii," pars. iii., pp. 229, 300.

²⁴ According to the Annals of Connaught.

²⁵ Henry of Marleburgh, the Vicar of Ballyscadan, in the diocese of Dublin, has fallen into an error, when he states, this Synod had been convened, by Maurice Mac Loughlin, King of Ireland, who did not begin his reign before the year 1157.

²⁶ See "Scriptorium Illustrium Majoris Britanniaë," &c., cent. xiv., sec. 84.

²⁷ See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniaë," lib. i., cap. viii., p. 54.

same year, a great synod was held at Uisneach, for the purpose of dividing the parishes of Meath equally, between the dioceses of Clonmacnoise and of Clonard.²⁸ St. Celsus spent much time, in endeavouring to effect the reconciliation of kings and chiefs, at a very anarchical period of our history. In the year 1116, this prelate made a second visitation, in the province of Connaught.²⁹ The object of these Archiepiscopal progresses apparently had been, to impress on the minds of the people living without it the supremacy of Armagh See, over the various other dioceses in Ireland, with a view of discharging some customary usage, and of exacting dues or tributes. During the same year, a fire broke out in Armagh. It caused destruction of the abbey, with twenty other buildings, in that city.³⁰ The holy bishop Celsus ordained the illustrious St. Malachy O'Morgair,³¹ as a deacon, and also as a priest, about A.D. 1119. In the year 1121, another destructive fire broke out, and in the Trian-Massain quarter two streets, extending from the rath, or tower, to St. Brigid's Church, were burned down. It may be supposed, that nearly all of those buildings had been constructed of wood, thatch, or other perishable materials. In the year 1121,³² and on the 4th of July, Samuel O'Haingley, bishop of Dublin, died.³³ The See became vacant, for a time. It is said, that by the common consent of the Irish and Normans, St. Celsus was invited, to preside over that diocese; and, while our Annalists eulogize his purity, they declare, that he was Archbishop of the West of Europe, the only head whom the foreigners and Irish of Ireland, both laity and clergy, obeyed.³⁴ This statement may have been occasioned, by his only assuming the administration or guardianship of that See, pending the vacancy, which continued in the regular succession of its bishops, until Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, had consecrated, on the 2nd of October following, Gregory, as bishop of Dublin. This ceremony took place, at Lambeth, near London. In the year 1122, it is stated, that Maelcolm O'Brolcan, who was bishop of Armagh, died; but, it is more than probable, he was only a suffragan, or vicar, to Archbishop Celsus.³⁵ In the year 995, during the government of Dubhdalethy II. in the Archbishopric, the cathedral of Armagh was burned; and, for 130 years it remained in a ruinous condition, being only partially roofed, until on the 12th of January, A.D. 1125, St. Celsus commenced the repairs of this church, which he covered entirely with tiles, or shingles.³⁶ This was only one of the great improvements effected by him, during the period of his highly useful incumbency.³⁷ A church, which had been erected, at Armagh, by St. Imhar Ua h-Aedhagain,³⁸ and which was called the Regles of Peter and Paul, was consecrated by Ceallach, the successor of Patrick, on the 12th of the Calends of Novem-

²⁸ There is no account of Murtoch O'Brian, nor of Celsus, nor of Moelmurry, being present at it; but, as we are told, Morough O'Moelseachlain, Eocha O'Kelly and the clergy of the religious house of St. Kieran (Clonmacnoise) together with Giolla Chriost O'Maoillean, abbot of Clonmacnoise, attended the regulations in that Synod. See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., chap. xxv., sec. iii., p. 37, and n. 82, p. 39.

²⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1000 to 1003. It is said, on this occasion, he obtained a full tribute.

³⁰ It occurred, at the beginning of Lent, according to the Ulster Annals.

³¹ His Life is written, for the 3rd of No-

vember.

³² However, the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, and some ancient Rolls, in Lambeth, have it A.D. 1122; while the Annals of Mulfertan refer his death to A.D. 1123.

³³ See John D'Alton's "Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin," p. 40.

³⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1032, 1033.

³⁵ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 53.

³⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1022, 1023.

³⁷ See Rev. P. J. Carew's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," chap. iv., pp. 111, 112.

³⁸ His feast is commemorated, at the 13th of August.

ber, A.D. 1126.³⁹ In the year 1126, a great storm of war arose in Ireland,⁴⁰ and St. Celsus left his See, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, between the princes and chiefs. He was absent, during thirteen months, trying to restore peace; while he laboured in promulgating good rules and customs, among the clergy and laity, throughout every district.⁴¹ Without giving any authority for his assertion, Hanmer⁴² states, that Celsus was a married man,⁴³ and that he was buried with his wife and children, in the church of Armagh. This account is altogether incorrect. In 1128, through his mediation, a truce was effected, between the kings of Connaught⁴⁴ and of Munster.⁴⁵ This was intended to last for a year, but the archbishop did not live, for the expiration of that term. Illness appears to have seized upon him, having scarcely passed the fiftieth year of his age.⁴⁶ Upon the approach of death, he greatly desired, that the illustrious St. Malachy O'Morgair—who was then bishop of Connor—should succeed him at Armagh.⁴⁷ With this intent, the dying archbishop sent the Staff of Jesus,⁴⁸ as the ensign of his authority. He desired especially, that the two kings of Munster should interest themselves, in the matter which he had recommended, and before those who were attending him, during his last illness.⁴⁹ St. Celsus died, after unction and good penance, at Ard Patrick,⁵⁰ a village in the county of Limerick, certain writers say, on the 1st of April,⁵¹ while others have it, on the 6th, in the year 1128, as some state;⁵² but, as most generally believed, in 1129.⁵³ By a provision in his will, the body was conveyed to Lismore, on the Wednesday succeeding; and there, having been waked with psalms, hymns and canticles, it was honourably interred,⁵⁴ in the tomb of the Bishops, on the Thursday following.⁵⁵ To St. Celsus is ascribed the following works, besides the Constitutions, to which reference has been already made, viz.: His Testament or Will, besides many Epistles to St. Malachy.⁵⁶ At the 6th of April, his festival is set down, in the Roman Martyrology,⁵⁷ while we are told, that this occurred through an oversight of Cardinal Baronius, who mistook a iv. for a vi., and

³⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1022 to 1025.

⁴⁰ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, pars. iiii., p. 300.

⁴¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1024, 1025.

⁴² See "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 203.

⁴³ Such an inference he drew, perhaps, from the circumstance, that Celsus belonged to the dominant family at Armagh. This family intruded "viri uxorati," on the See, as St. Bernard complains, in his Life of St. Malachy.

⁴⁴ At this time, Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, or Turlough O'Conor, a renowned and ambitious warrior, ruled over Connaught; while Cormac Mac Carthy, known as the king-bishop, ruled in Munster. See an account of the latter, in Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture, and Round Towers of Ireland," &c., part ii., sec. iii., sub-sec. i., pp. 305 to 313.

⁴⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1028 to 1031.

⁴⁶ Dr. Meredith Hanmer, in his "Chronicle of Ireland," incorrectly states, that he "died of great age." See p. 203.

⁴⁷ Not understanding the statement of Baronius, John Wilson, in his "Martyrolo-

gium Anglicanum," has said, that Celsus preceded St. Malachy in the See of Conor, which was not the case.

⁴⁸ The reader will find an account of this venerable relic, in the Life of St. Patrick, at the 17th of March, chap. v.

⁴⁹ See Dr. Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 203.

⁵⁰ Signifying "the height of Patrick."

⁵¹ See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 216. A like statement occurs, in Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vi.

⁵² Regarding this Saint, Father Stephen White remarks: "Mortuum anno Salutis," 1128, et in Romano Martyrologio positum ad 6 Aprilis." See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iv., pp. 32, 33, and again, at p. 37.

⁵³ See Sir James Ware, "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. ii., cap. viii., p. 53.

⁵⁴ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," pp. 51 to 54.

⁵⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1034, 1035.

⁵⁶ See John Bale, "Scriptorium Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ," &c., cent. xiv., sec. 84.

⁵⁷ "In Hibernia S. Celsi Episcopi, qui Malachiam in Episcopatu præcessit."—"Martyrologium Romanum," Aprilis vi.

that the date should rather be 4th of this month.⁵⁸ In Henry Fitzsimon's "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernæ,"⁵⁹ this bishop's feast appears to be referred to the 5th of August, evidently through some mistake. The Martyrology of Donegal⁶⁰ records, on this day, the name of St. Celsus, Bishop, of Ard Macha, or Armagh. Likewise, in the Rev. Alban Butler's work,⁶¹ in that of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould,⁶² and in the "Circle of the Seasons,"⁶³ the feast of St. Celsus, is set down, at the 6th of April. Whether deservedly or not, Father Stephen White⁶⁴ reproves Giraldus Cambrensis, for omitting all mention of this saint, who flourished in the twelfth century, and who is so remarkably lauded by St. Bernard.⁶⁵ However, it is sufficient to observe here, that the name and memory of St. Celsus hold a distinguished position in Irish ecclesiastical records, and they cannot be obliterated, under any circumstances, from the history of our national Church.

ARTICLE II.—ST. CRONBEG, OR CRONAN BEG, ABBOT OF CLONMACNOISE, KING'S COUNTY. [*Seventh Century.*] This Saint is called Cronan Beg, or the Little, owing probably to his want of ordinary stature. He is entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 6th of April, as Cronbrice, Abbot of Cluana, or Clonmacnoise. The date of his birth has not been ascertained, nor does his genealogy seem to be known. This holy man most probably succeeded Colman,² Abbot, who died, in the year 681.³ Then was his successor elected to rule, in a spot, greatly resorted to, even from distant regions. The pilgrimage to holy places is one of the oldest of Christian institutions. The first known visits were to Jerusalem, and to other parts of Judea. Thus, Helena, the pious mother of the Emperor Constantine, hastened as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, when she visited the scenes of our Redeemer's passion. The Empress returned, bringing with her the true cross, with other relics of Christ's death; and, from that time forward, pilgrimages to the Holy Land were annually made by thousands, from every part of Christendom. Our Irish countrymen frequently visited this distant land, and usually combined with their journey a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome. Hardships, persecutions, and even death itself, often overtook the zealous and devoted pilgrim. The tremendous conflicts, which shook Palestine during the period of the Crusades, barred the road thither to all but the most hardy, adventurous, and daring. The subsequent loss of the Holy City, all but closed its gates against the Christians. At and before this era, the practice of national pilgrimages grew into transcendent importance. Instead of turning towards the Holy Sepulchre, the penitent wended his way, towards

⁵⁸ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April vi., p. 109.

⁵⁹ See O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium." tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xiii., p. 53.

⁶⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁶¹ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vi.

⁶² See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April vi., p. 106.

⁶³ See p. 97.

⁶⁴ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. ii., p. 15, and cap. iv., p. 31.

⁶⁵ In "Vita S. Malachie."

ARTICLE II.— Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy we read,

Cronbrice Ab, only.

¹ Dr. Petrie drew the inscription on an old tomb in Clonmacnoise, which belonged to one Colman, in 1822, and it is still extant. A cross was added, but the lettering is now indistinct. A representation of it will be found, in Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," vol. i., plate ii., fig. 6, p. 17. It is ascribed to the present Colman.

² See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 288, 289. This Abbot is said to have been of the sept of Ciaraighe-Airich, seated between the rivers Lung and Brideog, in the old barony of Boyle, and county of Roscommon. See *ibid.*, n. (f).

some shrine in his native land, famous for some deed of sanctity, or for some spiritual manifestation. In Ireland, Lough Derg, Kildare, Glendalough, and Clonmacnoise, were the great pilgrimages. The ten ruined churches, which surround St. Kieran's grave at the latter place, are said to have been the offering of ten royal pilgrims, who knelt at his shrine. Among the religious foundations here is shown, what purports to have been a church or chapel of the nunnery,⁴ said to have been built in 1170, by Dearvoirgilla,⁵ and it was consumed, with other buildings, by an accidental fire, A.D. 1180. The festival in honour of Cronbeg—a contraction most probably of his regular name—who was placed as Abbot, over Cluainmic Nois, occurs, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁶ at this date. This was the day for his death, and the year was 689,



Queen Dearvoirgilla's Church, Clonmacnoise.

according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, or according to those of the Four Masters,⁷ A.D. 692. The Annals of Ulster place his demise, under the year 693.⁸

ARTICLE III.—ST. CELESTINE I., POPE AND CONFESSOR. [*Fourth and Fifth Centuries.*] Owing to the instrumentality of this great Pontiff, Ireland received the opportunity of admission to the Church, as a portion of the Christian fold. Grateful for the favour, his name has been inscribed on our National Kalendars; for he sent St. Palladius and St. Patrick, to open their missions among our pagan ancestors. The Acts of this illustrious Pontiff have

⁴ The accompanying illustration is from a photograph, taken on the spot, by John L. Robinson, Esq., M.R.I.A., Architect. Dublin. It was drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁵ She was daughter to Murrough O'Mealaghlin, King of Meath, and wife of Tighernan O'Rourk. See Archdall's "Monasticum

Hibernicum," p. 393.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 296, 297.

⁸ "AN. DCCXII Cronbeg Abbas Cluanic nois obiit."—"Annales Ultonienses," p. 65. Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv.

been given, by Alphonsus Ciaconius,¹ of the Dominican Order, by Baronius,² by the Bollandists,³ by Baillet,⁴ by the Rev. Alban Butler,⁵ by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould,⁶ as also by Mgr. Paul Guérin,⁷ and by various other authors. St. Celestine was born in Rome, towards the close of the fourth century, and his father's name was Priscus.⁸ During the episcopate of St. Ambrose,⁹ and in early life, Celestine had visited Milan.¹⁰ He became a Deacon to Innocent, and at that time, he had written a cordial letter to St. Augustine,¹¹ the great Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Africa. Celestine sent it, through a cleric, named Projectus, and to that epistle St. Augustine returned a suitable reply.¹² Celestine held a very distinguished place among the clergy at Rome, while his virtues and talents caused him to be universally respected. During the earlier part of the fifth century, the illustrious Bishop of Hippo had borne the great burden of controversy, against the heretics of that age, the Donatists,¹³ the Manichæans,¹⁴ and the Pelagians.¹⁵ The latter heresy had its origin from a British monk, named Pelagius, a man of great mental and moral excellence, but, of bold speculative opinions. Another man, known as Cœlestius, an Irish-Scot,¹⁶ a lawyer, and a man of even more aggressive temper,¹⁷ had come to Rome, about A.D. 400, for the purpose of continuing his studies. Pelagius and Cœlestius withdrew to Carthage, in 411, and there propagated their errors. Afterwards, they removed to the East. In the year 416, both heresiarchs were excommunicated, in the Synods of Carthage and of Mileve,¹⁸ while this decree obtained confirmation, from Pope Innocent I. However, Pelagius and Cœlestius still persevered in their opposition.¹⁹ When Pope St. Boniface I., who ruled from A.D. 418, had died, in the year 422,²⁰ with the acclaim of both clergy and laity throughout the whole city, Celestine was unanimously elected to succeed him.²¹ Before his elevation to the Papal

ARTICLE III.—“ See Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium, ab Initio nascentis Ecclesiæ usque ad Clementem IX. P. O. M.” Romæ, 1577, fol.

² See “Annales Ecclesiastici,” tomus v., pp. 410 to 529.

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus i., Aprilis vi. De S. Cælestino Primo, Pontifice Romano. They are contained in Three Chapters, and Eighteen Paragraphs, drawn from various sources, pp. 543 to 547.

⁴ See “Les Vies des Saints,” tome iv., Avril vi., pp. 187 to 193.

⁵ See “Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints,” vol. iv., April vi.

⁶ See “Lives of the Saints,” vol. iv., April 6, p. 94.

⁷ See “Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testament,” &c., tome iv., 6 Avril, pp. 248, 249.

⁸ According to the “Chronicon” of St. Prosper.

⁹ His Feast occurs, at the 7th of December. He died A.D. 397.

¹⁰ See “A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines,” &c. Edited by William Smith, D.C.L., LL.D., and Henry Wace, M.A., vol. i. Art. Cœlestinus I., p. 584.

¹¹ His Festival is held, on the 28th of August.

¹² In the “Opera” S. Augustini, this is numbered among the Epistolæ, 192.

¹³ See an account of them in “Mémoires pour servir à l’Histoire des Egaremens de l’Esprit Humain, par Rapport à la Religion Chrétienne; ou Dictionnaire des Hérésies, des Erreurs et des Schismes,” &c. Tome ii., pp. 3 to 24. A. Besançon, 1817, 8vo.

¹⁴ See *Ibid.*, pp. 335 to 397.

¹⁵ See *Ibid.*, pp. 534 to 582.

¹⁶ In the “Dictionary of Christian Biography,” &c., by Dr. William Smith, and Henry Wace, the reader will find an account of this heresiarch, who, we are told, “occupies a unique position among the Hibernian Scots, as he taught not the faith, but heresy.”—Vol. i., Art. Cœlestius, pp. 588, 589.

¹⁷ Although usually called the disciple of Pelagius, yet Cardinal Baronius says of him, “immo jam magister et totius ductor exercitus.”—“Annales Ecclesiastici,” tomus v., A.D. 411, sec. xlv., p. 274.

¹⁸ See “A History of the Councils of the Church, from the original Documents,” by the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, vol. ii., book viii., sec. 118, pp. 455, 456. English Translation, Edinburgh, 1871, et seq., 8vo.

¹⁹ See an account of these transactions, in Rev. John Alzog’s “Manual of Universal Church History,” vol. i. Period i., Epoch 2, chap. 2, sec. 116, pp. 399 to 408.

²⁰ See Sir Harris Nicolas’ “Chronology of History,” p. 208.

²¹ According to Alphonsus Ciaconius, this

throne, one Anthony, who had been a disciple of St. Augustine, was elevated to the See of Fussala. Occupying this position, he had been wanting, in the discharge of his duties, and, on that account, he was condemned in a Council of Numidia, though sustained by the Metropolitan, who presided. Anthony had even imposed, by an artifice, on Pope Boniface, to whom he had appealed, and returning to Fussala, great commotions were there excited.²² During these proceedings, the death of Boniface took place. Taking occasion to congratulate Celestine on his promotion,²³ St. Augustine wrote to induce him for a confirmation of that sentence of deposition, pronounced by the Council of Numidia. Finding the charges made against Anthony to be well founded, St. Celestine deposed him.²⁴ This holy Pontiff effected certain additions, such as the Introit, to the Liturgy of the Church. He desired, likewise, that the clergy should have a knowledge of the Canon Law, and that they should take care to instruct the people.²⁵ During the month of December, he consecrated thirty-two priests, twelve deacons, and forty-six bishops, destined for the service of various churches.²⁶ The solicitude of this holy bishop for the interests of Christ's Church was universal, as his jurisdiction was extensive. The Pelagians made a vain effort, to have their cause examined by Pope Celestine. In the year 425, Cœlestius appealed to him for a hearing. An eastern monk of Scythian extraction, and named Cassian,²⁷ had settled at Marseilles, in the South of France, where he became Abbot over the Monastery of St. Victor.²⁸ He took exception to the teaching of St. Augustine, on the doctrine of Grace, and his opinions were adopted by many monks in southern Gaul. Owing to their number in Marseilles, they were called Massilians, but they were better known as semi-Pelagians, because their system was a compromise between the extreme views of St. Augustine, on Predestination, and those extravagant claims asserted for Free-will, by Pelagius.²⁹ Some short time before his death, which occurred on August 28th, A.D. 430, St. Augustine was enabled to write against the Semi-Pelagians. After his departure, two zealous laymen from Gaul, and, who were named, Prosper and Hilary, continued the struggle against them.³⁰ About this time, Nestorius, a man of brilliant endowments, and bishop of Constantinople,³¹ who protected and encouraged the Pelagian leaders and preachers, had broached his own very subtle heresy; and, this was artfully couched, in two letters,³² which he wrote to Pope Celestine.³³ The Nestorian heresy was much more daring and impious in speculation and assumption, than were the Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian theories; for, while the latter dealt with an over-estimate of

Pope was created and consecrated "tertio Nonas Novembris, anno Dom. ccccxi."—*"Vita et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum,"* &c., tomus i., col. 291.

²² See L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome vii., liv. xxxviii., pp. 573 to 575.

²³ This Epistle begins: "Domino beatissimo et debita charitate venerando, Sancto Papæ Cœlestino, Augustinus in Domino Salutem." Epistola cclxi.

²⁴ See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome v., liv. xxiv., sec. xxxiv., pp. 583 to 585.

²⁵ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vi., De S. Cœlestino Primo, Pontifice Romano, cap. i., sec. 5, p. 544.

²⁶ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," &c., tome iv., 6 Avril, p. 249.

²⁷ See an account of him and of his writings,

in the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tome ii., pp. 215 to 230.

²⁸ See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome v., liv. xxiv., sec. lvi., pp. 632 to 634.

²⁹ See a very lucid exposition of this heresy, in L'Abbé Bergier's "Dictionnaire de Théologie," tome iv., Art. Semi-Pélagianisme.

³⁰ See Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. i., Period i., Epoch 2, chap. 2, sec. 117, pp. 408 to 413.

³¹ He was elevated to that position, in the year 428.

³² These have been published, in the "Annales Ecclesiastici" of Cardinal Baronius, tomus v., sec. ii. to vii., pp. 453, 454.

³³ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vi.

man's free-will, and an adequacy of human means to attain a supernatural end, the former denied the Divinity of Christ, and that the Blessed Virgin Mary was the Mother of God. Yet, this teaching was rapidly spread throughout the East, and it was proclaimed, also, in the West; however, it met with a determined opposition, in every quarter, for popular tradition and sympathy were alike outraged among the faithful. Nearly at the same time, St. Cyril,³⁴ Patriarch of Alexandria, had lodged an information, regarding the false teaching of Nestorius, that a divine and human person existed in Christ. The Pope convened a synod at Rome, A.D. 430,³⁵ in which the writings of the heresiarch were examined and condemned. Pope Celestine issued a sentence of excommunication against Nestorius, if he did not repent within two days, after it had been announced to him.³⁶ He also wrote to St. Cyril, as his Commissioner, to have that duty duly executed. He wrote, also, on this subject, to John, Bishop of Antioch, to Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, to Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, and to Flavianus, Bishop of Philippi.³⁷ A synod was convened at Alexandria, by St. Cyril, and there the errors of Nestorius were examined, and publicly condemned. A notification of these proceedings was sent to Constantinople, where Nestorius in turn denounced St. Cyril, as being guilty of heresy. To end such scandalous proceedings, the Emperor Theodosius II. desired, that a General Council might be held at Ephesus; and, with this object in view, he sent St. Petronius as his special messenger to Rome, so that Pope Celestine should sanction it, by his authority. This was obtained, and the Pentecost succeeding was designated, as a time the most suitable for convoking such a great assembly. One of the most remarkable events, connected with his pontificate, was the assembling of that General Council of Ephesus, to which Celestine sent three legates from Rome. These are named Arcadius, and Projectus, who were bishops, with Philip, a priest. Celestine also wrote a letter to the fathers, assembled at that Council, in which he recommended charity; while, he also stated, that his legates were instructed to put into execution, what he had already decreed, in the synod held at Rome. St. Cyril opened the Council,³⁸ and sat as first president, in the name of St. Celestine, while in the first Session, held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin, 198 bishops assembled. This Session opened, on 20th of June, A.D. 431.³⁹ After some opposition, various sessions were held, and decrees were passed.⁴⁰ Nestorius was in the city of Ephesus, during the holding of this Council, yet when summoned before it, he refused to appear. Obstinate perserving in his errors, he was deposed from his office of bishop and excommunicated.⁴¹ St. Maximian was appointed to succeed him, in the See of Constantinople. The Emperor Theodosius II., and the Bishops assembled at Ephesus, sent a legation to Pope Celestine, to congratulate him on the results obtained. The Legates reached Rome, on the Day of our Divine Lord's Nativity. Afterwards, the Pope wrote two Epistles, dated on the Ides of March, A.D. 432,⁴² not an entire month before his death: the first of these Epistles was directed

³⁴ His feast is kept, on the 28th of January.

³⁵ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 6, p. 94.

³⁶ See Alphonsus Ciaconius' "Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium," &c., toms i., p. col. 293.

³⁷ See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome vi., liv. xxv., sec. xiv., pp. 26 to 29.

³⁸ See "Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," vol. ii., p. 1152.

³⁹ See Alphonsus Ciaconius' "Vitæ et

Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium," &c., toms i., col. 293.

⁴⁰ For an account of proceedings, the reader may consult l'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome vi., liv. xxv., sec. xxxiv. to lix., pp. 61 to 123.

⁴¹ See M. Le Dr. Hoeffler's "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle," &c., tome ix., Art. Célestin I^{er} col. 345.

⁴² These have been inserted, by Baronius, in his "Annales Ecclesiastici."

⁴³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum,"

to the holy synod at Ephesus, and of a similar import was an Epistle, directed to the Emperor Theodosius II., to St. Maximian, and to the clergy of Constantinople.⁴³ St. Cyril met with a very stern opposition, from the eastern bishops; but, Pope St. Celestine befriended him, in this contest. After considerable difficulty, a reconciliation was at length effected. Among the Acts of Celestine, we find recorded, his consecration of the basilica of St. Julius, and his donation of several valuable gifts to it.⁴⁴ The doctrine of St. Austin, concerning the necessity of Divine grace, as we have seen, had been impugned, by some priests, in Gaul.⁴⁵ Our holy Pope wrote to the bishops of that country, to effect the repression of these dangerous novelties, at the request of Prosper⁴⁶ and of Hilary.⁴⁷ In that letter, the Pope greatly extolled the piety and learning of St. Austin, whose character could never be aspersed nor tarnished, by suspicion. He declared, furthermore, that St. Austin had been honoured among the most deserving and illustrious doctors of the Church, by his predecessors.⁴⁸ A British bishop, called Severianus, had been married before he was raised to the priesthood, and he had a son named Agricola. This latter had spread the seeds of the Pelagian heresy, in Britain. To correct these evils, Pope Celestine sent St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and St. Lupus, of Troyes, as missionaries,⁴⁹ whose zeal and exertions happily served to counteract the threatened dangers.⁵⁰ Their mission is referred to the years 429 and 430, when they converted many of the heretics.⁵¹ During the pontificate of Celestine, he felt a great desire to convert the Irish Nation; and, towards its close, he sent Palladius,⁵² in 431, to preach the Gospel among the people of Ireland. The failure of St. Palladius, in the work of his Irish mission, was destined, however, to be most successful, under the direction of the illustrious Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick. As may be seen, in the Life our holy Patron,⁵³ his mission was received from Pope Celestine I., in the early part of the year 432; and, the accounts of his consecration, as Bishop, in the presence of this Sovereign Pontiff, have been already related.⁵⁴ Eleven Letters of Celestine remain, and these refer to the chief incidents of his life.⁵⁵ Pope Celestine did not long survive the event of sending our illustrious national Apostle to Ireland. After closing his pontificate, that lasted almost ten years,⁵⁶ St. Celestine happily departed this life, in the year 432. In an old Calendar of the Pontiffs,⁵⁷ his demise has been set down, at the vii. of the April Ides, corresponding with the 7th day of this month; and, under such a date, his name occurs, in some of the Martyrologies.⁵⁸ However, the

tomus i., Aprilis vi. De S. Cælestino Primo, Pontifice Romano, cap. ii., pp. 554 to 556.

⁴⁴ These are recounted, by Anastasius and by other writers, as taken from certain Manuscript Acts of the Pontiffs, in Liber Pontificalis.

⁴⁵ See an account of this matter, in "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tome ii., Cinquième Siècle, sec. i. to xxxv., pp. 1 to 21.

⁴⁶ His Life and writings are there fully treated of, at pp. 369 to 406.

⁴⁷ See an account of him. *Ibid.* pp. 209 to 214.

⁴⁸ See Epistola xxi. ad Gallos.

⁴⁹ See Michael Alford's "Annales Ecclesiastici et Civiles Britannorum, Saxonum, Anglorum," tomus i., pp. 525 to 534.

⁵⁰ St. Prosper's "Chronicon," ad Annum.

⁵¹ See l'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome viii., liv. xxxix., pp. 17, 18.

⁵² His feast occurs, at the 6th of July.

⁵³ At the 17th of March.

⁵⁴ See Life of St. Patrick, chap. vi.

⁵⁵ See M. Le Dr. Hoeffer's "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle," &c., tome ix., col. 345.

⁵⁶ The Bollandists remark: "Sedit S. Cælestinus annos integros octo et partes duorum annorum, quæ solum quinque menses conficiunt et tres quatuorve dies."—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vi. De S. Cælestino Primo, Pontifice Romano, cap. iii., see. 15, p. 546.

⁵⁷ Said to have been compiled, in the sixth century.

⁵⁸ Thus, in certain copies of Ado and of Usuard; likewise, in a Martyrology attributed to the Venerable Bede, as also in another, printed at Cologne and Lubeck, A. D. 1490, in Grevén's additions to Usuard, with some other authorities.

greater number of our Calendarists place his departure, at the viii. of the April Ides,⁵⁹ which corresponds with the 6th day of the present month.⁶⁰ During his lifetime, this Pope had ornamented the cemetery of Priscilla⁶¹ with paintings,⁶² in which the synod assembled at Ephesus was represented. In that cemetery, his remains were interred. An original epitaph recorded,⁶³ that he was an excellent bishop, honoured and beloved by every one, and who, for the sanctity of his life, enjoyed the sight of Jesus Christ, and the eternal honour of the saints.⁶⁴ After some time, the remains of St. Celestine were removed to the Church of St. Praxedes. This translation is said to have taken place, in the year 817, during the Pontificate of Pope Pascal. At a later period, although the time is not precisely known, the city of Mantua acquired his precious relics; and each year, at the present date, a Double Office, taken from the Annals of Baronius, has been recited to honour him. Among the Irish Proper Offices,⁶⁵ composed by Bishop De Burgo, there is a Duplex Majus, for the Feast of St. Celestine I., Pope and Confessor, and the Lessons are taken from more ancient sources.⁶⁶ Some portions of this saint's relics are thought to have been kept, at Rome, in the Church of St. Paul, without the walls.⁶⁷ The Roman Martyrology enters the festival for Pope St. Celestine I., with an eulogy pronounced, at the 6th day of April.⁶⁸ The Bollandists, with most of our Irish and more recent Calendarists, countenance this arrangement. In Scotland, likewise, Pope St. Celestine was venerated, on the 6th day of April.⁶⁹ This was owing to his having originated the introduction of Christianity in that country, by procuring through St. Palladius the Gospel to be preached for its people.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. CATHUR, OR CATHUB, BISHOP OF ACHADHCINN, PROBABLY AUGHNAKEELY, COUNTY OF ANTRIM. Sacred biography should be a record of useful individual traits of character, and of social facts, on which religious philosophy, as a science, might be based. But, we have, very fre-

⁵⁹ Thus, Anastasius, Luitprandus, Abbo Floriacensis, with the Liber Pontificalis, Ciaconius, the Manuscript Gesta Pontificum; and, likewise, the Martyrologies of Bellinque, Maurolycus, Felicius, Galesinius, Canisius; in the ancient Calendarists of the Missal and Breviary of Milan, in the Roman Martyrology, as also in several other Manuscripts.

⁶⁰ The Rev. Alban Butler has his death assigned to the 1st of August, A.D. 432. See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vi.

⁶¹ It was on the Salarian way. See Aringhus, lib. iv. Romæ Subterraneæ, cap. xxviii.

⁶² Allusion is made to this tradition, by Pope Hadrian I., in his Epistle to Charlemagne, King of the Franks.

⁶³ It bore the following inscription:—

"Præsul Apostolicæ Sedis, venerabilis
omni
Quum rexit populo, decimum dum
conderet annum
Cœlestinus agens, vitam migravit in
illam,

Debita quæ Sanctis æternos reddit
honores,
Corporis hic tumulus: requiescant
ossa, cinisque:
Nec perit hinc aliquid: Domino caro
cuncta resurgit.
Terrenum nunc terra tegit, mens nes
cia mortis
Vivit, et aspectu fruitur bene conscia
Christi."

—Gruterus, In Antiquis Inscriptionibus, p. 1171.

⁶⁴ See Tellemont, tome xiv., p. 148.

⁶⁵ See De Burgo's "Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Die vi. Aprilis, pp. 45 to 47.

⁶⁶ Ex Proprio Basilicarum Lateranensis, Vaticanæ et Liberianæ, Urbis.

⁶⁷ According to Octavius Pancirolus in Thesuro abscondito Urbis, Regione 2, Ecclesia 42.

⁶⁸ See "Martyrologium Romanum," p. 154. Editio Romæ, A.D. 1586.

⁶⁹ Thus, as we find the entry, in the Calendar of Adam King: "Cœlestinus Pape success, to Bonifacius vnder Theodos. ye zounger."—Bishop Forbes' "Calendar of Scottish Saints," p. 149.

quently, in the case of Ireland's saints, materials too scanty for information, and instruction, in most of our hagiographical essays. The Bollandists have a mere notice to this holy man, but his name is incorrectly given.¹ St. Cathub was born, in the early part of the fifth century, and in the year 404. He was son of Fergus.² The present holy man has been classed, but incorrectly, among the disciples of St. Patrick.³ He is said to have been bishop⁴ of Achadh-cinn, or Achid-cinn. Some authorities only style him Abbot. His place is supposed to have been identical with the present Aughnakeely,⁵ one⁶ of the four townlands of Craigs,⁷ barony of Kilconway, and county of Antrim. In Colgan's time, it was called Achadh na Cille, and it lay within the boundaries of Dalriada.⁸ At this spot, there was an ancient burial ground,⁹ although its name is not marked on the Ordnance Survey Maps. A very capable investigator¹⁰ has remarked, that Dalriada, or the Route, ends at the southern boundary of Kilconway, which is but a short distance from this place,¹¹ It has been conjectured, that Loch Cathbadh, Latinized, Lacus Cathbadii, adjoining Dal-aradia, may have taken its denomination, from the present holy man.¹² He flourished before and after the commencement of the sixth century, and he died, on the 6th of April, A.D. 554.¹³ It is said, that he lived, for one hundred and fifty years.¹⁴ This account also agrees with a statement in the "Chronicon Scotorum";¹⁵ but, the year of his death was 555, according to the latter authority. It must be observed, that Rev. Dr. Lanigan doubts the attainment of his extraordinary term of life,¹⁶ and

ARTICLE IV.—¹ They call him Carhubius Episcopus, in the "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vi. Among the pretermitted saints, page 531.

² So states the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerys, from other sources.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxxiii., p. 269.

⁴ In the Annals of Ulster, *ad ann.* 554, he is called "Cathal mac Fergusa, *Episcopus* Achid-cinn.

⁵ See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the county of Antrim," sheet 32.

⁶ The others are Groogagh, Carhunny and Grannagh.

⁷ The Rev. William Reeves observes: "The townlands of Craigs, until lately, belonged to the parish of Ahoghill; but in 1840 they, and twenty-one townlands more, were, by Act of Council, severed from it, and formed into a new parish called Craigs, which may be considered as the modern representative of the Clemly of the Taxation. The parish of Kilconriola, which at the Dissolution was an appropriation of Muckamore Priory, is not mentioned in the Taxation; which may be accounted for either by supposing it to be rated, *inter alia*, with the house to which it was attached; or that at the date of the Taxation it formed part of Ahoghill; which is very likely, from the indistinct boundary between the two, and the shape of Kinconriola, which resembled a strip cut off the east side of Ahoghill."—"Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore." (n.) pp. 89, 90.

⁸ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. cxxx., p. 146, and n. 195, p. 182.

⁹ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," for further account of this place and of its saint. Note (n.) pp. 89, 90, and Appendix LL, p. 377.

¹⁰ The Rev. William Reeves.

¹¹ Again, Colgan conjectures, that this spot may be the Achadh-Cinn, mentioned by Tigernach and by the Four Masters, at the year 554. Archdall converts into a certainty, what Colgan here merely stated as a speculation. See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 1.

¹² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga;" Septima or Vita Tripartita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. cxxx., p. 182, n. 195.

¹³ See the "Annals of Ulster."

¹⁴ "The Age of Christ, 554. The sixteenth year of Diarmaid. St. Cathub, son of Fearghus, Abbot of Achadh-cinn, died on the 6th of April. One hundred and fifty years was the length of his life."—Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 190, 191; and n (o). *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Edited by William M. Hennessy. See p. 51. According to Mr. Hennessy, the place of this saint has not been sufficiently identified.

¹⁶ He says: "There is a story concerning Cathub having lived to the age of about 150 years. It was, I suspect, patched up in consequence of his having been confounded with a priest Cathbad, who is said to have been in St. Patrick's time."—"Ecclesiastical

accounts for the story of that great age, on a conjecture of his own. Colgan suspected, that the priest, named Fothrath¹⁷ or Cathbad,¹⁸ who was placed over a church at Fothrat, might have been the same as St. Cathub, who was revered at Achadcinn, or Achadnacill.¹⁹ Yet, this latter place is not named in the Tripartite, nor in any of St. Patrick's various Acts.²⁰ The Martyrology of Tallagh²¹ registers the name merely, as Cathub, Bishop, at the 6th of April. On this day was venerated, according to the Martyrology of Donegal,²² Cathur, son of Fergus, Bishop, over Achadh-cinn.

ARTICLE V.—ST. BERCHAN, OR BERCHAM, SAID TO HAVE BEEN BISHOP OF THE ORKNEY ISLANDS, SCOTLAND. The youth of this holy man was passed, in the monastery of St. Columba, not far from the province of Stirling, where he was celebrated.¹ He went to Inchmahome, in the lake of Menteith. St. Berchan, was a bishop in the Orkneys,² according to the Martyrologies of King,³ of Dempster,⁴ and of Camerarius.⁵ However, this does not seem to be certain.⁶ His feast occurs, at the 6th of April, in the Scottish Calendars; however, he seems to be confounded, with St. Berchan,⁷ Bishop of Cluainsosta, or Clonsost, in Ui-Failghe. It is said, that Kilbarchan,⁸ in Renfrew, takes its name from him.⁹ There was a Church of Kilbarchan, possessed by the Abbey of Paisley.¹⁰ A fine cross is to be seen,¹¹ in the parish of Houston,¹² in the barony of Barochan, perhaps called after this saint. Other memorials¹³ of him are to be met with in Scotland; and, these serve to identify him with St. Berchan, venerated in Ireland, at the 4th of August.

ARTICLE VI.—THE ORDINATION OF ST. PATRICK. [*Fifth Century.*] The Bollandists merely notice this Feast.¹ The Martyrology of Tallagh² records,

cal History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xi., sec. vi., n. 65, p. 105. Dr. Lanigan almost invariably considers as fabulous any age of an Irish saint, exceeding 100 years. See, also, *ibid.*, vol. i., chap. vi., sect. iii., n. 22, pp. 267, 268.

¹⁷ The modern name of Fothrath, or Fothrathense, is not known.

¹⁸ See "Trias Thaumaturga," *Séptima Vita S. Patricii*, lib. ii., cap. cxxx., p. 146.

¹⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," n. 195, p. 182.

²⁰ Archdall tells us, notwithstanding, that this church was built by St. Patrick. See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 1.

²¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find Cathubi eappi.

²² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

ARTICLE V.—¹ According to Camerarius, at p. 127.

² See an account of him, in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 279.

³ Thus, at Apryll 6th, we read: "S. Bercham bishop and confess. in Scotland vnder King Kennede."—*Ibid.* Kalendar of Adam King, p. 149.

⁴ Thus, quoting King, at vi. "Kirkuz Berthami episcopi Orcaalum Sanctissimi."—*Ibid.*, "Menologium Scotorum," p. 196.

⁵ See Scottish entries in his Calendar,

where we read: "6 Die. Sanctus Berchamus vel Berthanus Episcopus Orcadenensis et Confessor."—*Ibid.* p. 236.

⁶ No notice of him is to be found, in the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Scoti-Monasticon," at the account of Kirkwall, See of Orkney, pp. 173 to 178.

⁷ His feast occurs, at the 4th of August.

⁸ See "Old Statistical Survey of Scotland," vol. xv., p. 482.

⁹ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adman's "Life of St. Columba," p. 315, n.

¹⁰ See "Origines Parochiales," vol. i., p. 69.

¹¹ A fine representation of it will be found, in John Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i., p. 35, plates 115, 116.

¹² See "Old Statistical Survey of Scotland," vol. i., p. 326.

¹³ "In the charter of privileges to the Burgh of Tain, 10th Jan., 1578 (Regist. Magni Sigilli, lib. xxxvii, No. 89), one of the fairs mentioned is "Dies S. Barquhani qui est tercius dies post festum S. Petri ad Vincula vocat Lambmes."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 279.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vi. Among the pretermitted festivals, at p. 531.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find Ορθοστασιος πατρον.

at this date, *Ordinatio Patricii*. Whether this entry, meaning, "the Ordination of St. Patrick," refers to his sacerdotal ordination, or to his episcopal consecration, cannot be exactly determined. It is probable, however, it must be coupled with the latter, as more in accordance with ecclesiastical usage. Even at the present time, it is customary, to commemorate the anniversary of a Bishop's consecration, by a prayer, added to the Mass, offered on that day, within his own diocese. In the published Martyrology of Donegal,³ the editor remarks in a note: "The more recent hand adds here, '*Ordinatio S. Patricii, Mart. Taml,*'" as if it were deemed by the writer a matter of importance, to supply an obvious omission of the compilers.

ARTICLE VII.—*ST. AEDHECH, OR AIDECH.* Such a record is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 6th of April. The Bollandists call him *Aidecus*.² We read, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that *Aedhech*⁴ was venerated on this day. We know of little regarding him, the period when he lived, or the locality with which he had been connected.

ARTICLE VIII.—*FEAST OF THE TRANSLATION OF ST. RUPERT'S RELICS.* The feast of the Translation of St. Rupert's Relics is placed by Ferrarius,¹ at the 6th of April. His Acts are already given, at the 27th of March, and to these the reader is referred.

ARTICLE IX.—*FESTIVAL OF ST. HERENIUS, BISHOP.* With high commendation, the "*Feilire*"¹ of St. Ængus mentions the present holy man, as having been commemorated in the Irish Church. *Herenas*, the Bishop, with his companions, suffered for the Faith, at *Nicomedia*, in *Bithynia*;² but, of their personal history, little seems to be known, nor are the different Martyrologies agreed, as to their number and names. Thus, *Firmus*, Bishop and Martyr, at *Nicomedia*, with twenty-eight companions in suffering, will be found, in a Manuscript of *Utrecht*;³ while the Martyrology of Tallagh enters *Hereneus*, *Bereneus*, *Firmus*, *Solutor*, *Quartila*, *Ciriaci* and *Moyes*.⁴

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy are two different renderings of this name *Δωεχ* and *Αερεαι*.

² See "*Acta Sanctorum*," toms i., Aprilis vi. Among the premitted saints, p. 531.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁴ In a note, Dr. Todd says, at this word *Aedhech*.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See "*Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum*."

ARTICLE IX.—¹ The following is the text of this notice:—

herenuip intercep
 adamora mīle
 bacain soyy conuaise
 hīpīaōat fīno fīni.

It is thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—

"*Herenius* the bishop,—great is his thousand—was a beautiful bush with virginity, a fair vine in God."

² See an account of them, in the Bollandists' "*Acta Sanctorum*," toms i., Aprilis vi. *De Sanctis Martyribus Nicomediensibus*, *Firmo*, *Hereneo* *Episcopo*, *Himnaro*, *Solutore*, *Quiriaco*, *Moyse*, *Romano*, *Successo*, *Quartilla*, *Romana*, *Donato*, *Sixto*, *Victore*, *Quiriaca*, *Gago*, *Satyro*. Their commemoration is written, by Father *Godefrid Henschen*, at p. 536.

³ Belonging to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary.

⁴ *Romanus*, *Gaius*, *Donatus*, *Victor*, and *Sextus* are the names interposed.

Seventh Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. FINAN, PATRON AND ABBOT OF KINNETTY, KING'S COUNTY.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—SOURCES FOR ST. FINAN'S BIOGRAPHY—PREDICTION OF ST. ABBAN—ST. FINAN'S PARENTAGE AND NATIVITY—HIS EARLY BOYHOOD AND TUITION UNDER ST. BRENDAN—ST. FINAN IS RECOMMENDED TO FOUND A MONASTERY AT KINNETTY—HIS SUBSEQUENT ACTS.

AMONG distinguished holy men, our present subject of biography occupied a deservedly high position. Colgan had promised to give the Life of St. Finan, at this day.¹ It seems to have been arranged for publication, at this date;² and, to the Manuscript, we have had access. This is a very legendary Life of St. Finan, Abbot of Kinnity, and it is now preserved among the Franciscan Convent Records, Dublin.³ This gives us a very confused narrative of his acts, and of their sequence; but, as it mentions a few localities, with which he had connexion, and as a few names of persons are there to be met with, it may serve to distinguish him from other holy men, bearing a like name, and thus help to elucidate their and St. Finan's own biography. This Manuscript is written in Latin, derived from an Irish text, and by the translator or transcriber divided into Thirty-two Chapters. The Royal Irish Academy's Library also contains a Manuscript Life of St. Fionan, of Kinnety.⁴ Again, there is an Irish Life of St. Fionan, of Lough Laoidhach, who is said to have been commemorated, at the 16th of March, among the Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy.⁵ The historian of Kerry, Charles Smith, alludes to duplicate Lives of St. Finian,⁶ one of which was identical with the Franciscan copy, as we learn from the first words. The Bollandists had a Life of this saint, in their Salamancan Manuscript;⁷ but, they deemed it to have been written, with very little judgment, and to have been derived, solely from legendary sources. They remark, that although finding St. Finan's name, in a Catalogue of Irish Saints; yet, it was wanting, in that issued by Father Henry Fitzsimon, and in the Martyrology of Tallaght. Therefore, they deferred giving St. Finian's Acts, until more light had been thrown upon them, or until they had a fuller knowledge, regarding his place in the Calendar.

ARTICLE I.—CHAPTER I.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxvii. Martii, p. 749.

² See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur Mensium et Dierum."

³ In the Manuscript, intitled "Vitæ Sanctorum," ex Cod. Inisensi, pp. 257 to 264.

⁴ It is among the Messrs. Hodges' and Smiths' Collection. A quarto paper MS., classed No. 150, contains it.

⁵ See Messrs. Hodges' and Smiths' Collec-

tion. It is a small 4to paper Manuscript, No. 12.

⁶ One of these begins, "Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis," &c. The other begins with, "Finanus Sanctus de plebe quo Corcudubine dicitur ortus fuit," &c. See Charles Smith's "Natural and Civil History of Kerry," chap. vi., p. 127, n. (f).

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted festivals, p. 656.

In the Life of St. Abban,⁸ it is said, that when he built a monastery called Ceall-achaidh-conchinn,⁹ within Corcaiduibhne territory,¹⁰ in the western part of Munster,¹¹ he also prophesied, that it should be called after St. Finan, an Abbot, not then born.¹² A conjecture, emanates from Colgan, that he can be no other, than St. Finan of Kinnetty. This he partly undertook to prove, at the 7th day—it is to be presumed of April—for his printer leaves this sentence imperfect.¹³ St. Finan was descended from the family of Connor, King of Ireland;¹⁴ and, his father was Kennedy, son to Maenag, son of Ardeus, son to Fidai, son of Corcain, son to Nicadin, son of Irchuinnius, son to Cormac Finn, son of Corcodubnius, son to Cairbre Musc, son of King Conaire.¹⁵ Thus, he descended from the Corea Duibhne, *i.e.* of the race of Cairbre Musc,¹⁶ son to Conaire, who belonged to the posterity of Heremon. The O'Clerys state, that Becnat, daughter of Cian, was his mother.¹⁷ While she bore the saint in her womb, and while asleep, she had a vision of a golden-coloured fish, which seemed flying from the east, and which afterwards entered her mouth. During the time of her pregnancy, whenever she ventured abroad, no matter how thickly fell the rain or snow, her garments remained dry; whatever small quantity she touched with her hands, in the shape of food, grew sufficient to gratify all the wants of those persons partaking of it; even she possessed the gift of healing the afflicted. These were regarded, as evident signs of the future sanctity of her son.¹⁸

Our saint was a native of Corcodhuibhne,¹⁹ most probably the barony of

⁸ His feast has been assigned, to the 16th of March, and to the 27th of October. At the latter date, his Life will be found, in this work.

⁹ The locality has not been ascertained.

¹⁰ It is now represented, by that long peninsula, stretching out into the Atlantic Ocean, west of Tralee, in the County of Kerry. It contains various groups of antiquities, especially those remarkable bee-hive shaped houses. Sometimes, four or five specimens of those ancient dwellings are found together. This is especially the case in a valley, which extends for four or five miles, and at present almost uninhabited.

¹¹ I submit these following extracts from a letter, written by George Petrie, Esq., dated 21st of September, 1841, and addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Larcom, regarding an ancient ruin, in this district. He remarks, it is a great pity, the antiquarian remains could not be all accurately marked, on the Ordnance Map, and the most remarkable of them be drawn with ground plans. "As to the bow-shaped houses, I do not know what to say; but this is curious, that Sallust describes the houses of the people on the African coast of the Mediterranean, built by the Phenicians and Persians, as being of this shape—their form being derived from their first houses, which were their boats turned upside-down! Wake-man will, however, draw some of the most remarkable of these remains, which will be a great service."—County Kerry Letters, of the Ordnance Survey Office, in the Royal Irish Academy. See pp. 527 to 529. "A letter, alluded to by Mr. Petrie, dated Dingle, September 18th, 1841, and signed, Fred.

W. Burton, is found immediately after, in the same volume. It is comprised, within pp. 535 to 554. It furnishes several very curious details, regarding these ancient remains, accompanied by rough pen-and-ink sketches. The artist, also, speaks of having had an intention of placing some antiquarian sketches, taken from this part of the country, in his portfolio, on some subsequent journey, and occasion. There are twenty-one sketches of antiquities, in the topographical collection for Kerry County, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; they all appear to have been the product of Mr. Wakeman's pencil, his name being appended to most of them, while his peculiar *Petrie* style and manner of antiquarian definitions are discernible in all.

¹² See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Martii, Vita S. Abbani, cap. xx., p. 615.

¹³ See *Ibid.*, n. 18, p. 622.

¹⁴ The "Menologic Genealogy," cap. xvii., and Selbach thus state the family descent of St. Finan, from the district of Ely and Fir-cell.

¹⁵ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." Appendix ad Acta S. Finani, cap. i., p. 46.

¹⁶ See Miss Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xviii., p. 407.

¹⁷ In a note, Dr. Todd says, "The more recent hand adds, 'fionan cam i. cláon áporḡ. Mar.' Cam means crooked; the *Mart. Taml.* says, "obliquitas fuit in oculis ejus."

¹⁸ Ex Codice Inisensi, Vita S. Finani, cap. i., pp. 257, 258.

¹⁹ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Januarii. App. cap. i., p. 46.

Corkaguinny, the O'Falvy's ancient territory;²⁰ and, he was born sometime about or after the middle of the sixth century, as seems most probable. While he was a mere child, the grace of God worked so powerfully in Finian, that whenever his playmates felt unwell, they were healed by coming into contact with him. Again, he was able to predict any coming misfortune or prosperity, for his young companions, since he was gifted with the spirit of prophecy. As a youth, being appointed to guard some calves, from approaching their cows giving milk, he was so intently engaged in Divine contemplation, that his object was frustrated, as the calves were able to escape for the purpose of suckling; but, Finan, setting up his staff, drew a line across the fields; and, this was effective, in making a separation, between the calves and the cows. St. Brendan²¹ conceived a great opinion of our holy youth, and proclaimed it to his parents. Under the care of that great saint, Finan appears to have been instructed.²² He possessed the gift of miracles. So great was his reputation for holiness, that a brother who was dying wished to receive the Holy Viaticum, at his hands; and, although the danger of his death was imminent, yet Finan delayed, until another duty had been discharged, for he knew beforehand, that the Almighty would preserve that brother's life, until he was able to come at the ninth hour. While a member of St. Brendan's monastery, and engaged in baking bread, for the use of his community, on a sudden, the monks thought the house, in which Finan dwelt, had taken fire, and they rushed in a body to extinguish the flames. However, St. Brendan told them, that the fire was illusory, since it was only the supernatural power of the Holy Ghost, that kindled such a light, and on approaching our saint, he was found sitting there alone and unharmed. Knowing such wonders as were thus wrought through him to indicate his great perfection, and that he was a light, which should not be placed under a bushel, but which ought rather be elevated on a candlestick, as an example for others; St. Brendan thus addressed his disciple: "My brother Finan, it is not expedient, that both of us should dwell in the same place; but, it is right, that both of us should collect monks, and in places apart. If it rather please you to dwell here, with brothers that wish to continue, do so in God's name, and I shall pass to another locality." Then Finan answered: "Father, I am the younger, and therefore it is more becoming, that I should not press longer on your labours, therefore bless me, that my journey may prove a prosperous one." This Brendan did, and he said, "Go, my son, to the mountain called Bladhma,²³ and there remain, where you shall meet a drove of wild boars." Taking his leave, St. Finan journeyed on towards the foot of Slieve Bloom, and as the holy senior had predicted, he met with boars in that place, which in after times was called Kenetich,²⁴ at present known as Kinnitty.²⁵

The exact date for the erection of St. Finan's monastery, at this place, cannot be ascertained; by some writers, it has been placed, so early as A.D. 557,²⁶ by others, at a much later period. The monastery of Kinnitty,²⁷ was

²⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., p. 569, n. (h).

²¹ His Life occurs, at the 16th of May.

²² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Adamnan's or Quarta Vita S. Columbae, lib. i., cap. xlix., n. 103, p. 380.

²³ Or the present Slieve Bloom Mountains, separating the King's from the Queen's counties. See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae," ix. Januarii. Appendix ad Acta S. Finani Episcopi, cap. i., p. 46, for a notice of this place, in connexion with S. Finan of Kinnitty.

²⁴ See *Ex Codice Inisensi, Vita S. Finani,*

cap. ii., iii., iv., v., vi., vii., pp. 258, 259.

²⁵ The parish of Kinnitty, in the barony of Ballybritt, is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," Sheets 36, 37, 39, 40. The town itself is on Sheet 36.

²⁶ So states Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," on the authority of Conry, at p. 401.

²⁷ It signifies, "the head of Eitteach," being in Irish, Ceann Eitich. The Legend of its origin is in the Dinn Seanchus, under the head *Teathbha*.

situated, on the confines of Elia, or Ely, and of Ferra Kellia, or Fearaceall.²⁸ It seems most probable, St. Finan settled here, towards the close of the sixth century.²⁹ Among the many saints of his name, the appellation of *Cam*, or "crooked" has been given to him, either on account of being stooped,³⁰ or as others state, owing to an obliquity of vision.³¹ From all authorities, Kinnetty is placed, on the confines of Ely and Fearaceall; whence it is evident, that Ely O'Carroll extended northwards, at least so far as Kinnetty, where it was met by the southern boundary of Fearaceall.³² No remains of any religious edifice exist, at this time, in Kinnetty;³³ it is thought, however, that the parish church occupies the site of St. Finan's old monastery. At present, even St. Finan's day is not remembered. There was a well, within the village, which, through faint recollection, some state was called Finan's well, but it is now closed up.³⁴ St. Finanus of Kennetigh is said to have presided there,³⁵ during the lifetime of his master, St. Brendan of Clonfert, who died A.D. 576, according to the most probable accounts.

One day, while our saint was engaged in celebrating the Divine Mysteries, certain sons of Belial came to his monastery, and asked for food from the servant. He requested them to wait, until the Abbot should have concluded the Holy Sacrifice. But, as the light is ungrateful to eyes that are diseased, so the strangers asked the servant to hasten, as their own time was urgent; and, accordingly, on seeking the Abbot, he said, "Give them whatever you have." It so happened, that a pious woman made an offering to the house of nine loaves, and some butter. These were set before the guests. Instead of thanking God and his holy servant, for this gift, the strangers began to scatter the food presented, in a foolish manner, and they pelted one another with it, in a sort of horse-play. The monk in attendance felt very indignant, and he cried out, "The Devil himself teaches you such evil acts." Then, they struck the monk, who fled for refuge to where the Abbot remained, while the latter predicted, that the unmannerly guests should be murdered that very day, and even before the sun had set. This was verified, except in the case of two, who had remonstrated with their companions. Those men escaped to St. Finan, who took them under his protection.³⁶

²⁸ According to Colgan, in note 103, to chapter xxxiv. of lib. i., Adamnan's Life of St. Colum Kille. The Note is given at page 380, in which Colgan observes the circumstances of the Lives of Four Saints of the name (Finanus) in order to identify one of them with the Finanus mentioned by Adamnan, in the Life above referred to. See "Trias Thaumaturga."

²⁹ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sec. 4, n. 48, p. 19.

³⁰ In the "Leabhar Breac," or Speckled Book of the Mac Egans, Folio 9 b is read, *Finan Camm Chino Ercig mac Cinnseoirig*, that is, Finan Camm, or "the stooped," (?) of Cindetig, or Kinnetty, the son of Cindedig, or Kennedy. And, in Folio 10 d., *Finan Camm Chino Ercig, coiceh heli asur ferceall*; that is, Finan Camm, "the stooped," of Cind Eity, or Kennetty, on the confines of Heli and Fercell.

³¹ This is stated, in the "Feilire" of St.

Ængus, in the Martyrology of Tallagh, and, also, by Miss Cusack, in her "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xviii., p. 407.

³² See the "King's County Letters, Ordinance Survey Office," vol. ii., pp. 90, 91. T. O'Connor's Letter, dated Birr, February 2nd, 1838.

³³ In the churchyard, there are found no ancient inscriptions, which might indicate the antiquity of this place. There is one head-stone in it, which bears some ornamental lines indented, and, it is looked upon, by the people, as being of remote date.

³⁴ See "King's County Letters of the Ordinance Survey," and now preserved, in the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii., pp. 88, 89, 91, 92. T. O'Connor's Letter, dated Birr, February 2nd, 1838. Mr. O'Connor, afterwards gives historic notices, relating to Kinnetty. *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

³⁵ This is related, in chapter viii., of his Life.

³⁶ See Codex Manuscriptus, ex Codice Inisensi, Vita S. Finani, cap. viii., p. 259.

CHAPTER II.

ST. FINAN AT LOCH LEYN, OR KILLARNEY—HE IS PROBABLY THE PATRON THERE, AND AT AGHADOE—HIS MIRACLES.

IN the old Life of St. Finan, it is stated, that on one occasion, he had caused a boat to be built, near the waters of Loch Leyn, in Kerry,¹ and he sent word to the Regulus of its territory, that some of his people should come and haul it into the lake. The king and his servants obeyed that summons, but they were not able to carry it towards the water; yet, by angelic power, this task was easily accomplished.² From this account, it may be inferred, that our saint lived for some time, at or near the present Lakes of Killarney. Only on one of its Islands do we find, that an ancient religious house stood; and, it may be questioned, if St. Finan of Kinnitty had not more connexion with it, than St. Finan, the Leper,³ who is popularly regarded as the founder. Be-



St. Finan's Church on Innisfallen, Lower Lake of Killarney.

sides the monastery of Innis-Faithlenn,⁴ which was the home of learned men, until destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII., the Cathedral Church of Aghadoe⁵ was also dedicated to St. Finnain Lobhar, it is thought. He was considered the patron of South Kerry.⁶ This popular idea may be erroneous, likewise, nor do the Acts of the latter saint sustain it; while, in the biography of St. Finan Cam, he is represented, at least, as residing near Aghadoe, namely, at Loch Leyn, or Killarney. Within two miles, over the margin of

CHAPTER II.—¹ The Latin has it "prope Stagnum de Loch Leyn in Kyrrigia." Before our saint's birth, his mother is said to have bathed in Loch Leyn.

² Ex Manuscripto Codice Inisensi, cap. ix., p. 259.

³ See his Life, at the 16th of March.

⁴ The accompanying illustration of St.

Finan's old church, on the Island of Innisfallen, is from a photograph, drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁵ The interesting doorway of Aghadoe Church is engraved, and represented, in Miss Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. iii., p. 51.

the Lower Lake at Killarney, on a site of surpassing magnificence, and on an eminence, are the ruins of Aghadoe church, formerly called Aghaboe.⁷ This place is of great antiquity, and it had been likewise dedicated to St. Finian. Excepting the stump of an old round tower,⁸ and the ruins of a small old castle,⁹ no house or building stands near it.¹⁰ In the "Annals of Innisfallen," Aghadoe is called "the old abbey," and this seems a sufficient evidence of its extreme antiquity. It is supposed, that the Round Tower fell during the last century,¹¹ but no description of its state, when perfect, now remains.¹²

At one time, while the saint and his companions were on their way, certain miscreants met them, and intended to murder them; but, they were fortunately rescued by a valiant man, named Lonan, and, in return for this favour, St. Finian said, "Because on this day you have saved us from enemies of the Faith, never shall your enemies prevail against you, but to the day of your death you shall continue to be victorious."¹³ On a certain occasion, when Finian was about to visit his people, he received hospitality from a poor and pious man, who killed a calf, belonging to the only cow he had, to entertain his guest. On learning this circumstance, on the following day, the holy man prayed to God for his host, and immediately a calf appeared to replace that, which had been killed. This happened near Loch Leyn, and there, too, a horse under the chariot of Finian dropped dead. In a miraculous manner, a horse of a hyacinth¹⁴ colour came up from Loch Leyn, and that celebrated animal continued with him for three years. At the end of this time, our saint is said to have ordered him to return again into the lake, from which he issued, and this was accomplished.¹⁵ Another remarkable miracle is recorded, regarding a great tree, which lay prostrate on the road, over which the chariot of St. Finian passed, and by his command, the tree arose to its original position, so that the chariot was enabled to move without impediment. However, when it had passed, the tree once more inclined to the earth, yet not even a branch was broken, notwithstanding the changes of position effected.¹⁶ On a certain day, while journeying, in a chariot, by the sea-side, it chanced, that a marshy place had been an obstacle in the way. St. Finian desired his charioteer to drive over it, without any hesitation; and, when the driver obeyed this order, the plain beneath became so firm, that not even the hoofs of his horses, nor the chariot wheels, showed signs of being wet from the salt-water.¹⁷ Another time, a paralysed boy, who had no use of his limbs whatever, was brought to our saint, who, embracing him, and on applying his hands, commanded him, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to arise, and to walk. The youth was able miraculously to fulfil this injunction.¹⁸ One day, while thirsty, he told a servant with him, to procure water. However, none was known to be near, until Finian, ordering a sod of earth to be raised, a well of water immediately sprang from the earth.¹⁹

In the territory of Corcabuibne, the place of our saint's nativity, a great

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ In Latin, called "Campus bovis," or in English, "the field of the cow."

⁸ In the "Traveller's New Guide through Ireland," there is a map of the Killarney Lakes, and the tower there appears as high as the old church gable.

⁹ In Wright's "Guide to Killarney," the old castle is called the Pulpit.

¹⁰ See Charles Smith's "Natural and Civil History of the County of Kerry," chap. vi., p. 147.

¹¹ Smith in his "History of Kerry," only mentions, that a stump of one of the

Irish round towers remained at Aghadoe.

¹² See Miss Cusack's interesting account of the ruins at this place, in her "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xxiii., pp. 371, 372.

¹³ See Vita S. Finiani, cap. x., p. 259.

¹⁴ The adjective used is "iacinthini."

¹⁵ See Vita S. Finiani, cap. xi., p. 259.

¹⁶ See Vita S. Finiani, cap. xii., pp. 259, 260.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, cap. xiii., p. 260.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, cap. xiv., p. 260.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, cap. xv., p. 260.

disturbance arose, and the people sent word to St. Finan, that they were sorely pressed, by their enemies, against whom they sought for his aid. A king, named Nectan,²⁰ with his army, had vowed the destruction of the Corcaduibne. Finan went to meet the tyrant, and to seek, if possible, to dissuade him from that expedition. But Nectan, hearing about his purpose, sent messengers to state, that all interference should prove useless, as he was resolved on their extermination. However, Finan was not easily diverted, from his resolution ; he had an interview with Nectan, and asked for a truce of one month, yet, he could not obtain it. The saint returned to his people, and blessing Holy Water, he desired them to drink of it, so that the spirit of God might strengthen them, to resist all assaults of their enemies. He also directed, that they should not leave the bounds of their own territory, but rather there wait the attack. He said, "If God this day give you the victory, over your enemies, be not filled with pride, but give all glory to the Lord of Hosts, who is able to conquer with a few, as he is with a multitude." The tyrant Nectan had brought an army of five thousand men, to spoil and to destroy their district ; while, only a few of the Corcaduibne could be mustered, to oppose him. Trusting in God's protection, however, the latter people were enabled to defend themselves ; and, in the very first attack, thirty of their enemies were killed, while this loss was doubled, on a renewal of the conflict.²¹ The tyrant was still obstinate, in a desire to be revenged on his opponents. Then St. Finan sent a message to Nectan, his horse should die that day, as a sign ; that, on the day following, he should cease to be a king ; and that even his kingdom should be taken away from him, while he should be an exile for seven years. He prophesied, also, how Nectan, who, on that day, relied so much on the multitude of his forces, should be obliged, afterwards, to carry wood, on his shoulders, for the fire ; while, instead of that curiously fabricated dwelling then possessed, the oppressor should feel grateful, if he could only find a hollow tree, in the wood, wherein he might be able to take refuge. Until all these conditions were fulfilled, Nectan could not again become a king, since he had disobeyed Finan's injunctions. The saint signified, moreover, that he should not obtain the kingdom, until the king humbly served himself, and learned to love the people, whose destruction he now sought. While the Prophet of the Most High announced these tidings, the invaders beheld their own country, as it were in flames ; and especially, the castles of their king, were the first to take fire. Wherefore, the men of that invading force rushed away hastily, to protect their own possessions ; yet, on returning, no conflagration was observable, nor were their houses burned. It was assumed, therefore, that the Almighty desired their fear of St. Finan to be confirmed, by such a prodigy.²² All that St. Finan had prophesied, regarding the king, was literally fulfilled. His horse died that day, and he was an exile for seven years, from his kingdom. After he had been ignominiously expelled, Nectan went to Dermotius,²³ the son of Cearuayll, with whom he lived for a while. Then the king's servant ordered him, to take his part, in bearing wood for a fire to be kindled. Afterwards, leaving the castle of King Diermit, with five other companions, Nectan wandered through

²⁰ His record, in the Irish Annals, does not seem to be known. We read of a Neachtan, son of Canann, who died A. D. 616. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 240, 241.

²¹ In the Irish Annals, we do not find any account of this raid.

²² See Vita S. Finani, cap. xvi., pp., 260

261.

²³ He seems to have been no other than Diarmaid, the son of Fearghus Ceirrbheoil, who was king over Ireland, from A. D. 539 to A. D. 558. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 182 to 201.

a wood, and there found a hollow tree, in which he took a little repose. Still, all these misfortunes tended to a useful result; for Nectan became penitent, and humbled in spirit, he sought once more his own country. There, he asked pardon from God, and from St. Finan. Thus, being sufficiently humiliated, through the influence of our saint, Nectan once more came into possession of his former kingdom.²⁴

Another miracle is related, regarding a man, who, pressed for time on a long journey, sought aid from Finan. The saint, sympathizing in his necessities, blessed him; and, in three hours, the traveller was enabled to make as much way, as an ordinary man could in three days.²⁵ One of his brothers visited Cinnachty,²⁶ where Finan dwelt, and told the saint, he was under an engagement to his chief, that seven maid servants should be procured, to redeem a mortgage on his hereditary farm.²⁷ The day for redemption had been already fixed, but the tribute could not be paid. The saint paid little apparent attention to his brother's complaint, but on the day appointed for the contract being fulfilled, suddenly was the man removed from Cianachtius,²⁸ where he slept the night before, to his own land of Corcadubhny. He there found a sum of money, which was sufficient to pay his tribute to the chief, and he gave thanks to God and to our saint, for such favours as he obtained.²⁹ During the autumnal season, one day when great rain fell, so as to prevent the labours of other husbandmen, the harvesters of our saint were able to pursue their work, without one single drop falling on them, or within the circuit of that field, in which they were engaged reaping. It so happened, that a chariot, or waggon, belonging to St. Finan, lay across a hedge, which bounded it; and, although one part was within the hedge, and the other without, in a field, where the rain fell, the reapers remarked, that it escaped entirely from a wetting.³⁰ One day, while on his journey, a certain man was led out for execution; but, the saint asked, in God's name, for the life of that doomed person. The executioners regarded his words as vain, but when their hands were raised to inflict death on their captive, these became paralysed. In fine, the bound man was released, and those, who were present, extolled the servant of God, who wrought such a miracle.³¹

CHAPTER III.

ST. FINAN AND KING FAILBE FLANN—MIRACLES OF OUR SAINT—OPINIONS REGARDING HIS CONNEXION WITH PLACES IN KERRY—A CONTEMPORARY WITH ST. MOCHELLOC AND ST. MOCHOEMOC—ST. FINAN'S ILLNESS AND DEATH—PLACES THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN UNDER HIS PATRONAGE—CALENDAR COMMEMORATIONS—CONCLUSION.

ON another occasion, Finan went to a king, named Flann, who ruled over a certain territory.¹ He desired to obtain the remission of taxes, which weighed heavily on the people. Hearing about his designs, a certain counsellor of Flann cried out, "Even if you fast before him, the king will not remit what you request." Whereupon Finan answered: "If you do not grant that which

²⁴ See Vita S. Finani, cap. xvii., p. 261.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, cap. xviii., p. 261.

²⁶ Or Kinnitty.

²⁷ This incident illustrates curious ancient usages and manners.

²⁸ The Latinised form for Kinnetty, in the Vita S. Finani.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, cap. xix., p. 261.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, cap. xx., pp. 261, 262.

³¹ See *ibid.*, cap. xxi., p. 262.

CHAPTER III.—¹ From the text we learn, he was Failbe Flann, who was king over Cashel, at that time; and, he is probably the king alluded to, in the Life of St. Mochcemhog, or St. Pulcherius, chap. iii., at the 13th of March.

I ask for, fire shall come from Heaven, and burn your habitation." Then happened a double prodigy. Not only lightning from Heaven came instantly, and burned down the house, before their eyes; but, at that time, a boy, who had been infirm from the time of his birth, was restored to health, while the evil counsellor of the king was deprived of the use of his tongue. On witnessing this, the king relented, in his purpose, and granted the saint's request. Then, as the king desired it, in the presence of all, the mute was restored to the use of his speech, while our saint gave his blessing to the monarch.²

There was a St. Finanus, who led the life of an anchorite, for many years, near the monastery of Dar-magh, or "the plain of the oak wood," while this lay, likewise, on the confines of Elia and Fera-Kellia; but, he must have been a distinct person from our saint, who hardly could have lived, afterwards, down to the time of St. Adamnan,³ about or after the year 660. Our saint cured a man, who for a year and a-half had been infirm, nor could he derive any benefit, from the aid of medical men. With Finan's blessing, he slept without disturbance or pain, during three whole days. Afterwards, that man was able to rise, yet, some pain continued in his foot. The saint supplied him with a shoe to cover it, and he said, "If this shoe, used each day during your life, continue to serve its purpose, you must know, that whenever it cannot be fitted to your foot, then death is already about to take place." The fact was realized, and it accorded with Finan's prediction.⁴ Once the leg of his chariot-horse was broken, but the saint's benediction restored the fractured limb, and the animal was enabled to draw the chariot.⁵ St. Finan asked a certain king to liberate a hostage he held in chains, but when the king's son objected to such request, that same time, he became a mute. Then, our saint promised the king, if his captive were restored to liberty, that very same moment, his son should be healed. The king promised to do so, and immediately, his son was restored to the use of speech.⁶ For a whole year, one of St. Finan's monks could not walk, until the Abbot visited him, on a certain day, and with a blessing, he made the sign of the cross. He also said, "Arise, my brother, come with me, and hold the horses." When he had thus spoken, the infirm brother was healed.⁷ During a great fall of rain, upon a multitude of people around him, the garments of all were thoroughly drenched; yet, not a single drop fell upon Finan, so that all present were in admiration, at this extraordinary manifestation of a good Providence watching over him.⁸

A certain holy person is mentioned, in a Life of St. Mochoemoc,⁹ Abbot of Liethmore, in Ely O'Carroll, as having been in this monastery, on a particular occasion;¹⁰ and, Colgan is of opinion, that this Finan must have been identical with our saint.¹¹ His supposition is not improbable, as Kinnitty, where the holy Abbot resided, was situated, not far from that neighbourhood. Our saint was a contemporary and relative, it is said, to St. Mochelloc,¹² of Kilmallock, whom he visited on a certain occasion, bringing with him two cows and a calf, as a present. It appears, some wolves had devoured another calf, belonging to one of these cows; and, St. Finan, having blessed the living calf, it was caressed, by that cow, which had lost its offspring, as much as it should have been by its own dam. Mochelloc, then an old man, gave orders

² In Vita S. Finani, cap. xxii., p. 262.

³ See his Life, at the 23rd of September.

⁴ See Vita S. Finani, cap. xxiii., p. 262.

⁵ See *ibid.*, cap. xxiv., p. 262.

⁶ See *ibid.*, cap. xxv., pp. 262, 263.

⁷ See *ibid.*, cap. xxvi., p. 263.

⁸ See *ibid.*, cap. xxvii., p. 263.

⁹ See the Life of St. Mochoemhog, or Pul-

cherius, at the 13th of March, chap. ii., where some notice is placed upon record.

¹⁰ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii, Vita S. Mochoemoci, cap. xviii., p. 592.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, n. 23, p. 597.

¹² See an account of him, at the 26th day of March.

for his disciples, to take good care of this living calf, lest the wolves should devour it, in like manner. One of Finan's disciples, on hearing these commands, said, that this calf should not die, so long as their holy senior Finan was there; but, however, on the following night, a wolf devoured it. Finan then requested Mochelloc to have his cows milked, and when a servant went forth for such a purpose, that wolf, which had been a destroyer on the night before, presented himself in a docile manner before the cows, who licked him with demonstrations of affection. St. Finan then said to his venerable friend: "It is better for us to ask of God another calf, than to have the wolf." Then, both saints prayed, and afterwards, a white calf, but, having red ears, approached the cows, and the wolf retired. Finan then said, "This calf shall only remain with you, so long as these cows have milk, and until they are about to bring forth young." As the wolf had not departed to a very great distance, our saint continued: "That wolf shall be guardian of your calves, to the time of his death, nor shall he injure any animal." Such prediction was afterwards fulfilled.¹³ The substance of this legend is contained, also, in the old Life of St. Finan of Kinnetty.¹⁴

Our saint healed five paralytics, as also, five mutes. One day, as he entered a smith's shop, the iron-worker was engaged drawing iron from the fire, when the tongs broke in his hand. Asking the saint what he should then do, "Take the iron firmly in your hand, and strike it with the sledge," was his reply. This order the smith obeyed, nor did his hand suffer any injury from the fire.¹⁵ One day, some guests were expected to arrive at his monastery, and Finan sent a monk to an adjoining pasture field, where there was no water, yet with directions to bring from it three fishes. His order was obeyed, and the fish were found there, as he had indicated.¹⁶

The Rev. Dr. Lanigan is of opinion, that St. Finan was the founder of Ceall-achaidh-Conchinn monastery, and the more so, as he had been a native of Corcauibhne, in which it was situated;¹⁷ but, he appears to have overlooked Colgan's remark, for apparently, the latter writer had materials, which should not favour such a conclusion.¹⁸ Nor does this appear, in the Life of St. Finan, which we have seen. Among other matters written, a house of Cyclopean style, on Church Island, placed in Lough Lee, or Lough Currane, county of Kerry, is said to have been called after St. Finan Cam.¹⁹ It lies, on the boundary lines of the baronies of Iveragh and Dunkeerin. However, it seems to me very questionable, if the present saint were, in reality, the patron of this place; for, the people here celebrated their festival,²⁰ on the 16th of March,²¹ and this should seem to connect it with St. Finan Lobhar, whose habitation was beside

¹³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxvi. Martii, De S. Mochelloco Kellociæ Patrono, p. 749.

¹⁴ See Codex Manuscriptus Inisensi, Vita S. Finani, cap. xxviii., p. 263.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, cap. xxix., xxx., p. 263.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, cap. xxxi., pp. 263, 264.

¹⁷ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sec. iv., n. 48, p. 19.

¹⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Martii, Vita S. Abbani, cap. xx., p. 615, and n. 18, p. 622.

¹⁹ See Dr. George Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Tower of Ireland," Part ii., sec. ii., p. 130.

²⁰ See Charles Smith's "Natural and Civil History of Kerry," chap. v., pp. 99, 100.

²¹ This celebration is continued, to our time, at the Well of St. Finan, not far from

the present village of Waterville, as the Rev. Eugene Murphy, C.C., informed me, on the occasion of a tour taken with the Rev. James Gaffney, M.R.I.A., in July, 1871, The Rev. Eugene Murphy was an accomplished Irish scholar, then engaged in compiling an Irish Dictionary, with large additions to Dr. O'Donovan's edition of Edward O'Reilly's; but, his lamented death occurred too soon after that period, to give him opportunity for realizing his intentions. The Manuscript fell into the possession of the Most Rev. Daniel MacCarthy, D.D., Bishop of Kerry, and on his decease, the Rev. Daniel MacCarthy Downing, at present C.C., cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin, the Bishop's executor, became the possessor. It is to be hoped, the Manuscript will yet be utilized, for purposes of publication.

a lake, where he built a basilica.²² No name is found attached to the lake, in the account referring to him ; and, it seems not improbable, that the locality may have been at Lough Currane. In it, there are three islands ; but, the largest one of these is Church Island.²³ It lies near Waterville, in the parish of Dromod,²⁴ and not far from Ballynaskelligs Bay. Church Island²⁵ contains about two acres. Near the lake-shore are the remains of a most beautiful specimen of primitive Irish church architecture. This isolated church consists of a nave and a choir ; both having been formerly separated, by a wall, which probably served for intercommunication, under an arched opening. On the interior, the nave measures twenty-four feet, in length, by thirteen feet, nine inches, in width. The chancel wall is two feet, ten inches, in thickness. The chancel itself measures fifteen feet, nine inches, in length ; while the breadth is eleven feet. The walls of this building measure three feet, in thickness, on an average. There was a beautiful circularly arched door-way, leading to the nave, on the west side. It measures only two feet, six inches, internally ; while externally, six feet, four inches, are measured, from the moulded jambs remaining below ; the upper part of its truly fine old tracery has been removed with the face of the wall. In the south wall of the nave, there is one most elegantly chiselled old window, with circular arched head, very small on the outside, but more enlarged from being deeply embayed internally. There is also a circularly headed, embayed, and finely chiselled, eastern small window, in the choir. This part of the old church is propped, by a thick buttress, externally, and some old cairn-shaped tombs lie near the outer walls. There are also inscribed old crosses of elegant design, over some of the graves. There is a square recess for the sacred vessels, to the right of the altar ; and, there is an old disused broken altar-stone, yet remaining. An ancient altar-shaped mass of masonry rises, near the beautifully recessed choir-window. Traces of plaster cover the interior nave and choir-walls, which are capped all over, with an ivy-coping of stunted growth.²⁶ Many interments take place in the graveyard, near the church ; the corpse and funeral attendants being conveyed from the mainland, in well-appointed boats. The island lies low, over the lake surface, and the soil—although rocky—produces thick and nourishing grass, for a few of the small breed of Kerry cows, that graze over the surface. An outline of the surrounding mountains is wildly magnificent, but wood is altogether wanting, to relieve their stern and bare aspect. Stripes of fields and comfortable-looking cottages dot their slopes, and present variety, from the middle of the lake, as the boat dips and floats, over the freshening waves. Another island, on Lough Currane, contains the ruins of an old castle, which may be seen, to most advantage, at low water.²⁷ Not far from the old church are various traces of an old monastic establishment, in the shape of mere

²² See his Life, at the 16th of March, chap. i.

²³ For an account of it, the reader is referred to Miss Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xviii., pp. 398, 399.

²⁴ This very extensive parish, in the barony of Iveragh, is shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," Sheets 71, 80, 81, 88, 89, 90, 97, 98, 99. Waterville is shown, on Sheet 98.

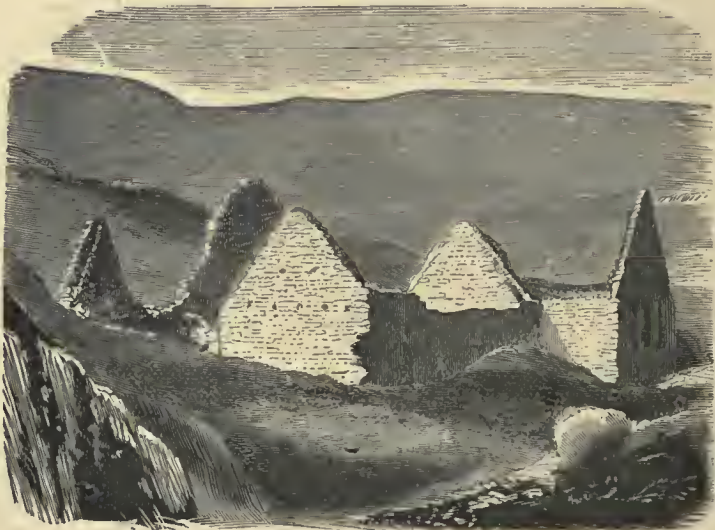
²⁵ In July, 1871, the writer was informed, by Mr. Andrew O'Sullivan, of Cahirciveen—an excellent Irish scholar, and then over 80 years old—that he read a Legend, re-

garding Church Island, in an old Irish Manuscript. The substance of this, he could not then recollect.

²⁶ Accompanied by Rev. Eugene Murphy—then curate in the Parish of Dromod—on the 14th of July, 1871, the Rev. James Gaffney and the writer had a most interesting excursion, by boat, to the Island. While there, abundant opportunity was afforded, to make the measurements and observations, conveyed in the text.

²⁷ After some heavy showers, which prevailed on the day preceding our visit, the upper mountain streams and higher lakes had filled Lough Currane, to nearly its highest water-level.

foundations, the ground-plan of which is yet quite traceable. Many of these houses seem isolated in position, and they rise in various parts of the island. The most perfect of the old houses is a rudely-shaped building of Cyclopean masonry, and, on that part of the island, most remote from the church. Internally, it is nearly a square; but, the exact admeasurements are sixteen feet, six inches, in length, by fourteen feet, six inches, in width. It is entered, by a low, square-headed doorway, covered with a large and thick ledge of stone. The door is nearly three feet, in width. Externally, the walls are nearly elliptical, in appearance; and, at the door entrance, they measure six feet, six inches in thickness. Externally, also, the whole of this building, near the ground, measures exactly 100 feet, from one rude door-jamb to the other. The walls taper and incline, as they rise, while they are crowned on top, with a



St. Finan's Church, Derrynane, County of Kerry.

thick interlacing ivy-mantle, of hardy and weather-beaten growth. The outer appearance of this rude structure, from the lake, gives it the appearance of a stunted bee-hive of extremely large dimensions.²⁸ Also, Darrynane,²⁹ some seven or eight miles distant, it is said, claims this saint,³⁰ as the patron.³¹ However, the matter is not very certain; for, as in the preceding case, it seems likely enough, that St. Finan Lobhar was the person there venerated. The "abbey"—so called—at Darrynane, or Ahavore,³² is very accurately described, by Miss Cusack.³³ It is situated, on the sea-shore, and quite ad-

²⁸ A faithful, clearly engraved, and characteristic view of this house will be seen, in Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," Part ii., sec. ii., p. 131.

²⁹ The townland of Darrynane Beg and of Darrynane More, in the parish of Kilcrohane, and barony of Dunkerron South, are shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland

Maps for the County of Kerry," Sheet 106.

³⁰ In Irish, *Doire Fhionáin*.

³¹ See Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities and Round Towers of Ireland," Part ii., sec. ii., p. 130.

³² This denomination is not on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

³³ See her "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xviii., pp. 402 to 404.

jaçant to Derrynane House, formerly the celebrated home of Ireland's illustrious son, Daniel O'Connell.³⁴ The old church and monastic ruins³⁵ are in a very exposed situation, and now, these are greatly dismantled.

St. Finan was a cotemporary of St. Mochelloc, who died, during the joint reign of Conall Ceal and Ceallach,³⁶ sons to King Moelcob, between the years 639 and 656. Both saints were old, at a time they are spoken of, as having been associates. St. Mochoemoc—also a cotemporary—departed this life, about the year 655. It is therefore probable, St. Finan died, during the first half of the seventh century. While still vigorous grew his virtues, however, the forces of St. Finan's body began to fail him, and the day of his departure was near. Then said the saint to his monks, "Dearly beloved, the time for my release approaches, yet my spirit shall not pass from its prison of the body, until a certain infirm girl, who is now coming from a distance, shall have arrived." This prediction having been fulfilled, Finan's soul escaped from his body, and the Angels of God were seen and heard, coming to meet it, with Hymns and Canticles. They conducted it to the tribunal of the Eternal King, where, as the sun's light it shines, yet world without end.³⁷ How long St. Finan continued Abbot, or what had been the exact year of his death, is altogether unknown; but, it seems probable, he died, on the 7th of April, which afterwards became the day for his festival.

For reasons already assigned, it is not an easy matter to connect the memory of our saint, with various places, where a St. Finan was held in memory. The St. Fionan, venerated at Ardfinan,³⁸ in the county of Tipperary, is thought to be identical with the present holy man, by some writers. However, this is extremely doubtful; nor do we think, that in Kerry, the following places were under his special patronage. The Great Skelligs Rocks—sometimes called Sceilig Mhichil³⁹—are said to have furnished the first site for a foundation, by St. Finain.⁴⁰ Thither pilgrimages were made, it is stated,⁴¹ even from the time of St. Patrick.⁴² But this is clearly a mistake. However, their remote situation has caused them to be rarely visited by tourists; but, the

³⁴ His talented daughter, Mrs. Ellen Fitzsimon, in her chief Poem, "Darrynane in Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-two," pp. 3, 4, thus describes the situation:—

"Across the sands, where the receding
tide
Has left free passage to the Abbey
Isle,
I shaped my course, and soon before
me rise
The old gray walls, where once the
hymn of praise
Rose to the living God! Now all is
still,
Save the shrill whistle of the wild
curlew,
Or the loud music of the winds and
waves."

³⁵ The accompanying drawing on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and engraved, by Mrs. Millard, is from a photograph furnished, by Frederick W. Mares, Dublin.

³⁶ See an account of their reign, in Dr. O'Levan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 256 to 269.

³⁷ In the Codex Inisensi, Vita S. Finani, cap. xxxii., p. 264.

³⁸ According to some authorities, this place was under the patronage of St. Finan Lobhar, as may be seen in his Life, at the 16th of March, chap. ii.

³⁹ The most complete and accurate antiquarian description of Sceilig Mhichel, or Michael's Rock, called also the Greater Skellig, is that contained in "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Edwin, Third Earl of Dunraven, edited by Margaret Stokes, Part i., sec. ii. Early Christian Monasteries, pp. 26 to 36. A beautiful woodcut of the Island precedes, and six fine lithographic plates, with a wood-engraving, "The Way of the Cross," and an lithographic ground plan of the various cells there, accompany this description.

⁴⁰ It is incorrectly stated, the monks there were St. Austin's Regulars.

⁴¹ See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Part i., p. 137. Du y's edition.

⁴² His Life occurs, at the 17th of March.

⁴³ See an interesting account of this place, in Miss Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xviii., pp. 386 to 388.

antiquarian should know, that curious objects and some bee-hive shaped cells remain, within what is called St. Michael's cincture, on the Great Skellig.⁴³ It has been stated, that some chapels are situated, on the flat part of this island, yet rising fifty yards perpendicular, over the sea level. The Greater Skellig is celebrated, in some of the oldest legends of Ireland, as the burial-place of Ir, the son of Milesius, who was interred near the summit of the rock. To a late period, a Cromlech stood there, which was held, by tradition, to mark his grave.⁴⁴ Towards the extreme south-western part of Kerry County, the parish of Killemlagh⁴⁵ is situated, within the boundaries of Iveragh barony. On the north, west, and south, it is washed by the Atlantic Ocean, and it is bounded on the west, by Caher⁴⁶ and by Prior⁴⁷ Parishes. Valentia Island serves to break the swell of waters, that roll on its northern shore. To the west of Killemlagh Parish,⁴⁸ dedicated to St. Finan, there is a bay,⁴⁹ which bears the name of the patron saint.⁵⁰ At the head of this bay, an old church in ruins may be seen, on the south-western declivity of an elevated ground-swell, and about one quarter of a mile, from the sea-shore. This church, it is supposed, was dedicated to St. Finian.⁵¹ The walls of the old religious establishment, near St. Finian's Bay, are in tolerably good preservation, excepting the east gable's upper part. This had been demolished, nearly as far down as the window-top, which pierced it. The walls were constructed, with a species of green stone, jointed with lime-mortar.⁵² It is built with rude and thin stones, on

⁴⁴ See "Notes on Irish Architecture," By Edwin, Third Earl of Dunraven. Edited by Margaret Stokes, vol. i., Part i., sec. ii., p. 34.

⁴⁵ The name of this parish is pronounced in Irish Cill Imleac, which signifies the bordering church "cella-adjacens vel contigua;" the place in which the old church of the parish is situated, having previously to the erection of it been called Imleac, which signifies bordering, as just noted in connection with another church. Imleac, in a Typographical sense, implies, *place*, and is always applied to places bordering on lakes, rivers, and on the sea. Thus, it might be rendered, in Latin, "locus adjacens, conterminus vel contiguus." This Imleac, which forms our present subject, is washed by the Atlantic Ocean, lying westwards of it. The place therefore obtained its name, from its lying along the ocean. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Kerry, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841." Mr. O'Connor's Letter, dated Cahirciveen, August 15th, 1841, p. 374.

⁴⁶ It is situated, in the barony of Iveragh, and it is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," Sheets 69, 79, 80, 88, 89.

⁴⁷ It is situated, in the barony of Iveragh. See *ibid.*, Sheets 88, 97, 105.

⁴⁸ It is in the barony of Iveragh, and it is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," Sheets 79, 87, 88, 96, 97, 104, 105.

⁴⁹ The bay is called, in Irish, Uag Fionam, in English, St. Finan's Bay.

⁵⁰ This festival was formerly celebrated, it is said, on the 16th of March, in this remote district.

⁵¹ See Smith's "Natural and Civil History of the County of Kerry," chap. v., p. 104.

⁵² The parish chapel was built to the north side of this ruined church; the north wall of the latter serving for the south wall of the former building. The old building, on the interior, is forty-eight feet, six inches, in length; the breadth seventeen feet, nine inches; while the height of its side walls, on the inside, is ten feet, three inches. The thickness of its walls is about three feet, five and a-half inches. On the east gable, there is a window, constructed of green cut stone. It has a circular top, on the inside. This window is eight feet, three inches, high, on the inside, and four feet, two inches, broad. A heap of human bones, coffin boards and earth, dug up to cover graves, raised the ground surface, on the interior, to a level with this window, in 1841. On the outside, this window appears to have been pointed at top, where it was somewhat injured, at that period. The window, on this side, was then about two feet, four inches, from the ground—it is to be presumed at the lower part—it being five feet, two inches, in height, and seven inches, in width. At a distance of two feet, six inches, from the east gable, there stood a window, in the south side wall. This was square on the inside—a rude flag-stone being placed across it, at top and bottom. A heap of bones and broken coffins nearly reached to the window, on the inside, in 1841. Interiorly, the window measured five feet, eleven inches, in height, and three feet, eight inches, in breadth, below, and above, three feet, nine inches. Exteriorly, it is rounded, at the top, being two feet, eleven inches, in height; six inches, in width; and, one foot, nine and a-half inches, from

the outside; ⁵³ and, under the arch, westwardly, it is dilapidated. ⁵⁴ On this side, it is six feet, four inches, high; and it is three feet, ten inches, broad. ⁵⁵ This establishment is said to have been removed, from Great Skellig Island, owing to the extreme bleakness, and hazard of approaching that spot. The name of St. Finan Cam is thought to be preserved, ⁵⁶ in Rahinnane, or Finan's Fort, a townland, near Ventry. This conjecture, indeed, seems not improbable, for it lay within his patrimonial district.

Referring to the Manuscripts of Colgan, the Rev. Alban Butler ⁵⁷ assigns the celebration of St. Finan of Keann-Ethich, to the 7th day of April. At such date, in the "Feilire" of St. Ængus, we have an entry of St. Finan's Feast, ⁵⁸ and with this accord the rest of our Kalendars. On the 7th of April, his name occurs as Finan Caimm, in the Martyrology of Tallagh, ⁵⁹ with a further remark, that the obliquity—indicated by a designation appended to the name—was in his eyes. His name is found in the Irish Calendar, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. ⁶⁰ The Martyrology of Donegal ⁶¹ registers, on this day, Fionan Cam, ⁶² of Ceann-Eitigh, ⁶³ and of Sliabh-Bladhma. Our saint is also commemorated, in the Scottish

the ground. On the south side wall, about thirteen feet, eight inches, from the west gable, there is a circular doorway, the interior sides of which are built with green cut-stone, as is, also, a part of its arch, the top of which has been constructed, with rude and thin stones. The inside height of this door is about seven feet, eight inches; the breadth is about five feet, four inches.

⁵³ To the west of this old church, St. Finin's Well, called *ṭobair fíneain*, is situated, by the sea-shore.

⁵⁴ Within the Parish of Killemlagh, there is another holy well, in the townland of Killabnonia East. It is called, *ṭobair buairne*. Killabnonia is pronounced in Irish, *Cille busaine*, which name occurs in the pedigree of the MacCarthys of Carberry, as preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. It is there written, *Cille báine*. The pedigree commences Donnell God, son of Donnell Mor na Cnradh, son of Diarmad of Killabnonia (*mc Diarmada Cille báine*). It is written, *Cille báine*, in the pedigree of the descendants of, Tieg Roe of Sgart, as seen among the Connty Kerry Extracts.

⁵⁵ In this parish, there is a burying-ground, without an enclosure, in Killoluaiq townland. It is situated in a field, to the right of a road, leading from Cahirciveen to Killemlagh. This burying-place, *Cilló luaiq*, gave name to the townland. Another burial-ground, in Kilkeevragh townland may be seen, in the same parish; and, its Irish name, *Cill Caoimhac*, also gave its denomination to the townland. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Kerry, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841," vol. i. Mr. O'Connor's Letter, dated Cahirciveen, August 15th, 1841, pp. 376 to 378.

⁵⁶ See Miss Mary Frances Cusack's "History of the Kingdom of Kerry," chap. xxviii., p. 104.

⁵⁷ In "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April vii.

⁵⁸ The following is the text, with its English translation:—

FINAN CAMM CHINO ETIG
 LMBAMBÍ MOR NOELMA
 BAGEPAT CRYT CAIME
 Orléib bleoecb blaoma.

"Finan the squinting of Cenn Etig, round whom was much noise: a champion of Christ was Cainte, from wolf-hunted Sliab Bladma."

⁵⁹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy we read, also, *Finan Caimm in occulit eur fut obliquitar*.

⁶⁰ In Mr. T. O'Connor's Letter, dated Birr, February 2nd, 1838, he observes: "The Calendar has *Finan Cam ó Cneitig agur ó Sliab blaoma 7 April*," that is, "Finan Cam (the stooped) of *Kinneligh* and of *Sliabh Bladhma*." *ó Sliab blaoma* must be an error in Tipper's copy for a *Sliab blaoma*, which latter accords with the words of Colgan, viz., *ad montem Bladma*. The *agur* was introduced, through an entire misunderstanding of what was meant by the original. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the King's County, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837-8," now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii., pp. 90, 91.

⁶¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁶² See Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. i., Part i., p. 127.

⁶³ "Cenn Etigh, called from Etch, an *alias* name for Teafa, daughter of Eochaidh Airemhan, the wife of Naisin mac Nechtain, Book of Lécán 185a." MS. note, by Wm. M. Hennessy, appended to this passage, in his copy of the Donegal Martyrology.

Kalendar of Drummond,⁶⁴ at the same date. On this holy man, and on the faithful discharge of his sacred functions, no doubt, was greatly dependent the supernatural life of his religious community; and, at his place, we are still able to find vestiges of spiritual vitality, lasting for centuries succeeding his time.

ARTICLE II.—ST. RUISEN, OF INIS-PICHT. We have an entry of the name, Ruissen, Innse Pich, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 7th of April. The name of this place has been assigned to Muscraige, a territory in Münster;² and, again, it has been placed, by Colgan, among the Islands of the Picts.³ However, the denomination is at present supposed to be obsolete.⁴ This saint was the same, we are told,⁵ as Ross,⁶ or Rus, son of Trichem, son of Fica, son of Iomchadh, who belonged to the race of Fiatach Fionn, king of Erin. If so, he was brother to Dichuo, or Dichu,⁷ who was the first to embrace the faith, in the northern parts of Ireland. The story of his life is to be met with, in various Acts of St. Patrick,⁸ among whose disciples he is classed.⁹ He lived, at a place, called Derluss, a town in the southern part of Ulster; and, afterwards, it was known as Inreathan. It is now called Bright, and there, he seems to have resided. For further particulars related concerning him, the reader is referred to the Life of St. Patrick,¹⁰ already written. Rus, or Ros, is said to have been of Dundaleithglass,¹¹ the old name for Downpatrick, which was the ancient seat of the Ulidian Kings, and where they lived in the strong fort, known as Rath-Keltair, quite near the cathedral. A doubt seems to be implied, as to whether the feast of St. Rus, or Ross, belongs to April 7th, or to April 9th;¹² but, the latter figure seems to have been a misprint, for the 29th.¹³ The Bollandists¹⁴ commemorate Russonus de Insula Pich, on the 7th of April. There seems to me, however, that some confusion, in the attempt to identify St. Ruisen, of Inse Pict, or Inis-Puinc, with St. Ross of Downpatrick, must exist. An ancient Sanctiory¹⁵ represents this latter person, as having been a brother to Dichu, one of St. Patrick's first converts in Ulidia; and, therefore, not only must the church of Down-

⁶⁴ Thus, under the heading of April (vii. Idus), "Apud Hiberniam Sanctus Confessor Finan ad Christum migravit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 10.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. The Franciscan copy has Ruissen inre pict.

² In Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," it is described, as being "in regione Momoniæ Muscragia nuncupata," xx. Martii, Vita S. Gobhani, p. 631. Here it is said, that St. Carthagus built a monastery, in "Insula Picti," which was "in freto Eogain." See, also, n. 5.

³ Elsewhere, Colgan renders it "in Inse Picht," or "in insulis Pictorum." See xii. Martii. Vita S. Fetchvoni, n. 7, p. 589. *Ibid.*

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (m), p. 433.

⁵ In the O'Clerys' Calendar.

⁶ Dr. Todd in a note says, "Over this name (Ross), in the more recent hand is written, as a gloss, o Dun da lethglas, "of Dun da-lethglas."

⁷ His feast is said to have been, on the 29th of April.

⁸ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxi., p. 14. Tertia Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxiii., p. 23. Quarta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxvii., p. 39. Jocelyn's or Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxiv., xxxv., p. 72. Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. i., cap. lii., p. 125.

⁹ See *ibid.* Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 265.

¹⁰ See at March 17th, cap. viii.

¹¹ The Hon. Algernon Herbert, in his Additional Notes to the "Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius," interprets *Dun Dalethglas*, as "Fort of the Entirely Painted," and in reference to the Dubhdaleths, the Crutheni of Dalriada. See note xvii., p. liv.

¹² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," n. 33, p. 31, and Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 265.

¹³ See *ibid.* Secunda Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxix., xxxi., p. 14, and nn. 47, 52, p. 19.

¹⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 656.

¹⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxiv., p. 72, and nn. 34, 35, p. 110.

patrick have been erected, at a very early date, but we ought even regard this Rus or Ross as presiding over it, some time in the fifth century.¹⁶ Although the father's name and the place seem different, yet St. Ruisen of Inis Pict may probably be identified with a Russ, or Russen, son to Rodan, Abbot of Innisfreil.¹⁷ A conjecture has been offered, likewise, that this saint was identical with the Ruissin, son to Lappain, mentioned in the Life of St. Molagga.¹⁸ He died,¹⁹ it is said, A.D. 658, the comorban to St. Barr of Cork. And, we are told, moreover, that Marianus O'Gorman, as also the commentator on Ængus, say, this saint's Natalis was celebrated, on the 7th of April.²⁰ Again, we have an account of St. Russeus, or Russenus, the son of Rodan, who was one of St. Columba's²¹ companions, when his first missionary expedition to Britain was undertaken, and whose festival has been assigned to the 27th of December, by some Scottish writers; but, Colgan thinks, it ought rather be referred to the 7th of April,²² as noted in the Martyrologies of Tallagh, of Donegal, of Marianus O'Gorman and of Maguire.²³ He flourished, A.D. 563, but the date for his death is uncertain.²⁴ The Martyrology of Donegal,²⁵ this day records a festival, in honour of Ruisen, of Inis-Picht.

ARTICLE III.—ST. SENAN, BISHOP AND ABBOT. St. Senan seems to have been doubly registered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 7th of April; but, with the qualification of his being called Abbot, in one instance, instead of Bishop,² as he is in another place: for, we do not believe, the double entry of this name, at the same day, can refer to distinct saints. Following the same authority, the Bollandists,³ enter "Senanus Episcopus," and "Senanus Abbas," with reference to Colgan's Acts of St. Senan, Abbot of Inis Carthy, at the 8th of March. There is mentioned in our Calendars a St. Senan, of Achadh-Coel, or of "the narrow field." Where this was situated has not transpired. But his descent is thus traced. He was the son of Ernin,⁴ son of Trien, son of Dunnius, son to Eochod, son to Bronnfinn, son of Eugene, son of Artcorb, son to Fiach Suighde, the first of the Desies family.⁵ This saint was the brother of St. Erca, the virgin, who is venerated, at the 12th of May. It seems not easy to identify him, with any one of the Saints Senan, undistinguished by patronymics, as found in our Calendars. Again, there is a genealogy of St. Senan, son of Becan,⁶ while there is a genealogy of Senan

¹⁶ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dro-more." Appendix A, p. 142, and Appendix LL, p. 377.

¹⁷ See "Memoir of the City and North Western Liberties of Londonderry," Part ii., sec. 2, p. 27.

¹⁸ See his Life, at the 20th of January.

¹⁹ And in a note on this *obit*, we read, that Corcach-more was "the great Corcach or Marsh, now Cork, the chief city of Munster. It is also frequently called Corcach-mor-Mumhan, i.e. the great Cork of Munster."—Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 292, 293. and n. (s). *Ibid*.

²⁰ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii, n. 28, p. 150.

²¹ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

²² This is evidently Colgan's meaning, although he writes, through mistake, "colatur 9 Aprilis."

²³ Colgan adds, "a quibus vocatur Russenus de Insulis Pictorum."

²⁴ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., num. 100, p. 492.

²⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx.

² Thus we find the distinct entries in the Franciscan copy: first Senan Ab, and after two others saints occurs Senan Ep.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 656.

⁴ There is a genealogy of Senan of Achad Chail, son of Ernin, in the "Leahhar Breac," p. 15, col. 1, line 46.

⁵ See "Colgan's" "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Januarii. Some illustrations will be met with, in the Appendix ad Acta S. Ita, cap. ii., p. 73.

Liath, from Cill t-Shenan Liath,⁷ in our ancient Manuscripts. But, we cannot be sure, that any of the foregoing were venerated, on this day. There was a church of St. Senan, at Kells, in the county of Meath;⁸ but, whether or not it had connection with the present holy man, or with some one of many other saints, bearing the name, and found in our Calendars, it might not be safe to affirm. A St. Senan, a monk of Durrow, is set down, by Colgan, at the 7th and 11th of April,⁹ and he is classed among the disciples of St. Columba.¹⁰ The name of Senan, Bishop, is recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹¹ as having a festival, at this day.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. MAC LIAG, OF DOIRE. We meet with the simple entry, Mac Liag, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 7th of April. In the last chapter of St. Declan's Acts,² allusion is made to a Macliegus, a bishop; and, Colgan supposes,³ he was venerated, either on the 8th of February,⁴ or at the present day. He is mentioned, among the disciples of St. Patrick,⁵ although no account of his place is given. We find two Mac Liags, connected with the celebrated Derry, and noted in our Annals. One of these was Giolla Mac Liag, the son of Rory, and better known as St. Gelasius, whose festival has been recorded, at the 27th of March. There was another Giolla Mac Liag, or Gelasius O'Branain, who succeeded to the government of Derry monastery, on the death of Flahertach O'Brolchain, who died A.D. 1175. The latter Giolla Mac Liag resigned the Abbey, in 1198; nor can we find any further account, regarding him.⁶ The Bollandists⁷ have Macliegus Dorensis, simply, at the 7th of April. According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁸ likewise, a saint, denominated Mac Liag, of Doire, was venerated, on this day.

ARTICLE V.—ST. AEDH, OF OILEIN REACHRANN, OR OF RATHLIN ISLAND, COUNTY OF ANTRIM. [*Eighth Century.*] That Islands should be the places of residence, chosen by many early Irish missionaries, may be inferred, from the many instances of old ecclesiastical structures thereon, and from their religious discipline, which was essentially recluse. Other propagandists of the faith founded churches. With the Irish, the church was frequently a hermitage, and not a place for large congregations of the faithful. Many of our primitive churches were known as *Cills*, *Kills*, or "Cells." It improves the evidence in favour of Islands, within and around our shores, having been lone spots, such as anchorites would love, at the introduction of Christianity, rather than marts of trade or nests of pirates, for which they might be fairly taken, if

⁶ In the "Leabhar Breac," p. 20, col. 1, line 30.

⁷ See also the "Leabhar Breac," p. 21, col. 4, line 47.

⁸ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. v. p. 38.

⁹ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, chap. x., num. 105, p. 492. Also, Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. v., sec. ii., p. 508.

¹⁰ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

¹¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find *mac Liag o Doire*.

² See his Life, at the 24th of July.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 269.

⁴ Colgan has it misprinted, "3 Februarii." The reader is referred to an account of St. Mac Liac, or Mac Liag, Bishop of Liath-Dromma, or Leitrim, at the 8th day of February.

⁵ See the Life of St. Patrick, chap. xxiv., n. 346.

⁶ See "Memoir of the City and North Western Liberties of Londonderry," Part ii., sec. 2, p. 29.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 656.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

we looked solely to their position.¹ St. Aedh was son of Cairbre, and he became abbot of Rechrann monastery.² We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that Aedh Oiléin⁴—or of the Island—was venerated, on this day. The place is now known as Rathlin Island,⁵ off the northern coast of Antrim. It does not appear, that a church had been built there, before A.D. 630.⁶ This saint appears to have immediately succeeded St. Murghal,⁷ Abbot, who died A.D. 764. St. Aedh did not long survive him; for, he departed, in the year 768, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, or in 672, according to those of Ulster. The true year appears to have been A.D. 773.⁸ In the year 790, the shrines of Rathlin were destroyed, by the gentile pirates.⁹ It is probable, one belonging to this saint, as also, some shrines of his holy predecessors, perished. Thus, like the stranded ship, once filled with life and motion, many a house of prayer, in former times, lies lowly and desolate; while, in contemplating its melancholy wreck, with its peculiar and artistic beauty, the visitor's thoughts are subdued to reverence and prayer, when rejoicing in the living Faith, that survives the ruin of material temples.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. BRYNACH, OR BRENACH, OF CARN ENGYLI, WALES. [*Fifth Century.*] His Life, which is to be found in a Manuscript,¹ belonging to the British Museum, has been lately published by Rees.² St. Brynach, as he is called by the Welsh writers, or Brenach, was an Irishman by birth.³ In Michael Alford's work,⁴ the name of Bernacus Abbas is entered, in his Index, as being among the Saints of Anglia; but, the reference to his place, in the Annals, finds only a counterpart in omission. The Bollandists⁵ notice him, at the 7th of April, as Abbot Bernacus; and, they state, that his place of abode was traditionally held to have been, in northern Cambria. But, as not having ascertained the genuineness of his Acts, nor his place in history, nor having had time to investigate properly his *cultus*, they pass over Bernacus Abbas, for want of better information. He is said to have flourished, before the middle of the fifth century.⁶ This saint performed great miracles. He lived in a solitary spot, on the banks of the Caman, where he erected a cell and a church. These were encompassed by hills. There he served God faithfully, until summoned to his heavenly reward. He often ascended a high eminence, to enjoy the vision and discourse of Angels. It was afterwards

ARTICLE V.—¹ Seesome very judicious remarks on this subject, by the Protestant writers of that very elaborate, learned, and beautifully-illustrated work, "The Channel Islands," by David Thomas Ansted and Robert Gordon Latham, Part iii., chap. xiii., pp. 326, 327.

² See Colgan's "Trias Thamarurga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. viii., p. 570.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 96, 97.

⁴ In a note, Dr. Todd says, "We may translate it, Aedh of the Island."

⁵ It is now a parish, in the barony of Cary, and it is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Antrim," Sheet 1.

⁶ See various records of this place, in Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore." Appendix T, pp. 248 to 450, and Calendar LL, p.

377.

⁷ According to Colgan, his feast was kept on the 29th September.

⁸ See "L'Art de Verifier les Dates," tome i., p. 66, and observations, in n. (m) in Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 372, 373.

⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thamarurga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. viii., p. 510.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Classed, in the Cottonian Department, Vespasian, A. xiv.

² See "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," p. 5.

³ The Welsh "Triads" call him, Brynach Gwyddle, or "Brenach the Irishman."

⁴ See "Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonice." Leodii, 1663, fol.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 655.

⁶ See Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran's "Early Irish Missions," p. 5.

called the "Mountain of Angels." It now bears the name Carn Engyli, and it overhangs the Nevern. At its foot was built a church.⁷ St. Brenach passed out of this world, on the 7th of April.⁸ His relics were placed, under the eastern wall of his church.⁹

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. SIGENIUS, SCOTTISH PRESBYTER AND ABBOT, OF THE ISLAND HELLUENSIS. Treating about the incidents of the reign of Donaldus, the fifty-third King of Scotland, Lesley declares,¹ that the foregoing holy man was held in great veneration, by all persons; yet, that writer does not call him a saint, or blessed, as the Bollandists remark, at this date.² Arnold Wion introduces the name of Sigenius, into his Benedictine Martyrology, as a saint, although not knowing the date for his festival. John Wilson places him, in the English Martyrology, at the 7th of April. Ferrarius, in his General Catalogue of the Saints, followed him. At the 7th of April, Thomas Dempster³ has an entry, recording the festival of Sigenius, Abbot.⁴ He states, likewise, that the Martyrologium Anglicum has a similar commemoration. This festival is given, by David Camerarius,⁵ in his Scottish Entries in the Kalendar.⁶ In the earlier Breviary of Aberdeen, as also in the ancient Martyrology of Tallagh, there is no mention of Sigenius; and, therefore, the Bollandists chose to leave him, until more certain authorities could be adduced, for placing him among the recognised saints. In the Anonymous Calendar of our Irish Saints, published by O'Sullivan Beare,⁷ the name of the present holy man appears, as Sigenus,⁸ at the present date.

ARTICLE VIII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. BRANDAN, OR BRUNDAN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR. [*Sixth Century.*] In a Manuscript of Florarius, and by the Scholiast on Usuard,¹ there is a notice of Abbot Brandanus, celebrated for his voyage, and he is called Bishop, likewise, by Petrus de Natalibus,² as also, by other writers.³ His life will be found more fully written, at the 16th May, the date usually assigned for his festival.

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. VINCENT FERRER, CONFESSOR, AND A MISSIONARY, IN IRELAND. [*Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*] In the Kalendar of an ancient Ambrosian Missal and Breviary, the festival of this saint is marked, at the 7th of April; but, his Life has been more properly written, for the 5th of this month.

⁷ See Fenton's "Pembrokeshire," p. 543.

⁸ According to the "Martyrologium Anglicanum," Second Edition.

⁹ See Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran's "Early Irish Missions," p. 6.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ In "Rerum Scotticarum," lib. iv.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted festivals, p. 655.

³ In the "Menologium Scotorum," we read under this date: "In Insulis Scotticis Sigenii Abbatis."

⁴ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

⁵ Thus: "7 Die. Sanctus Sigenius Abbas Benchorensis monasterii in Insula Hoyensi."

⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 236.

⁷ See "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50.

⁸ See Henry Fitzsimon's "Catalogus Aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernæ."

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Per Grevenum.

² In lib. v., cap. 117.

³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 656.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 655.

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. CELESTINE I., POPE AND CONFESSOR. [*Fourth and Fifth Centuries.*] In an ancient Catalogue, and in various Martyrologies, as already noticed on the previous day, the death of Pope St. Celestine I., has been set down.¹

Eighth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. CENNFAOLADH, ABBOT OF BANGOR, COUNTY OF DOWN.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

A MAN, who rendered essential service to the cause of religion, humanity, and civilization, deserves to be a beloved and respected historic celebrity. The present holy Abbot had a sensitive and chivalrous feeling, which urged him to labour for the correction of a great social evil, and for the emancipation of women, from a state of degradation, by no means creditable to the customs or policy of past times. In the "Feilire" of St. Ængus, his festival was commemorated, at the 8th of April.² We find Cendfaoladh, Abbot of Bennchair, at the record, concerning him, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,³ on this date. From the same source, and at the same day, the Bollandists⁴ set down, Kinfæladius, Abbas Benchórens. St. Cennfaoladh was the grandson to Aedh Breac, according to the Annals of Ulster, and those of the Four Masters.⁴ He became Abbot of Bangor, in the county of Down, most probably soon after the death of Cronan Macu Caulne, whose departure is variously placed, at A.D. 686,⁵ 688,⁶ and 690.⁷ However, it has been stated,⁸ on the authority of Fleming,⁹ that St. Kennfael was Abbot here, so early as A.D. 678. The place was called Great Bangor, by which the early Irish Annalists¹⁰ distinguished it from Bangor of the Britons,¹¹ in Wales. It has been stated,¹² that on the present site of the English church,

ARTICLE X.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis vii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 655.

ARTICLE I.—¹ The following is the stanza, with its English translation :—

ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ
ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ
ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ
ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ

"The death of Januarius the martyr, he was his temple's great tower. Not reproached by his family was Cennfaelad, Abbot of Bangor."

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we meet with CinoḂḂḂḂḂ ḂḂ ḂḂḂ.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 740.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the

Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 306, 307.

⁵ According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 294, 295, and n. (c.) *Ibid.*

⁷ According to the Annals of Ulster.

⁸ See Archdall's "Monasticum Hibernicum," p. 107.

⁹ At p. 314.

¹⁰ The name ḂḂḂḂḂ ḂḂḂ is usually applied, by them, to this place.

¹¹ This is designated by Tighernach, ḂḂḂḂḂ ḂḂḂḂḂ "Bangor of the Britons." See Tighernach, at A.D. 622, 756; and also, the Annals of Ulster, at A.D. 671, 755.

¹² See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dro-more," p. 13, and n. (p.) *Ibid.*

¹³ The foundation of this church is thus

stood the ancient one of Beanchuir, or Bangor.¹³ This, however, seems to me an inexact location, nor does it accord with the tradition of the inhabitants. The situation of the old monastery was undoubtedly within a vale, on either side of which two gentle eminences or ridges of land are to be seen. And its locality well deserved the title of the *Vale of Angels*—which according to the old narrative it formerly bore—as well on account of its beautiful site, as also for the reason, that a numerous band of holy men sung the praises of the Almighty, on the spot, and for a long lapse of ages. In the beginning of the last century, Bishop De Burgo¹⁴ saw some ruins of Bangor monastery. Immediately adjoining the church, the ruined walls of an old building are even yet shown; and they lie, partly within the garden of the Rectory, or Glebe House, and partly facing the ornamental grounds of Bangor



Ancient Remains at Bangor, County of Down.

Castle, within the demesne enclosure, and not far from its entrance gate. Those ruins are situated, about one-half statute mile, from the waters of Bangor Bay.¹⁵ They are partly covered with trees and creeping plants. Although of some extent and height, they appear quite featureless, on the exterior, whence only the writer had been enabled to obtain a view of them. He was informed, by an intelligent inhabitant of Bangor who accompanied him,¹⁶ that the ancient cemetery extended a considerable distance, from these old walls, into the demesne, as could be proved, from the quantity of human bones, removed from time to time, by labourers engaged in effecting improvements. He gave

recorded, by the Four Masters, at the year 552:—"Eaccliar benochair do potug, la Comgail benochair." And the Latinized version is: "Ecclesia Bennchorensis fundata per Comgallum Benchorensem."—Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iii., p. 157.

¹⁴ He writes: "Ibi porro Rudera nonnulla antiqui Monasterii nuperrimé vidi."—"Hi-

bernia Dominicana." Caput Primum Præambulum, n. (b.) p. 21.

¹⁵ The accompanying illustration is from a sketch, taken by the writer, on the spot. This sketch has been drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹⁶ On the occasion of a visit made, in the month of June, 1857.

me to understand, that local traditions confirmed these disinterred indications of a former burial place; while the same traditions assigned the ancient monastic site to that place, where the present old walls are to be seen. As we learn, from the Life of St. Comgall,¹⁷ Bangor was founded, about the year 558; and, before half a century had passed, it was in such celebrity, that a great number of monks flocked to it.¹⁸ From the earliest period, Bangor had been regarded, as belonging to the civil territory of the Ards.¹⁹ Among the Acts, which reflect such great credit on the memory of our Abbot, the Cain Adamnain states, that this Cennfaeladh was among the saints, who went security for liberating women from military service, from bondage, and from every other kind of slavery.²⁰ He died, in the early part of the eighth century, on the 8th of April, A.D. 704, according to the Annals of Ulster, and of the Four Masters.²¹ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,²² St. Cennfaelad, Abbot of Bennchair, was venerated on this day. In an Irish Calendar, preserved at the Royal Irish Academy, the same statement is made, but the year given, A.D. 674,²³ seems to be assigned for the date of his death. This feast is in the Calendar, compiled by Rev. William Reeves.²⁴ We find him recorded, in the Scottish Kalendar of Drummond,²⁵ as a holy confessor, at this date, assigned for his departure to Christ. The life of a true saint should not only be aglow with promise, like the bright mornings of Summer; but, it ought to become still more mellowed and beautiful, like the evening's setting sun. As the Autumn proves its richness, with the golden sheaves and luscious fruits, so must good works and words ripen into merit, towards the harvest time of a well-spent existence.

ARTICLE II.—REPUTED FEAST OF CATHALD, OR CATHLAD, SAID TO HAVE BEEN ST. CATHUB, BISHOP OF TRIM, COUNTY OF MEATH. [*Sixth Century.*] Encompassed with the ruins of churches, monasteries, and castles, whose gray mouldering relics speak of ages long past, and old celebrities long forgotten, the ancient and celebrated city of Trim yet stands on a beautiful site, over the Boyne. Formerly it was the seat of a bishop, and long after that time, it was the fortress and capital of the once powerful Meath palatinate. At an early period, this saint lived. We have recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ that Cathub, a Bishop, had veneration paid him, at this date.² Our annals relate, likewise, that on the 6th of April, the holy Cathub,³ son of Fearghus, Abbot of Achadh-cinn, died A.D. 554;⁴ and, we are led to believe, he has been confounded with the present St. Cathald,⁵ or Cathlad,⁶ who

¹⁷ See his Life, at the 10th of May.

¹⁸ In Vita S. Comgalli, cap. xiii.

¹⁹ The Book of Armagh relates: "Comgallus constituit magnum monasterium quod vocatur Beanchor in regione quæ dicitur Altitudo Ultorum."—Fleming's "Collectanea Sacra," p. 305, col. 2.

²⁰ See "The Martyrology of Donegal," by Rev. Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

²¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 306, 307, and n. (y.) *Ibid.*

²² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 83, 99.

²³ The entry runs *Cænnfaelad abbe beannchar 4^o v^o 674.* See, the copy in the Common Place Book F, p. 36, which formerly belonged to the Ordnance Survey Office, in the Phoenix Park, but which is now

preserved, in the Royal Irish Academy.

²⁴ See "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," Appendix LL, p. 377.

²⁵ Thus at (vi. Idus) "In Hibernia Sanctus Confessor Cennfael ad Christum migravit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 10.

ARTICLE II.—' Edited by Rev. D. Kelly, p. xx. See, also, annotation to the Martyrology of Donegal.

² In the Franciscan copy, we find, *Cathubi eapri.*

³ See an account of him, at the date mentioned.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 190, 191.

⁵ So is he named, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. ii., cap. iii.

seems to have succeeded St. Fortchern,⁷ in the See of Trim,⁸ probably some time, about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He is called a Pilgrim, in the Acts of St. Patrick.⁹ Now, Colgan conjectures, that he may have been identical with St. Cathub, venerated on the 6th of April—although through mistake the 8th is printed—and who died A.D. 554.¹⁰ Accordingly, under the head of Trim, Archdall states,¹¹ that on the 8th of April—an error in Colgan—died the holy Cathald, Cathlad, or Cathub, at A.D. 554. Without sufficient examination of his identity, in like manner, Rev. Anthony Cogan has Cathlad, or Cathub, of Trim, who departed this life, A.D. 554.¹² It is by no means certain, that his place was in Trim. The name of the present holy prelate is to be found, also, in the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman.¹³ The Bollandists¹⁴ record the festival of Cathubius Episcopus, at the 8th of April.

ARTICLE III.—ST. AEDHAN, MAC UA DUIBHNE. The published Martyrology of Tallagh¹ has a record, at the 8th of April, regarding a festival to Aedan Mac h. Suibne. Marianus O'Gorman enters a St. Aidan, at this day. Colgan thinks, he must be identical with a Scribe or Chronographer of Durorow,² in the King's County, and whose death is recorded, in the Annals of the Four Masters,³ under A.D. 827. At another reference, where Colgan enumerates various saints, who bore the name of Aidan, in his Appendix to the Acts of St. Maidoc,⁴ also called Aidan, or Aedan, he introduces the present holy man, known as Aidanus filius Hua-Duibhna.⁵ The Bollandists⁶ have entered his feast, at the 8th of April, as Aidanus filius Hua-Dubnei. Thus, uncertainty prevails regarding him. Aedhan, Mac Ua Duibhne, was venerated, on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁷

ARTICLE IV.—ST. FALBENS, OR ST. FAILBHE, OF ERDAM. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 8th of April, the name is entered, Failbhe Erdaim. In the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, there is a record of his feast, as having been celebrated, on this day. When treating about St.

⁶ Thus he is called by Jocelyn, who states, that he was a Briton, by race. Colgan, in a note, makes a passing observation, that he does not find such a name, in our Calendars; but, there is a Cathfad, or Cathbath, at the 1st of July, and at the 16th of September. As this name is not found, among the saints resting at Trim, Colgan says, he may have returned to Britain.

⁷ His feast belongs to the 17th of February, and to the 11th of October.

⁸ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. lii., p. 76, and n. 11, pp. 110, 111; Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. iii., p. 129.

⁹ See his Life, at the 17th of March, chap. x.

¹⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvii. Februarii, De S. Lomano Episcopo Athrumensi, cap. iv., and n. 14, pp. 362, 363.

¹¹ See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 575.

¹² See "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. vi., p. 47.

¹³ According to Dr. Todd, in the Donegal Martyrology, a more recent hand adds,

Cathub ep., Mar., Mart. Taml. "Cathub, bishop, Marianus Gorman, and Mart. of Tanlacht."

¹⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 740.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we have Aedam Mac u Duibne.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iv., sect. i., ii., p. 507.

³ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 442, 443.

⁴ See his Life, at the 31st of January.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxxi. Januarii, cap. i., p. 221.

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted festivals, p. 740.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly. In the Franciscan copy, we read Failbe Caprosi.

Failbe, or Falve,² Abbot of Iona, Colgan³ refers to Falveus, Abbas Erdamensis, who died in the year 766, and, who was venerated, as he states, at the 8th of February, whereas his meaning apparently was, at the 8th of April. In the Annals of the Four Masters,⁴ we have the death of Failbhe Erdaimh entered, at the year 766. There is no identification of his place. The Bollandists,⁵ with a misprint of date, notice Falbeus Erdamensis, at the 8th of April. The festival, in honour of Failbhe,⁶ was celebrated, on this day, as we find a record, in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁷

ARTICLE V.—ST. RONAN, SON OF FERGUS. He is mentioned, as Ronan Mac Fergus, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 8th of April, with the repetition of a word, as Ronan Macmic Fergusa. The Bollandists,² quoting the same authority, seem erroneously to call him Conanus filius Fergusii, a C having been substituted for R, in the first letter of his name. We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that Ronan, son of Fergus, had veneration paid him, at this date.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. JANUARIUS, MARTYR. The holy Martyr Januarius is noticed, in the "Feilire" of St. Ængus, as having been venerated in Ireland. He suffered for the faith in Africa, with other companions, thus named, in the ancient Martyrology of St. Jerome, viz.: Timorius, Januarius, Macarius, Connexus, Maxima, and Concessa. With several variations of names and entries, other ancient Calendars record this feast. The Bollandists treat of those African Martyrs, at the 8th of April,¹ yet without being able to throw much light on their history.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. TIGERNACH, OR TIGHERNAN, OF AIRED, NOW ERREW, OF LOCH CONN, COUNTY OF MAYO. On the 8th of April, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ we find the festival of Tigernach, Airidh. The Bollandists also repeat this insertion, at the same date.² His place is now known, as Errew, on Lough Conn, in the parish of Crossmolina,³ and in the barony of Tirawley.⁴ The present saint must have flourished, towards the latter end of the fifth century, taking his pedigree, as given in the Book of Lecan,⁵ for a basis of calculation. There, he is said to have been son of

² His feast occurs, at the 10th of March.

³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," x. Martii, De S. Failbeo sive Falveo Abbate Hiensi, p. 576, and n. 4.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 368, 369.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 740.

⁶ In a note, Dr. Todd here says, "The more recent hand adds ΕΡΩΑΙΗ, Mar., meaning that Marianus Gorman calls him "Failbhe of Erdamh," but ΕΡΩΑΙΗ is there added as a gloss."

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE v.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, it is Ronani Mac Fergusna.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 740.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii., De Sanctis Martyribus, Timorio, Januario, Macario, Connexo, Maxima, et Concessa, Carthagine et alibi in Africa, p. 745.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xx. In the Franciscan copy, we find ΤΙΓΕΡΝΑΧ ΑΙΡΙΩ.

² Thus: "Tigernacus de Aredh." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 740.

³ This very extensive parish is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," Sheets 27, 28, 29, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 58, 59. The townland of Errew is on sheets 38, 47.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. iii., n. (d) p. 3.

⁵ At fol. 46.

Ninnidh, son to Cairpri, son of Amhalgaidh, son to Fiachra, son of Eochaidh, monarch of Ireland.⁶ He descended from the race of Colla Uais, monarch of Erin, according to the O'Clerys' Calendar.⁷ The celebrated genealogist, Duaid or Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh, of Lecan, traces his descent from Giolla Phadraig, by whom St. Tighearnan of Errew was fostered.⁸ On a point of Errew townland, stretching into Loch Conn, stood the ancient church of St. Tighearnan.⁹ On its site are the ruins of a modern Abbey of considerable extent, but now nearly decayed. Formerly, it was dedicated to the same saint.¹⁰ That extensive and romantic sheet of water, known as Lough Conn,¹¹ lends an inexpressible charm to the neighbourhood. A holy well, called Tobar



Lough Conn, County of Mayo.

Tighernan, and dedicated to the patron, is situated to the south of Killeen townland.¹² A relic, known as Mias Tighearnain, or "St. Tighearnain's Dish," had been preserved for ages, in the family of O'Flynn, who are said to have been herenachs, or hereditary warders, of Errew. That object was held in the

⁶ See John O'Donovan's "Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," n. (a), p. 12.

⁷ See "Martyrology of Donegal," by Rev. Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

⁸ See John O'Donovan's "Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," pp. 101 to 103.

⁹ To this primitive saint and to his place of residence might probably be applied the description, given by the following lines of a distinguished Irish poetess:—

"In lonely cottage walled with mossy
sod,
Close by a little spring's perpetual
rill,

A hermit dwelt, who many a year had
trod

With sacred solitude that pine-clad
hill,

And loved with holy images to fill
His soul enrapt.

—Mrs. Henry Tighe's "Psyche," Canto iii, stanza xxxv.

¹⁰ The Barretts are said to have erected it.

¹¹ The accompanying illustration, taken from a Photograph, by Frederick H. Mares, was drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

¹² It is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," Sheet 38.

highest veneration, as a relic of the family's patron saint.¹³ This day is recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁴ a festival in honour of Tighernan, of Airéd, at Loch Con. In the Annals of the Four Masters,¹⁵ at the year 1413, the church of Airech-Locha-Con was profaned, by Robert Mac Wattin, for there he took Henry Barrett a prisoner, and carried him thence by force. But, the violator of this sanctuary passed not a night, in which St. Tighearnan of Airech, the patron, did not appear to him, in a vision, and demand the prisoner. This request of the saint was at length complied with, and Robert Mac Wattin granted a quarter of land to Tighearnan Airech, for ever, as an eric for the violation of its sanctuary.

ARTICLE VIII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. ADAMNAN, ABBOT OF IONA, SCOTLAND. [*Seventh and Eighth Centuries.*] According to Bucelin, at this day was celebrated the Feast of St. Adamnan.¹ He was Abbot of Iona, but the Irish and English Calendars have his festival, at the 23rd September.² The Bollandists have a notice of him, at this date;³ but, they seem to confound, St. Adamnan, Abbot of Coldingham,⁴ who has a feast on the 31st of January, as, also, on the 2nd of September, with St. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, altogether a distinct personage.

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. CELESTINE I., POPE AND CONFESSOR. [*Fourth and Fifth Centuries.*] The commemoration of this holy Pontiff has been assigned, to the 8th of April, by the Greeks, while it is contained, also, in various *Fasti* of the Latins, as the Bollandists¹ remark, at this date. Already have we given his Acts, at the 6th of April.

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. DIMA, OR DIOMA, MONK OF IONA, AND FIRST MISSIONARY BISHOP AMONG THE MERCIANS AND MIDLAND ANGLES. [*Seventh Century.*] At the 22nd of February, some notices of this holy disciple of St. Columkille, have been given; and, to these, the reader is referred. Again, as we are informed, Camerarius has a feast for this St. Dima, a monk from Iona, and afterwards a bishop in England, at the 8th of April.

¹³ Becoming very poor, during a hard summer, when provisions were exceedingly dear, the owners were induced to sell it to Mr. Knox, of Rappa Castle, and there it afterwards remained. It appears, however, that gentleman lent it to the peasantry, who were accustomed to swear upon it, at times; but, the Rev. Dr. Lyons got temporary possession of it, on such an occasion. Afterwards, he published a curious description of it, with an account of the superstitious usage to which the people converted the relic. He restored it to Rappa Castle, on condition it should never again be lent to the peasantry, for any superstitious purposes. This engagement was undertaken, and honourably fulfilled, by the proprietor of Rappa Castle, who set a high value on this *Mias Tighearnain*, as being a monument of the primitive Irish Church. It is the chief,

it not the only similar, relic of Tirawley, preserved by the Knox family. See John O'Donovan's "Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," n. (a), p. 12, and n. (i), pp. 239, 240.

¹⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

¹⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. iv., pp. 812, 813, and nn. (q, r, s). *Ibid.*

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See his *Life*, at the 23rd of September.

² The Bollandists state, incorrectly, at the 2nd September.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 741.

⁴ See his *Life*, at the 31st of January.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 740.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ Thus he is entered: iix

ARTICLE XI.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF THE ELEVATION OF THE PRIEST CHRONINUS, OR CHRONANUS. Quoting the authority of Hector Boetius and of Florarius, Dempster speaks of the Elevation of Chroninus; and, again, he is called Chronanus, at the 8th of April. The Bollandists,¹ who have a double entry, at this date, are of opinion, that he must be the Chromanus, Presbyter, alluded to by Camerarius, at May 15th, in his Scottish Calendar; while they refer us, to what had been stated, in relation to a Chronanus Monachus,² found among the pretermitted saints, at the 8th of March.³

Ninth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. WALDETRUDE, WALTRUDE, OR VAUTRUDE,
PATRONESS OF MONS, AND OF HAYNAULT, BELGIUM.

[SEVENTH CENTURY.]

THIS holy woman has been held in great veneration, not alone in the city of Mons, of which she is special patroness, but throughout the Low Countries, where her festival is celebrated, on the 9th day of April. Colgan appears to have collected her Acts, for publication, at the same date,¹ and even he promised to treat about her very fully;² however, he did not live to publish the Life of St. Waldestrude, whom he regards as deserving a place among our Irish Saints,³ although it is admitted, she was French, or Gallic Belgian, by birth and descent. The Bollandists have an account of the pious princess,⁴ in a Life,⁵ taken from ancient Manuscripts. An old biography of this holy woman has been published by Father Mabillon.⁶ The Fourth Volume of "Acta Sanctorum Belgii," has inserted the Acts⁷ of St. Waldestrude,⁸ Hannonia, at the 9th of April.⁹ Notices of this holy woman are given by Rev. Alban Butler,¹⁰ by the Petits Bollandistes,¹¹ and by Rev.

"Chronanipresbyteri elevatio. B. T. Florar." — "Menologium Scotorum." See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

² They add: "nam in Indice præfixo videtur idem statui."

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis viii. Among the pretermitted feasts. See p. 740, and, also, p. 741.

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

² See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii iii. Translatio S. Waldestrudis Abbatissæ, p. 249.

³ The principal reasons assigned are, because, she had been married to an Irish husband, and that of Irish blood, on the father's side, were some of her children, ranked as saints.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. A previous commentary precedes it, in eight sections, with an Appendix, "ex

Herimanno Abbate S. Martini Tornacensis," in four sections.

⁵ This Life has a Prologue, and it contains Three Chapters, comprising sixteen paragraphs, with accompanying notes.

⁶ In his "Acta Sanctorum," belonging to the Benedictine Order, tomus ii., sæc. ii., at this date.

⁷ These are contained in a Prologue, and three chapters, followed by an Appendix, "ex Herimanno Abbate S. Martini Tornacensis."

⁸ Her Acts are comprised in a previous commentary, of three sections, by J. Bollandus and Cornelius Smet, with an address to the reader, by this latter writer. Then follows a Life of the saint, by an anonymous author, and this is taken from old MSS.

⁹ See pp. 414 to 450.

¹⁰ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints," vol. iv., April ix.

¹¹ See the "Vies des Saints," tome iv., Avril 9^e, pp. 298 to 301.

S. Baring-Gould.¹² This virtuous female was a relation of King Dagobert, who ruled in France, towards the middle of the seventh century. She was the daughter of St. Walbert and of the princess St. Bertille,¹³ elder sister to St. Aldegondes,¹⁴ who presided over a great religious establishment, at Maubeuge. St. Waldetrude was remarkable, for her personal beauty and graceful manners; but, still more, for her modesty and love of purity. Yet, an eligible match having been presented to her parents, a husband was selected for her, at an early age. She married an Irish warrior, called Maelceadar, also named Madelgaire, Count of Hannonia, or Hainault, who is venerated as a saint.¹⁵ He was one of the principal lords of King Dagobert's court,¹⁶ and, after marriage, both pious spouses seemed to rival each other, in the practice of every virtue. Their charities to the poor were largely and frequently bestowed; they exercised hospitality in their home; and their love for holy purposes seemed to be insatiable. Marriages between the Irish and the Gauls were not unusual, about the period when this holy woman¹⁷ lived. St. Waldetrude is thought to have visited Ireland, most probably in company with her husband, whose native place was there. It is said, his mission thither was to bring with him many holy and learned men, to spread the Gospel in France, and that it was undertaken by advice of King Dagobert I.¹⁸ Having borne him two sons—St. Landric,¹⁹ Bishop of Meaux, and St. Dentelinus,²⁰ Patron of Resa, near the Rhine—and two daughters—St. Aldetrude²¹ and St. Madelberta,²²—moved chiefly by his wife's persuasions, both of those holy spouses, by mutual consent, agreed to embrace a religious life.²³ He entered the monastic state at Hautmont, near Maubeuge; and, in religion, he took the name of Vincent. Among the saints of Flanders, he is honoured, on the 20th of September, and called St. Vincent of Soignies. Before his wife Waldetrude had retired from the world, she was subject to various annoyances and calumnies; but, the Almighty consoled her, even with celestial visions. Under direction of the holy Abbot, St. Gislén, or St. Guislain,²⁴ she led a life of great piety and exact rule. This was not sufficient, however, for her zeal and fervour. After two years spent in such a manner, and all her worldly affairs being regulated, she proposed embracing a still more perfect state. Through an illustrious man, named Hildulf,²⁵ and a relative by marriage,²⁶ she procured a suitable place, whereon she might build a religious house. St. Waldetrude assumed the religious habit, from St. Aubert,²⁷ bishop of Cambray, in 636. Encouraged by his opinion and authority, she founded a nunnery for pious women, and this was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Among them, St. Waldetrude shone as a bright particular star.²⁸ She then lived in a small and solitary cell, at that place, Latinized *Castrilocus*; afterwards, it was known as *Castriloo*, and

¹² See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 9, p. 131.

¹³ Both are venerated, on the 18th of September, as may be seen in "Les Petits Bollandistes," tome xi. *Saint Walbert et Sainte Bertille ou Bertille, son épouse*, p. 237.

¹⁴ Her feast occurs, on the 30th of January.

¹⁵ At the 14th of July.

¹⁶ The celebrated French King, Dagobert I., died, on the 19th of January, A. D. 638.

¹⁷ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," viii. *Januarii, Vita S. Erardi*, n. 5., p. 28.

¹⁸ See "Les Petits Bollandistes," &c., tome viii., xiv. *Jour de Juillet*, p. 292.

¹⁹ His feast occurs, at the 17th April.

²⁰ The 14th of July is assigned for his festival.

²¹ See her Life, at the 25th of February.

²² The 7th of September is the date for her feast.

²³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," iii. *Februarii, Translatio S. Waldetrudis, Abbatissæ*, p. 249.

²⁴ He is venerated, at the 9th of October, in the town called after him, on the River Hayne.

²⁵ He is venerated as a saint, at the 23rd of June.

²⁶ His wife is called Aya, venerated on the 18th of April.

²⁷ He departed this life, on the 13th of December, about the year 670.

²⁸ According to Baldericus, in his *Chronicle of Cambray*, lib. ii., cap. xxxix.

now it is called Mons.²⁹ This city was the capital of Hainault; while, from St. Waltrude and her religious community, its origin has been derived. Her life was illustrated with miracles, and she had frequent angelic visions. She was remarkable for her spirit of prayer, and her fasts were most rigorous. Her life was passed in a little cell, where she suffered much temptation and interior trials. Her meekness and patience were admired, by all her associates; but, her fidelity to God's laws was her great characteristic. She loved poverty, and, with it, she enjoyed all the greater peace and spiritual consolation. St. Waltrude departed this life, on the 9th day of April,³⁰ A.D. 686. She was interred at Mons, where her relics are yet enshrined, in a rich and wondrously carved casket. Her monastic foundation was afterwards regarded as a Collegiate Institution, for canonesses of noble birth.³¹ Three distinct translations of her relics are recorded: one, at the 3rd of February,³² another, at the 12th of August,³³ and again, on the 2nd of November.³⁴ When this holy woman was canonized is uncertain; but, Pope Alexander III. allowed St. Bernard, to erect an altar in her honour.³⁵ Truly she belonged to a family of saints.

ARTICLE II.—ST. BROGAN OR BROCAN. Brocan is the simple entry to be met with, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 9th of April. In the



The Old Church of Kilbeg, near Bandon, County Cork.

“Acta Sanctorum” of the Bollandists,² following the same authority, the name of Brocan is found, on this day. The Life of Bairrè³ states,⁴ that a Brogan,

²⁹ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April ix.

³⁰ The "Petits Bollandistes" have it "le 6 Avril de l'an 686."—Tome iv., p. 299.

³¹ According to Miræus.

³² According to Molanus, Miræus, Menard, Andreas de Saussai, and others. See also our notice, at that date.

³³ See notices, at this date.

³⁴ See notices, at this date.

³⁵ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 9, p. 131.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters Brocan.

² See tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 810.

³ His festival occurs, at the 25th of September.

⁴ According to the Tenth Chapter, as found in the original Irish.

son of Senan, was a pupil of Bairrè, that Brogan used to read three lessons every day with Bairrè, until orders were conferred on him, and that he offered himself with his church, *i.e.* Cluain carna,⁵ to Bairrè. The Calendarist then adds: I think that either this, or the Brogan, venerated at the 27th of June, is he who is mentioned here; for, every other person of the name is surnamed from a church, or from his father, except these only. There is a parish called Kilbrogan,⁶ in the County of Cork, and in it are the ruins of an old church, called Kilbeg,⁷ near Bandon. It would not be easy to decide, however, that it had any connexion with the present saint, and the remains there have much more a civic than an ecclesiastical look.⁸ Again, the Martyrology of Donegal⁹ records on this day simply the name, Brogán. Some Acts of this holy man seem to have been collected, by Colgan, who intended to publish them, at this day.¹⁰

ARTICLE III.—ST. ÆDHACH MAC UA ELICH. His name is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date, as Aedach mac h. Eachdach. On the same authority, the Bollandists² enter Ædacus filius Hua-Elich, at the 9th of April. Likewise, we find registered, on this day, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ the name of Ædhach, Mac Ua Elich, as having veneration paid him.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. SENAN. At the 9th of April, the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ enters the name Senan. Nothing else occurs to identify him. The Bollandists,² likewise, have the feast of Senanus, at this same date. In like manner, on this day, a festival was celebrated in honour of Senan, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE V.—ST. COLMAN. The name of Colman occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 9th of April. No other observation is found, to determine this saint's individuality, and not even in a later Calendar. From the same source, the Bollandists enter his feast.² The festival, in honour of Colman, was celebrated, on this day, as we find simply set down, in the

⁵ The place does not appear to have been identified.

⁶ It is in the barony of Kinalmeaky, and it is shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork," Sheets 95, 96, 109, 110.

⁷ In the oblong Book of Sketches for Clare, Cork, and Kerry, now in the Royal Irish Academy, and once belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey, there is a view of this old church. Sketch 33. It has been copied, by the writer, and drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, to serve as an illustration for the text; the engraving is by Mrs. Millard.

⁸ This sketch was taken by E. M., in February, 1841.

⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

¹⁰ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ M.S. habentur Ordine Mensium et Dierum."

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has, however, *æðac mac h elich*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 810.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Seanán*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 810.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Colman*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 810.

Martyrology of Donegal.³ Colgan seems to hazard a conjecture, that the present saint may have been the son of Enan, and a brotlier to three other saints.⁴

ARTICLE VI.—FESTIVAL OF SEVEN HOLY VIRGINS, MARTYRS. The Feilire of St. Ængus,¹ contains the Festival of Seven Holy Virgins, who were Martyrs, at the 9th of April. The Bollandists² have notices of these holy virgins, with other Martyrs associated in suffering with them for the name of Christ, at this date. Variations of enumeration and of statement, in reference to these, abound in several old Martyrologies; but, little now seems to remain, which can throw much light on their history.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. CELESTINE I., POPE AND CONFESSOR. [*Fourth and Fifth Centuries.*] In the Vatican Manuscript, belonging to the church of St. Peter, and in the Usuard one, belonging to the Queen of Sweden, there is a festival set down, at this day, as the Bollandists¹ remark, to commemorate St. Celestine I., Pope and Confessor, whose Life has been given already, at the 6th of April.

ARTICLE VIII.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. DOTTO, ABBOT, ORKNEY ISLANDS. It is stated, by Camerarius, in his Scottish Menology, that formerly St. Dotto was an Abbot, celebrated among the Orkney Islanders, and that one of the group was known as the Island of St. Dotto.¹ The Orkneys contained churches and monasteries, dedicated to St. Brandan.² The Bollandists observe, however, that there is no mention of such an Island, in the very accurate description of the Orkneys, given by Robert Gordon,³ nor does it seem to be noticed among the group, in the best modern Atlases.⁴ The Bollandists,⁵ who notice Dotto, at the 9th of April, seem to be in doubt, not alone as to his *Cultus*, but even as to his existence; since they find no mention of him, in Dempster's Menologium Scoticum, in a Manuscript Catalogue of the Saints of Scotland, nor in the Breviary of Aberdeen. Camerarius tells

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

⁴ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., p. 482, and cap. x., p. 489.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ The following is the text and English translation:—

DUARO. UN. NOEMUAS NENOAS
 INECH TPEIB, IPRAITE
 APAPUL NAIBOAS
 IPEIL CAM QUADPATI.

"Seven innocent holy virgins' victory—in every household it is to be told—whose blood perishes not, on Quadratus' fair feast."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. De Sanctis Martyribus Demetrio Diacono, Hilario, Concesso, Maro, Sirmone, Fortunato, Donato, item vii. Virginius Canonicis, pp. S20, S21.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 809.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Bishop Forbes has it as the chief one of the Orkneys. See "Kalendars of the Scottish Saints," p. 326.

² Most probably the Navigator, whose feast occurs, at May 16th.

³ In "Geographia Blaviana Scotiae."

⁴ Thus, it is missing from "The Royal Atlas of Modern Geography," by Alexander Keith Johnston, sheet 7, (Edinburgh and London, 1864, Roy. fol.), where the Orkney Islands are very accurately shown, with the names annexed to each Island; and, also, from Adolf Stieler's "Hand Atlas über und Alle Theile der Erde über das Weltgebäude," No. 47. Gotha Justus Perthes, Roy. 4to. Nor, in the list of those Islands, as given in Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Scoti-Monasticon," at pp. 177, 178, is the name to be found.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 810.

⁶ See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 326.

ES, that he died A.D. 502. but he does not give the source, whence his information had been derived. A notice of this saint is given, in the work of Bishop Forbes.⁶

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. KUNDEGAR SCOTUS, MONK AND MARTYR, GERMANY. [*Eighth Century.*] We are informed, by Dempster,¹ that Kundegar was a Scot; that he was a monk and a disciple under St. Boniface,² in Germany; and, that he shared the Martyrdom of this latter holy Apostle, who endeavoured to draw the Gentiles from darkness to the light of the Gospel.³ For authority, he quotes Ferrarius, as also the *Breviarium Scoticum*, and a *Life of St. Boniface*,⁴ by Othlon, of Fulda. If we credit the statement of Dempster, St. Kundakar wrote "*Instructio ad Frisios*," lib. i., and flourished A.D. 755. The Bollandists—at the 9th of April—remark,⁵ that the Scottish Breviary, quoted by Dempster, cannot be the Breviary of Aberdeen, in which no account of St. Kundakar is to be found. He is thought to be same as Gundachar, mentioned by Noiker, at the 5th of June, in his Martyrology. We have set down the foregoing notice, as Ireland may possibly have a claim to this holy Martyr's nativity.

Tenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. CUANNA OF ROS-EO, OR RUSIL, COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

ST. CUANNA'S festival and name are entered, in the Feilire of St. Aengus; he is noted, as being royal and excellent; while, in the Martyrology of Tallagh, at the iv. of the Ides—or 10th of April—the date is also set down, for this holy person's feast.¹ From the term *Virgin*, applied in some of our Martyrologies, it might be thought, the present saint was a female; but, it seems most likely, he was a man, the eulogistic term applied being intended to denote the virtue of continency, which he possessed in so eminent a degree. The O'Clerys' Calendar calls him the son of Moidham.² He sprang from the seed of Enna, son to Niall; and, he was a noble virgin, in body and soul, as a gloss on the Feilire of Aengus³ states. He seems to

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See "*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*," tomus ii., lib. x., num. 765, p. 416.

² The martyrdom of this holy man is referred to June 5th, A.D. 755.

³ See "*Menologium Scoticum*," at April ix. Bishop Forbes' "*Kalendars of Scottish Saints*," p. 196.

⁴ *Ib.* ii., p. ccccxi., is cited.

⁵ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus i., Aprilis ix. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 810.

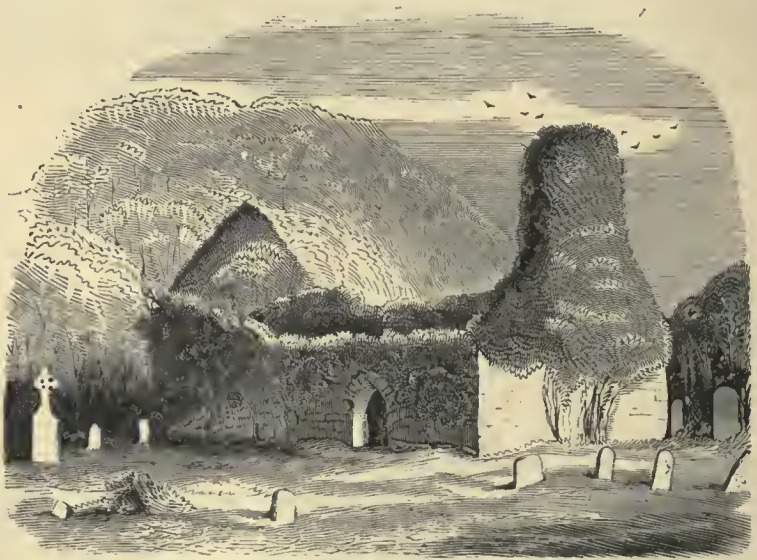
ARTICLE I.—¹ Thus "*Cuanna Vir. i Maigh*

locha i m Breghall. i. Rus Eo." See Rev. Dr. Kelly's "*Calendar of Irish Saints*," &c., p. xvi. The Franciscan entry is *Cuanna vir in Maigh Locha in Breagaib in tippur eo.*

² In a gloss to the "*Feilire*," Midorn is said to have been son of Dubratha, son to Enna, son of Niall the Nine-hostaged. This annotation is to be found, in the "*Leabhar Breac*" copy.

³ Dr. Todd says, "The gloss alluded to is as follows:—"*Vir, Virgo nobilis corpore et spiritu.*"

have been born, some time in the seventh century. We know little regarding this saint, but what is recorded, in the Martyrologies of St. Ængus, of Tamlacht, of Marianus O'Gorman, and of the O'Clerys. These say, that he was of Ros-eo; and, it is generally allowed, that it lay in Magh Lacha territory. Now, Magh Lacha is supposed to be the present Mailough, a part of Fore barony, in the county of Westmeath,⁴ according to one account. His place was situated, as others have it, in the eastern part of Magh-Breagh, or Meath. An excellent authority on Irish topography tells us, that Ros-eo means the "Wood of the Yews;" and, that it is no other than the present village of Rush,⁵ in Dublin County.⁶ Within a very beautiful demesne, in the neighbourhood, are to be seen considerable and interesting ruins of an old chapel, or chantry, called Kinure.⁷ It lies in a solemn, lone, sequestered situation, and, it is thickly over-arched, with festoons of ivy.⁸ Whether Kinure had any connexion with St. Cuanna, however, may well admit of doubt. It is represented—I know



Kinure Old Church, County of Dublin.

not on what grounds—to have been dedicated to a St. Damnan. A spring, locally known as St. Catherine's well, may be seen issuing from a rock, in an avenue, conducting from Rush mansion to this old church. Several interesting tomb-stones rest within the enclosure.⁹ It may be observed, that Kinure old church is of an oblong shape, and it measures externally, 52 feet in length, by 22 in breadth. It lies, within the demesne of Sir Roger Palmer, and its nearly

⁴ Annotation of William M. Hennessy, to his copy of the "Martyrology of Donegal."

⁵ It is a town, in the parish of Lusk, and barony of Balrothery East. It is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Dublin," sheet 8.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (r), p. 315.

⁷ It is not named on the Ordnance Survey Map.

⁸ See John D'Alton's "History of Drogheda, with its Environs, and an Introductory Memoir of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway," vol. i., p. cviii.

⁹ See John D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin," pp. 428, 429.

circular enclosure, beside a bright stream, is completely overshadowed by venerable trees.¹⁰ We find, from an entry, in the Annals of the Four Masters,¹¹ and in Colgan,¹² that St. Cuanna, of Ros-eo, died, on the 10th of April, A.D. 717. The Annals of Ulster, however, refer his death to the year 720. The Martyrology of Donegal¹³ enters, on this day, the name of Cuanna, son to Moidharn, of Ruseo, and, at Maghlacha,¹⁴ in the east of Magh Breagh, his place is said to have been situated. This saint was venerated, likewise, in Scotland, as we learn at this date, from the Kalendar of Drummond.¹⁵

ARTICLE II.—ST. BERCHAN, AEGO, OR EGG ISLAND, SCOTLAND. During the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, the interior Hebrides, or those near the coast, were settled by Gaelic colonists, many of whom migrated directly from Ireland, and still more from the Irish settlements, in Argyle.¹ The feast of Berchan Eago is met with, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 10th of April. The word Aego,³ in the opinion of Rev. Dr. Reeves,⁴ may refer to the Island of Egg, or Eigg, one of the Hebrides, off Scotland's western coast.⁵ It is distinguished, by a peculiarly shaped hill, which terminates in a lofty peak,⁶ called the Scur of Eigg,⁷ which is a veritable Giant's Causeway, like that on the coast of Antrim, and columnar from end to end.⁸ In the south-east corner of the Island, and not far from the landing-place, there is a remarkable cave, called Uamh Fhraing,⁹ and, northwards, in the Bay of Laig, there is an oolitic sand, which, according to Hugh Millar, emits distinct musical sounds, on being struck.¹⁰ This Island is about five or six miles in length, by three in breadth, while, for the most part, it is moory, and of a

¹⁰ The accompanying illustration is from a sketch by the writer, taken August, 1882; it has been transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, having been engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 314, 315.

¹² See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii iv. De S. Cuanna sive Cuannachio Abbate, n. 2, p. 251.

¹³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

¹⁴ In a note, Dr. Reeves here says, "The copulative seems to have been introduced here through mistake, for in the Martyrology of Tamlacht, and in the gloss for Marian Gorman (the authority for the location of saints which this Calendar follows), Ros-eo is placed in Maghlacha."

¹⁵ This we find, in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendar of Scottish Saints,"—"Et apud Hiberniam Sancta virgo Cuanda ad Christum perrexit," at p. 10.

ARTICLE II.—¹ See George Chalmers' "Caledonia, or an Account, Historical and Topographic, of North Britain; from the most ancient to the present Times: with a Dictionary of Places, Chronographical and Philological," vol. i., Book ii., chap. v., p. 265.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has Berchan Ego.

³ We are told, æg, gen ægo, or ægo, is the Irish form for Egg Island in Scotland.

It is also Latinized *Egea insula*, in Adaman's "Vita S. Columbæ," lib. iii., cap. 18.

⁴ See his Edition, at p. 223, and n. (c).

⁵ It is well defined, on Alexander Keith Johnston's "Royal Atlas of Modern Geography," Map 8.

⁶ It is 1,346 feet in height, formed of pitchstone and porphyry.

⁷ There is a very interesting account of the Scur of Eigg, in Archibald Geikie's "Scenery of Scotland viewed in connexion with its Physical Geology," chap. x., pp. 278 to 282.

⁸ Under the old foundations of this large wall are the remains of a pine forest, and the tree which formed this fossil-wood has been known to geologists as *Pinites Eiggensis*.

⁹ Travellers often land to visit it. On a certain occasion, the Macleods of Skye smothered all the inhabitants of the Island, who took refuge there, to escape from threatened vengeance, and to this massacre, Sir Walter Scott alludes:—

"A numerous race, ere stern Macleod
O'er their bleak shores in vengeance
strode,
When all in vain the ocean cave
Its refuge to its victims gave."

—"Lord of the Isles," canto iv., sect. ix.

¹⁰ See Murray's "Handbook for Travellers in Scotland," Route 56, pp. 311, 312.

light, gravely soil.¹¹ The Bollandists¹² have the entry of Berchanus de Ega, at this date, on the authority of the Martyrology of Tallagh. Again, we find set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹³ as having been venerated on this day, Berchan, Aego. More regarding him, we cannot find.

ARTICLE III.—ST. MIDHGUS, OR MIDGUSA. You are recommended to meditate on God, with a continued renewal of your trust in Him, till you feel that you love with sincere delight, and that you cannot live a day without His presence.¹ This was the usual and daily occupation of his pious servants on earth. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 10th of April, appears the name, St. Midgusa. On the same authority, the Bollandists³ enter Midgusius, and, it will be noticed, with a different termination. Again, the Martyrology of Donegal⁴ this day records the name of Midhghus, as having been venerated.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. HEREDNAT, OR ERETNATAN, VIRGIN, OF TULACH BENNAIN. [*Probably in the Sixth Century.*] At the 10th day of April, the entry, Eretnatan, Vir., is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh.¹ Marianus O'Gorman, and a commentator on Ængus, also, note this festival.² The Bollandists³ only notice Erednata Virgo, at this date. From the following circumstance, we may infer, she flourished in the sixth century. This holy virgin—also called Ernait—is said to have been daughter to King Kiannacht, and to have lived at first, in the north of Ireland. Her coming to a place, called Tulach Bennain, is said to have been foretold by St. Fintan of Dunbleisique,³ when he was at Kell Fintain.⁴ Both places, it is supposed, were in the south of Ireland.⁵ There was a festival, celebrated on this day, in honour of Herednat, as we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁶

ARTICLE V.—ST. MALACHUS, BISHOP OF LISMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD. [*Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.*] In the first edition of John Molanus, who has added to Usuard's Martyrology, there is an entry of Malachus, Bishop of Lesmore, in Ireland, at the 10th day of April. The same notice is to be found, in Canisius and Ferrarius, as the Bollandists observe,¹ at this date. The present holy man is thought by them, to have been that Bishop

¹¹ See a description of it, by the Rev. Donald Maclean, in "The New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xiv. Invernesshire, pp. 145 to 148.

¹² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 856.

¹³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See "Star of Bethlehem."

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy reads *Sei miosgupa*.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 856.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Ἐρεδνατ-ταν ἡνιπ*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 856.

³ His Life is to be seen, in the First Volume of this work, at the 3rd day of January.

⁴ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," iii. Januarii. Vita S. Fintani, cap. vii., p. 11.

⁵ See *ibid.*, nn. 14, 15.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 98, 99. After the entry of this name, in the table appended to this work, we find inserted, in Irish and English within brackets, certain comments. These words, "[Hermeadach and Hermenas; see Eirmeadhach and Ermin], (10 Apr.)," are the English translation. See *ibid.*, pp. 426, 427.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 857.

of Lismore, in Ireland, and who lived contemporaneously with St. Malachy O'Morgair.² He was born of respectable parents, about the middle of the eleventh century. Although a native of Ireland, Malchus had spent a long time in the monastery at Winchester,³ in England, where his education seems to have been chiefly obtained. This holy man was well versed, in the canonical observances of the universal Church, and he had a great reputation for learning.⁴ He was raised to the priesthood, and he lived as a monk, under Bishop Walchelin, of Winchester. Such were the graces he received, that he was not only illustrious for the purity of his doctrine and morals, but even for the performance of miracles. In illustration of this latter statement, the great St. Bernard⁵ cites two well-known examples. One of these was a man who had been deaf, and who was restored to the sense of hearing, when Malchus applied his fingers, to the ears of that afflicted person. Another instance was that of a boy, whose intellect had been weak; but who, it seems, was able to receive confirmation, at the hands of Malchus, when the latter had become a bishop. When he participated in the graces of that holy sacrament, the boy obtained such a gift of understanding, that the bishop was enabled to appoint him, almost immediately afterwards, as the *ostiarium* of his house; and, this function, the boy continued to discharge, until he grew on to the age of manhood.⁶ In the eleventh century, the city of Waterford was inhabited, principally by Danes, or Ostmen, who had embraced the Christian religion.⁷ It was subject, however, to Murtoogh O'Brien, King of Munster, in the year 1095, when it was constituted an Episcopal See. An election had been held by the clergy and laity of that city, and Malchus was unanimously chosen for the Episcopal charge;⁸ this choice was also appoved by Murtoogh O'Brien, and by his brother Dermot, by Domnald, Bishop of Cashel, by Samuel O'Haingley, Bishop of Dublin, by Idunan, Bishop of Meath, by Ferdornach, a Leinster Bishop, and by others.⁹ A letter was directed to St. Anselm,¹⁰ then Bishop of Canterbury, and signed by the above-named Princes and Prelates, in the name of the Waterford clergy and people.¹¹ In this epistle, it was stated, that as Waterford city then contained a numerous population, that as it had remained without pastoral care, and that as it had been exposed to various perils, which were detrimental to faith and morals; the petitioners judged it expedient, in consequence, to apply for the appointment of a local bishop. Malchus was deemed a person, best suited to discharge this office, owing to his prudence, piety, and learning. The Danes of Limerick, as also those of Dublin, appear to have preferred union in ecclesiastical

² His Life will be found, at the 3rd of November, the date for his feast.

³ "In Wintoniensi monasterio," as we find it recorded.

⁴ He was well versed in Apostolic and ecclesiastical discipline, according to Eadmer, in "Historia Novorum," lib. ii., pars. ii., cap. i.

⁵ The Abbot of Clairvaux, whose festival occurs, at the 20th of August.

⁶ See Vita S. Malachie, cap. iv., "Opera" S. Bernardi, tomus ii.

⁷ See Smith's "Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford," chap. iv., p. 98.

⁸ See Archdeacon Henry Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesie Hibernice," vol. i. Diocese of Waterford, p. 116.

⁹ "Mxciv. Epistole ad Anselmum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum a Waterfordien-

sibus transmissæ subscribit Samuel Dubliniensium et Ferdornachus Laginiensium Episcopus."—Ussher's Index Chronologicus, "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," p. 545.

¹⁰ He departed this life, on the 21st of April, A. D. 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his remarkable pontificate. His Acts by Eadmer are to be found, with an Introduction, in the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xxi. De Sancto Anselmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi in Anglia, pp. 865 to 953.

¹¹ In writing to Anselm, they say: "Propterea nos, et Rex noster Murchertachus Domnaldus, et Dermeth Dux noster frater Regis, elegimus hunc presbyterum Malchum, Walchelinum Wintoniensem Episcopi Monachum,"—Ussher's "Veterum Hibernicarum Epistolarum Sylloge," Epist. xxxi., p. 92.

government, with the Northmen, then powerful in England. The present instance, with a few others of similar character, will not, however, bear out the assertion, that the See of Canterbury held a supremacy over the churches of Ireland.¹² Being appointed, as the bearer of the letter alluded to,¹³ Malchus went over to England, in the year 1096. He was very graciously received by Anselm. This holy Prelate judged the Irish priest selected, to be in every respect qualified for the higher office, to which he had been elected. He was consecrated by St. Anselm,¹⁴ Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 28th of December, A.D. 1096,¹⁵ Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, and Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, assisting. A profession was made, in the following terms: "Elected for the Church of Waterford, and to be consecrated Bishop by thee, Rev. Father Anselm, Archbishop over the holy Church of Canterbury, and Primate of all Britain, I Malchus do promise, that I will observe canonical obedience, in all things, to thee, and to thy successors." The newly consecrated Bishop shortly afterwards returned to Waterford. With the assistance of his Ostmen or Danish flock, Malchus built the cathedral there. This church at Waterford, formerly dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, was, at a subsequent period, denominated Christ's Church.¹⁶ Very interesting notices of this edifice are on record.¹⁷ Malchus is found holding that See, A.D. 1110, but the year of his death is not recorded;¹⁸ hence, the uncertainty which arises, to ascertain, if this holy Malchus be the very learned and sage Malchus, who lived as Bishop of Lismore, for several years after the previous date. Our accessible records are not sufficiently clear, on this point;¹⁹ but, we believe, that strong circumstantial evidence will go far to establish their identity. Certain reports had reached St. Anselm regarding the practices of Samuel O'Haingly, or O'Hanly,²⁰ the Bishop of Dublin, who had not faithfully discharged some trusts, left for the benefit of his See. Simoniacal dealings had been attributed to him, by rumour. From the year 1095, when King Muirtach O'Brien, monarch of all Ireland, drove out the local Danish ruler, Godfrid Merenagh, to A.D. 1120, when the monarch's death took place, no other king of the Dublin Ostmen seems to have reigned,²¹ in that city. Before the death of Arch-

¹² "Hibernienses Episcopus a suis postulatus, vel electos a Cantuariensibus Archiepiscopis confirmari atque sacriari solitos esse, ex his constare potest," &c.—Parker, "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ," p. 33.

¹³ This letter begins with the following words, "Anselmo Dei gratia Anglorum archiepiscopo, et omnibus diocesis suæ episcopis, Clerus et Populus oppidi Watafordiæ, cum rege Murchertacho et Episcopo Domnaldo, salutem in Domino."—Ussher's "Veterum Hibernicarum Epistolarum Sylloge," No. xxxiv.

¹⁴ A very beautifully-written and interesting biography, called "Saint Anselm," by R. W. Church, Rector of Whatley, appeared in 1870. Throughout there is a fair appreciation of this great saint's career, although the work in question has been written by a Protestant minister.

¹⁵ "Die xxviii. mensis Decembris, qui anno MXCVI. in Dominicam incidebat,"—Baronius' "Annales Ecclesiastici," critics Pagii, ad annum 1097, sect. 11.

¹⁶ See Smith's "Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford," chap. iv., p. 98.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, chap. v., pp. 169 to 178.

¹⁸ See Archdeacon Henry Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," vol. i., Diocese of Waterford, p. 116.

¹⁹ Melisa O-Hamire is the next recorded Bishop, after Malchus of Waterford, or Portlargo, as called by the Irish, or Britons, according to the supplement of Tighernach's Annals, and he died, in 1135 or 1136. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Waterford," p. 527. We find the death of one Mac-Mic-Æducan, under the heading of "Bishops of Lismore," at A.D. 1113, *ibid.* p. 550. Again, at the year 1128, we have the death of "Mac-Maras Ua Reabhachain, successor of Mochuda," recorded. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1028, 1029. To that date, Ware added a year, and, it would seem, that O'Rebacain was only abbot, and not Bishop, of Lismore.

²⁰ He is said to have ruled over the See of Dublin, from A.D. 1095, when he was consecrated at Winchester, by St. Anselm, to the 4th of July, A.D. 1121, when he died, according to the best authorities. See an account of this prelate, in John D'Alton's "Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin," pp. 37 to 41.

bishop Anselm, he wrote an epistle to Malchus, Bishop of Waterford, and this was accompanied by one, directed to Samuel. The letter, Malchus was requested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to deliver in person to him, and to expostulate *viva voce*, respecting those complaints preferred. This occurred some short time before the death of Archbishop Anselm.²² The See of Waterford, however, seems not to have constituted the sole charge of Malchus, especially at a later period of his life. Ussher maintains, that this Malchus was not only Bishop of Waterford, but likewise of Lismore.²³ Archdeacon John Lynch of Tuam formed the same opinion, and the Rev. Dr. Lanigan asserts, that this is probable, although the question is involved in too much obscurity, to venture on a decided judgment. Although, St. Bernard says, that Malchus was removed from Winchester straight to Lismore, whereas the original see of the Malchus already mentioned was at Waterford; yet, the circumstances of the name and time agreeing, with the fact of each having been alluded to, as a monk of Winchester, are strongly corroborative of identity. However, there were in those times other persons named Malchus, one of whom is mentioned by St. Bernard himself.²⁴ Perhaps, the Bishop of Waterford, so named, had been translated to Lismore, at a subsequent period; if, indeed, both Sees had not been united,²⁵ at the time to which we allude. From the early part of the seventh century, however, Lismore had its separate bishop,²⁶ and with a distinct jurisdiction.²⁷ At a long subsequent period, the See of Lismore was united to that of Waterford: and this union was contemplated, in the reign of King Henry III.²⁸ However, the two dioceses continued to be governed, by different prelates, until the time of King Edward III., who caused letters, signed by himself, to be transmitted to Pope John XXII., and this Pontiff sanctioned such an arrangement,²⁹ in the Bull, which he

²² See Walter Harris' "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, from the earliest accounts," &c., chap. ix., p. 202.

²³ In Ussher's "Veterum Hibernicarum Epistolarum Sylloge," the date is incorrectly placed, at A.C. 1110. See Epist. xxxviii., pp. 97, 98. The Archbishop departed this life, during the previous year.

²⁴ In a note, appended to the epistle. See Epistolarum Recensio, pp. 144, 145. *Ibid.*

²⁵ In Vita S. Malachie, cap. v. According to Dr. Lanigan, Malchus seems to have been a Latinized appellation, for one or other of those many Irish names, that began with Maol. There might have been two persons, so called, monks at Winchester, but this conjecture is hardly probable.

²⁶ Such a union is said to have been ordered, by the Synod of Rathbreasil; and, hence, it might be supposed, that one and the same Malchus ruled over both bishoprics. See the Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., chap. xxvi., sect. vii., n. 53, p. 74. The same writer supposes Malchus, to have been the immediate successor of Mac-mic-Aeduan, Bishop of Lismore, who died, in the year 1113. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Lismore," p. 550. In the latter work, however, a Gilla-Mocudu O'Rebacain, which name, according to Harris, signifies, Rebacian the servant of Mocudu, and who died in 1129 (*Ibid.*), is made the next successor to Mac-mic-Aeduan.

"But surely," remarks Dr. Lanigan,

"Malchus was bishop there some years before that time, as is clear from St. Malachy's having repaired to him thither about 1123. In consequence of that mistake they were puzzled as to the precise period of Malchus' incumbency, Ware saying that he flourished in 1140 (when he was probably dead), and Harris, that it was in 1134. Indeed Harris has shamefully bungled the whole business, telling us elsewhere (see above, Not. 44), that St. Malachy went to Lismore when only twelve years old, that is, about A.D. 1107. He throws in a caveat, that Malchus was not yet a bishop. Had he read or did he understand St. Bernard, who tells us in the clearest terms, that Malchus was a bishop, and a celebrated one, of Lismore, before he was wanted upon by St. Malachy?"—"Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., chap. xxvi., sec. vii., n. 54, pp. 74, 75.

²⁷ St. Mochuda, the first Bishop, died 14th of May, A.D. 636. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 254, 255.

²⁸ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Lismore," pp. 547 to 554.

²⁹ A condition was distinctly specified, "that the episcopal See should continue at Waterford." The king's writ to that effect, and his letters to the Pope, on this subject, are extant; but, for reasons, of which no mention happens to be made in the Close Rolls, after repeated applications, the project was abandoned.

issued.³⁰ Notwithstanding the decree of Pope John, the two dioceses continued separate, until a second application had been made, during the Pontificate of Innocent VI. ; that Pope, at the instance of Edward III., in 1355, confirmed the letters of union, granted by John XXII. ; while, at the same time, he transmitted copies, both of the original document and of its confirmation, to Edward III., and to Roger, Bishop of Waterford. Nor was the union effected, until eight years after this period, or, in the year 1363.³¹ In the earlier and even in the mediæval times, the city of Lismore was greatly distinguished, for the number of its religious edifices, and as a place of learning.³² It would appear, that the name of Malchus had not been unknown, beyond the boundaries of his native Island, and the country in which he had passed such a lengthened portion of his life ; for, even the Scots or Northern Britons³³ were accustomed to resort, for the benefit of his instructions and spiritual guidance, to the city, where he usually resided. Mindful of the expression of holy Job, that wisdom is to be found among seniors,³⁴ the illustrious St. Malachy O'Morgair was anxious to place himself, under the direction of this experienced sage. St. Malachy O'Morgair arrived at Lismore, about the year 1119, or 1120,—according to another account 1123,³⁵—having sought the blessing of his former superior, Imar, and the approval of Archbishop Celsus, who then ruled over Armagh. His object was, to restore religious rites and the Divine worship, in a manner conformable to exact ecclesiastical usage and canon law. For this laudable effort, in the way of reform, he chiefly desired the counsel of Malchus, who had experience and profound knowledge to direct him. The holy priest was most graciously received by Malchus, under whose guidance and instruction, it is said,³⁶ he spent some years ; but, we think his stay to have been of short continuance, before being recalled by his Bishop Celsus, and by his superior Imar,³⁷ to engage on those useful reforms, for which he was specially destined, in the Irish Church.³⁸ St. Malachy

²⁹ In consequence of this representation, a decree was passed, "that upon the resignation or decease of either of those Prelates, the Episcopal dignity of the two churches, Lismore and Waterford, should be one and the same, and that the surviving Prelate should be styled Bishop of both Sees ; that in case of a vacancy, the episcopal election should take place in the most notable of the two Cathedrals, and be conducted by the Canons of both—and that to the Capitular of said Church it belonged to summon the Canons to election. Moreover, by this union the Metropolitan rights of the See of Cashel were not to be impaired ; these rights remaining over the united Sees, precisely as as they had been before."

³⁰ The paramount reason set forth, both in the supplication for the union, and in the Bull of John XXII., is the poverty of the Sees themselves, the revenues of which were at that time so limited, that neither the pontifical rank nor the rights, privileges or dignity of the See could be adequately supported. It was stated, in the remonstrance, that the annual revenue of both Sees did not on any occasion exceed the average sum of fifty marks sterling (£33 6s. 8d.).

³¹ Then, upon the translation of Roger Cradock, Bishop of Waterford, to the diocese of Landaff, in Wales, the two Sees of

Waterford and Lismore were permanently united, by Pope Urban v., Thomas Le Reve, formerly Chancellor of Ireland, having been at the time Bishop of Lismore. See Rev. M. J. Brennan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. ii., pp. 30, 31, 32.

³² The modern Protestant church stands on the old cathedral site. See Leitch Ritchie's "Ireland, Picturesque and Romantic," vol. i., chap. ix., p. 140. A beautiful illustration of Lismore Castle is at p. 136.

³³ St. Bernard says : "ad eum Scoti, Hibernique confluerent," thus making a distinction between the Irish, and the Scots, living out of Ireland.

³⁴ "In the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days prudence."—Job. xii, 12.

³⁵ For this date, Dr. Lanigan gives the reason, that he was ordained, when about 25 years of age, or about the year 1120, and he was afterwards Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Armagh "for some time, which can scarcely be supposed to have been less than two or three years." See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., cap. xxvi., sec. vii., p. 73, and n. 55, p. 75, *ibid.* It will be seen, elsewhere, Dr. Lanigan is at least a year behind the date of this saint's birth.

³⁶ By Rev. John Lanigan, D.D.

³⁷ It is also possible, St. Malachy might

returned from his first visit to Lismore, if not in the year 1120, at least shortly afterwards,³⁹ and thenceforward continued his zealous ministrations in the Northern Province, until disturbances breaking out, about the year 1127, the holy Bishop of Connor was obliged to fly, with a band of religious, and to take refuge with Cormac MacCarthy, son of Muireadhaech, son to Carthach, and King of South Munster.⁴⁰ This latter pious monarch took them under his special protection, and enabled them to found a monastery in Ibracense—supposed to be Ibrach or Iveragh—a province under King Cormac's just and prospering rule. He was most anxious to found and to endow churches and monasteries, while he gave jewels, sacred vessels, and books to the clergy for these institutions.⁴¹ But, this religious patron experienced, also, the unfavourable vicissitudes of those unquiet times; for, a confederacy had been formed against him, and of too powerful a nature to be successfully resisted. This quarrel seems to have been forced upon him, owing to the ambition of his brother Donough, who engaged the warlike Toirdhealbhach O'Conchobhair, Monarch of Ireland, to aid his efforts. Accordingly, with the forces of Lethcuin, in the year 1127, a great army was led by Turlough O'Connor to Cork, himself going by land, and a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships moving by sea round to that city. Donough MacCarthy, with his people and other Eugenian princes joining him, caused Cormac, son of Muireadhach, son of Carthach, to be dethroned,⁴² and Donough was proclaimed King of Desmond.⁴³ That division of Munster is called Deas-Mhumha, while another division, which is named Tuath-Mhumha, better known as Thomond, was granted to Conchobhar or Conor O'Brien.⁴⁴ During the sojourn of Malchus in Lismore,

have formed the acquaintance of King Cormac MacCarthy, during his first stay at Lismore, and long previous to 1127, the year of that king's expulsion and restoration.

³⁹ In Harris' Ware, after stating that our saint had been under the government of Malchus at Lismore, we find the following incorrect account:—"Upon his return to Ulster (he was admitted into Priest's orders, in the year 1120, by Archbishop Celsus, in the 25th year of his age), vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 54. Whilst Dr. Lanigan takes Harris to task, for placing the return of St. Malachy to Ulster, in 1120, and for not noting in St. Bernard's Life of him, the fact of his having said Mass, and consequently, of having been a priest, and even a Vicar-General, at Armagh, before going to Lismore; the learned doctor endeavours to show, that our saint did not go to the latter city, until later than 1120. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., chap. xxvi., sec. viii., n. 60, p. 77. Elsewhere, we have seen, that he refers this first visit of Malachy to Lismore, to about the year 1123. Again, Dr. Lanigan maintains, that the first return of St. Malachy, from Lismore, was probably in 1127, the year in which he became intimate with Cormac MacCarthy, at Lismore. See *ibid.*, p. 76. But, with regard to the period of our saint's return, Harris is far nearer the truth, than Dr. Lanigan. The latter, assuming St. Bernard's narrative to follow the chronological series of St. Malachy's actions, and testing it by the date found in our native annals, naturally sup-

posed, that the expulsion and restoration of Cormac MacCarthy took place, during the time of our saint's first residence in Lismore. But, in this he was evidently mistaken, as will be seen, by referring to dates contained in our annals; and, the mistake has led him into many subsequent errors, altogether irreconcilable with the chronology of Malachy's life. The saint was ordained, in the year 1119, if not in the year previous; and, it is probable enough, he visited Lismore, not long afterwards.

⁴⁰ We must allow him some considerable time, after his arrival at Armagh, to have built the oratory at Bangor, and to have formed a character for himself, in ministerial experience and zeal, before he was elevated to the See of Connor, in 1124.

⁴¹ He is also styled, chief king of Desmond and Bishop-king of Ireland, in the "Annals of Kilronan," and, in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.D. 1138. It is evident, from references made to our ancient annalists, that St. Bernard has misplaced some of the foregoing and following accounts, in the Life of our St. Malachy. In due chronological order, several of them should have found insertion, after the expulsion of St. Malachy from the See of Connor, which took place about the year 1127.

⁴² According to the Annals of Kilronan and of the Four Masters, these benefactions of this pious monarch are placed, at A.D. 1138. See Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., subsec. i., p. 311.

this quarrel arose between Cormac MacCarthy, king of Munster,⁴⁵ and his brother Donogh. It was ended by a victory obtained over the former, who was driven from his kingdom.⁴⁶ In his distress, he fled to the holy Bishop Malchus, but without any desire of asking interference, in the recovery of his title and possessions. It was rather through a desire of courting obscurity for the remainder of his life, which he intended to devote to prayer and penance. On the arrival of the dethroned monarch, Malchus was anxious to show him those marks of honour, which were suitable to his former rank ; but, the fallen monarch would not permit such demonstrations, saying, that he preferred the entertainment afforded to the brothers of the poor community, by which the bishop was surrounded. He declared himself willing to set aside his royal ornaments, in joining this band of religious ; and, to await rather the will of Almighty God, in his regard, than seek to establish his power by renewed violence, and through the effusion of human blood. This declaration pleased the holy bishop ; so that, in compliance with the wishes of Cormac,⁴⁷ a poor habitation was set apart for his accommodation, and his diet consisted solely of bread and water. Malachy was named as his spiritual director, and his holy presence and conversation so wrought on the king, that he was often accustomed, in the words of Holy Writ, to cry out : " How sweet are thy words to my palate ! more than honey to my mouth."⁴⁸ The austerities of the royal penitent were extraordinary. His couch was frequently watered with tears, after the example of the holy David.⁴⁹ In order to extinguish the motions of concupiscence, he was in the habit of plunging each day, into a bath of cold water, that the flesh might be kept in subjection to the spirit. He often addressed Almighty God, in that short prayer of the Royal Psalmist : " See my abjection and my labour, and forgive me all my sins."⁵⁰ His prayers were heard, by the Sovereign Judge, to whom they were addressed ; and, in a manner, different from his expectations or intention. As Cormac is styled Bishop of the Kings,⁵¹ or Bishop-king,⁵² it is reasonably supposed, that on his expulsion from the throne of Cashel in 1127, this monarch was obliged to take refuge in Lismore, where he was forced to receive a *bachall*, or crozier. Though there is nothing improbable in the circumstance, that a deposed prince of his high character for piety, should have received the episcopal rank, to reconcile him to his fallen condition, the statement in the Annals of

⁴² At A.D. 1127, it is recorded in the "Annals of Innisfallen," as we are told ; yet, I cannot find it in that copy, published by Dr. O'Conor, in his "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres," toms ii., which is defective at the date, nor is the omission to be found in the supplement.

⁴³ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., book xii., chap. v., p. 309.

⁴⁴ See Gratianus Lucius' "Cambrensis Eversus," &c., vol. ii., cap. xxi., pp. 388, 389.

⁴⁵ See an account of this religious prince and of his actions, in Daniel MacCarthy's (Glas) "Historical Pedigree of the Sliochd Feidhlimidh, the MacCarthys of Gleannacraim," xxvii. Cormac Muithamnach, Bishop King of Cassil, A.D. 1124 to 1138, pp. 15 to 22.

⁴⁶ S. Bernardi Vita S. Malachie, cap. iv. This order of account would seem to conflict with the statements of the early Irish annals,

which refer this quarrel to the year 1127. It must have occurred, after the expulsion of Malachy, from the See of Connor.

⁴⁷ In alluding to him, Gratianus Lucius styles him a saint, and he appears to have deserved such a title.

⁴⁸ Psalm cxviii. 103.

⁴⁹ "I have laboured in my groanings, every night I will wash my bed : I will water my couch with my tears."—Psalm vi. 7.

⁵⁰ Psalm xxiv. 18.

⁵¹ While Dr. Petrie remarks, that the entry of Cormac's death, in the Annals of Kilkronan and of the Four Masters, at A.D. 1138, leaves it "optional with the reader whether he should consider him a bishop in reality, or only in a figurative sense," owing to the want of punctuation between the terms, "bishop" and "king," states nevertheless, that "evidences appear to me to favour the conclusion that Cormac was really a bishop, as well as King of Munster."

Innisfallen⁵³ is not sufficient, to establish that such was the fact; as the word *bachall* is used in the Irish authorities, not only to denote the crozier of a bishop, abbot, or abess, but also the penitential staff of a pilgrim. Yet, there is another historical evidence of much higher authority, because a contemporaneous one, which should go far indeed to establish the fact, that Cormac had received an episcopal crozier, and that he enjoyed the dignity of a bishop,⁵⁴ notwithstanding that certain writers⁵⁵ consider him to have been honoured with the title of bishop, solely for his piety and liberality to the church.⁵⁶ He built two churches, at Lismore, as we are informed. He erected, also, that beautiful structure, known as Teampull Chormaic, on the Rock of Cashel, and from him its name is derived.⁵⁷ The consecration of the latter took place seven years after his expulsion. In the year 1130⁵⁸ as one account states, or rather in 1134,⁵⁹ while the archbishop and bishops of Munster, and the magnates of Ireland, both lay and ecclesiastical, were present on the occasion, it is related, this fine specimen of ecclesiastical architecture was dedicated. Other accounts have it, in the year 1135;⁶⁰ while this consecration has, even been assigned to A.D. 1138.⁶¹ Solicitous to acquire a heavenly crown, the possession of a temporal one was completely removed, not only from his desires, but even from his reflections. Yet, God, who is the vindicator of innocence, and the scourge of the oppressor, furnished, in this instance, a memorable example of the usually short duration of injustice, by hurling

⁵² In a note (r), to his work, *ibid.*, Dr. O'Donovan remarks, that the Irish words might also be rendered, "bishop-king," *i.e.* of Ireland, as Mr. Petrie has translated them, in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland."

⁵³ At A. D. 1127.

⁵⁴ Mr. Petrie then quotes an entry, found at the end of the Gospel of St. John, in a MS. copy of the Gospels, written in Ireland, and now preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, n. 1802. The writer invokes a prayer, for himself, stating that he, Maelbrihte h-Ua Maelnanaig, wrote the Book at Armagh "the year in which Cormac Mac Carthaig, royal bishop of Munster and of all Ireland also in his time, hath been killed." Dr. O'Conor, in his "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres," tomus i., Prolegomena, pars. ii., p. cxliiii., gives a fac-simile of the original entry, and he seems to have entertained no doubt, that Cormac was a royal bishop, as he is here called. See "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sub-sec. i., pp. 307, 308.

⁵⁵ Such as Dr. O'Brien and Dr. Lanigan.

⁵⁶ In Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1058, 1059, when recording the death of this monarch, who is there called $\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, in the original Irish, we have these terms rendered, "Bishop of the Kings."

⁵⁷ Although Dr. Lanigan maintains, that the church, founded at Cashel by Cormac MacCarthy, must either not be confounded with that which is commonly known as Cormac's Chapel, or that the latter had been only repaired by him; and, although he says, that the architecture of Cormac's Cha-

pel indicates a period long prior to the times of Cormac MacCarthy, dating back to the time of Cormac MacCulinan; it is quite certain, that his conjecture is incorrect, as fully shown by Mr. Petrie, in his learned work, already quoted. Dr. Lanigan supposes it possible, the two Cormacs had something to do with that structure; Cormac MacCulinan being its founder, and Cormac MacCarthy its restorer. He thinks it probable, that a chapel, founded by the former, had been injured in 1121, when Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel, and hence the need of reparation by Cormac MacCarthy. And, as Turlogh burned Lismore, Dr. Lanigan also thinks, that what is said of the two churches built there by Cormac MacCarthy, as related in the "Annals of Innisfallen," should be understood, in like manner. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iv., chap. xxvi., sec. vii., nn. 57, 58, pp. 75, 76. All these suppositions of Dr. Lanigan are completely disproved by Mr. Petrie, who shows conclusively, that Cormac MacCarthy was the original founder of Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, and that from him, also, its name is derived. See "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sub-sec. i., pp. 289 to 314.

⁵⁸ See the "Chronicon Scotorum," edited by William M. Hennessy, at this year, p. 335.

⁵⁹ "The Annals of Kilronan," the continuation of the "Annals of Tighernach," and the "Annals of the Four Masters," assign the consecration of this church to the same year.

⁶⁰ Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise places this event, in the year 1135.

the usurper from his throne. A neighbouring petty king, or chieftain,⁶² Conor O'Brien,⁶³ moved with indignation against the usurper, on account of the disorders introduced by his violent proceedings, and seeing the whole kingdom a prey to the rapine of freebooters, the insolence of subordinates, and the evils of anarchy, sought an interview with the dethroned monarch, and made an offer of alliance, in order to effect his restoration. This Conor O'Brien disavowed, likewise, the authority of Turlough O'Conor, Monarch of Ireland. He endeavoured at first, but in vain, to arouse the ambition of Cormac; and, when his solicitations were disregarded, on this score, he represented the attempt as a matter of duty to the oppressed poor, to his ravaged kingdom, and to the justice of God himself, who would not withhold his interposition, in so righteous a cause. When enforcing his views, Conor O'Brien was sustained by a number of southern chiefs, for he was abetted by Turlough O'Brien, his brother, and by O'Sullivan, O'Donohue, O'Mahoney, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, and O'Faolain.⁶⁴ It required the positive command of Malchus, and the earnest advice of Malachy, to induce the king to attempt the recovery of his former possessions. Relying altogether on their judgment, and for the reasons urged by them, he accepted the offers of assistance made by his faithful ally. By their conjoined efforts, the usurper was forced to abdicate.⁶⁵ Conor O'Brien gave his hand to Cormac MacCarthy, brought him again into the world, made him king of Desmond, while he dethroned and banished Donogh MacCarthy, who fled for refuge into Connaught.⁶⁶ On taking possession of his former inheritance, Cormac was saluted with the general acclaim of his subjects, and the disorders of the State were, afterwards, in a great measure, obliterated. He was most desirous to serve the best interests of religion, and he often visited St. Malachy and his religious, in the monastery which had been founded at Ibrach. On the death of the Archbishop of Armagh, St. Celsus, or Ceallach,⁶⁷ about A.D. 1129, great disorders ensued, as a kinsman of his, named Maurice, intruded uncanonically on the Primatial See, and contrary to the dying wishes of the holy Prelate, who earnestly recommended St. Malachy O'Morgair to fill the office. In the year 1132, St. Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, and St. Gillebert,⁶⁸ Bishop of Limerick, as also Legate of the Apostolic See, convoked a Council of Bishops and Princes of Ireland. Then and there, they unanimously elected St. Malachy as Primate, he being, at that time, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.⁶⁹ With much reluctance to abandon his monastic life, and urging various reasons for declining the proffered distinction, St. Malachy at length consented. The death of King Cormac occurred, in the year 1138, when he was treacherously slain, in his own house, by Toirdhealbach, son of Diarmaid O'Brien, and by the two sons of O'Conor Kerry.⁷⁰ We seek, but without result, the name of the Bishop-King Cormac, in the lists of Irish Prelates, at the time of his death. He was buried

⁶² See Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sub-sec. i., pp. 290, 291.

⁶³ St. Bernard remarks: "neque enim unum est Hibernia regnum, sed divisa in plura."

⁶⁴ He then held the principality of Thomond, under a sort of vassalage to Turlogh O'Conor, acknowledged as the chief monarch of Ireland.

⁶⁵ The "Annals of Innisfallen," at A.D. 1127.

⁶⁶ St. Bernard gives the substance of the foregoing transactions, as found in the text,

but he does not enter into the particulars as to date and names of the chief actors, excepting the name of Cormac, which is mentioned, in the ninth chapter of the Life of St. Malachy.

⁶⁷ These events are related, at A.D. 1127, in the "Annals of Innisfallen."

⁶⁸ His festival occurs, at the 6th of April, where his Life will be found.

⁶⁹ His feast has been assigned to the 4th of February, where further particulars regarding him may be seen.

⁷⁰ See Father Stephen White's "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iv., p. 31.

within that beautiful erection, known as Cormac's Chapel, and which yet remains, in a very perfect state, as one of the group of ruins, surmounting the celebrated Rock of Cashel, in the County of Tipperary.⁷¹ According to tradition, the tomb of this Cormac MacCarthy lay within a quadrangular recess, placed in the north wall of Cormac's Chapel, and between the doorway and the tower. A tomb, which is to be found there at present, however, is not the original one. This had been removed into a small chapel, in the north transept of the cathedral, more than a century since, and after the abandonment of that noble edifice, in the time of Archbishop Price.⁷² It is now popularly called "the Font," an object which in some measure it resembles, being divested of the covering stone. This is said to have been ornamented with a cross, and to have exhibited an Irish inscription, containing the name of Cormac, king and bishop of Munster.⁷³ On opening the tomb, there was discovered a crozier of exceeding beautiful workmanship, and which, from its form and style of ornament, there is every reason to believe, must have been of cotemporaneous age with the chapel. It is certain, at all events, that its age cannot be many years later;⁷⁴ while, it is a most interesting art-object, still preserved,⁷⁵ and the Irish public has been familiarized with its form, through engraving and description.⁷⁶ Owing to the period when St. Malachus lived, it is not wonderful, that his name has been omitted from the Martyrology of Tallagh; it is missing, likewise, from Father Henry Fitzsimons' Catalogue of Irish Saints. Sir James Ware doubts, if Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, be not the same person as Maelmonechus O'Lonsec, who died A.D. 1150. The Irish Annals call the latter bishop of Lismore.⁷⁷ Malachy, Bishop of Lismore, in Argyle, is set down in the *Menologium Scotorum*,⁷⁸ at the 10th of April; while, Dempster cites for authorities, John Molanus⁷⁹ and the *Scottichronicon*;⁸⁰ but, the placing of this saint's Lismore, in Scotland, seems to be an

⁷⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 1058, 1059.

⁷¹ In the interesting periodical, published in Dublin, A.D. 1840-41, entitled, "The Irish Penny Journal," we find the following remarks, written by Mr. Petrie, and referring to Cormac's Chapel. "It can scarcely be doubted that this was the finest architectural work hitherto erected in Ireland, but its proportions were small; and when, in 1152, the archbishopric of Munster was fixed at Cashel by Cardinal John Paparo, the Papal Legate, it became necessary to provide a church of greater amplitude. The present cathedral was in consequence erected by Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, and endowed with ample provisions in lands, and the older church was converted into a chapel, or chapter-house," vol. i., No. 3, p. 18.

⁷² Such was the information, received by Dr. Petrie, from the late Mr. Austin Cooper.

⁷³ We are told, that this sculpture and inscription were ground off its surface by a tradesman of the town of Cashel, who appropriated the stone as a monument for himself and family. With a number of other interesting engravings, relating to Cormac's Chapel, Mr. Petrie, also, presents us with one, representing the portion of this tomb remaining, which displays many interlaced traceries, sculptured on the front, and the

character of which is said to refer obviously, to the twelfth century. The length and breadth of the tomb are such, as to fit exactly in the recess, from which it is said to have been removed.

⁷⁴ Dr. Petrie remarks, that a perfectly similar head of a crozier, which is preserved among the antiquities in the Museum of Cluny, is ascribed by the learned author of "Les Arts au Moyen Age," to the commencement of the twelfth century.

⁷⁵ "The Cashel crozier, after having been in the possession of the Cooper family, of Cashel, for a considerable period, passed into my possession at the sale of the museum of the late Dr. Tuke, it having been purchased by him at the sale of the library of the celebrated Joseph Cooper Walker, author of the *Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, and other works, and to whom it had been given by Mr. Austin Cooper."—Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sub-sec. i., pp. 283 to 307.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 312 to 314.

⁷⁷ See Archdeacon Henry Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesie Hibernie," vol. i., Diocese of Lismore, p. 161.

⁷⁸ Thus Thomas Dempster writes: "In Argadia Malachi Lismorensis episcopi."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

invention of Thomas Dempster himself. Of this holy man, it is recorded, that being advanced in years, the wisdom of God enlightened his spirit, and that he attained a plenitude of days and virtues.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. PATERNUS, RECLUSE AND MARTYR, AT PADERBORN, IN LOWER SAXONY. [*Eleventh Century.*] In the remarkable self-imolation of this faithful servant of Christ, we must admire his observance of what he deemed to be a duty, and adore the inscrutable ways, whereby Divine Providence regulates the life of man. At the 10th of April, Colgan's list discloses the present saint's name.¹ It would seem, our national hagiologist had his Acts ready for publication, because being an Irish Scot, and celebrated by his countryman, the Blessed Marianus Scotus,² the Chronographer, his glorious death caused him to be greatly revered in Germany. This St. Paternus is called a Scot, and he is noticed in the Bollandists' collection,³ where the circumstances related of him are set forth, in seven paragraphs. From all we may reasonably infer, this celebrated recluse was born in Ireland, and probably, about the commencement of the eleventh century. Whether he became a recluse in his own country, or not, is hardly known; however, he seems to have left it, for the Continent, in order to adopt a course of life, attended with perfect self-denial, and practices of the greatest austerity. He travelled to Paderborn, in Germany, where a bishopric had been established, by the Emperor Charlemagne, about the close of the eighth century;⁴ while its cathedral was consecrated by Pope Leo III.,⁵ in person, during the year 796. Here, too, Charlemagne and other Emperors sometimes resided, and held diets of the Empire.⁶ Its Bishop became suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz, a sovereign of the country, and a Prince of the Empire, while he ruled with extensive privileges.⁷ The name of this city is said to have been derived, from *pader*, "a rivulet," which rises just under the high altar of the cathedral, and from *born*, "a spring."⁸ In the beginning of the eleventh century, walls were built about this city. At the time of our saint's arrival,

⁷⁹ "Theologus Lovaniensis."

⁸⁰ A Magno Macullone excriptum.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

² See account of him, in our First Volume of this work, and at the 30th of January, Article xi.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. De B. Paternio Recluso, Paderbornæ in Saxonia Inferiori, pp. 896, 897.

⁴ Near this city, Quintilius Varus, with the Roman army under his command, was totally routed by the Germans, under Arminius.

⁵ He ruled from A.D. 795 to 816. See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 210.

⁶ At Paderborn, Charlemagne held his first court, after the defeat of the Saxons. See Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle la Terre et les Hommes," tome iii., chap. iii., sect. vii., p. 741.

⁷ See the "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xiii., pp. 581, 582. Moore's Dublin Edition.

⁸ To this and other incidents connected with it, Ferdinand, Bishop of Paderborn, Co-adjutor Monasteriensis, S. R. I., Princeps and

Comes Pymontanus, alludes, in the following Latin Epigram:—

"Hic, ubi fons Paderæ, media surgentis
in urbe,
Duco vetus magni nomen ab amne
Padi;
Marte diu ancipiti Carolus certare
coactis,
Delegit castris consiliisque locum:
Jussit et, his undis lustratam, subdere
gentem
Saxonicam vero colla superba Deo.
Hic Leo, Romana deductus ab urbe
sacellum
Sacrauit, primum Relligionis opus.
Hic Sedes, longo, fuit, ordine deinde
secutis
Terrarum Dominis, inclyta, Cæsari-
bus.
Virginis hic conjux, virgo Cunigunda,
mariti,
Accepit meritis regiaserta comis,
Vastum alius subeat septena per ostia
pontum,
Nobilius nullus me caput amnis
habet."

there were two distinct monasteries in it; one belonging to the bishop of the place, and, probably, it was occupied, by a community of Cathedral Canons, while the other was in possession of a congregation of monks, to which Paternus belonged. In this very solitary place of abode, the Blessed Paternus lived for many years, quite retired from any commerce with the world. A year before his death, in a spirit of prophecy, he foretold a great fire, which should consume the city, where he dwelt, because of the sins of its people. This occurred in the year 1058. In it, he also perished; for, with the spirit of a martyr, Paternus refused safety, by a strict observance of his rule of life.⁹ As a demonstration of his sanctity, the mat on which he slept escaped the flames;¹⁰ and, it was afterwards held in great veneration, by the citizens of Paderborn. After his death, his sepulchre was illustrated by miracles,¹¹ as Marianus Scotus relates. The latter pious Irishman had set out from Cologne, on Monday after the Octave of Easter, A.D. 1059, with a view of becoming an *inclusus*, at Fulda. He resolved to visit Paderborn, on the way; and, he tells us, that then, in the very cell, where Blessed Patern lived, he prayed on that same mat, which had escaped the flames. By the constant tradition and piety of the people of Paderborn, St. Paternus had been regarded from times remote, as one of the tutelary patrons of their city. His name is recorded, by many writers and calendarists; such as, by Trithemius, Wion, Dorgan, Menard, Bucelin, Ferarius, Wilson, Camerarius, Dempster, and Simon Martin. Yet, the knowledge of Patern's place of sepulchre had passed away from the memory of the people, nor were his miracles distinctly remembered, in the latter times. Citing Arnold Wion, Dempster notices¹² the present saint, in his Calendar, at this date, and as belonging to Scotland.¹³ In terms of high commendation, St. Peter Damien,¹⁴ a contemporary, mentions this saint, in that apologetical Epistle he wrote, and [which referred to resigning the Episcopal office. His reflections are chiefly on the subject of Patern's devotion to duty, and on his leaving to the disposition of Divine Providence his own life, while a great public calamity was impending. The result of his trust, as the holy Cardinal observes, should cause us to fear, rather than question, the judgments of God. While it can scarcely be doubtful, that a prophet, who had a knowledge of the approaching destruction of a burning city, should have no revelation regarding his own death; the human mind may well cease to wonder, at the depths and mystery of the Almighty's terrible punishments inflicted on men, and in which so holy a servant paid the forfeit of his life, while so many were guilty of crimes, not expiated by a true change of heart.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. WALDETRUDE'S COUNTESS, AND WIFE OF ST. VINCENT, OF CASTRILOCUS. [*Seventh Century.*] The feast of St. Waldetrude, Patroness of Mons, has been placed by Convæus, and in a Manuscript Benedictine Martyrology,¹ at the 10th of April. Notices of this holy woman will be found, on the day previous.

⁹ Allusion is made to this occurrence, in Sigebert's Chronicle, as also in the "Speculum Historiale" of Vincentius Bellovacensis, lib. xxv., cap. xxxv.

¹⁰ See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 217.

¹¹ This is stated, by Trithemius, in his work, "De Viris Illustribus Ordinis S. Benedicti," lib. iii., cap. 324.

¹² In "Menologium Scotorum."

¹³ Thus, "Fuldae Paterni monachi cognomento Inclusi, miraculoso exitu per-

functi."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

¹⁴ His festival is kept, on the 23rd of February. For the particulars of his Life, the reader may study "Storia di S. Pier Damiano e del suo Tempo," per Alfonso Capecelatro, Prete dell' Oratorio di Napoli. Firenze, 1862, 12mo.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. Among the pretermitted Saints, p. 856.

ARTICLE VIII.—FEAST OF ST. APOLLONIUS, MARTYR, AT ALEXANDRIA. The Feilire of St. Ængus¹ records the cross or suffering of St. Apollonius, at the 10th of April. This holy priest, with other courageous companions in martyrdom, suffered for the faith of Christ, and an account of them will be found, in the Bollandists' great work,² at the same date.

ARTICLE IX.—FEAST OF ST. MAIDOC, ABBOT OF FIDDOWN, COUNTY OF KILKENNY. [*Sixth Century.*] The festival of St. Maidoc, Abbot of Fiddown, is celebrated on this day, according to the Calendar of Cashel. Allusion has been made to him already, at the 23rd of March. His Acts will be found, at the 18th of May; while the 13th of August is stated, to have been another of his festivals.

Eleventh Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. MAEDHOG AEDHAN, OR MOGUE, ABBOT OF CLUAINMOR-MAEDHOG, NOW CLONMORE, COUNTY OF CARLOW.

[SIXTH CENTURY.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—ENQUIRY ABOUT THE RACE AND BIRTH OF ST. MAEDHOG—HE ESTABLISHES A RELIGIOUS HOUSE AT CLONMORE—DESCRIPTION OF THIS PLACE—CAUSES LEADING TO THE BATTLE OF DUNBOLG.

THAT the present holy Abbot's memory had been revered and celebrated, at an early period, in the Irish Church, is evident from various circumstances. His recorded name of Maidoc, or Moedoc,² was originally Aedhan;² in Latin, it was Ædanus, and it has been Anglicised into Ædan. The Irish diminutive was Aedh-og; and, by prefixing Mo, or my, we have Mo-Aedh-og, or my young Aedh, hence comes Moedhog, or Mogue. Again, Momoedoc, Mionn Gaoidhel, or "my Maidoc, sacred pledge of the Irish," were words of endearment, applied to saints bearing this name. But, when

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, we find the following entry, with the English translation of Whitley Stokes:—

Cnoc apollon crumchtar
 arcurt coemthar folait
 Onorr eo ainm rubaich
 Cuanna ruga romait.

¹ Priest Apollonius' cross for Christ's treasures are bartered. From Ross Eó, delightful name, Cuanna royal, excellent."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis x. De Sanctis Martyribus Alexandrinis Apollonio Presb. Grano, Hilario, Donato, Concesso, Saturnino, pp. 862, 863.

ARTICLE I.—CHAPTER I.—¹ So is he called, by the Martyrologies of Tallagh, of Marianus O'Gorman, and of Maguire.

² It is said to signify "fire," by Mr. John M'Call. The distinguished Irish scholar, William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., has informed the writer, that the patron of Clonmore was called Aedan, the diminutive of Aedh; and that Aedh-og or "young Aedh," appears in the compound form Maedhog, Mo-Aedh-og, "my little Aedh," the "mo" forming the devotional prefix "my." In a letter, he remarks: "Though Aedh-óg and Aedhan are equivalent, and though the devotional prefix occurs in connexion with Aedh-óg, I have not met it in connexion with Aedhan. I cannot tell the reason, but

treating about another very distinguished saint, so called,³ we have already more fully dwelt on the foregoing varied etymons; and, we have drawn attention to certain narratives, which may have a more direct reference to the personal history of the present holy man. However, as there were three saints,⁴ bearing the name of Aedhan, or Maedoc, and who were very nearly contemporaries, in the absence of more ancient records, there can be no more embarrassing task for a student of Irish hagiology, than to fix their respective actions.⁵ Colgan apparently had a Life of Abbot St. Maidoc, of Clonmore, ready for publication, at this day;⁶ and, he promised, that at the 11th of April, much should be discussed concerning him.⁷ The Bollandists⁸ merely notice his festival, as occurring at this date, in the Martyrology of Tallagh; but, they have evidently misprinted his name,⁹ which was to be met with in the original.

The received opinion is, that St. Aedhan, or Moedoc, of Clonmore,¹⁰ was descended from Dunlang, who was King of Leinster, at the close of the third century.¹¹ In the old Book of the Borumha Laighean, the present holy man is called Aidus, son to Eugenius:¹² in the Life of St. Comgall,¹³ he is named Ædinus, *i.e.*, Aidanus, or Ædanus: by the Martyrologies of Tallagh, Marianus O'Gorman and Maguire, he is called Maidoc.¹⁴ The Menologic Genealogy of the Irish Saints enters his pedigree, in the foregoing sense;¹⁵

I assume that it was not so used, because it should form a word such as Maedhan or Maothan, the meaning of which could not be characteristic of the qualities of a saint in the olden time." He then refers to the explanations given in Edward O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary," at the word *maothán*. He adds: "At the same time, I think it right to admit, that I have found the name written Aedh, but it is in a Poem; and names are sometimes written in Poems, in a mutilated way, owing to the necessities of metre."—Letter, dated 71 Pembroke-road, 24th September, 1882.

³ See the Life of St. Aedan or Maidoc, Patron and Bishop of Ferns, County of Wexford, chap. i., and notes, at the 31st of January, in the First Volume of this work.

⁴ These are distinguished, as the Abbot Maedhoc Mac Maine, the reputed founder of Clonmore, and first Bishop of Ferns; the second, Aedhan Mac Seina of Ferns, the so-called second bishop of this See; and the third, Bishop Aedhan Ua Dulaing, son to Eoghan, and a new candidate for the honour of having been the founder of Clonmore.

⁵ Such are the observations of Mr. John M'Caul, Patrick-street, Dublin, who has kindly furnished me with the result of his investigations, which are largely availed of in the present Memoir.

⁶ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. babentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii viii., De S. Onchuone Confessore, ex variis., cap. viii., and n. 11, p. 277. There, Colgan remarks, that he descended from the royal race of Leinster.

⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis

ix. Among the premitted saints, p. 2.

⁹ These are the words: "Mardocus Hua Dunlange in Cluain-Mor."

¹⁰ This is expressly stated, in Whitley Stokes' "Calendar of Oengus," by the Commentator remarking, at the name Cluain-Mór Maedóc, "i. Moedoc bua Dunlaing dolaignib 7 nihe moedoc ferna," thus translated, "*i.e.* Maedóc bua Dunlaing of Leinster, and not Maedóc of Ferns."—"Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy." Irish Manuscript series, part i., p. xlix.

¹¹ Thus do I find his pedigree traced, in No. 7, The Genealogy of the Ui Dunlaing, the Ui Briun Cualann, and the Ui Mail, &c., by Rev. John Francis Shearman. Here, deeming him to be identical with Aedh, Bishop, *i.e.* Aedan mac ua Dunlaing of Glendalach, venerated at the 7th of April, and living A.D. 598, he is reckoned to have been the sixty-seventh in descent from Mileadh, and to have been son of Eoghan, son to Bruighde, son of Nadboidhb, son of Iollain, King of Leinster (*circa* 460), son to Dunlang, King of Leinster (*circa* 450), son to Faelan, son of Oilill, son to Dunlang, King of Leinster. Reference is made to the "Book of Leinster," fol. 245; but, it is remarked, that one or two generations are wanting, in the foregoing enumeration. See "Loca Patriciana," p. 138.

¹² He is noted as, "S. Maidocus de Cluain-mor Moedhoc, filius Eugenii, filii Brudge, de stirpe Bressalii Belach, 11. April., de quo Menologic. Geneal., cap. 20." See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxxi. Januarii, Vita S. Maidoci., Appendix, cap. i., p. 221, and, also, n. 12, p. 277.

¹³ At cap. liiii., in the Irish Life, His feast occurs, at the 10th of May.

¹⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," viii. Februarii., De S. Onchuone, n. 11., p. 277.

and, his family descent is to be found, likewise, in Dudley MacFirbis' Genealogies.¹⁶ His genealogy as given here varies a little, from that found in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹⁷ which makes Moedoc of Clonmore belong to the race of Dunlaing,¹⁸ who was the son of Enna Nia; but, the difference is not great, as Bressail Belach and Enna Nia were brothers, and both were the sons of Fiacha Baiceadha, son to Cathair Mor.¹⁹ The Martyrology of Donegal confirms this account. Brig, daughter of Cobthach, son to Crimthand, son of Enna Cendselach, is said to have been mother of Segine,²⁰ of Bishop Aedhan,²¹ and of Aedh, son to Ainmire, King of Ireland.²² Maedhog, and Aedh, son of Ainmire, monarch of Erin, had the same mother,²³ as the Borumha²⁴ states. Likewise, it is said, that St. Etchen, or Ecian,²⁵ was a son of Briga,²⁶ the mother of Aedh, son of Ainmire, monarch of Ireland, by Maine Eiges,²⁷ her former husband,²⁸ and consequently that monarch was half brother to St. Etchen.²⁹ We find,³⁰ both Maine Eiges and Briga traced back—but with some discrepancies detected³¹—eleven generations to Cucorb, King of Leinster, the sixteenth in descent from Ugaine Mor.³² Thus, the present St. Maedhog is said to have been half brother to Aid, son of Ain-

¹⁵ In the "Naomshancus," at p. 727, is written *Maedoc mac Eogain* of Clonmore (11th April).

¹⁶ See Eugene O'Curry's copy, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁷ The Bollandists add: As Irish Saints are recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh.

¹⁸ He was King of Leinster, A.D. 241.

¹⁹ He was Monarch of Ireland, A.D. 174.

²⁰ Venerated, it is thought, at January 21st, where a notice will be found, but where a difference of conjecture has been hazarded.

²¹ The present saint, it is presumed.

²² Letter of William M. Hennessy, to the writer, and dated 71 Pembroke-road, 24th of September, 1882.

²³ "Druis ingen Chobthais, mic Crimthainn, mic Enna Cinnéalais, mathair Segine, Epp. Aedain agus Aedha mic Ainmire, ius Erienn." Book of Lecan, fol. 103, a. i., MS. note of William M. Hennessy, at this passage, in his copy of the Donegal Martyrology.

²⁴ In a note to the Donegal Martyrology, Dr. Todd says: "The tract so-called, which is a history of the Boromean Tribute."

²⁵ The 11th of February has been usually assigned for his feast.

²⁶ The pedigree of this noble matron is thus traced, by Mr. John M'Call, correcting some differences observed by Rev. Dr. Todd, in his "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," Introduction, Appendix A, Table v., pp. 254, 255. The figures represent Dr. Todd's calculated line from Mileadh:—84 Enna Kinsellach was father of 85 Crinthann, who was baptized by St. Patrick, A.D. 448, and whose wife was Mell. He was killed 484. He was father to 86 Cobtach crom, Oilill, second son, Cobtach, of Ardlairin, the father of 87 Briga mother of 88 Maidoc or Edan, 88 Bishop of Cluanmor Maedoc, of 88 Etchen, of Cluainfad, A.D. 577, and of 88 Seighan, of Kilsighan.

²⁷ Mr. John M'Call has kindly made out for me the following pedigree from Dr. Todd's Table, with some added notes of his own. The figures represent the generations as removed from Mileadh:—60 Ugaine Mor, King of Ireland, father of 61 Laoghaire Lorc, king from 3649, A.M. to 3665. Here 25 generations are wanting: O'Flaherty reduces them to 15. 76 Cucorb, King of Leinster from 113 A.D. to 119, and Ethna his wife. Their son was 77 Messincorb father to 78 Eochaid Lamderg, father of 79 Fothad, father to 80 Eochaid Lamdoit. Some generations are wanting here, between Garchon, about A.D. 209 and Fincad, slain at the first battle of Graine, A.D. 484. 81 Fothad was father to 82 Fergus Lamderg, father of 83 Maine Mac Eiges the poet. His sons were 84 Maedoc of Clonmore, 84 Etchen of Cluainfota, and 84 Seighan of Kilsighan.

²⁸ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii xi. De S. Etchenio Episcopo Cluainfodensi, ex variis, cap. i., and nn. 1 to 8, pp. 304 to 306.

²⁹ Are Maine Eiges, and Eugene, St. Miadoc of Clonmore's father, one and the same person, and were the two saints, brothers? or was their mother Briga married the third time, and were they only uterine brothers? is a query proposed by Mr. M'Call.

³⁰ In Rev. Dr. Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," Appendix A to Introduction, Table v., and pp. 253 to 255.

³¹ At the best, these genealogies are very imperfect—thus, though the saints were evidently contemporaries, there are two more generations in Aedan mac ua Dunlaing's, than in Briga's line. This latter nobly born lady was Maedoc's mother. Again, there are two more in Briga's line, in the Rev. J. F. Shearman's list, than in Dr. Todd's, thus occasioning seven missing links in the genealogy of Maidoc mac Maine, on the paternal side, and two more still as compared with the different calculations.

mire, monarch of Ireland.³³ From this instance, and from other cases recorded, it would seem, that brothers bearing a similar name were to be found frequently in the same family.

The birth of our saint took place, probably before the middle of the sixth century, but the year is not known. Some difficulties have arisen, to ascertain, if a St. Aedh,³⁴ Oengen, or Oilean, called also Maedoc Ua Dúhlaing of the Island,³⁵ could not have been identical with the present St. Maedoc. If resolved in the affirmative, this latter may be considered to have had a special connexion with Glendalough, and to have had distinct festivals, one at April 7th, the other, at the present date.



Clonmore Cemetery, County of Carlow.

This holy Abbot's chief house was situated, it is thought, at the present Clonmore, in the Barony of Rathvilly, and County of Carlow,³⁶ The exact year when it was founded has not been ascertained; and now, there are no vestiges left of the ancient building.

³² He was King of Ireland from A.M. 3619 to 3649.

³³ See Dr. O'Donovan's summarized statement from the Boromha Laighean, in note (h) to "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," by the Four Masters, vol. i., p. 218.

³⁴ His feast has been entered already, at the 7th of April. According to Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. 7. Cathaoir Mor, King of Leinster, from A.D. 173 to 177, and the 55th in descent from Mileadh, was his ancestor; thus is the line traced:—55 Cathaoir Mor, father of 56 Fiacha Baicheda, father to 57 Bresal Belach, father of 58 Enna Nia, father to 59 Dunlaing K.L. 298, who slew the royal maidens at the Claenfert of Tara, and who first caused

the Boromha Tribute to be exacted from the Leinstermen. He was father of 60 Oilill, father to 61 Faelan, father of 62 Dunlaing K.L., who died before A.D. 460. His wife was Cuach from the Hy-Bairche. Their son was 63 Iollam, baptized at Naas, by St. Patrick. Iollam was father to 64 Nadboid, father of 65 Bruighde, father of 66 Eoghan (third son), father to 67 Aedan mac Ua Dunlaing of Glendalough, *vivens* A.D. 598, at the time of the Battle of Dunbolg. See "The Genealogy of the Ui Dunlaing, the Ui Briuin Cualann, and the Ui Mail," &c., p. 138.

³⁵ Conjectured to have been the Island of Our Saviour, at Glendalough.

³⁶ Mr. M'Call, very doubtful on the sub-

Its site, near the village, was in, or very near, a much-frequented graveyard,³⁷ which lies about seven miles south from Baltinglass, county of Wicklow. At present, near the village of Clonmore,³⁸ in the townland and parish so named, are the graveyard and some interesting remains, which had connexion with our saint's former monastery ;³⁹ although we find it stated, that the traditions of this place rather connect it with St. Maidoc, venerated on the 31st of January. At present, beside the graveyard runs a public road, leading from the village to the old castle⁴⁰ of Clonmore,⁴¹ and this road was sunk through the very centre of the old graveyard, in a manner most hurtful to the Christian feeling of the old Catholic inhabitants, and very unnecessarily from an engineering point of view. On the south side of this road is the principal cemetery,⁴² used by the people, and in the centre appears the broken shaft of an ancient granite cross, nearly six feet in height. Beside it, concealed among thick black-thorn bushes, is the circularly formed head, but rather in a mutilated condition.⁴³ On the opposite side of the road, there is another large granite cross,⁴⁴ not far from the Protestant church. This monument is shown as St. Mogue's cross. According to tradition, the whole valley, extending from Clonmore⁴⁵ to Aghold,⁴⁶ in former times, was called "Mogue's great glen," or "Mogue's big lawn," or "Meadow;" while a portion of Clonmore townland, to the westward

ject, says, "it is nearly impossible to decide, whether it was the old Maidoc, son of Maine Eiges, the half-brother to Aedh, son of Ainmire, or his new rival. Maidoc Uí Dunlaing, son of Eoghan, Bishop of Glendalough, founded this celebrated monastery. But, unless there was some other saint of the name 'of the race of Dunlaing,' there are strong proofs extant of this latter being the true founder; and, therefore, the two entries in the Martyrologies, the one 'Aedh of the Island' of Glendalough, at April 7th, and the other 'Aedhan of Clonmore,' at April 11th, may have reference to the one party, Maedoc of Clonmore."

³⁷ It was formerly known as the Relic Aingel of the oratory, in Cluain Mór Maedóc, as we learn, from a gloss to the Feilire of St. Áengus, at the 8th of February, regarding St. Onchuo, or Ternoc (thy Ernoc), in the Leabhar Breac. There, too, we find the comment, *Ṭernoc ṫpen acharba*, meaning "Ternoc, strong his profit," according to Whitley Stokes.

³⁸ In the barony of Rathvilly. It is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Carlow," sheet 9.

³⁹ There is a description of this parish, by Patrick O'Keefe, in a letter, dated Tullow, August 7th, 1829, among the "Letters relating to the Antiquities of the County of Carlow, containing Information collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839," pp. 372 to 390.

⁴⁰ See Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chap. xxxi., p. 335, for a description of this old castle.

⁴¹ There are two fine copperplate engravings—an interior and an exterior view—of Clonmore Castle, in Francis Grose's "Anti-

quities of Ireland," vol. i., p. 76. These were taken from sketches by Lieutenant Daniel Grose in 1792; nor do the features of the old castle present much change to the present time.

⁴² In St. Broccan's Poem, called *Ṭaroh na Ṭecht*, or Lay of the Graves, as found in the "Book of Leinster," fol. 24 a 2 of the old pagination, the poet says, he had not heard mentioned in any place a *cluain* like the holy cemetery of Aedh Find:—

ṫr *cluain* immeṫ naem *peic* aeoa
 ṫno, *ṫeib* aepeoim
 imman ino eipeṫṫi i *ṫil* maṫpa
 noem ṫ h-*ṫe*ean
 noe *ṫic*ic *cu*m*ṫ*hpe coic *mi*ṫ
 moṫa *ṫo*ṫa,
 ac moeṫoc h. ṫ-*Dunlaing*e acat a
 ṫeṫa.

It is thus translated, by William M. Hennessy:—

"And a *cluain* like the holy cemetery of Aedh-find, as I relate,
 A delightful place of resurrection, in which are the relics of Erin's saints,
 Nine score presbyters, five thousand manly nobles,
 With Moedoc, descendant of Dunlang, are their graves."

⁴³ The accompanying engraving by Mrs. Millard, from a drawing, taken by the writer, in August, 1882, was transferred to the wood by William F. Wakeman.

⁴⁴ An old inhabitant of Clonmore, in 1839, told Patrick O'Keefe, that she remembered some remains of an old church near it. According to her account, two gables stood,

of the high road, and south of the old castle and cemetery-ground, is called, at the present day, the Big Meadow. On the Ordnance Survey Maps, it is even thus designated.

The celebrated ruler of Hy-Kinsellagh, named Brandubh, son to Ethah or Eochaidh, had killed Cumuscach, son to Aedh, at Dunbucath, now Dunboyke, a townland in Hollywood parish, barony of Lower Talbotstown, and county of Wicklow,⁴⁷ about A.D. 596.⁴⁸ To this event, and to the results which followed, allusion has been already made, in the Life of St. Maidoc,⁴⁹ Patron and Bishop of Ferns;⁵⁰ yet, the old writer seems to have made some erroneous historic statements, so that we may doubt, if his sources of information were accurate in other particulars. Perhaps, even, the St. Maidoc, Bishop of Ferns, may have been mistaken,⁵¹ in the course of his biographer's narrative, for St. Maidoc, Abbot of Clonmore. And, the allusion to this latter holy person, as a "warlike kinsman," in the Feilire of St. Ængus, appears to strengthen such supposition.

Our Irish Annals relate, that Aedh, son to Ainmire, who was King of Ireland, had collected a great army, which he led against Brandubh, more immediately to avenge the death of his son, Cuasg, or Cumuscach;⁵² and, in all likelihood, to curb the power of a provincial king, so great as a warrior, in his day. To this expedition and its results, we shall more particularly refer, in the subsequent chapter, since its historic importance gives it a special celebrity in our Irish Annals.

CHAPTER II.

ST. MAEDOC PLACES DICHOLLA GAIRBH OVER CLONMORE MONASTERY—INVASION OF LEINSTER BY KING AEDH—ST. MAEDOC TAKES SIDES WITH THE LEINSTERMEN AND WITH THEIR KING BRANDUBH—STRATAGEM WHICH DECIDES THE BATTLE OF DUNBOLG, IN THEIR FAVOUR—RESULTS OF AND DATE FOR THIS REMARKABLE EVENT.

OVER Clonmore, St. Maidoc had placed one Dicholla Gairbh,¹ as abbot; and, with his disciple, the founder was staying, at the time of Aedh's invasion.

with a door in either, but in a battered condition; perhaps, we should be justified in supposing, that the west gable, at least, had a doorway, as in most old Irish churches, while the other might represent a breached wall or east window.

⁴⁵ For the fullest and most interesting account of this place, the reader is referred to Mr. John M'Call's "Antiquities and History of Cluain-mor-Maedhoc," Dublin, 1862, 8vo.

⁴⁶ Mr. M'Call states, that it was formerly a dense forest, and a local denomination, Derry is quoted as a proof.

⁴⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 216, 217, and notes [d, e, f]. According to the Four Masters, this event occurred, A.D. 593.

⁴⁸ According to the "Annals of Ulster."

⁴⁹ His feast occurs, at the 31st of January. See vol. i. of our work, at that date.

⁵⁰ See chap. iv., with illustrative notes.

⁵¹ Dr. O'Donovan attributes to him, a participation in the plan, which achieved

the victory for Brandubh, at the battle of Dunbolg, A.D. 594; but, Mr. John M'Call has observed to the writer, that St. Maidoc, Abbot of Clonmore, was the true participant. The Book of the Ború and the Annals of the Four Masters, however, have called the latter a bishop, and this probably led Dr. O'Donovan astray; although, he might have noticed, that the former authority distinctly calls the holy man the monarch's "half-brother," and besides, St. Maidoc of Ferns was a Conacian.

⁵² "Pendant l'année 593. . . . Ce Cumuscach était un monarque tres-immoral." —L'Abbé Emmanuel Domenech's "Les Gorges du Diable, Voyage et Aventures en Irlande, Souvenirs d'un Touriste," chap. ii., p. 84.

CHAPTER II.—¹ Colgan supposes this Abbot, to have been Dichull, son to Nessian, son to Aid, King of Leinster, to whom Brandubh succeeded as monarch. He is venerated, at the 15th of March.

While some have thought, this Clonmore was in the barony of Bantry, in the county of Wexford;² others assert, that it was Clonmore Maodhog, in the county of Carlow; and that, not the patron saint of Ferns, but the patron saint of the latter place, was the person meant in our ancient records.³ On this threatened invasion of Aedh, many of the inhabitants fled, with their substance, to St. Maidoc. They hoped to obtain protection through him, on account of the extraordinary veneration in which he was held, as also, from the circumstance of his near relationship to the Irish monarch. But, it would appear,⁴ that King Aedh was moved by neither of these considerations; and, he advanced, to make a spoil of whatever valuables had been collected, at Clonmore. Whereupon, the holy Abbot went forth to meet Aedh's hosting. With the end of his staff, Maidoc marked the sign of the cross, at a place, beyond which this army should not march. But, a certain soldier who had the presumption to stray from the ranks, with an intention of passing that spot, fell down instantly and died. Terrified by such an example, the other warriors returned to the king, relating what had occurred, and bearing the dead body of their fellow-soldier, as a testimony of the power, exercised by God's servant. The king immediately replied, that they could no longer presume to contend with God, and he retired with his whole army.⁵

Yet, a desire of being avenged for the death of his son seems to have actuated the exasperated monarch. During the following year,⁶ having collected a great number of men, drawn principally from the northern parts of Ireland, and from the territories of Connaught, Munster and Northern Leinster, Aedh marched towards Hy-Kinsellagh, intending to dethrone King Brandubh. The origin and issue of this remarkable expedition is recorded, with very romantic incidents, in the historical tract, known as the *Borumha-Laighean*.⁷ In it, we are informed, that when Aedh, son of Ainmire, heard at his palace of Aileach,⁸ in Ulster, that his son Comascach had been killed at Dun-Buchat,⁹ he assembled the forces of Leath-Chuinn, or the Northern half of Ireland, and marched at their head to the River Ríghé, or Rye,¹⁰ on the confines of the Meath and Leinster provinces, in order to avenge the death of Cumascach. From the River Rye, Aedh proceeded directly for that place, where his son had been killed, and pitched his camp at Baeth-Eabha,¹¹ close to Dun-Buaice. Then, Bran Dubh, King of Leinster, happened to be staying at a place, called Scadhaire, or Skerk,¹² in the south of Ui-Ceinn-sealaigh.¹³ Hearing of the monarch's arrival with his army, at the Ríghé; the Leinster

² This Clonmore is situated on the banks of the River Slaney. Archdall, Dr. Lanigan, and other writers have attributed to this place the historic references, which rather belong to Clonmore, in the County of Carlow.

³ A letter, dated Dublin, 25 Patrick-street, August 3rd, 1873, and written by Mr. John M'Call, first corrected my own impressions on this matter.

⁴ According to the Life of St. Maidoc, Bishop of Ferns.

⁵ See Colgan's "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," xxxi. Januarii. Vita S. Maidoci, cap. xxiv., pp. 210, 211.

⁶ A. D. 594, according to the "*Annals of the Four Masters*."

⁷ It is to be found in the Book of Leinster. This tract has been translated into English, by the eminent Irish Scholar, William M. Hennessy, and the copy is in possession of

the Rev. John Francis Shearman, C. C., Howth, has been lent to the author.

⁸ The remarkable old fortress, near the present city of Londonderry.

⁹ Probably Dunboyke, a townland in the parish of Hollywood, barony of Lower Talbotstown, County of Wicklow. It is remarkable, that the ruins of a church, within it, are shown on the Townland Maps of the latter county, sheet 15.

¹⁰ Now dividing the present Counties of Kildare and Meath.

¹¹ Many of the ancient names, mentioned in the tract, are now obsolete.

¹² This place ought to be found in the southern or south-eastern part of the present County of Wexford, but it has not yet been identified.

¹³ According to Harris' Ware, Hy-Kinsellagh was a territory, containing a great part of the present County of Wexford, ex-

king moved northwards, for his principal fort of Rath-Brian Duibh,¹⁴ now Rathbran,¹⁵ near Bealach Conghlais, or the modern town of Baltinglass,¹⁶ and he passed over Mointeach, Muinchin, Daimhne, or the Deeps,¹⁷ Etar, Ard-Choilidh, and Ard-m Bresta.¹⁸ Crossing the River Slaine, or Slaney, Brandubh proceeded over the land of Fe,¹⁹ to Bealach-Dubhthaire, now Bealach-Chonghlais. St. Maidoc, Abbot of Clonmore, is said to have had a little church dedicated to him, between Baltinglass and Hollywood, in the county of Wicklow, and in the vicinity of where, the battle of Dunbolg had been fought. When Brandubh had hastily repaired from Scadhairce—Anglicised Sherkin—in the south of Ui-Ceinn-seallagh, he met the Abbot Maedoc at or near the present Baltinglass, and midway between his two religious establishments, the one in Wicklow, and the other at Cluain-mor-Maedhog, in the County of Carlow. Some presents were made, on this occasion,²⁰ by Bishop Aidan, the monarch's half brother,²¹ who informed Brandubh, that the monarch of Ireland had pitched his camp near Dun Buai. In the Book of the Ború, an eloquent speech of the Bishop before Bran Dubh is to be found, while an invocation of the elements, and other moving topics, are there introduced. Bran Dubh

tending from the River Barrow to the River Slaney, and eastwards of the latter. See vol. ii., "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. vii., sect. i., p. 50.

¹⁴ This name might well enough indicate the appearance and elevated sites of Rath-córan and Rathnagree, on a high hill west of Baltinglass town; the former lying partly within the parish of Rathbran, and the latter wholly so. Both are represented, with double circumvallations, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheet 27.

¹⁵ In or near the townland of Rathbran proper, there were two remarkable Rath's, now partially obliterated, on the west bank of the River Slaney, as the writer has been informed, by an intelligent and middle-aged resident of Baltinglass. Near Stratford-on-Slaney, the Rev. John Francis Sbearman states, the ancient fort of Rathbran was situated.

¹⁶ It lies east and west of the River Slaney. See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheet 27.

¹⁷ Probably, some place, on the River Slaney's banks, between the present towns of Newtownbarry and Enniscorthy.

¹⁸ The foregoing names of places do not seem to be known, at present, but probably, they should be sought for, somewhere within the present County of Wexford.

¹⁹ Probably, Fotharta-Fea, afterwards Fothera-Ui Nuallain, now the barony of Forth, in the County of Carlow. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (p) p. 333.

²⁰ According to the Tract, which is numbered H. 218, among the Trinity College Manuscripts, Dublin. The following is a metrical English translation, by Mr. John M'Call, in which he very closely follows the Irish original:—

"To thee, great Eochaidh's son I
bring

These presents fair for Laighen's king,
A dainty fleshfork, sharply steeled,
A sword, a cauldron, and a shield.

For cooking or preparing food
Thou'lt find the fleshfork very good,
The cauldron fit for boiling meat
For Christ himself commends the heat.
Before thee proudly bear this shield
'Gainst those usurpers in the field,
And with this sword now gleaming
bright,

O son of Eochaidh I win the fight.
'Twas Conleadh, Bridget's artist,
made

The fork, so deftly at his trade,
The cauldron forged without alloy,
For Leaghaire, Mal's own valiant
boy!

This sword of Crimthann's victories
won—

This shield did Enna long defend—
This fork's the gift of poet's son—

This, Dubhthach's cauldron from
Dubhlinn.

Which Laighaire of the woes first
gave

To Dubhthach chief of Erin's bards,
And Dubhthach same to Fiacc did
leave

His sister's son, with best regards.
These Fiacc gave Dunlaing the great,
Which he to Ailill gave in state;

Ailill the gifts conferred on me,
And I, now Brandubh, give it thee!
These presents proudly bear along,
The fleshfork and the cauldron strong,
The sword that Crimthann's friend oft
stood,

With Enna's shield as red as blood!
I'm Maedoc of a saintly race—

Thou art Brandubh, high Laighen's
King—

Whilst I'm engaged in acts of grace,
Thy war-shouts make the valleys
ring."

had despatched him, to request an armistice from the monarch. The object held in view was to muster his forces, when the King of Leinster should come, either upon terms of peace, or to give the invaders battle. The bishop went on this embassy, but the monarch refused to comply with his request. Addressing his half brother, Bishop Aidan, with insulting language, the latter resented it, by predicting his doom. The monarch afterwards marched with his forces to Bealach Dunbolg,²² which evidently extended along Hollywood Glen, and over the great, flat, rocky surface called Lec Comaigh-cnamh, or Flag of the Broken Bones. Onward he passed, through Bearn-na-Sciath, *i.e.* the Gap of the Shields,²³ at Kilbelat,²⁴ where he pitched a fortified camp, and occupied a strong position.

Failing in his mission, Bishop Aidan returned to Bran Dubh, and informed him, that the monarch of Ireland was encamped at Kilbelat, and that he had treated the prelate himself with indignity. The King of Leinster then asked the bishop, what was best to be done, as he had not time to muster his forces; when the counsellor advised him, to have recourse to a stratagem, which he planned, and which ultimately proved successful. Bran Dubh and the bishop set out to reconnoitre the royal camp. They arrived, accompanied by 120 young heroes, on the side of Sliabh Neachtain,²⁵ a mountain which then received its present name of Sliabh Cadaigh,²⁶ or Slieve Gadoe,²⁷ and they perceived, what appeared to them like numerous flights of birds exhibiting various colours, and hovering over the camp. These they soon recognised, to be the standards and ensigns of the Ui-Neill, floating from poles and spears, over their tents and pavilions. After encouraging the King of Leinster and his attendant, by recounting the mighty deeds achieved by their ancestors, the bishop departed for his church.²⁸ This does not appear to have been at a very great distance from the place,²⁹ where their interview had been held.

Afterwards, Bran-Dubh saw a great multitude of people on the mountain of Sliabh Neachtain, near him; and, being reinforced by his household, with some of the men of Leinster, who were now flocking to his assistance from every quarter, he surrounded that multitude, and took them prisoners. These were the men of Ulidia, with their King Diarmaid, son of Aedh Roin, who, being the hereditary enemies of the race of Conn Ceadhathach, were glad to desert. Going over to King Brandubh's side, they formed a solemn treaty

²² According to the old Irish Martyrologies, St. Maidoc of Clonmore was uterine brother to Aedh, son of Ainmire. See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii viii. De S. Onchuone, nn. 11, 12, p. 277.

²³ The Rev. John Francis Shearman, who lived a considerable time in the vicinity, having been curate at Dunlavin, has gleaned on the spot various interesting traditions of the battle, fought at Dunbolg, which he asserts to have been situated at Hollywood Glen, and near to Church Mountain. The writer, on the occasion of a visit in 1862, had the advantage of inspecting the various sites of interest, pointed out by the Rev. Mr. Shearman.

²⁴ Several of these localities and circumstances have lingered in popular traditions, although in a somewhat disguised form.

²⁵ This is now known as Kilbaylet, not far removed from Brandubh's royal residence, at Rathbran.

²⁶ Or Nechtan's Mountain.

²⁷ The Mountain of the Covenant.

²⁸ This is an Anglicised and somewhat disguised form of the other name, and retained at the present day. Its extent is shown, under the denomination of various townlands, within the parish of Hollywood. It is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheets 15, 16. It is now called Church Mountain, and the ruins of a very old church, on a great elevation, and in a singularly lonely position, are yet to be seen there, while the ruins are still visited by devout pilgrims.

²⁹ Its position has been greatly contested.

³⁰ St. Aidan, Bishop of Ferns, could not have so conveniently gone to his church, if he were the Aidan, who was on the scene, as Dr. O'Donovan supposes. Were he identical with Aedh, Bishop of Glendalough, venerated at April 7th, he could have easily retired to his secluded church, at the latter place

of friendship with the Leinstermen. In commemoration of this, they erected a cairn on the mountain, and changed its name of Sliabh Neachtain to Sliabh Cadaigh, *i.e.*, the Mountain of the Covenant. Then, Bran-Dubh told the Ulidians, to separate from the monarch, and they retired to that insulated piece of land, afterwards called Inis Uladh, *i.e.*, the Island of the Ulidians.³⁰ After this, the King of Leinster asked, who would go to spy the camp of the monarch of Ireland, and for a rich reward. Ron Kerr, son to the chief of Imaal,³¹ undertook the difficult task, in the garb of a leper. He rubbed his body and face all over with rye-dough, moistened with the blood of a calf; fixed his knee into the socket of a wooden leg, which he borrowed from a cripple, and he put on an ample cloak, under which he concealed a sword; while, to complete the deception, he carried with him a begging wallet. In this plight, he repaired to the royal camp, and presented himself, at the door of the monarch's pavilion. He was asked for tidings, and he replied: "I came from Kilbelat;³² this morning, I went to the camp of the Leinstermen, and in my absence, some persons—certainly not Leinstermen—came. They destroyed my cottage and my church, they broke my quern and my spade." The king made answer, that should he survive that expedition, he would give the leper twenty milch cows, as an *eric*, or reparation, for this injury. Inviting the leper into his pavilion, the king asked him, what the Leinstermen were doing. Disguising his manly voice and martial expression of eye and features, much as he could do it, the leper said, that they were preparing victuals for the monarch and his army. However, suspecting from the expression of Ron Kerr's eye, that he was not a real leper, but a warrior sent in disguise to spy the camp, the monarch despatched Dubh-duin, chief of Oirghialla, with the forces of his territory, to Bun-Aife, or Buniff, and Crauidhabhall, in order to prevent the Leinstermen from surprising his camp.

Now Bran Dubh had all things arranged for the stratagem, which Bishop Aidan had planned. He procured 3,600 oxen, carrying hampers, in which armed soldiers were concealed, although the baskets seemed to be filled with provisions; he had also 150 untamed horses, for a purpose, which will presently appear, and a huge candle, the light of which was concealed, under the royal cauldron. With these, he set out, in the depth of the night, for the monarch's camp. When the Oirghialla, who were posted at Bun-Aife, heard the din and tumult of this host, the snorting of the horses, and the lowing of the loaded oxen, they started to arms, and asked who were the people advancing. Others made answer, that they were the *calones* of Leinster, who were conveying victuals for the entertainment of the people of the King of Ireland. The Oirghialla, on examining the tops of the hampers, felt the dressed provisions, and then King Dubh-duin, or Beg Mac Cuanach, said, "they are telling the truth, let them pass." The Leinstermen advanced to the centre of the monarch's camp, and there, on a hill, afterwards called Candle-hill, they removed the king's cauldron off the great candle, when its light was seen far and wide. They were followed by the Oirghialla, who wished to partake of the King of Leinster's hospitality. "What great light is this we see?" said the monarch to the leper. He replied, "The Leinstermen have arrived with their provisions, and this is their light." The stratagem was now effected. Small bags, filled with stones, were fastened to the tails of the wild horses, which were let loose among the tents of the men

³⁰ The Rev. Mr. Shearman pointed this spot out to the writer, on the occasion of a visit to the place.

³¹ He is said to have been named Dubhach.

³² The townland of Kilbaylet, Upper and Lower, is in the parish of Hollywood, to the east of Church Mountain, and both are shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheet 15.

of Ireland; oxen were disencumbered of their burdens; and the Leinster soldiers, issuing from the hampers, grasped their swords, raised their shields, and prepared for fighting. The leper cast off his wooden leg, also, and handled his sword. Perceiving that the camp was surprised, the Kinel-Connall and the Kinel-Owen sprang up, and forming a rampart of spears and shields around the monarch of Ireland, they conveyed him on his steed to Bearn-na-sciath. The pretended leper, Ron Kerr, pursued the monarch, with a select party of Leinstermen; and, after much desperate fighting, the pursuer unhorsed the king, and cut off his head, on a flat rock, called Lec-Comaigh-cnamh.³³ Ron Kerr emptied his wallet of the crumbs, which he had got in the royal pavilion, and he put into it the vanquished monarch's head. He then passed unobserved, in the darkness of the night, from the confused fight which ensued, into the wild recesses of the mountain, where he remained until morning. The Leinstermen routed the Ui-Neill and Oirghialla, with great carnage. Among others, they slew Beg, the son of Cuanach, chief of Oirghialla; while several nobles fell, in this battle of Bealach Duin-bolg. The monarch of Ireland was among those, who lost their lives, on this occasion.³⁴ The wife of Aedh is said to have composed a poem,³⁵ on the occurrence of her husband's death.

On the following day, Ron Kerr presented Bran Dubh with the head of the monarch, Aedh, son of Ainmire,³⁶ and thereupon, he obtained from the king, a privilege of dining at the royal table.³⁷ Likewise his paternal inheritance became free of tribute to the King of Leinster, and to his representatives for ever, as a reward for the services he had rendered, on this occasion. In the ancient Life of St. Aidan, or Maidocus, published by Colgan, at the 31st of January, we find a passage,³⁸ which very curiously agrees with the foregoing historical tale, as found in the Borumha-Laighean. To the successful issue of this battle, our saint's assistance contributed, in a great measure, if we credit the foregoing account. It secured the prestige of Bran Dubh's greatness and supremacy, as sovereign of Leinster. According to the old Life of St. Mogue of Ferns, Bran Dubh became monarch of Ireland; but, he is not numbered among the Irish kings, by any of our ancient annalists. Having made occasional irruptions, into the northern parts of Ireland, from which he carried off spoils, a presumption exists, that his deeds of prowess were considered tantamount, to a virtual supremacy over the Island; even although he was not acknowledged as supreme monarch, by the chiefs of this kingdom.³⁹ The Annals of the Four Masters relate this battle, which, according to them, took place, A.C. 594, after Aedh, son of Ainmire, son of Sedna, had been twenty-seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland.⁴⁰ The Annals of

³³ Popular tradition points it out to this day.

³⁴ Of Aedh's death, the Irish poem, as translated, relates:—

“At Buac, the wave buffets the brink,
News were heard, who in weariness
slew Aedh, son of Ainmire.”

³⁵ A portion of it is given, in Dr. O'Donovan's “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. i. The following is an English translation of the extract:—

“Three sides were dear, from which to
change is [affords] no hope,
The side of Tailltin, the side of Team-
hair, and the side of Aedh, son of
Ainmire.”

³⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. i., pp. 218 to 221, n. (h).

³⁷ This was regarded, as a great social distinction, among the ancient Irish.

³⁸ “Iste (Brandub) vir astutissimus et valde probus in militia erat, et agens astute intravit audaciter in castra inimicorum, et occidit ipsum regem Hiberniæ, Aedum filium Ainmirech; et maximam cædem nobilium viro-
rum totius Hiberniæ cum eo fecit.”—“Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,” xxxi. Januarii, Vita S. Maidoci, cap. xxv., p. 211.

³⁹ See *ibid.*, n. 27, p. 217.

⁴⁰ The O'Clearys state, that he was slain by Bran Dubh, son of Eochaidh, in the battle of Dun-Bolg, in Leinster, after Aedh had gone to escort the Borumha, and to avengc his son Comusgach upon them.

Ulster place the account of Dun-bolg battle, under A.D. 597, and the Annals of Tighernach, under the year 598. This latter year, according to Mr. O'Donovan, is the true calculation.⁴¹

A poetic prayer of Bishop Aedhan,⁴² in reference to the death of Cumas-cach in 593, and of his father Aedh, son of Ainmire, is quoted, in the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters.⁴³ It is generally referred to the Aedhan, who governed the house at Clonmore. We cannot be assured, that the whole of this poem is extant; although, in the ancient-historical tract of the Borumha-Laighean, it is stated to have been included in another part of that book.⁴⁴ The powerful Lord, to whom allusion is made, seems to have been no other than Brandubh, King of Leinster; as the local denomination of Cill-Rannairech⁴⁵ has been connected, with the present Kil-ranelagh, near Baltinglass, in the county of Wicklow. Here, on the side of an elevated hill, overlooked towards the north, east and west, by the higher Wicklow mountains,⁴⁶ there is an old and a very extensive cemetery, yet largely used for interments,⁴⁷ with only the foundations of the former church barely traceable. If we could be assured of the genuine character and authorship of the poem, to which allusion has been made, St. Aedhan might deserve to rank amongst Irish Poets.

CHAPTER III.

VISIT OF ST. ONCHUO TO CLONMORE—LEGEND RELATING TO ST. MAEDOC AND CLONMORE, IN CONNEXION WITH AGHOWLE, AND DESCRIPTION OF THIS LATTER PLACE—DEATH OF ST. MAEDOC AND HIS COMMEMORATION, IN THE KALENDARS—CONCLUSION.

As we have already seen, St. Onchuo¹ visited our saint at Clonmore, and there too he died, and was interred; probably, before the Abbot Maidoc was summoned away to bliss. Some are of opinion, that the latter had been the first bishop of Ferns, and founder of the See; while St. Maedoc, son to Setna,² succeeded his namesake, as second bishop there. According to Colgan, St. Maedoc spent the last thirty years of his life, at Cluain-more Maedhoc; and,

⁴¹ See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., p. 221, and note (h).

⁴² Dr. O'Donovan erroneously supposes, that this Bishop Aedhan could only have been the first reputed founder of Ferns; but, it was reckoned about three years or so after the Battle of Dunbolg, when Brandubh convoked a synod of the clergy, for the purpose of raising Aedhan to that See. However, it is clear, that the Poem was composed some time after the battle.

⁴³ In Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. i., pp. 216, 217, we have the following lines:—

Siubhín in comhoib comhachtach, i fásil
Cille Rannairech
Robrí síogáil Cumurcraig, suin
dotha mic Ainmirech.

These are thus translated into English:—

"I implore the powerful Lord, near
Cill-Rannairech,

It was he that took revenge of Comus-
cach, that slew Aedh mac Ainmirech."

⁴⁴ According to Dr. O'Donovan, this poem is not to be found, in any known copies of that tract.

⁴⁵ It signifies "The Church, or cell of Rannaire"—a man's name.

⁴⁶ From the site of this cemetery, most charming and varied views, extend through the valleys and defiles of the mountains, as the writer had an opportunity of seeing them, during the month of August, 1882; while, towards the south an uninterrupted stretch of plain brings a considerable part of Wicklow and Carlow counties under the range of vision, with a rich and fertile district to the distant Slievemarique and Black Stairs' Mountains.

⁴⁷ Deceased persons are often brought from Dublin, to be interred there, as the writer has been informed.

CHAPTER III.—¹ See an account of him, in Volume the Second, at the 8th of February, the date assigned for his feast.

² He died A.D. 655, according to the "Chronicon Scotorum."

as it was there Onchuo died, and had been buried, it was probably the holy Abbot Maidoc of Clonmore—and not Moedoc of Ferns—that St. Finan the Leper saw, with the holy Virgin St. Brigid, in his vision. Nor could it have been, in that case, on the 30th of January;³ but, on the 10th of April, that the holy Finan had his celebrated vision, as this was the vigil for the feast of Maidoc, Abbot of Clonmore, his predecessor.⁴ The writer's attention has been drawn to a local legend, which appears to connect the name of our St. Maedoc, with an old monastic establishment, at Aghowle Lower, about four miles to the south of Clonmore. It formed a parish, in the barony of Shillelagh, in the county of Wicklow. The old church of Aghowle, or Aghold,⁵ is still in a good state



Old Church of Aghowle, County of Wicklow.

of preservation. The late Dr. O'Donovan gives a very interesting description of this locality,⁶ and especially of the old church, which he considers to be one of the most curious he had then seen,⁷ in his rambles through Ireland. He also records very interesting and accurate drawings of details,⁸ connected

³ Thus, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan and other writers have placed it.

⁴ "We have now come, that we may bless the places dedicated to us, and the persons who by their gifts and offerings honour the day of our departure," says the saint to Finan in the vision, according to Colgan's account. Bishop Moedoc of Ferns could not have said this to Finan, at Clonmore, to whom he bore no relationship whatever, as Mr. John M'Call critically and justly observes.

⁵ The ruins are shown, with the site of St. Finden's cross near, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wicklow," sheet 42.

⁶ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wicklow, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1838," vol. i., pp. 112 to 132.

⁷ His letter is dated, January 1st, 1839, one o'clock, at night.

⁸ Among these are a ground-plan of the church; the very curiously moulded and recessed doorway in the western gable; section or thickness of wall in the external part of the doorway, on the south side; an inside view of the two windows in the eastern gable; an external view; the pedestal and broken shaft of St. Finden's cross; the same subject, with the prostrate head shown in the proper position on the cross.

with this church, and minute measurements of these objects, taken on the spot. The old granite shaft of St. Findan's cross⁹ rises on its solid pedestal, about thirty-six feet from the north-western corner of the old church. The south side wall is ruined, but the north side wall is still in good preservation, as are the eastern and western gables.¹⁰ As Mr. O'Donovan remarks, this is a regular old Irish Damliag, or Teampull Mor, measuring, on the inside, 60 feet, in length, by 24, in breadth.¹¹ The walls are nearly three feet in thickness, and the church is built of granite stones. There does not appear to have been a choral arch, within this church.¹²

It is related, in an old Irish Life of St. Finan, or Finnen,¹³ Abbot of Clonard, that after founding his first monastery, at Achadh Abhla, or Aghold, he erected therein a belfry. He placed in it a magnificent bell, the dulcet sounds of which could be heard for many miles around, as it regularly summoned the community and congregation to their morning and evening devotions. After Finan's departure for Mugna Helchain, in Hy Bairrche, and during his sojourn there, the bell still performed its functions; and even when he set up an educational establishment at Cluain-Iraid, or Clonard, it regularly rang out, in the usual course, and the people of the surrounding country got so accustomed to its tones, that they regarded it as an object of the greatest veneration, without which they considered the monastery of Aghold must be a solitary place. When the holy abbot Maidoc—but we are not told which holy man—had founded his celebrated establishment at Cluain-mor-Meadoc, or Clonmore, about four miles northwards, its sweet sounds aroused both himself and his brotherhood every morning. At length, he began to covet the bell, and to wish that he himself had such a splendid one, in his own royal monastery, so that he could, in a more solemn manner, summon his numerous retinue to their daily devotions. Being on terms of the closest intimacy with St. Finan, while permanently taking up his residence at Clonard, he journeyed to and fro, and during his occasional visitations to Aghold, Finan was in the habit of looking into Clonmore, and passing a few hours with his old friend. On every visit, St. Maidoc never failed to urge on St. Finan to grant him the coveted bell. At length, weary of the saint's importunities, and resolving in his own mind, that if the bell were to be removed at all, it should not be to the strange monastery of Clonmore, but to his own great College, in Meath, he ought to fetch it; St. Finan had the bell one day taken down from the belfry, in Aghold, and he set it up with great pomp, in his church, at Clonard. Next morning, when the brother, appointed by St. Finan to ring the bell, repaired to the new belfry, for that purpose, to his great astonishment, he found that it had miraculously disappeared; while, on the contrary, the person who was in the habit of ringing it at Aghold was most agreeably surprised, at finding the bell in its usual position the very next morning. It is said, the bell never emitted more dulcet melody than it did, on that occasion. It charmed the community and the whole surrounding country people. Disappointed at not hearing the sweet tolling of his bell that same morning, on learning that it had most unaccountably disappeared and was

⁹ So called in local tradition.

¹⁰ The accompanying sketch, drawn by the writer on the spot, in August, 1882, has been transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it has been engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹¹ We are told, by Mr. O'Donovan, that such was the regular measurement of the primitive Irish cathedrals and abbey

churches, according to the Book of Armagh, the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, and a Life of the same saint, preserved in the Book of Lismore.

¹² At the western end, a modern walled up enclosure is used, as a place of entombment, for a family, named Nixon.

¹³ His feast occurs, at the 12th of December, where his Life will be found.

then in its old site, St. Finan had it conveyed back again, and duly elevated to its new position, in Clonard. Once more, it broke away that very night, and next morning, it was found suspended, in its original position, at Aghold. The bell was several times taken down, and thence removed to its new destination. At length, it was hung in chains at Clonard, but still every following morning, it was again discovered, in its old place. Finally, having regard to its many miraculous transportations, St. Finan ordered it to be left for ever, with his early brethren, and for its former destination. When St. Finan of Clonard was called to his last account, and for generations afterwards, this Fugitive Bell, as it was long termed, continued to serve the purposes, for which it was at first destined, in the old secluded monastery of Aghold. Such was the local legend, which Cambrensis has perverted, in his story of the "Fugitive Bell," at the chapter, *De Campana Fugitiva*;¹⁴ or, most probably, he had received another version of it, in his day. The country of Mactalway¹⁵ is mentioned, in connexion with it, as well as Clonard; and, it has been suggested,¹⁶ that perhaps the district, in which Aghold is situated, might have been in St. Finan's time called the country of Mactalway, though the name may now be rendered obsolete.

The holy Abbot Moedoc died, at Clonmore, probably after the beginning of the seventh century; but, the year of his demise has not been recorded. At Clonmore he was interred,¹⁷ likewise, and it would seem this place was remarkable, for the great number of holy persons,¹⁸ who reposed in its sacred soil.¹⁹ In the Feilire of St. Ængus,²⁰ at the 11th of April, St. Moedoc is recorded, with a special commendation. Again, Moedoc h Dunlaing, in Cluain Moir, is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,²¹ at this date. On this day is registered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,²² Maedhog, of Cluain-

¹⁴ He states, that there is in Leinster—namely, in the country of Mactalway—a certain bell which if not rigidly restrained by its guardian by a means prepared for that purpose, each night, it is positively declared, that if it be bound by any chains capable of being broken, in the morning it is found in Meath, in the church of St. Finnian or Finan in Clonard, the place it was brought from. The above is an affair which has certainly occurred very often. See "Topographica Hibernica," "Opera Omina," vol. v., p. 120.

¹⁵ Mr. M'Call writes: "I know of no place at present of that name unless Mactalway in the County Dublin, and it is nowhere on record, that St. Finan of Clonard ever had any connexion with that locality."

¹⁶ By Wm. M. Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A.

¹⁷ Mr. M'Call thinks the fine granite cross, eight feet high, and which at present may be seen overshadowing St. Maedoc's Well, at Clonmore, must indicate the site of our saint's grave, and that it was also near the position of his monastery.

¹⁸ The old Irish Poem, contained in the Book of Leinster, fol. 24 a 2, and known as the Lechaigh, or "Lay of the Graves," by the devout Broccan, greatly celebrates this place. It is thought the poet was afterwards interred here.

¹⁹ Among others, it is supposed, St. Finan Lobhar, an account of whom will be found, at the 16th of March, the date assigned for his festival. There is a note to the Leabhar

Breac, at the same day, in which it is stated, that he was honoured at Swords, at Innisfallen, in Loch Lene, at Clonmore-Mogue, and at Ardfinnan, in Munster. "Mr. Stokes seems to have overlooked this note."—Letter of William M. Hennessy, to the writer, and dated 71 Pembroke-road, 24th September, 1882.

²⁰ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, we find the following text. The English translation we append:—

RONAN MOEDOC MAINECH
 OI IUBHATHAIR BAZACH
 U A ACHT PONOEMAO
 DOB DUNLANG OEPB OALACH.

"May treasurer Maedoc protect us, for he is a warlike kinsman, a grandson, but he was sanctified, of Dunlang (the) firm, multitudinous."

On some of the foregoing Irish words are found comments in Irish, which are thus translated into English: "*Maedoc the treasurer*," i.e. Cluain Mór Main [leg. Maedóic?]: "*for he is a kinsman*" i.e. of Leinster both of them were: "*a descendant, but he was sainted, of Dunlang*," i.e. Maedoc was given as a grandson to Dunlaing, but Maedoc was sainted and not Dunlaing.

²¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has moedoc h Dunlaing i Cluain moir.

²² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 109, 101.

mor-Maethoc, in Leinster. Aedh was his name, likewise, as we are informed. At the 11th of April, a nameless Irish saint is commemorated, and with a high eulogy, in the Kalendar of Drummond;²³ he was probably not a distinct person from St. Mogue. However, as in this particular instance, the history of our Irish saints is too frequently unsupported, by that clear evidence, drawn from documents and from circumstances, which should serve to enlighten our minds, regarding the most important details; and yet, only bearing conjectural or fallacious connexion, with the real subject, we have been obliged to compile the foregoing account of a man, greatly esteemed for his sanctity, in the olden times.

ARTICLE II.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. AID, ABBOT OF ACHAD FINGLASS, COUNTY OF CARLOW. St. Aid is said to have become Abbot of Achad Finglass, or Achad Arglass, near Leighlin, on the eastern bank of the River Barrow, which was within the ancient territory of Hua-drona,¹ now Idrone barony, in the county of Carlow. Archdall² says, that a St. Aid was Abbot of Achadh Finglais, or Ardglass, now Agha, in the barony of Idrone, at what time, he could not ascertain; but, that his festival was observed, on April 11th. In that case—according to a suggestion of Mr. John M'Call—he must have been the same as St. Aid, or Maidoc, of Clonmore, whose festival day it is; and, more than probable, Achadh Ardglais, was another monastery in the county of Carlow, founded, or presided over, by the holy Abbot, regarding whom we have already treated. To this opinion, the writer also strongly inclines. Achad Finglass is now usually known, by the name of Agha,³ a parish bounded on the north, by Nurney parish; on the south, by Dunleckney parish; on the east, by Finnagh parish; and on the west, by Killanane parish, and by a detached part of Wells parish. In the townland of Agha, within this parish, one of the ruinous primitive churches was to be seen, in the year 1839, and it has been described, by Mr. Thomas O'Connor, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey Staff, at that time.⁴ The whole structure exhibits a very curious specimen, illustrating the simple architecture of its period; and, the masonic courses do not appear broken, as no binding stones are observable in this building. A semicircular arched-window, in the east gable, is eight feet, in height, to the key-stone.⁵ Two chiselled stones of granite form the south side; three the north; and, one

²³ The entry runs as follows at iii. Idus: "Item apud Hiberniam ad sauctus vir, nobilis genere, sed nobilior moribus, clarus Christi confessor ad astra perrexit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendar of Scottish Saints," p. 10.

ARTICLE II.—¹ For proof of this assertion, the reader is referred to a letter, written by Mr. Thomas O'Connor, and dated from Leighlin Bridge, June 21st, 1839. It is published, in the "Letters containing Information relating to the Antiquities of the County of Carlow, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839." See pp. 158 to 172.

² See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 35.

³ We have already partially alluded to the old church, at this place, in our Life of St. Fintan, Abbot of Clonenagh, at the 17th of February, chap. iii., and to it, the reader is referred.

⁴ Then, large stones, in a projecting part

of the north side wall, were removed; and these, likewise, had been taken out, which formed its whole exterior. The top had fallen from the western gable. Outside of its south wall, a part towards the western gable exhibited rounded stones and of small size, which had been dressed with a hammer. The part extending eastwardly had been built with larger stones, prepared in a similar manner. It is partly conjectured, although not clearly affirmed, that both parts of this wall belonged to different periods, as shown by a diversity of the composing materials.

⁵ According to a rough drawing, given by Mr. O'Connor, the interior of this window presents a composition of 21 stones, although according to his statement, it consists only of 20. The key-stone appeared out of place, See "County Carlow Letters belonging to the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park," one volume, pp. 148, 149. Mr. O'Connor's Letter, dated Leighlin Bridge, June 21st, 1839.

stone tops it.⁶ Within four feet, two inches, of the east gable, there had been a window, on the south side walls, and five feet, eight inches, from the ground, on the interior; it being three feet broad, at the lower part. The top was surmounted by a rectilinearly pointed arch, one foot, seven inches, high. The window's side was five feet, in height, to the spring of this arch; which, when added, should make the whole height six feet, seven inches. The arch was composed only of two stones.⁷ On the outside, this window was six feet, nine inches, from the ground, and it exhibited a quadrangular form, being two feet, two inches, high; seven inches broad, at the lower part; and six inches, at the upper end.⁸ On the inside, at a distance of eighteen feet, from this window, there is a quadrangular opening through the wall, being two feet, one inch, broad, and three feet, three inches, high. This opening stands, at a height of eight feet, six inches, from the ground. A thin stone crosses it, at the top, and this stone appears highest on the wall. Outside, this window appears a small aperture, only thirteen inches broad, and twelve inches high. The western doorway is at a distance, on the inside, of five feet and a-half, from the south side wall; and five feet, ten inches, from that bearing northwardly. The lowest stone, on its south side, having been removed from this wall, in 1839; the breadth of its door, at the ground, could not from within be accurately determined.⁹ Stones used, for the construction of Agha cld church, are of granite; and, for the most part, they are of a rounded form, dressed with the hammer. This precious old monument testifies much to the antiquity of the place, as the locality of an ancient ecclesiastical establishment.¹⁰ The town of Leighlin Bridge¹¹ is situated, also, within the limits of Agha parish, wherein, also, various objects of antiquity are to be found. Thus, in Ratheadan townland, situated within this parish of Agha, a church and burial ground formerly had been known, but the latter is now altogether disused. About six feet, in length, and as many in height, of this church's southern wall had been left standing here, in the summer of 1839.¹² Ratheadan¹³ is thought to have derived its name, from one called Aedan; and, within it, is supposed to have been the original Rath Aedain, Latinized "arx Aedani;"

⁶ A rough drawing of the outside is inserted, after a description, the substance of which is given in the text.

⁷ A rough plan of this object is sketched, by Mr. O'Conor.

⁸ "Five stones compose it, the one on which the sides rest not reckoned in the number." A drawing by Mr. O'Conor, also, accompanies his description of this object.

⁹ Mr. O'Conor here presents a drawing of the door outwardly, to illustrate his description of it; and, he afterwards gives the exact measurement, in height, length, and thickness, of the several thirteen stones composing it.

¹⁰ At the south-west corner of the old church of Augha, and but a short distance from it, is a large stone, in an inclined position, which is supposed to have been the pedestal of a cross. It has an artificial cavity, sunk in the surface, which is two feet one inch, by twelve inches, and one foot, three inches deep. But no cross is seen about the church, in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of that place, nor is there any recollection of the name for the saint, either as connected with the church itself, or as patron of

the parish. See "County Carlow Letters belonging to the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park," one volume, pp. 158 to 172. Mr. O'Conor's Letter, dated Leighlin Bridge, June 21, 1839.

¹¹ In the "Irish Penny Journal," for 1841, a view of this place, with historical notices, by Dr. Petrie, will be found.

¹² According to Mr. O'Conor's account.

¹³ Rahedin is marked on the old map, by Mercator. From part of a poem, quoted in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.D. 906, it should seem, this was the residence of the Lord of Ui Drona (Idrone). At the year just mentioned, the Annalists record, that "Aedh, son of Duibhghíolla, Lord of Ui-Drona of the three plains, and tanist of Ui-Ceinnsealach, was killed by the Uí-Bairche." The poem above alluded to, from which the quotation is made, was composed on the occasion of the death of this Aedh, and addressed to the youths of Magh Ailbhe, exhorting them to lament the fall of this chief. The two last quatrains of the quotation are:

1† ƳA010†† Ƴ0† ƳA0† A00A†,
A00† †† eccA0† A 000A.

but, as there are two distinct Rath^s,¹⁴ within this townland, it seems not an easy matter,¹⁵ to identify the exact locality. There are two other Rath^s, within the parish, each of which gives name to the townland, in which it lies. One is in Rathellen—locally Rahillin—townland, and the other is in Rathwade—locally Rahwade—townland.¹⁶ According to the Calendar, Archdall holds, that the feast of our saint had been celebrated, on the 11th of April; although the year, in which he flourished, is uncertain.¹⁷ In an Irish Calendar, this holy man is said to have belonged, to the county of Longford,¹⁸ but the writer seems to have mistaken his locality.

ARTICLE III.—ST. DADHMAN, BISHOP OF CILL-CUNGA. An entry occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 11th of April, regarding Dadnan, Bishop of Cille Cunga. According to William M. Hennessey, this place cannot be identified; but, under its heading, Duaid Mac Firbis records, Dadnan, as its bishop, at the 11th of April.² On the authority of the Tallagh Martyrology, the Bollandists³ enter his feast, at this date. The Martyrology of Donegal⁴ records, on this day, the festival in honour of Dadhnan, Bishop of Cill-Cunga.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. SALAMON, OR SALOMON. At this date, April 11th, the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ inserts a festival, in honour of Salamon. On the same authority, the Bollandists² notice him as Salomon, but further information we cannot obtain.

Which Dr. O'Connor renders:—

“Est portentosum non dominari supra
Arcem Aedani
“Aedanum cognominatum Equorum,
O Juvençs.”

These words should run in English:—

“It is ominous that *Aedan*, called by cognomen, of the horses, does not exercise lordly power over Rath-Aedain, O youths.”

These words succeeding might give a more correct, although perhaps, not so pompous a view of the meaning, intended by the original.

“It is (a cause of) woful grief over Rath-Aedain (that) Aedh is dead, O youths.”

“One of these is of an oblong form, while it is from east to west 158 feet, and from north to south 120 feet. There is now no appearance of a ditch or fosse, about it. The highest part, or south-west corner, measures from the base, in a sloping direction to the extremity at top, 18 feet. In some other parts, it is no more than one-half or one-third of this height. The centre is sunk. Some briars and whitethorn bushes cover its ends and sides. It lies, about one quarter of a mile, to the west of the burial-ground, above noticed. There is a part of another Rath, between this one, and the burial-ground. The greater part of this latter was destroyed. The portion which remains shows that it was circular. A ditch, running from east to west, occupies partly the place of that portion, which was destroyed.

¹⁵ Which of these two gave name to the

townland is now uncertain.

¹⁶ Rahallyn is marked also on the old map just mentioned. See “County of Carlow Letters belonging to the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park,” one vol., pp. 173 to 176. Mr. O’Conor’s Letter, dated Leighlin Bridge, June 21st, 1839.

¹⁷ See “Monasticon Hibernicum,” p. 35, and n. (p). See, also, Ryan’s “History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow,” chap. ii., pp. 26, 27. At page 29, this latter writer adds: “In the year 864, the Danes pillaged Achadfinn glass, then a rich abbey, the foundation of which has already been noticed.”—*Ibid.*

¹⁸ He is called, “ΑΟΝ ΕΑΔΗΡΑΘ Ε ΟΥΤΑΕ ΛΟΓΟΥΡΤΕ,” where his name occurs, at the Third of the Ides, or 11th day of April. See the “Common Place Book F,” belonging to the Ordnance Survey Records, and now deposited, in the Royal Irish Academy, at p. 37.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy reads “Dadnan Ep Cill Cunga.”

² See “Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,” Irish MSS. scries, vol. i., part i., pp. 94, 95.

³ “Dadnanus Episcopus de Kell-Cunga.”—“Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has Salamon.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p.

ARTICLE V.—ST. BROCAN, OR BROCANUS. The simple entry Brocan, without any other distinguishing epithet, occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 11th of April; and, on the same authority, at the same date, the Bollandists² enter Brocanus.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. SENIOR, OR SENOIR, MAC MAELDALUA, PRIMATE OF ARMAGH. The name Senoir Mac Maeldalua is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 11th of April. Under this title, he is not found, in the list of Armagh Prelates, in Harris' edition of Ware. Marianus O'Gorman's Martyrology records him,² at this date, according to Father John Colgan; while, the Bollandists³ notice him, as the son of Moeldavan, and Primate of Armagh. He is mentioned, in the Psalter of Cashel; although Colgan omits him altogether, in his Annals of Armagh.⁴ We think it probable, this holy Prelate was identical with Seanach, Abbot of Armagh, who belonged to the family of Cluain-Ua n Grici,⁵ and who died in 609, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.⁶ He succeeded Eochaid Mac Dermot, in 598, as Archbishop of Armagh.⁷ We find it registered, however, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁸ that Senoir, son of Maeldalua, Primate of Ard Macha, or Armagh, had veneration paid him, on this day. His name is found Latinized *Senior*, in the table, appended to this work, and where, he is also styled the successor or representative of Patrick.⁹ That holy prelate died, A.D. 610, according to Harris' Ware;¹⁰ however, we find little recorded, in reference to his incumbency.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. AEDH, OF ECHARADH, OR EACHFRAID, AS ALSO OF ECHDROMA, NOW PROBABLY AUGHHRIM, COUNTY OF GALWAY. On the 11th of April, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ appears the name of Aedan Echdroma, and Eachfraid. This latter was probably the name of some place, which is not easily recognisable. The former was identical, we suppose, with the celebrated Aughhrim, near Ballinasloe, in the county of Galway.² The Bollandists follow the authority of the Tallagh Martyrology; but they enter this name erroneously.³ In the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ we find set down, on this day, the name,

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters *Broccan*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy is *Senior mac maeldalua*.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, par. iv., p. 311.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

⁴ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, pars. iii., pp. 293 to 311.

⁵ This should mean, the Lawn, Meadow, or insulated pasturage of the [tribe of] *Ui Grici*, remarks Dr. O'Donovan. However, he knows not any locality, which in its Anglicised form could be called Cloony greek, as the denomination implies.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i.

pp. 234, 235, and n. (i).—*Ibid.*

⁷ See J. B. Doyle's "Tours in Ulster," pp. 138 to 153, for very interesting descriptions and engravings, illustrating the ancient city of Armagh.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 466, 467.

¹⁰ See vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 39.

ARTICLE VII.—Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy contains the following entry *Ardan Echdromus Augusti Echdromensis*.

² See O'Donovan's "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many." Additional Notes B. n. (d), p. 130.

³ Thus: "Aradan Echdromensis et Echfordensis"—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

Aedh of Echaradh; and, in the Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints⁵ appears a notice regarding St. Aid of Eacharridh, as also, in the Circle of the Seasons,⁶ there is a similar commemoration.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. SGEALLAN, OR SCELLAIN. An entry set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 11th of April, is simply the name Scellain. On the same day, following this authority, the Bollandists² enter Scellanus. The Martyrology of Donegal³ records, on this day, the name of Sgeallán. The Calendarist thinks, this is Sgeallán Cael, of Cill Cromglaisi, in Munster, of whom the Life of Fionnchu makes honourable mention, proving that it was at Cill Cromglaisi, he and Cairbre Crom, son of Crimthann, were fostered, with Sgeallán Cael.⁴ The situation of Cill Cromglass has not been discovered.⁵

ARTICLE IX.—ST. FROSISAIGH, OR FROSSACH, ANCHORET. In the East—and especially in Egypt—the anchoritic and monastic life was cherished amid the deserts, by the Pauls, Anthonys and Pacomiuses. These left innumerable disciples. St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Ephrem, and other writers, have given us the record of their miraculous conversions, their labours, their evangelical poverty, their prodigious austerities, and their gift of miracles.¹ In Ireland, also, were many anchorites. The name of our saint appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 11th of April, as Frosaisiagh. Again, the Bollandists³ follow this authority, to record, on this day, Frosacus anachoreta. This Anchorite, was venerated on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁴ In a comment annexed, and in the subjoined table, it is observed, that there is a Cill-Fhrasuigh, in the barony of Coram, and county of Sligo.⁵

ARTICLE X.—ST. SENAN, OR SENANUS. The name Senan is found simply recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 11th of April. The Bollandists² quote the same entry, for placing Senanus, at this day. It is thought, by Colgan,³ that he may have been Senan, a monk of Durrow, and

⁵ See vol. iv., April xi.

⁶ See p. 102.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy writes Scellain.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

⁴ *Nactus* is added to the name of this saint, in Mr. O'Curry's transcript, in the Table appended to this work; but, Dr. Reeves thinks it an error for *Napus*, "wild mustard," in Irish, *rgeallan*. As a proper name, it still exists, in the form *Scallan*. See *ibid.*, pp. 472, 473.

⁵ For the foregoing statement, the Life of St. Mochua, chap. x., is quoted; and Fionnchu's Life, of Bri-gobhann, venerated at the 25th of November, seems that, to which allusion has been made.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ Their acts may be studied, with great spiritual profit, in the admirable

work of the learned Jesuit, P. Herbert Rosweyde, "Vitæ Patrum sive Historiæ Eremeticæ," Libri. x. It was published, in a folio volume, at Antwerp, in 1628. René Gautier has elegantly translated, into French, the Lives of the Fathers of the Desert.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters *Frōppaiḡs Ancho-rite*.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 422, 423.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Senan*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. xi., num. 105, p. 492.

a disciple of St. Columkille.⁴ Among the religious of that house, a holy monk, so named, is noticed;⁵ and, he is thought to have been the Senan, commemorated in one of St. Colum's Poems, in which it is predicted, that he should be buried at Durrow.⁶ This day is recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁷ as being a festival, held in honour of a St. Senan.

ARTICLE XI.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF A ST. SENAN. The name of Senan is entered a second time, on this day, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ as having been venerated. But no locality or pedigree occurs, in connexion with him.

ARTICLE XII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF MACCÆUS VATES, ISLAND OF BUTE, SCOTLAND. In the Island of Bute, Thomas Dempster places Maccæus, a prophet, as also, a disciple to St. Patrick,¹ Apostle of the Irish,² and, at the 11th of April. For this account, he quotes a Scottish Breviary. By Dempster, Maccæus is called, likewise, a sweet poet, a *medicus*, and a distinguished mathematician.³ He is said to have written, De Recipiendis Lapsis, Lib. i., De Fide Perseverante, Lib. i., De Indiciis Nativitatum, Lib. i.⁴ His life ended, according to Dempster, in the year 460.⁵ Ferrarius follows the foregoing account, in his notes, and the Bollandists⁶ record him, at the present date. Quoting Bishop Lesley's nephew, and his work,⁸ the Rev. Alban Butler enters St. Maccai, Abbot, at the 11th of April, when his feast is found, likewise, in the Circle of the Seasons. Some notices of him are to be met with, in the work of Bishop Forbes.⁹

ARTICLE XIII.—COMMEMORATION OF ST. DYPNA'S AND OF ST. GERBERN'S ARRIVAL, AT ANTWERP. Such is the festival, found in a Carthusian Martyrology, at Bruxelles, for the 11th of April, as the Bollandists inform us.¹ Their actions and final martyrdom, in the city of Gheel, will be found, at the 15th of May, which is assigned for their chief feast.

ARTICLE XIV.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF LAUSTRANUS. At the 11th of April, Thomas Dempster¹ has the record of Laustranus, who persuaded his Scots, to accept the true observance of the Pasch.² And again, the same writer calls

⁴ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

⁵ See *ibid.*, Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iv., sect. ii., p. 508.

⁶ See *ibid.*, Tertia Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, pars. ii., num. 12, p. 472.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ His Life occurs, in Volume Third, at the 17th of March.

² Thus: "Insula Buta Maccæi Vatis S. Patricii Hibernorum Apostoli discipuli."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

³ Antonius Possevinus is quoted, for this statement, by Dempster.

⁴ We are told, that these tracts are to be found, in "Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum."

⁵ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Sco-

torum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 829, p. 447.

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

⁷ "De Vitis Sanctorum Scotiæ."

⁸ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xi.

⁹ See "Kalendars of the Scottish Saints," p. 380.

ARTICLE XIII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 3.

ARTICLE XIV.—¹ In his "Menologium Scotorum," it runs thus: xi. "Laustrani, qui Scotis suis veram paschatis observationem persuasit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

² For this, he cites the "Scotichronicon," a "Magno Macullone excriptum."

him a Bishop of the Scots, but he is uncertain regarding the See. According to Dempster, he wrote Epistles to Hilarius and others. He flourished, during the controversy, about the Paschal observance and the clerical tonsure, having lived A.D. 664.³ Ferrarius follows Dempster, in this notice; and the Bollandists⁴ record Laustranus, at this date, furnishing the foregoing particulars.

ARTICLE XV.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF HELIAS SCOTTUS, OR AILILL, ABBOT OF ST. PANTALEON AND OF ST. MARTIN, COLOGNE, GERMANY. [*Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.*] Although the 3rd of April Ides¹—corresponding with the 11th of the month—has been assigned for the death of this holy man, in the year 1042; yet, his festival has been more usually noted for the following day, where a further account of him will be found.

Twelfth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. HELIAS, OR AILELL, OF MUCNAMH, AND ABBOT OVER ST. MARTIN'S MONASTERY, COLOGNE, GERMANY.

[*TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.*]

MANY, among our Irish Saints, seem to have heard a voice resounding in their ears, like that speaking to Abraham, "Go out of thine own country, and from thy Father's house, into the land which I shall show thee."¹ Those holy men left their native land, not to acquire riches, but to follow Christ, and to bear his sweet yoke. Some Acts of St. Helias, or Ailill, seem to have been arranged by Colgan² for publication, at the present date. The Bollandists³ insert some particulars, regarding Helias Scotus, at the 12th of April; and, he is distinguished, as having been a beatified⁴ and a chief servant of God.⁵ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁶ there was a festival held on this day, to commemorate Helias, or Ailell. It is probable, this holy man was born, in the latter part of the tenth century. According to Marianus, he was a Scot by descent, as also a prudent and religious

¹ See Thomas Dempster's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xi., num. 791, p. 429.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 2.

ARTICLE XV.—¹ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v., Mariani Scotti Chronicon, p. 557.

ARTICLE I.—¹ Genesis xii. 1.

² See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ Ms. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

⁴ Aegidius Gelenius, in "Fastis Colonien-sis," styles him *beatus*.

⁵ Lambertus calls him "Servus Dei precipuus," in his Vita S. Heriberti Archiepiscopi, num. xxviii. The Feast of this holy Archbishop of Cologne is celebrated, at the 16th of March.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

man. He belonged to the family,⁷ or religious house of Mucnamh. This place is now known as Mucknoe,⁸ a parish in the barony of Cremorne, and county of Monaghan.⁹ The present holy man must have been very much distinguished, since he is called by the Four Masters, "head of the monks of the Gaeidhil;" and, it seems most likely, that his religious training was received in Ireland, where he dwelt for some time, before setting out for the Continent. His course was directed to Cologne, where a religious foundation, for men of the Irish or Scottish race, had been long established. It seems probable, that he lived under direction of the Scottish Abbot Kilian, who ruled the house of St. Martin there, from A.D. 986, to the day of his death, A.D. 1003.¹⁰ Helias left Ireland, to embrace a solitary life. He became Abbot over the Scots house, at Cologne,¹¹ having succeeded Kilian, A.D. 1004, and he governed St. Martin's Monastery, in that city, for twenty years. Some of his Scottish countrymen lived there, and in the monastery of St. Pantalion.¹² The discipline he enforced was strict and rigorous; and, as we learn, some immortalized inmates of the latter house contrived to prejudice the mind of Piligrinus, bishop of Cologne, against their Irish abbot and their fellow monks of Scottish birth. In the year 1027, it is stated, that the cause of religion was greatly promoted, by this holy man, according to Sigebert;¹³ but, it seems doubtful, that he survived to this latter year. He was regarded as a prudent and religious man. Marianus Scotus relates a prophetic declaration of this Helias, respecting the death of Piligrinus, bishop of Cologne,¹⁴ who had threatened him and the Scots under his rule, that if they did not remove from the monastery of St. Pantaleon, before he returned from a royal station, they should be expelled. They replied to his threat: "If Christ be for the strangers, Bishop Piligrinus himself should not return from that place alive to Cologne." It so happened, that his death took place, on the 8th of the September Kalends, A.D. 1037, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Helias. We are told, that Ailill died, A.D. 1042;¹⁵ and, at the same year, on the second of the April Ides, corresponding with the 12th day of this month, the death of Helias Scotus is noted, by Marianus Scotus, according to the Bollandists.¹⁶ According to Thomas Dempster, he edited many tracts, but all perished, except a small one, intituled, "De Scotorum Peregrinorum Innocentia ad Imperatorem."¹⁷ John Major has a notice about two Scots' monasteries, erected at Cologne, and others in different parts of Germany, by a certain Guillemus, a brother to King Achaius, in the time of Charlemagne;¹⁸ but

⁷ In a note, Dr. Reeves says, at this word, *family*, "That is the religious family or congregation."

⁸ It is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Monaghan," as a parish, sheets 15, 20, 25.

⁹ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 407, 408. And Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (d), p. 445.

¹⁰ He died, on the 19th of January Kalends, or 7th of December, according to Marianus Scottus, in his "Chronicon," where the chronology appears varied, in G. Waitz's edition, contained in "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v., p. 555.

¹¹ See Trithemius, "De Viris Illustribus Ordinis S. Benedicti," lib. iii., cap. cxli.

¹² The feast of St. Pantaleon, physician, and martyr, in Nicomedia, occurs, at the 27th

of July.

¹³ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus vi. Sigeberti Gemblacensis "Chronographia," edidit D. Ludowicus Conradus Bethmann, p. 356.

¹⁴ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v. Mariani Scotti, Chronicon, pp. 556, 557.

¹⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 840, 841.

¹⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

¹⁷ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. viii., num. 631, pp. 335, 336.

¹⁸ See "Historia Majoris Britanniae, tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ, lib. ii., cap. xiii., fol. xxxv. Prelum Ascensianum. A.D. 1521, sm. 4to.

there appears to be much more of imagination than of reality, in this statement. Among the illustrious men of the Benedictine Order, Helias is classed, by Trithemius,¹⁹ who styles him a saint, and who states, that after death, his many-sided merits became recognised by indubitable evidence.²⁰ His temper or habits of thought must have been moulded, in extreme views of duty; for, we are told, that a French monk, having written a beautiful Missal without his leave, in the monastery of St. Pantalion, Helias ordered it to be publicly burned, in presence of the monks, so that no other should transgress, in a like manner, without permission.²¹ His death may be assigned, to the year 1042, if we follow the computation of G. Waitz, and on the 3rd of the April Ides,²² as found in the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus.²³ Dempster has an entry²⁴ of Helias the Solitary, and Abbot of the Scots, as also Arnold Wion, at the 12th of April.²⁵ He was succeeded by Maiobus Scottus, a chaste, patient and wise man, who ruled eighteen years.²⁶ Besides the foregoing writers, Dorgan, Menard, Bucelin, and Ferrarius, in his General Catalogue of the Saints, have the same date for his feast.²⁷ Both at home and abroad, its commemoration seems to have been observed.

ARTICLE II.—ST. CONDA, OR CONNATH, SAID TO HAVE BEEN ABBOT OF DOIREDDHA-CONNA, COUNTY OF LOUTH. When this saint flourished is unknown; but, it is probable, not later than the eighth century. The name Connath, Abbot, occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 12th of April. He was of the race of Conall Gulban, son to Niall, according to the Calendar of the O'Clerys. His place is not well known. The following account is from Jocelyn's Life of our great Irish Apostle. It is mentioned, that Saint Patrick² visited the country of the Turturi, where he abode for the duration of seven weeks. In that little space, he erected seven churches, one whereof he called the Lord's Church. For this was his custom, that where-soever he dwelt on the Lord's day, if he founded a church there, he called it Domnhach, that is, belonging to the Lord. Over one of these seven churches, he appointed a disciple, named Connedus, a good and holy man, in degree a Presbyter, or Priest, and learned in the divine law. Undertaking the government of this church, rather from obedience than from ambition, he spent there only one week, and then quitting it, he hastened to St. Patrick. The saint inquiring the cause for his speedy return, Connedus answered, that he could not patiently endure the absence of his beloved father. "Nor is it to be wondered," replied the saint, "since, in that place, there are not children of life, but men of blood, and devourers of cattle, of whose sword thou standest in dread, and fearest that thy blood will be poured out. Return, return securely, nor tremble before their face; for the blood of no man shall in

¹⁹ See "De Viris Illustribus Ordinis S. Benedicti," lib. iii., cap. 141.

²⁰ By Rupert, he is simply styled Abbot.

²¹ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v. Chronicon Mariani Scotti, p. 557.

²² Dempster has it, at "ii Idus April. anno Salutis MXLII."—"Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. viii., num. 621., p. 336.

²³ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v., p. 557.

²⁴ In the following way, "Natalis Heliae Solitarii Scotorum Abbatis."—Bishop For-

bes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints, p. 196.

²⁵ See in "Lignum Vitæ," lib. iii., p. cxxxiii.

²⁶ See "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v. Chronicon Mariani Scotti, p. 557.

²⁷ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy, I find Conath ab Oairi, with another word added, which seems to read lauleu, or lauleu.

² See his Life, at the 17th of March.

that place be shed, even from generation to generation." Therefore, receiving this answer of St. Patrick, the venerable Connedus returned to the government of his church; and as dwellers in that country declared, the word of St. Patrick has been confirmed, by many proofs.³ Colgan has not been able to identify this saint, with any recorded in our Calendars. He remarks, however, that there is a Conna, or Conda, at the 8th of March, and at the 12th of April; that there is a Condanus, or Connanus, at the 12th of June, and at the 1st of July; while there is a Connatus, or Condatus, at the 15th of November. Again, in the Annals of the Four Masters,⁴ it is stated, that Tighernach, lord of Loch Gabhar—now known as Lough Gower, or Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath—gained a victory over the foreigners. It occurred, at Daire-Disirt-Dachonna⁵—identified with Disart-Dachonna, *Dysart*, in Feara-Arda, *Ferrard*, a barony in the county of Louth.⁶ This victory was achieved, A.D. 846. As the locality appears to have taken its denomination from a saint Dachonna, or Mochonna, venerated at the 8th of March,⁷ it may be asked, if the present saint must be distinguished from him? He flourished, at a period, long anterior to the event already recorded, if such were the case. In the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, his death is referred to A.D. 704, or 705. We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁸ that on this day was venerated, Conda, Abbot, of Daire Dachonna, in Ulster. The Rev. William Reeves has placed St. Conna, in a Calendar, and the inference would seem to be, that he is supposed to have been connected, with the north-east parts of Ireland.⁹

ARTICLE III.—ST. ERNIN, BISHOP. A record of Ernign, a Bishop, is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date. On the same authority, the Bollandists² insert a notice of him, at the 12th of April. The festival of Ernin, Bishop, was celebrated, on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE IV.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. DOBANUS. In his Commemorations of the Scottish Saints, Camerarius has inserted the name of a saint Dobanus, as a companion of St. Boniface.¹ The Bollandists,² who make the entry, at this day, and on his authority, remark, that he was unknown to them, and to Dempster; unless, indeed, reference had been to St. Bonifacius Kiritinus, venerated at the 16th of March, where there is no mention made of Dobanus. A brief notice of Doban is given, by Bishop Forbes.³

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xci., p. 86, and nn. 101, 102, p. 113.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 476, 477.

⁵ This is rendered, "The Oak Wood of St. Dachonna's desert or wilderness." Dr. O'Donovan had not been able to identify the exact place. See n. (c), *ibid.* Yet, there seems to me no good reason, for not associating this saint with the present parish of Dysart, in the barony of Ferrard, county of Louth. Some vestiges of an ancient church still remain, in the burial ground of this parish. See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 591, 592.

⁶ See vol. vii., Index Locorum, pp. 47, 48, 58.

⁷ See notices regarding him, at that date.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp.

100, 101.

⁹ See "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore, Appendix LL, p. 377.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy, we find, ΕΡΝΕΙΝ ΕΑΡΙ.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ "Scoti, Episcopi Treherensis" is added, by Camerarius, to distinguish him.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

³ See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 324.

ARTICLE V.—FEAST OF ST. MATHILDA, VIRGIN. [*Thirteenth Century.*] The English Martyrology and Ferrarius state, that this pious virgin died on the 12th of April, and about the year 1200. Notices, regarding her, have been entered already, at the 1st of January, the day more generally assumed for her feast. Spinellus¹ treats about the rare sanctity of this devoted lady,² who is said to have sprung from a royal Scotie race. Her Manuscript Life was extant, according to Robert Buckland; and, the Bollandists³ have an account of her, at the 12th of April, nor do they consider, that any special ecclesiastical veneration had been given to her. The name is missing, in Saussay's Gallic Martyrology, although she visited France, with her younger brother Alexander,⁴ for the purpose of spending there a religious life. Regarding herself and her brother Alexander, Baptista Fulgosius⁵ and Andreas Eborensis⁶ have treated. Already whatever particulars could be related, regarding the holy virgin Mathilde, will be found, and these have a close connection, with the Acts of her devoted brother.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. ERKEMBODON, OR ERKEMBODE, BISHOP OF THEROUANNE, AND ABBOT OF ST. OMER, FRANCE. [*Seventh and Eighth Centuries.*] Among the distinguished missionaries, that Ireland sent forth, at a very early period, to spread the Gospel on the Continent of Europe, we may very probably class the present holy man. The Breviary of St. Omer,¹ and the Chronicon Bertinianum,² narrate St. Erkembode's Acts. The writers of the Bollandist Community have inserted a previous commentary, in two paragraphs, with a Life of St. Erkembodon, Bishop, at this day.³ Still later, the Abbé Destombes⁴ has treated about him. The Life, as published by the Bollandists, was written by John,⁵ a monk of Sithieu,⁶ once in Belgium;⁷ and, in an appropriate introduction, the reasons why he composed it are presented to the reader.⁸ The early years of the present holy man are little known; but, he was born, probably, in the later part of the seventh century. According to Jacobus Malebrancus,⁹ or James Mabranq, this saint was an Irishman,¹⁰

ARTICLE V.—¹ In his work, "De Dei-para," sæc. 7, num. 61.

² See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," 1 Januarii, Vita S. Mathildis, pp. 6, 7, and n. 8.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 65.

⁴ The 14th of January has been assigned for his feast, as also the 6th of August.

⁵ In his work, "Factorum Dictorumque Mirabilium," lib. i., cap. 4.

⁶ "In Suis Exemplis," titulo De Paupertate. ART. VI.—¹ Printed, A. D. 1515. The Life of this Saint is there in Nine Lessons.

² It was unpublished, when Godefrid Henschenn wrote, A. D. 1675.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Erkembodone, Episcopo Teruaniensi et Abbate Sithiensi, in Belgio, pp. 92 to 94.

⁴ In "Vie des Saints de Cambrai et d'Arras."

⁵ See an account of him, in "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tome xv. Douzième

Siècle. Légendaires du Douzième Siècle, sect. i., p. 015.

⁶ This place was not different from St. Bertin's fine monastery, at St. Omer.

⁷ This Life is taken "ex Ordinario MS. et Breviario Ecclesiæ S. Audomari."

⁸ The author assigns his motives for writing it, in the opening paragraph.

⁹ See his work, "De Morinis," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. 55.

¹⁰ His family and origin are not known. See "Les Pctits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome iv., xii. Jour. d'Avril, p. 353.

¹¹ Their festival is kept, on the 23rd of October, where their Acts will be found.

¹² Father Henschenn thinks the name of our saint to be manifestly of Teutonic origin; thus, Erghen-bode, he translates, by the Latin words, "industrium cautumque ministrum." A stronger argument is to be found, in the statement, that in the Manuscript Acts, as also in the printed ones of Luglius and Luglianus, no mention of St. Erkembodon's name appears.

as had been allowable to infer from a certain manuscript he read, since he was a companion to Luglius and Luglianus,¹¹ who came as royal missionaries from Hibernia.¹² Like them, he was attacked by murderers, robbed, beaten and left for dead, at a place called Seyrendal, near Ferfay, in the canton of Norrent-Fontes. It is stated, that after the departure of the assassins, he came to the use of his senses; and then, hastily covering the bodies of both Irish Martyrs with branches, Erkembodon went immediately to Théroouanne, where St. Bain,¹³ the Bishop, then lived, and who heard from him all that happened.¹⁴ He lived, afterwards, in the monastery of Sithiü, at St. Omer,¹⁵ and under St. Bertin.¹⁶ There, with an admirable spirit of religion, he laboured to emulate the virtues of his great master. He practised all monastic exercises, and with the greatest exactness. He was present, at the death-bed scene of St. Bertin, who passed out of this life, having exceeded the age of one hundred years. The monk John places his demise, at 698, while other modern writers state, that he died on the 5th of September, A.D. 709.¹⁷ In succession to him were first Rigobert, and afterwards Erlefrid.¹⁸ With the unanimous suffrages of the monks, at St. Omer, St. Erkembode was elected to succeed the last deceased Abbot, in the year 717.¹⁹ Meantime, owing to the great age of St. Bertin, and his inability to discharge all the duties of his important charge, Rigobert²⁰ and Erlefrid²¹ had been chosen during his lifetime, as coadjutors. While Erkembode maintained that exact discipline, which had hitherto distinguished the monks, who dwelt in the monastery at Sithiü, he fulfilled all the duties his new position required, and with true fidelity. By example and precept, he inspired the perfection of virtue, and he provided with prudence for the wants of his monastic brethren. In those times, violent and oppressive acts often interrupted that peace, which should reign in all religious communities; but, the holy Abbot, with great wisdom and forecast, procured and defended the rights and immunities of his house. He even obtained a charter²² from King Chilperic II., who, from having been a cleric, became a monarch, in 715.²³ This deed conferred several important privileges on his monastery. Again, Thierry IV., or Theodoric the younger,²⁴

¹³ His feast occurs, on the 20th of June.

¹⁴ According to some writers, St. Erkembode belonged to a family of the Morini; while his zeal and piety, it is thought, urged him to become a guide and companion to St. Luglius and Luglianus, in that part of the country.

¹⁵ Called after St. Omer, or St. Audmar, formerly a monk of Luxeuil, and afterwards the founder of a monastery, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the former place. His festival is held, on the 9th of September.

¹⁶ His feast occurs, at the 5th September.

¹⁷ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. ix., September v.

¹⁸ Erkembode had succeeded him, A.D. 718, as proved by Mabillon, in his "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus ii., lib. xx., sect. xxv., p. 52.

¹⁹ According to the Life, published by the monk John. See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii., sect. 5, p. 183.

²⁰ By some, he is classed as second to St. Bertin, on the Catalogue of Abbots of Sithiü.

He does not appear to have lived very long, as assistant Abbot.

²¹ Some writers regard him as third Abbot of Sithiü, in succession to St. Bertin.

²² It begins: "Chilpericus Rex Francorum. Si facta parentum," &c. According to the Chronicle of Iperius, it was granted, in the third year of his reign.

²³ He died, A.D. 720, after an unquiet rule. See L.-P. Anquetil's "Histoire de France," Première Race dite des Mérovingiens, sect. vi., p. 55.

²⁴ He is reputed to have been King, from A.D. 721 to 737. See "Œuvres Complètes" de Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux. Tome x. Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, Liv. i., Thierry IV. [An. 721], col. 1183 to 1185. Abbé Migne's Edition, A.D. 1856, 1857, small fol.

²⁵ The first of these is edited, by Miræus, in "Notitia Ecclesiarum Belgii," cap. xiii. The other is to be found in Malbrancq, "De Morinis," lib. iv., cap. lviii.

²⁶ See Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus ii., lib. xx., sect. xxv., p. 52.

a cousin, and successor to the former King, confirmed such immunities, in two distinct charters.²⁵ These decreed, that no public judge should enter the monastery of Sithiü, or its precincts, to hear causes, or to exact compositions, nor otherwise to distrain or seize goods, or men, belonging to the monastery, whether in the capacity of freemen or of servants.²⁶ St. Erkembode was called, in the year, 720,²⁷ to be bishop over the See of Théroouane, by the clergy and people of that diocese, on the death of Ravenger, its previous occupant.²⁸ Nevertheless, St. Erkembode had direction of the community at Sithiü. All its religious were bound by ties of the most sincere affection to their saintly abbot.²⁹ The work commenced at St. Omer was prosecuted with great success. He built many churches and monasteries, in that part of the country, which belonged to the Morini. From a certain man, named Rigobert, our saint bought villages, which are noted in ancient charters.³⁰ These were intended, for the endowment of the monastery at Sithiü; yet, in course of time, such properties were divided between the monastery of St. Bertin, and the Church of St. Audomar. Those places are called Sechiac³¹ or Sethcas,³² Kelmias³³ or Kelmias,³⁴ Stracto³⁵ or Straho,³⁶ with houses and appurtenances,³⁷ and Belrinium,³⁸ in the city of Théroouane. This, however, does not seem to be a complete enumeration.³⁹ Among his diocesans, as among his monks, confidence in his prudence and virtue prevailed. Great miracles are not found recorded, by ancient writers; however, the Monk John, who flourished only in the twelfth century, has no doubt, but that Erkembode performed many, in his lifetime. Among the people of Théroouane, he proved himself a true disciple of his Divine Master; for, he consoled the poor and afflicted, while he watched and prayed incessantly. Thither many persons flocked to adore God in public, or to devote themselves to prayer and monastic perfection in solitude. The country of the Morini, hitherto so uncultivated and neglected, assumed that character for Christian faith and morality, which it long continued to preserve. Thanks to the zeal and solicitude of the holy bishop, who had well cultivated the Lord's vineyard, and who had well employed the treasures of his Master, the fruits of salvation increased, day by day, and they were rapidly multiplied. The moment of reward and of triumph now approached, and earthly things were

²⁵ However, in the Chronicle of Iperius, he is said to have become Bishop, in the third year of King Theodorici, which must have been A. D. 722 or 723.

²⁶ Molanus writes: "Post sexennium vero in Episcopum Teruanensem est sublimatus: in quo simul et in Abbata per annos viginti et sex resedit."—"De Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii," at this date.

²⁷ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome iv., xii^e Jour, d'Avril, p. 354.

²⁸ Thus do we read, in the Chronicle of Iperius: "Charta sic incipit: Domino atque Apostolico Patri Erkembodoni Episcopo emptori et ejus Congregationi, &c. Actum Sithiu monasterio publice III., Kal. Septemb. anno III. Domini nostri Theodorici gloriosi Regi."

²⁹ So it is named, by the Monk John.

³⁰ So called, in the Chronicle of Iperius, which states, that it was on the River Agmona.

³¹ The name given, by the Monk John.

³² So called, in the Chronicle of Iperius.

³³ According to the Monk John.

³⁴ The name given it, in the Chronicle of Iperius. These two latter afterwards belonged to the Church of St. Audomar.

³⁵ The Monk John adds: "et infra Mempiscum Ledredingas mansiones," &c. The latter denomination is rendered Lederselle.

³⁶ The Monk John places it "super fluvium Quantiam." He adds, likewise, "cum adjacentis suis, quæ sunt in pago Pontivo, in loco nuncupato Monte super fluvium Altejam." The Chronicle of Iperius states: "Belrinium nunc est Prioratus Majoris Monasterii."

³⁷ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii. De Sancto Erkembodone, &c. Vita, sect. 4, with notes, pp. 93, 94.

³⁸ Molanus states, that he was buried in the Monastery of St. Audomar, or in the Basilica of St. Mary, which St. Audomar had formerly dedicated, and which then be-

to be exchanged for the joys of Heaven. After governing the diocese of Thérouanne, for twenty-six years, with great sanctity and prudence, St. Erkembode departed this life, on the 12th of April, A.D. 734, according to Ferri de Locres; A.D. 740, according to Le Cointe; but, in A.D. 742, according to the Bollandists. His remains were placed, by the clergy and people of St. Omer, in its Church of Our Lady, and before the principal altar, dedicated to the Holy Mother of God.⁴⁰ Numberless miracles were wrought before his tomb, and owing to the intercession of St. Erkembode. To such a degree were the pious offerings of the faithful carried, that these not only sufficed to repair the ancient church, but even to build a second cathedral, of far greater magnificence. The traditions of the Morini yet point out the tomb of St. Erkembode, in the Church of Notre-Dame, at St. Omer. It is at the lower part of the window, on the Gospel side, towards the north, and opposite to the choir. It is raised, also, on two figures of lions. In shape, it is square, and it is without ornament; a large block of freestone rudely carved, and covered by another large stone, form the object, so greatly venerated by pious pilgrims. This venerable tomb bears evidence of a simple devotion among the people, who were accustomed to apply their bodies to the stone, when they hoped for relief from their corporal affliction. In many places, as a consequence, the hard stone appears to have become worn. The relics of the holy Bishop escaped the desecrations, committed by the populace, in 1793, and yet they continue as objects of veneration, in the fine Church of Notre-Dame. Monseigneur de la Tour-d'Auvergne-Lauraguay has since authenticated them.⁴¹ On this day, the memory of St. Erkembodon is celebrated, in the Martyrologies of Florarius, in the additions of Greven and of Molanus to Ussard, in the monastic Martyrologies of Wion, Dorgan, Menard, Bucelin; also, in the Gallic Martyrology of Saussay, in the Germanic one of Canisius, in the Belgic Martyrologies of Miræus, Molanus, Willott; as also, in many other mediæval and modern works.⁴² In the edition of the Roman Breviary, used in Belgium, the Lessons for the Common Office of a Bishop and Confessor are taken for his feast, which is regarded as a Double. Such are the facts known, and the chief memorials preserved, in reference to Erkembodon. We know, that in his day, this saint was pleasing to God, and that he was found to be just; that the Lord increased blessings on him, and extended mercy; that he found favour in God's sight, and in the presence of Kings he was magnified; and that, in fine, he obtained a crown of eternal glory.

ARTICLE VII.—FEAST OF ST. JULIUS, POPE. [Fourth Century.] In

longed to the Cathedral Canons of St. Audomar. He adds, that his sepulchre was shown there, while his body was at the high Altar, his head having been kept in a special vase. The feast of his Translation was held, on the vi. of the September Ides. See "De Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii," at the day.

⁴⁰ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome iv. xii^e Jour, d'Avril, p. 354.

⁴¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Erkembodone, &c. Commentarius prævius, sect. I, p. 92.

ARTICLE VII.—The following is a stanza, with its English translation, at the 12th of

April, as taken from the Leabhar Breac:—

Uaíar anra opar
 Cúirt Ercemhóe cretar
 iúil eíreop abb popul
 Sab íar íuud petar.

"A difficult work Christ allotted to the consecrated of the Cross, Bishop Julius, Abbot of (the) people, noble chief of Peter's Sec."

⁴² In Three chapters, and fourteen paragraphs.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii., pp. 82 to 86.

⁴ According to the Roman Pontifical, and other authorities.

the Irish,¹ as in the universal, Church, had been observed the Festival of St. Julius, who was Pope, A.D. 337. when his career as Roman Pontiff commenced, to A.D. 352, when it closed. During the time he presided over the Church, he effected great things for the glory of God, and for the interests of religion. His Acts are contained,² in the Bollandists' work,³ at the 12th of April. His father is called Rusticus, or Rusticius,⁴ and his distinguished son was a Roman, by birth. He was born, probably, towards the close of the third century. The zeal of St. Julius for the interests of Christianity caused him to be elected Pope, on the demise of St. Mark. His investiture dates from the 6th of February, A.D. 337. During the term of his Pontificate, the dangerous Arian heresy prevailed in the East. A great number of orthodox and holy bishops there had been suffering persecution for justice' sake; and even they had been violently expelled from their Sees, in many instances.⁵ Among others, the illustrious St. Athanasius,⁶ who had been chosen for the bishopric of Alexandria, in 326, opposed with great zeal and eloquence the heresiatic Arius, and his confederates.⁷ The Emperor of Constantius favoured Arius, and his friend Eusebius, Bishop of Niomedia; and, in a cabalistic Council, held at Tyre, in August, 335, a sentence of deposition was pronounced against the holy Patriarch.⁸ He was banished to Triers, then the chief city of Belgic Gaul.⁹ Every possible effort was made by the Arians, to misinform the Sovereign Pontiff, regarding their proceedings and designs. They even sent deputies to procure the condemnation of St. Athanasius, by the Pope, who assembled a Council at Rome, in 340,¹⁰ in order to hear the whole case. But, the Arians refused to assist there, and they convened a pretended Council at Antioch, during the year 341, when they appointed the intended bishop of Alexandria, a Cappadocian named Gregory, to fill the place of St. Athanasius.¹¹ However, after a patient investigation, Pope Julius confirmed the latter in his See, and wrote a very powerful letter to the Oriental Eusebian bishops, in confirmation of this decision.¹² Yet, finding them still obstinate, he moved Constans, Emperor of the West, to ask the concurrence of his brother Constantius, ruling in the East, to assemble a General Council at Sardica, in Illyricum. This was opened in May, accord-

¹ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," &c., tome iv., p. 352.

² He is venerated, by the Church, on the 2nd of May.

³ An account of these transactions will be found, in the "Opera" S. Athanasii, tomus i. Historia Arianorum, ad Monachos, p. 349, and Apologia Contra Arianos, pp. 142, 199.

⁴ A very interesting account of the origin and progress of Arianism will be found, in the Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. i., Period 1, Epoch 2, chap. ii., sect. 110 to 112, pp. 362 to 385.

⁵ Thence he returned, in the year 338, after an exile of two years, and four months. See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome iii., lib. xii., sect. iii., p. 235.

⁶ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Julio Romano Pontifice, cap. ii., num. 6, p. 84.

⁷ See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Eccle-

siastique," tome iii., lib. xii., sect. xiv., pp. 263 to 269.

⁸ The substance of this is given, in Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xii.

⁹ Mansi has published three letters, which are intended to prove this as the true date. See Supplementum ad Concilia, tomus i.

¹⁰ See R. P. Joannis Cabassutii, "Notitia Ecclesiastica Historiarum, Conciliorum, et Canonum," &c., p. 138.

¹¹ An account of this Oecumenical Council is to be found in Socrates, "Historia Ecclesiastica," lib. ii., cap. xvi.

¹² See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 214.

¹³ See R. P. Joannis Cabassutii, "Notitia Ecclesiastica Historiarum, Conciliorum, et Canonum," &c., pp. 138 to 142.

¹⁴ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Julio Romano Pontifice, cap. i., num. 2, 3, p. 83.

ing to some A.D. 344,¹³ and according to other authorities A.D. 347.¹⁴ At this General Council, the Eastern and Western Bishops assembled, in great numbers.¹⁵ The legates of Pope Julius there presided. In it, Athanasius was vindicated, and the Arians were condemned.¹⁶ Very many and useful decrees were passed there, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and for the propagation of the Catholic Faith.¹⁷ St. Julius built many fine churches at Rome: one of these was near the Forum, and another was on the Flamminian Way.¹⁸ He ornamented them with sacred pictures. He laid out three cemeteries, likewise, one of these was on the same Flamminian Way, another on the Aurelian Way, and the third was at Porto.¹⁹ He ruled, that all Acts relative to ecclesiastical affairs should be drawn up, by a proto-notary,²⁰ and that a priest should only plead his case before an ecclesiastical judge.²¹ During the time of Pope Julius' pontificate, he ordained several Deacons, Priests and Bishops.²² Having governed the Church for fifteen years, five months, and seventeen days, his labours came to a close, on the 12th of April, A.D. 352.²³ He was buried in the cemetery of Calepodius.²⁴ The Church of St. Mary, beyond the Tiber, had been enriched by Pope St. Julius, during his lifetime; after his decease, in due course, his relics were removed from the cemetery, where they had been deposited, at first, and these were honourably entombed under the great altar. Other churches had been enriched by his relics.²⁵ All the Martyrologies concur, in assigning his chief

¹³ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome iv., p. 352.

²⁰ According to Anastasius, the Librarian, and the Liber Pontificalis.

²¹ According to a "Catalogus Summorum Pontificum," compiled in the eighth century.

²² Differences of statement, as to their respective number, will be found in the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Julio Romano Pontifice, cap. iiii., sect. 10, p. 85.

²³ See the Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xii.

²⁴ See Aringhus, "Romæ Subterraneæ," lib. ii., cap. xii., num. 8.

²⁵ According to Octavius Pancrionius, in his work, treating on the sacred relics kept in the city of Rome.

²⁶ Another festival is noted for him, by Raban, Notker, Greven, and other Calendarists, at the 8th of February.

²⁷ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sancto Julio Romano Pontifice, cap. iiii., num. 11, 12, 13, 14, pp. 85, 86.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ "It is situated in that part of the King's County called the Elia-Carolina."—Sir Charles Coote's "Statistical Survey of the King's County." Introduction, p. 15.

² For a more particular account of this Synod, the reader is referred to St. Adamnan's Life, at the 23rd of September. See, also, the Acts of St. Colga, Abbot of Lusk, at the 20th of February.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." v.

Martii, Vita S. Kierani, Appendix, cap. v., p. 473.

⁴ The Martyrologies of Tallagh, of Marianus Gorman, and of Donegal. *Ibid.*

⁵ Colgan says, that as Cellach and Cellanus are names indifferently applied to the same person, he is enabled to present the following Catalogue of Saints, bearing either name, from the Martyrologies of Tallagh, of Marianus Gorman, of Maguire and of Donegal, in the following order:—April 1st, St. Cellach, Archbishop of Armagh. May 1st, St. Cellachus or Cellanus Hua Fiachrach. June 17th, St. Cellanus, son of Finan. July 18th, St. Cellachus, son of Dunchad. October 7th, St. Cellachus, deacon of Glendalough. October 8th, St. Cellanus, Priest. November 17th, St. Cellanus, Confessor. These are taken from the Martyrologies alone; but, in the Calendars and Annals, there are many more bearing the same name. Thus, in the Annals of Donegal, or of the Four Masters, there are no less than thirty-two Cellachs, who are different persons, as may be discovered, by their parents' names, and by their several death records. Their decease is thus entered, in Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., ii., at the several years of their obits, and in these following terms:—A.D. 657, Ceallach, son of Saran, Abbot of Othan-mor, died. A.D. 700, Ceallach, son of Maelrocha, bishop, died. A.D. 704, Ceallan, son of Seachnasach, a wise man, died. A.D. 735, Ceallach, son of Sechdi, one of the Conmaicne, Abbot of Cluin-mic-Nois, died. A.D. 808, Ceallach, son of Eochaigh, Abbot of Cill-Toma, died. A.D. 810, Ceallach, son of Conghal, Abbot of

feast,²⁶ to the 12th of April: thus, in the old Martyrology, edited by Bucherius, in that attributed to St. Jerome, and in several old Manuscript Martyrologies, as also in those of Bede, Raban, and Baronius.²⁷ This holy Pontiff omitted no care or duty, which belonged to his high office, to keep the Christian world within the bonds of Catholic unity.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. KILLENE MAC LUBNEY, BISHOP AND ABBOT OF SAIGER, KING'S COUNTY. [*Seventh Century.*] St. Killene, son to Lubney, was born, probably in the early part or about the middle of the seventh century. He was created Abbot of Saiger,¹ in the King's County; and, as one of forty Bishops and Abbots, he assisted at a Synod convened by St. Flann, Archbishop of Armagh, about the year 695.² The Acts of this convention were formerly in Colgan's possession.³ The 12th of April was the day set apart for St. Killene's festival, according to our Irish Martyrologists.⁴ The writer is unable to find any account, regarding the year of his death;⁵ but, it occurred, probably towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.

Thirteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. MOCHAEMHOG, ABBOT OF INIS CAOIN, NOW INISHKEEN, COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

[*SEVENTH CENTURY.*]

THIS holy man is recorded in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the Ides or 13th of April, as Mocammoc Innsi Cain. There is an allusion to

Ia-Coluim-Chille, died. A.D. 811, Ceallach, son of Muirghius, Abbot of Druim-caradh, died. A.D. 835, Ceallach, son of Forbhassach, airchinneach, of Ros-Commain, was slain. A.D. 837, Ceallach, son of Cairbre, Abbot of Ath-Truim, died; Ceallach, son of Cosgrach, Abbot of Airegal-Ciarog, died. A.D. 841, Ceallach, son of Caithghenn, Abbot of Druim-mor, in Ui-Eathach, died. A.D. 845, Ceallach, son of Maelpadraig, Prior of Feara-Rois, died. A.D. 850, Ceallach, son of Crunnmael, Abbot of Ceann-Eitigh, died. 863, Ceallach, son of Ailell, Abbot of Cill-dara, and the Abbot of Ia, died in Pictland. A.D. 866, Ceallach, son of Cumasgach, Abbot of Fabhar, who was a noble and illustrious wise man, died. A.D. 898, Ceallach, son of Saergus, anchorite, and Bishop of Ard-Macha, died. A.D. 919, Ceallach, son of Conghalach, Abbot of Cillachaidh, died. A.D. 937, Ceallach, son of Caellaide, Prior of Saighir, died. A.D. 940, Ceallach, son of Eporan, Bishop of Cluain-eithneach, died. A.D. 966, Ceallach Ua Banain, successor of Comhghall, died. A.D. 969, Ceallach Ua Nuadhait was killed

by the foreigners, in the doorway of his refectory. A.D. 986, Ceallach, the holy virgin, died. A.D. 990, Ceallach, son of Cinaedh, Abbot of Imleach-Fia, *i.e.*, Imleach-Becain, died. A.D. 1006, Ceallach Ua Meangorain, airchinneach of Corcach, died. A.D. 1016, Ceallach Ua Maelmidhe, airchinneach of Druim-raithe, died. A.D. 1036, Ceallach Ua Sealbhaich, a bishop, successor of Bairri, learned senior of Munster, died. A.D. 1043, Ceallach Ua Cleircein, successor of Finnen and Mocholmog, died. A.D. 1063, Ceallach Ua Caeimh, a wise man and anchorite, died. A.D. 1079, Ceallach Reamhar, successor of Brenainn of Birra, and of Ciaran of Saighir, died. A.D. 1129, Ceallach, successor of Patrick, &c., died. A.D. 1148, Ceallach Ua Domhnagain, noble head of Cill-Beneoin, died. Besides the foregoing, Colgan gives two additional entries, at the years 828, and 833, which are not found, in Mr. O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters. See, "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." xiv. Februarii, n. 7, pp. 334, 335.

him, by Colgan,² under the Acts of St. Mochoemog or Pulcharius.³ We are told there, that this holy man was the son of Endeus, son of Cormac,⁴ and belonging to the Colla Dachrich race. He flourished on Iniscaoin Island,⁵ about the middle of the seventh century.⁶ He was Abbot over Inishkeen, on Lough Erne, in the county of Fermanagh. The scenic beauties of this locality have been already described and illustrated.⁷ However, it is not so long since Mr. Wakeman made the present drawing of Inniskeen old church and graveyard ;⁸ but, all the ancient trees, the appearance of which then added so much to the picturesqueness of the scene, have been already cut down. The place is now bare, and exposed to the winds.⁹ A commemora-



Remains at Iniskeen, County of Fermanagh.

tion has been made of St. Mochaemog, by Marianus O'Gorman, at the present day.¹⁰ Likewise, at the same date, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹¹ Mochaemhog, of Inis Caoin, had veneration paid him. A similar notice is to be found, at the 13th of April, or at the Ides of this month,¹² in that Irish Calendar, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. However, these brief notices give us no particulars, that could afford us any light, regarding his personal history.

ARTICLE I.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *MOCHAMOC INNI CAIN*. It is remarkable, that on this day, the Bollandists make no commemoration of an Irish Saint, from the Martyrology of Tallagh.

² See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii. Appendix, cap. i., p. 598.

³ His Life is given, at the 13th of March,

the date for his festival.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii, Vita S. Mochoemoci. Appendix, cap. i., p. 598.

⁵ See Nicholas Carlisle's "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," *sub voce*.

⁶ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 262.

ARTICLE II.—ST. BASCIA, VIRGIN. According to the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ the festival in honour of Bascia, a Virgin, was celebrated on this day. Her family, period and place do not seem to be known; nor can we trace her commemoration, in any of our earlier Calendars.

ARTICLE III.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. ELIAS, ABBOT OF ST. PANTALEON, COLOGNE. [*Eleventh Century.*] In the Scottish Menology, Camera-rius has inserted the name of Elias, Abbot, in the Monastery of Pantaleon, in Cologne, at the 13th of April. The Bollandists² merely record this statement, at the same date. On the day previous, some notices of him will be found, and to these the reader is referred for the biographical accounts, which survive the lapse of time.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. RIAGAIL, OR RIACHUILL, MAC BUACHALLA. An entry appears in the Martyrology of Tallagh,³ at the 13th of April, Riagail Mac Buachalla. However, we are at loss to learn who his father had been, or from what line he came. Neither is there a place mentioned, as connected with the present saint's *cultus*. On this day, we find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ the name of Riachuill, Mac Buachalla, as having been venerated.

ARTICLE V.—THE SONS OF TERCHUR, OF LOCH-MAC-NEIN. On the 13th of April, we find entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh⁵ Mac Tarchair, Locha mic Nina. This place was identical with Lough-Mac-Nen, now Lough Macnean, situated between the counties of Fermanagh, Cavan and Leitrim. The very romantic scenery, about the margin of Lough Mac Nean, is enhanced greatly by that beautiful sheet of water, extending between the counties of Fermanagh and of Leitrim, while several islands seem to float over its surface. On one of these, called Innishee,⁶ there is a crannog, and it lies to the left of the Hanging Rock,⁷ a magnificent cliff over the Lake, and which is shown in the engraving. The Island itself is in the centre of the Lough,⁸ and the view as presented in our illustration is that appearing from Belcoo.⁹ A bridge at this village carries the road across to the northern extremity, which is situated in the county of Cavan. The sons of Terchur, are mentioned, in

¹ In volume i. of this work, at the 10th of January, and in Art. iii., where notices of St. Diman, or Diomman, of Inishkeen, occur.

² By him, this illustration has been transferred to the wood, and it has been engraved by Mrs. Millard.

³ Thus I have been informed, in a letter, from William F. Wakeman, and dated Enniskillen, April 6th, 1882.

⁴ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii, Vita S. Mochæmoci. Appendix, cap. i., p. 598.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

⁶ It is thus: MOCAMOG INNÏ CAÓIN.—

Common Place Book F., of the Irish Ordnance Survey Records.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 103.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has RIAGUILL MAC BUACHALLA.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy reads MAC TARCHAIR LOCHA MIC NINA.

the Martyrology of Donegal,⁶ as having had veneration paid to them, on this day. They are also said to have been of Loch-mac-Nein; but, whether their place of retirement was on an Island, situated in the lake itself, or whether it was to be found on the shores which border it, we have now apparently no clue left us, which could serve to discover that particular site. In the year 1499, the Annals of the Four Masters⁷ state, that Con Carragh and John O'Roorke took Melaghlin Mac Rannall, a prisoner, and they conveyed him to Inis-Ochta,⁸ an Island on Lough Mac Nen. But Rory Maguire rescued the prisoner, and slew these two sons of O'Roorke. It seems hurtful to generous and refined feeling, that deeds of violence should be associated with so charming a locality; and, even more so, when it is known, that holy men had



Lough Mac Nean.

once sanctified those places which are historic, by their living presence, although we can only learn of them and their associations with the scene, through the patronymic above recorded.

² This is Anglicised, "the Island of the Fairy," or "Spirit." The people have a tradition, that this island contains a subterraneous vault, within which a figure in the shape of a woman is perpetually sitting on a stone, but the mouth of the cave is now stopped.

³ Here, in former times, the people say two eagles used to build their nests, and Mr. Wakeman, who relates, it adds: "Is it not possible, or very probable, that from this circumstance the Loch derives its name? Loch-mac-nean is the Loch-da-en, 'Lake of the two birds,' of the old Irish writers." Letter dated Enniskillen, April 13th, 1882.

⁴ The accompanying illustration was drawn on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, and

transferred to the wood. The engraving is by Mrs. Millard.

⁵ This is a village, situated on the neck of land, which separates Upper from Lower Lough Macnean, and on the east bank of the stream, which conveys the superfluent waters of the Upper Lake to the Lower. Here is the celebrated Well, called Davugh Phadric. See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. i., p. 232.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 100, 101.

⁷ See O'Donovan's Edition, vol. iv., pp. 1250, 1251.

⁸ See *ibid.*, nn. (m, n), p. 1250. This, we are told, means the Island of the Breast. The name had been preserved, even to the

ARTICLE VI.—FESTIVAL OF THE DEACON PAUL, AND OF HIS COMPANIONS, MARTYRS. The Feilire of St. Ængus¹ commemorates the Feast of the holy Deacon Paul, and of his companions, at the 13th day of April. The Kalendar of Drummond also celebrates the memory of these Martyrs, at the same date.² The Martyrology of Tallagh³ has a similar commemoration, on this day; although, as the Bollandists⁴ remark, with confusion and inaccuracy of description. In various copies of the ancient Martyrology, ascribed to St. Jerome, this company of Martyrs are to be found, in the second place. Various readings of the names are to be met with, as also changes of names and additions, in different old Calendars. The age when they flourished, and the place where they suffered martyrdom, are alike unknown.

Fourteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. TASSACH, BISHOP OF RAHOLP, COUNTY OF DOWN.

[FIFTH CENTURY.]

FROM his peculiar connexion with the great Irish Apostle, St. Patrick, the present holy personage deservedly fills a niche, among our earliest Christian celebrities. The name of Tassach, Bishop, occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date. While the Bollandists enter his name, S. Tassagus, from the same authority, they state,² that nothing had come under their reading regarding him, or the other Irish Saints it notices, on the 14th of April. Our national hagiologist, Father John Colgan, appears to have prepared some acts of this saint, for publication, at this day;³ and, he promised

last century, as would appear from a short manuscript description of Fermanagh, in possession of the late George Petrie, Esq., V.P., R.I.A. It stated, that King Aedh had a residence on it. It was called, probably, from that circumstance, Inis Aodha, Anglice, Inishee, *i.e.* Hugh's Island. See, Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Fermanagh, Sheet 25.

ARTICLE VI.—'In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, at this date, we read the following, in the original Irish, and it is translated by Whitley Stokes:—

conapmrluas rona
 argobel cechena
 gearat crift cam oeochar
 pol oeochar oonpema.

"With his chief host, happy for the biting of every mouth, well went Christ's champion:

may deacon Paul shelter us!"

¹ It says: "eodem quoque die Paulus sanctus Diaconus cum turba magna martyrum ad astra conscendit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendar of Scottish Saints," p. 10.

² In the Franciscan copy, we find the entry pauli Diaconi.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xii. De Sanctis Martyribus Januario, Pavlo, Carvlo, Arobo, Bassa, Carita, et Agathonia, item Decimo, Calepodio et Leonitide, p. 129.

ARTICLE I.—'Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has Scti Carragi.

¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 200.

² See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

a further dissertation, regarding the present holy man, at the 14th of April.⁴ In one passage of the Tripartite Life, our Saint's name seems to have been rather erroneously written Tassa.⁵ The name of this holy bishop is to be found, likewise, in Fitzsimon's Catalogue of our national Saints.⁶

It may be reasonably conjectured, that St. Tassach was born some time, in the earlier part of the fifth century; but where or when, we are not able to ascertain.⁷ His parents were pagans, we may presume, and it seems not unlikely they were connected with the northern parts of Ulster, which are associated, likewise, with the ministry of this holy bishop. Being classed, as a disciple of St. Patrick, St. Tassach was baptized, most probably, among the earliest converts made, when that part of Ultonia, where the Irish Apostle first landed, had been visited. Either he was brought up to some skilled workmanship in metals, or he had a natural taste for mechanics and art, in such a direction. But, we are at a loss to discover, when the Irish Apostle formed the acquaintance of Tassach, and learned to appreciate his sincere piety and artistic ingenuity.

That neighbourhood, where St. Patrick first landed in Ireland, at the River Slainge, or Slany, in Lecale barony, and county of Down, was girdled round, in after times, by a number of churches. Few of these were more than a mile or two distant, from that spot. Indeed, it is suspected, that the celebrated wells of St. Patrick, at Struell, and which are traditionally reported to have been blessed by the Irish Apostle,⁸ may have been identical with the ancient Slan, or Slainge, now Slany. These waters are not a mile from Saul, and they flow through a little secluded valley. They run between the peaked mountains of Struell and Slieve-na-grideal. There, some ruins of a church, dedicated to the saint, are extant. Thither a large concourse of pilgrims assembled yearly, and they are even yet accustomed to resort that place on St. John's Eve.⁹ It is near an almost perpendicular elevation, called Struell Mountain, producing a little mixture of grass and shamrock, with a few hawthorns, and an abundant crop of furze.¹⁰ In the immediate vicinity of Saul Church, although in opposite directions, there are two other wells. These are famous for curing eye diseases. One of these, filled with clear and sparkling water of excellent taste, is called the Mear-an Well,¹¹ and in a stone near it is a hollow, said to have been the impression made by St. Patrick's knee; while the other is known as Tober-na Sul.¹² We are informed, by one well

⁴ See "Trias Thaumaturga." Prima Vita S. Patricii, nn., 27 dd., and 19, p. 6,

⁵ See *ibid.*, Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. xcvi., p. 167, and nn. 132, 133, 134, where Colgan has some comments, at p. 188.

⁶ See "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernæ." He is there called Thassacus.

⁷ In Miss Cusack's "Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," chap. vi., n. 8, p. 250, it is said, he was born at Raholp, in the county of Down; but no authority for this statement is cited.

⁸ It is said, he made stations there, and on Struell Mountain side, a rude mass of rock is shown, which is called St. Patrick's chair. On this steep and rocky site, various stations are resorted to by the people, and these were usually ended, at the chair. Annually, the Catholics flock here, from a great distance.

⁹ Many of the old practices, such as wash-

ing in the Struell wells, are now discontinued, by directions received from the local clergy, One of the Struell wells has a stone roof over it, and this is said to have been erected by a rich lady, "long, long ago." The rather modern looking walls of a deserted chapel are seen near the wells.

¹⁰ We find an exaggerated, and prejudiced statement, purporting in a great measure to have been drawn from an article, in the "Belfast Magazine," and which refers to the Struell wells, with the pilgrimages and practices of people frequenting them in Midsummer. This account appears in Philip Dixon Hardy's "Northern Tourist," &c., pp. 84 to 92.

¹¹ It is covered with flags, and walled round.

¹² See "An Inquiry into the true landing place of St. Patrick in Ulster," by J. W. Hanna, pp. 11, 12, printed at Downpatrick, June, 1858.

acquainted with the locality, that Knockengarre, now Walchstown,¹³ was near Raholp ; as also Balibren,¹⁴ the site of which is still shown, at the Church Hill,¹⁵ in Ballintougher.¹⁶ But greater than all of these was the Church of Saul.¹⁷ As we have seen, already, it was the first founded by St. Patrick, in Ireland. There, too, he spent some of his first and last days, as a Christian minister.

It seems probable, that St. Tassach had been prepared for the priesthood, by St. Patrick himself ; but, by whom he was ordained, we do not discover. Again, Tassach had the gift of prophecy, for the Apostle of Ireland, he had predicted, should receive the Holy Viaticum, at his hands.¹⁸ We are informed, that St. Tassach was appointed as bishop over the Church, at Raholp ; but, our early annals do not record any successors in this See.¹⁹ The townland lies, in the west angle of Ballyculter Parish.²⁰ In a sub-denomination, called Banagher, or Benagh,²¹ about 100 yards to the right of that road, leading from Downpatrick to Ballyculter, are the ruins, called Churchmoyley.²² Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Church of St. Patrick,²³ to whom the present saint was artificer, and bishop, as stated in an old gloss, to the Martyrology of St. Ængus.²⁴ Here, St. Tassach most probably lived, and in close relationship, with his venerated Master, especially during the declining period of St. Patrick's life. The church ruins²⁵ and cemetery there occupy about half a rood of ground.²⁶ From its elevation above the surrounding field, the latter appears to have been formerly a rath.

We are furnished with very few details, which might enable us to form a proper estimate of St. Tassach's missionary career. He was one of Patrick's most favourite companions, and an artificer, who manufactured for him croziers, crosses, shrines, and bells, according to received accounts.²⁷ Even, by St. Fiach, we are told, that Tassach was a worker in metals, for St. Patrick ; and, it is stated, that he first covered the staff of Jesus, with elegant workmanship, in his art.²⁸ One of the most remarkable events of his life is the recorded fact, that he was the Tassach, who gave the body of Christ to St. Patrick,²⁹ and at the request of the Apostle, in the monastery of Sabhall, or

¹³ It is noted, in the parish of Saul, and barony of Lower Lecale, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheet 31.

¹⁴ The name does not appear, on the Ordnance Maps.

¹⁵ This, too, is a local denomination.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁷ The cemetery is still greatly resorted to, for interments of the deceased Catholics. It has a very commanding site, and a beautiful valley extends beneath it, to a range of hills, bordering on Strangford Lough.

¹⁸ See what is stated, by St. Fiach, in Colgan's "Trias Thamaturga," Prima Vita S. Patricii, stanza 27, p. 3.

¹⁹ See a very interesting notice of it, in Rev. James O'Laverty's "Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., pp. 221, 222.

²⁰ This lies, within the barony of Lower Lecale, and it is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," Sheets, 31, 32, 38, 39.

²¹ These denominations do not appear, on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

²² The denomination does not appear, on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

²³ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," p. 39, n. (h).

²⁴ At the 14th of April, *ibid.* Appendix A, p. 142, and Calendar LL, p. 377.

²⁵ These are 33 feet, 4 inches long, by 21 feet, 4 inches, wide. The east and west walls are about 12 feet, in height ; but, the south wall no longer stands. These walls are built with yellow clay. The eastern window is 4 feet, 6 inches, high, and 10 inches wide, on the outside ; it is splayed inwardly, to the width of 3 feet, 2 inches ; and, it ends, not in an arch, but in a large flag.

²⁶ "In the field to the north-east of the ruin there was formerly a well, which was probably the holy well."—Rev. James O'Laverty's "Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor," vol. i., p. 220.

²⁷ See the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. iii., cap. xxviii., and c., p. 167, in Colgan's edition.

²⁸ See "Trias Thamaturga," Prima Vita S. Patricii, stanza 27, p. 3, and n. 27 *dd.* p. 6.

²⁹ See the account, as already given, in vol. iii. of this work, and in our Life of St. Patrick, chap. xxvi.

Saul, as the Life of Patrick states.³⁰ Besides, various Acts of our Apostle allude to him, as having administered the Holy Communion to St. Patrick,³¹ when he had been admonished by the Angel of his approaching end, and during the holy man's last illness.³² At Kill-Chlopta,³³ near Down, his Natalis was celebrated; but, we have no account of when he died, only that we may safely infer, St. Tassach survived his illustrious master, in the government of his particular See.³⁴ From an early date, this holy Bishop seems to have been venerated in the Irish Church; and, we find him commemorated by St. Ængus, in his Feilire, at the 14th of April. At the same date, he is noticed, in the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman.³⁵ Likewise, on this day, we find mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal,³⁶ the name of Tassach, Bishop, of Rath Colptha, or Raholp, in Ulster, *i.e.*, in Leth-Cathail, now known as Lecale. Under the local heading, Duald Mac Firis enters, Bishop Tassach—in Rath-Colpa—Patrick's artist—it was he that gave the communion to Patrick, before his death;³⁷ at April the 4th is the date for his feast. In Scotland, St. Tassagh was commemorated, likewise, on this day, as we find it, in the Kalendar of Drummond.³⁸ This commemoration was due, doubtless, to the circumstance of his close connection during life with St. Patrick, whose glorious and holy departure he helped to sooth and lighten, by the body and blood of our Divine Lord.

ARTICLE II.—ST. CILLEN, OR KILLIAN, SON OF LUBNEN, OR LUBNEY, SAID TO HAVE BEEN ABBOT OF BIRR, KING'S COUNTY. [*Seventh Century.*] It seems probable, that the present holy man was born, early in the seventh century, but where, we cannot ascertain. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ the name of Cillin mac Lubnain occurs, at the 14th of April. Colgan notes his feast, for the same date, calling him St. Killian, son of Lubney.² The proper names, Cillin, Cillen,³ Cilleán, Cellin, Cellen, bearing the same origin and signification, are often confounded with each other; on account of verbal affinity, likewise, they have been classed with the names, Coelan, Coelin,⁴

³⁰ See the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. iii., cap. cii., p. 168, of Colgan's edition, in the "Trias Thaumaturga."

³¹ The Third Life of St. Patrick has it "sicut illi Victor Angelus dixit," &c., cap. lxxxix., p. 28. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga."

³² See *ibid.* Joceline's or Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cxc., p. 107. Also, Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. i., cap. lxxi., p. 128.

³³ This is only another name for Raholp.

³⁴ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, we have the original: the English translation afterwards follows:—

Ḷṁṁḡḡḡḡḡḡ Ḳṁṁṁṁṁ
Ḳṁṁṁṁ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ
Ḳṁṁṁ Ḳṁṁṁ ḡḡḡḡ Ḳṁṁṁṁ
Ḳṁṁṁṁṁ ḡḡ Ḳṁṁṁṁṁ.

"The royal bishop Tassach gave, when he came, (the) body of Christ the truly strong king, with communion, to Patrick."

³⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Prima Vita S. Patricii, n. 19, p. 6.

³⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, p. 103. In a note, Dr. Todd states, that the O'Clerys most probably intended to insert the quatrain of St. Fiach—whom they

quote—when making this entry.

³⁷ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. series, vol. i., Part i., pp. 124, 125.

³⁸ Thus at xviii. Kl. Maii., "Apud Hiberniam Sanctus episcopus et confessor Tassach hoc die ad Christum migravit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 10.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has CILLEN mac LUBNAIN.

² See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiv. Februarii. Vita S. Kiliani et Sociorum, n. 3, p. 331.

³ The words Cillin and Cillen, are diminutives, deduced from Cill, or Cell. Hence, in Latin, they are interpreted by the expression, Cellanus.

⁴ The words, Coelan, Coelen, and Coelin, are derived from the monosyllables, Coel, or Cail, or, according to modern scholars, Caol, which will signify slender, or attenuated. As there is no letter K in the Irish language, its place is supplied by the consonant C, which, before and after slender vowels, receives the same pronunciation, as in other languages should be accorded to the former letter.

and Coelen, which, however, have a different derivation. The foregoing names are variously applied to our Irish Saints.⁵ The aforesaid names, when Latinized, are variously expressed, by these words, Cillinus, Killinus, Celenus, Kellenus, Kilianus. Kilienus, Chilianus, and Chilenus; as also, by Coelanus, Caolanus, Coelinus, Coelenus, and Caelanus.⁶ The Bollandists,⁷ who quote the Martyrology of Tallagh, as their authority, have Killinus filius Lubriaani,⁸ for this day. By the local writer, likewise, are we told, that St. Killian, Abbot of Birr, and successor to St. Brendan, or Brenainn,⁹ was commemorated, on the 14th of April.¹⁰ Various derivations have been sought for Biorra, or Birr. According to Dr. O'Donovan, it was thus called, from the site having been a callow,¹¹ or field, occasionally overflowed by a river. The local historian¹² was informed,¹³ that Birr took its name, from the Irish word *Bior*, which is said to have meant, "a spring well," or "the brink of a



St. Brendan's Catholic Church, in the Town of Birr, King's County.

river;" and, as the ancient town was situate upon the river, it might from that circumstance have been denominated Birr.¹⁴ Another conjecture is, that it came from *Bir*, "a spit,"¹⁵ in consequence of the river there taking its denomination, from a crooked weir, which might have resembled a spit.¹⁶ For-

⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thanmaturga." Sexta Vita S. Brigidæ, n. 3, p. 597.

⁶ In these words, also, *ae*, *ae*, and *ao*, are diphthongs.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 200.

⁸ This is evidently a misprint.

⁹ His feast occurs, at the 29th of November.

¹⁰ See "The Picture of Parsonstown, in the King's County, containing the History of

that Town," &c., Part i., pp. 16, 17.

¹¹ In Irish called *ppat*.

¹² Cooke, who wrote the History of Parsonstown.

¹³ By an noble member of the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁴ It is remarked, that Birr, in Hebrew, means "a well."

¹⁵ See Cooke's "Picture of Parsonstown," Part i., p. 16.

¹⁶ In commenting on the foregoing remarks, Mr. O'Donovan observes:—"All this

merly, the place had great historic importance, and from the time St. Brendan¹⁷ had there founded his monastery, in the sixth century.¹⁸ Upon the grant of Birr town and the surrounding lands to the family of Parsons,¹⁹ the name had been changed by many to Parsonstown; however, the inhabitants of this place and neighbourhood prefer to call it, by the old historic denomination. At present, a fine Catholic church,²⁰ and some religious establishments, are dedicated there to St. Brendan. It seems a doubtful matter, if the present holy man had been distinct from St. Killene, the son of Lubney, who was Abbot of Saigher, in this same part of the country. The feast of this latter saint was kept on the 12th of April; and, he lived, it is stated, until after the year 695,²¹ or later, when he, with forty other prelates, assisted at a synod,²² presided over by Flann,²³ Archbishop of Armagh,²⁴ and the Acts of which were in Colgan's possession.²⁵ The Calendarist O'Clery thinks, the present saint is that Cillén, son to Lubnén, and Abbot of Biorra, or Birr, whom the Cain Adamnain²⁶ mentions, as one of those saints, whom Adamnan²⁷ received as security, for liberating women from every bond-work, and from every slavery, to which they had heretofore been liable.²⁸ When Cillen assumed that position is not known. The present saint is said, however, to have been Abbot, over the monastery of Birr,²⁹ in the King's County, and to

is very fine, and shows how hard it is to have the right knowledge! I have the following objections to make to his text and note. 1. 'Mr. O'Reilly testifies in his Irish Dictionary that *Birra* means 'standing water or marshy field.' What does Mr. Cooke mean by *testifies*? M. O'Reilly knew nothing about the localities of Birr, or of the meaning of the word except what he copied from O'Clery's Glossary. How then is the word *testifies* applicable? 2. *Bir* does not mean a *spring well*, but water in general. 3. *Bior* does not mean the *brink of a river*. 4. *Bir* or *Bior* means a *spit*, but the village or town of *Birr*, was never called *Bir* or *Bior* in Irish. It was Anglicised to that. 5. It was not called *Biorra* to give it a Latin termination, for all the most ancient and modern Irish writers have written it *ΒΙΟΡΡΑ* in the nominative form. What then is the meaning of the name? If we don't agree with O'Clery and the more ancient Glossographers from whom he copied, that *ΒΙΡΡΑ* or *ΒΙΟΡΡΑ* was an ancient Irish word to express 'watery field,' we must reduce it to 'horns,' like Banagher, and we shall then find ourselves between the horns of a difficulty. But it would be audacious to reject the testimony of the old Glossographers in explaining an old word in their own language, for that of Mr. Cooke. How does he know whether there was any standing water near the town in the time of St. Brendan, or how does he know what *feature* was originally called *ΒΙΡΡΑ*? How does he know but his *Cam chor* river has by constant running deepened its channel?"—Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the King's County, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837-8," vol. ii., pp. 70, 71, 72. Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Birr, January 29th, 1838. Mr. Donovan afterwards gives some historical notices

regarding Birr. See *ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.

¹⁷ He is called, also, "filius Luaigni."

¹⁸ His death is assigned to A.D. 571. See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." xxix. Januarii, Vita S. Gildæ Badonici, n. 13, p. 193.

¹⁹ In the reign of King James I.

²⁰ The accompanying engraving of it, by Mrs. Millard, is after drawing on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and from a photograph, furnished by the Very Rev. Michael Bugler, P.P., of Birr, and V.G. of Killaloe Diocese. The venerable Pastor has erected most of those religious institutions, while his many services to the Church and to our country have deservedly earned for him universal esteem and respect.

²¹ This date has been contested. See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Memoir of St. Adamnan, pp. xlvi. to li.

²² Said to have been held at Tara.

²³ He is known as Flan-Febla, and his incumbency lasted from A.D. 688 to April 24th, A.D. 715, when he died. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 40.

²⁴ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." v. Martii, Vita S. Kieran. Appendix, cap. v., p. 473.

²⁵ These were copied, by Michael O'Clery, from the Book of Raphoe; and, at present, they are preserved, in the Burgundian Library, at Brussels, classed No. 2324. See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." "Memoir of St. Adamnan," p. 1.

²⁶ Anglicised, "the Tribute of Adamnan."

²⁷ The Life of St. Adamnan will be given, at the 23rd of September.

²⁸ The Irish Annals state, that he gave the law of the innocents to the people, in 696. See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. Annales Ultonienses, p. 66. This event is placed, at the

have died, in the year 690.³⁰ We know not on what authority, Archdall has founded the foregoing date for his death; if it be correct, this Abbot of Birr could not have been at that synod, to which allusion has been made. The Martyrology of Donegal³¹ states, that this day was dedicated to honour Cillén, son of Lubnén. In that Irish Calendar, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy, and formerly kept among the Ordnance Survey Records, his feast is placed,³² at xviii. of the May Kalends, corresponding with the 14th of April. Referring to some Calendar, in Manuscript, Archdall places his festival, at this day, without stating the name of his father.³³ Little more is known regarding this saint.

ARTICLE III.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. CILLENE FADA, ABBOT OF IONA, SCOTLAND. [*Seventh and Eighth Centuries.*] This holy man was born in Ireland, and probably towards the middle of the seventh century. It seems not questionable, that the Cillene Fada, or the Tall, who succeeded Faelcu, Abbot of Iona, in the year 724,¹ was distinct from St. Cillen Mac Lubnen, Abbot of Birr. During that period, when the former governed in Hy, Nechtain, King of the Picts, abandoned his regal state, to obtain monastic rest, which he enjoyed only for a short time. The name Kellenus Longus, Abbot of Hy, occurs, in the “Trias Thaumaturga”² of Colgan, and his festival is assigned to the 14th of April.³ His pedigree is not recorded, while his incumbency over the monastery seems to have been very brief, and little marked by events. He only exercised the rule of Abbot, about two years.⁴ His death is referred to A.D. 725.⁵ In the Irish language, he was called Fada, or “the Tall,” to distinguish him from St. Cillene Droicteach,⁶ the hermit, who died in the year 752. By the Irish Annalist Tighernach, Cillenus Longus, Abbot of Iae, is said to have found rest, A.D. 726;⁷ and, we are told, by the Rev. Dr. Reeves,⁸ that his festival is uncertain.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. CELLACH, ABBOT OF KILDARE, AND ABBOT OF IONA, IN SCOTLAND. [*Ninth Century.*] A Cellach, son of Ailill, became Abbot of Kildare, and afterwards he seems to have migrated to Scotland. Here, he succeeded Innrechtach, Abbot of Iona, who died March 12th, A.D. 854.¹ Thus, he appears to have combined the presidency of a monastery, not of the

following year, A.D. 697, in the Tigernachi Annales, *ibid.*, tomus ii., p. 219.

²⁹ In Cooke's “Picture of Parsonstown,” we read these following remarks, on the origin and derivation of the name. “It seems that this place (Parsonstown) had been in remote ages called ‘Tulach Brenayd,’ which signifies according to Hanner's ‘Chronicle,’ ‘Collis Brendani,’ Brendan's Hill.”—Part i., p. 16.

³⁰ See Archdall's “Monasticon Hibernicum,” p. 378.

³¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

³² Thus is it entered, Cillen mac Lubnan.—Common Place Book F, p. 38.

³³ Likewise, in the “Picture of Parsonstown” its author, following Archdall, thus remarks: “In the year 690, died St. Killian, Abbot and successor of St. Brendan. His feast is held, on the 14th of April.” Part i.,

pp. 16, 17.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See Dr. O'Connor's “Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum,” tomus ii. Tigernaci Annales, p. 234.

² See Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., sect. v., p. 502.

³ The Rev. Dr. Reeves says, that he died on the 14th, or on the 19th of April.

⁴ His death occurred, A.D. 726, according to Tigernach's Annals. “See Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum,” tomus ii., p. 235.

⁵ According to the Chronology of the Four Masters.

⁶ His feast occurs, on the 3rd of July.

⁷ See Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. Additional Notes O, p. 382.

⁸ See *ibid.*

ARTICLE IV.—¹ In Dr. O'Connor's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, the date is 852. See “Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum,” tomus iii., p. 356.

Columbian order, with that of St. Columba's Society. During the earlier years of his rule over the monastery, at Iona, the western and southern parts of Scotland seem to have been greatly disturbed, in consequence of wars prevailing between the Northmen, the Irish, and the Gall-Gaeidhil.² These latter were probably engaged as mercenaries, by the monarch of Ireland. It is thought, that St. Cellach was engaged, on a visitation of the Columbian churches in Scotland, at the time of his death. It is said, that Kellach II., Abbot of Iona, died on the 14th of April, A.D. 863.³ In the Appendix to the Rev. Dr. Reeves' work,⁴ the year 865 is stated to be that, when Cellach Mac Ailella, Abbot of Cilldara, and Abbot of Iae, rested from his labours, in the region of the Picts.

ARTICLE V.—ST. COLMAN. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ we find the simple entry of Colman, at the 14th of April. On the same authority, the Bollandists² have a mere entry of Colmanus, but nothing to indicate his descent, age, or locality. There is a Colman, son of Tighernach, son to Fergus, son of Ænguss, son to Conall Gulban, mentioned in the Sanctilogium Genealogicum. He was brother to St. Begus, or Beg-bilius, venerated on the 12th of October.³ We find, likewise, there was a Colman, son to Obeona.⁴ But, it is not certain, he was classed among the saints; much less, that he can be identified with the present holy man. Under the head of Lothra, Duaid Mac Firbis enters⁵ Colum, son of Faoilghus, and bishop of Lothra, or Lorrha, quievit, 783.⁶ The Annals of Ulster have the date 787; but, Dr. O'Donovan states, the true year was A.D. 788.⁷ There was a Colman, or Columbanus, son of Ronan, son to Loarn, son to Fergus, son of Conall Gulban. Thus, was he a relation of the great St. Columkille. Colgan thinks, that other circumstances indicating, he must be one of the Colmans venerated, either on the 13th of January, 2nd of February, 8th or 30th of March, 9th or 14th of April, 1st, 2nd, 21st, 24th, or 26th of May, 1st or 4th of June.⁸ We are informed, that nearly one hundred and thirty saints, bearing this name, are to be found in our Calendars.⁹ The simple name, Colman, occurs, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁰ as having been venerated, on this day. There is a parish, called Kilcolmanbrack,¹¹ in the Queen's County; and, within the

² Or "Stranger-Irish," who were descendants of Irish settlers, in the Western Isles of Scotland.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., sect. v., p. 502.

⁴ See Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Additional Notes O, pp. 390, 391.

ARTICLE V.—Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy only enters Colman.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 200.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., p. 480.

⁴ In vol. iv., Part i., p. 67, among the Bruxelles MSS., in the Burgundian Library, I find a treatise, written by him, and intitled, "De Vitiis latentibus sub umbra bonorum operum."

⁵ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy." Irish MSS. series, vol. i., Part i., pp. 118, 119.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 390, 391.

⁷ See *ibid.*, and n. (z).

⁸ The O'Clerys number ninety-four saints, bearing this name.

⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iii., p. 480.

¹⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

¹¹ The rendering in English appears to be, "the church of Colman, the speckled;" yet, such an appellation is not to be found on the Calendar lists of our Saints, called Colman. This parish is in the Barony of Cullenagh, and it is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the Queen's County," Sheet 18.

demesne of Cremorgan¹² are the ruins of an interesting old church or chantry, with a graveyard, embowered in the woods, yet not far from the high road between Timahoe¹³ and Maryborough. That church seems to have been narrow, and considerably elongated; it has now a thick covering of ivy.¹⁴ The cemetery is still used for interments. Within the mediæval chapel are the tombs of many scions, belonging to the Moore family, said to have been descended from the O'Moores, chieftains of Leix. We do not know, however, that the foregoing place can be associated, with that St. Colman, venerated on the pre-



Old Church of Kilcolmanbrack, Queen's County.

sent day. There is a holy well, known as Tobar Cholmain, in Owenduff Parish,¹⁵ County of Wexford; but, the difficulty remains to identify it with any one of the numerous saints, called Colman, and mentioned in our Irish Calendars.¹⁶

ARTICLE VI.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. MEDAN, BISHOP. Quoting a Scottish Breviary and Hector Boethius, as authorities, Thomas Dempster enters St. Medan, Bishop,¹ at the 14th of April. Following him, Ferarius has a similar entry, in his General Catalogue of Saints, at the same date; while the Bollandists,² also, inserting his festival, for this day, remark, that they find no mention of him, in any other Catalogue of Scottish Saints.

¹² Belonging to Lewis Moore, Esq., in 1865, and the place is still in possession of that respectable family. See *ibid.*

¹³ The parish of Timahoe or Fossy, in the Barony of Cullenagh, is described, on Sheets 18, 19, 24, 25. *Ibid.* The townland of Timahoe is on Sheets 18, 19, 24.

¹⁴ The accompanying illustration was taken on the spot, as the author believes, in the summer of 1865. It has been transferred to the wood and engraved, by Gregor Grey, of Dublin.

¹⁵ It is in the barony of Shelburne, and

it is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wexford," Sheets 34, 33, 35, 40.

¹⁶ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. ii., p. 361.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Thus, "Medani Episcopi." —"Menologium Scotorum," in Bishop Forbes' Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 200.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. ERARD, MISSIONARY AT RATISBON, BAVARIA. [*Seventh Century.*] At this date, April 14th, Camerarius has recorded a festival for Eberhard, Bishop. On the same authority, the Bollandists¹ enter his feast. His Acts are already given, at the 8th day of January, and to these the reader is referred, for the particulars of his career.

Fifteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. RUADHÁN, OR RODAN, ABBOT OF LOTHRA, OR LORRAH, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

[SIXTH CENTURY.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—SOURCES FOR ST. RUADHAN'S OR RODAN'S BIOGRAPHY—HIS FAMILY AND BIRTH—HIS RELIGIOUS VOCATION AND TRAINING—EDUCATED BY ST. FINIAN OF CLONARD—HE RETURNS TO MUSKERRY—FOUNDATION OF LORRAH, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE.

WE should no more confound the traditions and legends of the saints, with infallible dogma, than we ought the drops of morning dew, with the aurora rays, which beam upon them. Rather must we consider with emotion that mysticism, now so little understood, and the poetry of past ages, as emanations of a world, penetrated with the faith and spirit of Christianity. Various traditions of the saints are not of faith. They serve, however, to revive the memory of holy persons long departed, and, as occurred to a great French Catholic writer, in reference to St. Francis of Assisium,² to present the recollection of such servants of God, as if they died only on yesterday.

Various Manuscript Lives of St. Ruadan, or Rodan, are extant in Ireland,² and in other countries. Thus, among the Burgundian MSS., in the public Library at Bruxelles, there is a fragment of St. Ruan's Life,³ transcribed from an Irish original, by Michael O'Clery.⁴ In the Bodleian Library, at Oxford,⁵ and at the Salamanca Library, in Spain, Manuscript Lives of him are to be found. Some notices of St. Ruadhan are given, by Bishop Challenor,⁶ Rev. Alban Butler,⁷ and Rev. S. Baring-Gould.⁸ By Colgan, some

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 199.

CHAPTER I.—² See Ozanam's "Œuvres Complètes," tome v., Preface, p. 6.

³ Thus, there is a Vita S. Ruadani, at fol. 53, in the Trinity College, Dublin, Manuscript, classed E, 3, 11. There is a Vita S. Ruadani, among the Manuscripts of Marsh's Library, Dublin, fol. 86, 88b, vell. xiii. century. In the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, there is a Manuscript, intitled, "Vita Sanctorum," ex Cod. Inisensi. It contains Vita S. Ruadhani, p. 14 ad 21.

³ It is to be met with, in vol. xxii., at fol. 106.

⁴ It is classed, vol. iv., Part ii., p. 52.

⁵ These various copies are thus described: Vita S. Ruadani Abbatis de Lothra. MS. Also, Bodl. Rawl, B. 505, pp. 16, 21, vell. f. xiv. cent., and MS. Bodl. Rawl, B. 485, f. 217, vell. 4to, xiv. cent.

⁶ See "Britannia Sancta," Part i., p. 227.

⁷ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal saints," vol. iv., April xv.

⁸ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, pp. 202 to 204.

Acts of this saint appear to have been collected for publication, at the 15th of April; and, he intended publishing them, on that day.⁹ An ancient vellum Manuscript, procured from the College of Irish Jesuit Fathers, at Salamanca, and which contained the Life of St. Ruadan, enabled the Bollandists to give us some particulars—many of a legendary character—regarding the present saint.¹¹ This Life¹² has been edited by a learned and judicious critic, Father Daniel Papebroch. He tells us, that it has been written in a simple and rude style, resembling in this respect, almost all other Lives of Irish Saints, composed in the twelfth century, or at some period nearly subsequent. It should seem, from this remark, that Papebroch inclined to an opinion, that this tract, which he edited, was not older than the twelfth century, although the subject of it lived, in the sixth century. He was contemporaneous with St. Columba,¹³ Abbot of Iona; and, Ruadan lived, somewhat before the birth of that saint, as appears from the biography here given. That Colgan had a copy of this saint's life, yet somewhat more elaborate and amplified—although likewise written at a later period than the Bollandists' published one—appears from a particular narration, which may rather be regarded as a fable.¹⁵ This has been omitted by Papebroke, in the Acts of St. Ruadan, inserted, at the 15th of April; lest, as he observes, its absurdity should furnish an occasion for scandal. Papebroke did not consider it a matter of much importance, to procure the more recent copy, used by Colgan, when editing our Saint's Acts; for, he supposed the more ancient one followed the original and prior authorities, with greater fidelity. He considered, likewise, that St. Ruadhan's biography could not have been enhanced, by the recent and enlarged copy. At a time, when the Catholic Church was firmly established in Ireland, Papebroke is satisfied, the name of this saint was celebrated and venerable, among the Irish; for, he is reckoned as one, the most illustrious of their holy persons, whose Acts have been written. Again, Papebroch hoped, when the Acts of Irish Saints for April and succeeding months should be edited by Colgan's¹⁶ successors, those records, which were in their possession, perhaps might furnish much information, regarding that ancient and solemn veneration, in which our present saint had formerly been held.¹⁷

⁹ See *Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ Ms. habentur, Ordine Mensium et Dierum.*

¹⁰ See "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," xxiii. Februarii, n. 24, p. 398, and v. Martii, n. 37, p. 465. *Ibid.*

¹¹ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De S. Rodano sive Ruadano Abbate, Lothrensi in Hibernia, pp. 382 to 386.

¹² It is published, in Three Chapters, and in Seventeen Sections, illustrated by notes, while a commentary, in Three Paragraphs, precedes it.

¹³ After these remarks, thus rendered from Papebroke's Latin, he adds, within a parenthesis ("*neque enim usquequaque carent tanto post scripta monumenta admixtione fabularum*,") &c.—"*Acta Sanctorum*," vol. ii., Aprilis xv., *Prævius Commentarius*, sect. i., p. 382.

¹⁴ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

¹⁵ See Colgan's "*Trias Thaumaturga*," *Secunda Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ*, sect. xxxix., p. 461. The Life of St. Ruadan, cap. xxxi., is there quoted.

¹⁶ Papebroke, has it, "*brevi ut speramus*

edenda," referring to these Acts. It is sadly to be regretted, those hopes were destined to suffer disappointment. Even, at the present day, the brethren of Colgan's order have not completed the learned and patriotic Franciscan's labours. Yet, it would seem from Papebroch's remark, that about the time he wrote, in, or before, the year 1675, he must have received some information, which led him to entertain a hope, that the "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*" were to be continued. Or, at least, we may infer, that Colgan's MSS. were expected to have been published, soon after the period indicated, by the Irish Franciscans, living at Louvain. Many of these Manuscripts are probably now dispersed and lost; although, several most important ones among them have been brought from Rome to the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, where they are at present accessible.

¹⁷ Papebroke adds, that the Martyrology of Tallagh then furnished exclusive testimony of this fact. See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De S. Rodano, &c. *Commentarius prævius*, sect. 2, p. 382.

There are various modes for writing the name of our saint. The Manuscript, used by Papebroke, called him Rodanus, to the tenth number, or paragraph: afterwards, the name is found written Ruodanus, or sometimes Ruadanus. This latter orthography seems to have been adopted, by Father John Colgan, as also by the author of the Tallagh Martyrology.¹⁸ However, Papebroke retained the first, as the most facile, when giving the Acts of our saint. It is probable, that the Cologne Carthusians—when editing the Martyrology of Usuard,¹⁹ with their own comments added—fell into the mistake of calling our saint Candanus,²⁰ by following some copy, in which his name was written Ruodanus.²¹ This latter word, most likely, had not been inserted very legibly, or in plain characters.²²

This saint is said to have been of noble extraction. However, it is not easy to discover the place of his birth or family residence.²³ Ruadan was son to Birrus,²⁴ and he descended, from the noble family of Duach, surnamed Galach.²⁵ He sprung from the posterity of Dubrugy.²⁶ Ruadan seems to have been born, about or after the beginning of the sixth century, and to have been a child of election from his mother's womb. During his very infancy, he was entirely devoted to the love God. Through an inspiration of Divine Grace, he left his parents and went towards the territories of Niall's posterity,²⁷ or Meath,²⁸ for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures, and of subjecting himself to ecclesiastical discipline. He studied for a long time, under St. Finnian,²⁹ Bishop of Clonard.³⁰ When thoroughly instructed in

¹⁸ "Ruadan Lothra."—Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition of the "Martyrology of Tallagh," p. xxi.

¹⁹ In 1521, this edition appeared.

²⁰ The Carthusians have written "In Hibernia Candani Episcopi." Canisius, in his German Martyrology, followed them. His remarks, in turn, were copied by Ferrarius, in his "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum."

²¹ Papebroch observes, that in all the Indices of proper names, as given by Colgan, the name Candanus nowhere occurs, nor any similar name. Hence, it may be doubted, if he were an Irish saint, *ibid.*, sect. 3. The doubt will be altogether removed, and Papebroke's opinion confirmed, when the name Candanus is not found, in O'Clery's Martyrology, at the 15th of April.

²² However, Papebroch would not undertake to assert absolutely, that there had not been a saint Candanus, in Ireland; for, Henry Fitzsimon, in his Catalogue of the principal Irish Saints, reproduces the name Candanus, on the authority of Canisius. He adds, the derivation of a place, from the same person, "a quo Balli-candan, in Hibernia." Papebroch says, owing to any error, it is difficult to believe, that the proper names of any Irishman could be set down Baile-Ruadan, or, as written, in this life, Pol-Ruodan. He then adds, whoever gave name to Ballicandan, it appears altogether likely, that the St. Ruadhan, set down in our Irish Martyrologies at this date, had no connexion with it.

²³ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xii., sect. xii., p. 233. This learned writer conjectures,

that Ruadan's birth must be assigned to the early part of the sixth century, as he studied under St. Finian of Clonard, and was reckoned among his chief disciples. *Ibid.*

²⁴ The O'Clerys' Martyrology relates, that his Ruadhan belonged to the race of Eoghan Mor, son of Oillioll Olum. Thus Ruadhan was the son of Fergus Beru, son to Eochaidh, son to Dera Dubh, son of Daire, son to Oiloll Flannbeg, son of Fiacha Maillethan, son to Eoghan Mor, son of Oillioll Olum.

²⁵ In the "Trias Thaumaturga" of Colgan, he cites a Life of St. Benignus, in Tertia Appendix ad Acta St. Patricii; and, it is stated, there, that St. Patrick predicted the enjoyment of a kingdom and a numerous posterity to Duach, younger son to Brian, King of Connaught. See num. xxvi., pp. 203, 204.

²⁶ Papebroch conjectured, that the place, called Dubrugy, the country of St. Raudan's nativity, might have belonged to the descendants of the aforesaid Duach. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii. De S. Rodano, &c., cap. i., n. (a), p. 383.

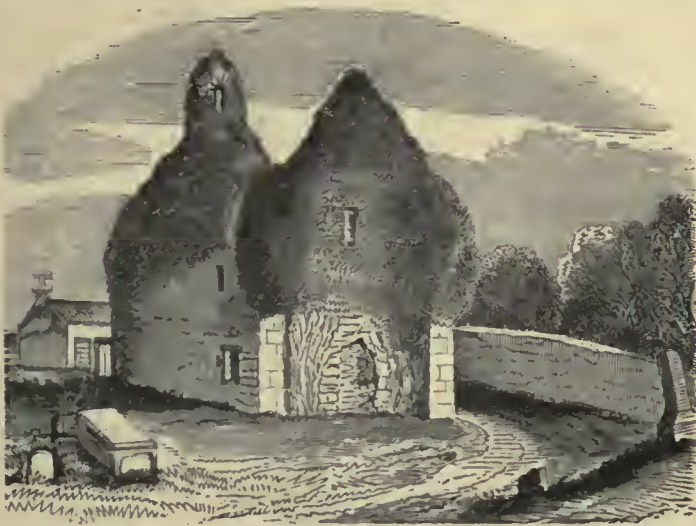
²⁷ Known as the Ui Niall, in Irish history.

²⁸ Here were the mensal lands of the supreme Monarch of Ireland, and for a long period these were possessed, by the Northern Ui Niall kings.

²⁹ His feast occurs, at the 12th of December. His Life will be found, at that date.

³⁰ The Bollandists have remarked, in their commentary on St. Kieran's Acts, "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Martii v., num. 12, that St. Finian began to teach in Ireland,

Sacred Scripture, and perfect in all devout practices, our saint, taking leave of his Master,³¹ went to the country of Muskerry.³² Here, he is said to have taken up his residence,³³ with Mac Cunethin.³⁴ In that locality, he remained, until an angel was sent from God, to announce that it should not be the place of his resurrection. Then, Ruadan left that particular spot, and, he went to another,³⁵ where a city existed, at the time his Acts were written. Affrighted on his arrival, a wild boar fled hastily from a hollow tree, at this spot. It is said, that there St. Ruadan founded his city,³⁶ probably at Lorrah,³⁷ anciently called Lothra, within the present barony of Lower Ormond, in the



Mediæval Ruin at Lorrah, County of Tipperary.

county of Tipperary.³⁸ The site of this monastery lies about three miles eastward from the River Shannon, and its position is yet very picturesque. A

about the beginning of the sixth century; yet, not in the Monastery of Clonard, of which he received possession, only about the year 540.

³¹ In the Life of our saint, as published by the Bollandists, it is said, "accepto gradu valedicens Magistro," &c. These expressions show, that the writer of our saint's Acts flourished at a comparatively recent period, and when the conferring of University degrees were established. The master here referred to was St. Finnian.

³² This territory was within the province of Munster, and under distinctive denominations.

³³ The text has "ibique primitus apud Mac-Cunethin locum constituit."

³⁴ Papebroch suggests, it is more probable, that Mac-Cunethan should be written Mac-Kinethum, as Kinethus was an Irish name well recognised, according to the histo-

rical Indices of Colgan. It was not known to Papebroch, that the person named was an Irish saint. See n. (e), p. 383.

³⁵ Without warrant, Bishop Challoner assumes, that Ruadhan founded an Abbey, at Muscrigia, or Muscriity, in Munster, and a different one at Lothra. See "Britannia Sancta," Part i., p. 227.

³⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. i., sect. i., pp. 382, 383.

³⁷ This town and parish are in the barony of Lower Ormond, and described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," Sheets 1, 3, 4, 5, 7. The town and townland are on Sheet 4. Formerly, Lorrah lay within the territory of Muscraige Tire, the extent of which is defined, by Sir Charles O'Carroll, in a letter to the Lord Deputy, A. D. 1585. It was comprised, also, within the principality of Thomond.

collection of venerable ruins yet remain, but bearing a comparatively modern date. The old Dominican Abbey ruins³⁹ are the most picturesque, and they are situate within a cemetery, beside a small stream, which flows into the Friars' Lough,⁴⁰ a little below the village of Lorrh, and thence into the Shannon. High old woods and copse trees crown the rising grounds, on its left bank.⁴¹ Beside the Dominican church ruins, those of a mediæval mill are to be found, and on the stream's right bank, where they are seen, a deep cut through a rocky surface may be traced. Besides the foregoing interesting remains, there is a singular old mediæval house, at Lorrh. Its walls are massive, and perforated with windows. One of its gables was surmounted by a belfry.⁴² It consisted of two stories, and it is now thickly covered with ivy, on the gables. In the graveyard surrounding it are the pedestal and broken shaft of a massive Irish cross.⁴³ This spot seems to have been the original site for St. Ruadhan's Monastery, and it possesses the advantage of situation, over that occupied by the old Dominican Abbey. It is generally supposed, that our saint founded his religious house,⁴⁴ at Lorrh, somewhat near A.D. 550.

About the same time, St. Brendan Mac-Tualt⁴⁵—or rather perhaps Ua Alt⁴⁶—had erected a residence for himself, not far from Ruadhan, and in a town, called Tulach-Brendin.⁴⁷ Both of these establishments were so near,

See "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., p. lxx., n. 613.

³⁹ In the first Life of St. Kieran of Saighir, as published by Colgan, St. Ruadan is said to have been Abbot of Lothra, or Lorrh, during Kieran's lifetime. See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. x., sect. ii., n. 31, p. 9, and chap. xii., nn. 182, 183, pp. 233, 234.

³⁹ An engraving of these will be found, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. ii., No. 86. A description of the old building follows, by T. A., but the writer seems to have been very uninformed, regarding the history of the place. See pp. 265, 266.

⁴⁰ This deep pool is now of moderate size, although before the bottom lands around it underwent drainage, a vast sheet of water spread over them, from below the Dominican Abbey ruins. The angler may catch pike, bream, perch and roach, in the Friars' Lough. During a visit to the place, in August, 1869, the writer had an opportunity for taking those notes from information obtained on the spot.

⁴¹ At the distance of half a mile, on a sloping ground the other side, are the ruins of Portland old church, and a graveyard extends around it, but now disused for purposes of interment. The railway from Birr to Portumna interposes through a low, moory bottom. The site of Portland church is truly magnificent, and it dominates over an arm of the River Shannon, spreading into Lough Derg, at some distance below. Rich pasture lands surround the ruins, and have completely obliterated the graveyard; but, venerable old ash and hawthorn trees grow near the well-jointed and massive lime-stones.

The Tipperary and Clare Mountains stretch off towards the south. The ruined walls are nearly three feet in thickness, and the church measured fifty feet, in length, by twenty-four, in breadth. The eastern gable is nearly perfect, with an elegant lancet-shaped window of cut stone; and, it has a semi-circular arch, beautifully turned, on the interior splay. At the other end, the gable has disappeared; but, the side walls are tolerably preserved, except where there is a little breach on the south side. There the only entrance door once stood. A chamber of small dimensions occupied the west end, and a ruinous cross-wall may yet be traced there, with a door having cut stone jambs curiously contrived and placed. This church is evidently an ancient one; but, only unbaptized infants are now buried within its walls. The fields around it are called the Church Parks.

⁴² In August, 1856, on the occasion of a visit to this place, the author drew the accompanying sketch, since transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁴³ This object is shown in the engraving.

⁴⁴ By Archdall, it is called, an Abbey of Regular Canons. See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 666.

⁴⁵ The Bollandist editor supposed him to have been St. Brendan, the Navigator, whose feast is assigned to the 16th of May, where his Life will be found. But, as he remarks, the latter was son to Finlocha, son of Athil, according to the Manuscript Life, at St. Maximinus. See, at cap. i., n. (f), p. 383. Perhaps, Tualt is used for Athil, which is the conjecture of Papebroch.

⁴⁶ This we deem to be the correct reading.

that the bells of either churches were heard, at one and the same station. Whereupon, Brendan said: "I and Ruadan cannot dwell together; and, therefore, I am resolved on leaving this place for him." Brendan then went forth, and he built Clonfert,⁴⁷ and Ruadhan blessed him, saying, "Thy city shall not be less important than mine."⁴⁸ When St. Ruadhan went out from the northern parts of Ireland, he wrought many wonders, and he acquired a large parish. He wished, likewise, to establish a residence for himself, in that quarter; but, a certain man, on whose lands he desired to build, took him by the hand, and prevented him. It is stated, that the sea and the sea-shore⁵⁰ covered the fields of this man, so that they were no longer habitable.⁵¹

CHAPTER II.

MIRACLES WROUGHT BY ST. RUADHAN—HE VISITS TIR-OLLEA—HE RESTORES TO HEALTH THE QUEEN OF KING KUALAIN—HE BRINGS TO LIFE THE SON OF A BRITISH KING—HIS COMMUNITY AND THEIR SIMPLE HABITS OF LIVING AT LORRHA.

ON a certain day, when St. Ruadan came to a city, which was called Snam-Luthir,¹ in the territory of Carbry's Race,² it chanced, that the dead body of the king, who ruled over this district, was brought in a chariot, to that city. All his former subjects were bewailing his death. Ruadan, compassionating them, prayed to the Lord, and the king was instantly restored to life. Afterwards, the ruler presented his city Luthir,³ and his subjects, for the future disposal of St. Ruadan. On a certain day, when St. Ruadan came to a place, called Roys-Enni,⁴ which seems to have been in Hi-crich-archer,⁵ he found a great crowd of people there, and he asked for what purpose they had assembled. They answered, saying, "In this city, during a great mortality, the

⁴⁷ Clonfert is said to have been situated on the confines of Connaught and of Ormond. See cap. i., n. (g). p. 383.

⁴⁸ It may be asked, where Tulach-Brendin is now to be found,

⁴⁹ The Life says, "magnam parochiam ibi acquisivit," &c. This ecclesiastical term comes from the Greeks, and we do not find, that before the end of the fourth century, *parochia*, or parishes, were formed in Italy. See Bergier's "Dictionnaire de Théologie," *sub voce*, Paroisse, tome iii., p. 614.

⁵⁰ From this statement, the place appears to have been some maritime spot; but, where it was situated seems a matter difficult to determine.

⁵¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Ruadani, cap. i., sect. 2, p. 383.

CHAPTER II.—¹ In Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita quarta S. Columbæ, lib. ii., nn. 34, 35, p. 384, we are told, that this Snam-Luthir was situated, in the territory, which was called Carbre-Gabra, or Carbre-Mor, and sometimes Carbre Droma Cliabh. A certain St. Coleman, who is venerated at the 1st of January, is thought, by Colgan, to have been the founder of Snam-Luthir monastery. See, also, "Acta Sanctorum

Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii. Vita S. Fechini, cap. xxx., and nn. t8, 19, pp. 136, 141.

² It is placed, by Colgan, as a maritime region, in Northern Connaught, and where the Monastery of Drumcliff had been founded, in the time of St. Columba. See *ibid.*

³ Papebroke appends a comment, at this word, Luthir, which is deemed to have been Lorrha, although a doubt had been expressed, at the Acts of St. Kieran, cap. 3, and lit. (d), as to whether it had been the monastery of St. Ruadan, in Ormond. However, meeting this word Luthir, in its present connexion, seems to have removed all doubt, as to its identity with Lorrha, from the mind of the editor. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De S. Rodano, &c., cap. i., sect. 3, n. (i), pp. 383, 384.

⁴ The only denomination, approaching this locality in pronunciation, that I can find, is Rossena, a townland in the parish of Killabban, and barony of Slievemargy, which is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the Queen's County," Sheet 32.

⁵ Among the Irish territorial denominations, I have not been able to find any similarly named.

people's substance had been buried in the earth;⁶ but, we know not, in what particular place, that treasure was hidden." Then, Rodan went through the circuit of the city, which he blessed, and sounding his bell, he prayed. Immediately, the earth's surface opened over that spot, where the people's substance lay. Wherefore, the inhabitants of this place, giving thanks to God, presented their city and the neighbouring territory to St. Ruadan.⁷ After these occurrences, our saint proceeded from the north, to his sister Daroi.⁸ It would appear, she lived within the country of Ailell's Race;⁹ and, at a place called Senchue, he founded an establishment of some sort. Its site had been presented to him, by the people, in perpetual fee. The following legend seems to have reference to this place. At a certain time, a cook brought milk from a cattle-stall,¹⁰ into the city. For seven successive days, as he entered the town, the milk was spilled on the ground. At length, St. Ruadan went to the city entrance, to learn the cause for these accidents. There he saw two Demons; one of these was at the right, and the other at the left, in the suburbs. Those malignant spirits struck the vessels, in which the milk was contained, and from either side. These vessels fell broken on the ground, off the horse that bore them. It is said, that the Demons acted in this manner, because the cook was not hospitable to the monastic guests. Then, St. Ruadan sent the Demons to the depths of the sea, so that they might not inflict more damage upon human beings.¹¹

A certain young man, belonging to Aradaib-Cliachu,¹² wishing to study the art of medicine, entreated St. Ruadan's blessing, on his hands. Then, our saint blessed his hands and eyes, when immediately he became perfect, in every branch of the healing art. At the same time, the Queen of King Kualain, within a certain territory,¹³ was afflicted with an incurable distemper; and, we are told, that fifty physicians were in attendance on her, without their being able to restore her to health. Abandoning all hope of receiving relief, at the hands of her medical advisers, the Queen committed herself to the power of God and of St. Ruadan. The Angel of the Lord came to our saint, and told him, that Kualain's wife should be restored through him, as the physicians knew not the nature of her complaint.¹⁴ Our saint appeared to the Queen, in a nocturnal vision, and he was surrounded with great light. Then, he said to her, "Fear not, you must be restored to health; for, I shall send to you a youth, clothed in a particular habit, on an appointed day. He shall heal you from this infirmity. Leave, therefore, those physicians, who cannot heal you." Saying these words, our saint disappeared. On another day, St.

⁶ This may serve to throw some light on the purposes, for which so many Irish earth-caves were constructed.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. i., sect. 3, p. 383.

⁸ Probably Daria, or Dora, an Irish feminine name.

⁹ This country was called Tir-olella. The place Senchue, or Senchua, as also the territory, in which it was situated, lay beyond the Shannon, in relation to the ancient territories of Meath. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Vita Tripartita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xxxv., p. 134.

¹⁰ The Latin word in the text, for this rendering, is "a boceto," which Papebroke derives from two Greek words. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., n. (1),

cap. i., p. 384.

¹¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. i., sect. 4, p. 383.

¹² In Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Tripartita S. Patricii, lib. iii., n. 63, Aracliach is said to have been a midland territory of Munster, near to Limerick, and eastwards from it.

¹³ The words in the text are, "in finibus Legensium." To these words, Papebroke has appended this comment: "An Lageniensium, Ita arbitramur." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De S. Rodano, &c., cap. i., sect. 5, p. 383, and n. (n), p. 384.

¹⁴ The text adds: "habet enim in utero cruentum partum."

Ruadan called the young man, whose hands he had blessed, and he then said: "Go to Kualain's Queen, and heal her." Taking his brazen vessel, which was filled with water, Ruadan blessed it. Following certain instructions, this young man departed, and he executed the orders of our saint.¹⁵ Soon the Queen's health was restored. According to the desire of our saint, this young physician would receive no other fee for his services, except linen, belonging to King Kualain. For a length of time, and to commemorate such a miracle, this linen was suspended over the altar, at Lothra.¹⁶

We are told, that on another occasion, a ship belonging to Brandan was submerged in the depths of a sea, called Livemnech,¹⁷ whilst a son of the King of Britain¹⁸ chanced to be sleeping, in the prow of his vessel. Whereupon, Brandan¹⁹ said to his own people: "Go to Rodan: for to him hath the Lord granted the elevation of our ship, from the deep, and the resuscitation of the King's son, who has been drowned in it." The messengers went to St. Rodan. He then proceeded with them, and he prayed at the place,²⁰ where that vessel had been lost. Immediately, the ship arose from the deep, and bearing the king's son, who was alive and safe within it. He even appeared as if he were sleeping. The prince then said, that during the time he was beneath the water, St. Rodan had placed a hood around his head, so as to save him from suffocation.²¹

The number of St. Ruadan's religious is said to have been thrice fifty men.²² By the bounty of God, these were furnished with a marvellous kind of food, procured for them, without further labour on their part, but such as proceeded from their prayers and fastings.²³ In the place where they dwelt grew a linden tree,²⁴ which distilled a certain luscious sap,²⁵ into a vessel,

¹⁵ The text has it: "dedit potum Reginae: illaque bibens statim genuit cruentum partum et mortuum, quem in utero habebat."

¹⁶ See "Acta Sauctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. i., sect. 5, 6, p. 383.

¹⁷ Papebroke observes, in a note, that probably we should read Lumnech; and, that below this city, the Shannon opens into a great estuary. It is now known as Limerick, a city formerly of great importance, as it is at the present time. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., n. (o), p. 384.

¹⁸ Papebroke says, in a note, the circumstance here related need not seem surprising; for, at that time, Ireland was the school of religion and of letters, not only for the neighbouring Britons, but even for more remote nations. See *ibid.*, n. (r).

¹⁹ On this passage, Papebroch remarks, that St. Brandan, who was far removed from the place, must be supposed to have known of it, through some inspiration, as Clonfert, he thought, was a journey of four or even more days, from that estuary alluded to; while, the habitation of St. Rodan was much nearer, and therefore, St. Brendan preferred sending his disciples to Lorrha. See *ibid.*, n. (q).

²⁰ Probably, Lough Derg, on the Shannon, and not far distant from Lorrha, is meant.

²¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. i., sect. 7, p. 383.

²² The words in the text are, "quinqua-

ginta ter viri." Papebroch adds, by way of comment: "Id est centum quinquaginta: nisi quio putat pro ter legendum tres: qui sane esset exiguus numerus, respectu multitudinis discipulorum aliis Sanctis passim adhaerentium."—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. ii., n. (a), p. 385. In a letter received from Mrs. Anne Russell, a lady residing in the Catholic parishes of Lorha and Durrow, and which is dated Laekeen, May 6th, 1854, the writer is informed, that the traditions of this place furnish us with the following legend: "At one time, there were *four score* Friars, *four score* grey horses, and *four score* nuns—all Marys—in those Abbeys and Monasteries." Allusion is made to the ruins yet existing at Lorrha.

²³ This, too, is stated by the O'Clerys: There were one hundred and fifty persons in this congregation, and they used to obtain sufficiency always, without human labour to sustain them, by continually praying to and by praising the Lord of the elements.

²⁴ This tree is called "arbor Tilia," in the Life of St. Finian, published by Colgan, at the 23rd of February. Papebroke observes, that he would wish nothing of a more incredible character were to be found, in the Lives of Irish Saints. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., cap. ii., n. (b), p. 385.

²⁵ We may ask, if this were a maple-tree, like to that, from which sugar-sap is known to distil, in the American woods? It may be,

placed beneath it. With this miraculous liquor, the monks and the guests of the monastery were regaled, and it had the taste of wine. Each of those, who partook of it, filled a cup with the liquor. They fed upon herbs, also, and they lived in a very simple manner.²⁶ But, the chief saints of Ireland, it is related, felt jealous regarding such miracles. They murmured against Ruadan, because their monks and *alumni* left them, and went to him. Wherefore, with these complaints, they visited St. Finnian, Bishop of Clonard. He accompanied them to Ruadan, to entreat his abandonment of this idle style of living, lest he should furnish occasion for envy and murmuring to other saints. When St. Finnian entered the city of Ruadan, and when he saw the tree already mentioned, elevating his hand, he blessed it. Immediately the sap ceased to flow, so that, on the night succeeding, the liquor sufficed only for sustenance of the monastic family, and not for its guests.²⁷ Thereupon, the cook, with the guests, preferred a complaint to St. Ruadan. The latter said, "Pour out spring water for our guests, and it shall be changed into wine for them." When the cook went to draw water from the fountain, suddenly a fish of wonderful size issued through the rocky bottom of the well. At that time, when the Acts of our saint were written, we are informed, that the imprint or shape of this water-occupant might be seen, in the place indicated. This fish was set before the guests, and also the water, which had been turned into wine. They felt inebriated, by this latter beverage, and fell into a sleep. Then, the Irish saints besought Ruadan, that he would place his monks on the same standing, with their own religious brethren. He humbly complied with their desires. St. Finnian then said to Ruadan, and to his monks, "Do you plough and reap your fields. These shall produce fruitful crops for ever, without further culture or manure." Afterwards, St. Finnian blessed St. Ruadan, his house and lands, and then retired in peace.²⁸ It is

that our Irish soil and climate have undergone changes, in a long lapse of ages, to account for such a vegetable product.

²⁶ The words in the text are "oleraque similiter comedebant." These words seem to me as implying, that the herbs were provided, also, through a miracle.

²⁷ In a note, at this passage, Papebroch observes: "Eam scilicet portionem, quæ ab hora 9 usque ad solis occasum fluens (quemadmodum in Vita prædicta dicitur) medieta-tem implebat suppositi vasis, ad usum hospitum ante noctem supervenientium."—"Acta Sanctorum," toms ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. ii., n. (c), p. 385.

²⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Ruadani, cap. ii., sect. 8, 9, p. 384. The narrative, already given from the Bollandists, is somewhat differently described, in the Life of St. Finnian, as published by Colgan, at the 23rd of February. "Postquam vero discipuli S. Finniani præter Senachum ad loca eis a Spiritu sancto revelata transissent, S. Ruadanus locum suæ resurrectionis apud Lothra elegit, atque inhabitavit. Huic enim Ruadano dedit Deus gratiam specialem, ut arbor quædam tyliâ nomine quæ in cella sua erat, ab hora occasus solis usque ad horam nonam alterius diei, stillabat liquorem, qui saporem quemdam privatum habebat, sicut de manna legitur, quod in omnem saporem, quem homo desi-

deraret, verteretur. De hoc liquore plenum vas in hora prædicta inveniebatur, de quo omnes fratres sufficientur in prandio pascebantur. Ab hora vero nona usque ad horam occasus solis vasis dimidietas de præfato liquore inveniebatur, de quo hospites satiebantur. Audita vero hujus miraculi fama, multi sanctorum venerunt ad S. Finnianum, rogantes ut cum eis ad cellam S. Ruadani sui discipuli dignaretur venire, atque, ut communem vitam cum aliis haberet exhortaretur persuasionibus eorum S. Finianus descendens pervenit cum eis usque ad locum ubi Ruadanus Deo serviebat. Appropinquantes vero ad portam villæ de Lothra iunxit discipuli ad magistrum. Præcede nos homo Dei ad arborem quæ dat liquorem mirabilam et signa eam in virtute Crucis Christi. Acquiescens magister discipulorum rogatus accessit ad arborem, et consignavit eam signo Crucis; et post nonam horam cessavit effluere. Audiens vero S. Ruadanus adventum magistri cum suis vocavit ministrum atque ut prandium hospitibus præpararet eidem imperavit. Pergens vero minister ad arborem, invenit vas, quod sub arbore erat, penitus vacuum, rediens vero ad Ruadanum minister, quod viderat, nunciavit. Respondens vero homo Dei ait ei; Porta vas, fili, ad fontem et imple ibi usque ad summum. Quod cum fecisset, impleus scilicet hydriam illam aqua, statim liquor ille mutatur in sa-

probable, that this narrative had its origin in the fact, that the Rule, which St. Ruadan established for himself and for his community, was very austere; and, because his monks took very little concern, regarding their means of subsistence, as they gave themselves wholly to Divine contemplation, relying on the goodness of Providence, for the supply of their temporal wants.²⁹ So that, he who fed the birds of the air, and arrayed the lilies of the field, and who told his disciples, to take no heed of what they should eat or drink, or wherewith they should be clothed; he provided, in like manner, for the necessities of this holy community, who first sought the kingdom of God and and his justice.

CHAPTER III.

THE ACCESSION OF KING DIARMAID I. TO THE IRISH THRONE—AEDH GUAIRE KILLS HIS HERALD, AND SEEKS REFUGE WITH SAINTS SENACH AND RUADHAN—KING DIARMAID VISITS THE LATTER TO DEMAND THE SURRENDER OF AEDH GUAIRE—THIS CHIEFTAIN IS BROUGHT A PRISONER TO TARA—ST. RUADHAN AND HIS CLERICS PROCEED THERE TO OBTAIN HIS RELEASE.

AFTER the death of Tuathal Maelgarbh, Monarch of Ireland, who was slain

porum liquoris, qui de arbore stillabat. Insuper et piscem magnitudinis miræ in fonte recepit, atque ad virum Dei portat: Et iussit ministros, ut hæc dona coram S. Finniano apponeret. Videns vero S. Finnianus quæ gesta sunt: consignavit liquorem, et in naturam aquæ mutatur: Et ait homo Dei; cur hic liquor falsi nominis datus est mihi? Et videntes discipuli sancti Finniani ea, quæ gesta sunt; dixerunt ad suum magistrum, Veni ante nos ad fontem et consiglia illum sicut fecisti in arbore. Et respondens eis Finnianus ait; Fratres mei, nolite contristare hunc sanctum virum, quia si exierit ante nos ad grunnam vicinam, hæc eadem poterit facere, sicut fecit in arbore, vel in aqua. Igitur S. Finnianus et omnes qui cum eo erant, rogaverunt unanimiter S. Ruadanum ut similem cum aliis vivendi modum haberat. Discipulus vero monitis paternis atque discipulorum obtemperans, hactenus commune tenuit vivendi modum. Magister vero condelectans humilitati sancti discipuli, gratulandus ait; agri tui uberatate pleni sint atque fructus uberrimos habeant, et fimo ad impinguendum non egeant, usque in sempiternum: Et si quis de industria fimum aut stercorea adduxerit super hanc partem agri, hæc pars non generabit nisi olera tantum, et paucas spicas."—Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxiii. Februarii. Vita S. Finniani, cap. xxiv., pp. 395, 396.

²⁹ Colgan has a note, at the Life of St. Finnian, in which, after a relation given in the text, regarding the foregoing miraculous occurrences, he says, there are two incidents worthy of observation respecting that account, even although a rigid censor, or an unbeliever, might consider these matters undeserving serious attention. In the first

place, that the linden tree, the sap of which is naturally bitter, should have distilled a strange liquor of an agreeable and sweet kind. In the second place, it might be considered, that God's great and incredible indulgence rather indicated ostentation than necessity or utility, by contributing to the performance of miracles, at one time in favour of this, at another time in favour of a different saint, each having contrary intentions. But, these objections can bear no weight with a pious believer. Yet, as God sustained St. Ægidius with the milk of a deer, St. Albeus with the milk of a wolf, St. Macharius with the milk of a buffalo; as the same God fed St. Patrick during six weeks, St. Erones during three entire months, St. Conon during thirty years for whole weeks, St. Simon the Stylite during 28 years for entire Lents, without their partaking of food or drink; as he converted the rocks into fountains of water, the waters themselves into wine, and the very stones into bread for these saints; is it to be doubted, that the Almighty, who wrought these and greater miracles, through his ineffable bounty, by intuition of his servants' merits, should not also deign to feed with whatever kind of aliment he pleased, St. Ruadan and his holy disciples? These, despising every human care and prevision, wholly committed themselves to the protection of Divine Providence. Nor, are those miracles supposed to have been wrought without necessity, as the following considerations should suffice to show. Through the indulgent grace of our Saviour, the Lord might have desired to give his approbation, by means of miracles, to that extraordinary abstraction of mind from all terrene things, and to that perfect confidence

at Greallach-Eilte,¹ in the year of Christ 544;² Diarmaid,³ son to Fearghus Ceirbheoil, who had been in exile, claimed his right to succeed him, on the throne.⁴ King Diarmaid, or Dermot I., established peace throughout all Ireland. About that period, the prefect⁵ of King Dermot, and his herald,⁶ whose name is said to have been Bacc-Lomm,⁷ or Mac-Lomm, went towards the territory of Connaught,⁸ and into the country of the Mani race.⁹ But, instigated by the Devil, that herald entered into a fortress, belonging to a chief named Odo Guori,¹⁰ and having a spear placed across his mouth, so that thus the castle gates might be opened for him.¹¹ Then, Odo-Guori, destroying his castle, afterwards killed the herald. Through fear of King Dermot, Odo fled to Bishop Senach, in the territory of Muscraige,¹² where he appears to have lived. We are informed, that the mother of Odo-Guori, and the mother of Bishop Senach,¹³ were two sisters. But, Bishop Senach brought Odo to St. Ruadan for protection; for, it so happened, that the two sisters of Ruadan, named Kyell and Ruadanis, had fostered Senach himself. Afterwards, it seems, that Odo-Guori, had been brought into Britain, by St. Ruadain. Yet, Dermot sent a message into Britain, which prevented Odo from dwelling there, and he was again sent back to St. Ruadan. Then, he dwelt at a place, called Poll-Ruodan,¹⁴ in Ireland. It would appear, that the fugi-

in God's Providence, which distinguished St. Ruadan and his disciples, and to that discretion and prudence of St. Finnian and of his companions, who desired to change St. Ruadan and his monks from their singular mode of living, to the common manner of life, practised by other saints. See *ibid.*, n. 28, p. 399.

CHAPTER III.—¹ It is rendered, "The miry place of the Does." According to the Book of Lecan, it was at the foot of Sliabh-Gamh. Another opinion has it, as Greallach-Daphill, on the River Liffey, and in the County of Kildare.

² Such is the Chronology of Tighenach, and, it is the correct date, according to Dr. O'Donovan; although, the Annals of the Four Masters, place it, at A.D. 538, the Annals of Ulster, at A.D. 543, while the Annals of Clonmacnoise have it so late as A.D. 547, and the Codex Clarendon, at A.D. 548. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 180 to 182, and n. (z).

³ The Acts of St. Ruadhan call him "filius Kerbuil," and Mac Kerval is also applied to distinguish him from another King Diarmaid, the second, bearing this name, and who was the son of Sane.

⁴ According to a Catalogue of the Irish Kings, published by Ussher, he reigned, from A.D. 544 to 565; although the Four Masters make his rule last, from A.D. 539 to 558. It is generally stated, that he was twenty years in the sovereignty of Ireland.

⁵ "Præfectus Regis Dermotii," is in the Life.

⁶ "Et præco ejus nomine Bacc-Lomm," &c. See *ibid.*

⁷ The Bollandist editor says, in a note, that the name is thus written in the Manuscript used by him, although he thinks, considering the Irish mode of writing names, it should be

written Mac-lomm. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus liii., xv. Aprilis. Vita S. Rodani, cap. ii., n. (e), p. 385.

⁸ In a historical romance, lately published, by Eblana, and intitled *Απο Ριζ θεϊγονας να Τεσθηρας*, or The Last Monarch of Tara, the present episode is ingeniously introduced, and our St. Ruadhan is one of the leading characters. See especially Part iv., chap. ii., iii., iv., pp. 204 to 287.

⁹ This ancient territory was known as Hy Many, and it was commonly called O'Kelly's country. An account of this ancient territory, including parts of Galway and of Roscommon counties, has been published from the Book of Lecan, by the Irish Archaeological Society. See O'Donovan's "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many." An ancient Map of it is prefixed, to this work.

¹⁰ More generally named *Λεο Γουαίρε*, or Hugh Guaire, in Irish tradition.

¹¹ This passage is rather obscurely expressed, in Latin; but, from the context, it should appear, this action of the herald was one of bravado, and construed into an insult, or defiance, by Odo-Guori.

¹² This was probably the most northern division, bearing the name, and that one, in which Lorrha was situated.

¹³ The Bollandist editor remarks, that among many bishops, bearing the name of Senach, and whom Colgan enumerates, in his annotations to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Lib. ii., n. 118, there is not one of them, about these times, who can be supposed to have flourished in Muskerry, or in any part of Munster. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., cap. ii., n. (g), p. 385.

¹⁴ This place, rendered into English Ruadhan's Pit, has not been identified, but, probably, it was in or near Lorrha.

tive had been kept concealed, under ground, at this place. On hearing of it, King Dermot came to St. Ruadan, then dwelling in Poll-Ruadan;¹⁵ and, the monarch sent his charioteer into the cell, that Odo should be brought out to him, at the door. But, when his charioteer entered the cell, immediately he became blind. Then, the king himself entered that cell, and he asked St. Ruadan regarding the place of Odo's concealment. Knowing that Ruadan would not tell a falsehood, Dermot received from our saint this answer, as given in Latin: "Nescio illum nisi sub sede sua constet."¹⁶ The king, going out from the cell, and when far from its doors, recollected those words, which Ruadan had spoken to him. Again, he re-entered the cell, where he saw a light in the hand of a servant, who was in the act of visiting Odo.¹⁷ Then, King Dermot sent a man, named Donnan, that he might dig the earth, to discover Odo. And when that man raised his hand with the spade, immediately his hand became withered and immovable. Both this man, and he, who had been deprived of sight, remained with Ruadan. Afterwards, they were revered as saints, belonging to Poll-Ruadan monastery. Thither, we are told, Dermot himself came to take Odo from the earth; but, St. Ruadan sounded his bell. Thereupon, Odo was brought forth, and the king conducted his captive to the city of Temrach, or Temoria.¹⁸ At the same time, St. Ruadan, with his people, set out with the king, that the life of his prisoner might be saved. When St. Ruadan approached Temoria city, having rung the bells, he sang psalms with his people. But, on the first night, the king was found obdurate, and he would not listen to any prayer for mercy. However, on that same night, and during the same hour, twelve sons, belonging to the princes¹⁹ of Temrach, died, so that great mourning filled the regal halls. Then, twelve different princes said to Diermit, "This holy cleric hath killed our sons." On the following day, their fosterers went to St. Ruadan. With tears and lamentations, they entreated of him, that the chieftains' sons might be restored to life. Whereupon, St. Ruadan offered his prayers, and immediately the boys were resuscitated. Another night, King Dermot saw in a dream, a large tree extending towards Heaven, and thrice fifty men, with axes, were cutting at its trunk. A great sound, as of a tree falling, awoke the terrified king from his dream; and immediately, the notes of the choir, singing psalms in concert, filled his ears.²⁰

After the foregoing narrative, we have the following account, so incredible in many of its circumstances, that it may fairly be treated as an idle legend. We are told, that the king went forth to St. Ruadan, to whom he spoke as

¹⁵ The Eighth Volume of the O'Longan Manuscripts, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, contains some pieces, on the Contest between St. Ruadhan of Lothra and Dermot, the Monarch of Erin. See pp. 105 to 111.

¹⁶ The Rev. S. Baring-Gould renders it: "Unless he is under your chair, I cannot tell." See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 203.

¹⁷ The Bollandist Editor remarks, that the meaning of the passage is not to be understood, as expressing, that Odo had been hidden in the earth, by some miracle; but, that he lay in a subterraneous cave, the entrance to which was concealed by a particular contrivance. Wherefore, becoming impatient of delaying, and understanding from St. Ruadan's own words, this place of concealment was under his own cell, King Dermot ordered the earth to be dug. See "Acta

Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rnadan, n. (h), p. 385.

¹⁸ Better known as Tara. It was the seat of the Meath Kings, who by excellence were called Kings of Ireland, until after the death of Diermit. Meath was formed into a principality, in the second century. See Rev. A. Cogan's "Ecclesiastical History of Meath," vol. i., chap. i., p. 1.

¹⁹ The Bollandist Editor explains, in a note, that these were chieftains and potentates, whose sons had been educated in liberal sciences, and in a manner worthy of their rank, in the King's household, and as honoured subjects. They were probably regarded as hostages, according to the custom of those times.

²⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Ruadani, cap. ii., sect. 10, 11, 12, p. 384.

follows, when silence had been commanded : " I defend the justice of the nation, that in every place there may be peace, but you encourage and defend evil. You shall receive the punishment of blood, from the Lord ; for, in all Ireland, thy parish shall first fail, and depart from thee." To which words, St. Ruadan answered : " Thy kingdom shall first fail, and none of thy race shall hereafter reign." The king said : " Thy place shall be empty, and swine dwelling in it, with their snouts, they shall subvert it." Rodan replied : " The city of Temoria, shall first be uninhabited many hundred years, and hereafter remain without a dweller." The king answered : " Thy body shall suffer mutilation, and one of thy members shall perish ; for, thy eye being put out, thou shalt not see light." Ruadan said : " Thy body also shall be butchered, by thine enemies,²¹ and thy limbs shall be ignominiously dismembered." The monarch replied : " A fierce boar, with his tooth, shall undermine thy buildings." Ruadan replied : " Thy thigh, which was raised before me, shall not be buried in the same place with thy body, but a man²² shall cast it into sheep's ordure." Then, King Dermot said to the saint : " You defend iniquity, and I virtue ; you disturb my kingdom ; however, God favours you more than he does me. Go, therefore, take away your man, and pay a ransom for him." Then, thirty horses of a hyacinth colour and admirably shaped flew from the sea,²³ we are told, near Poll-Ruadan, and came to the holy man, at Temoria city. Immediately, Ruadan gave those horses to the king. Each one of them, on being tried, proved its remarkable velocity, in a course.²⁴ The king was pleased with this ransom, and Odo-Guori was restored to liberty. St. Ruadan returned homewards in peace. After a short period, it is said, the horses directed their course towards the sea, as being that place, whence they came.²⁵ In fulfilment of St. Ruadan's prophecy, King Diarmaid I. fell at Rath-Beag,²⁶ in Ulster. His head was cut off and sent to Clonmacnoise for interment, while his body was buried at Connor.²⁷

CHAPTER IV.

ST. RUADHAN VISITS ST. KYRAN AT SAIGIR—RETURN OF OUR SAINT FROM TARA—RECORDED MIRACLES—HIS STAY AT DARE-ENECH—DORRHA OLD CHURCH—SUBSEQUENT MIRACLES, AS GIVEN IN ST. RUADHAN'S ACTS—WRITINGS AND CHARACTER OF THE SAINT—THE OLD CHURCH AT BONAGHAM—DEATH AND FEAST DAY OF ST. RUADHAN—MEMORIALS—CONCLUSION.

OVER the community of monks established at Lothra,¹ St. Ruadhan is said to have presided as Abbot, before the death of St. Kieran of Saigir.² For, in the

²¹ Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters" relate the manner, in which this prophecy had been fulfilled, under A.D. 558. See vol. i., pp. 200, 201. After twenty years of sovereignty over Ireland, the Monarch Diarmaid was slain by Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne, King of Dal-Araidhe, at Rath Beag, in Meagh Line.

²² The Legend adds : "super drullam." The editor says : "Videtur *pala* seu *bipalium* esse : forte *trulla* a *trullæ* cæmentariæ similitudine dictum."—"Acta Sanctorum," to-mus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Ruadani, cap. ii., n. (m), p. 385.

²³ To us, it seems, that the sea here meant was no other than Lough Derg, a magnificent expansion of water, well described, in William F. Wakeman's "Three Days on the Shannon."

²⁴ The Rev. S. Baring-Gould remarks, that

the king "gained a race with one of them."—"Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 204.

²⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," to-mus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Ruadani, cap. ii., sect. 13, pp. 384, 385.

²⁶ It has been identified, by Rev. Dr. Reeves, as adjoining Antrim parish. Some particulars, regarding Diarmaid's death, are likewise given, in the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix Y, p. 279.

²⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 200, 201.

CHAPTER IV.—¹ Now Loghroe or Lurg-hoe, in the county of Tipperary, says Bishop Challenor, in "Britannia Sancta," Part i., April 15, p. 227, note.

² His feast occurs, at the 5th of March, where his Life may be found.

Acts of this latter saint, we read, that on a certain occasion, Ruadan paid him a visit, at Saigair monastery; where, on his arrival, the fire had been extinguished in the morning, and through the negligence of a monk, named Baythemus. This brother felt grieved at the accident, and he asked pardon for it, since there was no fire in the monastery, either to warm the guests, or to prepare food for them. It is then told, that Bishop Kieran blessed a certain stone, which was near; when, instantly, it emitted flames, while the Abbot of Saigir brought it blazing in his hands, to St. Ruadan.³

The desertion of Tara⁴ has been generally referred to about A.D. 554.⁵ This is said to have been in retribution, for the violation of St. Ruan's sanctuary. A striking memorial of the Church's triumph, on this occasion, is said to have been preserved in a name of distinction, given to a certain religious house, afterwards called "The Monastery of the Curses of Ireland."⁶ The learned ecclesiastical historian of Meath seems to connect this establishment, with Rathbeggan,⁷ or Kilrue,⁸ in the county of Meath.

After St. Ruadan had returned from Temoria city, certain lepers met him on the way, and asked alms. Our Abbot is said to have presented the horses under his chariot to them; when immediately, two deer rushing from the woods became tame, and placed their necks in harness under our saint's chariot, until he arrived at his residence. Another day, while St. Ruadan, with his companions, was journeying in his chariot, the Abbot of Lorrha found a large tree obstructing a road, across which it lay. Whereupon, he blessed the tree, which stood upright, and afterwards, it continued to remain so, for a long time. On another occasion, St. Ruadan, ordered his monks, on the arrival of certain guests, that they should eat flesh meat, on Lenten days; but, he blessed this meat,⁹ and it was changed into bread.¹⁰ There was a certain laic, who refused to eat of this food, with the brethren. Wherefore, all the monks are said to have seen that bread, which the laic eat, converted into raw and bleeding flesh meat. Again, St. Ruadan imparting his blessing, this raw flesh was restored to its natural state of bread, and the laic did penance.¹¹ At another time, during the summer season, twelve lepers came to St. Ruadan, and asked alms from him. Then, forcing his staff into the ground, a well of water instantly gushed forth, and there the Abbot fashioned a *piscina*, in which the lepers washed themselves, and they were cleansed from their leprosy. At the time, when the Acts of our saint were written, this was called the *piscina* of St. Ruadan.¹² On a particular day, when a vessel, in which fire had been carried, was not at hand, St. Ruadan sent coals of fire, heaped against a boy's bosom, that he might bear them hastily to guests, who were cold; and, not only were the bearer's garments unburned, but even their colour was not stained. We are then told, that a certain deer, issuing from the woods, came to St. Ruadan. About sunset, and at even-tide, this animal was milked by the Abbot. This same deer fleetly passed over a considerable

³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." v. Martii. Vita S. Kierani, cap. xxxvi., p. 463.

⁴ An account of this remarkable place may be seen, in Mr. and Mrs. Hall's "Ireland: its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. ii., pp. 385, 390.

⁵ See the remarkable "Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill," by George Petrie.

⁶ See Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. xii., p. 254.

⁷ This townland and parish are in the barony of Ratoath, and they are shown, on the

"Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Meath," Sheet 44.

⁸ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. ii., chap. xvii., p. 384.

⁹ Similar accounts are given, in the Acts of St. Brigid. See Vita Prima, cap. xvii., and Vita Quarta, lib. ii., cap. xviii.

¹⁰ "Videtur hoc miraculum ob defectum panis patratum fuisse."—"Acta Sanctorum," toms ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rudani, cap. iii., n. (a), p. 386.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, sect. 14, p. 385.

space of ground, at another hour, on the morning, and it was milked, by St. Colman-Ela.¹³

A place, called Dare-Enech, is said to have been tenanted—occasionally at least—by St. Ruadhan, and by his monks. Perhaps, this is the place, now distinguished as Dorrha or Durrow¹⁴ old church and cemetery,¹⁵ only a few miles from Lorrha. Over a beautiful valley, and on a gentle eminence, beside Pallas stream, as it wends on to join the Brusna river, in the parish of Dorrha, are the ruins of an old church, on the right bank.¹⁶ The gable remaining is nearly perfect, and shaded by a mass of dark ivy on one side. On the other, the former well-dressed coping stones run upwards to the very apex. The two angles of this once quadrangular church, now remaining, are ornamented with fine ashlar masonry. All fragments of the old building now visible indicate firmness and finish; but, only small portions of the side walls stand.¹⁷ Within the ruin, and centrally situated, under the apex of the gable, a perfect and well-designed limestone covering altar-slab crowns solid masonry beneath, and in the very centre of this slab there is a small square excavation of some trifling depth.¹⁸ Immediately over the altar, and in the very centre of the gable, is a fine mullioned but narrow stone window-space, on the outside.¹⁹ It splays inwardly to a much greater width.²⁰ Over this window-cill, on the outside, is a grotesquely carved human head. Over the altar, this end gable-window

¹² In the stream, near Durrow old church, there is a deep pool, called by the country people "a cleave," in which diseased persons used to wash themselves.

¹³ The Bollandist editor says, he had a Life of St. Colman Ela, which was to have been published, at the 26th of September. From this we could learn, that the wood whence his cognomen was derived had been situated in the lands of Niall's posterity, that is, in Meath, and that this place was given to him, at a certain assembly of kings, before Aidus, son to Anmireus, who reigned, from the year 572 to 598, as stated in a *chronotaxis*. But, in such Life, there occurs no notice of that deer here mentioned. Nor does it appear, why the Almighty, wishing to honour St. Colman by this deer's miraculous obedience, in presenting itself to be milked, should have caused an animal at a great distance to present itself, when a number of other deer were to be found, and at a distance less removed from St. Colman Ela. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., cap. iii., n. (b), p. 386.

¹⁴ The parish of Dorrha, in the barony of Lower Ormond, is described, on the "Ordinance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," Sheets 1, 2, 4, 5.

¹⁵ Near the ruins of Durrow an old well is shown, with a stone having five marks, indicating the supposed impression of a thumb and four fingers. These marks are attributed to St. Ruadan, according to the account of a very old man, Patt Carroll, who was ninety-seven years of age, in August, 1869, as he told the writer, and who had a remarkably retentive memory for local and general events, that transpired in his time. Long after the year 1798, a patron was held here, but about fifty years ago, it was discon-

tinued, to the best of this aged man's memory.

¹⁶ Approaching the old church, on the rise of a hill, and now surrounded by a farmstead and some enclosures, are the remains of an old ruin, known as Graigue Castle. Its last inhabitant was a gentleman, named Arthur Taylor. Patt Carroll, of Derry, near this place, conveyed such information to the writer, when he visited this spot, on the 10th of August, 1869. This oldest living inhabitant recollected its tenancy by Mr. Taylor, in his younger days. The traces of this castle yet remain, although its strong walls and outworks are now a complete wreck.

¹⁷ The building was long in proportion to its width, and as it stands beside a modern Protestant church, within the graveyard, its sides have been tastelessly built up, to secure complete enclosure, from the cattle, in the adjoining rich pastures.

¹⁸ This is nearly always filled with water; but, doubtless, it afforded room for a portable altar-stone, when placed, *in situ*, for the celebration of Mass. Near the altar and within the wall, a small square recess, for the vessels holding wine and water, may be seen. Another nearly similar may be observed, in the side wall, on the Epistle side.

¹⁹ Two rather modern slabs are placed, immediately beneath this window, into the under part of which they have been inserted, by some Vandalic hand. They have been erected to the memory of some noteless occupants of graves beneath, and which are surrounded by a square enclosure of modern masonry. It is probable, the original mullioned stone window had been in great part destroyed, to accomplish such a purpose.

²⁰ The workmanship, although of a remote execution, is extremely beautiful.

has been stopped up with modern masonry. On the outside of the adjoining wall, and, on the Epistle side of the altar, a narrow pointed window, with cut stone mouldings, may be seen, and bedded round with Cyclopean masonry.²² While himself and his community were at Dare-Enech, the son of Darane Dairimoir, sent to St. Ruadhan a great measure full of butter. And, when this measure²³ on a particular morning had been placed upon two wild oxen, these animals passed through a bog, from Daire-moir.²³ Through this bog,²⁴ they discovered a road, very firm and level, such as no person had seen there before, or since. That measure of butter served St. Ruadhan and his 150 monks, from the beginning of spring, until the day of Pentecost, when it was found to have been yet full, having suffered no apparent diminution in quantity. At a certain time, when Ruadhan was in Araib,²⁵ a sorrowing mother approached; and, in tears, she besought him to raise her dead son to life. When the Abbot prayed, her boy was again restored. In the territories of Lugdeck's posterity,²⁶ he raised another youth, from the dead; for, when the boy was placed under St. Ruadhan's chasuble,²⁷ he immediately came to life. Our saint similarly preserved a third boy's life in Hi-Cuillin,²⁸ within the territory of Heli;²⁹ and, the place where this miracle was wrought, bore the name of Tulach Ruodan, at that time, when the Acts of our saint were written. We are told, moreover, this boy's father presented him for ever to St. Ruadhan, together with that field, in which he had been restored.³⁰

²² On the Gospel side-wall, and near the old altar, towards the corner, a well cut stone slab in raised letters may be seen. This is a family monument, erected by Bernard Kennedy of Culross, in memory of his wife, Elinora Kennedy, *alias* Tubman, and of his son James Kennedy, who died in the year 1704. The Latin inscription records, likewise, that the tablet in question was erected "27 mensis Februarii 1705," as well to commemorate his ancestors there buried, as for the use of his posterity. The O'Kennedy family had many tall castles and they held broad lands, in the immediate neighbourhood of Durrow old church; and many of their posterity, now reduced to the farming class, yet dwell in that part of the country. We can have little doubt, but several distinguished individuals of the clan rest within the walls of this ruined chantry, and beneath the aforesaid tomb.

²³ In Latin, it is called, "cortex." It was customary, with the ancient Irish, to stow butter within the hollow, or bark, of certain trees. Many of these rude vessels, having rancid butter contained within them, have been discovered, in our bogs. A specimen of these is yet preserved, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and it is an object of great curiosity.

²⁴ In all probability, the old church at Durrow was formerly so called, because of its importance. Was it the original foundation, it may be asked, where St. Columkille's Church had been founded? See Drs. Todd's and Reeves' "Martyrology of Donegal." Appendix to the Introduction, p. xl. The Clann Cochagain, according to O'Dugan, ruled over the Cinel Fiachach, down to the fourteenth century. This was known as the

Mageoghegan's country, originally extending from Birr, in the King's County, to the Hill of Uisneach, in the county of Westmeath. Subsequently, that territory was divided into a northern and a southern portion; the latter part having come under the O'Molloy family. See further particulars, in "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," by John O'Donovan, LL.D., pp. 1, 2, 8, 9, and pp. viii., ix., n. 30. To a rather late period, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Mac Egans lived in Redwood Castle, in the parish of Dorrha, and they were hereditary Brehons to the O'Kennedys of Lower Ormond. See "Irish Folk-Lore," by Laggeniensis, chap. xxvi. Memorials of Redwood Castle, pp. 220 to 233.

²⁴ Several extensive bogs are yet to be seen, in the parish of Dorrha, and in the parishes adjoining.

²⁵ This place has not been identified.

²⁶ Under this denomination, as found in St. Ruadhan's Acts, it is not easy to identify the locality, but we may suspect some error in the orthography.

²⁷ The Vita S. Rodani reads: "sub casula S. Rodani," &c. See cap. iii., sect. 16, p. 386.

²⁸ Anglicised O'Cullen.

²⁹ Most probably the territory of Eile, the name of which was derived from Eile, the seventh in descent from Cian, son of Oiliol Olum, King of Munster, in the third century. Its situation is pointed out in "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," by John O'Donovan, LL.D., p. lxxxiv., n. 759.

³⁰ The Bollandist editor remarks, after the foregoing relation, that another legend fol-

St. Ruadhan is said to have written the following works: "Contra Diar-mod Regem," Lib. i. "De mirabili Fontium in Hibernia Natura," Lib. i. "De miraculosa Arbore," Lib. i.³¹ A very ancient vellum book, as has been mentioned, in St. Brigit's Life, at the 1st of February, states, that Ruadhan of Lothra in manners and life, was like to Matthew the Apostle.³²

To St. Ruadhan is attributed the foundation of an old church, called Bonahum,³³ or Bonaghum, in the parish of Dorrha, and to be seen, about five miles from Lorrh. This very ancient structure is apparently one of the oldest Irish churches, now remaining. It measures 43 feet, in length, by 24 feet, in width, on the exterior, while the walls are nearly three feet, in thickness. A fine fragment of a carved window-head, formed from cut limestone, was found lying on the ground, and within the ruins.³⁴ The old church was quadrangular in shape, and the walls are very perfect all around, excepting both end gables, which only exhibit mere fragments, above the side walls. Many headstones and tombs lie around, and within the ancient building. The graveyard, on one side, towards a rich pasture, was altogether unenclosed; but, the extended graves proved, that its dimensions were formerly very considerable. The rude and massive limestone church walls are well jointed and cemented. A ruinous and narrow east-window, splayed on the inside, appears, in one of the gables. On the south side-wall, and near the former, was a window of nearly similar shape. The entrance door of this antique church lay farther down, on the same side-wall, and it appears to have been the only one entering this structure. The arch of this doorway was rudely, but compactly turned, with narrow upright stone, and on the modern principle of construction. The country people have a great reverence for this place, and they relate many curious traditions regarding it.³⁵

It is recorded, by Tighernach, in his Annals, that St. Ruadan died at Lothra, in the year 584.³⁶ At this, or any other year, the O'Clerys have

lows, in which it is stated, that the soul of a certain Ode Egmech, a wicked man, had been liberated from the lower regions, and conducted to Heaven, by St. Columkille, St. Ruadan, and St. Odo, bishop, son to Bric. The editor says, this latter was St. Aidus, whose life should follow, at the 10th of November. At this meeting of the three saints, St. Columba left his tablets, in St. Ruadan's hands, and afterwards received them from his disciple Bithin, or St. Baithen. This disciple succeeded Columkille, in the government of Iona monastery, and, like his master, he is venerated, on the 9th of June. The editor adds: "Sed rem totam ne scandalo foret, ut plenam fabulosarum circumstantiarum omitimus: alio stylo qui legere volet, Colganum adeat in Append. 2 ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. 3." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. Vita S. Rodani, cap. iii., sect. 15, 16, pp. 385, 386, and n. (c), p. 386. *Ibid.*

³¹ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Writers of Ireland," Book I, chap. iii., p. 17.

³² Such is the account, as given in the O'Clerys' Calendar.

³³ It is in the townland of Derry, and, it is marked on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," Sheet I.

³⁴ When visited by the writer, August 10th, 1869.

³⁵ Indeed, according to the account of Patt Carroll, he was nearly thirty years old, in the memorable year of 1798. At this time, he said, a man named Billy Haverty, implicated in the rebellion, had been chased by some soldiers. He fled for protection to the old church, where falling on his knees, he prayed for St. Ruadhan's protection, and gave himself up to the holy patron. His pursuers completely lost sight of him; and so firmly persuaded was this man of heavenly interposition, in his behalf, that thenceforward, he dropped his former name, and would only allow his neighbours to call him Billy Bonaghum. This is the name actually cut on a headstone, which he erected to indicate the grave of his father, mother, brothers, sisters and children. All this was very legible; but, the continuation of this epitaph seemed buried, far beneath the surface of the earth, where this local celebrity probably lies interred, and where his own name might be found inscribed.

³⁶ At the year DLXXXIV., Ussher says: "*Ruadanus* eadem anno (ut Tigernaci doctent *Annales*) mortuus est in *Lothrano* a se condito cænobio; a quo et *Ruadan Lothra cognomentum* ille accepit."—"Index Chronologicus," in the "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*," p. 533. See, also, Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Writers of Ireland," Book I, chap. iii., p. 17.

made no allusion to his death, in their Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland. The Irish Calendars assign St. Ruadan's festival day, to the 15th of April.³⁷ Then he is noticed, by St. Ængus, the Culdee, and with a high eulogy, in the Feilire.³⁸ In the Martyrology of Tallagh,³⁹ we find entered the name of Ruadhan, Lothra, at the 15th of April. The Martyrology of Donegal⁴⁰ at this day registers Ruadhan—Latinized *Ruffinus* or *Ruffillus*⁴¹—son of Ferghus, Abbot of Lothra. Under the head of Lothra, Duald Mac Fírbis enters, Ruadhan, Bishop of Lorrha.⁴² Veneration for this saint extended to Scotland, where we find his festival celebrated, on the 15th of April, according to the Kalendar of Drummond.⁴³ The "Circle of the Seasons" has a notice of his festival, for this day.⁴⁴

A holy well, dedicated to St. Ruadhan, was pointed out at Lorrha. In this was found a curious bell of the antique Celtic form;⁴⁵ and this is thought⁴⁶ to have been the one used by Ruadhan, when his imprecations were directed against Tara, and against the Monarch of Ireland, Diarmaid I. It is of square form, but somewhat projecting at the four sides, in the centre of each; and, it tapers upwards, to a loop-like handle, which joins the bell, in two dragon-like or serpent-shaped heads, having open mouths. The whole is of cast bronze.⁴⁷ We are informed, also, that the head of St. Ruadhan had been preserved in a silver case, kept in his monastery, at Lorrha, until the time of the suppression.⁴⁸ About the year 1733, an ancient Book, called after St. Ruadhan of Lothra,⁴⁹ had been kept, in the house, belonging to O'Kennedy of Ormond; and, this was seen, by Andrew M'Curtin, who composed an Irish Poem,⁵⁰ in reference to it.

In closing the Acts of our saint, the author of these states, that Ruadhan had attained the extraordinary stature of seven feet, according to the most reliable accounts.⁵¹ We are told, that in reality he was a king, so outwardly he presented a monarch's majestic form; but, while beautiful, exteriorly, he was still more so, interiorly; and, noble in man's estimation, he was still more so, in the esteem of God. Large he was in stature, and abounding in grace; great before God and man; highly distinguished in the present, and in a fu-

³⁷ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xii., sect. xii., and nn. 184, 185, pp. 233, 234.

³⁸ In the Leabhar Breac copy we read:—

ppimta breo navaithbe
 arphich tola tothla
 bacan inlia luagmar
 ruadan lothara lothra.

The following is an English translation:—
 "An excellent flame that wanes not: he
 vanquished urgent desires: fair was the pre-
 cious stone, Ruadan lamp of Lothra."

³⁹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has ruadan lothra.

⁴⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 462, 463.

⁴² See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., Part i., pp. 118, 119.

⁴³ Thus, at xvii. Kl. Maii., "In Hibernia Isola sanctus presbyter et confessor Ruadan, mirande sanctitatis et miraculorum vir, hoc die conscendit ad Christum."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints,"

p. 10.

⁴⁴ See, at p. 106.

⁴⁵ It belonged to Dr. George Petrie's collection of Irish Antiquities.

⁴⁶ By Professor Eugene O'Curry. See "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. xv., p. 337.

⁴⁷ A fine woodcut of this bell may be seen, in Joseph Anderson's "Scotland in early Christian Times," First series, Lecture v., p. 187.

⁴⁸ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 667. He quotes War mon.

⁴⁹ This seems to have been undiscoverable since, nor is it enumerated among the many lost books of ancient Erin, in Professor O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. i.

⁵⁰ This is a prophetic and political poem, consisting of 28 stanzas. It is yet preserved, among the Manuscripts, belonging to the Royal Irish Academy.

⁵¹ The Bollandist editor adds, in a note, "MS. XII. pedum: verum non forma Regis sed gigantis hæc fuisse."—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., Vita S. Rodani, cap. iii., n. (d), p. 386.

ture life. Being exalted in charity, he was still greater in humility; he was renowned for patience, mercy, and other good works. Wherefore, owing to all these virtues, St. Ruadan obtained great honours and rewards, in Heaven, and in the sight of the Omnipotent God and eternal King, Christ Jesus himself, to whom be honour and glory, for ever and ever⁵² That faulty state of the original evidence, which renders discussions of credibility, and hesitations in the language of the judge, unavoidable, has been complained of by a distinguished modern writer, in a truly magnificent work;⁵³ and, we can only regret, that the legendary character of St. Ruadan's surviving Acts is lamentably inadequate, to satisfy the demands of enlightened curiosity, much less of religious edification.

ARTICLE II.—ST. PATERNUS, OR PADERN, BISHOP OF VENNES, AND CONFESSOR, OF WALES, AND OF BRITTANY, IN FRANCE. [*Fifth and Sixth Centuries.*] It was the good fortune of many saints, in the early times, to make happy inroads on prevailing idolatry. The earliest record known of this holy man's Acts is supposed to have been that, written by John, son of Sulgen, who was bishop of St. David's, in Wales, A.D. 1070. This Life was composed in metre.¹ The name of Padarn, Patern, or Pedrwn, was that, by which he was first known, in the vernacular of his native country, and in Wales; but, it has been Latinized to Paternus. John of Teignmouth wrote the Acts of this saint, in the Fourteenth Century. After him, John Capgrave has written the Life of St. Paternus, bishop and confessor, for the xvii. of the May Kalends, which corresponds with the 15th of April.² The Acts of this holy prelate had been prepared for publication, at the present date, by our national hagiologist, before his death.³ The Life of St. Paternus, bishop of Vennes,⁴ is given, in various great collections of holy biographies; such as, in the Annals of the Cistercian Monks,⁵ in Mabillon,⁶ and in the Gallia Christiana.⁷ Nicolas Harpsfeld gives his biography.⁸ The Bollandists,⁹ Baillet,¹⁰ Roualt,¹¹ Bishop Challenor,¹² have issued biographical particulars, regarding this holy man. The Rev. Alban Butler¹³ inserts his Life, but this account seems to abound in mistakes. The Rev. W. J. Rees has published the Acts of St. Paternus, in Latin,¹⁴ with an English translation.¹⁵ The Petits Bollandistes¹⁶ and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould,¹⁷ have special notices of his festival, at the 15th of April. St. Paternus was born, at Emyr Llydaw, and of

⁵² See *ibid.*, sect. 17, p. 386.

⁵³ See George Grote's "History of Greece," vol. i., Preface, pp. iv., v., London, 1862, 8vo.

ARTICLE II.—¹ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," p. 200.

² See "Nova Legenda Angliæ," fol. cclviii., cclix., cclx.

³ See Colgan's "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁴ By Adrien Baillet, in "Vies des Saints."

⁵ At pp. 471, 472.

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti," sæc. ii., p. 1103.

⁷ See tome xi., p. 471.

⁸ In "Historia Ecclesiastica Anglicana," cap. xxviii.

⁹ In "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv., De Sancto Paterno Episcopo, Veneti in Britannia Armorica. A commentary in three

sections precedes a Life, taken from John of Teignmouth, as found among the Legends of John Capgrave, with notes. See pp. 378 to 382.

¹⁰ See "Les Vies des Saints," pp. 200 to 202.

¹¹ According to the Rev. Alban Butler, this was published, in 1734, but it stands in need of a critical hand. The author was curate of St. Pair's.

¹² See "Britannia Sancta," part i., April 15, pp. 226, 227.

¹³ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xv.

¹⁴ See "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," pp. 188 to 197.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 502 to 514.

¹⁶ See "Vies des Saints," tome iv., xv. d'Avril, pp. 412, 413.

¹⁷ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., pp. 200 to 202.

noble parents, in Little Britain, or Brittany, of France. By race, he was an Armorican. His birth took place, about the close of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth, century.¹⁸ His father was called Petranus, according to John of Teignmouth, while other writers have him named Padarn.¹⁹ His mother is named Guean, Gwen, or Gueana. Their domestic life was particularly edifying. After the birth of their son, whom they named Patern, they parted, by mutual consent, from each other, resolving to consecrate themselves more freely to the love of God. For that purpose, Petranus left Lesser Britain, and went over into Ireland. There, to his dying day, the elder Petranus served his Maker, in watching, in fasting, and in prayer.²⁰ His wife became a holy religious, imitating her husband's great example. Having come to man's estate, Paternus resolved to follow his father's example. He took along with him divers other pious pilgrims,²¹ who had the same resolution of dedicating themselves to God, and he sailed over into Great Britain, it is said, in the year 516.²² It is stated,²³ that after his arrival in Wales, Padarn became a member of the College²⁴ of St. Iltud, or Iltyd.²⁵ In the Welsh Traids, he is regarded, with Teilo²⁶ and David,²⁷ as one of the three blessed visitors. At a place, afterwards from him called St. Patern's, and by the Britons, Llan-Padernvaur,²⁸ or the church of the Great Paternus, he founded a religious establishment, which consisted of one hundred and twenty members.²⁹ John of Teignmouth calls the place Mauritania,³⁰ and it was in the northern part of Ceretica, now called Cardiganshire.³¹ This monastery he left in charge of an Oeconomus, of a President, and of a Dean. Having thus provided for its government, and bestowing a blessing on the community, Paternus afterwards passed into Ireland, to visit his father. The mutual comfort of both was a result of this visit, and they gave thanks to the Almighty. Through his mediation, Padern reconciled two kings of different provinces in Ireland, and who were engaged, at that time, in a bloody conflict.³² After several houses were burned, prey had been taken, and men were slain, the bishops of Hibernia had an angelic inspiration, that the holy stranger from Britain was most likely to appease the combatants. Accordingly, his services were sought, and standing between both opposed armies, Padern pleaded earnestly for peace. His prayers were heard, and a truce was the prelude to a permanent union, between the contending parties.³³ Bidding farewell to his

¹⁸Godfrid Henschenn considers he was born, about the year 490, or a little later. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De Sancto Paterno Episcopo, Veneti in Britannia Armorica, Commentarius Prævius, num. 3, p. 379.

¹⁹See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 200.

²⁰See Bishop Challenor's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 226.

²¹According to John of Teignmouth's account, the incredible number of 847 monks accompanied them.

²²See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xiv., p. 275, and Index Chronologicus, p. 526.

²³By Achau-y-Saint.

²⁴This was situated, at Lantwit Major, in Glamorganshire.

²⁵See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 201.

²⁶He founded Llandaff College, afterwards converted into a bishopric. See

Charles Wilkius' "Wales, Past and Present," chap. ix., p. 58.

²⁷See his Life, at the 1st day of March, in this work.

²⁸Sometimes called Llaubadarn Fawr. See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Wales," vol. i., p. 478.

²⁹According to the Welsh accounts; but, John of Teignmouth swells the number to 847.

³⁰Ussher remarks: "in quo vocabulo de-composito priora duo membra *Fanum Paterni*; postremum illud VAUR sive MAUR (M enim et V consonans in Cambro-Britannicâ linguâ permutari inter se notum est) a quo *Mauritaniæ* nomen deflexum videri posset, *Magnum* denotat."—"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xiv., p. 275.

³¹According to William Camden.

³²See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 226.

³³Such is the account, given by John of Teignmouth.

father, and after spending about a year in Ireland,³⁴ Padarn thence returned into Britain. There, he found all his monks, in the enjoyment of good health. Among others, one Nymannauc,³⁵ or Minonochon,³⁶ who remained, after Padarn had left Lesser Britain, could not endure the absence of his beloved master. He prayed to God, and he was transported beyond the sea, in a miraculous manner, so that he was now ready to salute Patern, on his return from Ireland. A rather legendary account is inserted, relating to Mailgunus,³⁷ or Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of the Northern Britons, who planned an expedition, against the Southern Britons.³⁸ He had sent before him two evil-disposed persons, who brought the royal treasures, in a vessel,³⁹ to deposit them with St. Padarn. But, those miscreants took away the treasures, and they sought to cast the robbery on St. Padarn. Then, a trial by cold and hot water⁴⁰ was ordered, by the king, to detect who had been guilty of falsehood. St. Padarn placed his hand alternately in cold water, and in that heated, without suffering any injury; but, when the real thieves faced this trial, they were both scalded to death. On account of the insult offered our saint, the king was deprived of sight; however, on becoming penitent, and on asking pardon from Padarn, his vision was restored, and he recovered the use of his members.⁴¹ The holy man had contracted a most intimate friendship with St. David, Bishop of Menevia, and with St. Eliud, or Theliau.⁴² With these holy men, also, he is said to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and to have been there consecrated Bishop;⁴³ while he received, as a special gift from the patriarch, a *baculus*, or "staff," and a *Cappa Choralis*,⁴⁴ or as otherwise expressed, "a tunic." After his return from Jerusalem, the holy pilgrim held his episcopal See, at that place, which from him was called St. Patern's church. It became the seat of his administration.⁴⁵ It is ascertained, that the last notice of its being an episcopal See occurs in 720. The diocese was then annexed to Menevia, owing to the turbulent character of the people, who killed their bishop, supposed⁴⁶ to have been Idnerth.⁴⁷ Here, Paternus was eminent in all virtues. But, more especially was he noted, for his pastoral zeal, for his great charity, and for his rigorous mortifications.⁴⁸ However, while he was visited by a high potentate named Arthur,⁴⁹ the latter was

³⁴ Such is the calculation of Godefrid Henschenn.

³⁵ Thus is he called, by John of Teignmouth.

³⁶ In the Breviary of Vannes, he is so named.

³⁷ He was otherwise known as Mailgon, who erected the episcopal See of Bangor, on the Strait of Menai.

³⁸ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xiv., p. 275.

³⁹ The Latin has it *vasa glareæ*, which means a vessel formed of sand; rather should we suppose it a vessel of glass—sand forming a compound of the latter manufacture.

⁴⁰ This ordeal was introduced, by the Salian Franks, about the beginning of the fifth century. See "Popular Encyclopedia; or Conversations Lexicon," vol. v., *Art. Ordeal*, p. 322.

⁴¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De Sancto Paterno Episcopo, &c. Vita S. Paterni, cap. i., num. 1, 2, 3, 4, pp. 379, 380.

⁴² His feast occurs, at the 9th of February. He died, about A.D. 560.

⁴³ See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 227.

⁴⁴ See a much fuller account of this pilgrimage, in the Life of St. David, at the 1st of March, chap. v.

⁴⁵ See Charles Wilkins' "Wales, Past and Present," chap. ix., p. 58.

⁴⁶ By Humphrey Lloyd.

⁴⁷ To his memory, there is a monumental inscription, in the church of Llandewy-Brevi.

⁴⁸ See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 227.

⁴⁹ This is supposed to be the celebrated British King, whose reign began about 528, as generally supposed; but, his memory has been mixed up with a great amount of bardic fiction. This monarch is said to have been chosen as Pendragon or military leader of the Cumbrian Britons, and to have expelled his sovereign, the feeble Huail, or Hoel. See James Taylor's "Pictorial History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. iii., p. 24. He was a renowned military leader, and his career will be found well investigated, in William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. i., book i., chap. iii., pp. 152, *et seq.*

seized with a great desire to obtain the gold-woven tunic, or chasuble,⁵⁰ which Padarn had received as a present, and he asked for it. Padarn replied, that it was prepared to grace a cleric, rather than a royal person. Arthur then left the monastery, in great anger; yet, he returned once more, to take possession of the coveted garment, by force. But, a miracle is recorded to have taken place, which recalled the tyrant to a sense of his duty. On asking pardon from the saint, on his knees, Arthur was rescued from an impending death.⁵¹ About the year 540, it has been stated, that a powerful British King, named Caradoc, or Caradauc,⁵² carried his arms into Lætavia, or Lesser Britain, and he brought its people under his sway.⁵³ However, only on condition, that their countryman St. Padarn should be restored to them, would they consent, to become his subjects. Through their ambassadors, this request was conveyed to Caradoc, and he promised to exert his influence, in their favour. A special request was then conveyed to Padarn, by King Caradauc, and the holy missionary returned to his native country. Having agreed to leave Llanbadarn-vawr, in obedience to the royal message; Padarn resolved on returning to Armorica,⁵⁴ especially as much useful work remained, in that field. He lived at Llanbadarn-vawr, according to some authors, one-and-twenty years; ⁵⁵ during which time, his life was spent in prayers, in tears, and in fasting. Both as an abbot, and as a bishop, our saint is commended, in the writings of Venantius Fortunatus, a Latin poet of Gaul, and said to have been his contemporary.⁵⁶ Divers churches and monasteries were founded, by St. Padarn, throughout the whole territory of Ceretica; and, in these, he placed colonies of monks, withdrawn from his principal establishment, at Llanbadarn.⁵⁷ He went about the country, preaching the faith of Christ, without fee or reward, and to all ranks of the people. He exercised great hospitality, and he loved to attend on the sick. At this time, St. Sampson ⁵⁸ was bishop over the See of Dol, while he exercised great influence, in Minor Britain. There, our saint had again founded a monastery. While engaged on a visitation of the province, and on coming near this place, St. Sampson was advised, by one of the monks in his train, to devise a curious test, to prove our saint's humility. But, the monk's presumption and turn for raillery were punished, in a remarkable manner; while Patern's ready spirit of obedience was rendered manifest to St. Sampson. It would seem, that St. Patern was then a bishop, and ruling over the See, which St. Sampson declared should thenceforward be free from tribute. Through the influence of the latter, St. Padarn had been made Bishop of Vannes, which then bore the name of Guenet.⁵⁹ While ruling over his monastery, one of Padarn's servants had been killed by robbers; but, coming to the spot, where the dead body lay, Padarn blessed the corpse, and immediately, the man was restored to life. The robbers served a wicked chief, in that part of the country. However, the latter, becoming alarmed lest the vengeance of God

⁵⁰ The Breviary of Vennes thus describes it: "Eburneo baculo tunicaque inconsutili, in qua ipse rem divinam facere solitus erat."

⁵¹ See the Life, published by the Bollandists, chap. ii., num. 5, 6, pp. 380, 381.

⁵² See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xiv., p. 276, and "Index Chronologicus," at A.D. DXL., p. 529.

⁵³ This is noticed, in the Breviary of Vennes.

⁵⁴ Godefrid Henschenn considers, that he remained in Great Britain, until about the

year 540; and, he gives reasons, for such a supposition.

⁵⁵ Such an account is found, in the Latin hexameters of Johannes Sulgenus.

⁵⁶ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 202.

⁵⁷ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Wales," vol. i., p. 479.

⁵⁸ His feast occurs, at the 28th of July.

⁵⁹ The Breviary of Vennes tells us, in addition, that he was received there with great applause, by the clergy, by the chiefs, and by the people.

should overtake himself, pleaded for pardon with humility. This he obtained from St. Paternus, who prophesied, that he should pass out of life reconciled with God, and that he should deserve to be buried, with great honour, in the cemetery. Here, in Armorica, our saint met with no small disturbance, from the envy of some false brethren; and, even divers bishops declared themselves his adversaries. However, his innocence and his patience brought them all to a happy reconciliation with him.⁶⁰ Still, Padern had fears, that such a state of affairs could not last, although a Synod had been convened, and peace had been seemingly established.⁶¹ As a consequence, Padern went into the land of the Franks, and among them his days closed. His name is found subscribed, with that of St. Samson, to the Third Council of Paris,⁶² about the year 557.⁶³ Ussher has deferred it, to about A.D. 560.⁶⁴ The year of St. Patern's death is unknown. However, it is supposed to have fallen, about A.D. 560,⁶⁵ and, good reasons have been given, for such a conjecture.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Albert Le Grand⁶⁷ has deferred the departure of this saint, to about A.D. 590, yet without citing authority for his statement.⁶⁸ The inhabitants of Little Britain seem to have observed of old five days, in his honour, viz., the 15th of April, which was the day of his decease; the 16th of the same month;⁶⁹ the 20th of June, which was the day he became Bishop; and the 1st of November, which was the day, when peace had been concluded, between the saint and his adversaries.⁷⁰ The Translation of his relics, at the 21st of May, is another of his festivals.⁷¹ After the departure of our saint, a great famine spread over Lesser Britain; and, for three whole years, neither rain nor dew fell over that province. The people there considered it to have been a punishment visited on them, because he left their land, owing to the injuries, inflicted by false brethren. They resolved on making a pilgrimage to

⁶⁰ See *Britannia Sancta*," Part i., p. 227.

⁶¹ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 15, p. 202.

⁶² See "Britannia Sancta," Part i., p. 227.

⁶³ See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 221.

⁶⁴ See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xiv., p. 276.

⁶⁵ Such is the opinion of Father Godefrid Henschenn.

⁶⁶ Thus, in the Council of Vennes, in Armorica, summoned about the year 465, by St. Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours, there does not appear his signature; although, undoubtedly, some other Paternus Episcopus, manifestly of another See, has his name there subscribed.

⁶⁷ In his work, "De Sanctis Britannie Armorice," printed A.D. 1587.

⁶⁸ The Life of Sulgen records, in the following verses, the age and a panegyric of our saint:—

"Hujus ad Arctos locus est, metropolis alta,
Antistes sanctus quo duxit jure Paternus
Egregiam vitam, septenos terque per annos.
Omnia quæ mundi sunt vana et lubrica cernens,

Intendens animo cælestia numina toto,

Devovit Christo totum servire per ævum.

Ac etiam sanctum mactans cruciamine corpus,

Semper inexhausto persistens valde labore,

Orans, jejunans, vigilans, lacrymansque; gemensque:

Esuris alimenta simul, nexisque levamen,

Hospitalibus pandens aditum, sitientibus haustum,

Ægrotis curam, nudis miseratus amictum,

Prudens quæque gerens, perfecit cuncta potenter:

Ac sic luciflum meruit conscendere regnum,

Cuncti quo Sancti miro splendore beantur."

—Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. v., p. 48, and cap. xiv., pp. 275, 276.

⁶⁹ This is assumed to have been the date for his death, in the Breviaries of Vennes, and in the first edition of the Breviary Corisopiten, with other authorities.

⁷⁰ See "Britannia Sancta," Part i., p. 227.

⁷¹ It is celebrated as a semi-double, with an office.

where his relics were preserved, in the country of the Franks. There, they were granted one of his bones, which could not be removed to their city, until a high-born inhabitant of Vannes, recollecting a refusal he had given to the saint while living, now declared, that he should grant a piece of land, to erect a church on his estate. Wherefore, the relic of holy Paternus was brought thither, and a church was founded in his honour. Afterwards, this relic was preserved in it, and the people entertained a great veneration for their patron.⁷² The churches dedicated to this saint, in Great Britain, are mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis,⁷³ and by John Speed.⁷⁴ The Anglican Martyrologies of Jerome Porter,⁷⁵ of Richard Wytford,⁷⁶ of Michael Alford,⁷⁷ and of John Wilson,⁷⁸ commemorate St. Paternus. The "Circle of the Seasons" has his festival, at the 15th of April.⁷⁹ The people of Armoricæ have deferred the celebration of this holy man's feast, to the following day.

ARTICLE III.—THE SONS OF DRAGEN, OR DRAIGHEN, OF CILL-RO, OR KILL-ROA, NOW KILROE, COUNTY OF MAYO. [*Fifth Century.*] The Martyrology of Tallagh, at the 15th of April, has an entry, Mac Draigin o Chill Roa.¹ Copying this, the Bollandists² have Filii Drageni de Kill-roa. Who these sons of Dragen were, and their place of residence, have been partially revealed to us, in the Acts of our great Irish Apostle. While St. Patrick travelled through the maritime part of Hy Fiachrach, he baptized seven sons of Drogen.³ One of these, named Mac Erca, who was selected as an *alumnus* by St. Patrick, happened to be greatly beloved by his parents. The Apostle, knowing that these would hardly consent to his taking their son with him to distant parts, left him with Bron,⁴ Bishop of Cassel-Irra, to be educated. Afterwards, this Macerca was set over the church of Kill-ruamor,⁵ in the territory of Tyrawley.⁶ This seems to have been the present Kilroe, in the parish of Killala, barony of Tirawley, and county of Mayo.⁷ Marianus O'Gorman has a notice of this festival. At this date, likewise, in the O'Clerys' Calendar,⁸ we find a placement, recording the sons of Draighen, of Cill Ro.

⁷² See John of Teignmonth's Life, as given by the Bollandists, chapter ii., num. 7, 8, 9, "Acta Sanctorum," toms ii., Aprilis xv. De Sancto Paterno Episcopo, &c., pp. 381, 382, with notes.

⁷³ See "Itinerarium Cambriæ," lib. ii., cap. iv.

⁷⁴ In *Theatro Imperii Magni Britanniae*, lib. ii., cap. ix.

⁷⁵ In "Floribus Sanctorum Angliæ." He cites Joannes Anglicus, and John of Teignmouth.

⁷⁶ In his English Martyrology, printed at London, A.D. 1506.

⁷⁷ This is to be found, in the Index of English Saints, which is placed after the Third Volume of his work: "Fides Regia Britannica sive Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ ubi potissimum Britannorum Catholica, Romana et Orthodoxa Fides per quinque prima sæcula: e Regum, et Augustorum Factis et aliorum sanctorum rebus è virtute gestis, asseritur." Auctore R. P. Michaele Alfordo, alias Griffithi, Anglo Societatis Jesu Theologo. Leodii 1663. Four large fol. volumes.

A. C. 1 to A. C. 1189.

⁷⁸ In the second edition of his English Martyrology.

⁷⁹ See p. 106.

ARTICLE III.—¹ As published, by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy writes mac Draigí o Cill roa.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms ii., Aprilis xv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 370.

³ For a further account of these transactions, the reader is referred to our Life of St. Patrick, chap. xii., and nn. 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249.

⁴ See his Life, at the 8th of June.

⁵ In the Diocesc of Killala.

⁶ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xcvii., p. 142, and nn. 144, 145, p. 180.

⁷ It is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," sheet 22.

⁸ Commonly called "The Martyrology of Donegal," and edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. SARNAT, OF DAIRINIS CEITNE. Like the Hebrews—as instanced in the case of that valiant and holy woman Judith—the Irish were accustomed, with a just feeling of national and ancestral pride, to record the genealogies of their noble and saintly females. Like the renowned heroine of the Jewish nation,¹ likewise, we can have little doubt, but that the present saint, besides deriving her pedigree from a princely race, was in the habit of exercising distinguished virtues, in the practice of penance, self-denial, prayer and retirement from the world. The name, Sarnat, Dairinis Cetnae, appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 15th of April. The Bollandists,³ quoting this entry, have it, for the same date, Sarnata de Daininis.⁴ According to the Irish Genealogies, she descends from the race of Eochaidh Fionn Fualhnairt, from whom the great St. Brigit, descended. Thus, St. Sarnata was the daughter of Eochad, son to Baith, son of Nennid, son to Nanned, son of Fiech, son to Jarius, son of Cathbad.⁵ In like manner, we also find registered, on this day, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁶ Sarnat of Dairinis Ceitne. The Irish Calendar, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, calls her Sarnad Dair Insi Cedne.⁷ When she lived does not appear.

ARTICLE V.—ST. DUBHDA, OR DUBTA. An entry of Dubta is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 15th of April. The same notice is in the Bollandists' work,² at this date. The Martyrology of Donegal,³ also, on this day, records the name of Dubhda, as having been venerated.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. GREALLAN, SON OF ROTAN. This name is recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 15th of April, as Grellan Mac Rodain. The Bollandists² enter, in like manner, Grellanus, filius Rotani, at the same day. This saint seems conjecturally to be identified with Londonderry;³ but, the statement may admit of doubt. A St. Greallan is noted, among the illustrious companions of St. Columba,⁴ who flourished at Hy, in Scotland: his festival being referred by Colgan,⁵ to the 15th of April, and to the 13th of July. Again, he is noted among the disciples of St. Columkille.⁶ On this day was venerated, according to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁷ Greallan, son of Rotan.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See Judith, chap. viii.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy gives Σαρνατ Δαιρι 1ηρι Καετναε.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos ii., Aprilis xv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 370.

⁴ Cetna is placed, in an under line, as if it were a distinct entry.

⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Appendix Quarta ad Acta S. Brigidae, cap. iii., p. 613.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

⁷ To this is attached the comment, .i. εαδοαδ μαc θαοιτ σο ϖλιορ ε ϖ. See the Common Place Book F., p. 38, once belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has Δυβτα.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos ii., Aprilis xv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 370.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters Σρελλαν μαc Ροταν.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos ii., Aprilis xv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 370.

³ See "Memoir of the City and North-Western Liberties of Londonderry," Part ii. sect. 2, p. 27.

⁴ His Life occurs, at the 9th of June.

⁵ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. ii., sect. v., p. 502.

⁶ See *ibid.*, Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., num. 70, p. 490.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 102, 103.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. MUND, OR MUNDUS, OF ARGYLE, SCOTLAND. [*Probably in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*] The great sanctity of Mundus, Abbot, in Scotland, has caused his name to be entered, in the various Scottish Kalendars of King, of Thomas Dempster,¹ and of David Camerarius,² at the 15th of April. However, his festival seems to be referred, either to the 21st of October, when St. Fintan Munnu is venerated, and the latter name, it is thought, has been confounded with Mundus, or Mun.³ Yet, there may be question regarding such identity. There may be some doubt, also, as to the identification of Mundus, who taught St. Fillan,⁴ according to Colgan.⁵ This latter writer ventures on a conjecture, that he might have been a St. Mundus, the son of Feredach,⁶ and of the Dalfiatach, in Ultonia,⁷ as the Mundus mentioned by Camerarius departed, in the year 962, while St. Fintan Mun died, A.D. 634⁸ Notwithstanding the manifest error of chronology admitted, between the period when St. Fillan and his St. Mundus lived, with their assumed relationship of master and disciple; Camerarius indicates, at the 15th of April, that the present holy man was Abbot, in the region of Argathelia,⁹ or Argyle, in Albania, where he erected many monasteries. The like statement occurs in Dempster's work.¹⁰ We are told, moreover, that several churches bear the name of St. Munde, Abbot, in Argyleshire, where he was formerly honoured as the principal patron, and where, owing to the shining light of his example and to his zealous preaching, he left behind him many great models of Christian perfection.¹¹ Moreover, he left excellent maxims,¹² which related to the most tender and universal charity, meekness, and love of retirement. He always contrived to keep himself in the Divine presence.¹³ Camerarius relates, in his account of St. Fillan,¹⁴ that this disciple succeeded his master after the death of St. Mundus,

ARTICLE VII.—¹ He thus writes: "In Orcadibus Mundi abbatis sanctitate mirabilis."—"Menologium Scotorum," in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

² Thus we find, in the Scottish Entries of his Calendar: "15 Die. Sanctus Mundus Abbas, sanctitate vitæ et miraculis celebris ad hæc nostra tempora in provincia Argathelia."—*Ibid.*, p. 236.

³ According to Bishop Forbes. See *ibid.*, p. 416.

⁴ See his Life, at the 9th of January.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." Januarii ix., cap. iii., and n. 8, pp. 49, 50.

⁶ He is thought, to have been father to those holy virgins, whose feast occurs, at the 23rd of March.

⁷ According to the "Menology of the Irish Saints," chap. xix.

⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 252, 253.

⁹ This is the part of Scotland, lying nearest to Ireland, and stretching to Cantyre, which is the Gaelic for "head-land," towards its north-east coast, in a long peninsula.

¹⁰ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," vol. ii., lib. xii., num. 854.

¹¹ A French writer, Simon Martin, in an ascetic work, treating about the sacred traditions of solitude, has mention of this holy Abbot's manner of living, at p. 298.

¹² These are contained in the account, left

us by Camerarius, and they were addressed to his disciples. *First*, he enjoined, that they should always preserve a pure heart, burning with a true love of God. *Secondly*, that with externs, they should only speak about God, and about religious matters; because seculars expected this solely from the monks, as those living in the world were oppressed with its evils, and because it was owing to the latter, on account of the religious institute, as likewise, since from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, the monks ought in life and in discourse be what worldlings require of them. *Thirdly*, that as there is a time for speaking, and a time for silence, so private or public necessity and utility should regulate the opportunity and measure of speech. *Fourthly*, as God is the witness and judge of all things, and as he neither can deceive nor be deceived, nothing should be done, but what might appear to the sight of God and of all men. *Fifthly*, that it should be their constant and cordial purpose, to love one another with a true and not a feigned affection; and, mindful of the Divine precept, "In this shall all know you are my disciples, if you love one another," that each must instantly repel from his mind, whatever should be calculated to rend mutual and fraternal charity.

¹³ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xv.

and died himself, A.D. 649. However, as may be judged, from his own context, Camerarius was betrayed into a gross anachronism;¹⁵ for, he states, in another place, that St. Mundus died, A.D. 962¹⁶ The Rev. Alban Butler also adopts this statement,¹⁷ for which he cites the authority of Hunter, the Dominican.¹⁸ The Bollandists have some account, at this date, of the venerable Abbot;¹⁹ but, it is chiefly drawn, from the statements of Camerarius, Dempster, and of the Aberdeen Breviary.²⁰ We are told, by a Scottish writer, that St. Mund was no other than the St. Fintan Munnu of the Irish Calendars, and that his crozier had its hereditary keepers' croft of land, at Kilnunn, in Scotland.²¹ However, Dempster seems to confound St. Mundus with St. Magnus,²² who was venerated, in the Orkney Islands, on the following day;²³ and some writings are attributed to him, by the same author.²⁴ Nevertheless, this latter statement may well be questioned; and, the learned Bollandist, Father Godefrid Henschenn declares,²⁵ that he no more believes such writings have any existence, than he does regarding many of the other books, which Dempster attributes to each of the saints of Scotland, as if all these were authors. He believes, moreover, that most of those attributed writings were never seen by any man, nor to be found in any place.

Sixteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. TETGAIL OR TETGHAL, SON OF COLBRAIN, BISHOP OF LYNALLY, KING'S COUNTY.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

THE conception the saints form of God is, that he deserves homage and love, never to be limited in degree. Health, strength, time, and substance, are to be spent in his service. More than any human attraction are the intensely strong affections, that draw their souls to the Creator. Of such a character was that service, rendered in the Irish Church, by many of

¹⁴ See "De Statu Hominis Veteris simul ac Novæ Ecclesiæ," &c., lib. i., cap. ii., sect. 2, pp. 122, 181, 182.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*

¹⁶ John Lesley states, that King Kenneth, or Kenned, reigned from the year 978 to A.D. 1000, and some Scottish authorities have this saint's death falling within that reign.

¹⁷ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xv.

¹⁸ In "De Viris Illustribus Scotiæ."

¹⁹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis xv. De S. Mundo Abbate, in Argathelia Scotorum Provincia, p. 388.

²⁰ "S. Mundi Abbatis et Confessoris in Argathelia, sub Rege Kennedo secundo, anno DCCCCLXII., xv. Aprilis."

²¹ See Joseph Anderson's "Scotland in

early Christian Times," First Series, Lecture v., p. 226, note 1.

²² In his Scottish Menology.

²³ However he distinguishes both, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xiii., num. 854, 855.

²⁴ He says: "Scripsisse putatur multa: in his Fascini et veneficiorum Disquisitionem, lib. i. Illa optimum Principem Duffum Regem violaverant mirifice et lecto affixerant." —*Ibid.*

²⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De S. Mundo Abbate, sect. 3, p. 388. He concludes, with the very severe remark, that Dempster seemed quite as ambitious to procure for himself first place among the forgers of falsehood, as to obtain for his country the credit of having so many writers.

her early prelates. We find, entered in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ the name of Tetgaill Mac Colbrain, at the 16th day of April. The patronymic, given with his own proper name, does not reveal more than the name of his father: of his family line, we are ignorant. Tedgaluis is the Latinized form of this holy man's name. He was born, as we may suppose, in the seventh century; but, where his education had been received does not appear. He was Abbot of Lann-Ela. This place is thought to have derived its origin from St. Colman Elo,² who died in 610,³ and who first erected here his Lann or Church. In pagan times, the locality was called Fiodh-Elo, or Elo-wood, which is said to lie in Feara Ceall,⁴ in the country of the southern Hy-Lynally.⁵ It contains the ruins of a church; but, decidedly, these are not old, yet that wall, which encloses the graveyard, appears to be very ancient. To the south of Lynally Church stands a moat, said to contain vaults built of lime and stone.⁶ Lann-Ela has been identified with the village of Lynally, in the barony of Ballycowan, King's County. The Four Masters make St. Téthghal Bishop of this place.⁷ There can hardly remain a doubt, that the Tethgaill here noted should not be identified with that bishop of Lynally,⁸ who is mentioned, in our Annals. He appears to have died, on the 16th of April, A.D. 709.⁹ The same date has been assigned for his death, by the local ecclesiastical historian.¹⁰ The festival, in honour of Téthghal,¹¹ was celebrated, on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.¹² At the xvi. of the May Kalends, which corresponds with the 16th day of April, the Irish Calendar, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy,¹³ has a peculiar notice of his festival and period.

ARTICLE II.—ST. MAGNUS, EARL OF THE ORKNEY ISLANDS, AND MARTYR, IN SCOTLAND. [*Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.*] It seems doubtful, whether the present holy Martyr had any further relations with Ireland, than such as resulted from the circumstance, that Irish missionaries are credited, with having first introduced Christianity, among the pagans who

ARTICLE I.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy writes *Tetgall mac Colbainno*.

² The feast of St. Colman Eala, Abbot of Lann Eala, occurs, at the 26th September.

³ See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 712.

⁴ Now called Fircal, which was a parochial union, or an ecclesiastical benefice, in the baronies of Eglisli, Ballyboy and Ballycowan, in the King's County, and in the Diocese of Meath, Leinster. See *ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵ The Parish of Lynally is found, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," sheets 16, 17, 24, 25. Lynally Glebe is shown, on sheet 16.

⁶ One of them has been broken into, from the top, and the masonry is exposed. This is one of those moats, which tradition states to have been places of retreat, in times of danger, and which, as being found in the neighbourhood of English Castles, Dr. O'Donovan considered it to be of Anglo-Norman erection. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the

King's County, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1838," vol. i., Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Tullamore, January 2nd, 1838, pp. 93, 94.

⁷ "Téthghal, Bishop of Lann-Ela (Lynally) died on the 16th of April."—Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 308, 309, 310, 311. See A.D. 709.

⁸ See also Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. ii., chap. lxxiv., pp. 617, 618.

⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 308 to 311.

¹⁰ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. i., p. 6.

¹¹ In a note, Dr. Todd says, "The more recent hand adds here, in Roman characters: '17 sancti apud Marianum, qui non habentur in Romano.'"

¹² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

¹³ There we read, *Tetgal eapp lionn eala; n. Doimnall mac doo. a.o. 624.*—Common Place Book F., which formerly belonged to the Ordnance Survey Office.

inhabited the Orkney Islands, and that he had landed here, probably, during the predatory encroachments of the Norwegian King, Magnus, surnamed Barelegs, on our Irish shores. According to Dempster, Saints Brandan¹ and Machutes, also called Maclovius,² were the first Apostles of the Orkney Islands.³ Whatever may be thought of his descent, which does not appear to have been Irish; it may be supposed, that the influences, which formed the education and manners of St. Magnus, had been largely, if not chiefly, derived from our Island, as the ecclesiastics of Orkney were recruited from such a source, and the monuments and records remaining affirm such a conclusion. Some mistakes have to be corrected, in reference to this holy person.⁴ The Breviary of Aberdeen⁵ most strangely calls St. Magnus "Apostle of the Orkneys, and of the Hebrides," for which there is no warrant; Camerarius has him as a Bishop; Molanus makes him a Martyr, in Dacia; by Calesinius and Ferrarius, the latter topographical mistake is converted into Denmark, which is scarcely less absurd. The Magnus Helga Saga,⁶ the substance of which is taken from a certain Rodbert,⁷ who wrote in 1130,⁸ was composed, in the fourteenth century,⁹ and it has a special account of this saint. The Orkneyinga Saga,¹⁰ written in the middle of the thirteenth century, condenses the foregoing account. The Heimskringla also corroborates the principal historic statements of those authorities. Hunter,¹¹ Lesley,¹² and King¹³ have notices of this holy and distinguished man. The Bollandists have published his Acts.¹⁴ The Life of St. Magnus, Earl of the Orkneys, has been issued, also, by Pinkerton.¹⁵ St. Munnus, as we find him called, or Magnus, Bishop and Martyr, is among the entries, in the Kalendar of David Camerarius,¹⁶ at the 16th of April. He was a Scot, by race, according to Thomas Dempster.¹⁷ Bishop Challenor,¹⁸ the Rev. Alban Butler,¹⁹ and Rev. S. Baring-Gould²⁰ have accounts of this Saint. The parents of St. Magnus were Erlind,²¹ Earl of

ARTICLE II.—The Irish Saint, who is venerated on the 16th of May, is probably meant. Owing to his celebrated trans-Atlantic voyage, he is usually called St. Brendan the Navigator.

² Probably meant for a bishop of that name, venerated in France, at the 15th of November.

³ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 855, p. 454.

⁴ As for instance, that of Rev. Alban Butler, who considers him to have been a bishop, whereas he was always a laic.

⁵ Printed at Edinburgh, A.D. 1509.

⁶ Published at Hafnia, A.D. 1780.

⁷ He seems to have been a monk.

⁸ He quotes the narrative of a man, who was present at the murder of St. Magnus, and who communicated particulars to the writer.

⁹ It seems to exhibit the character of a Panegyric, prepared for the day, when the Feast of St. Magnus was held.

¹⁰ Published at Hafnia, A.D. 1780, in 4to. Ex MSS. Legati Arnæ-Magnæani cum versione Latina, varietate Lectionum et Indicibus, Chronologico, Reali et Philologico, edidit Jonas Johnæus Isl.

¹¹ In "De Viris Illustribus Scotiæ."

¹² In "Descriptio Scotiæ."

¹³ In his Scottish Calendar, and at this

same date.

¹⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvi. De Sancto Magno, Comite Insularum Orcadum in Scotia. A commentary, in six sections, precedes the Epitome Vitæ ex Lectionibus Breviarii Aberdonensis, in six chapters, pp. 438, 439. These are followed by Hymns and Prayers proper to his Feast, at pp. 440, 441.

¹⁵ See "Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ," pp. 387 to 433.

¹⁶ Thus: "16 Dic. Sanctus Mannus sine Magnus Episcopus et Martyr."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 236.

¹⁷ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 855, p. 454.

¹⁸ See "Britannia Sancta," Part i., April 16, p. 228.

¹⁹ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xvi.

²⁰ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, pp. 211 to 217.

²¹ He was son to Thorfinn and Ingeborg; the former being the son of Sigurd, whom King Olaus converted to Christianity, together with all his people, and the latter was daughter of Finn Arnac. A daughter of Thorfinn and of Ingeborg married Paulus, the father of Haquin.

Orkney, and his mother was named Thora.²² Three other children²³ were the result of this marriage.²⁴ St. Magnus seems to have been of Norwegian extraction;²⁵ and, his father Erlender had] a brother, named Paul, who was married to the daughter of Earl Hako and Ragnhilda, daughter to King Magnus the Good.²⁶ This Paul had one son, named Haco,²⁷ who claimed a supremacy in the Orkney Islands over his uncle, Erlender, and over his cousins, but which they were unwilling to admit.²⁸ This ripened into a feud, which caused a division among the Orkney people. Some took part with Erlender and his sons, while others sided with Haco. His uncles were of opinion, that the best course to be adopted was to send Haco into Norway, where King Olaf the Quiet then reigned.²⁹ However, Haco did not long remain with him, but the exile sought an asylum with Ingi Steinkielson, who was the ruling monarch of Sweden.³⁰ This latter potentate was a staunch Christian,³¹ who did his utmost to root out the followers of the old Thor and Odin worship from his dominions. Here, Haco had a field, for the gratification of his turbulent disposition. Soon, however, Magnus III.,³² son of Olave, came to ascend the Norwegian throne;³³ and, while the father and

²² She was daughter to Sumarlid Ospak, whose mother was Thorsdisu, the daughter of Hallus Sidensis. Thorsdisu had a brother, called Egill, who was father of Thorgerda, the mother of St. Johannes, Episcopus Holensis.

²³ These were named Erlind, Cecilia and Gunnhildis. The latter married Kulus, and their son was known as Rognvaldus Kallius.

²⁴ The reader will find an account of this family, under A.D. 1064, in the "Orkneyinga Saga sive Historia Orcadensium, a prima Orcadam per Norvegos occupatione ad exitum Seculi Duodecimi. Saga Hins Helga Magnusar Eya Jarls sive Vita Sancti Magni Insularum Comitit." See pp. 90 to 93.

²⁵ See Bishop Challenor's "Britannia Sancta," Part i., April 16, p. 228.

²⁶ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 212.

²⁷ Called Håkon, in the Northern Sagas.

²⁸ A detailed statement of these transactions will be met with, in that sequel to the "Orkneyinga Saga," already quoted. See "Sagan of Hinum Helga Magnuse Eya Jarle," cap. 1 to 6, pp. 432 to 451.

²⁹ His rule over Norway is computed, from A.D. 1069 to 1093. See the particulars of his reign, in S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. ii., Book ii., chap. ii., pp. 264, 265. This forms one of the historic series, in the "Cabinet Cyclopaedia," conducted by Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL.D., F.R.S., L. and E., M.R. I.A., &c. London, 1839, 1840, 12mo.

³⁰ He is reckoned to have been the one hundredth and twentieth King, and to have ascended the throne, A.D. 1086. The particulars of his life will be found, in "Historia Joannis Magni, Gothi Sedis Apostolicæ Legati Sveciæ et Gotiæ Primatis ac Archiepiscopi Vpsalensis, De Omnibus Gothorum Svonvmque Regibvs qni unquam ab Initio

Nationis extitere, eorumque memorabilibus Bellis late variegue per Orbem gestis, Opera Olai Magni Gothi Fratrisc eiusdem auctoris ac etiam Archiepiscopi Vpsalensis in lucem edita," lib. xviii., cap. xliii., pp. 587 to 589. Romæ, 1554, fol. This work contains many curious initial letters, and quaint engravings, illustrating the costumes and current legends of the ancient Swedes.

³¹ Some laudatory notices of him will be seen, in that Basle edition of the "Historia Olai Magni Gothi Archiepiscopi Vpsalensis, de Gentium Septentrionalium variis conditionibus statibus et de morum, rituum, superstitionum, exercitiorum, regiminis, disciplinae, nictusque, mirabili diversitate. Item de bellis, structuris, instrumentisque mirabilibus. Item de mineris metallicis et variis animalium generibus, in illis regionibus degentium. Opus, omnibus cujuscunque conditionis hominibus magno nsui futurum rerum cognitione delectationeque refertum, expressis figuris pictis illustratum. Historias multas admirandas (quas avtor apud alios quaerendas et legendas Lectori reliquit) quibus velut exemplis et testimoniis uix credenda probantur et obscura illustrantur, ne ab aliis longius petendæ sint, suis ubique locis inseruimus," lib. viii., cap. xxxvii., p. 329. Basilæ, 1567, fol.

³² He is said to have reigned, from A.D. 1093, to A.D. 1103. See S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. ii., Book ii., chap. ii., pp. 265 to 267.

³³ The whole history of King Magnus Barefoot is very fully set forth by Thormod Torfæus, one of the most learned and judicious of the northern historians, in his celebrated work: "Historia Rerum Norvegicarum," in Quatuor Tomos Divisa. In qua, præter Norvegiæ descriptionem, Primordia Gentis, Instituta, Mores, Incrementa; et imprimis Heroum ac Regum, tam ante quàm post Monarchiam institutam, successiones, eorumque domi

uncle of Hako were rulers in the Orkneys, the young warrior returned to Norway. There, he ceased not to urge King Magnus against his uncle and cousins, in the Orkneys. But, while Hako supposed the result of their deposition should be the rise of his own ascendancy, Magnus had other ambitious purposes. He lent a ready ear to the advice of equipping a fleet, to plunder the coasts of Scotland and of England. During the earlier years of his life, our St. Magnus of the Orkneys was distinguished for his virtues. His piety, affability, modesty, gravity and chastity were admired.³⁴ As Magnus grew up, he fell into some excesses;³⁵ for, he lived the life of a young Norse chief of the period. But, as reverses are often known to chasten and reform, so it happened with this young prince. In the year 1096,³⁶ 1097, or 1098, Magnus, styled Olaveson,³⁷ King of Norway,³⁸ otherwise called Magnus Barefoot, or Barelegs,³⁹ came to the Orkneys, it is said, in consequence of a vision he had, and a warning from St. Olave,⁴⁰ to leave Norway, and never to see it more. He then gave immediate orders, to prepare a fleet of 160 ships. He soon subdued the Orkney Islands,⁴¹ and established his rule over the inhabitants.⁴² He seized on the two Earls, Erlender and Paul, whom he sent as exiles to Norway.⁴³ Instead of installing Hako, in their place, he destined the Orkneys for his own son Sigurd. The Vi-King⁴⁴ took measures accordingly, to have guarantees for the people's submission. He obliged Magnus and his brother Erlind to accompany him on this expedition. Their cousin Hako, likewise, formed one of the crew. A predatory cruise, along the west coast of Scotland, was the object of their leader. The Hebrides were fearfully harried by him.⁴⁵ The inhabitants fled for safety, in all directions, some into Scotland-fiord,⁴⁶ others south to Cantire,⁴⁷ and many into Ireland,⁴⁸ which was deemed the most reliable asylum for the fugitives. These events

juxta ac foris gesta; cumque vicinis gentibus commercia; Genealogia item, Chronologia, et quæcunque ad Regni Norvegici illustrationem spectant, singula ex Archivis Regiis et optimis, quæ haberi potuerunt, Membris, aliisque fide dignissimis Authoribus eruta, luci publicæ exponitur," tomus iii., lib. vi., cap. iv. to cap. xii., and lib. vii., cap. i. to cap. ix., pp. 387 to 446. Published at Hafniæ, A.D. 1711, fol.

³⁴ See Bishop Challenor's "Britannia Sancta," Part i., April 16, p. 228.

³⁵ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies de Saints," tome iv., xvi^o. Jour d'Avril, p. 415.

³⁶ See the "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," by S. A. Dunham, vol. ii., Book ii., chap. ii., p. 265.

³⁷ He was the son of Harold-Hardraade.

³⁸ Our Irish Annals call him, sometimes, Maghnus, King of Lochlann, and the Islands, and, sometimes, King of Denmark.

³⁹ He is said to have been so called, because he adopted the short kirtle or kilt, which was the peculiar dress of the western and northern Highlanders in Scotland, and which seemed so strange to the Northmen he commanded.

⁴⁰ He had caused this royal martyr's tomb to be opened, so that he might ascertain the state of preservation, in which St. Olave's relics might be found.

⁴¹ See "Chronicon Manniæ," at A.D. 1098, p. 10, in Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiqui-

tates Celto-Normanicæ."

⁴² The account of this expedition to the Orkneys is given, in Thormod Torfæus' "Historia Rerum Norvegicarum," &c., tomus iii., lib. vii., cap. iv., pp. 419 to 424.

⁴³ The "Orkneyinga Saga" places this event, under A.D. 1095. See pp. 108, 109.

⁴⁴ This word is said to have the original signification of a warrior, and to have merged into the secondary meaning of a pirate. For a learned dissertation on the primitive and received acceptation of this title, the reader is referred to the "Sagan of Gunnlaugi Ormstungu ok Skald-Rafni, sive Gunnlaugi Vermilingvis et Rafnis Poetæ Vita." Ex Manuscriptis Legati Magnæani, Annotationes uberiores. De Vocibus Vikingr et Viking, pp. 268 to 306. Hafniæ, 1775, 4to.

⁴⁵ A Poem, composed by the Scald Bjorn Cripple-hand, gives an account of this expedition, and it is quoted, in Snorro Sturleson's "Heimskringla," Saga xi., cap. 9.

⁴⁶ This was the sea, between the northern Hebrides and the mainland of Scotland.

⁴⁷ So states, Bjorn Cripple-hand:—

"South of Cantire the people fled,
Scared by our swords in blood dyed red,
And our brave champion onward goes
To meet in Man the Norsemen's foes."

⁴⁸ See "The Heimskringla; or, Chronicle

are said to have occurred, during the reign of Duncan over Scotland.⁴⁹ Magnus Olaveson now sailed to Iona, called Eyna-Helgo, by Snorro, and there the King guaranteed peace and security to the community, and to all the inhabitants. At this time, Domhnall,⁵⁰ the forty-first Abbot in succession to St. Columba,⁵¹ was in charge of the church. The king merely had the "templum Kolombæ" opened, but he did not enter it; and, afterwards, he decreed, that no person should dare to go within that sacred edifice, the doors of which he closed immediately, as a token of reverence. This mandate was subsequently obeyed.⁵² Magnus then sailed to Islay and Cantyre, which he subdued; and, afterwards, he committed predatory devastations, both on the Irish and Scottish coasts.⁵³ His unwilling servitor, the Orkneyan Magnus, was obliged to accompany him, through scenes of violence, which were most revolting to his feelings; and, it seems probable, in this manner, that he landed on our Irish northern shore, during some one or other of these marauding expeditions. Having reduced the Western Isles, Magnus III. sailed to the Island of Man, or St. Patrick's Island, where he landed, and then he proceeded to Sand-wath, where a great battle had been lately fought, between the Manks themselves,⁵⁴ and where many dead bodies yet lay unburied. Magnus was pleased with the appearance of this Island, and he determined to reside in it. He erected there some fortresses, which afterwards bore his name.⁵⁵ Then he resolved, on making a raid upon Wales. Off the Island of Anglesea, he encountered the Norman Earls, Hugh of Chester,⁵⁶ and Hugh of Shrewsbury,⁵⁷ invaders of that country.⁵⁸ A desperate engagement took place.⁵⁹ When St. Magnus was asked to join in the encounter, he refused to comply, saying he would not injure those who did not injure him. So long as the battle lasted, he was engaged calmly reciting the Psalter, in the hold of the vessel, whither he had been sent by Magnus Barefoot, who charged him with cowardice.⁶⁰ In fine, after a desperate struggle, the Welsh were beaten, and Hugh, Earl of Chester, their chief, was slain. The Earl of Shrewsbury, it is stated, was killed by an arrow.⁶¹ Afterwards, King Magnus raised great contributions in Wales, but leaving it, he returned to Man.⁶² He soon resolved on sailing northwards, by Scotland, over which country King Malcolm III. reigned, at that time. Magnus Barefoot conquered Cantyre, where he had a skiff drawn over the strand,⁶³ and holding the tiller, he sat in the stern-sheets, having shipped the rudder.⁶⁴

of the Kings of Norway," Translated from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, with a Preliminary Dissertation, by Samuel Laing, Esq., vol. iii., Saga xi., pp. 130, 131. London, 1844, 8vo.

⁴⁹ According to Rev. Alban Butler.

⁵⁰ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," Appendix. Additional Notes (O), pp. 400 to 402.

⁵¹ His feast occurs, at the 9th of June.

⁵² See Johnstone's "Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ," p. 232.

⁵³ See S. A. Denham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. ii., Book ii., chap. ii., p. 265.

⁵⁴ The parties contending were under their respective chiefs, Ottar and Macmarras, both of whom fell in the encounter. The northern tribes, however, gained the victory.

⁵⁵ See the "Chronicon Manniæ," in Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiquitates Celto-Normanice," pp. 10, 11.

⁵⁶ He was also called Hugh of Avranches,

and he was so fat, that he could scarcely stand, according to Odcricus Vitalis.

⁵⁷ He is also called Hugh de Montgomery.

⁵⁸ These had ravaged the Island, and they had built a castle at Llienawg, to keep down the people.

⁵⁹ According to the "Orkneyinga Saga," at A. D. 1095, "in freto Ongulosæ prælium commisit." See pp. 108, 109.

⁶⁰ See the Latin History of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, by T. Tornæus, published A. D. 1715, in folio.

⁶¹ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, pp. 213, 214, and nn. 1, 2.

⁶² See the "Chronicon Manniæ," at A. D. 1098.

⁶³ There is a small neck of land, between it and the mainland of Scotland, over which long ships were often drawn.

⁶⁴ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 214.

He appropriated the land on the larboard side, with a part of Galloway. The men of this latter district he humbled effectually, by obliging them to hew timber, to carry it towards the shore, and to fix it on his entrenchments.⁶⁵ The Vi-King sent his men over all the fiords of Western Scotland, and they sailed or rowed, between all the inhabited and uninhabited Islands there, taking possession of them for the King of Norway. He spent a winter in the southern Isles, but he deemed it politic to conclude a peace between himself and King Malcolm III. After this, while the Vi-King's ship lay off one of the Scottish creeks, St. Magnus escaped, by jumping overboard and by swimming ashore. The fugitive had wounded his foot, on a sharp stone, and the Vi-King, having soon discovered his flight, sent hounds on shore to track his steps. This they did very effectually, and reaching a tree in the forest, where the fugitive had sought shelter; he was obliged to descend, and to beat the dogs off with a branch. They returned to the boat, with their tails between their legs.⁶⁶ Magnus remained in the woods, until the white sails of the Viking disappeared from the coast. Afterwards, he escaped to the court of Malcolm,⁶⁷ King of Scotland, with whom he remained for some time.⁶⁸ Occasionally, he resided with a bishop in Britain. During this exile, the heart of Magnus was changed, in a wonderful manner; he began to lament his former mode of living, with tears and penitence, while he daily improved in virtue, and in the practice of noble deeds. About this period, King Muirchearthach, or Muirheard, was ruling over Ireland; and, the haughty Magnus Barefoot had sent a message through his ambassador, that the Irish sovereign should carry the Viking's shoes through his palace, on Christmas Day.⁶⁹ The Irish servant of the king felt greatly offended, at such an insult; but, the more prudent Monarch declared, he should not only carry those shoes, but eat them, if necessary, rather than Magnus might destroy any province of Ireland. He therefore did as had been enjoined him, and paid every attention to the envoys; he even sent presents to Magnus, and proposed a treaty.⁷⁰ However, such concessions seemed only to excite more the pride and ambition of King Magnus. His messengers reported the delightful situation of Ireland, its fertility in grain, and the salubrity of its climate. Ordering his fleet to be assembled, Magnus sailed in person. This invasion is referred to A.D. 1101,⁷¹ or 1102.⁷² Some accounts have it, that the finest and most powerful men, that could be obtained in Norway, followed him. Muriartach, called by the Norse accounts Moriartak, came to his assistance; when their united forces took possession of Dublin, and a great part of the country. Having set men to defend his conquests, Magnus spent the winter with King Muirchearthach, in Connaught.⁷³ But, in the following year, 1102, a hosting of the men of Ireland proceeded to Ath-cliath, to oppose the progress of the inva-

⁶⁵ See the "Chronicon Manniæ," at A.D. 1098.

⁶⁶ See the "Orkneyinga Saga," at A.D. 1095, pp. 110 to 113.

⁶⁷ Called Melkoff, in the Northern Chronicles.

⁶⁸ See ["Sagan of Hinum Helga Magnuse Eya Jarle," cap. 8, pp. 456, 457.

⁶⁹ See the "Chronicon Manniæ," at 1098.

⁷⁰ See *ibid.*

⁷¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 970, 971, where an Irish stanza is thus translated:—

"A year about one hundred and a thousand,

'Without any danger of miscalculation,

From the birth of Christ of pure religion,

Till the coming of Magnus to Ireland."

⁷² In the Chronologia postfixed to the "Kristul Saga," at A.D. 1102, we read "Magni Regis Norveg. expeditio Irlandica," p. 182. This is more fully given in the Scandinavian than in the Irish records.

⁷³ See Samuel Laing's "Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. iii., Saga xi., Mágnus Barefoot's Saga, pp. 143, 144.

der. However, it was agreed, that a truce for one year should be established, between the men of Ireland and the Vi-King Magnus.⁷⁴ In conjunction with Muirheartach, both kings invaded Ulster, where they fought many battles, and subdued that part of the country. Afterwards, King Muirheartach returned home to Connaught. Magnus rigged his ships, and prepared for his return for Norway, only waiting off the shores of Ulster, to obtain cattle which he intended to slaughter for provisions.⁷⁵ His son Siguard,⁷⁶ still young, but enjoying the principality of the Orkneys, was contracted⁷⁷ in marriage to a daughter⁷⁸ of the King of Ireland.⁷⁹ He was given in charge to Haco, son of Paul, the exiled Earl of Orkney.⁸⁰ Besides this pledge of family confidence, or through interested motives, King Muirheartach gave the Vi-King Magnus many jewels and gifts.⁸¹ In the year 1103, Magnus sailed in person, with sixteen galleys, to reconnoitre the northern coast. On this predatory excursion, leaving his ships and impudently going on shore, he was slain by the Ulidians.⁸² This event happened on St. Bartholomew's Day, while Magnus and his warriors marched through mires, mosses and brushwood, to meet as they thought a herd of cattle, approaching through clouds of dust. Those beasts had been driven, by the men of Muirheartach, as he had arranged. Meantime, Magnus had been warned, by one of his chiefs,⁸³ to beware of an ambush; and both of them went forward to reconnoitre.⁸⁴ The king wore a helmet; he held a red shield, inlaid with a gilded lion; he was girt with the sharp sword Legbiter, the hilt of which was ivory and the hand-grip wound about with gold thread. In his hand, he bore a short spear, and over his coat was a short cloak of red silk, having a lion embroidered in yellow silk, both before and behind. Among other men, he was distinguished for his commanding stature, and for a fine personal appearance. Eyvind had a red silk cloak like the king's, and he was also a stout, handsome, warlike man. However, on driving the cattle towards their ships, the Irish started up on every side from the bushy places, surrounding and attacking the scattered bands of Norsemen.⁸⁵ At the command of their king, these gathered together and tried to effect a retreat, in good order, to their ships. But, the Ulidians pressed onwards, and shot boldly. Although they fell in crowds, there came always two in place of one. At the last ditch, Magnus tried to make a stand there with a party, while one of his divisions passed over to defend it. But, his men began to fly, and the king was at first pierced with a spear, through both his thighs; afterwards, he was struck in the neck, with an Irish battle-axe, and this was his death-wound. A great number of the Irish fell in this engagement, and much less of the Northmen, but, among these were many of very distinguished rank.⁸⁶ Magnus Barefoot was buried

⁷⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 972, 973.

⁷⁵ See Samuel Laing's "Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. iii., Saga xi. Magnus Barefoot's Saga, p. 144.

⁷⁶ In the Irish Annals, he is called Síghard.

⁷⁷ The word used by Thormod Torfæus is "despondit."

⁷⁸ She is called Biadminia, or Hiadminia, a virgin, only five years old, while Sigurd was a boy of only nine years. See "Historia Rerum Norvegarum," &c., toms iii., lib. vii., cap. ix., p. 424.

⁷⁹ By some writers, it is said, she was daughter to the King of Connaught.

⁸⁰ "The two earls, Paul and Erlendr, died in Norway the following year 1099."—Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 214.

⁸¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 972, 973.

⁸² He reigned over the Islands six years. See "Chronicon Manniæ," p. 12.

⁸³ He is called Eyvind Olboge.

⁸⁴ See an account of the death of King Magnus, in Thormod Torfæus' "Historia Rerum Norvegarum," toms iii., lib. vii., cap. ix., pp. 443 to 446.

⁸⁵ See S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. ii., Book ii., chap. ii., p. 267.

⁸⁶ See Samuel Laing's "Heimskringla;

in the church of St. Patrick, at Cluain.⁸⁷ The Norwegians, who escaped to their vessels, sailed for the Orkney Islands.⁸⁸ The brother of St. Magnus, called Erlingr, or Erlend, fell in this battle,⁸⁹ and, previous to this time, his father Erlind, and an uncle, called Haco, had died in Norway. When King Sigurd heard, that his father Magnus had fallen in battle, leaving the Irish King's daughter behind, he set off immediately with the whole fleet, and arrived that autumn, in Norway.⁹⁰ His cousin, Haco, seized the Islands of Orkney, and he obtained the title of Earl, from King Sigurd. But, Haco was a tyrant, who ruled his subjects, in a despotic manner. Whereupon, St. Magnus collected a large force, to assert his rights for a joint sovereignty, and he marched for Caithness. The islanders hailed his supremacy with enthusiasm. Magnus left the shores of Caithness, and complained to his overlord Eystein. Then he was restored to his father's half of Orkney, Haco being afraid to contest his claim, by force. The supreme king confirmed such an arrangement, and conferred on Magnus the dignity of an Earl. For some years, the cousins agreed to reign conjointly, and in peace, over their respective divisions. Their forces were combined, to beat off and kill a common foe, the pirate Dufniall.⁹¹ According to Dempster, St. Magnus wrote "Ad Orcadianos Monita Salutaria," Lib. i.;⁹² but, there is every reason to suppose, this is simply an unsupported fiction. The virtues of Magnus, the love borne him by the Orkneyan subjects, with a growing envy and ambition, induced the perfidious Hako to lend a ready ear to those, who sought to stir up strife.⁹³ An opportunity was presented, when the unsuspecting Magnus, who married a Scots' woman,⁹⁴ had gone on a visit, to the English court of King Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc.⁹⁵ During this absence of Magnus, Haco seized all the Orkney Islands, as also Caithness, on the mainland of Scotland. A temporary arrangement was made; but, it did not long continue; for, evil counsel and an envious disposition were ready agents, to excite the ill-will of Hako.⁹⁶ After some time, dissensions broke out again, and Hako had recourse to a miserable act of treachery, in the year 1110. To adjust their differences, it was arranged, that both belligerents should meet in Egilshay,⁹⁷ to ratify a covenant of peace. This is one of the Orkney Islands, and it lies about six miles south of Westray.⁹⁸ It is about two miles long, and one mile in breadth. It

or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. iii., Saga xi. Magnus Barefoot's Saga, pp. 139, and 144 to 147.

⁸⁷ See the "Chronicon Mannice," under the year 1098.

⁸⁸ See Samuel Laing's "Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. iii., Saga xi. Magnus Barefoot's Saga, p. 147.

⁸⁹ Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 384. This writer places his death, at A.D. 1102. See, also, Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 215, and n. 4.

⁹⁰ See Samuel Laing's "Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. iii., Saga xi. Magnus Barefoot's Saga, p. 147.

⁹¹ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 216.

⁹² See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 855, p. 455.

⁹³ The Rev. Alban Butler incorrectly supposes, that Hako and his followers were pagan Norwegians.

⁹⁴ By this term, perhaps we are to understand an Irishwoman, but more probably we are to take it at that time, as referring to a native of Scotland, and of Scottish race, as distinguished from a woman of Northman descent. Camerarius remarks, that the parents of St. Magnus had induced him to take a wife, with whom he lived most chastely for ten years. After her death, we are told, he renounced the world, and led a religious life, to the time of his martyrdom, as stated, for the Catholic faith.

⁹⁵ Or the scholar. He reigned from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1135. For the events of his reign, consult Rev. John Lingard's "History of England," vol. ii., chap. iii., pp. 104 to 155.

⁹⁶ See the "Orkneyinga Saga," at A.D. 1108, pp. 122, 123.

⁹⁷ The Breviary of Abereen styles it "Eglissei sive Ecclesie Insula," Lect. ii.

⁹⁸ See Rev. George Barry's "History of the Orkney Islands," &c., Book i., chap. ii., num. xxiv., p. 61. Its site is shown on the Map prefixed to this work, which was published A.D. 1805, Edinburgh, 4to.

was chosen, as a place of residence, by some of the ancient Counts⁹⁹ and Bishops of Orkney,¹⁰⁰ while a church was there, at the time of our narrative. Whether it was identical, with the unique towered one there at present, may be questioned. This consists of nave and chancel,¹⁰¹ but it differs from all other known churches in Scotland, by having a Round Tower¹⁰² joined on to the west end of the nave.¹⁰³ The whole structure is of irregularly coursed masonry.¹⁰⁴ There is nothing in the material or character of the tower¹⁰⁵ to suggest, that it had not been built, at a period corresponding with that of the church.¹⁰⁶ The upper story of the tower had four windows,¹⁰⁷ facing the cardinal points.



Egilshay Church and Round Tower, Scotland.

The tower is built of smaller stones,¹⁰⁸ than these used in the construction of the church, and access to it is obtained, through a round-headed doorway, opening through the west gable of the nave.¹⁰⁹ The chancel¹¹⁰ has no proper

⁹⁹ The Douglasses and Monteiths were subsequently its proprietors. See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ See Robert Forsyth's "Beauties of Scotland," &c., vol. v., Orkney Islands, p. 45, Edinburgh, 8vo, 1805 to 1808, 5 vols.

¹⁰¹ Hibbert gives an engraving from an old drawing, which represents both church and tower, as covered by stone roofs, that of the Round Tower having a conical cap, like to the Round Towers of Ireland.

¹⁰² This is a perfect type of the Irish Round Tower, and it may have been built, by Irish ecclesiastics, familiar with the architecture of such structures.

¹⁰³ The accompanying illustration has been drawn by William F. Wakeman, from one in Joseph Andrews' work, "Scotland in Early Christian Times," Lecture ii., p. 36. First Series, Edinburgh, 1881, 8vo. It has been engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹⁰⁴ Generally speaking, the stones are of irregular size, but some are 4 feet long, by 18 inches deep.

¹⁰⁵ Its present height is 48 feet, but about 15 feet of its original height was removed many years ago, so that it must have been, at least, 60 feet high. The internal diameter of this tower is 7 feet; and, at the base, the thickness of the wall is 3½ feet.

¹⁰⁶ A ground plan of this is given, in Muir's "Caithness and Orkney."

¹⁰⁷ Below these, there is a narrow square-topped window, in the east side, and straight below it, there is a semi-circularly-headed window, of small dimensions.

¹⁰⁸ These are unhewn, and fitted to the round, by their length.

¹⁰⁹ The nave itself is 29 feet, 9 inches, long, by 15 feet, 6 inches, in breadth, internally; while the walls are about 3 feet, in thickness.

arch, and the end of its vault opened directly from the nave. Not dreaming of treachery, on the day, before that appointed for the meeting, St. Magnus, preparing two long vessels,¹¹¹ sailed for Eglilshay, with a calm sea, and a cloudless sky. Nevertheless, on entering the boat, he stumbled, and immediately he said, "I fear this is an omen of a fatal fall. On landing, he visited the church, on Eglilshay, and he prayed there. Next morning, he heard Mass in it."¹¹² Instead of two vessels, as agreed upon, the treacherous Haco brought seven or eight, with a vastly greater number of armed attendants, than were warranted, by the terms of their convention.¹¹³ Knowing Hako's purpose, and not wishing to participate in an act of perfidy, one of his crew leaped over board, and swam to the nearest land. When he had reached Eglilshay, Hako surrounded the church. Then Magnus went outside, but found himself in the midst of foes. Magnus had passed the night, in prayer; and, early on the next morning, he devoutly received the Blessed Eucharist, while forecasting his approaching doom. The clansmen, who were there, insisted on the disadvantages of a divided earldom. For some time, a parley was maintained, between the cousins. Magnus offered some humiliating proposals, to save his life; but, the wicked followers of Haco would not admit of compromise.¹¹⁴ Then Haco ordered the standard-bearer¹¹⁵ to strike his helpless cousin. That man nobly refused, however, to become the executioner. Haco next desired one¹¹⁶ of his servants, to deal the fatal stroke; still, this man hesitated, and he burst into tears. "Do not be afraid," said Mangus, "the guilt is not thine; and remember, my clothes become thy perquisite." The Earl was then led apart to that spot, destined for his execution. With great courage, Magnus faced the executioner. "Stand before me," he cried, "and strike at me with all thy might; it beseemeth not a prince to be beheaded like a thief."¹¹⁷ He then blessed himself. Before the second blow was given to the unfortunate Earl, he fell dead,¹¹⁸ a victim to the barbarity of his unnatural relative. With his usual incorrect ideas, Dempster states, that St. Magnus suffered martyrdom, at the hands of wicked pagans,¹¹⁹ and when the Orkney Islands had lapsed again into the state of gentileism.¹²⁰ Various are the years assigned, for this martyrdom of St. Magnus. While some accounts have

It has two doorways, opposite each other, in the north and south walls, near the west end. They are semi-circularly-headed, each being 2 feet, 6 inches, wide. It has two windows, one in the north, and the other in the side wall: those are semi-circularly-headed, and widely splayed, on the interior. Besides these, there are two other windows, on the south side, and these, apparently, are not very ancient.

¹¹⁰ It was roofed with a plain barrel vault; and, its dimensions are 15 feet, by 9 feet, 6 inches, while the walls are about 2 feet, 9 inches, in thickness. There is no window, in the west end; but, in the north wall, there is a small round-headed window, opening immediately under the impost of the vault. It is of the same character as those in the nave, and in the south wall there is a like window similarly placed. Over the vault of the chancel was a chamber, to which access from the nave was given, by a round-headed doorway, 6 feet, 4 inches, high, by 2 feet, 2 inches, wide. The chamber was lighted by a flat-headed window, 18 inches high, and this was placed, in the east gable. See Joseph

Andrews' "Scotland in Early Christian Times." Lecture ii, pp. 34 to 37.

¹¹¹ According to the Breviary of Aberdeen. Lect. iii.

¹¹² See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 216.

¹¹³ The Breviary of Aberdeen is authority for this statement. Lect. iii.

¹¹⁴ See "Sagan of Hinum Helga Magnuse Eya Jarle," cap. 24, pp. 494 to 499. To the writer of this work, the foregoing particulars were more fully detailed, by one Holdbod, who was present.

¹¹⁵ On the same authority, he is called Ofeyg, in cap. 25.

¹¹⁶ He is called Lifolf.

¹¹⁷ Quoting an ancient Chronicle, Camera-rius gives a different version of his dying words: "Domine Jesu, tibi, S. Mariæ, SS. Palladio et Servano, commendo meipsum et gregem meum."—"Menologium Scotorum," at the 16th of April.

¹¹⁸ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 385.

¹¹⁹ This he foolishly states, although citing the Scottish Breviary.

it so early as 1104,¹²¹ 1106,¹²² 1109,¹²³, others again defer it to 1110.¹²⁴ The Saga of St. Magnus states, that he died on the second day,¹²⁵ after the feast of Saints Tiburtius and Valerian,¹²⁶ and three weeks, after the festival of the Annunciation. But, the Orkneying Saga tells us, that he died two days, after the feast of St. Tiburtius, when himself and Hako had jointly ruled the Orkneys for seven years.¹²⁷ He lived, in the year 1109, according to Dempster, and his festival was held, on the 16th of April,¹²⁸ although he has it, at a different day, in another work.¹²⁹ This, too, is the date assigned for it, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, in the Manuscript of Florarius, in Greven's additions to Ussard's Martyrology, in Canisius, in Molanus, in Galesinius, in Ferarius, in David Camerarius, and in the works of other Kalendarists.¹³⁰ In the first instance, his body was buried in Egilshay. The church, dedicated to St. Magnus, is said to have been built, on that very spot, where the unjust and cruel murder of the holy man took place;¹³¹ and, it has been identified, with that one, to which the high and tapering round tower was attached.¹³² An adventurous and a turbulent race were the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands, and constantly engaged in predatory expeditions. During many a wretched age,¹³³ their Scandinavian settlers domineered over the Hebride islanders, and yielded little subjection to any ruler, or obedience to any government.¹³⁴ After much entreaty, the mother of St. Magnus, named Thora, had the remains of her martyred son removed to Christ Church, Bersa.¹³⁵ A sister's son, named Ronald, avenged the death of his uncle, against the son of Hacon, who held for a time, after the father's death, his cousin's portion of the principality of the Orkneys. Ronald had made a vow, that if successful against his rival, a splendid fane should be erected over the martyr's ashes; but, when, in fine, some plots and contentions enabled him to become possessed of the whole Earldom, he resolved on the fulfilment of his resolution.¹³⁶ Finally, the body of St. Magnus was removed to Kirkwall, the chief metropolis of the Orkney Islands, and there his massive Cathedral of fine proportions is now to be seen. Its present length, on the outside, is 226 feet; its breadth is 56; the height of the main roof is 71 feet; and from the level of the floor to the top of the steeple, it is 133 feet. However, the present spire is merely a plain pyramidal roof, and it is only a paltry substitute for an elegant spire, which was destroyed by lightning, in 1670.¹³⁷ The original style of this Cathedral is of the most ornate Irish-Romanesque

¹²⁰ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 855, pp. 454, 455.

¹²¹ According to the Aberdeen Breviary and to Rev. Alban Butler.

¹²² According to Bishop Challenor, the Bollandists, and the Petits Bollandistes.

¹²³ The second day of the week did not fall on the 16th of April, in A.D. 1104 or 1109, as the Bollandists remark.

¹²⁴ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16, p. 216.

¹²⁵ The Aberdeen Breviary states, that his Martyrdom took place "anno Domini millesimo centesimo quarto, sextodecimo Kalendas Maii, feria secunda."—Lect. v.

¹²⁶ This should be April 14.

¹²⁷ The year of his death was 1110, according to that Saga. See pp. 122 to 135.

¹²⁸ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xii., num. 855, p. 455.

¹²⁹ In his "Menologium Scoticum," he has the feast of St. Magnus, at the 6th of September, evidently confounding the present saint, with another bearing a like name.

¹³⁰ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., April xvi. De Sancto Magno, &c. Proemium, num. 2, 3, 4, p. 438.

¹³¹ See Rev. George Barry's "History of the Orkney Islands," &c., Book i., chap. ii., num. xxiv., p. 61.

¹³² According to the "Geographia Scotiæ Blaviana," in Nova Descriptio Orcadum, p. 159.

¹³³ See Torfæus, in reference to the Orca-des, chap. ii.

¹³⁴ See George Chalmers' "Caledonia," vol. i., Book ii., chap. iv., p. 263.

¹³⁵ See Robert William Billings' "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," vol. iii., after plates, 42 to 47, p. 2.

character, as the arches, windows, corbels, and tracery, abundantly demonstrate. At a latter time, some additions and restorations are worked out, in a Gothic style, incongruous, yet imposing.¹³⁸ Sometime before the middle of the twelfth century,¹³⁹ Ronald, Count of Orkney, founded this magnificent church, in honour of his uncle, St. Magnus, to whom it was dedicated.¹⁴⁰ While this fine structure shows a pious industry, in the execution; its design is bold and majestic, for the period and the place.¹⁴¹ The ground-plan presents an appearance of great regularity, and the building is cruciform.¹⁴² The Breviary of Aberdeen assigns to the Festival of St. Magnus two special hymns, which recount some of his miracles. Provision is made, likewise, for the anniversary celebration, both of his passion and of his translation. On the west coast of the Shetland main-shore, St. Magnus' Bay was called after this holy man. He was regarded, as the chief Patron Saint of the Orkney Islands,¹⁴³ Before the great battle of Bannockburn, King Robert Bruce is said to have seen in a vision St. Magnus, who promised him a splendid victory.¹⁴⁴ At the time of the Reformation, some of his relics were carried away from Kirkwall. In part, these were deposited at Aix-la-Chapelle. Another of St. Magnus' relics¹⁴⁵—a portion of the shoulder—was preserved, in the Metropolitan Church of St. Vitus, at Prague. Another festival has been assigned to St. Magnus, at the 19th of August.¹⁴⁶ Injustice and treachery had a partial triumph in the death of this noble and holy prince, but these opened for him the ultimate crown, awaiting the martyrs of Christ.

ARTICLE III.—ST. FAILBE, OR FALBE, BISHOP. The name of Failbe appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 16th day of April. By Colgan,² a St. Falbe is called Bishop of Kill-Fore, or Fobhuir, while his festival is assigned to the 11th of January, or to the 16th of April. He is classed, among the disciples of St. Patrick.³ The name of Failbhe is set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal⁴ as having been venerated, on this day; but, it is not at all certain, when he flourished, or when he lived.

¹³⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³⁷ See "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. ii., p. 270.

¹³⁸ The assertions are safely made, after a careful study of the beautiful drawings of Billing, engraved in an exquisite style of art by John Godfrey, J. H. Lee Keux, John Saddler, and G. B. Smith.

¹³⁹ In 1138, according to Grub's "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," vol. i., p. 257.

¹⁴⁰ Beside it are the fine remains of the Bishop's Palace, and the Earl's Palace, so faithfully described in Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Pirate," at chap. xxxi.

¹⁴¹ See Rev. George Barry's "History of the Orkney Islands," &c., Book ii., chap. v., sect. vii., p. 230. A fine copperplate engraving of it is there to be found.

¹⁴² See Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Scoti-Monasticon," p. 173.

¹⁴³ See Bishop John Lesley, "De Rebus Gestis Scotorum," Præfatio, p. 40.

¹⁴⁴ See Hector Bœtius' "Historiæ Scotorum," lib. iv.

¹⁴⁵ A Catalogue or Kalendar of these relics had been prepared and edited, by the Dean Thomas Pessina a Czechorod.

¹⁴⁶ "As there is a S. Tiburtius commemorated in the Roman and Scandinavian Kalendar on Aug. 11th, this may possibly have given occasion to the mistake, the 19th being taken as the day of the burial, the 13th as that of his martyrdom. But, there is a S. Magnus, B. of Avignon, and another of the same name Bishop of Anagni, commemorated on Aug. 19, in the Roman Martyrology, and either of these may be intended."—Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 16th, p. 211.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters, at this date, Failbe.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 268.

³ For these statements, Colgan quotes the Life of St. Benignus, chap. x.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. MIOLAN, OF MOIN-MIOLAIN. According to the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ we find, that Miolán, of Móin-Miolain, was venerated, on this day.

ARTICLE V.—ST. MARIANUS, MONK. At this date, Colgan intended to publish Acts of this saint ;² but, it is difficult to find any clue to his identity, locality or period.

ARTICLE VI.—INGHEN, OR THE DAUGHTER OF DIARMATA, IN CONNAUGHT. We read, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,³ that Inghen h Diarmata, in Connaught, was venerated, at the 16th of April.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FEAST OF ST. AUXILIUS, OF KILLASHEE, COUNTY OF KILDARE. [*Fifth Century.*] A feast of St. Auxilius, of Killossy, or Killashee, in the county of Kildare, has been noted for this day. His Life will be found, at the 27th of August, the date for his principal festival.

ARTICLE VIII.—FEAST OF ST. MAXENTIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR. The second edition of Wilson's English Martyrology places the celebration of this holy Virgin, and Martyr, at the present date, when she is said to have been commemorated, at some localities, in England.¹ By others, her feast is assigned to the 24th of October.² Notices of St. Maxentia will be found, at the 20th of November. The supplement to the Gallic Martyrology places her festival, at the 24th of November.

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. MOLOC, BISHOP IN SCOTLAND. [*Sixth Century.*] The Scottish Breviary,¹ according to Thomas Dempster,² has the feast of St. Moloc, Bishop, one of St. Brandan's disciples and companions,³ at the 16th of April. It is said, that he joined Bonifacius Queretinus, and made a tour of Scotland with him. Having been invested with the dignity of Bishop, he instructed the people, through all the northern parts of Scotland; and, especially was he regarded as the Apostle of Argadam.⁴ There, he was at last buried, in the basilica of Lismore. A concourse of people flocked thither, to venerate his relics.⁵ If we are to credit Dempster, he wrote *Vita Brandani Magistri*, Lib. i., and *Commonitorium ad Scotos*, Lib. i. He flourished, A.D. 590, according to Dempster.⁶ The Bol-

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

ARTICLE V.—² See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy, I can only decipher the word $\Theta\iota\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \Lambda$.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 402.

² See *ibid.*

ARTICLE IX.—¹ That of Aberdeen gives this saint a Duplex Major Office.

Thus is it noted, in his "Menologium

Scotorum," "In Haebud. b. Moloci episcopi, comitis et discipuli S. Brandani."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 196.

³ Pitts states, that Machutes was a companion of Moloc, but not his preceptor.

⁴ See Thomas Dempster's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. ii., num. 840, p. 449.

⁵ See Hector Boetius' "Scotorum Historiæ a Prima Gentis Origine," &c., lib. ix., p. clxxii.

⁶ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. x., num. 840, p. 449.

landists,⁷ who cite Dempster and Ferrarius at this date, remark, that St. Moloc had another feast, at the 25th of June. When about to engage in battle, King Malcolm prayed to this saint; and, afterwards, he won a glorious victory. In consequence of a vow then made, that king erected a fine church to St. Moloc, and at very great outlay.⁸

ARTICLE X.—FEAST OF ST. CARISSIM AND OF THE DEACON FELIX. In the early Irish Church, the festivals of St. Carissim, and of the holy Deacon, Felix, were celebrated, on the 16th of April, as St. Ængus records, in the Feilire.¹ We are inclined to believe, that Carissim must be taken to represent one of the holy Martyrs, at Corinth,² in Achaia, who is variedly named, Charisius, Carisus, Carisa, and Carissus. Or, it may be, that Carissim was the Carissus, belonging to another company of holy Martyrs, whose names occur, in old Martyrologies, at this date.³ In like manner, a doubt may exist, regarding that Felix, whose name has been entered, in the Festilogy of St. Ængus; as, in a group of Martyrs, one is so named;⁴ and, again, in another group of Martyrs, those who suffered at Asiatic Pontus, two bearing the name are to be found.⁵ In like manner, and at this same day, one Felix suffered as a Martyr, in Spain.⁶ At this date, also, the Martyrology of Tallagh⁷ mentions a festival, in honour of Felix, a Deacon.⁸

ARTICLE XI.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. PATERNUS, BISHOP OF VENNES. [*Fifth and Sixth Centuries.*] The festival of this holy man has been assigned, to this date, as being that of St. Paternus' death, by the Breviary of the city of Vennes, and in that of Corisopitan.¹ Also, Philip Ferrarius,² Albert Le Grand,³ and Augustine du Pas,⁴ have a similar state-

¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 402.

² See Hector Boetius' "Scotorum Historiæ," lib. xi., p. ccxlii., and p. ccxcv.

ARTICLE X.—In the Leabhar Braec copy we find:—

LA CARRIM MGOA
ARARUAMOA FELIX
DORRECH DUIT FORRTOIC
FEIL INOEOCHAIN FELIC.

It is thus translated into English:—"With royal Carrissima, whose graveyard is roomy (?), runs to thee quickly the feast of the deacon Felix."

² See their Acts, in the Bollandist Collection, "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvi. De SS. Callisto, Charisio, Leonide, Christiana, Galla, Theodora, Lota, Tertia, Caristo, item Chariessa, Nice, Gallena, Nunechia, Basilissa, Cali, Martyribus Corinthi in Achaia, pp. 402 to 404.

³ See *ibid.* De Sanctis Martyribus, Martiale, Vincentio, Carisso, Caritone, Cælesta et aliis quinque, p. 405.

⁴ See *ibid.* De Sanctis Martyribus, Marciano, Eniano, Felice, Hermogene, Vincentio, Tertio, Calesto, p. 405. Here Felix is not distinguished as a Deacon.

⁵ See *ibid.* De Sanctis Martyribus, Martiale, Felice, item Felice, Fausto, Fortunato, Silvano, Luciano, Gomalo, Parcilaio, Leonide, Mica, Gallieno, Marciano, Faustino, Luciano, Jocundo, in Ponto Asiæ Regione, p. 406. Neither of those, bearing the name of Felix, are distinguished as Deacons.

⁶ See *ibid.* De Sanctis Octodecim Martyribus, Optato, Luperco, Successo, Martiale, Urbano, Julia seu Julio, Quintiliano, Publio, Frontone, Felice, Cæciliano, Eventio sive Evoto, Primitivo, Apodemio, et IV. Saturninis, ant pro his Cassiano, Matutino, Fausto et Januario. Cæsar-Augustæ in Hispania, pp. 406 to 410. Nor do we find the Felix, named among them, distinguished, as having been a deacon.

⁷ Edited by Rev Dr. Kelly, p. xxi.

⁸ The Franciscan copy has FELICIT DIDA COMI.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xv. De Sancto Paterno Episcopo, Veneti in Britania Armorica. Commentarius Prævius, num. 2, 379.

² In his General Catalogue of the Saints, at the present date.

³ In the account of Saints, belonging to Armoric Britain.

⁴ In his History of Brittany, where he treats about the Bishops of Vennes.

ment. Yet, this is supposed to have been a mistake, for the festival of St. Paternus, Episcopus Abrincensis, et Scubulionis Abbas. Their feast has been referred, to the 16th of April; and, on this day, the Bollandists,⁵ who have published their Acts, note the festival of St. Paternus, Bishop of Vennes, in Armoric, or Lesser Britain.⁶ He must be distinguished from that Paternus, otherwise known as St. Pair, who, in early youth, embraced a monastic life, in the Abbey of Anston, afterwards called Marnes. From the name of a holy abbot, belonging to that house, it was known as St. Jovin des Marnes,⁷ in the diocese of Potiers.⁸ To lead a more austere life, he went into the diocese of Coutances; and, some years later, he was ordained priest, by the Bishop Léontin.⁹ Afterwards, he was called upon, to preside over the See of Avranches.¹⁰ This latter holy man, however, had no special connexion with Ireland.

ARTICLE XII.—ST. ULTAN. The Martyrology of Donegal¹ mentions, that there was a festival, in honour of Ultan, and celebrated on this day. The Annals of the Four Masters² record the death of Ultan Hua Berodberg, Abbot of Fahen, or Ohain-mor, at A.D. 769. Colgan attributes his festival to this date, April 16th;³ but, little seems to be known, regarding him. We cannot know, whether the present or some other holy man, bearing the same name, may be identified with a St. Ultan, who was the patron saint of Culdaff parish,⁴ in the barony of Inishowen East. A very ancient stone cross, which tradition ascribes to his erection, stood at Falmore.⁵ But, it has crumbled into fragments. Some years ago, Mr. Nicholson, the owner of that property, on which it stood, got a splendid Irish cross of stone erected once more, and on the old site.⁶ In the remote parts of Ulster, to which allusion has been made, and where wildly romantic scenery abounds, the antiquary may still discover the vestiges of a very distant period, and especially ruined churches, formerly holding a place in popular veneration.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii. De S. Paterno Episcopo Abrincensi et S. Scubulione Socio, in Hodierna Normannia. A previous commentary of Six Sections, with Vita auctore Fortunato Episcopo, in Three Chapters, with Notes, by Godefrid Henschen, may there be found. See pp. 425 to 430.

⁶ See *ibid.* Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 401.

⁷ A fuller account of this holy Bishop will be found, in "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome iv., 16 Avril. Saint Paterne, Evêque d'Avranches et Saint Scubilion, Le Compagnon, de sa Solitude, pp. 415 to 418.

⁸ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xv.

⁹ See l'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome vii., liv. xxxiii., sect. lviii., p. 475.

¹⁰ He seems to have been the same as the St. Paternus, incorrectly described as Episcopus Pictaviensis, and commemorated, at

this date, in the Manuscript of Florarius, and in Greven's additions to Usuard. After this entry, the Bollandists have another: "S. Paternus Episcopus Arausionensis dicitur a Ferrario non satis distinguente dictas urbes, Gallice Auranche et Orange dictas, uti hoc die ad Vitam S. Paterni dicitur."—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvi. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 401.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

² See Dr. Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 372, 373.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. ix., p. 510.

⁴ This extensive ecclesiastical division is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Donegal," sheets 2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21.

⁵ This local denomination does not appear, on the Irish Ordnance Survey Maps.

⁶ See Maghtochair's "Inishowen; its History, Traditions and Antiquities," chap. xiv. p. 135.

Seventeenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. DONNAN, OF EGA, OR EGG ISLAND, ABBOT, AND
FIFTY-TWO OF HIS COMPANIONS, MARTYRS, IN SCOTLAND.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

SOON after St. Columba¹ had founded Iona, the zealous Columban monks of his institute established many churches and cells in the Hebrides. In every one of these Islands, the churches and chapels were much more numerous, in former times, than they have been since the Reformation.² Except some of those in Lewis and Harris, all the old churches were dedicated to the same patronsaints, as those of Argyle, and other parts of Scotland, where the Scoto-Irish settled. Among the patrons may be noticed St. Columba, St. Brigid,³ St. Ciaran,⁴ St. Adamnan,⁵ St. Patrick,⁶ St. Barr,⁷ St. Brandan,⁸ St. Chattan,⁹ St. Martin,¹⁰ St. Caionach or Kenneth,¹¹ &c. Even in Lewis and Harris, some of the churches were dedicated to Scoto-Irish saints, such as Columba, Brigid, Ciaran, Donan, or Adamnan.¹² Towards the close of the last century, the ruins of twelve churches and chapels were standing, in Harris,¹³ besides several others, covered with moss and rubbish, although tradition carefully preserved their names. Their situation was likewise known to the people. In the Island of Taransay, there was a church, called Eaglais Tarain, but tradition was silent regarding it, in the last century. In the ancient Martyrology, there is a St. Tarnanus, called Tarananus, by Fordun, in his Scotichronicon.¹⁴ In the Island of Berneray, likewise, there is a Cill Aisaim, supposed by Rev. John Macleod, to signify, a cell, or church,¹⁵ dedicated to St. Asaph.¹⁶

That charity, which Christ came on earth to establish in the hearts and souls of men, receives no higher encomium, than when for his sake their lives are devoted to their own and to their fellow-mortals' salvation, especially when those lives are laid down for their friends. Such were the conditions fulfilled, by the devoted Martyrs of Eigg, as their memories are recalled on this day, in the Scoto-Irish settlement among the Hebrides. On the 17th of April, in

ARTICLE I.—¹ His Life will be found, at the 9th of June.

² See George Chalmers' "Caledonia," &c., vol. i., Book ii., chap. v., and n. (d), p. 265.

³ Her Life is given, at the 1st of February.

⁴ One Irish Saint, bearing this name, is venerated at the 5th of March, and another celebrated one, at the 9th of September.

⁵ His Life is given, at the 23rd of September.

⁶ His Life is written, at the 17th of March.

⁷ His feast occurs, at the 25th of September.

⁸ His festival is at the 16th of May.

⁹ Under this form of name, the feast is not

easily found.

¹⁰ Most likely Bishop of Tours, whose chief festival is fixed for the 11th of November.

¹¹ Most likely, St. Canice, whose feast is set down at the 11th of October.

¹² See Martin's "Western Isles of Scotland," p. 27, where the information, afforded in our text, may be found.

¹³ See the admirable "Statistical Account of Harris' Parish," by Rev. John Macleod, in the "Old Statistical Account of Scotland," by Sir John Sinclair, vol. x., num. xxviii., p. 376.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁶ His feast fell, probably, on the 1st of May.

the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹⁷ we find entered, Donnan, of Egha, with fifty-two of his monks, whose names had been written, in a larger book,¹⁸ which appears to have been that, now known as the "Book of Leinster."¹⁹ The Bollandists²⁰ have some notices of these Martyrs, at this same date, with certain doubts expressed, that all their names had been clearly remembered and recorded by posterity, even if we could be assured, that all their names have been written down correctly, from the earliest records. St. Donnan's name occurs, in the Calendar and Office, found in the Aberdeen Breviary, at the proper day. But, no special allusion to his history can there be discovered. Wherefore, the writer of his memoir, in the "Acta Sanctorum,"²¹ is obliged to depend exclusively upon Irish authorities. Especially does he quote the Martyrology of Tallagh, and a transcript, sent from Louvain, by the Irish Father Thomas O'Sheerin, and which he extracted, from an Appendix to that Tract. In Bishop Forbes' work,²² as also in that of Rev. S. Baring-Gould's,²³ there are notices of this holy Abbot, and of his companions.

The pedigree of St. Donnan, is not recorded; so that, all we can know concerning him must be gleaned, from short notices in our Irish Annals or Calendars. That he was a native of Ireland seems to be pretty generally received; and, probably, his religious profession had been made at Iona, under the great Abbot, St. Columkille. Like some of his countrymen, Donnan was induced to settle, with a company of followers, in the western part of Scotland. He desired to make St. Columkille his *Anmchara*, which means confessor, or soul's friend,²⁴ but, the holy Abbot of Iona refused that office, for his community. Ega²⁵ was the name of that Island,²⁶ in which Donnan lived, after his coming from Erin. Here, it would seem, he planted a large community of religious. In after times, this Island home gave name to a parish, including Egg, Muck and Rum. These are found, among the group of Hebridean Isles.²⁷ At Eigg, the community did not live unmolested, and Columba had foretold their approaching martyrdom. This, however, did not prevent Donnan with his people taking up their abode on that Island. Three sheep, belonging to a certain rich woman of that region, were kept.²⁸ Some accounts have it, that she was a queen;²⁹ and, owing to her envy towards the monks, she moved a plot for their destruction. There came sea-robbers on a certain time, to this Island, and while St. Donnan was celebrating the holy Sacrifice of the Mass.³⁰ He requested of them not to kill him, until he should

¹⁷ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. There we find: "Donnani Egha cum sociis. lii., quorum nomina in majore libro scripsimus." In the Franciscan copy, the entry of St. Donnan's name, with the names of his monks, as afterwards noted, will be found.

¹⁸ This may possibly be classed, with the "missing books of Erin," at the present time; but, we think it to be no other, than that still preserved, as a separate Tract, in the Franciscan Library of Dublin.

¹⁹ Lately presented to the public, through the united efforts of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

²⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. De Sancto Donnato et LII. Discipulis Ihibernis in Insula Scotiæ Egga occisis, in Three paragraphs, p. 487.

²¹ See tomus ii., Aprilis xvii., p. 487.

²² See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 325.

²³ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv.,

April 17, p. 220.

²⁴ See Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Additional Notes K, p. 305.

²⁵ In the Irish form, it is written *Æg*, gen *Ægo*, or *Æga*.

²⁶ However, I find the Rev. S. Baring-Gould has it Ewe, in Lough Ewe, on the western coast of Ross-shire. In a note, he adds: "At least I presume Ewe is the Ega, "in the north of Albin, in Cattaibh."—"Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 17, p. 220.

²⁷ See Innes' "Origines Parochiales," vol. ii., part i., p. 334.

²⁸ Such is the statement, found in Father O'Sheerin's extract. The Kalendar of Cashel says, the murderers were satellites, sent by the king.

²⁹ According to Maguire.

³⁰ The account in the extract, furnished by O'Sheerin, states, that the monks were engaged, at that time, singing Psalms in their Oratory.

have the Mass celebrated, and they gave him this respite.³¹ Then, St. Donnan, addressing his disciples, said, "Let us retire to the refectory, that the robbers may slaughter us, where we have carnally feasted; for, we may not die, so long as we remain, where our souls were engaged, in praising the Lord. But, where we refreshed our bodies, let us pay the mortal penalty."³² We are told, that these religious were martyred, in the refectory of the monastery, and on the night of Easter Sunday.³³ The Martyrology of Donegal states, that St. Donnan was afterwards beheaded, with fifty-two of his monks. All their names, says the Calendarist, are in a certain old book, among the books of Erin.³⁴ This particular record³⁵ is mentioned,³⁶ as having contained the names of fifty-two monks, who were beheaded along with St. Donnan of Egg. Unquestionably, this belonged to the Book of Leinster; for, in the loose leaves—now in the Franciscan Convent—all of those names are given at length, in the contained copy of the Tallagh Martyrology.

The malicious woman, to whom we have alluded, had brought a marauding party—possibly of Picts—from the neighbouring coast, to murder the saint and his companions. The following are said to have been the names of these disciples,³⁷ Ædanus, Iarloga, Maricus, Congallius, Lonanus, Maclarius, Joannes, Arnanes, Erminus, Baithinus, Rothanus, Andrelanus, Carellus, Rotanus, Fergusanus, Rectarius, Connidius, Endeus, Macloga, Guretius, Junetus, Coranus, Baithanus, Colmanus, Jernludus, Lugadius, Luda, Gruundus, Cucalinus, Cobranus, Conmundus, Cunminus, Balthianus, Senachus, Demanus, Cummenus, Fernlugus, Finanus, Finnchanus, Finnichus, Conanus, Modomma, Cronanus, Kieranus, Colmanus, Navinnus, Remannus, Erminus, Ailchuo, Donnanus. Here, however, we only find fifty different persons enumerated.³⁸ We are also led to infer from the account, that these martyrs were burned to death. Possibly the murderers set fire to that chamber, where those brethren had assembled, slaying each one, as he endeavoured to escape.³⁹ They are said to have died, on the 17th of April, A.D. 617,⁴⁰ according to Tighernach. From this date, and from the evidences already adduced, it seems a great mistake to assert, that the paganism of Ireland and of Scotland had fallen peacefully, before the power of the Christian Faith, almost three centuries before the martyrdom of St. Donnan and of his companions, who suffered "red martyrdom," in the Island of Egg, by the hands of the Vikings.⁴¹ The *Felire* of St. Ængus,⁴² commemorates the martyrdom

³¹ This is the version given, by the Calendar of Cashel, and by Maguire.

³² In the extract, furnished by O'Sheerin, we read: "Ega nomen fontis in Aldafain Cattaibh, in Boreali Albania: et ibi Donnanus cum sua familia martyrium subijt, quod sic contigit."

³³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii., p. 487.

³⁴ In a note, Dr. Todd says, "The more recent hand adds here: "ՎՍԵՐԻ ՎՈՆՃԱՐ ՇԱՐԻԲԱՏ ՄԱՐԻՇԱՐԻ [Ængus says that they were martyrs] ut scripsimus, inquit. *Mart. Tam.* in libro magno. The Martyrology of Ængus has ՎՍԵԲԱՆՏ ՄԱՐԻՇԱ 'muasoi, "He (Donnan) ascended in victorious martyrdom."

³⁵ "The old Books of Erin" are spoken of generally, at p. 123; and "a certain book," at p. 167, in the published "Martyrology of Donegal."

³⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 105. At page 17, col. 2.

There is a short tract, regarding the Martyrdom of St. Donnan Ega, or Donnan of Egg. Ega nomen fontis in Aldasain (in Alban). 1. carrac stir gall gaedelu agus ceud tiri ina camair immuih.

³⁷ These names were furnished, by Thomas Sirinus, or O'Sheerin, Jubilate Lector of Theology, in the Irish Franciscan College of Louvain, to Father Godefridus Henschenius. They were taken, from the "larger book," to which allusion is made, in the Martyrology of Tallagh.

³⁸ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 467.

³⁹ See Rev. William Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," Additional Notes (K), pp. 303 to 309.

⁴⁰ See Rev. James Gaffney's "Ancient Irish Church," chap. ii., sect. i. p. 39.

⁴¹ See Joseph Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian Times," First Series, Lecture v., p. 190, note 1.

of this saint and of his clergy, at the 17th day of April. The Kalendar of Cashel and that of Maguire record, in like manner, his feast. This day was dedicated, according to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴³ to honour Donnan, of Ega, Abbot. St. Donnan and his companions, who were martyred with him, are mentioned in the Martyrologies of Drummond,⁴⁴ in the Kalendar of the Breviary of Aberdeen,⁴⁵ in Adam King's Kalendar,⁴⁶ and in Thomas Dempster's "Menologium Scotorum."⁴⁷ This St. Donnan was greatly venerated, in the north and west of Scotland; while various churches were built in his honour, and dedicated to him. The Island of Egg⁴⁸ had a church, called Killdonnain, and called after the present saint's name. St. Donnan's well is shown in Egg.⁴⁹ Until the Reformation, the Crozier of St. Donnan, was kept at the Church of Auchterless.⁵⁰ There is a church, at Baldongan,⁵¹ in the county of Dublin. However, it cannot be safely asserted, that it had any connexion, with the present holy martyr, Donnan. The foregoing notices comprise nearly everything known, regarding this religious community of Martyrs.

ARTICLE II.—LOICHEN, OF CONG, COUNTY OF MAYO. It is remarkable, in the early times of Christianity, that when the Pagans burned their dead, the Christians placed their bodies in sepulchres. The faithful were taught by Christ, that death was only sleep, and that the bodies of the dead should be deposited in a place of rest. Thus, the present term of cemetery, which is taken from a Greek word, signifies "a place of rest." In our own Island, together with this idea, was a sentiment, universally felt by our Christian ancestors, that while the cemetery most appropriately adjoined the church of a locality, there, too, were the congregations to regard it, as the place of their resurrection. In the present connexion, it is a pleasing circumstance to record those enlightened efforts made to preserve the walls,¹ if not to restore an Irish fane, which had formerly a wide-spread celebrity. The remark applied to Normandy, by a learned ecclesiastic, that if the cemetery surrounded the church, the church itself was oftentimes one vast cemetery,² has

⁴³ The following stanza is from the "Leabhar Breac" copy, with Whitley Stokes' English translation:—

Lafeil petair oeochoin
Orebraing martra mbuasoe
Conachleir can uine
Donnan Ega huare.

"With the feast of Deacon Peter, who sprang to victorious martyrdom, with his clergy a fair assemblage (?), Donnán of chilly Eca."

⁴³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105. See, likewise, pp. 404, 405.

⁴⁴ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," at xv. Kl. corresponding with the 17th of April. "Apud Britanniam Sanctus Donnan cum socia turba hoc die martyrio coronatus est." See p. 10.

⁴⁵ At xv. Kalends of May, or 17th of April, we find "Donani ab iii. Lec." See p. 115. *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ "S. Donane Abot and confess. in Scotland vnder King Machabeda." See p. 150. *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Under xvii. "Donanni abbatis patroni in Achterles, cujus baculus circulus cuili-

betlangori medebatur, K." See p. 197. *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ There is a fine old Map of the Isles of Rum, Egg, Muck, and Kannog, royal folio size, compiled about 1620, by T. Pont.

⁴⁹ See Joseph Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian Times," First Series, Lecture v., p. 193, note 1.

⁵⁰ See "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," p. 505.

⁵¹ See the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Dublin," sheet 12.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Allusion is here made, to that munificence of expenditure, by the late Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, owner of the soil, who, over twenty years ago, undertook the work of restoration, so as to preserve the former style of Cong Abbey. Since that time, William F. Wakeman, drew a sketch of the ruins, for Sir William Wilde, which with a modern photograph enabled him to prepare the Exterior View of Cong, drawn on the wood, and now illustrating the text. This view was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

² See M. l'Abbé Cochet's "La Normandie Souterraine ou Notices sur des Cimetières Romains et des Cimetières Francs explorés en Normandie," Première Partie, chap. i., p. 1.

like relationship to many of our churches, that have disappeared, and where graves are now only to be found. Too frequently, in the past, as at the present time, have our rulers desecrated and disregarded those pious associations, connected with the church and the cemetery. But, our people have even forgotten the reverence due to them, as did the more culpable Christians of the Middle Ages, in Rome, and whose forefathers, driven from the pagan cemeteries,³ resorted to the Catacombs,⁴ while these latter were gradually neglected, until their very sites passed away from memory.⁵ In the Martyrology of Tallagh⁶ is recorded the name, Lochin, Cunga, at the 17th of April. The place, with which this holy man was connected, and in Irish denominated Cunga, signifies "a neck;" and, it is so called, owing to its peculiar situation upon that isthmus, which divides Lough Mask from Lough Corrib. The place



Exterior View of Cong Abbey, County of Mayo.

is now known as Cong, and it lies on an insulated spot of ground, which is surrounded on all sides, by a number of streams.⁷ This inconsiderable village—once a town of great note—is beautifully situated, in the barony of Kilmain, and in the county of Mayo.⁸ Its locality was near the great plain

³ Until the year of 257 of the Christian era the Roman laws protected burial ground; but, after that, the Christians were forbidden to use the cemeteries. Then recourse was had to the subterranean chambers, since known as the Catacombs.

⁴ It is calculated, that there are 350 miles of subterranean tomb-avenues about Rome, and containing 7,000,000 bodies. The building of those required an infinity of labour, as some of the Catacomb tombs are fifty feet deep, and often five stories, in height.

⁵ Not until the 10th of December, 1593, were the real Catacombs discovered. A learned man then interested himself in the discovery, and worked at excavating the

passages for thirty-six years, in the meantime writing a great number of manuscripts, descriptive of the wonderful subterranean cemetery. Interest was thus awakened. In our own times, organized societies for the prosecution of that work have been formed. The men composing these societies have already made curious and great discoveries.

⁶ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Locheni Cungi*.

⁷ See Sir William Wilde's "Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands: with Notices of Lough Mask," chap. vii., p. 145.

⁸ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 498.

of Moytura, which lay to the west and north, and where a great battle had been fought, in the year of the world 3303.⁹ That neighbourhood was very populous, before the period of the Christian era. Traces of the dwellings and monuments of its former inhabitants even yet remain.¹⁰ It does not appear, that St. Patrick,¹¹ or any of his immediate attendants, approached nearer to Cong than Inchangeoil; but, its charming situation pointed it out, as the site for a religious establishment. This circumstance, and its vast water-power so suitable for milling establishments, soon called a town into existence. The origin of a monastery, at this place, has been referred to the seventh century; and, some have asserted, that its foundation is traceable to the celebrated Patron of Fore, in the county of Westmeath. Sir James Ware observes, that St. Fechin¹² was said some time to have been Abbot of Cong. For this, there seems to be slight foundation.¹³ The existing ruins of ecclesiastical establishments there hardly refer to so early a period. The monastery of Cong is said, also, to have been founded,¹⁴ by Donald, son of Aed, or Aidus, and grandson¹⁵—not nephew as in the English translation—of Anmirech, that is Domnald II., King of Ireland, who died in 642. However this may be, it is very certain, that at such an early period, it could not have been intended, for a community of Augustinian Canons. This foundation has been assigned to A.D. 624, by Sir James Ware;¹⁶ his editor Harris adds, or 635.¹⁷ A St. Molocus of Cong, whose name is in the Calendars, at the 17th of April, is noticed by Father John Colgan.¹⁸ With the expletive *mo*, or “my,” prefixed, to the Latinized *Locus*, this is probably intended, as applying to the present Loichin. It seems probable, enough, although this monastery at Cong might have been erected, at the expense of King Domnald, that Molocus or Loichin was really the first Abbot, and probably the chief Patron of the place; for, he was the saint, whose name is found joined to that of Cunga.¹⁹ Near Cong, as we are told, is an Island, known as Inis-an-Gael-crabhuig, or the “Island of the religious strangers,” in which are the ruins of two chapels, and many graves of holy men. In conformity with its etymology, tradition states it to have been one of those marts of literature, which Ireland threw open to the converted Saxons.²⁰ It is stated,²¹ that the ruins of several churches may be seen here;²² but, these no longer exist, and the name of one only remains, at present, attached to the field of the Killeen-breac, or “little speckled church.” It lies to the south of the abbey grounds.²³ Cong

⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 16, 17.

¹⁰ See Sir William Wilde's "Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands; with Notices of Lough Mask," chap. vii., p. 162.

¹¹ See his Life, at the 17th of March.

¹² See his Life, at the 20th of January, vol. i., and chap. i.

¹³ Apparently, not more than the "suo" in the Second Life of St. Fechin, Abbot of Fore.

¹⁴ See Sir James Ware, "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus," cap. xxvi., p. 222.

¹⁵ Whence Ware derived this information, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan could not discover.

¹⁶ See "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus," cap. xxvi., p. 222.

¹⁷ Probably a mistake for 625. See Harris Ware, vol. i., "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. xxxviii., p. 268.

¹⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii, Vita St. Molaggæ seu Molaci, &c.,

nn. 32, 33, 34, p. 151. It will be observed, that ten Molacuses are enumerated, in the foregoing list, as given by Colgan; although he had said previously, there were eight bearing this name, and different from our saint. Perhaps, two saints of this name were venerated, on two different days of the year, or, perchance, one St. Molacus was commemorated, on three different days.

¹⁹ See Colgan's Topographical Index to the "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ."

²⁰ See John D'Alton's Illustrations of Irish Topography, No. ii., in the "Irish Penny Magazine," vol. i., No. 2, p. 10.

²¹ In the first instance, by Father John Colgan.

²² See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 501.

²³ In an old garden to the left of the second eastern bridge, there is a remarkable stone, called Leach-na-poll, or the "flag-stone of the holes," which is described and

was originally a bishopric, as regulated by the Synod of Rath-Breasill, about A.D. 1010; and, it is thought probable, that this ancient See had been transferred to Aanaghdown, early in the twelfth century.²⁴ The locality of Loichen is celebrated, for that delightfully situated old abbey, which had been erected there, about the same period. Many objects of antiquity and of scenic interest are to be found, in connexion with this spot;²⁵ but, the old monastic ruins are particularly calculated to impress the visitor. Here died Roderick O'Conor, the last Monarch of Ireland, in November, 1198;²⁶ here ruled a succession of Augustinian Abbots; and here, too, after the suppression of this Abbey, its possessions fell into the hands of laics, while gradually the old ecclesiastical buildings were crumbling into decay.²⁷ The ruins of Cong



Interior View of Cong Abbey, County of Mayo.

Church and Monastery occupy the south-western angle of the Island.²⁸ Only the chancel walls are now perfect; but the tombs of many distinguished persons are still to be seen. The celebrated Cross of Cong was long preserved in this Abbey, and afterwards it was kept in the town; but, of late years, it has been secured by the Royal Irish Academy, where it is shown, as a choice object of local and medieval art. The Bollandists have no notice of St. Loichen, at the 6th April. On this day, we read, in the Martyrology of Done-

figured, in Sir William Wilde's "Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands," &c., chap. vii., pp. 163, 164.

²⁴ See *ibid.*, chap. iv., p. 64.

²⁵ For very interesting engravings and a description of Cong, the reader is referred to Mr. and Mrs. Hall's exquisite work: "Ireland: its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. iii., pp. 365 to 377.

²⁶ See the "Irish Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 2, pp. 9, 10.

²⁷ The accompanying illustration of the interior, drawn on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, and by him transferred to the wood, was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

²⁸ Samuel Lover, R.H.A., in the "Irish Penny Magazine," has furnished a beautiful sketch of the Ruins of Cong, as they were in 1833, and it has been copied by Sir William Wilde, in his work on "Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands," &c., chap. vii., p. 170.

gal,²⁹ that Loichen, of Cong, was venerated. But, the period when he lived does not seem to have been determined.

ARTICLE III.—ST. LUGHAIDH MAC GARBAIN, POSSIBLY OF TEGLAISREANN, COUNTY OF LOUTH. At this date, a festival is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ in honour of Lughaidh Mac Garbain. He is thought, by Colgan, to have been brother to St. Bega, whose feast occurs at the 10th of February.² The Bollandists³ have entered *Lugadius filius Garvani*,⁴ at the 17th of April. They notice, likewise, a particular *Lugadius Præsbiter*, who is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, and who is thought, by Colgan, to have been one of those saints, so-called, in the Irish Calendars, at this date. In our account of St. Meallan,⁵ the name of that *Lugadius* occurs, as a companion. He was one of those six students, who, it has been stated, met St. Patrick on his going to Rome. To them, St. Patrick gave a hide, which he had under his side, for twelve years.⁶ Of it, they made a satchel, for their books.⁷ This custom of keeping books in cases or satchels seems to have been prevalent in the early times. Those circumstances, connected with the foregoing incident, are more fully detailed, in the First Volume of this work.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. AEDHAN MAC GARBAIN. At this date, we find entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ the name Aedhan Mac Garbain. Quoting the same authority, however, the Bollandists² have placed him, at the 17th of April, as Adamus—evidently a misprint—the son of Garvan. It may be a question raised, owing to the patronymic, if the present were not a brother of the holy man, previously noticed.

ARTICLE V.—ST. LUGHAIDH MAC DRUCHTA. The name of Lughaidh Mac Druchta is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 17th of April. The Bollandists,² on the same authority, have *Lugadius filius Druchtæ*, at the same date. It seems likely enough, that one of the present holy men may be identical with the *Lugadius*, placed by St. Patrick in charge of the church he founded at Teglaisreann,³ in the county of Louth; yet, this matter has been very much confused by Colgan,⁴ who in one case, places his feast at

²⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105. Also, Appendix to the Introduction, sect. xxxviii., at p. xlvi.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters *Lugaid mac Garbain*.

² See our notices of her, at that date.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 476.

⁴ According to the Martyrology of Tallagh.

⁵ His festival occurs, at the 28th of January.

⁶ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." *Vita Tripartita S. Patricii*, lib. ii., cap. ix., p. 130, and n. 30, p. 174. Also, *ibid.* *Sexta Vita S. Patricii*, cap. xciii., p. 86, and n. 104, p. 113.

⁷ In a note, Dr. Reeves says, the reference

is to the Tripartite Life, chap. v.; but the chapter is marked ix. in Colgan's edition of "Trias Thaumaturga," at p. 130, col. 2.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has the entry of *ædon mac Garbain*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 476.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Lugaid mac Druchtæ*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus i., Aprilis xvii. Among the pretermitted saints," p. 476.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga," *Septima Vita S. Patricii*, lib. ii., cap. xiii., p. 131. Also, nn. 42, 43, 44, p. 174.

⁴ See *ibid.*, *Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii*, cap. xxii., p. 206.

the 17th of April, and who, in another passage,⁵ has a notice of a St. Lugadius, Bishop of Connor, who died on the 17th of April, A.D. 537. It is doubtful, to whom identification be assigned with the following, as we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁶ that on this day, veneration was paid to Lughaidh, son of Erc, at Fordruim, in Dealbhna Assail. There was a Fordruim, now known as Fardrum,⁷ in the parish of Kileleagh, and county of Westmeath.⁸ There was also a Fordruim, now Fordrum, in the barony of Inishowen, and county of Donegal.⁹ But, it is not so easy to determine the territory, called Dealbhna Assail, in which Fordruim was situated.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. EOCHAIÐH, ABBOT OF LISMORE, COUNTY OF WATERFORD, OR LISMORE IN SCOTLAND. An entry appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 17th of April, regarding St. Eochaid of Lismore.² The Bollandists notice him, likewise, at this same date. We are at a loss to know, however, if he were connected with that renowned school of learning, at Lismore,³ in the south of Ireland; or, if the place where he lived was Lismore Island, one of the Scottish Hebrides.⁴ This was the episcopal seat for Argyll. It is possible, this may have been the saint, who was the companion of St. Columkille,⁵ when he left Ireland for Alba,⁶ and who has been incorrectly called Eglodius, by Hector Boetius, by John Lesley, and by Thomas Dempster.⁷ We are referred, by Colgan, to his Acts, which were published, at the 25th of January.⁸ There he is styled Apostle of the Picts.⁹ Bishop Forbes has a notice of this saint.¹⁰ On this day, St. Eochaidh, Abbot of Lismore, died, A.D. 634, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.¹¹ This was only three years after the expulsion of St. Carthage¹² from Rahen, in the King's County.¹³ The Martyrology of Donegal¹⁴ records, that Eochaidh, Abbot of Lismore, had a festival celebrated, in his honour, on this day.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. LANDRICUS, OR LANDRY, BISHOP OF MEAUX, OR METZ, FRANCE. [*Seventh Century.*] The circumstances, 'that the father¹ of

⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

⁷ See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Westmeath," sheet 29.

⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (o), p. 1107.

⁹ See *ibid.*, n. (w), p. 1163.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi.

² The Franciscan copy has Eochaidh Lismore.

³ To this is the allusion, in the following lines:—

"When the church of the isles saw her glories arise—
Columba the dove-like, and Carthage the wise;
And the school and the temple gave light to each shore,
From clifted Iona to wooded Lismore."

—Gerald Griffin's "Poetical Works," p. 172. Duffy's Edition.

⁴ An interesting account of Lismore will be found, in Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's

"Scoti Monasticon," pp. 218 to 222. There, too, we are told, that it was "connected with St. Moluag, who adopted an Irish type, and died 592." See p. 232. Further notices of it are in the Supplemental Notes, at p. 401.

⁵ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

⁶ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., p. 489.

⁷ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus i., lib. v., num. 491, p. 265.

⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxv. Januarii. De S. Euchadio, Pictorum Apostolo, pp. 163, 164.

⁹ For an account of him, the reader is referred to our First Volume, at the 25th of January.

¹⁰ See "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 335.

¹¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 252, 253.

¹² His feast occurs, at the 14th of May.

¹³ See *ibid.*

¹⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ He is called, sometimes

this holy bishop is held to have been an Irishman, by birth, and that, in company with his pious consort, St. Vandru,² he had visited Ireland, together with the knowledge, that he had been mainly instrumental, in causing so many of his immediate relations to become saints, must plead our apology for adding the name of St. Landry to our list of holy and distinguished men. Our national hagiologist, moreover, seems to have had a Life of the present saint ready for publication, on this day.³ The Acts of St. Landricus have been published, by the Bollandists,⁴ at the 17th of April; and, this account of his Life was taken from four different Manuscripts, illustrated by notes, and having an introductory dissertation, in nine paragraphs.⁵ As St. Landry, the "Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints"⁶ have notices of him, at this same date.⁷ This holy man Landric was the son of St. Maldegarius, or Vincent, Count of Hainault, and of St. Waldetrudis.⁸ He was the eldest son of his parents;⁹ and he had a brother called St. Dentelin,¹⁰ as also a holy sister, named St. Aldetrude¹¹ and another St. Madelberta.¹² From his earliest years, St. Landry received a most excellent education, of which he made a remarkably good use. His masters, while teaching him science, forgot not to instruct him in the love of God, and in the practical ways of every good course. His natural talents were conspicuous, and his character was nobly moulded. His virtues and requirements caused his father the greatest possible satisfaction; and, it was thought, that in due course of time, Landric should succeed to the highest distinction the court and kingdom of France could procure for him.¹³ With such an object in view, his father, the Count, had prepared his son to embrace a military career, and to have such an education as became a young nobleman of the period.¹⁴ However, the young man was inspired with other ideas; he had early conceived a vocation for the ecclesiastical state; yet, for a time, he kept this as a profound secret, until he had clearly ascertained the designs of Heaven, in his regard. At length, he resolved on becoming a soldier of Christ; when he earnestly besought his father's permission to assume the tonsure, and to enter a religious community of Canons.¹⁵ Maldegarius was afflicted, on receiving this application, so contrary to the hopes and ambition he had entertained. He counselled Landric, rather to contract a marriage, worthy of his noble birth, as this state was consistent with the most perfect degree of sanctity, and as it must enable him to perpetuate the secular rank, already acquired in the family. For a time, his

St. Manger, or St. Vincent, and sometimes Maelceadar, or Maldegarius; while his feast is set down, for the 14th of July.

² Also called Waldetrude, or Waldetrudis, and her Life has been given already, at the 9th of April.

³ See Colgan's "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. De S. Landrico Ep. Metensi, Abbate Sonengiensi et Altamontensi in Hannonia, pp. 487 to 491.

⁵ The Benedictine writers speak of a Legend of this Saint's Life, and that it contains a long string of phrases, but nothing solid, in the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tome v., Neuvième Siècle, p. 679.

⁶ See tome iv., pp. 466, 467.

⁷ Written by M. l'Abbé Destombes.

⁸ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," iii. Februarii, n. 3, p. 249. Also xxv.

Februarii, n. 3, p. 412.

⁹ In a Manuscript "Florarium Sanctorum," he is set down, as "de stirpe Karolidarum."

¹⁰ See notices of him, at the 14th of July, the date for his festival.

¹¹ Her festival does not seem to be known.

¹² Her feast occurs, at the 7th of September.

¹³ This was probably in the time of Dagobert I., who ruled from A.D. 628 to A.D. 644. See Œuvres Complètes de Bossuet, tome x., "Abrégé de l'Histoire de France," liv. i., col. 1178.

¹⁴ Probably, in the time of Dagobert I., the particulars of whose reign will be found, in Henri Martin's "Histoire de France," tome ii., liv. x., pp. 132 to 145.

¹⁵ This seems to be the meaning, which is conveyed, in the Bollandists' Vita, ex iv. codicibus MSS.

son yielded to this expressed desire, but soon his instances were supported by other counsellors, and Maldegar somewhat reluctantly gave his consent. Landry was embraced with tenderness, by his father, who surrendered him to the training of certain holy priests. Soon the youth received clerical tonsure, and he began thenceforward to redouble his pious practices and studies, for the work of the ministry. It is thought, that St. Landry's education had been received, somewhere in the diocese of Cambrai, where his parents resided:¹⁶ The pious Levite meditated on the Sacred Scriptures most assiduously, and offered fervent prayers to the Almighty, so that he might fulfil engagements of the priesthood, to which he had been called. At length, a vacancy occurring, it is said, in the episcopal See of Meaux,¹⁷ one of the most illustrious in France,¹⁸ the suffrages of the clergy and people called him to it.¹⁹ Thoroughly well known at court, where his parents occupied the first rank, his elevation also greatly pleased the king. Other accounts have it, that St. Landry ruled over the episcopal See of Metz;²⁰ and, citing many ancient authorities, Father Godefrid Henschen maintains this opinion. Indeed, it is the one set forth in the old Acts of St. Landricus, as collated from four different codices.²¹ Having thus been called to a new sphere for action, our saint endeavoured to advance the interests of religion, and above all, to consecrate his revenues on behalf of the poor. Notwithstanding his continuous labours and cares for the flock, committed to his charge, he practised great austerities, such as fasting, mortification, and sublime meditation. For the edification and instruction of his people, he engaged in the study of pious books, and thus he was well prepared, always to announce the word of God. The father of our saint Maelceadar was moved, by the powerful graces afforded him, to retire from the world, and to enter the monastery of Haumont, near Maubeuge, assuming there the religious name of Vincent. Soon his pious mother, Waldetrude, followed this example, at Castriloo, now Mons. His pious sisters placed themselves under the direction of their aunt, St. Aldetrude,²² who governed a community of nuns, at Maubeuge. St. Landry was called to the death-bed of his father, and after administering to him all the consolations of the Church, with filial solicitude, he undertook the future patronage of Haumont and Soignies, which had been founded by Maelceadar. Afterwards, our saint conceived a great desire to resign his See, and to seek retirement, in a monastery.²³ He chose for such purpose that of Soignies. This house, as also that of Haumont, he governed wisely and well, to the time of his call from life. He passed out of this world, on the 17th day of April, A.D. 675. The Kalendarists place his festival, at this day, as proved, by reference to the Kalendar of an ancient Breviary,²⁴ belonging to the Collegiate Church of St. Waldetrude, at Mons.²⁵ The Manuscript *Florarium Sanctorum*, Molanus, in his additions, to Usuard,²⁶ in his *Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii*, and in *Natalibus*

¹⁶ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome iv., xviii. Jour d'Avril, p. 467.

¹⁷ Such is the statement of Georgius Colvenerius, who has edited the "Chronicon Cameracense et Atrabatense," lib. ii., cap. 46. This work was printed A.D. 1615.

¹⁸ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome iv. xvii. Jour d'Avril, p. 467.

¹⁹ By most ancient writers, he is styled Bishop of Metz.

²⁰ The writers of the "Histoire Literaire de la France" state, that such a supposition is without proof. See tome v., Neuvieme Siecle, p. 679.

²¹ See the various authors quoted, in the

"Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii., in *Commentarius Prævius*, num. 6, 7, 8, 9, p. 489.

²² See an account of her, at the 25th of February.

²³ Charles Le Coite, in his "Annales Ecclesastici Francorum," at A.D. 677, num. 13, denies that St. Landricus had been a Bishop, whether at Meaux, or Metz.

²⁴ This is in parchment, and its entry is "xv. Kalendas Maii, S. Landrici Confessoris et Episcopi."

²⁵ This Breviary has a prayer, proper for our saint.

²⁶ There we read, "Soncgias Natalis S. Landrici Episcopi et Confessoris."

Sanctorum Belgii, as also Miræus, in *Fastis Belgicis*, follow the same arrangement. Likewise, Canisius,²⁷ Suassay,²⁸ Willotius, Ghinnius,²⁹ Wion,³⁰ Menard, Dorgan, Bucelin,³¹ have his festival at this day. Other Belgian records are confirmatory of these statements.³² A Manuscript Martyrology, belonging to the Church of St. Gudule, at Bruxelles, has his feast, at the 18th of March.³³ After his death, numerous miracles gave evidence of his sanctity to the people;³⁴ and, his body was preserved, in a silver casket, at Soignes, in Hannonia, according to Miræus. In the Church of St. Vaudru, at Mons, the Office of St. Landricus, with three proper lessons, was recited. This had been examined and approved by the Doctors of Douai University. In 1625, it was printed, with the permission of Monseigneur Vander-Burg, Archbishop of Cambrai. In the Abbeyes of Maroilles and of Câteau, his office was likewise read. He was venerated, as a Confessor and Pontiff.³⁵ So much we have deemed useful to relate, regarding this noble saint.

ARTICLE VIII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF A ST. GARBHAN. This day, the Martyrology of Donegal¹ enters the name of Garbhan, as having been venerated. Whether he was a distinct saint from any of the preceding, or whether by some error the patronymic of a previous saint has been substituted for the proper name and be placed thus disjointed, may be questioned. In the west of Ireland, St. Fechin,² Abbot of Fore, is said to have founded a church, at Kill-Garbhan.³ Judging by the denomination, however, a St. Garbhan should more likely be the founder. Without any authority, Harris placed an abbey at Kilgarvan.⁴ This he supposed to be in the county of Sligo. Archdall calls it Kilnagarvan, and the name is more correct. He simply speaks of it as a church. So it is called, in the second Life of St. Fechin.⁵ It was a parish church, in the district of Coistealbach. It is in the county of Mayo, and within the territory of Galenga,⁶ now the barony of Galen. At present, it goes by the name of Kilgarvy. It is situated, very near the barony of Leney, in the county of Sligo.

ARTICLE IX.—FEAST OF THE DEACON PETER, MARTYR. In the Felire of St. Ængus, as we have already seen, the Irish Church honoured the holy Deacon Peter, the Martyr, at this day, with a feast. He suffered martyrdom, at Antioch, with his servant St. Hermongen, as we learn from the Bollandists;¹ yet, little seems to be on record, regarding the time and the occasion.

²⁷ In his German Martyrology.

²⁸ In his French Martyrology.

²⁹ In *Natalibus Sanctorum Canonico-rum*.

³⁰ In his "Lignum Vitæ."

³¹ In their respective Benedictine Martyrologies.

³² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. De S. Landrico, Ep. Metensi, &c. *Commentarius Prævius*, num. 1, pp. 487, 488.

³³ The Bollandists add: "*At translationem Corporum SS. Landrici Episcopi, et Dentelini pueri fratrum et filiorum S. Waldetrudis, inscripserunt suis additionibus ad Grævenum necdum excussis Carthusiani Bruxellenses.*"—*Ibid.*

³⁴ See some account of these, in his Life,

collated from four different Manuscripts.

³⁵ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome iv., xvii^e Jour d'Avril, p. 467.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104, 105.

² His feast occurs, at the 20th of January.

³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii. Vita Secunda S. Fechini, cap. viii., p. 134.

⁴ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii. "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. xxxviii., p. 268.

⁵ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii, Appendix ad Acta S. Fechini, cap. ii., p. 143.

⁶ See *ibid.* Secunda Vita S. Fechini, n. 4, p. 141.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum,"

St. Peter the Deacon is noticed, likewise, in the Scottish Kalendars;² and, it would appear, that he had a church dedicated to his memory, at Kilchrenan.³ At Kilpeter, also, there was a fair,⁴ and this was the ancient name of Hous-ton, in the county of Renfrew.

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF A ST. DONAN, ABBOT, SCOTLAND. The Breviary of Aberdeen¹ has an Office with Nine Lessons, taken from the Common of a Confessor, and of an Abbot, and this was recited in a church dedicated to St. Donan, when the 17th of April fell within Passion-tide; but, the Office only had Three Lessons, if that day happened to be after Easter. There was a Prayer proper to this Office. Adam King mentions him, in the Kalendar published,² and Camerarius pronounces a high eulogy on his virtues of humility, of abstinence, of mortification, and of persevering prayer, even when infirm of health.³ He is said to have been a great favourite of Duncan, King of Scotland, over whose actions he had considerable influence. He is called “Abbas Tanglandiæ.” He is said to have lived under King Machabius, A.D. 640, according to one account; but, the Bollandists,⁴ who notice him, at this day, think it should be in or about 1046. According to Thomas Dempster, this saint was Abbot in Achterles,⁵ of which he was patron;⁶ and Ferrarius follows this account. He died, A.D. 1044, according to Camerarius; but, he lived in 1140, according to Dempster. His bachul is said to have been used, for the purposes of healing;⁷ but, it was destroyed by the heretics. If we believe Dempster, this saint was the author of some works;⁸ however, we cannot credit this, on his unsupported word. Whether this Donan differed from the Martyr of Eigg—also venerated on this day—may admit of question, as the authorities and dates are very uncertain regarding him.

ARTICLE XI.—ST. MARIANUS SCOTUS, CHRONOGRAPHUS, OF RATISBON, IN BAVARIA. The Acts of this illustrious man had been arranged, by Colgan, for publication at this day.¹ But, his chief festival has been assigned to the 9th of February, thought to have been the date for his death. In the first edition of the English Martyrology, which Ferrarius² and Fitz-simon³ have followed, Marianus Scotus, Chronographus, is set down as a saint. However,

tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. De S. Petro Diacono et S. Hermogene Ministro ejus, Martyribus Antiochiæ, p. 479.

² See Bishop Forbes' “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 434.

³ See “Origines Parochiales Scotiæ,” pars. ii., pp. 120, 826.

⁴ Old “Statistical Account of Scotland,” vol. i., p. 316.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Printed at Edinburgh, A.D. 1509.

² At 17th of April. “S. Donane Abot and Confess. in Scotland vnder King Machabeda.”—Bishop Forbes' “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 150.

³ In the Scottish Entries in the Kalendar of David Camerarius, however, there is no notice of him, at this date. See *ibid.*, pp. 226, 227.

⁴ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii. Aprilis xvii. De Sancto Donano, Abbate in

Scotia, p. 495.

⁵ For this statement, he cites a Kalendar undefined, in the “Menologium Scoticum,” at the 17th of April.

⁶ He states: “Patronus in Achterles. Thomæ Dempsteri Baronia, cujus Sanctæ Reliquiæ elevatæ xviii. Aprilis, et nundinæ frequentes toto eo tractu.”—“Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum,” tomus ii., lib. iv., num. 377, p. 207.

⁷ See Bishop Forbes' “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” pp. 325, 326.

⁸ These are said to have been: Monasticæ Vitæ Institutum, lib. i. De S. Trinitatis Mysteriis, lib. l., and, Regula Officii Ecclesiastici.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ See notices of him, in the Life of St. Muricherodæ, at the 17th of January.

² In his General Catalogue of Saints.

³ In his Catalogue of Irish Saints.

his name is omitted, in the second edition of the English Martyrology, as the Bollandists⁴ remark. The Acts of this pious recluse have been given already, at the 30th day of January.

ARTICLE XII.—FIRST EXHUMATION OF THE BODY OF ST. LAURENCE O'TOOLE, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. The first removal of the remains of St. Laurence O'Toole took place at Eu, in Normandy, on the 17th of April, 1186. A further account, regarding this exhumation, will be found in our Life of this saint, to be published, at the 14th of November.

ARTICLE XIII.—ST. MOLUANUS OF DRUIM SNEACHTA. Colgan appears to have had a life of the saint here named ready for publication, at the 17th of April. His feast seems to have been referred, to the 4th of August.⁵ Hence, he would be likely to agree with St. Molua, Abbot of Clonfert Molua, in the Queen's County.

ARTICLE XIV.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. RUADHAN, ABBOT OF LHORRA, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY. [*Sixth Century.*] We are told, that the festival of St. Ruadhan, Abbot of Lhorra, had been observed, on the 17th of April.⁶ We have already given his Life, at the 15th of this month.

Eighteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—LIFE OF ST. LASERIAN, BISHOP AND PATRON OF
LEIGHLIN DIOCESE.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—AUTHORITIES FOR ST. LASERIAN'S ACTS—VARIATIONS OF NAME—
FAMILY AND DESCENT OF THIS SAINT—IRELAND AND SCOTLAND IN FORMER
TIMES—PROBABLE PERIOD OF ST. LASERIAN'S BIRTH—A PART OF HIS YOUTHFUL
LIFE SPENT IN SCOTLAND—MIRACLES—ST. LASERIAN RETURNS TO IRELAND—
TAUGHT BY ABBOT MUNNU—PROVIDENTIAL MANIFESTATIONS.

IF we cannot make a pilgrimage to the existing shrines and venerate the visible relics of our great national Saints, at the present day, it is allowable, notwithstanding, to visit those highly interesting localities, still hallowed by association and memory with their cherished labours. The charms of beautiful scenery are nearly always—as in the present instance—allied with historic and religious remembrances. Time can hardly change the old landmarks of nature. In some instances, it would seem, that im-

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xvii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 476.

ARTICLE XIII.—⁵ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Men-

sium et Dierum." In this Catalogue, he is mentioned a second time, at the 4th of August.

ARTICLE XIV.—⁶ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Writers of Ireland," Book 1, chap. iii., p. 17.

proved features of interest attach to its passing cycles.¹ Nearly thirty years ago, the promenade of our ecclesiastical students from Carlow College was directed along the Barrow's right bank,² on the road to Old Leighlin. Yet, never were we able to reach this historic spot, and return in time for the early dinner bell. However, far as we could travel towards the ancient church of St. Laserian, patron of Leighlin diocese, the scenery spread onward and upward, in rich and varied outlines and prospects. Dark Mount Leinster and the Black Stairs mountains were looming afar off and before us, with cloud or sunshine alternately settling or fitting over their summits. Wooded slopes and cultivated fields spread along either bank; while Clogrennan, chequered over with hedgerows and its well relieved contrasts of soil and surface colours, carried our range of vision to a distance, which assuredly lent enchantment to the view. Thus, every turn of the road revealed new beauties of landscape, and almost every mile had historic interest of its own. Further we cannot linger on topics or associations, to which reminiscences of former happy hours should carry us, for our present contribution must deal only with some brief and imperfect notices, relating to the biography of Leighlin's Patron Saint.

Some Manuscript Lives of this noble Patron are extant.³ Again, at the 18th of April, the Bollandists have published Acts of St. Laserian, taken from a MS., which belonged to Father Henry Fitzsimon, a learned Irish Jesuit. According to the discriminating editor, Papebroke, this Life of our Saint was written by an unknown author—probably he was an Englishman—and after the eleventh century. The editor endeavours to prove these statements, from the circumstance of the name Scotia being found applied in it, to that part of Britain, now called Scotland, the inhabitants of which country formerly migrated from Ireland and overcame the Picts. The Bollandists had a Salaman-can MS., likewise containing the Life of this Saint; it was, however, somewhat mutilated towards the end. To this authority, reference is often made, in appended notes. Somewhat differing from it was that one, in possession of Henry Fitzsimon. It was slightly interpolated, yet, was it regarded as more ornate in style. Conjecture has been advanced, that the Irish Franciscans of Louvain possessed a perfect copy of the former, which they might afterwards publish.⁴ As edited by Papebroke, he supposed the Acts to have been a compilation from more ancient Irish MSS. It required no small amount of correction, and this he promised in his annotations should be attempted. Like almost all other Lives of Irish Saints, it is filled with miracles and prodigies, especially referring to our saint's infancy. Its train of narrative is confused, and in certain particulars, it is unworthy of credit.⁵ In some modern collections, the Life of this holy Bishop will be discovered.⁶ St. Laserian is

ARTICLE I.—CHAPTER I.—¹ The present biography of St. Laserian was at first written for the Carlow College Magazine, and it appeared in successive Numbers of the First Volume. Some additions and emendations it has been subjected to, as now republished.

² That noble river flowed on our left, through the most lovely country eye hath ever gazed on, especially in the summer season. This river as the poet Spenser says,

“doth hoord
Great heaps of salmons in his deepe
bosome.”

—The “Faerie Queene,” Book iv., Canto xi.,

Stanza xliii.

³ There is such a Life of St. Lasrean, as yet unpublished. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's “Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis,” vol. i., No. 26, p. 127.

⁴ Colgan seems to have had this Life ready for publication, for the present date; but, in consequence of his death, it did not afterwards appear. See “Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum, quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum.”

⁵ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Acta S. Laseriani, sec. 3, p. 543.

⁶ Thus, in Butler's “Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints,” St.

sometimes called Molassius, or Molaissus, being Latinized from the prefix *mo*, signifying *my*, and Laisre, or Lasrean, his real name.⁷ This was likewise the case, with respect to his namesake, the Abbot of Devenish, with whom Hanmer has confounded our saint;⁸ but, they are altogether distinct persons.⁹ The year of St. Laserian's birth is not accurately known; although the Bollandists suppose him, to have come into this world, about the year 566. Such conclusion is drawn from certain calculations made by them. As, however, St. Columba left Ireland for Iona, about A.D. 563, and as the monk Fintan Munnu, afterwards reputed master of our saint, was supposed to have lived in Hy, at this time, Dr. Lanigan alludes to the Bollandists' computation, as being "a huge mistake."¹⁰ For, according to Ware, the Abbot Murin¹¹ was St. Laserian's instructor, during his younger years.¹² But, we must pursue the further traces of his biography. Among the citizens of the Heavenly Jerusalem, elevated by the great Creator of all things to a bright effulgence of glory, Lasrean shone like the morning star, owing to the eminence of his virtues and merits. He is said to have been royally descended; his father Cairel belonging to a noble family of Ulidia, in the northern part of Ireland.¹³ His mother is called Gemma,¹⁴ and she is said to have been a daughter of Ædan, King of Scotia, and a niece to the King of Britain.¹⁵ This Ædan, a renowned king of the British Scots, owed the Irish a great debt of gratitude; because, after the untimely death of his father, Gebran, or Goran, being banished, with his mother and family, from the paternal dominions, he was

Laserian, called by some Molaisre, is at the 18th of April. See vol. iv.

⁷ See Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., n. 7, p. 403.

⁸ Speaking of St. Fintan Munnus, Hanmer says: "In his storie I finde mention of a controversie betwene him and Lazerianus, who builded a Monasterie, in Stagno Hiberniæ Dai-ynis, in the north part of Ireland, so it is written in the Life of Ædanus; afterwards he came to the River Berba (now called the Barrow), and then became Abbot of fiteene hundred monkes."—"Chronicle of Ireland," p. 123.

⁹ The former is said to have flourished at a later period than the latter. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Leighlin," p. 454.

¹⁰ He thinks, the Bollandists have no authority for placing St. Fintan Munnu's birth about the year 566. He also deems it probable, that Laserian was nearly as old as Finian, who was young, at the time of Columkille's death, in 597. There is no account, regarding the relationship of master and disciple between both saints, in the contest, said to have taken place at the Whitefield.

¹¹ Dr. Lanigan remarks, that Ware does not tell us who this Murin was. He could hardly have been St. Murus of Fahan, in the county of Donegal, because this saint flourished about the middle of the seventh century. Perhaps, the person meant by the name of Murin was Murganius, Abbot of Glean-Ussan. There is reason to think, that Laserian studied rather in the south, where the clergy were inclined to receive the Ro-

man cycle, than in the north, where it was violently opposed. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., nn. 59, 60, p. 403.

¹² See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Leighlin," p. 454.

¹³ Colgan, at the 1st February, when treating of St. Cadden (n. 12), calls the father of our saint Catellus, instead of Cairellus, as found in the Salamancan MS., quoted by the Bollandists. In Ware, "De Præsulibus Hiberniæ," Laserian is said to have been son to Cairel de Blitha. Harris translates this, by stating, that our saint "was the son of Cairel by Blitha." Dr. Lanigan thinks it possible, that such was Ware's meaning, as his account of Laserian differs in many respects from that contained in the Life, as published by the Bollandists. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., n. 58, p. 403.

¹⁴ According to Harris' Ware, vol. i., our saint's mother is said to have been "a daughter of some king of the Picts."—"Bishops of Leighlin," p. 454. Archdall, however, calls her Blitha, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 37; but, he gives no authority for such an appellation, for his subsequent reference to Colgan does not sustain it.

¹⁵ "Mórtua prima uxore Erca Hiberna ex qua S. Blaanus, infra memorandus, hujus S. Lasreani avunculus; alicujus Britannici Reguli affinitatem ambivisse Ædanum, qua recuperandi regni paterni spem firmaret, haud incongruum fuit." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii., n. (c), p. 545.

kindly received and protected by the Irish, for more than forty years. Afterwards, through the efforts of St. Columba,¹⁶ he was restored, about A.D. 580, when over fifty years of age. Yet, these obligations were more than repaid, when his daughter Gemma, having married one of the Ulidian nobles, gave birth to St. Lasrean, or Molassius,¹⁷ afterwards the renowned Abbot of Leighlin Monastery, in the province of Lagenia. Around this establishment, near the banks of the River Barrow, an episcopal city afterwards arose, giving title to a diocese, now united with the See of Kildare.¹⁸ The site selected was sheltered and picturesque, while it was happily chosen for religious requirements.

As regards St. Laserian's family connections and early years, they seem to have been considerably identified with that country, now known as Scotland.¹⁹ But when Scotia, or the land of the Scots, was treated about, by writers in the earlier centuries of Christianity, they referred not to modern Scotland, but to ancient Ireland.²⁰ In after times, when the renown of the Scots extended over Europe, and when their name had passed to another country, their fame went with it. It served to make Caledonian Scotland more remarkable among the nations, than otherwise she should have been.²¹ Her sons were then reluctant to part with an honourable, but a falsely-acquired, birth-right. Everywhere over the European continent, when it had been torn by wars and revolutions, Scottish or Irish ecclesiastics and scholars were sought from Scotia, or Ireland, then known as the Land of Saints. Several religious houses were founded in their favour, so that the services of men highly distinguished might be retained in various districts. Some of these establishments even survived to later times. Not alone their early historic fame, but the dignities and emoluments of their foundations, accrued to that country, which at a later period bore the name of Scotia.²² The exact period of St. Laserian's

¹⁶ Through Divine admonition, this saint crowned Ædan king, A.D. 578, in the island of Iona. Afterwards, Columba brought him to Kynnatillus, with a hope of receiving the kingdom of Scotland. That hope was realised within the lapse of two years. See Hector Boetius, "*Historia Rerum Scotticarum*," lib. ix. St. Columba also befriended Ædan during his absence, when this king obtained two victories over the Saxons, in the year 590 and 591. These triumphs were owing to the prayers of that holy Abbot. See Adamnan's "*Vita S. Columbæ*."

¹⁷ It is highly probable, St. Laserian belonged to that Dalriad race, which colonized the western side of Scotland, bordering, according to Sir Walter Scott, "on a people with a name, and perhaps a descent, similar to their own." See "*History of Scotland*," vol. i., chap. i., p. 8.

¹⁸ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," toms ii., Aprilis xviii. *Vita S. Lasreani*, sec. i., and nn. (a, b, c), p. 543, 545.

¹⁹ For an interesting account, regarding the former inhabitants of the British Islands, the reader is referred to Augustin Thierry's "*History of the Norman Conquest*," Book I.

²⁰ Maitland, in his "*History and Antiquities of Scotland*," vol. i., chap. xi., xii., xiii., pp. 87 to 112—a work of considerable learning in many other respects—enters upon

various lengthened dissertations and arguments to prove, that Scotland had not been peopled from Ireland, in opposition to what he deems "the very weak and silly assertions of our own writers, Fordun, Major, Boece, Lesley, Buchanan, etc."

²¹ Maitland's theory has also been started by John Macpherson, D. D., in his "*Critical Dissertation on the Origin, Antiquities, Language, Government, Manners, and Religion of the Ancient Caledonians, their posterity the Picts, and the British and Irish Scots*," Diss. viii. He even endeavours to show, that Ireland had been first peopled from Caledonia, at p. 101. But these opinions have long been abandoned, by all enlightened Scottish historians, who have examined the earliest and most authentic records.

²² See that modern, most elegantly written, and accurate work by John Hill Burton, "*The History of Scotland*," vol. i., chap. v. This writer relates, as an example of such unfairness, the transference of an affluent religious house at Ratisbon, or Regensburg, known as the Scottish Monastery. "It was enriched and enlarged at the beginning of the twelfth century, and became a sort of head or metropolitan over a number of minor houses, originally connected like itself, with the priesthood who had wandered from Ireland. In later times, and even down to its suppression in the year 1847, it was treated

birth is unknown, and we have little or no account, regarding the earlier part of his life.²³ Yet, in order to unfold with more accuracy a series of events, in connection with our saint's Acts, an inquiry ought first to be instituted, respecting the period, when Laserian's father²⁴ had founded his kingdom in Albyn.²⁵ It is said to have been at a subsequent time, that Gemma, our saint's mother, brought her son over to that country.²⁶ Yet great historic shadows hover around those days, far removed from our times. St. Laserian's nativity, by some authorities, has been assigned, to about A.D. 566; but, we are informed in the old Life,²⁷ that prodigies marked various circumstances, connected with his birth.²⁸ Shortly afterwards, a certain man, born blind, and who is called Sennach,²⁹ chanced to wash his face with water, which came in contact with the infant. Through Divine mercy, in the very act of ablution, this man's sight was restored. The great St. Columkille is said to have left Ireland for the Hebrides in 563,³⁰ probably a short time before the birth of Laserian. The religious establishment, which he founded at Iona, is justly regarded as the true centre of all those most sacred and heart-stirring associations, connected with the introduction of Scottish Christianity, although

as exclusively belonging to natives of Scotland. Its private annals, however, relate how, so lately as the fifteenth century, the Irish fought for its retention or restoration, and were beaten. The local authorities were clear that the Scottish Monastery belonged to Scotland, and treated the partial possession of it by the Irish ecclesiastics as an invasion. They were finally driven out in 1515." Pope Leo the Tenth is said to have issued a Bull, restoring it to its presumed owners, the inhabitants of Scotland. In a note to the foregoing passage, the writer quotes for his authority, Collection in the Scots Colleges abroad, by the late James Denistoun of Denistoun, in the Advocates' Library. He adds: "The Irish were charged with having made a fraudulent entry in the records of the establishment, in which they described Ireland as 'Great Scotland.'" See pp. 208 to 210, *ibid.*

²³ See Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County Carlow," chap. ii., p. 25.

²⁴ Ædan or Aidan came from Ireland into Scotland, owing to the persuasion of St. Columkille, from whom he received, likewise, the royal insignia, when elected, as the forty-ninth King of Scotland. See Buchanan's "Rerum Scotticarum Historia," lib. v., p. 142.

²⁵ When Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, ruled over his province, with great renown, Venerable Bede tells us how the fame of his conquests induced Ædan, King of the Scots, who inhabited Britain, to march against him with a numerous and brave army. The issue of this expedition was fatal to Ædan, whose forces were totally defeated, at a place called Degastan, as generally supposed, in the year 603. See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. i., cap. xxxiv. The king himself escaped. Being deeply afflicted, however, at the result of his expedition, he died of grief about two years afterwards, at Kentyre, after having attained nearly his

eightieth year. He was buried at Kilcheran, where none of his predecessors had ever been entombed. See Fordun's "Scoti-Chronicon," vol. i., lib. iii., cap. xxxviii.

²⁶ Buchanan's Chronology places Ædan's death, at A.D. 604, after a reign of thirty-four years. See "Rerum Scotticarum Historia," lib. v., p. 144. Yet, Papebroke says, that if from such a date we go backwards, through twenty-four complete years, which have been assigned for his reign, by Scotus, a poet of the eleventh century, we are brought to the year 580. At this period, Kynetillus, Ædan's predecessor, died, according to Fordun. Ædan lived to the age of fifty-six years. He was the maternal grandfather of St. Laserian. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Vita S. Laseriani, Commentarius Prævius, sec. 4, pp. 543, 544. Papebroke remarks, that the Albanian Scots had no more certain and early authority, than the Poeta Scotus, alluded to by him, as he endeavoured to show in the Appendix to St. Patrick's Acts, Num. 29.

²⁷ I find in that invaluable historic record and manual of Thomas Duffus Hardy, intitled "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the End of the Reign of Henry the Seventh," that the sources of information at his command only enabled him to make reference to that single biographical tract relating to our saint, as published by the Bollandists, and headed, De S. Lasreano, sive Mo'assio, Abbate Lethglinensi in Hibernia, postea Episcopo et Legato, Apostolico. See vol. i., part i., p. 229.

²⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Vita S. Lasreani, cap. i., sec. i., p. 544.

²⁹ In the Salamancan Manuscript.

³⁰ See Rev. John Cunningham's "Church History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. iii., p. 54.

other primitive missionaries had preceded him and had shared in the good work.³¹ The Bollandists suppose, that when the boy was about twelve or fourteen years of age, his mother brought him over to Albyn. In Scotland, also, St. Molassi, or Lairin, was greatly venerated.³² There his grandfather lived. This likewise is called his natal country, in the old Life, although it is quite evident from the context, that our saint was born in Ireland. Other contradictory accounts are found in his Acts. Thus, Laserian is said to have spent four years in Scotland, according to the published Life, whereas another authority³³ mentions seven years, as the period passed by him in North Britain.³⁴ During this time, his life was illustrated by miracles. Our saint's nurse is said to have had her hand wounded, through the bite of a poisonous snake.³⁵ She ran immediately to the holy child, and marked the sign of a cross with his hand, which was applied to her own. On the instant, a virulent tumour disappeared, and no trace of a wound nor any symptom of inflammation remained.

The uncle of our saint was a bishop, named Blann,³⁶ from whom the city of Dumblaine afterwards took its appellation.³⁷ Having heard about those wonders of Divine grace, manifested through the child, this pious prelate conceived a great desire to visit his nephew. The bishop was joyfully received by his relative. But, while on this visit, we are told, his horse had been stolen by a thief. On hearing of such robbery, the prelate said jestingly, "This boy whom I have visited must either restore my horse, or procure me another."³⁸ Very soon afterwards, a thief returned the stolen horse, and in a tremulous voice besought protection from the boy Laserian. The bishop then inquiring the cause of this demand, the thief declared that the king's soldiers were in pursuit of him. Yet, when those who were present went outside, they saw no persons following the robber.³⁹ Then, learning that such an occurrence was

³¹ See Daniel Wilson's "Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," part iv., chap. i., p. 483.

³² See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 467.

³³ The Salamancan Manuscript.

³⁴ The Bollandist Editor remarks, that he could hardly suppose Laserian had been placed in a monastery for the purpose of engaging at his studies, before the seventeenth year of his age.

³⁵ This account seems inconsistent with the fact of his being born in Ireland, as our country had not been infested with venomous reptiles at the time of his birth. This incident, however, might have occurred after his fourteenth year. Such legend was probably the idle rumour circulated regarding him, by people in the British Islands, and beyond the Irish Channel.

³⁶ This prelate is commemorated, in our Irish Martyrologies, at the 10th of August, as Colgan mentions, in the Acts of his master, Caddan. In Drs. Todd and Reeves' edition of the "Martyrology of Donegal," at the same day, we read, "Blaan, bishop of Ceann-garadh, in Gall Ghaoidhelu. Dubblaan was his chief city." In a note, Dr. Todd remarks, that the later etymon was probably an error of the manuscript for Dun-blaan. Dr. Reeves tells us, "the gloss in Marianus also reads Dubblann, while that on Ængus has Dun-blaan, a form which is found in many Scotch authorities. See p. 215, and n.

6, *ibid.*

³⁷ In that magnificently and exquisitely illustrated work, Billing's "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," vol. ii., Dunblane Cathedral, we read, "That St. Blane, patron saint of the church, from whom also the diocese and cathedral town derived their name, was a native of the island of Bute, and the descendant of an illustrious Irish house, numbering some of the earlier ecclesiastical dignitaries among its members." He is said, to have "spent seven years in the land of his ancestors." *Ibid.* A further history of Dunblane, and five highly finished engravings of its noble cathedral, accompany the foregoing account.

³⁸ The Salamancan manuscript intimates, that Blann desired to have experimental proof regarding his nephew's miraculous powers.

³⁹ The Bollandist Editor tells us, that in the Salamancan Manuscript the reading is varied from that found in the published Life, as follows: "Regis Cairrelli milites nec persequuntur, ideo sub patrocinium filii ejus confugi." This version, however, is not approved by the Editor. He remarks, that Cairrel was not powerful then in Scotland, but rather Ædan, the boy's maternal grandfather. He then adds: "nec scimus Cairrellum pervenisse ad Regnum, licet id filio ejus jure hereditario oblatum, forte per mortem proximi consanguinei improlis infra legatur."

intended to demonstrate the boy's sanctity, Bishop Blann gave thanks to God. Afterwards, he returned with the horse, towards his own part of the country.

Subsequent to these events, our saint's mother had a vision, in which she was admonished to bring her son to Ireland. In obedience to this mandate, when Laserian returned to his native country, he was committed to the charge of an abbot, named Munnu.⁴⁰ By another writer, St. Laserian is said to have been the disciple of an abbot, called Murin.⁴¹ Under this holy abbot's guardianship, our saint made further proficiency in learning and piety. He grew up in wisdom, age, and grace, before the sight of God and man. A mill belonging to the monastery was stopped, during summer time, through the want of water; but, knowing the sanctity of his youthful disciple, the abbot ordered him to go out from his cell, and to bore ground, lying near the mill-stream, with the end of a staff. A great and copious stream of water began to flow, on the instant. When this miracle was known among his monastic brethren, they joyfully exclaimed: "*Fluminis impetus lætificat civitatem Dei.*"⁴² We are informed, that certain pirates made an incursion upon that country, immediately adjoining the monastery, in which young St. Laserian spent his night at prayer. He besought the Almighty to interpose Divine protection, against the consequences of such nocturnal aggression. When morning dawned, the plain around the monastery seemed filled with armed soldiers. Hereupon, the pirates, struck with a panic, fled for safety to their vessels.⁴³ Some travellers were despoiled of their property, by robbers; but, soon afterwards, the latter quarrelled among themselves, regarding the distribution of their booty. This dispute came to blows, and the thieves are said to have killed one another, on the spot. Whereupon, the travellers not only recovered their own but even came into possession of the robbers' property. Those travellers then pursued their journey, after thanking Laserian for his kind offices.⁴⁴ So does the Almighty usually afford protection to those, who trust in His Divine power.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CLANSMEN DESIRE TO ELECT ST. LASERIAN AS THEIR KING—HE REFUSES, AND RETIRES TO A DISTANT ISLAND—THENCE HE PROCEEDS TO ROME—HE STUDIES UNDER POPE GREGORY'S SUPERVISION, IS ORDAINED, AND THEN HE RETURNS TO IRELAND—HE IS JOINED BY A BAND OF FOREIGN DISCIPLES, BEFORE HIS MISSIONARY CAREER COMMENCES—ST. LASERIAN SELECTS OLD LEIGHLIN, AS A SITE FOR HIS MONASTERY—THE POPULAR TRADITION REGARDING HIS APPROACH TO THAT PLACE—A MIRACLE COMMEMORATED, BY THE ERECTION OF A CROSS AT OLD LEIGHLIN—ST. GOBBAN RESIGNS THIS PLACE TO ST. LASERIAN—THE LATTER COMMENCES HIS MISSION, IN FULFILMENT OF THE GREAT IRISH APOSTLE'S PROPHECY—MEETING OF ST. LASERIAN AND OF ST. BARR—THE CROSS AND WELL REMAINING AT OLD LEIGHLIN—ST. LASERIAN'S BOUNTIFUL ACTS—OTHER STATEMENTS REGARDING LASERIAN—SAID TO HAVE BEEN CONSECRATED BISHOP, BY POPE HONORIUS THE FIRST, AND TO HAVE BEEN CREATED PAPAL LEGATE—LEGENDARY NARRATIVE—RECORDED MIRACLES OF OUR SAINT.

WE know not, whether our saint was an only son, or the eldest of many children. But, when his reputation for wisdom and virtue had extended far and wide, and after it was known, that his youthful years were not

⁴⁰ Papebroke informs us, that in the Salamanca Manuscript, this abbot is also called Mundo, without a designation of Abbot affixed to his name. He refers us to Colgan, who, in treating the Acts of Abbot Foilan, at the 9th of January, speaks of a St. Mundus, son to Tulchan, who flourished in Ireland, about the year 626, and who died

about A.D. 634. He was a man of great sanctity. According to the Martyrology of Tallagh, at the 21st of October, Munnu is said to have presided over 234 disciples. The saint, mentioned in the text, is thought by Papebroke, to have been identical with St. Fintan Munnu, whose Acts were to be inserted, at the 21st of October. This saint,

spent in folly or crime, the people of his own patrimonial district assembled, and unanimously they elected him for their king. The holy young man, however, refused this proffered sceptre; his thoughtful ambition being directed, towards a more lasting inheritance. To avoid further importunity, he withdrew, to a remote island, situated in the sea, and lying between Albania and Britain.¹ Here, according to one account, St. Lasarian led an eremitical life, which was rendered illustrious, by the miracles he wrought. Beloved by God, and enjoying a high repute for sanctity, he merited unbounded admiration, from those islanders among whom he dwelt.² In our saint's Acts, we are told, that when he had remained for some length of time at this place, he felt a great desire to perfect himself, in learning and science. For that purpose, he set out on a journey, towards the city of the Apostolic See. He continued in Rome, it is stated, for fourteen years,³ receiving instruction from Pope Gregory of happy memory.⁴ During such time as he remained there, his faculties were incessantly applied to the study of the Old and the New Testament, and to the institutes of Canon Law.⁵ All this acquired knowledge, he carefully treasured within his memory. The holy Pontiff, seeing the progress his Irish disciple daily made, in learning and sanctity, conferred the Diaconate on him. Soon after, he was promoted to the priesthood.⁶ Having been advanced to this latter sublime grade, Lasarian received his commission, to preach God's holy word in Ireland.⁷ In token of esteem for his pupil, St.

we are told, became a monk at Iona Island, under the discipline of St. Columba, after the year 563. In the year 631, when greatly advanced in years, with other venerable men, he opposed St. Lasarian's adoption of the Roman Paschal rite in Ireland.

¹ Such is the account I find, in Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County Carlow," chap. ii., p. 25. Yet, no authority is furnished for this statement, although he probably found it in Harris' Ware.

² "The stream of the river maketh the city of God joyful," Psalms xlv. 5.

³ In the Salamancan Manuscript, these circumstances are somewhat differently related.

⁴ From the Salamancan Manuscript, it would appear, these travellers were under our saint's protection.

CHAPTER II.—¹ The Bollandist Editor is at a loss to know, whether this was a sandy island in Dunbrittan Strait, or the Isle of Man. Papebroke says, he preferred adopting the first opinion, and that the name of Britain must have had a greater extension than England proper could now indicate, adding, "ut ad Clutam usque includat ea que nunc Scotiæ adnumerantur."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Vita S. Lasreani, cap. i., sect. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, nn. (d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, ni), pp. 544, 545.

³ See Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County Carlow," chap. ii., p. 25.

⁴ The Salamancan Manuscript does not give the exact time of our saint's stay in the Eternal City, and the Bollandist Editor is of opinion, that "quatuordecim" had been substituted for "quatuor," either because St.

Gregory was Pope for the former length of time, or for some other unexplained reason. If it be true, as related, that Lasarian had been ordained priest by this Pope, and sent to Ireland on a mission, St. Lasarian could not have remained in Rome much longer than four years. It would appear, he did not visit the Eternal City, until about the close of the sixth century. Pope Gregory began his pontificate, in the year 590, and he died, soon after the commencement of the seventh century—viz., in A. D. 604. See the Acts of this great Pontiff, in Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome ix., liv. xlvii.

⁵ For further illustration, in reference to this Irish practice of making Roman pilgrimages, the reader is referred to Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus ii., lib. xxxii., sect. xlv., p. 626, for an account of Marcus, a bishop, and Marcellus, his nephew, with other Irish pilgrims, stopping at St. Gall's monastery on returning from Rome.

⁶ See Very Rev. Monsignore Moran's "Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church," part iii., chap. iii., p. 141.

⁷ Dr. Miley writes in these terms: "The Annals of even the most remote of the western nations—the Irish—the lives of their saints abound in notices of the holy pilgrims who journeyed from that remote corner of the earth to the tombs of the Apostles. One of the first purposes, to which we find a respite from the inroads of the Danes converted in the ninth century, is to send an embassy from the Irish princes, to obtain from Charles the Bald a free and secure passage through

Gregory bestowed on this saint the text of Gospels, and dismissed him, with a papal benediction.⁸ While the saint was on his way to Ireland, a numerous band of illustrious men, Angles, Britons, and Scots, joined him.⁹ These most earnestly desired, to have the benefit of his example and society.

After our saint had returned to his native country, he preached the Gospel there, in many places. Through Divine inspiration, he came at length to that spot, where the city of Leighlin afterwards sprung up, and where a monastery then stood. Gobban, a man celebrated for his sanctity, is said to have founded it about this time.¹⁰ He was Abbot over this house, and he preached on the banks of the Barrow.¹¹ He went to meet St. Lasarian, and cordially gave him welcome, on his arrival. According to local tradition,¹² on his approach to Old Leighlin, St. Lasarian rested on Lorum hill, near Bagnalstown, in the county of Carlow.¹³ Here, he intended to found an establishment, and a more delightful site, it could have hardly been possible to select. But his path was there crossed, by a red-haired woman; and, the Irish peasantry have ever regarded such an apparition, as indicating reversal or misadventure of every preconceived project. To others, we leave the solution of such a superstition, or its mystic meaning. St. Lasarian happened to be on his knees, engaged in prayer, at this time. Suddenly, he heard an Angel's voice, sweetly proclaiming from heaven, "Go where you shall see the sun first shining, and there shall your religious house be established." Accordingly, he crossed the River Barrow, and he travelled, in the direction of Old Leighlin. When he arrived at this spot, a glorious burst of sunshine lighted up the whole

his dominions for the Irish pilgrims to Rome. In an unpublished Irish Manuscript, called the 'Leabhar Breac'—a collection of singular importance and interest in an historical point of view—there are a great many such notices.—"History of the Papal States," vol. i., Book ii., chap. iv., pp. 462, 463.

⁸ The Bollandist Editor thus sums up the chronology of our saint's life. Lasarian is thought to have been about twelve or fourteen years of age, when brought to Albania by his grandsire, and therefore it is inferred, he was born about A.D. 566. In the Island of Iona, our saint is supposed to have had St. Fintan Munnu, as his master. This preceptor is reputed to have set out from Ireland for Iona, soon after St. Columba's departure, and about the year 563. We are not informed, how long St. Lasarian remained under this master, nor what length of time he spent in the desert, before his first visit to Rome, where St. Gregory's esteem was manifested, in sending him to preach the Gospel, after a delay of four years. The Editor incidentally remarks: "annos quatordecim perperam habet MS." Papebroke asserts, that Lasarian had been ordained deacon and priest, about his thirty-third year, and then he was judged worthy to receive the Apostolic gifts and a cure of souls. His years, it is supposed, were still more advanced, when St. Goban resigned Leighlin to him, perhaps about A.D. 614, or even at a later period. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos ii., Aprilis xviii. Vita S. Lasreani Commentarius Prævius, sec. 5, p. 544.

⁹ The Bollandist Editor appends the following note to this account. It is taken from the Salamancan MS.: "Cumque transiret per Angliam et Britanniam, adjungunt se ei, etc., de Anglis vercor ne sit, ab Anglo auctore adjectum: nam cum his nihilum commune habebant Britones Scoticque, sed eos ut hostes capitalissimos oderant."

¹⁰ Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chrp. ii., p. 23. This writer, without any authority whatever, says in 616, relying apparently on a date of Archdall, having nothing in common with his statement; while even in the date, Archdall is incorrect, regarding the matter to which it refers.

¹¹ He "saw in vision a host of angels hovering over Leighlin, and announced to his disciples that one day a fervent stranger would gather together in that spot as many servants of God as there were angels in that heavenly host."—Dr. Moran's "Essays on the Origin, Doctrine, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church," part iii., chap. iii., p. 141.

¹² This account was conveyed to us, by an inhabitant of Old Leighlin, while kindly discharging the self-imposed office of guide and *raconteur*, on the occasion of a visit made to the locality in 1869, by the learned and respected President of Carlow College, the Editor of its Magazine, and the writer of this article.

¹³ Lorum, called Lowran, by William Wenman Seward, is represented as being but a poor place, with as poor a church. It lies, within a mile of Ballylaughan Castle,

entourage of exquisite scenery. Then, venerable oak trees covered the Idrone upper ridges and mountain tarns, west of the Barrow. Laserian's eyes ranged with pleasurable admiration, over this charming prospect. He next sought an interview with the chieftain, who ruled that beautiful and fertile district. St. Gobban¹⁴ had already established his monastery or cell, near the corner of an old masonry enclosure, yet pointed out, and called "the Bishop's Garden." It rises, near the left bank of that rivulet, flowing past Old Leighlin. But, whether it were, that the chief wished to confer a special favour on St. Gobban, already an inhabitant of his territory, or that he conceived one monastic house in the neighbourhood sufficient, St. Laserian's request for a small tract of his land was rather coldly received. However, not choosing to give the holy man a direct refusal, the dynast told him, at last, only one spot was available, and this was a lough, formed immediately above St. Gobban's cell, and resting within a rather deep glen. Gladly receiving the grant, and then courteously thanking the chief, Laserian spread his cloak over the pool, when its waters sank to a lower level, and almost disappeared, in the clefts of their ravine. Afterwards, his monks opened a duct, by quarrying through some rocks, which still impeded the stream's freer course. On the left bank then remained a suitable plateau, for our saint's purposes; and, here, at the present time, may be seen the modernized Protestant church, with its old and venerable Catholic square belfry, towering above the circumjacent burial ground. So runs popular tradition; and, were we desirous of concealing long-remembered lore, culled from the peasant's fire-side, St. Laserian's biography could hardly be considered as complete, or even as properly illustrated.

It appears, that the site of Old Leighlin had been marked out for habitation, by religious men, long before St. Laserian resolved on taking possession. We are not able to determine the exact time, when St. Gobban¹⁵ built his monastery, on that place, where he saw in vision a host of Angels chanting God's praises;¹⁶ but, it was probably early in the seventh century. Laserian's old church there was possibly an addition to the monastic establishment, first erected by St. Gobban. We can scarcely doubt, that the original buildings were greatly extended, when St. Laserian had been recognised in the double capacity of Bishop and Abbot. We have another interesting record,

However, we are told, that in 1795, the 18th of April, being the patron day of St. Laserian, or Laserian, was specially celebrated. The same author states, our saint was here interred. See "Topographia Hibernia," sub-voce. But, in 1833, Ryan says, no patron was then held at this spot, nor was there any memorial whatever of St. Laserian in the churchyard. "Indeed," he adds, "there can be no doubt, that he was not buried here, but at Old Leighlin." See "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chap. xxxi., p. 348. On the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Carlow" (sheet 19), Lorum Church, "in ruins," is marked on an elevated site. A little distance to the west, St. Molappoge's Well is noted. It is probable, this must have been originally pronounced St. Molaissi's Well.

¹⁴ Perhaps, this was the St. Gobban, who is venerated in our Irish Calendars, at the 23rd of May, as belonging to Tigh Scuthin, identified by Mr. John Hogan, of Kilkenny, with the present Tascoffin, not far from Old

Leighlin. Notices of him may be seen, at that date.

¹⁵ Papebroke has observed, that when treating about St. Goban Dairensis, at the 26th of March, Colgan suspects, without any just reason, this latter person was identical with the Abbot of Leighlin. Papebroke himself conjectures, it should be nearer truth to suppose, that the Goban, in his text, was identical with that celebrated father of a thousand monks. Thus is he alluded to, in the Calendar of Cashel, at the 6th of December: "S. Gobanus de Killamruidhe juxta montem Sliab-na-mag-fionn dictum, in Ossoria." The Editor adds: "*quo scilicet migraverit Lithglinnensem locum relinquens Lasreano, versus Austrum et Mumoniae confinia recedendo.*"

¹⁶ See the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," old series, vol. ii., September, 1866. The See of Leighlin, at p. 544. This article contains an interesting account of Leighlin's mediæval history.

in connection with this spot, which it would seem had been purpled with the blood of Blessed Mael Patrick, a priest and an anchorite, Blessed Mongan, another anchorite, and his companions, who suffered martyrdom, in A.D. 916.¹⁷ Our holy faith had not been fully planted in Ireland, until what Tertullian has denominated "the martyrs' blood, the seed of Christians,"¹⁸ watered her soil, and cemented the foundations of her growing Church.

Many and great are the privileges acquired and exercised, by God's holy worshippers. It is related, that when St. Laserian and Abbot Goban came to the monastery gate, both met a woman, bearing in her arms the head of her son. This young man had been killed by robbers. The afflicted mother earnestly besought Laserian, in God's name, that her son might be restored to life. Her faith was rewarded, by the working of a miracle; for, no sooner had the head been joined to its lifeless body, than the young man was again restored to his mother. This favour he chiefly owed, to the pious intervention of our saint. We are informed, in St. Laserian's Acts, that a cross was afterwards erected on the spot, where such miraculous occurrence took place. The locality received, also, the Irish name Kroken, which means the "cross of the head."¹⁹

Such was the esteem, in which St. Laserian's virtues were held, that holy Abbot Goban resigned for ever the government of Leighlin monastery, in favour of its future patron. It has been suggested,²⁰ that St. Goban was no other, than he who governed a church at Kill-Lamhruidhe²¹—now Killamery parish²²—in the west of Ossory. A St. Goban Finn of this place is venerated, at the 6th of December, and he is said to have been buried, in Clonenagh.²³ However this may be, Goban and his brethren, leaving Old Leighlin, founded a religious habitation, in a different part of the country. The task now committed to St. Laserian was faithfully and zealously discharged. A religious people were greatly edified, by his preaching without the walls of his monastery, while the grace of Divine wisdom descended, in a copious shower, on the hearts of his numerous community.²⁴ Then was fulfilled a reputed prophecy of the great Irish apostle, regarding Laserian. For, when the holy prelate, St. Patrick,²⁵ had been engaged on the work of his mission, he journeyed along a road, which led through that lovely valley, in which Leighlin was situated. He then stood on a spot, beyond the River Barrow, while he looked towards the site of the monastery, afterwards to be erected.²⁶ St. Patrick then

¹⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 592, 593. The year 616 is incorrectly set down, by Colgan's printer, so that many modern writers have been led astray, regarding the date for this transaction.

¹⁸ His words are: "Semen est sanguis Christianorum."—"Apologia," sect. 45, sub fin.

¹⁹ In the Salamancan MS., we have no account, regarding the circumstance of this cross having been erected.

²⁰ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." xxvi. Martii. De S. Gobano, Abbate de Airdne Dairinnsi, p. 750.

²¹ Or Cill Lamhraidhe.

²² It is situated, in the Barony of Kells, County of Kilkenny.

²³ When treating of Leighlin, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," Archdall "refers to Colgan and Usher, as if placing the death of Gobban in 639, although Usher says nothing about him, nor does Colgan

even mention his name in the page referred to."—Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., n. 62, p. 404.

²⁴ It is related, in the Acts of St. Laserian, that he had no less than fifteen hundred disciples, subject to his rule at Leighlin. Their rigorous lives and remarkable virtues diffused such fragrant odour, through all parts of Ireland, that those, it is said, who "in eorum odore unguentorum currentes æternam mererentur hortum introire deliciarum."

²⁵ In his Life, at the 17th of March, it must be observed, we have no notice there of this record.

²⁶ The published Acts state, however, "Stans e regione trans flumen Barrovo versus cœnobium Letghlinense aciem dirigit." The city of Leighlin was built, not very far from the River Barrow's banks; but, the Salamancan MS. does not allude to this place, when giving an account re-

beheld a great multitude of angels in that place. He cried out, in a spirit of prophecy, to those religious men, who accompanied him: "Fifty years hence, a certain pilgrim and a faithful servant of God, named Laserian, shall dwell in yonder place, and the number of his holy disciples shall be large, as that band of angels you behold."²⁷ The writer of our saint's Acts breaks forth, in an ecstasy of delight, at this happy prediction, regarding the future eminence of Leighlin and of its holy Culdee band. Again, it is said, when certain pious virgins proposed, that St. Cainech, or Kenny,²⁸ should become their spiritual director, this devout man replied: "There shall come one, named St. Laserian, who will be a spiritual father to you and to many others."

Many holy men visited our saint, to have the advantage and honour of his acquaintance, and to hold conferences with him. Among other pilgrims, St. Barr, Bishop of Cork,²⁹ before his departure from Rome, was desirous of having an interview with St. Laserian. By this latter, his visitor was joyfully received. St. Barr remained for three days, and it would seem, Laserian accompanied his guest a part of the way, when taking leave. Both these holy men vowed an abiding friendship, before they separated. At that moment, St. Barr said: "It would afford me great pleasure to leave here some memorial of our agreement." St. Laserian replied: "Ask, and the Lord will grant your request." "Nay," said St. Barr, "let you pray rather, as I have visited you." St. Laserian then prayed. It being spring time, a hazel suddenly grew from the earth, and bore nuts at this unusual season. A cross was erected near that spot, most probably to commemorate such a remarkable tradition. In Irish, it received the named Krocull, which is interpreted to mean, "the Cross of the hazel."

An old stone cross, five feet in height, runs below a well, dedicated to St. Laserian, at Old Leighlin. It could scarcely be possible, however, to identify it with the one designated in the text, nor with the other already mentioned, which was called Kroken, Anglicized "the cross of the head." This latter seems to have been distinct from the former cross. That cross yet standing is very rudely constructed, and it is greatly weather-worn. According to popular report, St. Molshi's Well, as the peasantry call it, formerly issued from beneath the base of this venerated object. A small stream oozes through very moist ground, and it runs into the adjoining rivulet, in a deep ravine. Nearly opposite it, but on the other bank of the rivulet, the site of an ancient mill, belonging to St. Laserian's monastery, is yet shown, below the junction of two mountain streams. Within the memory of old persons still living, the steep banks above were shaded, by a fine growth

garding the incident.

²⁷ From such recorded prophecy of St. Patrick, Papebroke justly observes, we may suspect the authenticity of other predictions attributed to him. For, when St. Laserian settled in Leighlin, the seventh century had been entered upon, and most probably in addition a decade of years had passed. Yet, according to the editor's calculation, St. Patrick died A.D. 460. Even allowing the Irish Apostle survived fifty additional years, according to a received opinion, still some great error must be admitted as having crept into the text. "Si annorum numerum expressit Patricius," adds the editor, "crediderim 150 aut 160 annos definivisse." It is possible, however, if the apparent statement in the Acts be set down in numerals, the

error may be attributed to a transcriber's omission to insert, what should nearly agree with Papebroke's conjecture.

²⁸ This saint is the patron of Kilkenny. He presided over the monastery of Aghaboe, in Ossory. According to Colgan, he died A.D. 598, and his feast is kept, on the 11th of October.

²⁹ This is an episcopal city of Munster, whose patron, St. Barr, is venerated on the 25th of September. He was a cotemporary, also, with St. Maidoc of Ferns, as would appear from a Life of St. David, Bishop of Menevia, whose Acts occur, at the 1st of March. According to Colgan, St. Maidoc died, in the year 624. The Acts of St. Barr may be found, at the 25th of September.

of old oak, and by other primeval forest trees. The townland is yet called Raheenwood; and, immediately adjoining it, we find the townland denominations of Parknakyle and Johnduffswood. Both of these latter etymons seem referable to localities, formerly well shaded with trees. Near the town of Old Leighlin, and close by the cathedral, to the west, flowed a well, dedicated to St. Laserian. The waters of this spring were believed, by the people, to produce a miraculous effect, like the waters ordained for the trial of jealousy, under the Old Law. Whosoever would take a false oath, on any matter, and drink the water of this well, it was supposed, that he must expect some remarkable judgment to befall him.³⁰ Even in the beginning of this century, the peasantry were accustomed to resort to this well. A patron was annually held here, on the 18th of April. One of the parish priests over Old Leighlin, about 1812, forbid this practice, as scenes of gambling and intoxication became prevalent. Two very old ash trees, and a hawthorn, formerly covered with votive rags, overshadowed this well. These trees were cut down, by Captain Vigers, of Erindale, about the year 1823. At present, the well is nearly choked up with mud, and hardly distinguishable from a marsh, by which it is encompassed.³¹ It is related, also, such were the heavenly graces which Laserian enjoyed, that few persons returned from him, without receiving not only spiritual consolation, but even release from physical suffering. On the contrary, no person, who had dared to malign him in the slightest manner, could escape Divine retribution. It so happened, that three professors of poetry—rather should they be considered scurrilous verse-mongers—had visited St. Laserian, hoping to secure some favour at his hands. They resolved, in case of his refusal, to bestow some gift on them, to lampoon the holy man, in a bitter satire. When they came before the saint, he said: “I do not intend to satisfy such persons, or any others like them, but only God and his poor.”³² Being thus disappointed in their expectations, those low-bred poetasters began to revile him. Instantly, we are told, they suffered the fate of Dathan and Abiron.³³

Ædan,³⁴ King of Albania, the grandfather of our saint, experienced the kindness of Laserian, when he had been banished from his dominions, and had sought refuge in Ireland. We are told, that when he had visited Laserian,³⁵ the king's steed fell dead, owing to the lengthened journey he had travelled, and to the great exertions this noble animal put forth. But, the man of God, having prayed, the king's horse was again restored to life.³⁶ If such were the case, as in many other instances, his merits were manifested by the supernatural favours accorded. Some confusion seems to exist, in accounts

³⁰ Such is the statement made, in a letter written by Mr. Domville, and dated January 6th, 1782. It is found among the Trinity College MSS., and it is classed I. i. 3. fol., p. 322.

³¹ See Mr. and Mrs. Hall's "Ireland: its Scenery, Character," etc., vol. i., p. 417: "About ten yards from the well stands a rude stone cross, five feet in height. The whole is surrounded by a low straggling ditch." A rude drawing of this cross, with its exact dimensions, will be found, in the "Letters relating to the Antiquities of the County of Carlow, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey," at pp. 221, 222. There is no inscription on this cross, which is a monolith of fire-stone, as the material is locally denominated.

³² To this reply of our saint, the Salaman-can MS. adds: "Histrionibus enim dare est

demonibus immolare."

³³ See Numbers xvi.

³⁴ He is said to have reigned, from A.D. 571 to A.D. 605. See Dr. James Taylor's "Pictorial History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. iii., p. 28.

³⁵ The editor of our saint's Acts remarks upon a huge anachronism here manifest. But, he observes, that before the birth of our saint, another Laserian, Abbot of Devenish, flourished in Ulster. His feast occurs, at the 12th of September. According to Colgan, he died in the year 563. Papebroke says, that this saint may have been the worker of that miracle, recorded in the text.

³⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., xviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Laseriani, cap. ii., secs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and nn. (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k), pp. 545, 546.

left us, regarding various acts attributed to Laserian. Those incorrectly state, that, at the request of St. Columba,³⁷ of King Ædan, and also of saintly persons, belonging to the northern parts of Ireland, this holy man set out for Rome, in company with other pious pilgrims. At the Alpine mountains, our saint met a man, apparently in great anxiety and sorrow. When asked the cause of his grief, this rustic told Laserian he had twenty in his family to support by husbandry, while the ploughshare he used was broken; nor had he any means for repairing it.³⁸ The holy man hereupon ordered him to fashion a wooden ploughshare. Having done so, the saint blessed it, and then, he told the ploughman, to use it, until he should return. Laserian proceeded on his way to Rome, where he remained a year and a half. The peasant's ploughshare lasted even long after that time. Moreover, this man had a very abundant harvest, and such only as could be produced, from the most fertile soil.



Dublin Bay, from Killiney Hill.

It is related, that the reigning Pontiff at Rome, who is supposed to have been Honorius the First,³⁹ consecrated Laserian as bishop. On his return to Ireland, it is said, he was constituted a Papal Legate.⁴⁰ When our saint became

³⁷ These circumstances, thus introduced, show the writer's ignorance, and incompetency. For St. Columba died in the year 597. Instead of Columba, however, the Salamancan MS. reads St. Kieran. But, even this latter is supposed not to have been contemporaneous with our saint. Nor was Ædan, King of Albania, living, at the time now mentioned, which is presumed to have been, about A.D. 628.

³⁸ In a note annexed to this account, Papebroke writes: "Hic nos deserit MS. Salamantic. reliqua parte mutilum."

³⁹ He was Pope, from the latter part of October, in the year 626, to the year 638,

when he died on the 12th of October, having reigned nearly thirteen years. See Berti's "Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Breviarium." Sept. Eccles. Sec. cap. 1, pp. 170, 171. This Pontiff has been rendered celebrated, in connexion with a controversy regarding the Monothelite Heresy. "Audiit immerito tanquam Monothelita," writes this author, "propterea quod ad schisma vitandum noluerit mentionem fieri unius, nec duplicis in Christo operationis, aut voluntatis."

⁴⁰ Dr. Lanigan seems to doubt, that St. Laserian visited Rome, in the time of Pope Gregory the Great. He considers, it was not so well founded, on reasonable evidence, as

a dignitary of such exalted rank, the more humbly he entertained opinions regarding himself, the more was his modesty manifested towards all others. But, according to the words of our Blessed Saviour Himself, a city situated on a high mountain cannot be concealed; so that, notwithstanding the personal humility of our saint, the Lord was pleased to illustrate his life, by many miracles. While Laserian was prosecuting his way towards Ireland, and approaching Dublin city,⁴¹ by that beautiful Bay⁴² which opens on the Irish sea, he recollected having forgotten a Book of Gospels, which had been left at a place, whence he embarked. Whereupon, he ordered a St. Mochomet⁴³ to return for it. This order the disciple showed himself ready to obey. To manifest his pleasure, at such ready obedience, Laserian told him, as an example proving the greatness of this virtue for others, Mochomet should be borne on a stone across the sea. When this substitute for a vessel had been pointed out, according to the legend, his disciple embarked thereon; and, having passed over the ocean, Mochomet returned with the missing book, which Laserian afterwards presented to his disciple, as a gift. We must suppose, indeed, such an account could only have been taken from some idle traditional fiction, current among the people, and long after a time when St. Laserian lived.

While this renowned Legate discharged the special duties of his office in Ireland, his ministry was supernaturally distinguished. Through his prayers, we are informed, that a certain Felan,⁴⁴ King of Leinster, had been cured of a cancer in the foot. Again, Laserian exorcised a possessed person, and liberated him from demoniacal influences. It once happened, that a prince, named Cothinus,⁴⁵ invaded the rights of a monk, who came with his complaint regarding such injustice to St. Laserian. The king delayed making necessary satisfaction for some days. Our saint then predicted in Irish verse a sudden vengeance, which was destined for this monarch; and, as a consequence, he died during the night following. At one time, when visiting the house of Felan, the Leinster King, Laserian asked for a draught of water. A servant then denied, that any water remained in the well, and he came from it, with an empty vessel. Being urged to return once more, this servant found the well completely dry. Thenceforth, it continued totally devoid of water, according to a received tradition.

that mission which brought Laserian thither, after the Synod of Magblene. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., n. 64, p. 404.

⁴¹ Dublin must have been an insignificant place, in the time of Laserian, and it could hardly be regarded as a city. This term, as applied to it, however, may serve to indicate the comparatively modern period, when his published Acts had been first written, and when the number of houses and inhabitants in Dublin had considerably increased.

⁴² The accompanying illustration, drawn on the spot by William F. Wakeman, and transferred by him to the wood, represents it from Killiney Hill, over Dalkey, with Howth and the north shore in the distance. Engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁴³ Papebroke says, this cannot be that St. Mochæmoc, or Pulcherius, whose life had been given, at the 13th of March; for, when a young man of twenty, his aunt, St. Ita, died, about A.D. 569. Hence, he flourished,

at an earlier period than our saint. But, the Editor justly observes, this is one of the usual miracles, recorded in the Lives of Irish Saints, and yet little deserving of credence.

⁴⁴ In a Life of St. Berach, at the 15th of February, we learn, that Felan, fourth and youngest son to Colman, son to Cairbre, King of Leinster, was yet a boy, when his father died at Sliabh Mairge, A.D. 576. After three brothers and a nephew, he reigned to the year 665. See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Februarii. Prima Vita S. Berachi, n. 10, p. 346. Also, Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 208, 209, and n. (t). Likewise, pp. 278, 279, and n. (c). *Ibid.* The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" record "Foylan mac Colman," King of Leinster, to have died, at A.D. 663.

⁴⁵ We do not find his place in Irish history; but, probably, he was one of the subordinate chiefs, living near Old Leigblin, and having charge of that district, where the monk resided.

CHAPTER III.

THE YEW-TREE BROUGHT TO OLD LEIGHLIN MONASTERY—A RUSTIC BECOMES A VERY SKILFUL ARTISAN, TO CONSTRUCT AN ORATORY AT THIS PLACE—ANGELIC CANTICLES HEARD—ANCIENT DENOMINATIONS OF THIS LOCALITY—THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY—SYNOD ASSEMBLED AT MAGHLENE, OR WHITEFIELD—AGREEMENT BETWEEN ST. LASERIAN AND ST. FINTAN—LETTER OF POPE HONORIUS, IN 635—ST. LASERIAN'S DEATH AND INTERMENT—FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH, WITH ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY, AND THAT OF THE SEE OF LEIGHLIN—A POPULAR LEGEND REGARDING THE OLD CATHEDRAL—FESTIVAL AND OFFICE OF ST. LASERIAN—CONCLUSION.

AN immense yew-tree grew, in a certain part of Leinster. This seemed to furnish suitable materials, to be fashioned for ecclesiastical uses. Although the pious men of all Ireland earnestly desired the wood of this tree, for church building; yet, such a bond of fraternal charity existed among them, that none dared to cut it down, without having obtained universal consent from all others. Wherefore, to utilize its wood for pious purposes, the most celebrated religious superiors, with their disciples, agreed to assemble where the tree grew, there to pour forth prayers, and to fast. They hoped it should fall down, while the petitions of him, whose merits were deemed most grateful to God, were offered. The roots seemed to move, as each one in succession recited his prayers; but, when it came to St. Laserian's turn for fasting and prayer, this tree toppled to the earth. However, as the roots had been previously moved, by the fasting and prayers of other holy men, and as some preparation had thus been made for its expected fall, a doubt arose, whether St. Laserian could fairly claim the whole of this yew-tree. The matter, as we are told, was left for adjudication to the holy Pontiff, and to the reigning King Cranmal.¹ This monarch decided, says the legend, that as he had captured two stags while hunting, a plank should be attached to these animals, and that the whole tree should be drawn, wheresoever their course might be directed. Such injunction having been complied with, and a plank having been placed on the neck of each stag, the animals moved off towards Leighlin monastery. Thither, also, the remainder of this tree was brought.

We should observe, that some of the very improbable circumstances here, as elsewhere, narrated, and extracted from St. Laserian's old Life, have no special claim on the judicious reader's credence. When an architect was yet wanting to construct an oratory there, a shepherd is said to have exclaimed: "Would that I were an artist, for then should I finish the work without wages." Hereupon, St. Laserian answered: "If it pleases the Almighty's goodness, He can easily make you one." Then, our saint, taking the shepherd's hands within his own, and blessing them, the rustic became a very skilful artisan, and he built a beautiful oratory. When Laserian prepared to dedicate this sacred structure, the citizens of heavenly Jerusalem were heard singing canticles, on the night of its dedication. Strains of ravishing harmony were heard, even by many, who lived at a great distance from that place. It has been ascertained, that the local designation of Old Leighlin, in Irish, was Sean Leithglinn, to

CHAPTER III.—¹ Colgan, in his "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Sexta S. Brigidæ, n. 12, calls this Cranmal, third son of Colman. The beginning of his reign is assigned, to the year 610, when his second brother, Ronan, died. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 236, 237. This Ronan left a son named Crimthann,

who died, it is said, before his uncle Foilan, who was successor to Cranmal here mentioned. The year of Cranmal's death is not stated. Unless, therefore, Foilan is called king by anticipation, accounts contained in the text should precede those, found in the latter part of the narrative, which has been related in a former paragraph.

distinguish this place from Leighlin-bridge,² known as Leithglinn a Droichit.³ Still, the meaning of Leithglinn is not locally understood by the inhabitants. In the Annals of the Four Masters, and in the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerys, its orthography is varied, without disturbing the pronunciation.⁴ The name "Lethglennia," applied to it, appears to have been derived from Maglene, or the "Plain of Lene, or Lennia," after which its celebrated Synod has been called.⁵ From the present old cathedral tower, the "Whitefield" is pointed out beneath it; and here, tradition maintains, the clergy assembled, to deliberate concerning questions of grave ecclesiastical importance. The heads of most, among the religious men then in Ireland, are said to have assisted.⁶

The most ancient records attest, that the Feast of our Divine Lord's Resurrection dates from the establishment of Christianity, and that it goes back to the time of the Apostles, who were living, and near the place, at the time of that great event, which in a most special manner served to prepare the triumphs of the Gospel. It concluded the Lenten fasts, and Easter Sunday with its octave was regarded as a holy week, while the Paschal solemnities and customs were deemed the most august celebrations of the year.⁷ However, that precisetime, which should be fixed for Easter, was a subject of warm discussion and dispute, even in the earliest ages of the Church. Thus, as we learn, St. Polycarp,⁸ Bishop of Smyrna, went to Rome,⁹ while Pope Anicetus¹⁰ ruled over the Holy See,¹¹ to confer with him on the Paschal question; ¹² since, there was a conflict of opinion and practice, between the Eastern and Western Churches, on this important point of discipline. The former insisted on celebrating the feast, at the same time when the Jews observed their Pasch.¹³ The Asiatics professed to have received their usage, from St. John the Evangelist¹⁴ and from St. Philip;¹⁵ while the Western Churches very generally referred their

² This place was intended to serve as a fortified pass, soon after the Anglo-Normans arrived in our country. There is a very beautiful copper-plate engraving of Leighlin-bridge and of the Black Castle, as appearing from across the River Barrow, in Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 93. This view was copied, after one taken by Lieutenant Daniel Grose, in 1792. It represents the south-west aspect.

³ From a different stand-point to that taken by Grose, or north-east, the Barrow bridge, with the Black Castle lying beyond it, may be seen in the "The Irish Penny Journal," vol. 1, No. 9. The article accompanying it was written, by our departed friend, George Petrie, LL.D., in his own peculiarly happy vein of composition. His pictorial illustration is described as "a scene of much picturesque beauty, and of a character very likely to impress itself on the memory." To the erection of this old castle in 1181, Leighlin-bridge owns its origin. The subsequent history of this locality is given, by the accomplished writer. See *ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

⁴ Thus we read, Leth Glenn, Leith Glinn, Leith Glenn, Leath Gleann, Leith Glion, Leith Glinne, Leith Glin. It has been Latinized, Lethglennia, Lethglennensis, Lethglennia, and Leigbliensis.

⁵ See Mr. T. O'Connor's communication of June 22nd, 1839, as found in the "County of Carlow Letters," once preserved in the

Irish Ordnance Survey Office, and now belonging to the Royal Irish Academy Library, where they are preserved.

⁶ The place, anciently called Lethglin, or Whitefield, is said to have been the site of St. Gobban's Abbey, at Old Leighlin. See Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County Carlow," chap. ii., p. 24.

⁷ See L'Abbé Bergier's "Dictionnaire de Théologie," tome iii., *Art. Paques*, pp. 598, 599.

⁸ His feast occurs, at the 26th of January.

⁹ About A.D. 162.

¹⁰ He is venerated, at the 17th of April.

¹¹ From A.D. 157 to 168, this Pontiff presided over the Church.

¹² See "Brevarium Romanum," Pars. Hiemalis. xxvi. Januarii, Noct. ii., Lect. iv.

¹³ While the Mother Church, at Jerusalem, continued to observe the Sabbath, or seventh day, the converted Jews celebrated, also, the Sunday, as the Lord's Day, and in memory of Christ's resurrection from the dead. The Church of Antioch only kept Sunday, or the first day of the week. See Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. i., Period i., Epoch i., Part i., chap. 4, sect. 56, p. 147.

¹⁴ His feast occurs, at the 27th of December.

¹⁵ He is venerated, at the 1st of May.

¹⁶ Their festival is held, on the 29th of June.

traditions, on the subject, to St. Peter and St. Paul.¹⁶ In the second century, Pope St. Pius I.,¹⁷ who sat from A.D. 142 to A.D. 157,¹⁸ had issued a Decree, that Easter should be celebrated on a Sunday; and, Pope St. Victor I.,¹⁹ who ruled from A.D. 192 to A.D. 202,²⁰ confirmed that decree.²¹ However, a violent contest arose, about the year 194, between the latter Pope and Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who resolved, with a Council assembled by him, to celebrate Easter, on the 14th day of the moon in March. The Pope threatened these Orientals with excommunication; but, he was dissuaded from this purpose, by St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and by some other holy Bishops, who represented the probability of a schism, and on a difference, which touched no dogma of Christianity.²² These differences were settled, by a decree of the Council of Nice, which was held, in 325; and, this confirmed the Roman rule. The fathers there decided, that the festival should be celebrated everywhere, on the first Sunday, after the spring full moon. However, it was difficult to fix the precise day. The Bishop of Alexandria was commissioned, by Pope St. Leo I.,²³ to calculate the Easter beforehand, and to communicate such result to the Apostolic See, so that it might be proclaimed to the whole Church.²⁴ Thus, the fathers of Nice wisely put an end to an unseemly discrepancy. They decreed, that the Easter should be celebrated uniformly, on the Sunday which next follows the 14th day of the first month, according to the Jewish computation. This was regulated by the lunar day, occurring on the 21st of March, or the next in succession to it. Again, the decree provided, that the feast should not be celebrated on the same day, as that adopted by the Jews. The ancient British Church still celebrated Easter Sunday, however, from the 14th to the 20th of the moon; because, as the Britons were then harassed by the Saxons, and as they were almost precluded from communicating with Italy or the Continent, on account of wars prevailing there, they continued to use the old cycle,²⁵ and they were ignorant, in a great measure, of any improvement.²⁶ In England, ecclesiastics and laics differed widely, on this matter of observance. While some Christians were mourning in commemoration of the Passion, others were rejoicing, in the resurrection of the Blessed Saviour. Thus, Queen Eanfleda²⁷—a Kentish lady—with her followers, was still fasting and keeping Palm-Sunday, when her husband Oswy,²⁸ the King of Northumbria, had done fasting, and was keeping his Easter.²⁹ This might have occurred, in any of the years 645, 647, 648, or 651, when the 14th of the moon fell on Sunday; but, the exact date, to which allusion is made, has not been determined. About the beginning of the seventh century, it is thought, that St. Laurence,³⁰ Archbishop of Canterbury, took a journey into Ireland, for the purpose of bringing the Catholics of this country, to adopt the Roman practice for celebrating Easter.³¹ His pastoral care, as

¹⁷ His feast occurs, on the 11th of July.

¹⁸ See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 211.

¹⁹ His festival is celebrated, on the 28th of July.

²⁰ See *ibid.*

²¹ See "Breviarium Romanum," Pars. Æstiva. xxviii. Julii, Officium, Lect. v.

²² See Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. i., Period i., Epoch i., Part 2, chap. 5, sect. 93, p. 310.

²³ He ruled from A.D. 440 to 461. See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 210.

²⁴ See "Opera," S. Leoni Magni. Epistola 121.

²⁵ See Venerable Bede's "Historia

Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. iii., cap. 4.

²⁶ See Rev. Dr. Lingard's "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," chap. i., p. 36.

²⁷ She had been educated, by Roman disciples.

²⁸ He, with the majority of his subjects, had derived the knowledge of Christianity, from the Irish or Scots. See Rev. Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. ii., p. 100.

²⁹ See Venerable Bede's account.

³⁰ His feast occurs, at the 2nd of February.

³¹ See "Britannia Sancta," by Bishop Challoner, part i., p. 97.

we are told,³² extended to the Scots inhabiting Ireland.³³ Whether that Archbishop saw Laserian cannot be discovered; but, it is probable, some means of communication had been established between them. The first Pasch was celebrated among the Saxons, as we are informed, in A.D. 665;³⁴ but, by this we are to understand, in conformity with the generally accepted Western rite. The Roman usage, for celebrating Easter, prevailed throughout England, from A.D. 673,³⁵ and by degrees, the Irish and Scots conformed to the same practice. However, as we are informed, nearly another century had elapsed, before the Pasch was changed to the Sunday among the Britons. This happened, through the intervention of the man of God, Elbodugus, in the year 768.³⁶ Notwithstanding all the foregoing differences and changes, other adjustments had to take place, before the regulation of Easter-tide was finally settled. Pope Gregory XIII.³⁷ was the great reformer of our Church Calendar in 1582; for, accumulated errors, from an 89 minutes' excess of the 19 years' cycle, made the calendar moon fall four days later than the real moon. Hence, a departure from the Old to the New style.³⁸ This was simply the old enactment of the Canon Law, as established in the Catholic Church, and which was laid down by the General Council of Nice. For Calendar and ecclesiastical purposes, an imaginary moon³⁹ movement has been devised. Thus, the moon referred to in the rule regarding Easter is not that real moon, which shines in our system. Nor is it that mean moon of the astronomers, which is regarded as moving at a uniform rate, so as invariably to run through all its phases, in a period of 29 days, and about 12 hours. This is the average period, described by the real moon of the firmament.⁴⁰ It was only during the last century, the reformation of the Gregorian Calendar had been adopted in England,⁴¹ and during the reign of George II., in 1751.⁴² It was received in Ireland, in 1781, thirty years later, when introduced by an Act of the Irish Parliament,⁴³ passed in the reign of George III. However, Ireland had already practically adopted the English statute, relating to the calendar, from the year 1752, when its provisions came into force.

³² By Venerable Bede.

³³ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. ii., cap. 4.

³⁴ See "Annales Cambriae," edited by Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A., p. 8.

³⁵ Then the National Council at Hartferd, under Archbishop Theodore, adopted the canon: "That we all jointly keep Easter Day, on the Lord's Day, after the 14th day of the moon, in the first day.

³⁶ See "Annales Cambriae," edited by Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A., p. 10.

³⁷ He sat in St. Peter's chair, from A.D. 1572 to 1585.

³⁸ See the account contained, in Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," pp. 34 to 39.

³⁹ This is regarded, as moving with a period, sometimes of 29, and sometimes of 30 days.

⁴⁰ To an article on the Almanac, in Dr. Lardner's "Museum of Science and Art," the reader is referred, for a popular exposition, on the principles of chronometric science. There, this matter is fully explained, and it deserves careful study.

⁴¹ It has been remarked, by Professor de Morgan, that the statesmen to whom England is indebted for the introduction of the Gre-

gorian Calendar, acted in the full belief, that the "moon," referred to in the rules regarding the celebration of Easter, was the real moon of the firmament.

⁴² Then was enacted, the English statute 24th of George II., chap. 22, for changing from the Old to the New style. It enacted, that "from the 2nd September, 1752. . . the said Feast of Easter should be observed according to the calendar, tables, and rules thereunto annexed." The calendar for March, annexed to that English act, has this note: "The numbers here prefixed to the several days between the 21st day of March and the 18th day of April, both inclusive, denote the days upon which those full moons do fall which happened upon or next after the 21st day of March in those years of which they are respectively the golden numbers. And the Sunday letter next following any such full moon points out Easter Day for that year."

⁴³ It is known, as the 21st and 22nd of George III., chap. 8.

⁴⁴ In Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., pp. 479 to 484, a learned and succinct statement of this subject will be found, with various references to the works of ancient writers.

The disputed Paschal question⁴⁴ having been specially agitated, during our saint's epoch, he is thought to have visited Rome a second time, to consult regarding this observance. He thus acted, at the request of some, among the Irish clergy. This journey, however, could not have been undertaken, at the desire of either King Ædan, or of St. Columba, both of whom were then dead. The Bollandist Editor, Papebroke, supposes that Cummineus, Abbot of Hy, was a chief procurer of this visit.⁴⁵ It seems to be inferred, also, from an epistle written to the monks of Iona, in which Cummineus excuses himself from observing the Roman Pasch, and in opposition to their received custom.⁴⁶ When this question had been maturely investigated, a Synod was convoked in Maglene, or "Whitefield," under the heights of Mount Marge, and near the Barrow banks.⁴⁷ But, when it was proposed there to observe Easter for the future, after the prevailing practice of the Universal Church, a certain monk moved, that the consideration of this matter should be submitted to the Roman See.⁴⁸ St. Laserian defended, with great energy and success, the Roman method of Paschal computation, at this Synod; and, its assembled fathers deputed him to proceed, as their delegate, to the Holy City.⁴⁹ The year thus indicated is computed to have been 630,⁵⁰ when nearly the Universal Church celebrated Easter on the 24th of March. The Britons and Irish were the sole exceptions. These observed the Paschal festival, on the 21st of April, being entirely attached to St. Columba's practice, of adopting the Quartadeciman Cycle, which had caused the difference of nearly a month to intervene, between the respective rites.⁵¹

During this, or the year following, St. Laserian is thought to have returned as Legate, and to have presided in that capacity over a Synod,⁵² convened at Leighlin.⁵³ In our saint's Acts, although we have an account, concerning the honours and dignities conferred on him by Pope Honorius, yet we find no mention made, about such an important Synod.⁵⁴ Regarding this celebrated

⁴⁵ His biography will be found, in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxvi. Februarii. Vita S. Cuminei. His Life may be seen likewise, at the 24th of February.

⁴⁶ "In consequence of the Pope's letter," writes the Rev. James Gaffney, "a synod was at once convened at Old Leighlin, the history of which is handed down by a learned monk named Cumnian."—"Ancient Irish Church," chap. iv., p. 94.

⁴⁷ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 484.

⁴⁸ Papebroke supposes, that this monk must have been St. Fintan Munnu, who zealously defended the Irish observance. Cummin thus writes: "Misimus quos novimus sapientes, et humiles esse, velut natos ad matrem, et prosperum iter in voluntate Dei habentes, et ad Romam urbem aliqui ex eis venientes, tertio anno ad nos usque pervenerunt, et sic omnia viderunt sicut audierunt: sed, et valde certiora, utpote visa quam audita invenerunt, et in uno hospitio cum Græco et Hebræo, Scythæ et Ægyptiaco, in ecclesia S. Petri simul in Pascha (in quo mensio disjuncti sumus) fuerant, et ante sancta sic testati sunt nobis, dicentes, o per totum orbem terrarum hoc Pascha, ut scimus, celebratur." See Ussher's "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge," Epist. xi., p. 34. Papebroke appears to have copied—

as seems by verbal discrepancies—from some less perfect copy of this celebrated Epistle, than the one used by Ussher.

⁴⁹ The Very Rev. Monsignor Moran's "Essays on the Origin, Doctrines and Discipline of the Early Irish Church," part iii., chap. iii., p. 141.

⁵⁰ "Annus ille æræ Christianæ DCXXX. fuisse videtur; quo Hiberni cyclum LXXXIV. annorum secuti Paschalem Dominicam calendis Aprilibus, integra ante tempus in Alexandrina Enneadecaeteride (a Romanis jam recepta), prostitutum septimana observabant."—Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 485.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² In "L'Art de Verifier des Dates," tome i. Chronologie Historique des Conseils," p. 155, the date assigned for this Synod is A.D. 630.

⁵³ Dr. Lanigan intimates, that this Synod was held, about the year 633. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., sec. ix., p. 402.

⁵⁴ This omission is supplied, however, from the Acts of St. Fintan Munnu, portions of which are quoted, in Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., pp. 484 to 486, where an interesting account, regarding this Synod, may be seen.

convocation of the Irish clergy, said to have belonged to the second order of saints, and it would seem also, many of the people assembled with them, the following details are recorded, in an ancient Life of St. Fintan Munnu.⁵⁵ The principal contestants, on a disciplinary matter that naturally excited great public interest, as it was one of grave national importance, were St. Laserian, or Molassius, Abbot over Leighlin monastery, and St. Fintan Munnu.⁵⁶ Abbot over Teach-Munnu, called after its founder, and situated in that part of Southern Leinster, known as Hy-Kinsellagh. One of the most pleasing pictures presented to us, in the detailed account of this transaction, is the true Christian feeling and courtesy displayed by those saints, who were most opposed in opinion.⁵⁷ The usual embittered tone, and rabid arguments of ordinary controversy, seem to have been entirely eschewed; while a respectful and decorous consideration, suited to the time and the occasion, contrasts favourably with the unbecoming passions and excitement of modern conventicles and meetings. It is possible, we may have special legendary accounts left us, regarding a great historic event; but, the light of early Irish transactions, although dimmed by popular rumours often interposed, must occasionally be traced under the veil of traditional lore. The trial proposed, for ascertaining the Divine will, in a matter of great moment, seems to indicate a rather modern composition of our saint's Life now extant; for, it recalls the trials of innocence, and by combat, which were practised so frequently in the Middle Ages. Laserian was one of the first assembled, to promote the new ordinance, lately received from Rome; while St. Munnu seems to have met with some detention, for he did not immediately reach the Synod of clerics expecting his arrival, as a chief defender of the Irish custom. Subne, son of Domnaill, and local chieftain over the Huamairche territory, felt impatient because of this delay, in commencing the proceedings. He at last cried out: "Why do you await so long the arrival of this leper?" Then, Abbot Laserian mildly reproved his expression, by saying, "O Chief, do not apply such a term to St. Munnu; for, although corporally absent, he is with us in spirit; assuredly what you have now said, he has heard, wherever he may happen to be; and the Almighty will exact from you reparation, for any injury done to his servant."

On that very day, before evening came, St. Munnu approached towards the place; and, the holy men assembled in Council went forth to receive him with honour. St. Laserian, and this distinguished stranger courteously saluted each other. Moved by this spectacle, the chieftain, Subne, asked a

⁵⁵ "St. Laserian proposes to follow the computation adopted by the whole Western Church; the Abbot of Tighmon is in favour of the old cycle of eighty-four years; the great body of the prelates and heads of the religious houses support the computation then practised by the Universal Church, declaring that they had been directed by their predecessors to follow invariably what was held by the successors of the Apostles."—*Irish History*. Further observations on a Lecture delivered in the Town House, Tullamore, and republished with an Appendix." By Benjamin Quiverful, p. 12; Dublin, 1859, 12mo.

⁵⁶ This St. Fintan had for his father Tulcan, and for his mother Fedelmia. For eighteen years, he studied with St. Synell Mac Maynacur, Abbot over the monastery of Cluain-inis, in Lough Erne. St. Fintan

Munnu appears to have read, under the same virtuous and learned master, and to have been a fellow-disciple with the renowned St. Columbanus, whose career has been so magnificently portrayed by Comte de Montalembert, in his celebrated work, "*Les Moines d'Occident*," tome ii., liv. ix. Those remarkable Irish Saints held similar strong opinions, in favour of celebrating Easter, according to the early Irish custom.

⁵⁷ "Like obedient children of the Holy See, they proceeded at once to consider the matter, to which the Pope had called their attention, namely, the question of the Paschal computation."—*Irish History*. Further observations on a Lecture, delivered in the Town House, Tullamore." By Benjamin Quiverful, p. 12.

blessing from St. Munnu. The latter replied : " Why dost thou ask a leper's benediction ? Indeed, I can truly tell you, that at the right hand of His eternal Father, Christ himself felt the insult, when you spoke evil concerning me. For, I am one of the members, over whom He, as the Head, presides ; and, the head feels pain, whenever any one of the members is wounded. Wherefore, even before this month ends, your own kinsman shall put you to death, and cut off your head, while your body shall be cast into the River Barrow,⁵⁸ and shall not afterwards be seen." This prophecy was fulfilled, and in the manner announced by God's holy servant ; for, that month had not closed, before Subne was killed by the son of his own brother, near a rivulet, called Blathach,⁵⁹ and his head was cast into the river.⁶⁰

While the Council was engaged, considering the Paschal controversy, St. Munnu is said to have observed—" Let us be brief in our remarks ; but, in the name of God, let us proceed to a trial. Three different choices are given to you, O Laserian. Let two books, one of the old order, and another of the new, be cast into the fire together, and let us see which of them shall escape the flames. Or, let two monks, one of your house, and another of mine, be shut up in the same house, which may be set on fire, and then we shall see, who of both these men shall escape unharmed. Or, let us go together to the tomb of a holy monk, and raise him to life, and he will manifest to us, which order we ought to observe, for the celebration of Easter this year."⁶¹ St. Laserian then answered him : " We will not proceed to a trial with you ; because, we know, for your sake, on account of your labours and sanctity, if you desired Mount Margy to occupy the place of this White Field, and the White Field to be removed where Mount Margy now remains, God would immediately cause this to be done." At that time, they were assembled in the White Field, which was under the foot of Mount Margy. In presence of all the people assembled, St. Munnu also said to the Abbot Laserian : " It is now time to break up this Council, that each person may depart to his own place." It appears that unanimity prevailed among the people, and the clergy then convened, before departing for their respective homes.⁶²

In the estimation of some persons, the exact spot, where this assembly

⁵⁸ This word in Ussher is " Berow," and he has a marginal annotation, " Al. Berbha."

⁵⁹ This might have been an ancient name for the stream, on which Old Leighlin stands.

⁶⁰ From the obscure way, in which this statement is recorded, we are at a loss to know, whether his head was cast into the Blathach or into the Barrow.

⁶¹ Were we to place reliance, on all this legendary account, it should appear probable, from this passage, the Synod of Magh Lene must have been assembled, before the Easter of that year.

⁶² To the foregoing account, we find added in Ussher : " Vel. ut in alio libro plenius legitur, *Consentientes igitur omnes juxta sententiam viri sancti, ad propria cum gaudio sunt reversi.*"—*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, cap. xvii., pp. 484, 485.

⁶³ Pope Honorius commenced his Pontificate, on the 27th of October, 625. In Blair's "Chronological and Historical Tables," num. 33, he is represented, as having reigned fourteen years.

⁶⁴ Commenting on this Epistle, the Protestant local historian, Ryan, remarks : " This document evinces, pretty clearly, the tone of authority assumed by the Bishop of Rome, at a very early period ; and must, assuredly, strike all, as containing an unjustifiable degree of arrogance, coming, as it did, from a person, who had no earthly, or heavenly authority whatever to dictate to the Irish people on either spiritual, or temporal affairs. This was the view taken, at least, in effect, by many of the Irish clergy, as will be seen in the sequel." See "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chap. ii., pp. 23, 24. Strange to say, the writer's inconclusiveness of reasoning is perfectly shown in the "sequel" by himself ; but stranger still is the fact, he did not reflect, that not alone the whole Irish Catholic Church, but even every sect of Protestants has since accepted, without hesitation, or inquiry, the "authority assumed by the Bishop of Rome," in deciding this once controverted question, regarding the most suitable time for celebrating Easter.

had been convened, may readily be inferred, from ancient Acts of our early saints. The holy Fintan, it is said, having urged our saint to a strange sort of miraculous test, the Abbot Laserian declined it, owing to the respect entertained for his former master. Again, it was thought, that the Divine interposition should not thus be sought fatuitously, in a matter so clear and certain. Wherefore, St. Fintan concluded, that each one should follow the course he judged right. Pope Honorius⁶³ wrote to the Irish Bishops, in 635, exhorting them not to oppose an example, set by the Universal Church, in ancient and modern times.⁶⁴ Yet, the account of his Pontificate,⁶⁵ given us by most authors, contains nothing, which might in any way serve to illustrate St. Laserian's biography. Pope Honorius reminded the Irish, that they were placed in a remote part of the world, and that they were few in number, as compared with those adopting the Roman custom.⁶⁶ Although the Northern Irish observed their own peculiar practice on this point, for a longer period; yet, those, who lived in the south of Ireland, soon conformed to the canonical rite for observing Easter,⁶⁷ which seems to have been urged on their attention, by the Sovereign Pontiffs in Rome.⁶⁸ Two years after this Synod, it is said, St. Gobban surrendered his abbey to St. Laserian's rule.⁶⁹ This latter was a chief instrument, in finally settling the Easter question, for the south of Ireland.⁷⁰ St. Laserian did not long survive those events, having been summoned to his eternal reward,⁷¹ on the 14th of the May Kalends—according to his published Acts. These admit incompleteness, in narrating all the miracles and wondrous deeds performed by our saint, during the course of his life. Under the year 638, the Annals of the Four Masters, and those of Ulster, record the death of Dalaise Mac h U-Imdae, Abbot of Leithglinn, *i.e.* Half Glen, now Old Leighlin.⁷² The year of his death was 639,⁷³ as stated by Ussher;⁷⁴ or 640, according to another account. The Annals of Ulster, Senat-mac-Magus, are quoted for the former statement; and even they seem

⁶³ "Il gouverna l'Eglise douze ans, onze mois, et seize jours, et mourut le 12 Octobre, 638."—Rohrbacher's "Historie Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome x., liv. xliii., p. 76.

⁶⁴ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. ii., cap. 19.

⁶⁵ St. Fintan is said to have died A.D. 634, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," and those of Ulster. He reached the patriarchal age of ninety years, and, as we learn from other sources, had become decrepit. The Annals of Tighernach place his death at A.D. 636, which, we are told, is the true year. His festival is kept on the 21st of October. See O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 252, 253.

⁶⁶ This may be inferred, from the following record, which we here insert, omitting a few explanatory notes. In the B Appendix, and among the notes on certain fly-leaves at the end of the original MS. Calendar of the Saints of Ireland, once in the possession of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, we find the following memoranda: "S. Cummianus epistola xi. ad Legienum, post mentionem Patricii 'papæ nostri' (ait) et cycli ejus, dicit successores Alvei, Querani Cloniensis, Brendini, Nessani, Lugidi .i. molua, syno-

dum in Campo Lene celebratam: Pascha Romanum et cætera sibi a sede Apostolica ordinata recipienda sancisse, legatos sapientes Romam missos trienniali itinere rediisse cum reliquis pretiosis martyrum. Excommunicationes sedis apostolicæ fuerunt causa hujus synodi apud Australes Scotos. Epistola Cleri Romani sub electo Jo. 4º an. 639. Dilectissimis et sanctissimis, Tomiano, Columbano, Cronano, Dimao, et Baitheno episcopis; Cromano, Ermannoque, Laistrano, Scellano, et Segeno Presbyteris; Sarano cæterisque, doctoribus seu abbatibus Scotis, etc."

⁶⁹ See Archdall's "Monasticum Hibernicum," p. 37.

⁷⁰ See Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chap. ii., p. 25.

⁷¹ Archdall places his death, as occurring A.D. 638, and the year before St. Gobban's departure. See "Monasticum Hibernicum," p. 37.

⁷² See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 256, 257, and n. (c). *Ibid.*

⁷³ See the "Annals of Clonmacnoise."

⁷⁴ The "Annals of Innisfallen" are quoted for this date. See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 486, and "Index Chronologicus," A.D. DCXXXIX., p. 538. *Ibid.*

to be depended upon for the latter, by Papebroke.⁷⁵ It has been stated, that St. Laserian was buried in the church, which he had founded, at Leighlin;⁷⁶ and such a tradition is quite in accordance, with the practice of ecclesiastics having been interred, within our churches, in early times.⁷⁷ In 1216, the town of Leighlin was incorporated, and the extent of its liberties was marked, in different places, with a stone,⁷⁸ bearing for inscription: "Terminus Burgens. Lechlinen. hic lapis est." One of these *termini* stood near Leighlin Bridge, another near Wells, and a third in the mountains. According to a local tradition, it is held, that four ancient churches or religious establishments were formerly dependencies on Old Leighlin Monastery. These were Tomard,⁷⁹ where the ruins of an exceedingly antique church are yet seen, surrounded by a graveyard, and tenanted by the dead of many past generations; ivy-covered Killinane,⁸⁰ to which similar observations apply;⁸¹ Wells,⁸² lying about two miles distant, on the Barrow's right banks; and, Castlelawn, rising on the higher slopes of the surrounding hills. The present village—it was formerly a city—of Old Leighlin had been much more numerous peopled, even within the memory of persons now living. It looks desolate and ruinous, through all its ancient streets, which seem to have been built, without much regard for regularity of plan. Loose and broken stone walls now mark the site of former houses and garden-enclosures. Yet, it was formerly a town of note, and it had been governed by a corporation. Until the close of the last century, it retained the privilege of sending representatives to the Irish Parliament.⁸³ The branch-formed stream, below which this town was built, is at present named the Ballynolan River.

The Bishop and Chapter of Leighlin represented to the Holy See, in the thirteenth century, that their church, being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of a mountainous and sterile country, was subject to great dangers, owing to the plots and snares laid by robbers, for the people and clergy frequenting it, even for the purpose of assisting at synods. Their petition referred principally, for a transference of the See, to a safer, and to a more suitable place, within the diocese. Pope Innocent IV., in 1247, as a consequence of this representation, wrote for further information, on the subject, to the Archbishop, Prior, and Archdeacon of Dublin.⁸⁴ We do not find, however, any

⁷⁵ He adds: "De quibus annalibus alibi apud ipsum (scilicet Userrum) aut Colganum legisse videor, quod Æræ vulgaris annos uno anno præcurrant, sic S. Lasreani mors, vel saltem illius sepultura, anno DCXL. adscribenda, accidisset tertia feriâ Paschæ die xvi. Aprilis celebrati apud Lagenios, juxta Canones tam ferventer operoseque ab eo propugnatos, ut ab ipsâ temporis festivi circumstantiâ accidentaliter ejus gloriæ accederet aliquid." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., xviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Lasreani, Commentarius Prævius, secs. 6, 7, p. 544, and cap. iii., secs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, nn. (a, b, c, d, e, f), pp. 546, 547.

⁷⁶ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., Bishops of Leighlin," p. 454.

⁷⁷ Some curious and recondite information regarding ancient burial customs is given, in that very interesting book, Dr. Richard R. Madden's "Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World," vol. ii., chap. ii., pp. 57, 58. For authorities, the Decrees of former Synods are cited.

⁷⁸ The limit of the neighbouring lands, "Theræ fixed from eldest times; black,

craggy, vast." Pope's Homer's "Iliad," Book xxi., lines 469, 470.

⁷⁹ On the "Ordnance Survey Maps for the County of Carlow," sheet 12, this old ruined building is called St. Briget's Church.

⁸⁰ It is half-way, between Leighlin-bridge and the Royal Oak. "One gable and a side wall (sixty-three feet in length) are standing, and the ruin is bisected by another wall. A window, in a ruinous state, is observable in the east end."—Ryan's "History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow," chap. xxxi., p. 342.

⁸¹ On the "Ordnance Survey Maps for the County of Carlow," sheet 16, Killinane Church is marked "in ruins."

⁸² On the "Ordnance Survey Maps of the County of Carlow," sheet 15, Wells Church is marked out as "in ruins." Near it, the "Ancient Boundary Stone," is likewise noted.

⁸³ See Archdall's "Monasticum Hibernicum," p. 36.

⁸⁴ See Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia," p. 49.

change to have followed after this inquiry.⁸⁵ The valley, or nook, in which the church of Old Leighlin now stands, was anciently known by the name of Glen Derg, or the Red Glen. This seems established, from an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, at A.D. 1015; where we have an account, concerning the violation of a mutual league and oath, when murder was perpetrated at Leithghlinn Church, in Glen Derg.⁸⁶ The present Protestant parochial church is not here meant; but, on its site, may have stood a more ancient cathedral, and this is even very probable.⁸⁷ The graveyard is of large dimensions, and it has been used for interments, from the earliest Christian times. Fragments of old tombs and crosses, with other interesting antiquarian objects, have been turned up, in digging graves; but, few of those antiques have been preserved, or now remain for the tourist's inspection.⁸⁸ On entering the old cathedral,⁸⁹ under its solid square belfry's first stage, there may be seen some fine ribbed stone masonry, very much resembling the beautiful groined workmanship, within the belfry of Holy Cross Abbey, county of Tipperary. There are seven perforations, evidently intended for the play of ropes, attached to so many bells. Here again may we indulge our reader's fancy, with a local legend, as related by our guide. Seven silver-toned bells had been ordered from the city of Rome for this massive tower, and they had even arrived in the city of Dublin. Then these bells were placed upon waggons, to which bullocks were yoked, in order to be conveyed towards Old Leighlin. The teams laboured with difficulty along a road, skirting the western slopes of the Dublin mountains, until they approached Blessington. There, that weird creature, the red-haired woman, once more presented her unwelcome form, and the result was unpropitious.⁹⁰ Never were those *carillons*, which so me-

⁸⁵ Further interesting particulars may be found, regarding the subsequent history of this place, in the "Old Irish Ecclesiastical Record," vol. ii. The "See of Leighlin," pp. 544 to 551.

⁸⁶ In Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 786, 787, St. Moling's reputed prophecy thus runs in reference to this transaction:—

"Donndurgen, and the royal Bard of
Lances,
Shall violate friendship at Glinngerg;
mutual oaths shall not prevent
bloodshed."

In an edition of the "Four Masters," from which Mr. T. O'Connor has drawn his account, the place in question is more correctly called Glen Derg, and the church built there is also mentioned. In Mr. O'Donovan's edition, no notice has been taken of this church.

⁸⁷ See Mr. O'Connor's communication, in the MS. Carlow Letters, written for the Irish Ordnance Survey, p. 227.

⁸⁸ The writer was told by his guide, a middle-aged native of Old Leighlin, who had always resided there, that many curious pieces of oxidized iron had been found, in or about the graveyard, and that these had been forged by blacksmiths, into different objects. What appeared to have been the stand of a chalice was seen, by this man; but, it was claimed by the Protestant minister, who was thought, at that time, to possess it.

⁸⁹ Applicable to this structure are the lines of our patriotic and distinguished writer, Dr. R. R. Madden, although he addressed them to a different, and more distant fan:—

"The solemn chant is heard no more
Within that venerable pile,
The vesper hymn that softly bore
The Virgin's praise from aisle to
aisle—
The sounds, the sights, that gave a
soul
To piety, no more are there,
No more absorb each sense, control
Each thought, and wrap the mind
in prayer."

—"Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World," vol. ii., chap. xi., p. 634.

⁹⁰ The bells around St. Lascian's grand old cathedral were not destined to echo the musical clime of the Italian bell-founder, nor could the peasant of Idrone turn with a more rapt delight—

"From the tumult within and without,
to the peace that abideth on Iligh,
When the deep solemn sound from
the belfry comes down like a voice
from the sky."

See the beautiful composition of our dear and so lately deceased National Poet, Denis Florence MacCarthy, "The Bell Founder," part ii., stanza 9.

lodiously peal on continental ears, heard joyously ringing an invitation to festival celebrations, or sounding in dirge-like cadences a summons to funeral rites, within the vales of Old Leighlin. When the red-haired woman crossed the drivers' path, their bullocks failed in strength, and foundered; while their waggons broke down, and the seven sweet-toned bells ever afterwards remained at Blessington. There, for many a long day, the "musical, magical bells" trolled a rich burthen of harmonious sounds, along the heath-covered sides of the Dublin mountains. The name of St. Laserian occurs, in our old Irish Martyrologies, at the diurnal date assigned for his death.⁹¹ Even, in some of the foreign Martyrologies, St. Laserian's name is found, at the 18th of April.⁹² In his Catalogue, enumerating the chief Saints of Ireland, Father Henry Fitzsimon calls our saint, "Lafrianum Abbatem," at this same day, when giving his alphabetical list of holy Irishmen. But, in the digest of saints' names, at the various months, our saint is called, "Lasrianum,"⁹³ in an edition of his Catalogue, published by O'Sullivan Beare, where the name is rightly given as Lasrianus, Abb, at this day. The anonymous Catalogue of Irish Saints, published in the same work, also calls him Lasrianus.⁹⁴ The Martyrology of Donegal on this day records Malaissi, son of Cairrell, Abbot of Leithghlinn, in Leinster. It also states, that he belonged to the race of Fiatach Finn, King of Erin, and that he was descended from the seed of Heremon-Maithghem—so her name is here written—daughter to Aedhan, son to Gabhran, King of Alba, who was his mother.⁹⁵ A certain very ancient vellum book states, as we are informed, that Molaissi of Leithghlinn, in his manners and life, was like to Boniface the Pope.⁹⁶ It seems strange, however, that De Burgo has omitted giving the office for this renowned saint, in his "Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniæ." Certainly, this omission can hardly be accounted for, on the score of sufficient materials not being available, to such an adept in Irish ecclesiastical history, as this learned man undoubtedly was; nor should the important and ancient diocese of Leighlin want Proper Lessons, for its celebrated patron. Yet, De Burgo has left unwritten the offices of many other patrons of our Irish dioceses. The Circle of the Seasons⁹⁷ has a notice of St. Laserian, at the 18th of April; and, he was venerated, likewise, in Scotland. Thus, the Kalendar of Drummond has an entry of St. Lasren,⁹⁸ at this same date. In a Synod held at Dublin, under Alexander

⁹¹ Thus, in the Martyrology of Tallaght, at the 14th of the Kalends of May, we find this entry:—Lasoreus, id est, Molassins, Abbas Leithghlinnensis," according to the Bollandist Editor. However, in the edition of this Martyrology, published by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, at the same date, is found only, "Molaïsse Leithghlinne." See "Calendar of Irish Saints," p. xxi.

⁹² In additions to Usuard's Martyrology, printed at Lubec and Cologne, A.D. 1490, we find at this day: "S. Laceriani; Episcopi, et Confessoris." In another edition, printed at Cologne, A.D. 1521, we also meet, "Laceriano Episcopo et Confessore," with this entry interposed, "Petro Diacono et Confessore," and afterwards, "In Hibernia natalis Lafriani Abbatis et Confessoris." The Bollandist, Papebroke, remarks, that these different entries must be understood, as referring to the same person. The writer of the Florarian MS. inserts, "Lafriani Abbatis," without any addition of the place to which he belonged. He then duplicates this

mistake, by noting, "In Anglia Lasseriani Episcopi et Confessoris."

⁹³ The Bollandist Editor writes, that he has the same, with Abbot and Confessor affixed, "sub nomine Lafriani in posteriore Germanici Martyrologii editione Canisius." There, he is said to have been venerated "in Hibernia," or, as others say, "in Hispania." But Iberia had probably been inserted, owing to the omission of the letter *n* for "Ibernia." See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., xviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Lasreani, Prævius Commentarius, sec. 2, p. 543.

⁹⁴ See "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50, and cap. xii., p. 55.

⁹⁵ In proof of which, an old poem is quoted:—

"Molaïsse, a flame of fire,

Son of Maithghem of Monadh, &c."

⁹⁶ See Edition by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 104 to 107.

⁹⁷ See p. 109.

⁹⁸ Thus at xiv. Kl. Maii. Apud Hiberniam

Bicknor, Archbishop, the day of St. Laserian's departure is prescribed to be held as a Double, throughout the province of Dublin.⁹⁹ In the diocese of Leighlin, of which this holy Abbot and Bishop is special patron, this festival is celebrated, as a Double of the first class, with an Octave. The feast itself occurs, on the 18th of April. In our ancient Kalendars, at this date, his office has an honoured place;¹⁰⁰ and, it was celebrated with Nine Lessons,¹⁰¹ although, indeed, we find, it had a lesser number.¹⁰² If the relics of Saint Laserian had been preserved, in the old church of Leighlin, after his deposition, it is possible, they were taken away, or destroyed, during the tenth, or eleventh century.¹⁰³ Still, the church, in which they lay, may have escaped desecration, or destruction. At present, the modern Catholic Church, in the Town of Leighlin, Bridge, has been properly dedicated to our saint, as the local patron; we know not, if elsewhere, any other church has been placed under his invocation.

This great servant of God, like many other holy prelates, appears to have united the active to the contemplative life, as we may learn, from the record of those various saints' Acts, which have come down to our times. Indeed, the founders of our early churches were not only men, practised in the devout exercises of prayer, meditation and austere penance; they laboured much to build material edifices, in honour of the Almighty, while preparing their own and other souls, to become living temples of the Holy Ghost. There can be no manner of doubt, but their example and instruction served to spread the Gospel seeds of Divine truth, in the minds of their primitive and docile people, whose manners were not corrupted, by many so-called refinements of modern civilization. It is true, that a life of virtue and earnestness must encounter trials and opposition, at all times, and under the most favourable circumstances; but, the testimony of a serene conscience and the resolute efforts of a will rightly directed must ultimately triumph, in the contest of Faith and good works. With such motives and means for exertion and self-sacrifice, the saints have always laboured, with zeal and efficacy, in their Master's household. Having well ordered their personal concerns, example inspires other men to admire and afterwards imitate those, who seem to

Sanctus episcopus et Confessor Laserian gloriose ad Christum conscendit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 10, 11.

⁹⁹ When giving us this information, we find the following inaccurate statement, in a note appended, as found in Harris' edition of Ware's works: "The sense of these double festival are (*sic*) when, to the greater honour of the Saint the Anthems are ordered to be rehearsed entire before and after each psalm; whereas in common festivals, only the beginning of the Anthem is repeated before and after the psalm. And there are nine lessons repeated in the service; whereas in others there are but three"—Vol. i., "Bishops of Leighlin," p. 454. It should have been said, that in common festivals, which are not doubles, the beginning of the Anthem or Antiphon is repeated before each psalm; but, it is repeated entire, after each psalm; and, it is not true, that in all festivals, not doubles, there are only three lessons. Even, in the Double Offices, during the recital of Little Hours, the Antiphon is only recited in part before, but entire after those different psalms, therein occurring. At least, such is the usage, according to the Roman rite.

¹⁰⁰ Thus, the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, and which is classed B. 1, 1, formerly belonging to the Culdee Antiphonarium of Armagh Metropolitan Church, has, in its Calendar list, April 18, Kal. xiv., Maii. Sancti Laseriani episcopi et confessoris, &c.; also, a Manuscript, in Trinity College, Dublin, and classed B. 1, 3, contains, at April 18, Kal. xviii. Maii. Sancti Laseriani Episc. et Conf. Duplex fin.

¹⁰¹ In Trinity College, Dublin, a MS. classed B. 1, 4, contains, at April the 18th, Kal. xiv., Maii. Sancti Laseriani Episc. et Conf. Patron, Leighlinensis, Duplex, ix. Lect.; also, a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, and classed B. 3, 13, contains, at April the 18th, Kal. xiv., Maii, Sancti Laseriani Episc. et Conf. ix. Lect. per const. Dublin.

¹⁰² Thus, a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, and classed B. 3, 12, contains, at April 18th, Kal. xiv. Maii, Laseriani, Episc. et Conf. iii. Lect.

¹⁰³ In the years 916, 978, and 982, Leighlin was plundered. In the year 1060, it was totally destroyed, by fire. See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum."

move in this world, but with thoughts happily intent, on the prospect of future inheritance and reward. So we may account for the great religious influences and results, which fostered piety in the early Christian ages of our National Church, and which have not ceased to bring forth good fruit, even through the most unpromising seasons of her temporal misfortune, distress, and persecution.

ARTICLE II.—ST. COGITOSUS, SAPIENS, OR THE WISE. Much uncertainty prevails, regarding the identity of this wise and holy man, as recorded in our Irish Calendars. The Bollandists, who enter his festival, at this date, profess their want of knowledge respecting him;¹ and, therefore, nothing have they asserted, to clear up the mystery. This wise man is thought, by some, to have lived, and to have written, in the sixth century; on the supposition, that he had been a nephew of the great St. Brigid,² the Patroness of Ireland. There are other accounts,³ however, that might lead to the supposition, this holy man did not even belong to Ireland. Such statements are not likely to be correct; for, besides the knowledge we have, that some persons, so named, lived in our Island, we find, also, the entry of Cogitosus, Sapiens, or the Wise, inserted in the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁴ at the 18th of April. He is considered to have been the writer of St. Brigid's Life;⁵ yet, this is very doubtful. Several authors seem to assume his near family relationship, with the illustrious Abbess of Kildare,⁶ and, to have been the composer of that Life, which was first published, by Canisius.⁷ However, while the Rev. Dr. Lanigan will not admit, that Cogitosus the author flourished, so early as the sixth century;⁸ yet, there are intrinsic evidences, in his biographical Tract to show, that his place in history cannot be later than the beginning of the ninth century;⁹ for, the holy relics of St. Brigid were at Kildare,¹⁰ when he wrote.¹¹ Possevin¹² and Miræus¹³ have notices of Cogitosus, whose Life of St. Brigid has been published, by Messingham,¹⁴ and by Colgan.¹⁵

ARTICLE II.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 521.

² See her Life, already published, at the 1st day of February, with allusions to Cogitosus, and his Life of St. Brigid, chap. i.

³ Thus, the Bollandists notice, at the present day: "Cogitosi Episcopi depositio Turonis, legitur in MS. Tornacensi et pridie in Lotiensi; ubi diximus, cum nullus apud Turonenses fuerit Episcopus Cogitosus, nos non posse assequi, quis hic intelligatur."

⁴ Edited by Rev Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy, at xiii. Kal. Maii, we find COGITOSI ΕΑΡΥ.

⁵ According to Colgan.

⁶ Who is said to have died, about A.D. 523, in the time of the Elder Justinus.

⁷ In his "Antiquæ Lectiones," tomus v.

⁸ His description of this church of Kildare plainly refers to a time, much later than that period.

⁹ Some time after the beginning of the ninth century, the remains of St. Brigid were removed to Down, then a safe place, to guard them against the fury of the heathen Danes. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," at pp. 565, 629. These Danes first ravaged

Kildare, A.D. 835.

¹⁰ That Cogitosus lived before the said devastation is evident, first, from his not making, in his minute description of the church at Kildare, the least allusion to its having been ever destroyed, or to the spoliation of the shrines of St. Brigid and Conleath, which he represents as being very splendid and rich; and, secondly, from his stating, that the city of Kildare and its suburbs were a place of refuge, in which there could not be the least apprehension of any hostile attack; "Nullus carnalis adversarius, nec concursus timetur hostium." Now, remarks Dr. Lanigan, Cogitosus could not have written in this manner, after the year 836, nor even after 831 (832), in which year Kildare was plundered by Kellach, son of Bran." See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. ii., n. 18, pp. 379, 380.

¹¹ See his Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. xxxv.

¹² In Apparatu Sacro.

¹³ In "Auctario, cap. 117, p. 205.

¹⁴ In Florilegium Insule Sanctorum." See pp. 189 to 207.

¹⁵ He remarks, that the editions of Canisius and of Messingham abound in errors.

From a certain phrase,¹⁶ in the memoir of St. Brigid, some writers maintain,¹⁷ that Cogitosus was her nephew.¹⁸ Some intrinsic evidence of nepotistic and early authorship is to be found, it is supposed, where Cogitosus speaks of miracles, wrought through the power of St. Brigid, and which, not only he had heard about, but which he had even actually seen.¹⁹ Yet, from the context, in this passage, it can only be rightly inferred, that the writer witnessed these supernatural wonders, after the holy virgin's departure from this life; and, it seems most probable, they took place through her intercession, and in her convent, or in that church, where St. Brigid's venerable body had been deposited,²⁰ and where the faithful had an opportunity of visiting her shrine.²¹ Her relics were undoubtedly at Kildare, when Cogitosus penned or pronounced her panegyric. Yet, such supposed relationship may be rejected, for many reasons. Especially, Colgan could not be induced to admit it, on account of having in his possession two Menologic genealogies, in which fourteen saints of St. Brigid's family and kindred are enumerated, and there he finds no mention of Cogitosus's name, or even that of any nephew belonging to her. Besides, Brigid's different Acts, written in the Irish language, and by ancient authors, relate, that saint's father had seven sons by his wife, and that he had no daughter besides Brigid. Also, there are internal evidences in his work to show, that Cogitosus lived at too late a period, to have been St. Brigid's nephew, in the ordinary course of nature.²² The Latin word "nepos," moreover, sometimes signifies a wasteful spendthrift,²³ or a luxurious or riotous man.²⁴ However, Cogitosus might have called himself a culpable spendthrift, not on account of having lived a luxurious life, but because of his having trifled with time, or of his having wasted precious moments, in his own humble opinion. This may have been his conscientious conjecture, although in reality, he may have spent his days piously and religiously, after the example of many other holy men, who called themselves great sinners, and who believed—even when living regularly—that they were guilty of serious offences. It is supposed, Cogitosus was a monk at Kildare,²⁵ owing to his finished and detailed account of the church, in that place, for which he seems to have had a special regard; and, because he frequently calls those persons brethren, for whom his Life of St. Brigid had been particularly written. His description of the religious institutions and privileges of that protected city are supposed to

¹⁶ Towards the close of his Life of St. Brigid, we read: "Orate pro me Cogitose nepote culpabili," &c.

¹⁷ See Possevino, "In Apparatu Sacro."

¹⁸ Gerard Vossius, however, explains the words alluded to in a different sense. "Sed fortasse ob adolescentiam luxuriose transactam, culpabilem se nepotem vocat, uti Horatius dixit *discinctum nepotem*: a qua notione apud Senecam et Tertulliani *nepotati* dicuntur qui sua inutiliter profundunt."—"De Historicis Latinis," lib. iii., p. 624.

¹⁹ See *Secunda Vita S. Brigidae*, cap. xxxii., in "Trias Thaumaturga," at p. 523.

²⁰ The words of Cogitosus are "in suo monasterio, ubi ejus venerabile corpus requiescit."

²¹ It was raised, near the altar of that church, where her mortal remains were deposited. See Rev. P. J. Carew's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," chap. vi. p. 242.

²² In his prologus, Cogitosus speaks not only regarding a succession of Bishops at Kildare after Conlacth, who died in 519, and

which succession is mentioned in terms, which indicate a long lapse of time, but likewise, he represents the bishop of that See as chief over the Leinster prelates. This the bishop of Kildare was not, at least, until after the sixth century. See Ussher's "Primordia," p. 965.

²³ Thus, Horace says:—

"Quod aut avarus ut Chremes, terra
premam,
Distinctus aut perdam ut nepos."

—Epidon Liber. Ode 1, 33, 34.

²⁴ See Cicero pro Quint, num. 12.

²⁵ Thus, he must have learned many popular traditions regarding St. Brigid, and current probably during the two or three centuries, immediately succeeding her death, and in that locality, with which the illustrious virgin was most inseparably connected. Even, at the present day, various legends of St. Brigid are preserved among the peasantry, through various parts of Ireland, and especially in Kildare.

be applicable, only to some period after the sixth century,²⁶ and he cannot be placed, at a later epoch, than the beginning of the ninth century, for reasons already given.²⁷ Cogitosus flourished, A.D. 530, according to Cardinal Belarmin, who ranks him among the ecclesiastical writers.²⁸ A conjecture, that Cogitosus flourished, about the year 550, has been offered;²⁹ and, Sir James Ware³⁰ accepts apparently this period, for his living. In his Prologue to this biography, Cogitosus informs us, he was urged to undertake the labour of recording St. Brigid's virtues and Acts. He calls her a virgin of holy and revered memory. After the manner of learned authors, he endeavoured to comply with this request, by assuming his pen, while distrusting his own knowledge, ability, and powers of composition, to attempt so difficult and so delicate a task; yet, confiding in Almighty power, which can magnify the smallest object, and which caused the poor widow's house to be filled from her scant measure of oil and meal, he could not refuse humble obedience, when compelled by the prayers of his brethren. In order to avoid a charge of contumacy, he thought it advisable, to put on record, some few among many incidents handed down through those preceding him,³¹ and which he considered the best authenticated. While doing so, and without ambiguity, he thought, in the eyes of all persons, those virtues of her must shine forth, and manifest the many and great graces bestowed on Brigid. Not that the writer expected, his asserted want of memory, his incompetency and rude style, should suffice, for a proper fulfilment of this obligation, imposed on him; but, he trusted, that the good faith and daily prayers of his brethren should supply his literary deficiency.³² When the fame of Brigid's extraordinary virtues and wonderful actions were spread abroad, from all the different Irish provinces, an innumerable multitude of either sex eagerly flocked to record their vows, on the plains of the Liffey.³³ Upon the firm foundations of Faith, this holy virgin raised her monastery, which was pre-eminent among the Churches of Ireland. The roof-tree of this institute towered high, above other religious houses of the Scots, as from one sea to the other her rule extended, throughout the whole Island.³⁴

²⁶ The Festivity of St. Ængus—composed probably about the year 800—declares, that St. Brigid's church at Kildare then retained its dazzling splendour.

²⁷ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sec. ii., n. 18, pp. 379, 380.

²⁸ See "Operum," tomus vii. De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 200.

²⁹ In his Index to Lives of Irish Saints, Messingham is followed by Colgan. He refers the author's period to this time, and thinks him, to have been a contemporary of St. Brigid. See "Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum."

³⁰ See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. ii.

³¹ Colgan thinks, Cogitosus here indicates, that others before his time compiled the Acts of St. Brigid. As St. Ultan, and St. Aleran, or Aleran, surnamed the Wise, wrote the Acts of this saint, and flourished about the time of Cogitosus, they may have been alluded to; but, on this matter, he would not pronounce a definite opinion. At least, says Colgan, he had written a hymn already published by himself, in which the virtues and miracles of Brigid were briefly sketched. Cogitosus gives a few particulars regarding her, which are not there to be found. See

"Trias Thaumaturga." Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, n. 3, p. 525.

³² Perhaps, it was in consequence of previous preparation by retirement, prayer and contemplation, on his own part, as well as on that of his brethren, that Cogitosus had been induced to undertake his task, as St. John is said to have undertaken the writing of his Gospel, when urged by his brethren, and when they had engaged to fast and pray together, for the successful and happy issue of his assumed work. See St. Jerome's Prologomina in Matæum, "Opera Omnia," tomus iv., p. 3. Editio Benedictina. Also, S. Chrysostomi "Opera," Homilia 67.

³³ This river has its source in the mountains of Wicklow, whence diverging by a tortuous course, through a part of Kildare County, it falls into the Irish Sea, at Dublin. A wide and fertile plain extends along its banks, for the greater part of its course; and this was formerly called Magh Liffic, Latinized *Campus Lifficus*. On this plain, the church and nunnery of St. Brigid at Kildare were situated. They lay about twenty miles distant from Dublin.

³⁴ In this place, and in other passages, Cogitosus uses the terms *Hiberniensium* and *Scotorum*, as being synonymous. When he

While the holy Abbess provided for the spiritual wants of those subject to her, and while with mature consideration, she evinced solicitude for various churches dependent on her, in many districts ; Brigid considered it necessary to obtain the services of a bishop, to consecrate churches, and to confer ecclesiastical orders. She selected for this office, and invited for its assumption, an illustrious man, and a holy solitary, adorned with all virtues, and through whom the Almighty wrought many miracles. Him she called from the desert, and from a life of seclusion, so that, with herself, he might govern religious establishments, founded at Kildare, in his capacity of bishop, and that the priestly order should not be wanting, in the churches or institutions she had built.³⁵ The Prologue of Cogitosus ends, by his again asserting, that being compelled by his brethren, he would endeavour to relate, in a compendious manner, the virtues of this holy virgin Brigid, and those wonderful events of her early and subsequent career, without having much regard for any order his narrative might take. He intended this Tract, to be merely an abridgment, rather than a complete biography.³⁶ However, there is nothing in the words of Cogitosus to warrant a conclusion, that his narrative had been drawn from written sources. Giraldus Cambrensis borrowed³⁷ much from the Life of St. Brigid, by Cogitosus, especially in reference to what he relates, in reference to her, and to the city of Kildare, with which she had been connected. It has been maintained, by Dr. Ledwich, that the Life of St. Brigid, by Cogitosus, is supposititious,³⁸ and unworthy of credit.³⁹ Not understanding ordinary terms, used in the art of criticism, what Ledwich wishes to convey seems to be, that the tract of Cogitosus had been written in the twelfth century, on account of an allusion to Kildare church. This Ledwich incorrectly supposed, to have been built of stone,⁴⁰ from the architectural description left of it ;⁴¹ although a phrase is used⁴² to show, that it was constructed of wood.⁴³ It might have been known,⁴⁴ that Cogitosus only related some of St. Brigid's Acts, virtues, and miracles. This he has done, in the form of a

speaks of the church at Kildare, as being "caput pæne omnium Hiberniensium Ecclesiarum," he understands it as constituting the largest or most important church, or he alludes to its standing, in connexion with establishments, destined for religious women. For, in this age, before the Monasteries of Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Rathen, Lismore, Durrow, Clonfert, &c., were founded, with the exception of the church at Armagh, there was hardly any other in Ireland, larger or better built, than that at Kildare. What added greatly to the importance of this latter city, two religious congregations were then established ; one of these had been intended for nuns, and the other for monks. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Vita Secunda S. Brigidæ, n. 4, p. 525.

³⁵ Evidently, such is the meaning of Cogitosus, and the prelate to whom he alludes is Conlacth, first bishop of Kildare. Cogitosus there says : " Et postea sic unctum caput et principale omnium Episcoporum et beatissima puellarum principis felici comitatu inter se et gubernaculis omnium virtutum suam erexit principalem Ecclesiam ; amborum meritibus sua cathedra Episcopalis et puellaris, ac si vitis fructifera diffusa undique ramis crescentibus, in tota Hiberniensis insula

inolevit."

³⁶ See *ibid.* Prologus S. Cogitosus, p. 518.

³⁷ Especially, in "Topographia Hiberniæ." See J. S. Brewer's "Giraldi Cambrensis Opera," vol. v.

³⁸ See his so-called "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 166.

³⁹ Yet, in another place, he inquires, why this author of St. Brigid's Acts does not insert special particulars, relative to St. Patrick. See *ibid.*, p. 368.

⁴⁰ "Could not there be architecture without stone?" enquires Dr. Lanigan. Allusion is then made to Germany, where many fine houses are built, without either stone or brick. Ledwich probably thought, that the word "paries," or "parietes," used by Cogitosus, should be understood of stone. See "Trias Thaumaturga." Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. xxxv., pp. 523, 524.

⁴¹ By Cogitosus.

⁴² That of "parietes tabulati."

⁴³ "The fact is," as Dr. Lanigan remarks, "that Cogitosus has not a word about stone in his description of the church." See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sec. ii., n. 18, p. 380.

panegyric, and which can hardly be considered a professed biography of the illustrious virgin. Cogitosus does not even tell us, in what part of Ireland the holy Abbess was born, nor does he enter particularly into historical facts, relating to the subject of his praise. With the exception of giving her father's and mother's names, or of mentioning Macchille,⁴⁵ from whom she received the veil, as also Conlaeth,⁴⁶ Bishop of Kildare; the author of St. Brigid's second Life does not even introduce to our notice any of her contemporaries. Hence, there is no sufficient reason, why we should expect any special account of St. Patrick,⁴⁷ from Cogitosus.⁴⁸ Colgan thinks it most probable, he lived before A.D. 580;⁴⁹ he believes, also, there are internal evidences, in the tract itself, to indicate its author having been in the world, not long after St. Brigid's demise. One of these proofs is drawn, from that passage in his prologue to her Life, where it is said, that the prelates and abbesses of Kildare were foremost, and ruled in happy succession, over other Irish Bishops and Abbesses.⁵⁰ It is asserted, however, that this is an over-charged statement of Cogitosus, anxious to exalt Kildare, supposed to have been his native diocese, and without other corroboration to sustain it.⁵¹ St. Conlaeth departed this life in 519.⁵² To this latter bishop succeeded many others, in ruling over the Metropolitan See of Kildare. As the Leinster Archiepiscopate is assumed to have been established, at Sletty, previous to its removal to Kildare; it is thought, Cogitosus must have written this Life, before A.D. 594, or at least, antecedent to 598.⁵³ In the former year, we find it recorded, that Aedh, son to Ainmire, Monarch of Ireland, had been killed, by Bran Dabh, King of Leinster.⁵⁴ This latter, having caused a synod to be convoked, procured Ferns to be named as a Metropolitan See, for Leinster province,⁵⁵ and over it, St. Moedoc,⁵⁶ or Aedhan, was placed. That synod is supposed to have been convoked, a short time after the death of Aedh. As this latter event is referred, to one or other of the previous dates; so, it has been conjectured, must the composition of Cogitosus be assigned to a time antecedent, when it was supposed the archiepiscopate had not been transferred from Kildare to Ferns.⁵⁷ From the former statement, it has been inferred,⁵⁸ not alone that the Archiepiscopate of Leinster province was at Kildare, in the time of Cogitosus; but,

⁴⁴ By referring to the Tract in question.

⁴⁵ His feast has been referred, to the 20th of April.

⁴⁶ His Life is given, at the 3rd of May.

⁴⁷ His feast occurs, at the 17th of March.

⁴⁸ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. ii., sect. xi., p. 68.

⁴⁹ While treating about the Irish writers, Sir James Ware refers his period, to the sixth century. See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. ii., p. 11.

⁵⁰ However, as to whether or not, all the Abbesses and Nuns of Ireland embraced that rule, established by St. Brigid, Colgan would not undertake to affirm or deny. See "Trias Thaumaturga." Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, nn. 7, 8, p. 525.

⁵¹ See Rev. M. J. Brennan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," chap. ii., p. 36, and note, *ibid.* Rev. C. P. Meehan's edition.

⁵² See Dr. Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i.

⁵³ This is the year, assigned by Ussher for the defeat of Aedh, at the battle of Dunbolg, by Bran Dubh, and for the holding of

that Synod, in which Moedhog was appointed Metropolitan for Leinster. There, however, Ussher asserts, that the Archiepiscopate of the Leinster province had been removed, not from Kildare, but from Sletty to Ferns. See Index Chronologicus, A.D. Dxcviii., at p. 535. "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates."

⁵⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 218 to 221.

⁵⁵ St. Maidoc or Aedhan was appointed to rule over this See, and to assume the archiepiscopal office. See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 449.

⁵⁶ The festival of this holy Prelate occurs, at the 31st of January; but, the reader is more particularly referred to his Life, at that date, as also to another Life of St. Maidoc, Abbot of Clonmore, at the 11th of April.

⁵⁷ This Colgan promised to prove, in notes to be attached to the Acts of St. Moling, at the 17th of June, and in those of St. Molua, at the 4th of August. See "Trias Thaumaturga." Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, nn. 7, 8, pp. 518, 525.

also, from his words, that it might be considered certain, many bishops had succeeded to their peculiar office there, and before the period when he wrote.⁵⁹ However, the most generally received opinion is, that after Ferns had enjoyed the distinction of a metropolitane's residence for a period, Kildare subsequently displaced it, owing to the superior advantages of position or importance.⁶⁰ This must have been, after the time of St. Maidoc; yet, the fact seems to be not very clear, as to whether the dignity had been annexed to a person, or to a locality.⁶¹ In the latter contingency, the chief episcopal rule over Leinster appears to descend from Sletty to Ferns, from Ferns to Kildare, and from Kildare to Dublin.⁶² There the Leinster Archbishop has since remained fixed, since the Apostolic Legate, John Papiro, arranged it, in 1152, at the Synod of Kells.⁶³ In the Irish Menologies, a Cogitosus—possibly the writer—is commemorated as a saint, his festival being assigned, to the 18th of April. Thus, besides the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁶⁴ that of Marianus O'Gorman alludes to him, and with great commendation.⁶⁵

ARTICLE III.—ST. LASSAR, VIRGIN, DAUGHTER OF EOGHAN, OF MAIGHIN, POSSIBLY MOYNE, IN THE COUNTY OF MAYO. As in the church there are different gifts, says St. Jerome,¹ I grant that marriage is one of them, lest I should seem to oppose nature. At the same time consider, that the gift of virginity differs from that of marriage; for, if the married and virgins had the same reward, the Apostle would not have added, "But each one has his proper gift from God,² one in this manner and another in that," when he had given the precept regarding continence. This holy female appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,³ at the 18th of April, as Lasar, daughter of Eccain of Maighin. From the same authority, the Bollandists enter Lassara filia Egani de Maigin,⁴ This locality, perhaps, was identical with the present Moyne, in the barony of Tirawley, and county of Mayo. A conventual establishment for religious women may have existed there, previous to the foundation of a Franciscan Monastery, early in the fifteenth century.⁵ Its ruins are still in a good state of preservation,⁶ and they occupy a most picturesque situation,

⁵⁹ By Colgan.

⁶⁰ Before the Synod of Kells, no less than fifty-three bishoprics were in Ireland; and, their respective names are set down in the Provinciale Romanum, published by Carolus A. S. Paulo, in the Appendix to his Geography. This list is reproduced, in Rev. Joseph Bingham's "Origines Ecclesiasticæ: The Antiquities of the Christian Church," vol. i., Book ix., chap. vi., sect. 19, p. 394.

⁶¹ Such was the actual position, at the time Cogitosus wrote, when Kildare was a great city, and its bishop was a Metropolitan. See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 449.

⁶² Cogitosus strangely asserts—unless the words be an interpolation of some copyist—that the Prelate of Kildare was always an Archbishop over the Hibernian Bishops. Such surely could not have been the case, even in his time, since Armagh had been regarded always, as the great Irish Primatial See.

⁶³ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 500.

⁶⁴ See Rev. Sylvester Malone's "Church History of Ireland," chap. i., and n. (h), pp. 18, 19,

⁶⁵ It calls him "Cogitosus Sapiens."

⁶⁶ Marianus O'Gorman, at the same day, writes: "Virtus (?) Cogitosi justi et veracis nos defendit."

ARTICLE III.—² See his Treatise Adversus Jovinianum, lib. i., cap. iv., Sancti Hieronymi Steidoniensis "Opera Omnia," tomus i., p. 120. Colonix Agrippinæ, 1616, fol.

³ Sec 1 Cor. vii., 7.

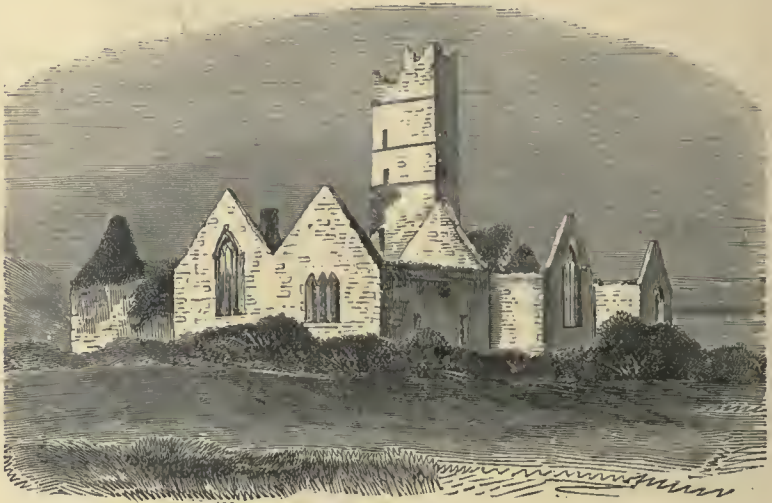
⁴ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has it *Lasar filia Eccain o Maigin*, at the same date.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 521.

⁶ Erected A.D. 1460. For an account of it, see Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 507. A view of it will be found, in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. iv., No. 158, p. 9.

⁷ The accompanying illustration from a drawing made by William F. Wakeman,

being bounded on the east by the rocky and shelving banks of the River Moy, and on the other sides by the remains of a stone wall, which defined the limits of the religious enclosure, within about four or five acres. The view towards the river conveys the eye over all the Bay of Killala, the Sligo shores of that bay, and the whole expanse of undulated and acclivitous country, to the sky-line of the Ox Mountains.⁷ A remarkable square tower rises on one of the two gable ends, which form the choir and the body of the church. Hexagon arches are turned on consoles, fixed in the gable-ends, from east to



Monastic Remains, at Moyne, County of Mayo.

west, which is a bold execution. About the convent, cloisters, and church, there is much admired stone-work.⁸ The cloisters are built on plain pillars, in couplets.⁹ The Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁰ registers the name of Lassar, virgin, and daughter to Eoghan, of Maighin, as having veneration paid her, at this date.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. EUGENE, OR EOGHAN, BISHOP. The Martyrology of Tallagh¹ has the entry Eugene, a Bishop, at the 18th of April. Also, at this date, and from the same source the Bollandists² have Eugenius Episcopus. There appears to have been a saint so denominated, who is mentioned with Diarmaid and Ængus, as also with Brigid, daughter of Dalbronagh, and they are said to have been of the Fotharte tribe, settled in the barony of

and from a sketch taken on the spot, in August, 1880, has been transferred by him to the wood, and engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁷ See the "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 819.

⁸ McParlan's "Statistical Survey of the County of Mayo," gives a description and details of these ruins.

⁹ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hiberni-

cum," p. 507.

¹⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ In the Franciscan copy, Eugen^{us} Ep^{iscopu}s is inserted, in the margin, as if an after placement.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 521.

Forth, county of Carlow. Those persons belonged to Achadh-Togartha, in the plain of Airgedross, in the territory of Idough, Ui Duach, or Hy Duach, represented by the present parish of Odogh, barony of Fassadineen, county of Kilkenny.³ But, in an Inquisition taken A.D. 1635, the district of Ui-Duach was then regarded as co-extensive with the said barony.⁴ Whether the Eoghan, thus distinguished, may be identified with the saint of this day, remains to be discovered. In another form, at this date, the Martyrology of Donegal⁵ mentions, as having veneration paid him, the name of Eoghan, Bishop.

ARTICLE V.—ST. FLORENTIN, CONFESSOR. [*Twelfth or Thirteenth Century.*] If, as a celebrated poet has declared of Tasso, that his mind “believed the magic wonders which he sung,”¹ well may the pious Christian seriously admit those many miraculous gifts, which Almighty God bestows on men, through the merits of his great adorers. Colgan, at the 24th of January, gives these following particulars, regarding our saint, with notes added.² He is mentioned, by Dempster.³ By that writer, he is said to have been a son to the king of the Scots; but, Colgan appears to adduce good reasons for denying this position, as he proves, that none of the Scottish kings had a son, bearing such a name, about that time, when Florentin is said to have flourished. However, Colgan would not undertake to give an absolute decision on the point, as to whether or not this saint had been a native of old Scotia, or Ireland, or of the modern Scotia, or Scotland, which, by the ancients, was usually styled Albania. But, for these following reasons, it was thought much more probable, that the holy man had been a native of Ireland. First, from the year 1100 to the year 1200, when the saint is said to have flourished, according to the Scottish historians themselves, there was no king or person of royal origin in Britannic Scotia, who had a son named Florentin, or Florentius.⁴ Secondly, Ireland was formerly divided into many kingdoms,⁵ and consequently many kings ruled in it, at the time alluded to; whereas, at the period St. Florentin is said to have flourished, we do not read that many kings reigned simultaneously in Scotland. And, as we have already seen, that St. Florentin was not a son to any king, who ruled over the kingdom of Scotland, it is more than probable, he must have been son to some minor Irish prince. Thirdly, our ancient Irish Annals relate, that many Florentins flourished, about the time, this saint is supposed to have lived;⁶ and these

³ See “Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,” Irish MSS. series, vol. i., part i., p. 83, nn. 5, 6.

⁴ See MS., noted, 24 C. 6, R. I. A., and Dr. O’Donovan’s “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. i., A.D. 850, n. (e).

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See Collins, “Ode on the Highlands.”

² See “Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,” xxiv. Januarii. Vita S. Florentini, pp. 157, 158.

³ See “Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum,” tomus ii., lib. vi., num. 509.

⁴ During this interval, the following kings reigned, of whom history has preserved these facts. In the first place, Edgar, who commenced his reign, A.D. 1101, died without offspring, in the year 1109. Next, Alexander, the brother of Edgar, died childless, in the

year 1125. Then David I., brother to the preceding kings, died, in the year 1153. To him was born one son, named Henry, by his Queen Matilda. Henry died before his father, and leaving three sons, viz.: Malcolm, William, and David. Malcolm, the eldest son, lived in a state of celibacy, during his whole life, and he died in the year 1165. William, brother to Malcolm, died in the year 1214, leaving two sons, Alexander and John. Hence, St. Florentins could not have been son to any of those princes. Nor could he have been the son to any of the minor Scottish chiefs, so far as Colgan might conjecture. See John Hill Burton’s “History of Scotland,” vol. ii., chap. xiii., pp. 42 to 69.

⁵ According to St. Bernard’s statement, in his Life of St. Malachy-O’Morgair.

⁶ Thus, in the year 1174, the “Annals of the Four Masters” say: “Flann [*i.e.* Flo-

were illustrious, on account of their learning and holiness of life.⁷ It is much to be desired, that more detailed particulars regarding him could be procured. Many persons, named Florentin, lived in Ireland, about his period of existence. It is considered, as not improbable, that our saint might have been a son, to one of those petty princes, ruling in our island. The headings of nineteen chapters, as found in an anonymous Life of this saint, are cited, by Dempster. These themes for the aforesaid chapters may thus be translated.

1. The King of Scotia offers the crown to his son, Florentin, and asks his opinion thereon; but, during the middle of the night, an angel warns him to depart.
2. Florentin selects thirty sons of nobles, as the companions of his journey, and to whom he shows the crown.
3. He prays to God, for means to cross the sea, when an angel from heaven brings a cross, on which he journeys.
4. With his companions, sitting on this cross, he sails over the sea.
5. Having landed, he tells each of his companions to separate, and to serve God, in solitude.
6. Approaching the city of Bonetta,⁸ he hires himself as swine-herd, for the term of thirty-two years.
7. In that place, where he acted as swine-herd, his fountain and staff remain.
8. He conducts his swine to the neighbouring Lingonians.
9. He heals blind, lame and deaf.
10. A demon, in the shape of a most beautiful female, offers him a wedding ring, telling him, that he was a son to the Scottish king.
11. He contends three days and three nights with this demon, without cessation.
12. The demon endeavours to deprive him of his senses.
13. Being about to sleep, he put his staff in the ground, and where it took root, a fountain also sprung up.
14. He takes ill, and an angel predicts his departure, revealing what sort of death he should die.
15. He departs, prescribing that he should be buried in the place, to which two bulls should draw his body, when placed on a chariot.
16. His body was brought into a thick wood, and on its approach the trees inclined their tops.
17. They consign his remains to earth, within this thick wood.
18. A church was founded, and great miracles daily took place.
19. Continuation of these miracles. This saint flourished, about the year 1200, and his memory was revered in the place of his departure, on the 24th of January, according to Dempster.⁹ Privately fleeing from Scotland, St. Florentin is said to have gone into the territory of Lotharinga, where he wrought many miracles, while endeavouring to convert souls to Christ.¹⁰ His remains repose, in the village of Bonnet,¹¹ diocese of Toul, and within the ancient territory of Campania.¹² A celebrated procession of demented persons,

rentius] O'Gorman, chief Lecturer of Armagh, and of all Ireland, a learned sage, and versed in sacred and profane philosophy, after having spent twenty-one years of study in France and England, and twenty other years in directing and governing the schools of Ireland, died happily on the Wednesday before Easter, in the seventieth year of his age."—Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. iii., pp. 12 to 15, and note (p). *Ibid.* At the year, 1195, we read: "Florence, the son of Regan O'Mulrony, Bishop of Elphin, died," *ibid.*, pp. 100, 101. This Florentin derived his origin from the Kings of Connaught. At the year, 1203, we have mention made regarding a "Florence O'Carolan, Bishop of Tyrone [*i.e.* of Derry]," who went over to Iona, with others of the Irish clergy, this year. See *ibid.*, pp. 134, 135.

⁷ Colgan, however, would not undertake to say, that any of the foregoing Florentins

had been identical with our saint. He fears, also, that the present Florentin did not flourish at the time alluded to by Dempster, who was accustomed to affix, in so many passages, the period for living and the date of death for saints, without giving an authority, or a reason for his statements. See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxiv. Januarii. Vita S. Florentini, n. 2, p. 158.

⁸ Or Bonnet. The following derivation is given for this denomination, in M. Bullet's "Memoires sur la Langue Celtique," tome i. "Bon, montagne. *At* en composition *Et* près," p. 65.

⁹ See *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, lib. vi., num. 599.

¹⁰ See Camerarius.

¹¹ Camerarius says: "tribus tantum Leucis a civitate Januillanæ."

¹² Dempster says, that a temple had been

to his tomb, took place on certain occasions; during which, many afflicted creatures were restored, to the complete rational exercise of their mental faculties. Infirm persons were for the most part healed, when they made a pilgrimage to his relics. The actions of this saint had been depicted, around the walls of his church.¹³ His festival was celebrated, on the 18th of April, according to Camerarius. The present holy man is altogether distinct from that Irish St. Florentius, who flourished, about A.D. 560;¹⁴ and, who was venerated, at Ambasia, in Gaul, and, at a time, when Germanus, Bishop of Paris, and Gildas, Bishop of Rhodéz, in Aquitaine, flourished;¹⁵ as also, from the S. Florentius, Episcopus Tungrensis,¹⁶ noted by the Bollandists,¹⁷ at the present day.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. MONINNSEN, OF MAINISTIR. From the appendix to this proper name, we may assume, probably, that he was a monk, and belonging to some particular monastery. At this date, a festival is recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ in honour of a St. Moninnsen, of Manister. There are so many localities, in different parts of Ireland, compounded with the word Mainistir, signifying “a monastery,” that in the absence of further accounts regarding this saint, it will be difficult to identify him, or his place of retreat. Quoting the Martyrology of Tallagh, as their authority, the Bollandists² enter Monindus senex de monasterio; and, if this be correct, we should probably infer, that the present holy recluse lived to an old age.

ARTICLE VII.—THE HOLY MAILDULPHUS, OF MALMESBURY, ENGLAND. [*Seventh Century.*] In the second edition of the English Martyrology, as the Bollandists state,¹ at the 18th of April, this holy man's name is found inscribed. He was a Scoto-Hibernus, according to Camden.² He passed over to England in 676.³ He was a man of great erudition and of singular piety, who, at first, led an eremitical life. Afterwards, he opened a school, and devoted himself, with his scholars, to a monastic life. The place he selected was a pleasant wood under a hill, and it was at first called Ingelborn. Here he built a little monastery, known as Maildulfel-burge⁴—indirectly called after his name—and since known as Malmesbury. He is not characterized as a saint, however, in the “Monasticon Anglicanum,” where treating about the

erected to his memory, within a thick grove, not far from the ancient city of the Lingones—now Langres—in Champagne. See “*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*,” lib. vi., num. 509.

¹³ According to Camerarius.

¹⁴ See Ussher's “*Index Chronologicus*,” at A.D. DLX., p. 531.

¹⁵ See Ussher's “*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*,” cap. xvi., p. 397, 398.

¹⁶ According to Greven's additions, to the Carthusian Bruxelles Martyrology. His feast is also referred, to the 16th of October.

¹⁷ See “*Acta Sanctorum*,” tomus ii. Aprilis xviii., among the pretermitted saints, p. 522.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters Moninnsen o Manister.

² See “*Acta Sanctorum*,” tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints,

p. 521.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See “*Acta Sanctorum*,” tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 522.

² When treating about the County of Wilts. See Gibson's Camden's “*Britannia*: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the adjacent Islands,” vol. i., cols. 103, 104, fol. Second Edition, London, 1722.

³ See L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's “*Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne*,” tome i., partie ii., chap. iv., p. 350.

⁴ In old charters, it is called Meldunum, Maldubury and Maldunburg. See “*Registrum Malmesburiense*, or the Register of Malmesbury Abbey; preserved in the Public Record Office.” Edited by J. S. Brewer, and Charles Trice Martin. In Two Volumes. London, 1879, 1880, 8vo.

erection of that religious house.⁵ He wrote many works, which are now lost, and he lived to be advanced in years.⁶ The disciple and successor of Maildolph was St. Aldelmus,⁷ who afterwards founded a stately monastery, at that place, and it was enriched with ample donations.⁸ His master was buried at Malmesbury.⁹

ARTICLE VIII.—FESTIVAL OF ST. SEPTIMUS, DEACON AND MARTYR, AT SALONA, IN DALMATIA. The feast of Septimus was celebrated, in the old Irish church, on the 18th of April, according to the Feilire of St. Ængus.¹ This holy martyr suffered for the Faith, at Salona, in Dalmatia, with St. Victorius, as a companion. The Bollandists notice them, at this date,² and they refer to that ancient Martyrology, attributed to St. Jerome, as also to other and similar records, where, however, some errors seem to have occurred.

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FEAST OF THE BLESSED MARIANUS SCOTUS. [*Eleventh Century.*] A festival of Marianus Scotus is set down, for the 17th of April;¹ but, already, we have given his Acts, at the 9th day of February.²

ARTICLE X.—REPUTED FESTIVAL FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE ABBOT DONNAN'S RELICS. Citing the Kalendar of Adam King, or James Cheyneus, as also a Scottish Breviary, the Elevation of Abbot Donnan was a feast observed, on the 18th of April, according to the Menology¹ and Ecclesiastical History² of Thomas Dempster. The Bollandists³ merely notice this statement, referring it to St. Donnan, already treated of, at the previous day.⁴

⁵ See tome i., p. 50.

⁶ See L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne," tome i., Partie ii., chap. iv., p. 351.

⁷ His feast is assigned, by the Bollandists, to the 25th of May, when his Life was to be published, with a possibility of mentioning incidentally the present holy man Maildolph.

⁸ See Gibson's Camden's "Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland," &c., vol. i., col. 104.

⁹ William of Malmesbury treats of him, in "De Gestis Regum Anglorum," lib. i., cap. 2.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Thus, is it entered, in the Leabhar Breac copy:—

Ἀγγελ ἱερὲς μαρτυρῆς
 Σαερωεοχαιν ποσωναο
 Λαιρην Λαρραρ βυαωαχ
 ἄββ Λεθγλινωε λιγαχ.

"On (the) feast of Septimus, a noble deacon, Laisren, a victorious flame (*lassar*), gentle abbot of Lethglenn, was declared to have been solaced."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. De SS. Septimo Diacono et Vic-

torico, Martyribus Salonæ in Dalmatia, p. 540.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See our Life of St. Muri-chrodac, Recluse, at January 19th, vol. i., p. 296, n. 6. At the 9th February, according to Colgan, he had a feast.

² In vol. ii. of this work.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Dempster thus enters it, in his Menologium: "xix. In Buchania Donani ejusdem abbatiss elevatione." See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

² See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus i., lib. iv., num. 377, p. 207.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 521.

⁴ In Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," the following churches and places dedicated to St. Donan are named: Kildonnan, in Kintyre; Kildonnan, in Colmonel; Castle Donnan, in Kintail; Kildonune, in Carrick; Kildonyng (?), in Perth; Kildonnan, in Arran; Kildonnan, of Egg; Kildonnan, South Uist; St. Donan's in Uig; Kildonnan, in Lochbroom; and Kildonnan, in Sutherland. See p. 325.

Nineteenth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. KILLIAN, CONFESSOR.

WE are told, by Colgan,¹ that the festival of a St. Killian, confessor, was kept on this day. We have no further account, regarding him, than this simple record, in our earliest authorities. His name, without further distinctive particulars, occurs, in the Tallagh Martyrology,² and in that of Marianus O'Gorman, as the Bollandists³ notice, when recording Killenus, in their great work, at the 19th of April. There was a Cillen, the son of his mother Derinilla,⁴ who had children by four different husbands.⁵ He is said to have belonged to Achadhcail,⁶ in the territory of Lecale, at the bank of Dundrum⁷ estuary. A very competent archæologist and ecclesiologist⁸ seems to identify his place with Rathscillan,⁹ near Maghera,¹⁰ County Down. He tells us, that Rathscillan signifies "the Rath of Cillan," and that St. Donard had a brother, named Cillen, whose church was somewhere in the neighbourhood. Among the possessions of the See of Down, at the end of the twelfth century, and recited in a patent roll,¹¹ belonging to the Tower of London, are "Rathmurval, along with Rathsillan." The former was the old name for Maghera. There is a difficulty, however, in identifying Rathscillan, as there is no place in that neighbourhood, now known by the name. Yet, as is evident, by the grouping of names, Rathsillan must have been near Maghera.¹² In a field,¹³ at Wateresk,¹⁴ are the remains of an ancient cemetery, which once was enclosed in a rath.¹⁵ This site exactly corresponds with that of the

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiv. Februarii. Vita S. Kiliani et Sociorum, n. 3, p. 331.

² At the xiii. of the Kalends of May (April 19th), there is solely an insertion, "S. Cilleni," in the Rev. Dr. Kelly's published version of this Martyrology. See "Calendar of Irish Saints," &c., p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has SCI CILLENi.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 617.

⁴ She was also the mother of St. Mura of Fahan, venerated at the 12th, and St. Domangart, at the 24th of March, and of Ailleán and Aidan, and of Mochumma of Drumbo.

⁵ According to St. Ængus the Culdee in his Tract, on the Mothers of the Irish Saints. Opuscula, lib. iv., cap. 7.

⁶ This denomination is not to be found, on the Irish Ordnance Survey Townland Maps.

⁷ The town of Dundrum, in the parish of Kilmegan, and barony of Upper Lecale, is described, on "The Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," sheet 44.

⁸ Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P., M.R.I.A. in Papers on Down and Connor, num. xviii.

See *Ulster Examiner* of July 9th, 1870.

⁹ This denomination is not to be found, on the Irish Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down. Indeed, it may be observed, that several thousand well known, and local denominations of townlands and subdivisions—many of these of ancient date and of historical notoriety—are yet missing from the Ordnance Survey Maps, although a reference to old charters, or even to the landholders' rental books, could easily supply such omissions.

¹⁰ The parish of Maghera, in the barony of Upper Iveagh, is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," sheets 43, 49.

¹¹ It is quoted, by Rev. Dr. Reeves.

¹² See the Rev. James O'Laverty's "Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., p. 53.

¹³ This belongs to a Mr. Savage, and it immediately adjoins his house.

¹⁴ This townland, in the parish of Kilmegan, and barony of Upper Lecale, is to be met with, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Down," sheets 43, 44.

¹⁵ The bodies were interred in graves lined with flag-stones, and a large granite stone

church of St. Cillen, as described by St. Ængus the Culdee. It was in the territory of Lecale, and it lay close to the estuary of Dundrum.¹⁶ It must have been in early times, like Maghera, a scene for the piety and labours of some eminent ecclesiastic. On this day, Cillen is mentioned, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁷ as having been venerated. The name of St. Killein occurs, also, in the Martyrology, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy;¹⁸ but, it does not seem possible, to recognise his place or period.

ARTICLE II.—THE SONS OF ERC, OF DARMAGH, SAID TO HAVE BEEN DURROW, KING'S COUNTY. The Martyrology of Tallagh¹ enters as a festival, MacErcca, of Dermaigh, at this same date. This place, which is Anglicised "the plain of the Oaks," is said to have been identical with the present Durrow, a parish, partly in the barony of Moycashel, county of Westmeath, but principally in that of Ballycowan, King's County. This monastery was founded, by St. Columkille,² about the year 550; and, on a site, granted by Bredan, a chief of Teffia.³ Other accounts have the foundation of Durrow, at A.D. 546.⁴ It was subsequently governed, by St. Lasren; but, St. Columba retired here, and drew up certain rules and instructions, for the future good government of this celebrated house. We have a long list of annalistic entries, referring to it, and reaching down to the time of its suppression, by Queen Elizabeth.⁵ The saints here commemorated appear to have had a second festival, at November the 12th. Marianus O'Gorman, at this day, has an entry of those holy men;⁶ and, at this date, also, quoting his authority, and that of the Tallagh Martyrology, the Bollandists enter Filii Ercae de Dermagia.⁷ The festival, in honour of the sons of Erc, of Dermagh,⁸ was celebrated, on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁹

stood in the cemetery; but, it has been rolled into a stream, which bounds the field. On this stone is inscribed a simple cross, formed by the intersection of two pair of parallel lines. Mr. Savage, who is not accountable for the barbarous removal of the incised stone, promised Rev. Mr. O'Laverty, to have it rolled back to its original position.

¹⁶ It adjoins the lands, attached to the church of Maghera, which could account for the expressions in the "Patent Roll:" "Rathmural (Maghera) along with Rathscillan." By the privileges recited, in this "Patent Roll," the bishop was empowered to create boroughs, where he thought it might be advantageous, as at Kirlath (Kilclief), Rathmural, (Maghera), to be ruled by such laws and customs, as he should select. In the "Terrier of such lands, as apertain and belong to the Bishoprick of Down and Connor"—a document of the date of 1615 is an entry—"at Rathra *alias* Mathe-rath, four townlands spiritualities and temporalities." At the margin of this entry, the name of "Jn. O'Laithlan" is entered as tenant. This name is intended, probably for O'Loughlin, and one of the townlands of Maghera is named Ballyloughlin.

¹⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

¹⁸ In the Irish Calendar, at the xiii. of the

Kalends of May (April 19th), I find this simple entry, "Cillein."—Ordnance Survey Office Copy, "Common Place Book F," p. 39.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *mac Ercca ó Dœrmaigh*.

² See his Life, at the 9th of June.

³ See Rev. Anthony Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. iii., chap. lxxv, p. 611.

⁴ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 393.

⁵ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. iii., chap. lxxv, pp. 610 to 614.

⁶ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iv., sect. ii., p. 507.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 617.

⁸ In a note, Dr. Todd says at this word, *Darmagh*. "The more recent hand adds here, 'ó Dœrmaigh, secundum Marianus,' 'Of Dermagh, according to Marianus.' It is the gloss, however, not the text of Marianus Gorman, that has the words *ó Dœrmaigh*," as he observes.

⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE III.—ST. LASSE, OR LAISSE, VIRGIN, OF CLUAIN MIND. An entry is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 19th of April, regarding St. Laisse. Following this authority, as also that of Marianus O’Gorman, the Bollandists notice her feast, at this date.² It is difficult to ascertain, where her place of Cluain Mind must be sought for; but, there is a parish,³ called Clonmines,⁴ in the barony of Shelbourne, and county of Wexford, as also, a parish, called Clonmeen,⁵ in the barony of Duhallow, and county of Cork—these are the nearest approaches to the spelling and pronunciation of that ancient name, which can be found, at present. There is a Clonmeen North and South, as also a Clonmeen wood, as townland denominations,⁶ within the parish of Rathdowney,⁷ in the barony of Clandonagh, Queen’s County. There is a Clonmin Glebe,⁸ likewise, in the parish of Gailoon,⁹ and barony of Coole, county of Fermanagh. On this day was venerated, according to the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁰ Laisse, virgin, of Cluain Mind.

ARTICLE IV.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. COLUMBAN; ABBOT AND RECLUSE, OF GHENT, IN BELGIUM. [*Tenth Century.*] At the 2nd day of February,¹ we have already given the Acts of this holy man. At the 19th of April, Camerarius has his festival,² in his Scottish Menology, which the Bollandists³ merely quote, at this date, while they refer to the 15th of February,⁴ where he is more particularly noticed.⁵ No doubt, it is to this saint, Thomas Dempster refers,⁶ where he is set down as a Recluse and a Benedictine Abbot,⁷ and where he is absurdly stated, to have lived always in Scotland, and to have been a metrical writer.⁸

ARTICLE V.—FEAST OF ST. HERMOGENES. In the Irish Church, at the 19th of April, was celebrated the festival of St. Hermogenes, as we find, from

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy enters *Larre sup Cluain Mind.*

² They call her Lassia, Virgo de Cluain-mind. See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii., Aprilis xix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 617.

³ This and the townland, so called, are described, on the “Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wexford,” sheets 40, 45.

⁴ The Abbey of Clonmines, County Wexford, sketched by Barralet, A.D. 1780, is engraved in Grose’s “Antiquities of Ireland,” vol. i., pp. 44, 45.

⁵ This parish is within the East Riding, and it is described, on the “Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork,” sheets 23, 31, 32, 40, 49. On sheet 31, the townlands Clonmeen North and Clonmeen South are distinguished.

⁶ These are noticed, on the “Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the Queen’s County,” sheet 33.

⁷ This parish is within the baronies of Clandonagh and of Clarmallagh, and described, on the “Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the Queen’s County,” sheets 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34.

⁸ See the “Ordnance Survey Townland

Maps for the County of Fermanagh,” sheet 39.

⁹ This parish, with its Islands, is parted within the respective baronies of Clankelly, of Coole, of Knockninny; all of it being shown, on the “Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Fermanagh,” sheets 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43.

¹⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ In vol. ii., of this work.

² In the Entries to his Kalendar, we read: “19 Die. Sanctus Columbanus Abbas reclusus.”—Bishop Forbes’ “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 237.

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus ii., Aprilis xix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 617.

⁴ See *ibid.*, tomus ii., Februarii xv., at pp. 846, 847.

⁵ See, also, our vol. ii., Article viii., at the 15th of February.

⁶ See “Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum,” tomus i., lib. iii., num. 281, p. 165.

⁷ Dempster places his festival, at the 13th of February, and he cites Joannes Molanus in “Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii.”

⁸ The work attributed to him is “Pie Sententiæ,” lib. i.

the Feilire of St. Ængus.¹ In a comment, on this passage, we are told, that he was the wizard, who contended with St. James,² son of Zebedee, and thereafter believed. We find one of the martyrs, who suffered at Melitina, in Armenia, called Hermogenes; and, their feast was celebrated, on the 19th of April.³ At this same date, the Bollandists⁴ have another Hermogenes included, among certain African martyrs. We believe, however, that the first of the martyrs, so named, was the one especially venerated, in the Church of Ireland.

Twentieth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. SINAG, OR SINACH, OF INISCLOGHRAN, ON LOUGH REE, COUNTY OF LONGFORD.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

THE entry of this saint's name, without any further distinction, occurs, in the Tallaght Martyrology, at the xii. of the May Kalends, or at the 20th of April.¹ The Bollandists have not a notice of his name, at this day. On the River Shannon's noble Lough Ree,² so beautifully diversified with islands, there is one of singular picturesqueness, formerly Latinized Inisense, or Insulense,³ and by the Irish called Inis Chlothrinn, said to have derived its name from Clorina,⁴ who was sister to Maeve,⁵ or Mab,⁶ Queen of Con-

ARTICLE V.—¹ In the Leabhar Breac copy we read :

LUGH ERMOGIN EPFOAIRIC
IAPPOIBU AGLIAD
Co ihu an road
Aruacht choprain chriad.

"Conspicuous Hermogenes went, after achieving his flight, to Jesus,—a splendid change!—out of (the) coldness of his poor body of clay."

² This Apostle's feast occurs, at the 1st of May.

³ Some account of their being recorded, by name, in ancient Kalendars, will be met with, in the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xix. De Sanctis Martyribus Melitinensibus Hermogene, Caio, Expedito, Arstonico, Rufo, Galata, Mitina, Arminia, Rufo, Hilario, Arstonico, Fortunato, Caio, Donato, Mavilino, pp. 619, 620. There it will be seen how divergent are the authorities cited, regarding these martyrs.

⁴ See *ibid.* De Sanctis Martyribus Afris Sericiano, Donato et Helladio, item Sericiano, Hermogene et aliis duobus, p. 620.

ARTICLE I.—¹ The insertion thus stands, "Sinaig, ocus Flann, ocus Moelochtraigh." Rev. Dr. Kelly's "Calendar of Irish Saints,"

&c., p. xxi. The following reading is in the Franciscan copy, ΣΙΝΑΙΣ ΟΥΡΥ ΡΛΑΙΝΟ ΕΤ ΠΙΛΕΙΟΤΡΑΙΣ.

² It is seventeen miles in length, and it varies from one mile to six miles in breadth. See a description of its islands and shores, in James Fraser's "Hand Book for Travellers in Ireland," num. 16, pp. 145, 146.

³ In the Monastery, Inisense or Insulense, lived the Canon Regular, Augustine Magrain, one of the most celebrated hagiographers of his time, in Ireland. He also composed a Chronicle of the country, to A. D. 1405, the year when he died. See L. Aug. Alemand's "Histoire Monastique d'Irlande," &c., p. 48. A Paris, 1690, 12mo.

⁴ The monarch of Ireland, Eochaidh Feidhlech, lived about a century before the Incarnation, and besides the celebrated Medbh or Meave, Queen of Connaught, he had other daughters and three sons, who are said to have been born at one birth, and who were named Lothur, Nor and Breas. In Irish history, these were designated the Tri Finn Eamhna, or the Three Fair Twins, or Triplets. See Eugene O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," vol. ii., Lect. vii., p. 145.

⁵ A more detailed account of this celebrated heroine will be found, in "The Irish

naught. Here, the latter is thought to have been killed, while bathing,⁷ by a stone shot from the sling of Forby, who stood and watched her from the Longford shore, while compassing her destruction.⁸ The islanders had long preserved a tradition of this murder, and localities⁹ were pointed out, in connexion with it. Here, in the sixth century, St. Diarmaid, or Diermit,¹⁰ chose his place of retreat, and he established a monastic institute, where several religious men placed themselves under his direction.¹¹ However, it seems rather unaccountable, that the pagan rather than the Christian traditions should have been more vivid, in the recollection of the islanders. Referring to the gentile period of our history, and the story to which allusion has been made, the distance between Inis Clothran and the shore of Longford County is about one English mile, so that it should require a very muscular arm to cast a stone so far, even with a sling; unless we conceive the alternative, that the Amazonian Maeve was swimming, nearer to the shore, than to the island.¹² In the Annals of the Four Masters, the present St. Sinach is said to have been of Innis Clothrainn, now Inniscloghran,¹³ or as modernized Quaker's Island.¹⁴ The island obtained this later name, owing to the circumstance of a member, belonging to the Society of Friends,¹⁵ from the north of Ireland,¹⁶ having built a small cottage,¹⁷ on Inniscloghran. It is also called Seven Churches Island.¹⁸ At present, according to Mr. Hills,¹⁹ it contains the ruins of six churches. Perhaps, it is owing to this circumstance, and to the fact, that a monastic establishment had been here, in early times, that it was called the Sacred Isle, on the Island of All Saints.²⁰ It has been contended, that as a rule, there were not seven churches, in most of those places referred to, in Ireland, as containing so many; and that, the term Seven Churches arose, in some loose popular way, without such churches

Penny Magazine," vol. i., num. 4, in the article on Ancient Irish Biography, headed "Meyv, Queen of Connaught—and Connor, King of Ulster," pp. 26 to 28.

⁶ The name of Shakespeare's fairy.

⁷ The story is thus told, by Keating, and it has been repeated by O'Flaherty, and by other writers; but, none of them knew the situation of the Island, or its distance from the land, so that they could not have known the amount of fable in the story, or even as to whether it contained anything incredible.

⁸ It is said, she was struck on the forehead, by the stone cast at her. The romantic circumstances, attending her death, are related, in Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," book i., pp. 214, 215.

⁹ Elfeet Castle, in the County of Longford, to the field called Beor Laighonn (Beorlyon) in Inis Clothrainn, is said to have been the distance, between Maeve and Forby.

¹⁰ See his Life, in vol. i., at the 10th day of January.

¹¹ L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan makes the younger St. Kieran, of Clonmacnoise, the founder of this monastery. See "Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne," tome i., Partie ii., chap. ii., p. 299.

¹² Another supposition is, that Forby must have been on the Island itself, or must have come in a *Currach* so near it, as to be able to fling the stone to that spot, pointed out by tradition; or, if either be not the case, that the *Cranntabhull* must have been some

other machine, quite different from a sling. O'Flaherty only supposes, that it was a sling.

¹³ So is it called, by the people living on the Island itself.

¹⁴ So is it called, by the people living on either shore. However, under neither title do we find it, in the General Alphabetical Index to the Ordnance Survey Denominations for Ireland.

¹⁵ This man was named Fairbrother, and originally he was a weaver, who came to reside on this isolated spot, where he lived in comparative solitude.

¹⁶ The old man himself was eighty years of age, when Mr. O'Donovan visited this Island, on the 23rd of August, 1837.

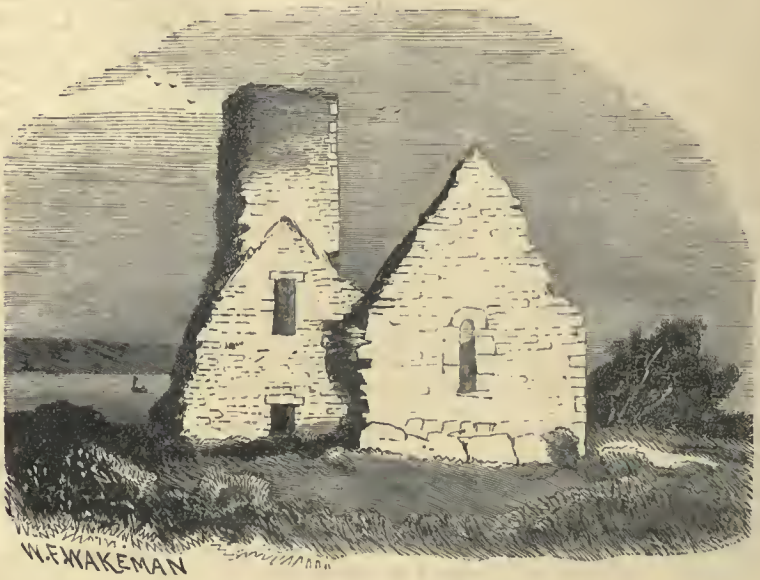
¹⁷ In this retreat, his sons were accustomed to live, during the summer season.

¹⁸ That there were really seven churches, in those localities known by that name, is a theory advanced by many writers on Irish antiquities, and that the number had, in each instance, a sacred meaning is also an opinion pretty generally maintained.

¹⁹ Mr. Gordon M. Hills has written a series of papers, intitled "Notes on the Architecture of Ireland," and these have been illustrated by beautiful, and we believe, very accurate engravings, on wood. See the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1864, part i., pp. 3 to 20, 141 to 161, 277 to 294, 411 to 426, 547 to 556.

²⁰ See L. Aug. Alemand's "Histoire Monastique d'Irlande," &c., p. 48.

having had any co-relative existence.²¹ The antiquities on the island, at present, are a Clogas, or Square Belfry,²² with a ruined church.²³ It is a beautiful little building, with lancet windows, exactly resembling those of the old church at Banagher, near Dungiven; and evidently, it is of the same age and style with the church of Kilbarry, and with the older churches, on Devenish Island, near Enniskillen. Tradition says, that this was the first church erected by St. Dermot, on Inis Clothrinn, and, again, the bell in its belfry was so loud in tone, that it sounded, so as to be heard at Roscommon—a distance of seven miles.²⁴



Church on Inishchlorin, Lough Ree.

The Greenan Meeva, towards the north-west, is the highest point of the island. Tradition says, that Meave had a castle on it, but the remains of this are very nearly effaced.²⁵ Moving on from Grianan Mevee, in a south-eastern direc-

²¹ See an Article in "The Gentleman's Magazine," part i. for 1864. pp. 550, 551.

²² John O'Donovan thus writes: "Now, one fact connected with this belfry more than puzzles me; it is about 30 feet high, and square! Whether this belfry be a modern addition—during the Gothic ages from 1100 to 1600—I am not mason enough to be a judge; but, I would say, that the rest of the church is as old as the church of Banagher. Why is not this a Round Tower? It is called a *Clogas*, and this is the general name for a Round Tower throughout Connaught.

²³ The accompanying sketch was taken on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, and it was by him transferred to the wood; it was engraved by Mrs. Millard. As this locality was celebrated, for preserving the Acts of

our Irish Saints, recorded by Augustine Magraidin; in accordance with our object, to illustrate the several volumes of this work with a Frontispiece, representing some spot, specially connected with Irish Hagiography, we give an illustration before the title-page of this volume, which presents another view of this island ruin, but from an opposite standpoint.

²⁴ At certain times, the monks of this Island used to meet those of Roscommon, at a river, called from the circumstance the Banew river (*beanuſeo*), which is as much as to say, in English, the "River of Salutation."

²⁵ James Moran, the oldest native on the Island, told Mr. John O'Donovan, that there was certainly a fort on this hill, but he could

tion, the visitor comes upon the ruins of a group, comprising six beautiful little churches, and belonging to the primitive ages of Christianity. They are situated in a field, called the Moor, *i.e.* Murus. Some of them are very small, and very much ruined; but, three are in tolerable preservation. The largest occupies the middle place, and it is in very good condition, built in the primitive style, with the exception of one Gothic window. Comparatively, this is of large size and of exquisite workmanship; it is placed in a north wall, and it is evidently of rather modern erection. In this church, also, was observed a Deartheach or penitential prison.²⁶ The natives have forgotten the names of these churches, with the exception of three, *viz.*: The Clogás, already referred to, Teampull Muire, or Lady's Church, and Teampull Diarmada, or Dermot's Church. This last was a very small one, of which only one gable now remains;²⁷ and, owing to its title, we may deem it, probably, the most ancient. Two other objects here are Innadmarfa Meeva, and Beorlyne, a field so called not many years since on this island.²⁸ If we are to credit Archdall,²⁹ St. Sinach was an Abbot there; and, this account seems probable, as he has had annalistic commemoration. Of this saint, we know but little. His death, which took place, on the 20th day of April, A.D. 719, is recorded.³⁰ This entry is not to be found, however, in the Annals of Ulster. In the Irish Calendar, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, his festival is recorded.³¹

ARTICLE II.—ST. FLANN. A festival, in honour of Flann, is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh.¹ This appears to have been the saint, who is also called Florentius, son of Malduin, son to Snetgal, son of Arnelac, son to Malduin, son of Kennfailad, son to Garuis, son of Ronan, son to Lugad, son of Sedna, son of Fergus, son to Conall Gulban.² Perhaps, he was Flann, the

not show its ring or circuit. He said, it was of stone, and that its stones were in a hedge, which then extended across the hill. In a field, situated about 40 perches to the east of this Greenan hill, lies the hollow, in which tradition says Meave was killed, with a stone cast at her, from the county of Longford side. There is no well in this hollow, at present, nor has the hollow itself any name, but it is designated, as the place where Queen Meave was killed.

²⁶ Mr. O'Donovan remarks, "It is not separate from the church, like the teach *oópéa*, *Dark house*, at Kilbarry." [At this sentence, Mr. O'Donovan has the following note, in the margin: "Dr. O'Conor translates *Dear-theach*, *Nosocomium*, an error, or rather a fabrication, to which there is scarcely a parallel to be found in the annals of literature."]'

²⁷ Mr. O'Donovan adds: "I thought I could trace the rings of forts to the west of this group of churches, but the tradition on the Island is, that those *field-works* were the enclosures of the *gardens* of the monks. Some of them were probably enclosures of their houses—(?) little houses of timber and earth."—"Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County Roscommon, collected during the Progress

of the Ordnance Survey in 1837-8," vol. ii., pp. 189 to 196. Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Athlone, August 24th, 1837.

²⁸ The foregoing particulars are given, by the late Dr. O'Donovan, who, on Wednesday, 23rd of August, 1837, hired a boat at Cruit, not far to the east of Knockerochery, and was rowed across to the Quaker's Island.

²⁹ See "Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 440.

³⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 318, 319.

³¹ Thus, at the xii. of the Calends of May (April 20th), we find "Sionac innri Clot-pann anno. 719." See Ordnance Survey Copy, formerly kept at Mountjoy Barracks, Phoenix Park, "Common Place Book F," p. 39.

ARTICLE II.—' Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. As we have already seen, the name is joined, with that of St. Sinach, in the Franciscan copy.

² The Sanelogium Genealogicum, and Seluacius, cap. i., are quoted as authority for the foregoing pedigree; but, there appears to be a typographical error admitted, in assigning his festival to the 24th of April. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columhæ, cap. iii., p. 481.

son of Nesson, three of whose of brothers are commemorated, on the 15th of March;³ as has been already stated, at that date.⁴ His name occurs, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ on this day.⁶

ARTICLE III.—ST. MOELOCHTRAIGH, OR MAELOCHTRAIGH. Like their Divine Master, the truly great among his followers labour with indefatigable zeal and love, to mitigate the afflictions of the poor, the broken-hearted and the erring. The name of this servant of Christ appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 20th of April, as Moelochtraigh. This, too, is the only saint of the name, to be found in our Calendars. It is difficult to identify him. We find, a Maelochtraigh, Abbot of Cill-Foibrigh, who died A.D. 737. But, it is not certain, if he be identical with this saint. His place has been set down as Kilbrew,² a townland and parish in the barony of Ratoath, in the county of Meath. Here, there was an ancient monastery.³ The old church of Kilbrew has been uprooted, and a Protestant edifice has been built on its site. The parish is dedicated, as we are told, to St. Brigid.⁴ This day was set apart for the veneration of Maelochtraigh, according to the Martyrology of Donegal.⁵

ARTICLE IV.—FESTIVAL OF ST. SERF, OR SAIR, OR SERVANUS, BISHOP, IN SCOTLAND. There can hardly be a doubt, that the history of this holy man has been misconceived, fabricated, or mixed with fables, during the middle ages; for, we find the transmitted Lections, in the earliest Scottish Breviaries, largely infused with the tasteless and unmeaning Legends, found in the Lives of Saints, many of which were composed in those times. There is a Manuscript Life of St. Servanus contained, in a Manuscript, belonging to the Library of Archbishop Marsh, in Dublin.¹ This is manifestly a version of the Life, made use of by Wyntoun,² in the Legend of St. Serf, or Servanus, inserted in his Chronicles.³ Thus, that Legend of St. Servanus forms the basis for Wyntoun's metrical account. In Aberdeenshire, he is commemorated, under the name of St. Sair.⁴ The Dublin Life of St. Servanus⁵ has been published,

³ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Martii. De S. Dichullo, Munissa, Neslugio et Fratribus, p. 609.

⁴ See an account of them, in vol. iii., at the 15th of March, note 15.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

⁶ In a note, Dr. Todd says, the more recent hand adds *mac maolteouim*, "Son of Maelduin."

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. As we have noted before, from the Franciscan copy, the present saint's name is united with those of St. Sinach and St. Flann, but without any further distinction.

² It is noted, townland and parish, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps of the County of Meath," sheets 38, 39.

³ See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. xxiv., pp. 139 to 141.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp.

106, 107.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Archbishop Ussher seems to allude to it, when he says: "Habetur Vita S. Servani MS. stultissimorum mendaciorum portentis undique referta."—"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., p. 353.

² In 1413, Wyntoun was prior of St. Serf's Island, in Lochleven. He there produced the Liber Cartarum Prioratus Cathedralis S. Andree et Insule supradictæ. See "Registrum Prioratus S. Andree," p. ix.

³ See William F. Skene's "Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early Memorials of Scottish History," Preface, sect. ii., p. lxxiv.

⁴ On the transmutation of the Æolic Digamma F, into the Latin pronunciation *Vau*, and as referring to this name, see Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., p. 353.

⁵ Taken from the copy, in Marsh's Library, incorrectly styled Codex Kilkenniensis, and classed vol. 3, 4, 16.

by William F. Skene;⁶ but, the whole legend is of a character, to render many of its statements very questionable. We find, in different Menologies of Scotland, the name of St. Serf, Bishop, entered at the 20th of April, corresponding with xii. of the May Kalends. The Aberdeen Breviary calls Servanus a Scot. Again, he is said to have been a Pict, on the mother's side, and her name is set down as Alma, a daughter to the King of the Cruithne;⁷ while his father is called by some Proc, King of Canaan of Egypt, and by others Obeth, son of Eliud.⁸ Thus, it appears, there is evidently great confusion, in the accounts furnished, regarding him.⁹ David Camerarius,¹⁰ and the Scottish Kalendar,¹¹ place his festival, at the 20th of April; while, by other writers, it is assigned, to the 1st July.¹² Some notices of this holy man, called Servanus, Bishop over the Orkneys, have been given as, by Thomas Dempster;¹³ and, again, he has an account of St. Serfus, as a distinct personage.¹⁴ This latter is said to have flourished, A.D. 293, and to have lived at the time of the first dawning of religion in Scotland. Dempster gives the festival of this holy man, for the 1st of August, citing the Scottish Breviary. He is said to have been elected as Bishop, and to have been taken, from a community of Culdees. With great zeal, he preached the Gospel, among the people of the Orkney Islands, not yet converted to the Christian Faith; and, although he was not the first,¹⁵ Dempster regards him as being the second, Apostle of that distant mission. The writings attributed to him, by Dempster, are, *Conciones ad Orcadianos*, Lib. i., *De Religionis Christianæ Mysteriis*, Lib. i., as also *Epistolæ ad Scoticas Ecclesias*, Lib. i.¹⁶ By some writers, his period is assigned to the fifth century;¹⁷ while others have him entered, in the time of Brude, brother to Nectan, who died A.D. 706.¹⁸ He is thought to have been identical with a Servandus,¹⁹ who was one of the companions of St. Boniface,²⁰ the circumstances of whose history are also shrouded in legend.²¹ However, it is stated,

⁶ See his "Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early Memorials of Scottish History," Appendix num. vi., pp. 412 to 420.

⁷ In that Tract on the Mothers of the Irish Saints, attributed to St. Ængus the Culdee, she is so named.

⁸ According to the Life, published by William F. Skene, where the mother is called daughter to the King of Arabia.

⁹ "It is not unlikely that there were two bishops of the name of Serf, or Servanus—one, the disciple of Palladius, the other, of Columba—and that their actions were mixed up together by our writers."—Rev. Dr. J. F. S. Gordon's "Scotchchronicon: comprising Bishop Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, enlarged; with Keeves' and Goodall's Treatises on the Culdees," vol. i., p. 42.

¹⁰ Thus: "20 Die. Sanctus Sernanus Episcopus et Confessor et Orcadensium Apostolus."—At p. 237.

¹¹ At xii. Kl. Maii. Serf, Bishop.—See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 250.

¹² This holy man is noticed, by the Bollandists, as Sernanus, at the present date. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos ii., Aprilis xx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 744.

¹³ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomos ii., lib. xvii., num. 1030, pp. 573, 574.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, num. 1032, p. 574.

¹⁵ This seems to indicate, that another St. Servanus preceded him there; but, as an instance of Dempster's recklessness of statement, the former is said to have flourished, A. D. 440, and the latter, A. D. 293. On this matter, also, see Archbishop Ussher's remarks, in "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., pp. 352, 353.

¹⁶ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomos ii., lib. xvii., num. 1032, p. 574.

¹⁷ According to the Breviary of Aberdeen.

¹⁸ According to Gray's "Scalachronica," as quoted by William F. Skene, in his Preface to the "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," p. clix.

¹⁹ See William F. Skene's work, *ibid.*, Preface, sect. viii., p. clix.

²⁰ Both are said to have been *natione Israelitici*. This curious History is taken from the Breviary of Aberdeen, Temp. Hyem., fol. lxxix. Appendix VII., pp. 421 to 423. *Ibid.*

²¹ It is said, that St. Kyrinus, or Kristinus, who flourished in Scotland, A. D. 660, had been identical with the venerable man Bonifacius, an Italian, who came into that country and founded many churches in it. See Rev. Dr. Gordon's "Scotchchronicon," vol. i., p. 66.

that some grains of truth are in it; for, churches are known to have been dedicated to the names of some, among the companions of St. Boniface,²² in those very districts, which he is thought to have evangelized. Although the existing legend of St. Servanus's life is full of historical inaccuracies, and improbable wonders; yet, we seem to have little option, but to present an abbreviated version, so that its contents may serve as a clue, to other stories and conjectures regarding him. The *Legendary Acts of St. Servanus*²³ have a miraculous account, regarding his conception and birth, with that of his brother Generatius. These are said to have been twins. Malachias, rendered "the angel of God," was a name given, likewise, to Servanus, which is interpreted "the servant of God." After the birth of our saint, he was brought to Magonius, Bishop of Alexandria, to be baptized by him, and that prelate gave him the name Servanus.²⁴ At the age of seven years, his father died; and our saint, who despised the things of this world, willingly resigned his right to rule, in favour of his brother Generatius. Servanus applied to sacred studies and science in Alexandria, where he remained for thirteen years, and where he assumed the monk's habit. By the aforesaid Bishop, he was promoted through successive orders to the priesthood. Afterwards, going into his own country, all the Cananeans joyfully elected him as their Bishop. There he constructed many churches and monasteries, serving God day and night, until an Angel warned him, after a lapse of twenty years, to depart from his own country and kindred. He wished to know, whither his steps should be directed, and an Angel then declared, that he should accompany the saint, wheresoever he might proceed, promising at the same time, to guard him against every danger and assault of the devil, to the very end of his life. Imparting a blessing to his friends, clerics and laics, Servanus left them in tears; and afterwards is told the incredible story, that coming to the banks of the Nile, with sixty thousand companions, he safely passed over, and then advancing with all of these to the shores of the Red Sea, they crossed it with dry feet. Next, he went to Jerusalem, and became its Patriarch, succeeding James, who was Bishop and Patriarch of that city. The Angel told him, to ascend the Hill of Sion, and to make its circuit. Then, he was shown that tree, from which the Cross of Christ had been cut, and he was told, to cut four staves from it. However, the saint only cut three *baculi*, and the Angel fashioned a *baculus* of larger size, which he gave to Servan. He returned to Jerusalem, but soon he received a warning, to visit Constantinople. With all of his companions, Servanus went there, and for three years, he had a hospitable reception. Thence he journeyed to the Island of Our Saviour.²⁵ Afterwards, with a great number, he came to Rome, and, at a time, also, when neither a Pope nor a Doctor was there; but, his fame having preceded him, he is said to have been elected Pope,²⁶ and to have reigned in the Chair of St. Peter for seven years, while

²² See account of him, in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 281 to 283. The 14th of March is the date assigned, for his festival.

²³ There is an account of a St. Servanus II., whom the Breviary of Aberdeen calls an Israelite, and it states, that he shone by great miracles, in the Island of Pitmook. In the pars. estiv., fol. See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 447. This may be the holy man, disguised under the present *Legendary Life*, and who is absurdly noticed, by Dempster, as flourishing, A.D. 440, and as writing *Epistolæ ad Orca-dianos*, lib. i., *Epistolæ ad Ecclesias Scoti-*

cas, lib. i. See *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1030, p. 574.

²⁴ It may be remarked, as a curious coincidence, and having connexion with our subject, that among several Martyrs in Africa, noticed by the Bollandists, at the 20th of April, one is called Servanus.

²⁵ Said to have been so called, because our Saviour had benignly come to that Island.

²⁶ How absurdly this fiction has been formed will appear, from the fact, that no Sovereign Pontiff, bearing the name of Servanus, ever occupied the Chair of St. Peter.

he performed great miracles. Then, an Angel warned him to leave Rome, for more distant places, and he obeyed to the great regret of the Romans, who wept when he left their city. Leaving some of his companions there, he brought another company of pilgrims towards the Alps, where, in a valley called Nigra, he had a dreadful vision, representing the powers of evil; but, after imparting a blessing to that place, the demons entirely deserted it. Afterwards, Servan came to the Ictean Sea, lying between France and England; but, although the water had to be crossed, this was done with dry feet, and passing from one place to another, he at last reached the river called Forthe.²⁷ At this time, St. Édheuanus²⁸ was Abbot in Scotland, and he came to the Island of Inchkeith,²⁹ to meet Servanus. These holy men had an interview, and they passed one whole night, in religious conferences. When St. Servan asked, how he could best dispose of his religious family, St. Edheuanus recommended him to seek the land of Fife, and that country, stretching from the Mons³⁰ Britannicus to the Mons Okhél.³¹ With only twenty in company, St. Servan came to Kinel, where his *baculus* was thrown beyond the sea. There it grew into a fruit-bearing tree, called in modern language Morglas. This the Angel told him should be his place of rest. Brude,³² son of Dargart, was then King of the Picts.³³ When Servan had come to Culenros,³⁴ he removed the thorns and brushwood, at this place. However, the king, not wishing that Servan should settle there, sent his satellites to murder the saint, with all of his companions. Wherefore, a judgment fell upon the king, and only for St. Servan, he was apparently about to die; but, having repented of his rash act, he gave a place for a cemetery and for a church, in Culenros. These our saint is said to have founded. He then sought the presence of St. Eudananus, to speak with him, in the Island, at Lochleven.³⁵ This was finally granted to St. Servan, as a spot suited for his sojourn.³⁶ For seven years, the holy man was engaged, in building there a monastery. Going out from it, through the whole country of Fife, he constructed different churches, which he dedicated to the Most High God. A place called Desart,³⁷ or the Dysert, is mentioned, where there was a cave; and here, a brother lived with him, who was sick. Wine was required for the invalid; but, it could not be had at the time. However, a fountain was near, and taking water from it, Servanus blessed it, and he changed it into wine. This the sick man drank; and he was healed. In the same cave, also, Servan lay in bed, one morning, after reciting Matins, when the devil approached and desired to engage, in a dispute, with the saint.³⁸ At

²⁷ Probably intended to signify the Firth of Forth, in Scotland.

²⁸ Also called St. Adamnan.

²⁹ This is an island, belonging to the parish of Kinghorn, in Fifeshire. It is supposed, to be the *Caer Guidi* of Venerable Bede; and, it seems to have been fortified, previous to his time. See an account of it, in the "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. ii., p. 105.

³⁰ Mr. Skene supposes this to have been a mistake in the Latin Life for *Mare*.

³¹ He was the venerable man who possessed Culennros in Srath Hirem, in the Comgells, between Sliabh or Ochel, and the Sea of Guidi. See Rev. Dr. Reeves' "Culdees of the British Islands," p. 124.

³² He ruled, from A.D. 697 to 706, as William F. Skene shows, in his "Celtic Scotland," vol. ii., chap. i., pp. 31, 32.

³³ "En quel temps vint Saint Servanus

en Fiffe."—"Scala Chronica."

³⁴ Now known as Culross, a parish containing the royal burgh of its own name, in Perthshire. An interesting account of it will be found, in the "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. i., pp. 334 to 336.

³⁵ An interesting account of it will be met with, in the "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. ii., pp. 328 to 330.

³⁶ Here, too, it is stated, that he established a community of *Keledei hermits*. See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Book ii., chap. vi., pp. 259, 260.

³⁷ This lay on the north side of the Firth of Forth. See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Book ii., chap. vi., p. 257.

³⁸ The following dialogue then ensued: The Demon enquired, "Art thou a wise cleric, O Servanus?" He replied: "What do you desire, most wretched of all creatures?" The Devil said: "I wish to dispute

a place called Tuligbotuan, rendered Tullbody, our saint cured a man, who had a very voracious appetite. At another place, called Tulicultrin, rendered Tullycultry, he raised the two dead sons of a poor woman to life. In Alueth, or Alva, where he was hospitably entertained, by a very poor man, who had killed the only pig he possessed; this was found to be living, on the day following. A singular story is given, about a thief, at a place called Atheren, or Airthey,³⁹ and whose theft of a sheep was discovered, in a singular manner. At Dunnensis—also called Dunning—a horrible dragon was destroyed, by the saint wielding his staff. Afterwards, the place where this occurred was called the Dragon's Valley. Three blind men, three that were lame, and three men that were deaf, came from the Alps to St. Servan, whom they entreated to work a miracle, on their behalf. Expressing his diffidence, to afford them the favour of healing; their belief in his power with God was expressed, on bended knees. Then, St. Servan blessed a certain fountain, and he caused them to wash three different times in it, when they were all restored. Having wrought various wonders, the day of his death—the 1st of July⁴⁰—arrived; for, a fever had seized upon him.⁴¹ He called his monks around him, and they wept, at the prospect of his near dissolution. He departed this life, at Dunning; but, his remains were brought for final deposition to Culenros, where he was religiously interred, psalms, hymns and canticles being heard about his grave.⁴² The foregoing accounts we find, in the *Legendary Acts*; and, the following have been drawn, from other sources. By some writers, St.

with you, and to ask you some questions." St. Servan returned for answer: "Begin, you miserable creature, begin." Satan then asked, "Where was God before he created Heaven and earth, and all his creatures." Blessed Servan said to him: "As he is not confined to any place, he was within himself; being neither bound within nor extended by any place, nor subject to the movements of time, everywhere he is whole." The Devil enquired: "For what reason hath God made creatures?" The saint returned: "Because he could not be a Creator without creatures." "Why did he make them very good?" To this question, the holy man replied: "Because God could not do evil, nor seem to be envious, as if he willed not any thing to be good but himself." The Devil said: "Where did God create Adam?" The saint said: "In Ebron." Satan asked: "Where was he after having been cast out of Paradise?" The saint replied: "Where he is forned." Satan then enquired: "How long did he remain in Paradise after his sin?" Said the saint: "Only seven hours." Satan then said: "Why did God permit Adam and Eve to sin in Paradise?" To this, the saint replied: "Because the Almighty foresees something great to come, for Christ should not have taken human flesh, but for the sin of Adam and of Eve." Satan asked: "Why could not Adam and Eve be liberated of their own accord?" Servan said, "Because they fell not of their own accord, but through another, that is, the Devil tempting them. Therefore, through another, that is, through Christ, born of one among their posterity, they are liberated." "Why did

not God form a new man, and send him to free the human race?" The saint answered "Because no one different from Adam's posterity could have belonged to us." "Why are you men, and not we demons, liberated through the Passion of Christ?" "Because the original fall was not through ourselves, but through you, Devils. But you Devils, because you were not of a fragile nature, and because you would not repent, and because of yourselves you have willingly contracted original sin, as a consequence, the Passion of Christ cannot profit you." Then the Devil, finding he could effect nothing against the saint, who overturned all his interrogatories, cried out, "O Servanus, you are wise, and no further can I dispute with you." Then the holy man replied: "Go, go, you wretch, hastily depart from this place, nor dare further to appear in it to any person." The spot was afterwards deemed most venerable, as connected with the memory of St. Servan, and because it was believed, that there the Devil could not dwell.

³⁹ All of these places, mentioned in the text, are on the north side of the Forth, and extend from Sterling to Alloa. See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Book ii., chap. vi., p. 257.

⁴⁰ At that day, more will be found, regarding St. Servanus.

⁴¹ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 446, 447.

⁴² See the Life of St. Servanus, in William F. Skene's "Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other early Memorials of Scottish History," Appendix VI., pp. 412 to 420.

Servanus is styled the first bishop, the Apostle and founder of the Orkneyan Church,⁴³ therefore he is regarded as the Patron. Again, the Lections, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, make Servanus a Scot, who lived under the rite and form of the primitive Church, until the arrival of Palladius,⁴⁴ who was sent by St. Celestine,⁴⁵ to convert the Scots, and who, finding Servanus there, ordained him as his suffragan.⁴⁶ Moved by divine inspiration, Palladius instructed him, and made Servanus his assistant.⁴⁷ He was found, we are told, at Culros. According to Boece,⁴⁸ Palladius made St. Serf a bishop, and sent him into Orkney, to instruct the rude people there in the Faith. Palladius is said to have preached, with his followers, through all Scotland.⁴⁹ The remains of Servanus were at Culros, in 1530, according to the Martyrology of Aberdeen. In Scotland, this holy man was chiefly venerated.⁵⁰ About the year 1511, George Browne, Bishop of Dunkeld, dedicated the parochial church of Petcarnia to St. Servan.⁵¹ Monivard is one of his churches, in Perthshire.⁵² Servanus is the patron of Creich and Dysart.⁵³ He was commemorated, at Dunning, where there were lands, attached to the chapel of St. Servanus.⁵⁴ In the parish church of Monkege, now called Keith-Hall, there was an altar of "St. Serwe," another form of his name. This was in Aberdeenshire.⁵⁵ The present parish church is situated, upon a portion of St. Sare's bank, where it is said St. Sare's fair was held, before its removal to Culsamond.⁵⁶ As tradition holds St. Servanus to have been a Scot, it seems probable enough, that he may have been an Irish missionary, who laboured in Scotland. However, we must have more light thrown on his personal history, to decide better, regarding his native country, and about his period.

ARTICLE V.—ST. SOBHARTAN, BISHOP. The influence of a holy bishop over his flock is greater even than that of a great king over his subjects, or than a great military commander over his troops. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this same date, we read St. Sobairthein, a Bishop. However, we have no account of his age and place, among our Irish prelates. The Martyrology of Donegal² records a festival, in honour of Sobhartan, on this day.

⁴³ For these titles, Dempster cites John Lesley, "Historia Scottorum," lib. iv., p. cxxxviii., Polydorus Virgilius' "Historia Anglorum," lib. iii., p. lviii., Antonios Possevinus' "Apparatus Sacer," p. cex.

⁴⁴ His feast occurs, at the 6th of July.

⁴⁵ See his Life, already given, at the 6th of April.

⁴⁶ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 445.

⁴⁷ See *ibid.*

⁴⁸ See Bellenden's translation of Boece's "History and Chronicles of Scotland," vol. i., Book vii., cap. 18, p. 286.

⁴⁹ See Breviary of Aberdeeo, Pars. Estiv., fol. xxv.

⁵⁰ His name is found, in a Processional Litany of the Monastery of Dunkeld, copied from a Manuscript Scotichronicon by Prior Brockie, of St. James Ratisbon. The following List of Scotch Bishops are invoked:—St. Martin, St. Ninian, St. Palladius, St. Serf, St. Patrick, St. Modoch, St. Ferranach, St. Makessoch, St. Makkoloch, St. Carnach, St. Convall, St. Baldred, St. Colmach, St. Comach, St. Kelloch, St. Fothalh, St. Cuthberch, St. Edhan, St. Finnach, St.

Colman, St. Marnach, St. Moloch, St. Nothlan, St. Marnan, St. Rumold, St. Tigernach, St. Medanach, St. Machut, St. Cormach, St. Dagamach. See Rev. Dr. Gordon's "Scotichronicon," vol. i., p. 68.

⁵¹ Alexandro Millo teste, adds Dempster, in "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1030, p. 573.

⁵² See "New Statistical Survey of Scotland," Perthshire, p. 723.

⁵³ According to Commissary Records of the Diocese of Glasgow.

⁵⁴ According to Retours, Perth, p. 954.

⁵⁵ See View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, p. 569, note.

⁵⁶ "This great fair stands to the N W. of the Church [of Culsamond], and is holden on the last Tuesday in June."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 447.

ARTICLE v.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy reads simply Sobairthein.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. SETRACH, OR SEDRACH, BISHOP. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ a St. Setrach, Bishop, is set down, on this day. There is no clue, however, to the place where he lived, or to the time when he flourished. We find mentioned, in the Martyrology of Donegal,² that Sedrach, Bishop, had veneration paid him, at this date; and, this is all the record, we can find, in connexion with his memory.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL FOR THE TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF ST. ADELARIUS. [*Eighth Century.*] The Translation of Adalaria, born in Scotia, first Bishop of Hereford, and then Apostle of Franconia, who erected a monastery for his Scots, is a feast we find placed, at the 20th of April, by Thomas Dempster;¹ while, the same writer makes him one of the companions of St. Boniface, whose martyrdom took place, on the 5th of June.² To this latter date, his chief festival is referred; although, we are told, that one eminent writer has the Natalis of St. Adalaria, at the 20th of April.³ The Bollandists⁴ notice him, at this date, also, and remark, that he is venerated in several Martyrologies, chiefly of the more recent dates. In the Breviary of Hereford,⁵ his Ecclesiastical Office is set down as a double. There seems to have been a Translation of his relics, as likewise an inspection of these, made in 1633; and, some accounts regarding these events, have been committed to writing. This holy Martyr flourished, in the eighth century.

ARTICLE VIII.—FESTIVAL OF HERODIUS. We find, in the Feilire of St. Ængus,¹ the feast of Herodius, Martyr, set down in the Stanza, for the 20th of April,² and, as an appendage, a festival at Rome, in honour of Martin, is given.³ At this date, we do not find, in the Bollandists' great collection, any notice of a Martyr, or Saint, called Herodius, so that it is difficult to find, in what part of the world he had been venerated.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. The Franciscan copy has *Seopac eapp.*

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ In his "Menologium Scotorum," we find; xx. "Herfordiæ Adalariai episcopi primi translatio, qui Franconiæ Apostolus, Scotis suis monasterium crexit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

² See Dempster's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus i., lib. i., num. 33. p. 28.

³ These are the words of Dempster:—"Colitur die v. Junii, quo passus, et translatio xx. April. Petrus Cratepolius, Uvion lib. ii., Lig. Vitæ cap. xli. Male Trithem, lib. iv. Vir. illustr. Ord. S. Bened., cap. cxxciii. ei natalem assignat xx Aprilis."—*Ibid.*

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xx. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 744.

⁵ This was printed, in 1518.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy we read:—

Laceraw heroo
Cruimthir epochoa tuile
feil ipuam pan baile
noem neopara uile.

"With (the) suffering of Herodius a priest who crucified desire, (the) feast in Rome,—right noble town!—of all Europe's saints."

² A marginal commentary is also found: "Lacés ad heródi 7ri. comune solemne sanctorum hiberniæ et britaniæ et totius eorapæ et specialiter martini."

³ Following this is a comment, in Irish, and thus translated into English, by Whitley Stokes, LL.D.:—"A great tree was in the world in the east, and the heathen used to adore it, and the Christians fasted against all the saints of Europe that the tree might fall, and forthwith it fell."

Twenty-first Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. MAELRUBIUS, OR MAOLRUBHA, OF BANGOR, COUNTY OF DOWN, AND OF APPECROSS, SCOTLAND.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

ALTHOUGH in Scottish Ecclesiastical History, there is no other saint— if we except Columkille¹—whose life-particulars are marked with greater exactness, than are those of St. Maelrubha, or whose commemorations are more numerous, especially in the west of Scotland; yet, only a few years have elapsed, since any correct account of him has appeared. The first attempt of this kind was in a communication to the “*Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*,”² by the Rev. Dr. William Reeves. Thus, the history of St. Maelrubha has gained very considerable illustration, from that distinguished Irish ecclesiastical historian and antiquary. This notice has received later additions,³ from the same writer,⁴ who afterwards had an opportunity, for visiting the scenes of St. Maelrubha’s labours, and for studying Scottish works, bearing on the individual and on his age.⁵ More recently, Bishop Forbes⁶ has entries regarding this saint. Some notices of Maolrubha are contained, in the Rev. Alban Butler’s work,⁷ at this date; but, the saint is represented as being of Abur-Crossain, and this most incorrectly is placed, in the county of Ross, in Ireland. Now, it is well known, there is no county bearing that name in Ireland. Moreover, the Rev. Alban Butler incorrectly states, that his festival was kept in Connaught, and that he was slain, by Norwegian pirates, in 721.

This saint had been descended, on the father’s side, from the Cinel-Eoghain family;⁸ and subordinately, through that branch, called the Cinel Binnigh. This clan, at an early period, had obtained a settlement, in the south-eastern part of the present county of Londonderry, where they gave name to a particular district.⁹ Maelrubha was the son of Elganach, son to Garbh, son of Ollarbach, son to Cuboirenn, son of Crimthann, son to Eochaidh Binnigh,¹⁰ son of Eoghan,¹¹ son to the celebrated Niall of the Nine

ARTICLE I.—¹ His Life will be found, at the 9th of June.

² In vol. v., July, 1849, num. 108, p. 299.

³ See “*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*,” vol. iii. Rev. Dr. Reeves’ *St. Maelrubha: His History and Churches*, Communication ii., pp. 258 to 296.

⁴ It need scarcely be observed, the substance of this exhaustive account has mainly furnished the notices, we have inserted, in the present Article.

⁵ He dates from the Vicarage, Lusk, April 20th, 1859. His communication was read before the Society, Tuesday, 14th June, 1859.

⁶ See “*Kalendars of the Scottish Saints*,” p. 382.

⁷ See “*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal saints*,” vol. iv., April xxi. He refers to Colgan’s Manuscripts.

⁸ In a gloss to the *Leabhar Breac* copy of the *Felire Anguis*, at the 21st of April, it is so stated.

⁹ Until 1591, it belonged to the principality of Tyrone. It comprehended all the modern barony of Loughinsholin, west of the River Bann. It is now comprised, in the County of Londonderry.

¹⁰ From him the Cinel Binny descended. Their territory was a sub-division of Tyrone, which extended to Tullaghoge on the south. It gave name to a rural deanery in the diocese of Derry, called Bynnagh or Bennagh. See “*Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A.D. MCCCXCVII*,” edited by the

Hostages. His mother was named Subtaire, according to a commentator's authority; the scholiast, on the *Leabhar Breac* version of the *Feilire* of St. Ængus, calls her Subthan; and, she was the daughter of Setna,¹² she being the sister—other accounts have it the kinswoman—to St. Comhgall, Abbot of Bangor.¹³ This statement of his parentage, however, involves a difficulty; for, Congall died, A.D. 601, or 602, at the age of ninety years, while Maolrubha was born, A.D. 641,¹⁴ or 642.¹⁵ The Abbey of Bangor was the cradle of many holy monks, and it was recognised, as the head of various other religious houses, from the time of its foundation, to a much later period.¹⁶ Subtan was the daughter of Setna,¹⁷ or Sedna, who was son to Eochaidh, son of Brian, son to Forgo, son of Ernan, son of Crimthann, son of Lughaidh.¹⁸ St. Maolrubha is said to have been born, on the 11th or 12th of January, A.D. 641.¹⁹ However, the accurate Annalist, Tighernach, determines²⁰ the correct date to be, the 3rd day of that month, A.D. 642.

According to the national usage of family association, St. Maelrubha became a member of St. Comgall's²¹ society, at Bangor, county of Down. There is no authority for the assertion, in earlier records, that our saint had been superior over that house, and, indeed, there is negative proof to the contrary.²² If we are to credit some writers, he appears to have succeeded Critan, the Abbot of Bangor, who died A.D. 668.²³ It would seem, that the Four Masters were led to make such a statement, from a gloss, attached to the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman. He was most probably only a subordinate member of that religious community. Maolrubha resigned the dignity of Abbot, it is said, in the year 671;²⁴ and then, he went over into Scotland,²⁵ at the age of twenty-nine. Even, after this period, his connexion with Bangor did not cease; for, his foundation in Alba was regarded, as an affiliation of the celebrated Irish establishment. There are some grounds for supposing, that, in the first instance, he spent some time, at the famous Hebridean monastery of St. Columba.²⁶ A local tradition regarding St. Maolrubha is, that he came from Iona²⁷ to Applecross,²⁸ which was the chief place of his

Rev. William Reeves, n. (y), p. 74.

¹² He died A.D. 465. He gave name to the territory of Tir-Eoghan, "the land of Eugene," or Tyrone. The peninsular portion of north-eastern Donegal, from him, was called Inis-Eoghain, or the "Island of Eugene," since known as the Barony of Inishowen.

¹³ The O'Clerys state, that Suaibhseach was the name of his mother; or, perhaps Subhthan, daughter of Sedna, the sister of Comhgall was his mother.

¹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., p. 320, n. (i).

¹⁵ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dro-more," Appendix LL, pp. 377, 378, and n. (u). *Ibid.*

¹⁶ According to Tighernach's Chronology.

¹⁷ See Father Stephen White's "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iii., pp. 21, 22.

¹⁸ According to the Tract, on the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland; while the same authority gives as an alternative name Suaibhsech, according to Mac Firbis Genealogical Manuscript, p. 791 b.

¹⁸ "Cujus atavus floruit A.D. 236."

¹⁹ This conclusion might be adduced, from the account of his death, by the Four Masters.

²⁰ When recording this saint's *obit*.

²¹ See his Life, at the 10th of May.

²² Thus, his name is not to be found in that Catalogue of Abbots, recited in the Antiphony of Bangor. See the "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. i., pp. 177 to 179.

²³ According to the Annals of Ulster and those of the Four Masters.

²⁴ According to Tighernach and the Four Masters. The Annals of Ulster have it at 670.

²⁵ The O'Clerys states: He blessed also a church in Alba, *i.e.* at Apurcrossan.

²⁶ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

²⁷ It is said, by the Messrs. Anderson, that the monks of Iona, at an early period, fixed on Applecross, as a suitable site for a supplementary monastery, to convert the northern clans. See "Guide to the Highlands."

²⁸ This is an extensive parish, on the west coast of Ross-shire, and its name among the natives is Comrich or Comaraich. For a description of it, see the "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. i., pp. 59, 60.

residence during life.²⁹ Here, it is thought, he laid the foundations of a religious establishment;³⁰ and, there, on that remote north-western coast,³¹ he chose to found a missionary station, for the sanctification of his community, and for preaching the Gospel to a yet uncultivated people. There, too, is yet shown a nearly circular space, about ten yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a low embankment of the same form. This is thought to have been the vestige of some ancient appendage of St. Maelrubha's primitive establishment, although its use is now unknown. It is said, to contain human remains; but, no one has been buried within its precincts, within the memory of man.³² Near the river, in the meadow below the church, there are traces of embankments, which are reputed to have subserved the abbot's mill, that formerly existed in this place.³³ Leaving the church, and proceeding about two miles, in a south-easterly direction, the visitor comes to a place, called *Suidhe Maree*, or "Maelrubha's Seat," which is said to have been his resting place.³⁴ About two miles south-west of the church, and near the shore, there is a small sheet of water, about a quarter of a mile long, and fifty yards wide. This is called *Loch Maree*.³⁵ All such denominations—as extend about this district—have reference to the local patron.

The name of this saint—especially in Scotland—is made up of consonants, apt to be liquefied. It occurs, in many transmutations, such as in *Mulruba*, *Malruf*, *Malrou*, *Molroy*, *Malrew*, *Mulruy*, *Mulrew*, *Melriga*,³⁶ *Marow*, *Morow*, *Marrow*, *Morew*, *Maro*, *Maroy*, *Murray*, *Mareve*;³⁷ also, in *Arow*, *Erew*, *Errew*, and *Olrou*.³⁸ A further retrenchment discards the first element of the compound name, and it gives *Rice*, *Row*, *Ru*, *Ro*, *Rufus*, and *Ruvius*; and, to crown all, the natives, on the east side of Scotland, combine both his name and title.³⁹ Thus, they run St. Malrubhe, into the euphonic forms

²⁹ Near to the bay, a little north of the place where the stream, locally known as the *Ambain Maree*, or *Maelrubha's River*, falls into the sea, is the spacious churchyard. This is entered from the south-west, near the *Applecro-s manse*.

³⁰ The parish church was built in 1817, partly upon the site of an older church, which was condemned in 1788, but, which was standing, in 1792. This is described, as "the skeleton of a parish church, still the only edifice for public worship in the parish." At the west end of it, a little north-west of the west gable of the present church, there is a spot, which is pointed out, as the burial place of the *Red Priest's* family.

³¹ In the interior is a lake, called *Loch-an-Tagart*, or "*Priest's Loch*."

³² At present, it is considered the special property of the gentry of the place; and, so strong is the disinclination to disturb the invisible owners, that many of the neighbours would rather face the enemy in the field than meddle with it, according to the *Rev. Dr. Reeves*.

³³ At the hamlet of *Camusterrach*, on the shore, there is a rude monolith, 8 feet, 3 inches, in height. It shows some traces of a cross, on the west face. See *Muir's "Ecclesiological Notes,"* p. 32.

³⁴ Off the shore opposite *Camusterrach* is an island, now called *Rugg's Island*, but marked on *Thomson's Map I.* na *nuag*, or

Saint's Isle. It contains one grave, but no other ecclesiastical traces. Lower down on the south-west side are three islands, now known as *Croulin Beg*, *Croulin Meadhonach*, and *Croulin Mor*, that is, *Little*, *Middle*, and *Great Croulin*. The first of these, which is the most northern, is marked on *Thomson's Map*, *St. Rufus Island*, a name now not locally known, but justified by the ecclesiastical traces which remain on it. It is about a mile in circumference, and it possesses the remains of a church, a portion of the wall of which, about thirty feet long, and a foot high, is still to be seen. There is no cemetery discernible, but there is a green patch below the site which is supposed to have been a garden.

³⁵ About a mile past the school-house. It is laid down on *Thomson's Map*, but the name is omitted.

³⁶ The foregoing forms preserve the radical letters.

³⁷ The foregoing forms drop *l* from *maol*; and, by a further process, they become *Máree*, *Máric*, *Máry* and *Mury*, which is the prevalent pronunciation of this name, in *Ross-shire* and *Argyle*.

³⁸ The foregoing processes drop the initial letter.

³⁹ See *Rev. William Reeves' "St. Maelrubha: His History and Churches,"* chap. i., pp. 271, 272, in "*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,*" vol. iii.

of Summaruff, Samarive, Samarevis, Samerivis, Samarvis, Samervis, Smarevis, Smarivis, Samaravis, and Summereve.⁴⁰

It is said, that St. Maelrubha founded the Church of Aporcrossan,⁴¹ A.D. 672,⁴² or 673. Other accounts have earlier dates.⁴³ The holy man was a zealous Apostle, among the Pictish people of north-western Scotland. Here, he is said to have led an austere monastic life, and in a mountainous country.⁴⁴ The modern name of his place, at first, was thought to have been unknown, by Dr. O'Donovan, who supposed, that it should be Anglicized, Abercrossan. He states, that this word Aber, which frequently enters as a compound into topographical names, in Wales and Scotland, is synonymous with an Irish word Inbher, which means, the "mouth of a river" or of a "stream," where it enters another river, or flows into the sea.⁴⁵ Afterwards, however, he was enabled to identify the place with Aporcrossan,⁴⁶ the name for an old church,⁴⁷ situated opposite the Isle of Skye, a short distance to the north of Loch Carron. The editor was indebted to the Rev. William Reeves,⁴⁸ for that identification. This latter eminent Irish ecclesiastical antiquary visited Applecross,⁴⁹ in the year 1854. Sir John Sinclair⁵⁰ states, that the shell of the old parish church remained in Applecross,⁵¹ and beside an ancient ecclesiastical building; but, he takes the name, Applecross, to be a modern one, and derived from "rows of apple-trees, which the proprietor of the estate planted in cross rows."⁵² However, a much more probable origin for the denomination of this locality⁵³ has been supplied, by Dr. Reeves, who states, that Crossan was formerly the designation of that stream, which here flowed into the bay, a little westwards from the church; while *Apur* or *Apor* was an old form of the British word *Aber*,⁵⁴ meaning "the mouth of a river."⁵⁵ The old name for

⁴⁰ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 383.

⁴¹ While the Annals of Ulster write this place simply, as *Сроран*, at A.D. 736; they have it *Апорсроран*, at 672, *арурсроран*, at 721, *арур сроран*, at 737, and *арур-сроран*, at 801. The Annals of Tighernach write *Апорсроран*, at 672, and *арурсроран*, at 673. The Annals of the Four Masters have *Апорсроран*, at 671, and 797, while they have *арурсроран*, at 721. A gloss to the Feilire of St. Ængus has it *Абур Срепен*; while the Kalendars of Marianus O'Gorman, and of the O'Clerys, have *арурсроран*, at the 21st of April.

⁴² According to the Annals of Ulster.

⁴³ The Annals of Clonmacnoise state, incorrectly, "A.D. 669, Moyle Roraie founded the church of Aporcorro-san."

⁴⁴ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April 21.

⁴⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (y), p. 282.

⁴⁶ See *Addenda et Corrigenenda* to the second volume of the "Annals of the Four Masters," p. 1191. Mr. O'Donovan remarks, that "Aporcrossan, the Church of St. Maelrubha, is evidently the place in Ross-shire in Scotland, now called, *Anglice*, Applecross."

⁴⁷ In the strath, about half a mile north-east of Applecross, is Hartfield, known as Kilvoury, or in Gaelic, as Caoill Mhourie.

See the "Old Statistical Survey of Scotland," Ac., vol. iii., p. 381.

⁴⁸ Author of the "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," and editor of several Irish Ecclesiastical Tracts.

⁴⁹ In all existing Scottish records, it is called Apilcross, or Applecross; and, even, it is thus named, in the language of the Gaelic-speaking people.

⁵⁰ See his "Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. iii., pp. 377, 379.

⁵¹ We have no means for ascertaining, at what period, *Apur* passed into *Apil*, or *Crossan* into *Cross*; but, probably, the change arose, in order to facilitate the compound pronunciation.

⁵² The Rev. Mr. Reeves, who justly rejects this derivation, thought that, by the change of liquids, *aper* was made *apel*, and that the noun *crossan* was shortened to *cross*. He cites some curious traditions and derivations, to account for the origin of this local denomination.

⁵³ In the older Scottish records, the name is variously written Appilcroce, and Appilcroce, in the Breviary of Aberdeen; Appilhors, in the Martyrology of Aberdeen; Apilcroce, in the Reg. Sec. Sig. A.D. 1540, 1583, and, likewise, Abilcors, A.D. 1548, 1549; Apilgirth, in a Manuscript of 1640, and Apelcroce, in the Retour of 1662.

⁵⁴ *Aber*, the Pictish term, prevails, on the east side of Scotland, but, it is unknown, in Ireland.

that river is now locally forgotten ; and, instead of it, the natives call it Abhuin Maree, meaning "Maree's River," although it is more usually set down as Applecross River.⁵⁶ Thus, the name of St. Maelrubius has long been associated with the place, where he first set the standard of the cross ; and, after his term on earth had been spent, a conventual life was there established. The monastery of Apurcrossan possessed a sanctuary-girth of six miles.⁵⁷ The Danes invaded this, and afterwards they perished in a smooth sea.⁵⁸ When the visitor enters Applecross cemetery, the very first object, which attracts attention, is an upright slab, that stands on the sward, facing, to the south, and bearing the figure of a collared cross. This is clear on the top and left arm, but lower down it is nearly incised in outline.⁵⁹ It is nine feet, three inches, high ; two feet, ten inches, broad ; and, two and three-quarter inches, in thickness. It is locally called, Cloch Ruairdh Mac Caoigen ;⁶⁰ and, it is said, that it formerly stood, near the mouth of the river, marking the grave of an ancient chief,⁶¹ called Ruairdh Mor Mac Caoigen.⁶² Near the parish church, an old building is to be seen ; and, it is thought to have marked the site of an old religious house.⁶³

The holy man, Maelrubha, preached in various parts of Applecross parish ; as, probably also, at Loch Carrow,⁶⁴ and at Gairloch, in Ross-shire. This parish was dedicated to our saint. It lies northwards from Applecross, and its most remarkable feature is a long narrow lake, formerly called Loch Ewe,⁶⁵ and afterwards Maree ; variously distinguished in ancient records, as Lochmaroy, Loch Mairray, Loch Marie.⁶⁶ The spots, called Suidhe Maree,⁶⁷ and Loch Maree, are commemorative of his visits. These latter names are derived from St. Maelrubius. The lake extends for eighteen miles, and it goes in a north-westerly direction. Maelrubius was patron saint of all the coast, from Applecross to Loch Broom.⁶⁸ On an Island in Lochmaree, he founded a church, which takes its name from him.⁶⁹ This is called Inis Maree,⁷⁰ or

⁵⁵ For this, the Irish use the word *Inver*, and on the west side of Scotland such term is to be met with.

⁵⁶ On the County Maps.

⁵⁷ Vernacularly, it was called, Comrich, or Comaraigh.

⁵⁸ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 383.

⁵⁹ To this Mr. Muir refers, in the following passage : "Ross-shire is known to contain among many (crosses) of ordinary merit some very fine specimens ; but the only one I have seen is that called Clach Mhor Mac-Cuagan in the burying-ground at Applecross. It is a very poor example, 9 feet 4 inches in height, exhibiting a wheel cross deeply incised on the south face with its summit above the arms cut out free."—"Ecclesiastical Notes," &c., p. 32, Edinburgh, 1855.

⁶⁰ The local tradition, concerning Ruairdh Mor Mac Caoigen, is, that he was slain, in battle with the Danes, either in this bay, or at Toscaig, where there is a bay, called Lochan a Chath, "Battle Bay."

⁶¹ The Rev. Dr. Reeves is of opinion, that he was the "Mac Oigi Apuir-hrosan ab Benchair," who happily ended his life, A.D. 801, according to the "Annals of Ulster," and that the monument is that of an ecclesiastic.

⁶² He is said to have been the former pro-

prietor of Applecross.

⁶³ A writer states, that there "the standard and soles of crucifixes are still to be seen." See the "Old Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. iii., p. 379.

⁶⁴ This parish, in Ross-shire, was sometimes designated Chombrich Mulrui, that is, "Maelrubha's Sanctuary," and sometimes Clachan Mulrui, "Maelrubha's Hamlet." It was dedicated to this saint.

⁶⁵ At the south-east end of the lake is Kinlochew, "Head of Loch Ew." On the eastern shore, opposite Inis Maree, is Lettir-Ew, "The Holm of Ew," and Port Lettir-Ew. The stream which runs from the lake into the sea is the water of Ew. The Bay which it enters is now Loch Ew. In the Loch is Inis Ew. At its head opposite the sea is Poolew. A little north is Inverew. See "Origines Parochiales Scotiae," part ii., pp. 2, 407.

⁶⁶ Retours of 1638, 1673, 1697, Ross, Nos. 87, 130, 162. See "Origines Parochiales Scotiae," pars. ii., a, p. 407.

⁶⁷ This was a small eminence, known as "Maelrubha's Seat," in Loch Carron.

⁶⁸ See Pennant's "Tour in Scotland," part ii., p. 330.

⁶⁹ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 383.

⁷⁰ The Island and the Loch are incorrectly supposed, to have been dedicated to the

Eilean Maree,⁷² "Maelrubha's Island."⁷² It is the most beautiful of the Islands.⁷³ There, too, an oratory of the saint had been formerly built; and here, it is said, he had a residence. Many of his generous and benevolent deeds are to this day recounted, by the people of this place, and of the surrounding parishes. That Island, situated about the middle of the Loch, has an ancient cemetery. The inhabitants, dwelling on the north side, continued to use this burial-ground, until the end of the last century. A number of tombstones are in the burying-place, having inscriptions and hieroglyphical figures, which few now-a-days can satisfactorily decipher. The well of St. Maelrubha, on Innis Maree, was famed for the cure of insanity;⁷⁴ and, some curious particulars have been related, regarding the practices resorted to, by those, who tested its healing properties.⁷⁵ There is a Suidhe Maree,⁷⁶ interpreted Maelrubha's seat, or resting place, in Gairloch parish, between Loch Torridon and Kinlochew; and, traces of the old veneration for St. Maelrubha appear to have come down to our own times.⁷⁷

Sometimes, our saint crossed over to Skye, and at Ashaig,⁷⁸ on the north-east coast, between Kyleakin and Broadford, he founded a church;⁷⁹ and there is a cemetery, as also, Tobar Ashig, a beautiful spring. In the parish of Strath,⁸⁰ in Skye, a legend prevails, that St. Maelrubha used to preach at Askimilruba—now called Ashig—and that he hung a bell on a tree,⁸¹ where it remained for centuries. Subsequently, however, it was removed,⁸² to the church of Strath.⁸³ As such relics were never wilfully destroyed, by the people of those localities, where they had been preserved, it may possibly be yet in existence.⁸⁴ The remains of a cell, at Kilmarie,⁸⁵ in this parish—not as has hitherto been explained "St. Mary's Church," but "Marie's" or "Mael-

Blessed Virgin Mary.

⁷² A writer, in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xiv., 2, p. 91, states another conjecture, which is an absurd one, "that some of the Danish kings were buried in this island, and that the original name of it was Eilean nan Rìgh, which came to be pronounced "Eilean Maree."

⁷³ "In the midst is a circular dyke of stones, with a regular narrow entrance; the inner part has been used for ages as a burial-place, and is still in use. . . . A stump of a tree is shown as an altar, probably the memorial of one of stone."—Pennant's "Tour in Scotland," part ii., p. 330.

⁷⁴ The others had only a few trees sprinkled over their surface, when seen by Pennant, in 1772.

⁷⁵ See Joseph Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian Times," First Series, Lecture v., p. 193, note 1.

⁷⁶ Pennant, who visited this place in 1772, relates: "The patient is brought into the sacred island, is made to kneel before the altar, where his attendants leave an offering in money; he is then brought to the well, and sips some of the holy water; a second offering is made; that done, he is thrice dipped in the lake; and the same operation is repeated every day for some weeks."

⁷⁷ In the last century, it was a usual thing, for travellers to leave some votive offering, at any of the places so named, if this were only a stone, a stick, a rag, &c. See

Pennant's "Tour in Scotland," part ii., p. 330.

⁷⁸ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' article, "Saint Maelrubha: his History and Churches," in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. iii., pp. 286 to 289.

⁷⁹ This name, with Maelrubha, is evidently the origin of the compound Askimilruba.

⁸⁰ This place is called Aisk, in the "Old Statistical Survey of Scotland," Ac. xvi., p. 226.

⁸¹ In the west of Skye, it lies to the south of Applecross. It was formerly called Kilcrist, in Askimilruba. Blaeuw marks Askemorrury here, and Macfarlane gives Askemorrury or Morrury. In all these names, we discover the phonetic element of Maelrubha, as denoting his connexion with the district.

⁸² It was dumb all the week, till sunrise on Sunday morning, when it rang of its own accord till sunset.

⁸³ See Rev. William Reeves' account of St. Maelrubha's History and Churches in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. iii., p. 291.

⁸⁴ There, it ever afterwards remained dumb; and the tree, on which it had so long hung, soon after withered away.

⁸⁵ See Joseph Andrews' "Scotland in Early Christian Times," First Series, Lecture v., p. 213, and ii. 1.

⁸⁶ See "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Ac. xiv., pp. 1, 305.

rubha's Church"⁸⁶—are to be found. The church is marked as Kilmore,⁸⁷ on Thomson's Map,⁸⁸ and, it is on the west shore of Loch Slapin, in the Aird of Strath.⁸⁹

At Apurcrossan, St. Maelrubha presided as Abbot, for fifty-one years;⁹⁰ and, according to the most probable accounts, he there died a natural death, at the age of eighty, as Irish records state. He departed, at Ferintosh, when in the discharge of his sacred calling, according to another statement. Before he expired, the holy man gave directions, that four men should be sent for to Applecross, who should convey his body thither. But, when his body was placed on rests, and laid outside of the chamber, where he died, in order to its being carried to burial; the united efforts of all the people assembled were insufficient, for its removal. It so happened, that the Ferintosh people neglected to fulfil his dying injunctions, for they wished to retain his remains, in their own churchyard. Perceiving that some unseen agency operated against them, they sent for four Applecross men. These lifted the coffin, at once, and they carried it with such ease, as to rest only twice upon the road;—first, at Kennlochewe, at a place called Suidhe, and, secondly at Bealach an tsuidhe, between Shieldag and Applecross. On reaching his last home, St. Maelrubha was solemnly interred in the churchyard,⁹¹ and that spot, which is supposed to be his grave, is marked by a little hillock, called Claoth Maree.⁹² His tomb-stone, it is said, was sent from Norway, by the King's daughter, and its material was red granite. Some fragments of it are lying about the churchyard.⁹³

The Scottish historians vary, as to the death St. Maelrubha endured, which they deem to have been martyrdom. He was massacred in Urquhard,⁹⁴ according to the Scottish accounts,⁹⁵ and in his own church, by Norwegians, who are said to have wounded him, and left him for dead. But, during three days, he was consoled, by the Angels of God. A bright light revealed him. After receiving the body of the Immaculate Lamb, he yielded up his spirit, in a place, where a chapel⁹⁶ was afterwards built. It was afterwards erected, into a parochial church; and, to this day, it is called Urquhard,⁹⁷ or Urquhart. The local tradition preserved here is, that St. Maree died, in this

⁸⁶ See "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," part ii., pp. 1, 344.

⁸⁷ Kilmori, in the "Old Statistical Survey of Scotland," Ac. vol. xvi., p. 226.

⁸⁸ In Black's County Atlas, it is more correctly written Kilmaree.

⁸⁹ Or, in the south-western part of the parish.

⁹⁰ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 383.

⁹¹ It is believed, that a man, who takes about his person a little earth from this churchyard, may travel the world round, and that he will safely return to the neighbouring bay; also, that no one can commit suicide or otherwise injure himself, when within view of this spot. See "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. iii. At 14th June, 1859, Article ii., "St. Maelrubha: His History and Churches," pp. 278, 279.

⁹² Beyond this is the eastern boundary of the churchyard. In the field outside, at a little distance on the north-east, there is a mound, which is said to have been employed

as an altar, in ancient times.

⁹³ It was broken, when the present manse was building, and with the debris of the old ruin, it was carted away for the walls of the dwelling-house. But, in the midst of the proceeding, the work was suspended, in consequence of a dream, which the master-mason had, wherein he was warned not to touch that stone. Soon, afterwards, he was thrown from the scaffolding, and his skull was fractured, on the self-same object of his impiety and dream.

⁹⁴ This parish is situate, in that peninsular portion of Ross-shire, which is at its south-eastern extremity, and lying between Cromarty and Moray Fiith. It is called, the Black Isle; and, it must be distinguished from parishes, bearing the same name, in Inverness and Elgin.

⁹⁵ See "Breviarium Aberdonense," pars. Æstiva, fol. 70.

⁹⁶ "Ex inciso robore satis decenter extracta."

⁹⁷ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 383.

place; and, although this was not his principal church, the parishioners endeavoured to detain his body. However, it was eventually removed to Applecross. Here, his body was buried, in his own monastery, and there he was venerated as a Martyr.⁹⁸ From the similarity of sound, the name of Maelrubha has been confounded with St. Rufus, or Ruphus,⁹⁹ Bishop and Martyr of Capua.¹⁰⁰ This may account for the Scottish commemoration being different, from that of Ireland; for, finding St. Ruphus' day fixed through Christendom, at the 27th of August, the early compilers of the Scottish Calendar grafted the name and memory of Mael-Rubha, on the same date, thus inserting the lessons for one saint, within the office for the other.¹⁰¹

St. Maelrubha departed this life, on the 21st day of April,¹⁰² A.D. 721,¹⁰³ having lived eighty years, three months, and nine days.¹⁰⁴ All the Irish Calendars are unanimous, in assigning his festival to this date. The Scottish authorities most usually place his festival, at the 27th of August. The Irish accounts regarding him seem most circumstantial; and, the Scotch writers appear to have mistaken his festival, for that of another saint. Their accounts, likewise, have been gathered, from debased and comparatively modern tradition. At the 21st of April, the date for St. Maelrubha's departure occurs, in the Feilire of St. Ængus.¹⁰⁵ The name, Maolrubhach Bannchair, is the simple entry we find, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹⁰⁶ at this date. The Calendar of Marianus O'Gorman, which was compiled about the year 1167, places his festival, at the same date;¹⁰⁷ while a gloss, attached to it, commemorates him, as Abbot of Bangor.¹⁰⁸ The Kalendar of Drummond¹⁰⁹ notices this festival, at the 21st of April. On this day, the Martyrology of Donegal¹¹⁰ mentions, that veneration was paid to Maelrubha, son of Ealganach, descended from the race of Eoghan, son to Niall, Abbot of Bennchar, or Bangor. At the same date, or xi. of the May Calends, the Irish Calendar, in the Royal Irish Academy, has notices of St. Maolrubha.¹¹¹ The Rev. Alban Butler,¹¹² and the Circle of the Seasons,¹¹³ mention St. Malrubius, Martyr, at the 21st of April. After death, his memory began to take possession of men's minds; but, we can hardly well account for the loss of his anniversary festi-

⁹⁸ See Rev. Thomas Innes' "Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," Chronological Memoirs, p. 319.

⁹⁹ This saint is said to have suffered martyrdom, under the Emperor Diocletian.

¹⁰⁰ His feast occurs, in the Roman Calendar, at the 27th of August.

¹⁰¹ Such is the opinion of the Rev. William Reeves.

¹⁰² At a different date, we find an entry in the Martyrology of Aberdeen: "vj Kal. Sep. Appilhors, *Ross-Dioc.* S. Malrubius." See Cosmo Innes' "Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis," vol. i., Preface, Appendix, No. 1, p. lxxxvi.

¹⁰³ "An. dccxxi. *Maelrubai* in *Apurcrosson*, anno lxxx. etatis sue."—"Annales Ultonienses," p. 77. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," vol. iv.

¹⁰⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 319, 320, 321.

¹⁰⁵ The following stanza, from the Leabhar Breac copy, thus commemorates him:—

IN ALPAIN CONGLAINE
 149LECUO CECHRUBA
 LUO UANN CONAMACHAIR
 APMBRACHAIR MOELRUBA.

"In Scotland with purity, after leaving every happiness, went from us with his mother our brother Maelrubai."

¹⁰⁶ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy, we read, MAELRUBAI AB BENN.

¹⁰⁷ The entry is MAELRUBA NAEM, "Maelrubha the holy."

¹⁰⁸ This entry is ABB BENCHAR, "Abbot of Benchar."

¹⁰⁹ At ix. Kl. Maii. "In Britannia Sanctus Confessor Maelrube cum Sancta matre ad Christum consendit."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

¹¹¹ It adds: "Ἐλισθαν ἄ ἀοιρ ἀη ταν ἰὸ βροῖδ ἄ πριονατο ἀνο ὅμοι. 721." "Common Place Book," F, p. 39.

¹¹² See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and

val. This, however, seems to have been transferred, to the month of August; but, it is probable, in the lapse of time, some popular usages of an objectionable character were introduced, and became abuses.¹¹⁴ For neglecting the saint's feast in harvest, certain people's houses were burned; but, those of the men, who respected it, were safely preserved.¹¹⁵ It would even seem, that as our saint's name had been identified with Bangor, in Ireland; a member of the religious family of Apurcrossan, named Mac Oigi, became Abbot over that house, and happily departed this life, A.D. 801.

Besides Applecross, Lough Carron, Urquhart, Strath, and Gairloch, we find traces of the popular reverence for St. Maelrubha, at Contan,¹¹⁶ or Contin, a parish, which is situated eastwards, in Ross-shire,¹¹⁷ and where a festival or fair was formerly kept, on the last Wednesday of August, old style.¹¹⁸ This was familiarly known as the August Market.¹¹⁹ It was called the Feil-Maree.¹²⁰ The parish church is pleasantly situated on a glebe, which is insulated by the River Rasay. It is an ancient building, but somewhat disguised and disfigured, by modern changes. A quarter of a mile from the church,¹²¹ there is a burying-ground, which is called Praes Maree, or "Maelrubha's Bush," in the Mains¹²² of Coul.¹²³ This is, at present, well enclosed and kept in very neat order. Shrubs, gravel-walks, and monumental slabs of the Makenzies,¹²⁴ are there; and, probably, this is the re-occupied *relig*, or ancient cemetery, dedicated to our saint. In the Island of Skye, at the head of Loch Egnort, in Brackadale,¹²⁵ is Kilmolrui,¹²⁶ and it lies in that part of the parish, which is called Minginish; about the time of St. Maree's day, there was an annual tryst.¹²⁷ It has been supposed, that the old church of Ceiltarraglan, which is situated to the north of Loch Portree, may have been dedicated to St. Maelrubha.¹²⁸ The saint certainly had a commemoration, in the neighbourhood. According to a respectable authority, there was held in September "Samarive's fair at Keith; and at Portree, within the Isle of Skye, first Tuesday."¹²⁹ The parish church of Arasaig,¹³⁰ in Inverness-shire, was formerly

other principal Saints," vol. iv.

¹¹³ See at p. 112.

¹¹⁴ There is a very curious account of sacrifices, asserted to have been practised at Appleross, on the 25th of August to St. Mourie, as the people called the present holy man, in the seventeenth century. The actions of the Presbytery to suppress these "abominations" is on record; and, they are so full of a deep *animus*, on the part of the ministers, to prosecute the principals in these "superstitious practices," that we may well doubt, if there be not some exaggeration, in the charges of sacrificing bulls, and in pouring milk upon hills as oblations, on St. Mourie's day. See "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. iv.

¹¹⁵ The Breviary of Aberdeen, Pars. Æstiva, fol. 89a—91.

¹¹⁶ According to the Breviary of Aberdeen, Pars Æstiva, fol. 70.

¹¹⁷ On the road to Dingwall.

¹¹⁸ While the men of Ross were keeping this saint's festival, in Contan, the Danes surprised them, and burned his church, with more than one hundred men and women in it. Whereupon, the Ross men attacked them, and slew all save 30 out of 500.

¹¹⁹ Some years ago, this fair was removed

to Dingwall.

¹²⁰ The word *Feil* is the Irish for a "festival," and it is a modification of the Latin *Vigilia*. From this comes Feilire, "a Calendar." A fair held on the saint's day, or his *feil*, came itself to be called "a feil." Like the Irish Pattern, it is a corruption, to express the Patron of a Saint.

¹²¹ It is a little way to the left of the road, which leads to Dingwall.

¹²² This is called, in the old charters *Meyne Maney*, *Mainzie*. See "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," part ii., 2, pp. 505, 506.

¹²³ The Applecross Mackenzies are a branch of this Coul family.

¹²⁴ Of the Coul family.

¹²⁵ St. Assint was the patron saint of Brackadale proper.

¹²⁶ So *Blau* marks it.

¹²⁷ This was held in September, probably the early part, new style; or, the close of August, old style.

¹²⁸ See the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Ac. vol. xiv., 1, p. 219.

¹²⁹ See "Aberdeen Prognostication," for 1703.

¹³⁰ This parish lies to the north of and it is now united to Ardnamurchan.

styled Kilmolroy, in Arisik, or Kilmaroy, or Kilvorie,¹³² in honour of this saint; while, it had been thought,¹³² but incorrectly, that its patron was the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹³³ On the Island of Harris, the Church of St. Maelrube,¹³⁴ on old authority,¹³⁵ or of St. Rufus, is mentioned, as having been on the mainland,¹³⁶ and on the east side.¹³⁷ On the west side of the parish of Muckairn¹³⁸ is Kilvary,¹³⁹ which is situated north-east of Oban, near the road to Loch Etive. Again, the later Scottish topographers¹⁴⁰ have mistaken the derivation. Here, certain relics of our saint had been preserved. Thus, the Arwachyll, meaning the crozier, of St. Maelrubha, was kept by its Dewar, in the Isle of Kilmolrue,¹⁴¹ in the parish of Muckairn, A.D. 1518,¹⁴² when Sir John Campbell of Calder received the services of the Clan Mac Duinlaves, and of others, who were sworn upon it, and upon the Mass Book. There is a place, called Ballindore, that is Baile-an-deoraidh, "town of the religious stranger." This is situated, at the south-west of Kilespicerrill old church.¹⁴³ The parish of Craignish, about the middle of the west coast of Argyllshire, has been called Kilmalrew, and Kilmolrew,¹⁴⁴ as also, sometimes, Kilmorie.¹⁴⁵ Its true derivation has been mistaken; for, Scottish writers have thought, but incorrectly, that it had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁶ However, the proper explanation is, Cill-Maelrubha, meaning "Maelrubha's Church."¹⁴⁷ A parish of Islay was Killarrow,¹⁴⁸ the church of which was near the centre of the island. It is found written and called Kilru, interpreted "Cella Ruvii,"¹⁴⁹ thus referring it to our saint.¹⁵⁰ The parish of Strathlachlan, united to Strachur, on the east side of Loch Fyne, south of Inverary, was formerly

¹³² See "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 200.

¹³³ Thus, a writer states: "Kilmaria, the walls of which remain at Keppoch in Arasaig, dedicated to the Virgin Mary."—"Old Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xx., p. 287.

¹³⁴ Later accounts have perpetuated the error; such as the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. vii., 2, p. 147, and "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 200.

¹³⁵ On the west side of the entrance to Loch Seaforth.

¹³⁶ The map, in the "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," thus marks it.

¹³⁷ See Martin's "Western Isles of Scotland," pp. 47, 49.

¹³⁸ See the "Old Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. x., p. 377.

¹³⁹ Among the lands of this parish, in 1532, are mentioned the penny-lands of Kilmolrowe, and 1601 those of Kilmolruiy. Kilmolrowe has been erroneously written Kilmokowe, in the "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, 133; and *ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁴⁰ There is a Kilvarie Loch, on its west side. Killarie is marked on Thomson's Map; but, there is a difficulty, in fixing the situation of the isle.

¹⁴¹ A writer observes: "Near the western boundary of the parish we have Kilvarie, that is the burial ground or church of Marie or the Virgin Mary." See the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. vii., 2,

p. 517.

¹⁴² It is written Kilmolmolrue, in the copy. See "The Book of the Thaness of Cawdor," at p. 129, published by the Spalding Club, A.D. 1859.

¹⁴³ See "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. iii., p. 258.

¹⁴⁴ See "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 133.

¹⁴⁵ It is marked by Blaeu, as Kilmolrow.

¹⁴⁶ See Retours, and "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 99.

¹⁴⁷ See "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. vii., 2, p. 45. Also, "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 96.

¹⁴⁸ It stood between the Castle of Craignish and the extremity of the peninsula Ardcrainish.

¹⁴⁹ This name passed through the following forms, in arriving at its present disguised shape:—Kilmolrow (1500, 1640), Kilmolrow (1511), Kilmorow (1511), Kilmoroy (1512), Kilmow (1538), Kilmarrow (1548), Kilmarew (1554), Killewre (1617), Killewre (1661), Kilrow (Martin, p. 243). See "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," part ii., I, p. 260.

¹⁵⁰ In Keith's Catalogue.

¹⁵¹ The ambiguity between St. Mary and St. Malrube has been removed, in the Appendix to part ii. of the second volume, "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," 2, pp. 402, 833.

called Kilmorie,¹⁵² and Kilmoir;¹⁵² and, this renders it likely, that Maree is the patron saint. Yet, in 1680, it was called Kilmarty. On the west shore of Cantyre, in the Union of Killeen and Kilchenzie, the church of Kilmarty is rather referred¹⁵³ for its patronage and derivation to St. Maelrube,¹⁵⁴ although styled, "Ecclesia Sancte Marie," before 1251.¹⁵⁵ The parish of Forres was in the north of Elgin, or Morayshire. Here the present saint's festival was formerly held.¹⁵⁶ Under the compound name of Samarevis's Day, it used to be commemorated by a fair, which was held, on the 27th of August.¹⁵⁷ The "Edinburgh Prognostications"—old Almanacs—notice the same observance, as Samarevis' Day,¹⁵⁸ or Smarevis' Day.¹⁵⁹ The parish of Fordyce is situated in the Shire of Banff. The annual fair of Kirktown in this parish was held, on the feast of St. Talerican or Tarkin;¹⁶⁰ but, besides this, there was a fair held "at the hill end of Fordyce upon the last Tuesday of August,"¹⁶¹ which in an old Aberdeen almanac is described as "New Sumaruff's Fair at Fordyce, on last Tuesday" of August.¹⁶² The memory of this saint has been locally preserved, even to modern times, in the parish of Keith, and shire of Banff. Formerly,¹⁶³ it was called Kethmalruf, or "Keth of Malruve,"¹⁶⁴ but later on, the qualifying name was dropped. However, under another form, the name of St. Sumarius,¹⁶⁵ Samarive,¹⁶⁶ Samarevis,¹⁶⁷ Samervis,¹⁶⁸ and Smarvis,¹⁶⁹ has been preserved. Besides, Mr. Thomas Innes takes this to mean Saint Malrubius,¹⁷⁰ the Hermit.¹⁷¹ In Irish, the name is Sa-Maruve. Summer Eves Fair—evidently from a corruption of this saint's name—is found recorded.¹⁷² This fair is of long standing,¹⁷³ and, it was the general mart for merchant goods, from Aberdeen to Kirkwall, in the earlier

¹⁵² In 1593.

¹⁵³ In 1663.

¹⁵⁴ By Rev. William Reeves, D.D.

¹⁵⁵ This, the following forms are said clearly to indicate:—Killolrow (1600 Blaeu), Kilmarty (1697), Kilmarty (1631), Killorow (1695). See "Origines Parochiales Scotiae," part ii., 1, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ The error concerning the patron saint is rectified, in Appendix to the third Part of the "Origines Parochiales Scotiae," vol. ii., 2, p. 821.

¹⁵⁷ See Patterson's "Geographical Description of Scotland," at p. 20, and published in 1685. It mentions Samarvis' Day, in Forres, at the 27th day of August.

¹⁵⁸ See "Collections for the Shire of Aberdeen and Banff," vol. ii., p. 240.

¹⁵⁹ For the years 1686, 1687, 1613, 1688, 1690, 1696.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1706, 1709.

¹⁶¹ This occurred, on the 30th of October. See "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," vol. i., p. 644; and vol. ii., p. 94.

¹⁶² See "Edinburgh Prognostication," 1705, 1706, 1709.

¹⁶³ See "Aberdeen Prognostication," 1703.

¹⁶⁴ In the time of King Alexander II. (A.D. 1214-1224).

¹⁶⁵ "Carta Alexandri II. de terra Kethmalruf." Also, "Terra apud Innernaven apud Keth-malruf." See Reg. Episcop. Morav., p. 18, No. 25 (Edinb., 1837).

¹⁶⁶ One of St. Colmanus' disciples was

called Sumarius. See Jonas's "Vita S. Columbanii," cap. x., in Messingham's "Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum," p. 224, b; and, in that very rare work of Fleming's "Collectanea Sacra," p. 224, a. In the former, the name is printed Sonarius, and in the latter Sognicharius. Some Manuscripts read Sonarius, and others Somarius.

¹⁶⁷ A writer treating of the parish, about the year 1726, says: "The parish of Keith has for its tutelary saint Sumarius or Samarive, whose fair is held here on the first Tuesday in September."

¹⁶⁸ In the old Edinburgh Almanacs of 1685, 1687, 1692, 1696, 1705, among the fairs of September is "Samarevis in Keith, the first Tuesday."

¹⁶⁹ He is called Samervis in those of 1686, 1689; and, Smarvis, in the Almanac of 1690.

¹⁷⁰ In Patterson's "Geographical Description of Scotland."

¹⁷¹ An old document states: "quhose feast is on the twenty-seventh of August."

¹⁷² See "Historical Collections on Aberdeen," &c., vol. ii., p. 240.

¹⁷³ A description, written about 1742, says: "In this town is a weekly market, held upon Fridays; and about a quarter of a mile southward of it, near a small moss, is held a great fair upon the first Tuesday of September yearly, called Summer Eves Fair, which is said to be the greatest of its kind in Scotland."—"Historical Collections on Aberdeen," &c., vol. ii., p. 241.

part of the last century ; it is still the best frequented market in the north, for black cattle and horses, towards the close.¹⁷⁴ The parish of Kinnell is in Forfarshire, and the people seem to have had, in former times, a great reverence for our saint.¹⁷⁵ It is generally believed, that Crail, a parish, in the shire of Fife,¹⁷⁶ was at one time the seat of a priory, as also of a chapel, within the Castle of Crail, dedicated to St. Rufus.¹⁷⁷ To the above enumeration of our saint's localities may possibly be added Lairg, which is a parish, in the mid-south of Sutherlandshire. Here, too, in Loch Shin, is found Island Murie, and, on the land, called St. Murie's Fair.¹⁷⁸ In consideration of the foregoing names and places, we may well conclude, in the words of a modern writer,¹⁷⁹ that there lived a great many years ago, in this part of the Highlands, a great and good man, called Maree, and that, after death, his admirers prefixed the designation of saint to his name.

ARTICLE II.—ST. NINIDH, OR NINNIDH, OF CLUAIN-CAOI. We have simply the word, Ninidh, preceding the name of Bugno i Tir Bret, and without any qualifying designation, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh.¹ This entry may refer, to the present, or, to the immediately succeeding, saint. The festival of a St. Ninnidh, of Cluain-Caoi, was celebrated, on this day, as we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal.² In a Table, appended to this record, his name is entered, as Ninnid, of Cluain-caoich ; but, assigned to the 2nd of April—perhaps, a misprint, for the 21st of April. The commentator remarks, that this saint appears to have been the Ninnidh Laimhiodhain or the Pure-handed,³ mentioned in St. Brigid's Acts;⁴ while, he seems not to have been a bishop, but only a priest, as it appears in this connexion.⁵ Already, we have treated about him, at the 2nd day of this month. It seems a difficult matter, to determine the exact locality of Cluain-Caoi, or of Cluain-Caoich. Except Cloncagh, in the barony of Upper Connello, and county of Limerick, or Clonea, in the barony of Inishowen East, and county of Donegal, we do not find any other parish name approximating. Elsewhere, are the townland names of Clonca,⁷ Cloncau,⁸ Clonco,⁹

¹⁷³ So great was the concourse of people there, that "there was not accommodation for them, and they occupied the barns and outhouses in the country for many miles round." See the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xiii., p. 390.

¹⁷⁴ See "Old Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. v., p. 421.

¹⁷⁵ Thus, a charter dated June 2nd, 1509, states, that Master George Sterling, of Esterbrecky, and Patrick Sterling, his brother-german, with consent of Lord Ogilvy, of Airlie, and of David Sterling, son and heir-apparent of Mr. George Sterling, give to St. Mary the Virgin, to St. Peter and Paul, the Apostles, and to St. Malrubius, the Confessor, and to a chaplain serving in the parish church of Kynnell, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, an annual rent of L. 10 from the lands of Esterbrecky. Charter confirmed by James IV. 12. March, 1512-13. See Gen. Hutton's MSS., in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, from the Original Charter.

¹⁷⁶ At its eastern extremity.

¹⁷⁷ This chapel had teinds belonging to it, both parsonage and vicarage. See the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. ix.,

I, p. 664.

¹⁷⁸ See "Origines Parochiales Scotiae," part ii., 2, pp. 698, 700.

¹⁷⁹ See "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. xiv., 2, p. 91.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find, nnnro.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

³ His feast is assigned, to the 2nd of April.

⁴ See her Life, at the 1st of February.

⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 458; 459.

⁶ See Art. ii., St. Nennidius Mundimamus, or Nennidh Langhlaun, Priest.

⁷ In the parish of Mostrim, and barony of Ardagh, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Longford," sheet 15.

⁸ In the parish of Donagh, and barony of Trough, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Monaghan," sheet 7.

⁹ In the parish of Ballinakill, and barony of Leitrim, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Galway," sheets 126, 132.

Clonkee,¹⁰ Cloonca,¹¹ Clooncah,¹² Clooncoe,¹³ Cloonkea,¹⁴ and Cloonkee.¹⁵ It is quite possible, that within the limits of some one, among the foregoing, the site of that old church might be found.

ARTICLE III.—ST. NAINDIDH, OF CRUACH. Apparently we are to admit a distinct saint, although bearing a similar name, at the present date. Naindidh, of Cruach, was venerated on this day, as we find mentioned, in the Martyrology of Donegal.² Perhaps, however, he may not be distinguishable, from St. Ninidh of Cluain-Caoi. There was a disciple of St. Fiech,³ of Domnach-Fiac, and called Nanned; but, Colgan leaves it open to investigation, if this be not the individual, to whom allusion is made, in the Tripartite Life



The Church of Crook, County of Waterford.

of St. Patrick.³ It may be doubted, however, if he were identical, with the present holy man. Where Cruach was situated cannot be discovered; but,

¹⁰ In the parish of Drummully, and barony of Coole, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Fermagh," sheets 40, 43.

¹¹ In the parish of Tistrara, and barony of Athlone, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Roscommon," sheet 44; and, in the parish of Kilmacteige, and barony of Leyny, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Sligo," sheets 31, 37.

¹² In the parish of Ballynakill, and barony of Ballymoe, as also, in the parish of Killmordaly, and barony of Kilconnel, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps

for the County of Galway," sheets 7, 72, 85; in the parish of Aghamore, in the barony of Costello, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," sheet 81; in the parish of Kiltewan, and barony of Ballyntober South, also, in the parish of Kilkeevan, and barony of Castlereagh, also, in the parish of Tibohine, and barony of Frenchpark, also, in the parish of Cloonfinlough, and barony of Roscommon, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Roscommon," sheets, 13, 19, 26, 29, 36, 40, 42.

¹³ In the parish of Cloone, and barony of Mohill, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey

there is a parish and village, known as Crooke,⁴ in the barony of Gaultiere, in the county of Waterford. These lie on the west shore of Waterford Harbour; and the parish is traversed, by the road from Waterford city to Passage.⁵ It was a rectory, and a separate benefice, in the diocese of Waterford.⁶ Here are the ruins of a mediæval church, cast in the early English Gothic style, with triplet-pointed windows, in one of its yet standing gables.⁷ A castle was founded here, by the Baron of Curraghmore, in the thirteenth century; and, afterwards, it became a preceptory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. With these it remained, until the time of the Reformation, when the site and lands were assigned, by Queen Elizabeth, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign.⁸ There is, also, a Crookhaven townland and village,⁹ in the parish of Kilmoe,¹⁰ in the western division of the Barony of West Carberry, county of Cork; and, the harbour there was formerly much frequented by ships; yet, this place can hardly be identified with the present saint. Again, there is a Crookstown,¹¹ in the parish of Narraghmore, barony of Narragh and Reban East, county of Kildare; while, there was a Crookstown,¹² a name imposed by the family of Crook, but its former denomination was Inshirahill,¹³ and this is in the parish of Moviddy,¹⁴ Barony of East Muskerry, and county of Cork. The very ancient church and graveyard of Creeacli, now pronounced Crook, otherwise called Creevy,¹⁵ are on a rising bank, over a branch of the Dodder, about one mile above Ballyboden,¹⁶ in the county of Dublin. Whether Cruach and St. Naindih were connected, with any of the foregoing places, is still questionable.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. BERACH, ABBOT OF BANGOR, COUNTY OF DOWN. [*Seventh Century.*] To comprehend the feelings and thoughts, that made monasticism so natural in the early days, we should keep in view, a state of life and society then prevalent. Since the Gospel had been preached, and the church had been founded, two great aspects of human society are noticeable. The decaying and corrupt civilization of the Roman Empire had been falling into collapse; while the spirit of Christianity confronted an evil and an

Townland Maps for the County Leitrim," sheets 35, 36.

¹⁴ In the parish of Clonfert, and barony of Longford, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Galway," sheets 101, 103, 109.

¹⁵ In the parish of Kilfian, and barony of Tirawley, shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Mayo," sheets 29, 30.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

² See his Life, at the 12th of October.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga." Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. xxii., pp. 152, 153, and n. 41, p. 185.

⁴ These are described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Waterford," sheet 18.

⁵ In the parish of Kill St. Nicholas. See *ibid.*

⁶ See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. i., p. 545.

⁷ This illustration has been drawn from a sketch, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, by William F. Wakeman, and it has

been engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁸ See Lewis', "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i., p. 435.

⁹ See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork," sheets 147, 152.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, sheets 138, 139, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153.

¹¹ See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kildare," sheets 32, 36.

¹² It formerly belonged to the Earl of Clancarty, who forfeited it, in the Insurrection of 1641, to the Crooks.

¹³ See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. i., p. 546.

¹⁴ It is described, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cork," sheets 71, 72, 83, 84, 95.

¹⁵ To this allusion has been made, in our notices of St. Dalua of Dun-Tighe-Bretan, at the 7th day of January.

¹⁶ A village, in the parish of Whitechurch, and Barony of Rathdown, it is noted, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Dublin," sheet 22.

almost hopeless condition of affairs, in real life, with the loftiest moral teaching and the most sublime doctrines, the world had ever before known. A confused and wild barbarism followed the triumph of new nations, formed on the wreck of that great centralization. Noble germs for the future gradually replaced and extinguished paganism; and, although Christianity had not been able to convert all in the world, it effected much, by acting on human affairs, while its influence on individuals was vast and astonishing.¹ If this be true, so far as the European Continentals were concerned, with much greater force does it apply, to the monastic tendencies of our own islanders. The whole of Ireland was filled with monastic houses of great extent. Among these, the famous Abbey of Bangor² sent many of its holy inmates from earth, to people the courts of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The name of Berach, Abbot of Bennchair, occurs, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,³ at the 21st of April. He was born, most probably, towards the opening of the seventh century. We know not the place of his nativity; but, it seems not improbable, he belonged to the community at Bangor, where St. Mac Laisre,⁴ the Abbot, died, A.D. 645.⁵ We find another Abbot, St. Segan O'Cuinn,⁶ who departed, A.D. 662.⁷ The holy man Berach was probably his immediate successor; and, if such be the case, he could not have long survived, to rule over that establishment. He died, in the year 663, according to the Annals of Ulster, and of the Four Masters.⁸ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁹ on this day was venerated, Berach, Abbot of Bennchar.

ARTICLE V.—ST. BUGNO, OR BUGHNA, IN TIR BRET, OR BRETAN. We find entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 21st of April, the name of Bugno, in Tir Bret. This means in the land of Britain, where we suppose, he must have dwelt. This day was venerated, Bughna, in Tir Bretan,² as we read, and have it set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE VI.—ST. EDILALD, A SAXON, OTHERWISE CALLED CÆDILUALD, OR ODILWALD, OR ATHELWALD, A PRIEST. [*Seventh Century.*] Veneration was given, at this date, to Edilald, a Saxon, as we find his name entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh.¹ From this entry, we should be inclined to conclude, that by descent, birth, education, or residence, he had some connexion with Ireland. This saint is regarded, as an illustrious virgin; by which term, we are probably to suppose, that he was distinguished for great continency and piety. Marianus O'Gorman² is the authority quoted, for such

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See Rev. R. W. Church's "Saint Anselm," chap. i., pp. 2, 3.

² The name of Bangor is said to be derived from "Bane-choraidh," the White Choir. See J. B. Coyle's "Tours in Ulster," p. 93. There is also a lithographed engraving of the ancient Castle of Bangor, in this work.

³ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find, Βαρεακ αβ βεντσαρη.

⁴ His feast occurs, on the 16th of May.

⁵ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix LL., p. 378.

⁶ His feast occurs, at the 10th of September.

⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 380.

⁸ See O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp.

274, 275, and n. (n), *ibid.* See, also, Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix LL., p. 377.

⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we have Βυγνο ι τρη βρεακ.

² In a note, Dr. Todd says, at *Tir Bretan*, "i.e., in the land of Britain or Wales."

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 106, 107.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi. In the Franciscan copy is Εδιλάλου παρ.

² He enters Εδιλάλου ος ερσηνα "Edilald, illustrious virgin."

eulogy.³ In the ancient Hieronymian Martyrology of Epternac,⁴ as also in other old authorities, the Deposition of St. Oedilwald, Edilwald, Eadilwald, or Odilwald, Ædilwald, Oidilwald, Ethelwold, or Athelwald,⁵ a Priest, is commemorated, on the 21st of April, as the Bollandists⁶ take care to mention. They refer, likewise, to a St. Ædelwaldus, a Priest, and an Anchorite, in England, whose festival has been assigned to the 23rd of March,⁷ as if he might have been the same person. Venerable Bede⁸ gives some account of the latter; and, from it, we may probably infer, that the holy man, Æthelwaldus, received his education, at Lindisfarne, in the time of St. Cuthbert.⁹ For many years, he was a monk, and then he advanced to the grade of an anchorite, in the Island of Lindisfarne. He lived, also, as a Priest, at Ripon. While he was a hermit, in Lindisfarne, by his prayers some monks were saved from shipwreck.¹⁰ There he led a very chaste and holy life, contemporaneously with the illustrious St. Cuthbert;¹¹ for a period of twelve years he survived the latter, and became his successor, as Abbot over Lindisfarne. St. Cuthbert having departed this life, A.D. 687, the death of Ædelwald has been referred, to A.D. 699 or 700. While St. Cuthbert lived there, in a wooden or boarded cell, some chinks allowed the rains and wind to penetrate, and these he stuffed with hay, or other filling; but, his successor Ædelwald, having obtained the skin of a calf, from some of his brother monks, fastened it with nails around the corner, where his predecessor was accustomed to stand or pray, so that the effects of storms might be prevented. The holy man Ædelwald died, at Lindisfarne, where his body was interred. No particular day has been assigned, as that on which his death took place. Afterwards, when the Danes made an incursion upon Northumbria, A.D. 874, Eardulf, bishop, and Eadred, Abbot of Lindisfarne, taking the remains of St. Cuthbert and of other saints there preserved, fled with them to more distant places. At length, they were brought to Durham, about the year 995. Among the relics of saints, belonging to this church, were the bones and hair of St. Ethelwold, Priest, who succeeded St. Cuthbert as anchorite.¹² Different dates have been assigned, for the festival of this saint; thus, the 6th day of January,¹³ the 11th of June,¹⁴ 14th and 23rd of March,¹⁵ have been specially noted.¹⁶ If

³ From a note of Rev. Dr. Todd, appended to the notice of St. Naindith, of Cruach, it would seem, that the present saint is set down as a Saxon, by a recent hand, who gives in Roman characters "Edilwaldus Mar."

⁴ The Bollandists add, "juxta Anglicum scripto aliquod exemplar, item in Kalendario MS. ante computum Bedæ in MSS. Trevirensi S. Maximini et Coloniensi Carmelitarum."

⁵ Athel, Adel, or Edel, signifies "noble or nobility," and Wald or Wold, signifies "a potentate; and, hence, according to Camden, in Anglo-Saxon, the name of this holy man should mean "a noble governor."

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xxi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 840.

⁷ At this date, they have published his Acts. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii. Martii xxiii. De S. Ædelwaldo Presbytero et Anachoreta in Anglia. A historic commentary, in two sections and nine paragraphs, contains his Acts, pp. 463 to 465.

⁸ Both in his Ecclesiastical History of England, and in his Life of St. Cuthbert.

⁹ His feast occurs, at the 20th of March.

¹⁰ See an account of this incident and of other transactions, relating to this saint, in Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. v., cap. i., pp. 367 to 369.

¹¹ See his Life, at the 20th of March.

¹² This is stated, in the Appendix to the History of Durham, by Turgot, according to Simeon of Durham.

¹³ According to Menard, but without any apparent authority, and he is followed by Bucelin.

¹⁴ According to the English Martyrology, printed in the year 1608, which Ferrarius follows in his General Catalogue.

¹⁵ This appears to have been the day, selected by most Calendarists; as by Edward Maihew, by Jerome Porter, "In Floribus Vitarum magis illustrium Sanctorum Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ," and by Bucelin.

¹⁶ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Martii xxiii. De S. Ædelwaldo Presbytero et Anachoreta in Anglia, Commentarius historicus, sect. ii., num. 7, 8, 9, pp. 464, 465.

we are right, in supposing St. Edilald to be the same person as the St. Ædelwald, to whom allusion has been made, the Irish Calendarists assign his feast to the present day.

ARTICLE VII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF ST. DOMITIUS. Quoting the authority of Camerarius, who cites Wion for his introduction of St. Domitius, Abbas, the Bollandists¹ not finding him, in the latter writer's work—yet, have a notice of the festival, at this particular date.² Again, in Scotland, one Domitius, an Abbot and a Disciple of St. Columba, was venerated, on the 21st of April, according to Thomas Dempster;³ and, for this statement, he cites a Scottish Breviary and Hector Boetius.⁴ Following the authority of Dempster, Philip Ferrarius⁵ has a similar account. Besides, Dempster introduces this holy man, among the eminent natives of Scotland; and, he tells us, moreover, that Domitius wrote some special Tracts, the titles of which are quoted.⁶ He lived, in the year 606,⁷ according to the same authority, and he died, on the present day.⁸

Twenty-second Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. RUFIN, BISHOP OF GLENDALOUGH, COUNTY OF WICKLOW, AND OF BANGOR, COUNTY OF DOWN.

[SEVENTH CENTURY.]

ACCORDING to accounts, furnished in our Calendars, this holy man appears to have enjoyed the episcopal dignity—or, at least, he led a religious life, in two different and very distant localities of Ireland.¹ Thus, St. Rufin, or Rufinus, is said to have been Bishop of Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow, and, likewise, to have been of Bangor, in the county of Down, according to a statement, furnished by Archdall,² and, on the authority of Ward.³ This is to be found, in the Historic Dissertation⁴ concerning the

ARTICLE VII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus ii., Aprilis xx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 841.

² They promised more regarding him, if authentic particulars could be found, at the 9th of June, when treating about St. Columba.

³ Thus do we read, in the "Menologium Scotorum;" xxi. "In Scotia Domitii Abbatis S. Columbæ discipuli."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

⁴ Domitius is enumerated, among the twelve companions of St. Columba, who left Ireland, when the holy man was about to found Iona; and, these are said to have visited various territories of the Scots and Picts, where by their labours, exhortations, teachings and writings, they imbued the

people of both races with a knowledge of the Christian Religion and with excellent morals. See "Historiæ Scotorum," lib. ix., p. clxvi.

⁵ In "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum."

⁶ These are said to have been: Sermones ad Fratres, lib. i., Sanctæ Vitæ Regula, lib. i., Epistolæ ad Columbam magistrum, lib. i., Meditationes, lib. i.

⁷ For this statement, Joannes Leslaeus, Hist. Scot., lib. iv., p. clii., is quoted.

⁸ See Thomas Dempster's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus i., lib. iv., num. 367, pp. 202, 203.

ARTICLE I.—¹ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix LL., p. 377.

² See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 766.

country of St. Rumold,⁵ as postfixed to his Acts. In the Tallagh Martyrology, the festival "Rufini Glinn da locha" is entered, at the x. of the Kalends of May, corresponding with the 22nd of April.⁶ In this instance, therefore, nothing is to be found, which warrants an assumption, that he was bishop. Nor, do we find any reference to him, in the Annals of the Four Masters. He seems to have had a religious connexion, both with Bangor and with Glendalough; and, probably, he exercised the monastic profession, in both places. We are inclined to believe, however, that Rufin possibly received his education, only at Bangor; for, his name does not appear in the list of its abbots, or bishops, which has come down to our times. It may be, that this holy man, attracted by the reputation of the great St. Kevin,⁷ left Bangor, to place himself under direction of such a master of the spiritual life, and, in his quiet retreat, at Glendalough; for, both appear to have lived as contemporaries,⁸ some time after that monastic establishment had been built by the founder. Here, at the entrance to a gorge, within over-topping mountains, and below the deep Upper Lake, the monastery was situated; and, afterwards a city grew up,⁹ the chief traces of which are now to be found, in what the inhabitants are accustomed to designate "The Seven Churches," although, indeed, the ruins of no less than ten are to be distinguished.¹⁰ Our most presumptuous and ignorant of professing antiquaries, the Rev. Edward Ledwich, has assumed to treat about the details and technicalities of the architectural figures and remains. This writer could only find seven churches, in Glendalough, although he counted, one of these, the ivy church, twice under different names.¹¹ But, very different has been the careful treatment of his subject,

³ In "Sancti Rumoldi Martyris inelyti, Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, Mechliniensium Apostoli, &c., Acta," &c., per R. P. F. Hugonem Vardeum. This posthumous work was edited, by Father Thomas O'Sheerin, and published, at Louvain, in 1662, 4to.

⁴ See sect. 9, num. 9, p. 158.

⁵ His Life will be found, on the 1st of July.

⁶ See Rev. Dr. Kelly's "Calendar of Irish Saints," &c., p. xxii.

⁷ See his Life, at the 3rd of June.

⁸ Among the Poems of William Cullen Bryant, these lines following, taken from "A Forest Hymn," pp. 89, 90, seem to accord with their state of life:—

"There have been holy men, who hid themselves
Deep in the woody wilderness, and gave
Their lives to thought and prayer, till they outlived
The generation born with them, nor seemed
Less aged than the hoary trees and rocks
Around them."

⁹ In "The Lamp," vol. viii., No. 28 of July 14th, 1855, pp. 460, 461, there is a heading "Vox Hibernica," and under it as No. xx., is a versified description of Glendalough—the City of the Two Lakes—by A. ua B., and beginning:—

"Fair city of the Lakes! the day is
long gone past,

When choral voices lent rich echoes
to the blast."

¹⁰ See the Article of Mr. Hills, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," part i., A.D. 1864. "Notes on the Architecture of Ireland," v., p. 548.

¹¹ According to Mr. Hills.

¹² See "The Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. i., subsect. i., iv., vii. Annexed are elegant and accurate woodcuts, representing the doorway of Our Lady's Church, and cross carved on the soffit of its lintel; doorway of the Reefert Church; window in the east wall of Trinity Church; window in the south wall of the chancel of Trinity Church; view of the interior of Trinity Church; specimen of the inner masonry of west end of the cathedral; view of the arched recess on the east front of the priest's house; sculptures on the two faces of its capitals; ornaments on the face of its architraves and cornice; plan of the mouldings of its pilasters or mouldings at its angles; existing remains of its mouldings, with one their bases; sculptured ornaments in tympanum of doorway in the priest's house; interior of the east window of the cathedral church; sculptures on the frieze of the interior face of the east window; moulding on archivolt, and section of the pilasters of the same window; doorway in the west wall of the cathedral church; pilasters in the chancel arch of the monastery church, at

by a more modern antiquary; and, no student can forget, to read the valuable observations of the learned George Petrie, LL.D.,¹² referring to the



Moonlight View in Glendalough, County of Wicklow.

antiquities of Glendalough. These are still within ready access, to the tourist and visitor, who may desire to linger even for days and nights, in the midst of most romantic scenery.¹³ St. Kevin is said to have died, in the year 617, or 618;¹⁴ while St. Rufus is made to precede¹⁵ St. Colman, Abbot of Glendalough, who departed on the 2nd of December, 659.¹⁶ Therefore, we may suppose him to have lived, about the middle of the seventh century. From notices regarding St. Rufin, and the position he is made to occupy, we should be inclined to infer, that he must have immediately succeeded St. Kevin. Our holy bishop's name, Rufin, sometimes rendered Rufus,¹⁷ usually occurs after that of Molibba; but, the date for his death has not transpired.¹⁸ It is

likely, St. Rufin had been interred at Glendalough. According to Ward¹⁹ and

Glendalough; devices on the capitals of its south side; capitals of its outer pier; ornaments on the bases of its columns—four distinct illustrations; specimen of the bases of the piers on its north side; ornaments on the base; sculptures on stones which formed its arch-mouldings—six illustrations; sculpture on one of the stones which formed the arch-moulding; sculptures on stones which formed the arch-moulding—seven illustrations; sculpture on one of the stones which formed the arch-moulding; ground-plan of one of the piers in the same chancel arch; other sculptured stones found near the monastery church—three illustrations; ground-plan of one side of the church arch-way; sepulchral cross at the Reefert church; doorway of the Tower at Glendalough; view of St. Kevin's house;

doorway of St. Kevin's house; gateway of the Cashel; ground-plan of this gateway.

¹² The annexed engraving, by Mrs. Millard, from a photograph by Frederick W. Mares, presents a moonlight view of Glendalough.

¹³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 240, 241, and n. (h).

¹⁴ At least, such is the order found in Archdall, who follows the arrangement, as set down, by Ward.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 270, 271.

¹⁶ In Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xxii., and in the "Circle of the Seasons," St. Rufus or Rufuo, Anchorite at Glendalough, near Dublin, is entered at the 22nd of April.

¹⁷ See Joseph Nolan's "History and

Archdall,²⁰ St. Rufin's commemoration was observed, on the 22nd of April. His name appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,²¹ at the same date, and it is entered, as Rufin Glinn da locha, while to this should probably be added, Bennchair. It is registered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,²² that veneration was paid, on this day, to Ruiffine, Bishop of Gleann-da-loch, and of Bennchar. The name of this saint has received the Latin form, Ruffinus.²³ At the x. of the May Kalends—corresponding with April 22nd—the Irish Calendar,²⁴ which is in the Royal Irish Academy,²⁵ has an entry of this saint, in connexion with Glendalough and Bangor. Under the head of Glenn-da-locha, Duaid Mac Firbis enters, Ruifin, Bishop of Glenn-da-locha, and of Bangor, at April 22nd.²⁶ Further particulars we cannot make out, regarding the present early saint, who found a daily need for Christ to obtain righteousness, strength and sanctification, sitting on a throne of grace himself, yet becoming the great introducer of disciples to His own Heavenly Father, the Christian's God.²⁷

ARTICLE II.—ST. TOMA, OR TOMAE. As observed, in the Article immediately preceding, it seems to us, that Tomnae, set down in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date, and having Bennchair succeeding the name, should be the correct reading. A festival, in honour of Toma, is entered, on this day, in the Martyrology of Donegal.² Under such form, the name of this saint is not there connected with any place, nor do we find his period.

ARTICLE III.—ST. NECHTAIN, MAC UA BAIRD. Although venial sin does not turn us from God, yet does it lessen our love for Him. It loves some created things, not in God, nor for God.¹ Because it is sin, and because God is holy, no matter how light it may be, it opposes God, and therefore it becomes hostile to Him. Such frailty the servants of God seek even to avoid. The name of Nechtan mac h Baird is mentioned, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 22nd of April, and without any further designation. There is a St. Nectan, mentioned by Colgan,³ and whose feast he ascribes, to the 8th of January, or to the 22nd of April; so that this notice throws little additional light on his individuality. This day, we read, also, as set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ that Neachtain mac Ua Baird, was venerated.

Antiquities of Glendalough," chap. iii., p. 20.

¹⁹ See his Acts of Saint Rumold, at p. 158.

²⁰ See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 766.

²¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy we find, at x. of the May Kalends, RUFIN GLINN DA LOCHA, but it seems to us, that bennchair follows Tommae, on the next line.

²² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

²³ See *ibid.*, pp. 462, 463.

²⁴ It notices, RUFIN EAPPC GLINNE DA LOE A5UR DEANCHOP.

²⁵ See, also, the Ordnance Survey Copy, Common Place Book F., p. 40, there preserved.

²⁶ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. series, vol. i., part i., pp. 112, 113.

²⁷ See this reflection, more fully wrought out in "The Star of Bethlehem."

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. There we find Tommae Bennchair, and this, too, corresponds with the Franciscan version, TOMMAE BENNCHAIR.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See "Ecclesiastical Meditations suitable for Priests on the Mission and Students in Diocesan Seminaries," on Venial Sin, sect. i., p. 276.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, it seems to us, the reading is, NECHTAN MAC H IN BAIRD.

³ See "Trias Thaumaturga," where a saint bearing this name is listed, among the disciples of St. Patrick. Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 268.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. CULEN, OR CUILLEANN, BISHOP OF LEAMHCHOILL, SAID TO BE THE PRESENT LOWHILL, QUEEN'S COUNTY. This saint is mentioned, at the 22nd of April, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ as Esp. Culen il Lemchail. This place has been identified with Lowhill, Queen's County, by William M. Hennessy,² or with Loughill, near Ballynakill, in the ancient territory of Idough, by Rev. John F. Shearman. The place is thought to bear this name, which signifies Elm Wood, owing to the growth of such timber in the place. Leamhchoill, or Loughill, is an ancient parochial denomination, and mentioned as a dependent parish, in the rural deanery of "Ui Duach," *i.e.* Odagh,³ in the diocese of Ossory. Under former arrangements of the late Protestant Established Church, Loughill was in the parish of Abbeyleix; but, with the Catholics, it always belonged to the diocese of Ossory.⁴ There was a festival, in honour of Cuilleann, Bishop of Leamhchoill, celebrated, on this day, as we find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ 22nd April. Under the head of Leamh-choill, Duaid Mac Firbis enters, likewise, Cuillenn, Bishop of Leamh-choill, at April 22nd.⁶

ARTICLE V.—SAINTS SAIGNEL, AND LUCHAN OF ANMHAGH. The names of Saignen and of Lachain of Armaig are entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ as having veneration paid to them, at the 22nd of April. The place or time of these holy persons, we are not able to ascertain. The Martyrology of Donegal,² on this day, registers a festival, in honour of Saignel,³ and of Luchan, of Anmhagh.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. ABEL MAC AEDHA, OR ADAM. At this date, a festival is set down, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ in honour of Abel, mac Aedha, or rather, Adam. In the Franciscan copy, we only find the entry, Abel, mac Aeda.²

ARTICLE VII.—FEAST OF ST. PHILIP, THE APOSTLE. In the Feilire of St. Aengus,¹ at the 22nd of April, the commemoration of the Apostle, St. Philip is announced. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,² a similar commemora-

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find, *Capr Culen il Lemcail.*

² See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. series, vol. i., part i., nn. 25, 29, p. 117.

³ It is called Lawhull, in a taxation, preserved in the "Red Book of Ossory," and made, before the year, 1312.

⁴ For the foregoing information, the writer feels indebted to John Hogan, Esq., T.C., Kilkenny, in a letter, dated The Ormonde House, May 1st, 1874.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

⁶ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. series, vol. i., part i., pp. 116, 117.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we read, *Soignen agus Lachain Armaige.*

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109. In the table appended to this work, Lucan of Anmhagh's festival is set down for the 22nd of September. But, doubtless, this

was a mistake, made by the compiler, who intended to write the 22nd of April. See *ibid.*, pp. 436, 437.

³ See, also, Appendix to the Introduction, p. xlvii.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxi.

² In the Irish characters, *abel mac aeda.*

ARTICLE VII.—¹ In the "Leahbar Breac" copy, we find the following entry; its English translation, by the editor Dr. Whitley Stokes, is likewise appended:—

Roman p̄ilip ap̄pal
 Ḃp̄ap̄obliu cech t̄p̄ethan
 D̄ianann̄ t̄p̄uim̄ āthap̄
 S̄in loch̄ap̄na lechan.

⁴ May apostle Philip protect us, who is vaster then every sea, a vehement name in the Father's mystery, wide mouth of a lamp."

² The Franciscan copy has *p̄ilippi ap̄li*, at the 22nd of April.

tion is found. The festival of this great Apostle is more generally assigned, however, to the 1st of May, when with the other Apostle St. James, the Less, the Church celebrates a feast, in their honour.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. CEALLACHAN. The name of Ceallachan occurs, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ on this day ; but, without any further addition, so that, we cannot very conveniently prosecute the search for his family, place, or period.

Twenty-third Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—THE BLESSED BRYAN BOROIMHA, KING OF MUNSTER,
MONARCH OF IRELAND, AND MARTYR.

[TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—SOURCES FOR BIOGRAPHY—FAMILY DESCENT OF BRIAN, SURNAMED BOROIMHA—IRISH GENEALOGIES AND PEDIGREES, ESPECIALLY OF MUNSTER—BRYAN'S BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION—DISTINGUISHED FOR HIS MILITARY AND INTELLECTUAL QUALIFICATIONS—HIS FIRST EXPLOITS IN WARFARE.

THE name and character of Bryan, surnamed Boroinmha, have become truly admirable and illustrious, because of his patriotic and statesman-like conduct, as shown in the Annals of Ireland, and in very considerable detail. The services rendered to his country, however, were not gained solely, in the restricted sphere of provincial warfare, and in civil feuds, although it was his misfortune, sometimes, to take part in the latter. While he had been deemed in life one of the greatest heroes his country has ever produced, he may be regarded, likewise, as one of its wisest rulers. Religious in character and disposition, his example was most edifying, in all his family and social arrangements. He rose from the sovereignty of Munster, to that of the whole island. He retained his high position, for twelve whole years, with credit to himself, and with great advantage to his subjects. The series of events, which characterized his public career, and mostly taken from the Irish Annals, will be found capable of examination, on trustworthy authorities ; however, the dates sometimes vary, owing to different calculations made by our annalists, without derogating from authenticity, or materially altering the general order of facts narrated. No doubt, in many particulars, we find opposing and conflicting statements ; but, it was only natural to expect, that tradition must have furnished its *quota* of mistakes and exaggerations, in describing the career of so popular and renowned a monarch as Bryan, and at a period so remote, as the tenth and eleventh centuries. Bardic inventions and rhapsodies have served only to obscure and to confuse the better known historic narratives ; but,

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

CHAPTER I.—¹ He is said to have been a native of South Connaught, and, in his early

so much premised, we shall endeavour to give a consecutive account of this great Irish ruler's actions, and of his place in history, with the authorities for our statements, except where some criticisms may be judged necessary, to render most probable or more intelligible the general review of his remarkable career.

It has been thought, that soon after the illustrious monarch's death, his chief poet, Mac Liag,¹ had composed in Irish a Life of Brian Boromha. A copy of it is said even to be extant—at least a small fragment²—but this seems rather doubtful. An extract from this supposed work was given, by General Vallancy, in the first edition of his Irish Grammar;³ still no perfect copy of Mac Liag's biography is known to remain. However, the copy of a very old and valuable Tract, relating to the wars of the Danes with the Gaedhils, and written soon after the battle of Clontarf,⁴ is extant,⁵ and it has been published of late.⁶ This gives many historical particulars, about the illustrious monarch Bryan.⁷ There is an abstract⁸ of the Battle of Clontarf, taken apparently from this Tract.⁹ The Book of Munster¹⁰ gives several historical particulars, about this celebrated King; especially in reference to his accession, on the throne of that province, and down to the battle of Clontarf.¹¹ The Annals of Tighernach, of Ulster, of Boyle, and of the Four Masters, contain entries regarding his exploits, at the various dates of their respective computations. As a matter of course, all our Irish historians refer to the events of his reign; for, of him it may well be observed, that not only during life, but to the end of time, he made history, and that too a glorious record. Among these authorities may be mentioned, Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Keating,¹² l'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan,¹³

career, as a bard, he was attached to the court of Tadhg O'Kelly, hereditary prince of Ui Mainé, an extensive territory of south-eastern Connaught, bordering on the River Shannon. See Eugene O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," edited by Dr. W. K. Sullivan, vol. ii., Lect. vi., p. 115.

² This single small leaf, in the handwriting of Duald Mac Fírbiss, was found by Eugene O'Curry, and laid in between two folios of the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain* (H. 2. 16, T.C.D.) It seems to have been written, before the year 1650, and to have been the last leaf of some semi-religious life of the great warrior. It is something more in the nature of a sermon on his life and death, than a historical biography; yet, this is an inference pronounced dubious, by Eugene O'Curry, who thinks the fragment was not written by Mac Liag, although it is an old piece of composition. See *ibid.*, p. 117.

³ See Edward O'Reilly's "Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish writers," p. lxxi.

⁴ A much soiled and ancient copy—but imperfect—was found by Eugene O'Curry, about 1840, who cleaned and copied it. Afterwards, a perfect copy in the handwriting of Michael O'Clery was found, among the Irish MSS., in the Burgundian Library. This was borrowed in 1852, when Mr. O'Curry made a fair transcript of it, for Trinity College Library.

⁵ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. xi., pp. 232, 233.

⁶ By Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd.

⁷ This is to be inferred, from a fragment—the first folio only—remaining in the Book of Leinster, compiled between the years 1120 and 1150. It must have been recognised then, as a well-known and veritable narrative, worthy of finding place in that collection.

⁸ It consists of only 14 pages, and these were written in 1710, by John Mac Solly, a celebrated Irish scribe, a native of Stackallen, near Slane, in the county of Meath. It is now in the Royal Irish Academy's Library, and in the original collection, it bears the class-mark, 13. 5.

⁹ Edward O'Reilly describes the Manuscript, in which it is contained, as a Book of Chronology and Annals on the wars and battles of Ireland, while he ascribes its composition to Mac Liag; but, Eugene O'Curry, who examined it, believes there is sufficient internal evidence to show, that it was written long after Mac Liag's death. See "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. vi., p. 116.

¹⁰ There are two paper copies of it, in the Royal Irish Academy's Library.

¹¹ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. xi., pp. 237, 238.

¹² Various Irish copies of his work are yet preserved in manuscript. The translation into English, by Dermot O'Connor, has already gone through various editions. What relates to Bryan Boromha will be found, in Duffy's edition of Dermot O'Connor's

Dr. Thomas Leland,²⁴ Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran,²⁵ M. M'Dermot,²⁶ Rev. Dr. Lanigan,²⁷ "The Dublin Penny Journal,"²⁸ Thomas Moore,²⁹ John D'Alton,³⁰ Martin Haverty,³¹ John O'Donoghue,³² the "Annals of Loch Cé,"³³ a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590,³⁴ the *Chronicon Scotorum*.²⁵ The well known Tract,²⁶ now published, and known as the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the Invasion of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen,²⁷ contains the most full and complete account of the career of Bryan Boromha that we possess.²⁸ The author was either an eye-witness of the battle of Clontarf, or he compiled his narrative of it, from the testimony of eye-witnesses. He was certainly a strong partisan of King Bryan.²⁹ In our published works on Irish biography, as the subject deserves it, there are special notices of this distinguished monarch, more or less complete. Thus, Richard Ryan,³⁰ the Rev. James Wills,³¹ and Alfred Webb,³² have illustrated his life. We need scarcely observe, our Irish chroniclers and bards have numerous references to the career of this great hero.

The illustrious subject of our memoir, for ever immortalized as "Bryan the Brave," was a younger son to Ceinneidigh, or Kennedy, who reigned as King over Munster,³³ in the tenth century.³⁴ He had a numerous family of

Keating's "General History of Ireland," Part ii., pp. 466 to 505.

²³ See "Histoire de l'Irlande, Ancienne et Moderne," tom i., Seconde Partie, chap. v., vi., pp. 405 to 412.

²⁴ See the "History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II., with a preliminary Discourse on the Ancient State of that Kingdom," vol. i., Preliminary Discourse, pp. xlix. to li.

²⁵ See "General History of Ireland from the earliest Accounts to the close of the twelfth century, collected from the most authentic Records," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., v., vi., vii., viii., pp. 229 to 269.

²⁶ See "A New and Impartial History of Ireland, from the earliest accounts to the present Time," vol. ii., chap. xi., xii., pp. 230 to 267.

²⁷ See his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxi., sect. xv., p. 391, chap. xxiii., sect. vii. to xii., pp. 414 to 427.

²⁸ See vol. i., No. 17, pp. 133 to 136.

²⁹ See "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., xxi., pp. 82 to 129.

³⁰ See his "History of the County of Dublin," pp. 71 to 81, and his "History of Ireland, and Annals of Boyle," vol. ii., pp. 157 to 178.

³¹ See "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., pp. 133 to 152.

³² See "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," with Notes, Appendix, and a Genealogical Table of their several Branches, compiled from the Irish Annalists, chap. ii., iii., pp. 9 to 39. Dublin, 1860, 8vo.

³³ In Irish, intitled *AnnaLa Lochá Cé*. It is edited, with a Translation, Preface and Notes, by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., in two vols. London, 1871, 8vo.

³⁴ The portion, referring to Bryan Boromha, is from pp. 1 to 13.

²⁵ This is a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the earliest times to A.D. 1135; with a supplement, containing the events from 1141 to 1150, edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A. The portion referring to Bryan, is from pp. 211 to 255. London, 1866, 8vo.

²⁶ This is intitled, *COZAOH ZAEOHEL RE ZAUAIBH*, in Irish. The original Irish text has been edited, with a translation and introduction, by James Henthorne Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., &c, and it was published, by authority of the Master of the Rolls, at London, 1867, 8vo.

²⁷ It has been edited, from three Manuscripts, two of which are imperfect. One of these is found in the Book of Leinster, the other belongs to Trinity College, Dublin. The perfect copy is among the Burgundian Library Manuscripts of Bruxelles, and it was copied by Michael O'Clery.

²⁸ This extends, from sect. xliiii. to cxviii., pp. 56 to 211.

²⁹ See Introduction, p. xxv.

³⁰ See his "Biographia Hibernica: A Biographical Dictionary of the Writers of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 113 to 121.

³¹ See "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Part i., Second Period, pp. 197 to 214.

³² See "Compendium of Irish Biography," pp. 34 to 36.

³³ He is said to have ruled that province, for eighteen years, according to the historic pedigree, made out for the Right Hon. William O'Bryan, Earl of Inchiquin, by Dermot O'Connor, translator of Dr. Jeffry Keating's "General History of Ireland," and prefixed to his Preface for the latter work. See Duffy's edition, to which reference is chiefly made, in the present biography.

³⁴ According to Eugene O'Curry, he was

sons,³⁵ and he was remarkable for his regular life. In the year 942, a contest took place, between Ceallachan, King of Cashel, and Ceineidigh, when the latter was defeated.³⁶ Many were slain at Magh-duin,³⁷ and Ceineidigh probably perished among the number.³⁸ Only four of his sons left issue, viz., Mathghamhain or Mahon,³⁹ Bryan,⁴⁰ Donnchuan or Duncan,⁴¹ and Ech-tighern. The father of Kennedy was Lorcan,⁴² Anglicized Lawrence,⁴³ son of Lachtna,⁴⁴ son of Cathal,⁴⁵ son of Corc,⁴⁶ son of Anluan,⁴⁷ son of Mathghamhain or Mahon,⁴⁸ son of Turlough,⁴⁹ son of Cathal,⁵⁰ son of Aodh or Hugh Caomh,⁵¹ son to Conall, prince of Thomond,⁵² son of Eochaidh Baldearg,⁵³ son to Carthann Fionn,⁵⁴ son of Bloin or Bloid,⁵⁵ son of Cais or Cas,⁵⁶ son of Conall Eachluath,⁵⁷ son of Luighdheach or Lughaidh Meann,⁵⁸ son to Aongus Tireach,⁵⁹ son of Fearchorb,⁶⁰ son to Modhchorb,⁶¹ son of Cormac

King of Munster, in 954. See "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., p. 213. Some of the following dates, in the notes, are based, also, on his calculations.

³⁵ Mac Liag, the chief poet and secretary to Bryan, has written a Poem, in thirty-two stanzas, and which gives an account of twelve sons of Chaste Cinneide. In Irish, it begins with, *Ó á mac úeas chinéioig éaro*. See "Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society, for 1820." Edward O'Reilly's "Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers," &c., vol. i., Part i., p. lxxi. Copies of it are preserved, in the Books of Ballymote and of Lecain.

³⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 650, 651.

³⁷ It means, "the plain of the fort," Anglicized, Moydown, or Moyadown, but its situation has not been identified. See *ibid.*, n. (c).

³⁸ I have not been able to ascertain the nature of his death.

³⁹ From him descend the O'Bolands, the O'Caseys, the O'Siodhachans, the Mac Injrys, the O'Connallys, and the O'Tuomys, in the county of Limerick.

⁴⁰ From him descended the O'Briens and the Mac Mahons of Clare.

⁴¹ He had five sons, viz.: two bearing the name of Kennedy, Raigain, Longargan and Ceileachair. From one of the two Kennedys, the family of O'Connuing, now Gunning, descended, and from the other the family of O'Kennedy. From Riagan, the O'Riogans, or O'Regans, of Clare and of Limerick, descend. From Longargan, the O'Longergans derive their origin; and, from Ceileachair are derived the O'Ceileachairs, or Kellehers.

⁴² He was King of Thomond, for six years, *circa*, A.D. 910. By O'Huidhrin, he is called *Luic an Lochpuinn*, or "Lorc of the lamp."

⁴³ He had three sons, Cinneidigh, or Kennedy, Cosgrach, and Bran. From Cosgrach, descend the O'Lorcans or Larkins, the O'Sheehans, the O'Cnaimhins, now Bowens, the O'Hogans, the O'Flahertys, the

O'Gloiams, the O'Aingidys, and the O'Maynes. The Sliocht Branfinn of Dufferin, in Wexford, are descended from Bran. They took the name of O'Brien subsequently, from their progenitor, and they still retain it.

⁴⁴ He reigned over Thomond, for three years. By means of the records of the ancient Irish pedigrees, Eugene O'Curry was enabled to identify his ancient palace of Grianan Lahtna, in the year 1840.

⁴⁵ In Dermot O'Connor's Pedigree, he has no place; but, in the body of Rev. Doctor Keating's work, he is called the son of Corc. See Part ii., p. 482.

⁴⁶ He was King of Munster, for seventeen years.

⁴⁷ He was prince of Munster.

⁴⁸ When he lived is uncertain.

⁴⁹ He was King of Munster for thirty-six years.

⁵⁰ He was King of Thomond, for seven years. He had two sons, Turlough and Ailgenan; from the latter, the O'Mearas descend.

⁵¹ Or Hugh the Comely. He is said to have ruled over Thomond, for forty-one years, and over Munster, from A.D. 571, to his death, in A.D. 601. He had two sons, Cathal or Cahal and Congal. From the latter, descend the O'Neills of Clare, and the O'n-Eoghans or Owens.

⁵² According to Dermot O'Connor's Pedigree.

⁵³ He is said to have been king over Munster, for twenty-nine years.

⁵⁴ He was King of Thomond, for forty-five years, about the year of our Lord 439.

⁵⁵ He was King of Thomond, for sixteen years.

⁵⁶ He was King of Thomond, for sixteen years.

⁵⁷ Or Conall of the Swift Steeds. For thirteen years, he reigned over Munster, *circa*, A.D. 366.

⁵⁸ He was King of Munster, for twenty-seven years, and he is said to have first wrested the present county of Clare from the Fribolgs. His name is pronounced Loo-y Ménn.

⁵⁹ Or, as he is sometimes called, Ængus the

Cas,⁶² son to the renowned Oilioll Ollum,⁶³ or Olum, who descended from the royal line of Eibhear or Heber Fionn.⁶⁴ Oilioll Ollum⁶⁵ was son to Modha Neid,⁶⁶ son to Dearn,⁶⁷ son of Deirgthine,⁶⁸ son of Eana Munchaoin,⁶⁹ son of Luigheach More,⁷⁰ son to Modhafaibhis,⁷¹ son to Muireach,⁷² son of Eochaidh Garbh,⁷³ son to Duach Donn Dalta Deagha,⁷⁴ son of Cairbre Cuisgleathan,⁷⁵ son of Luighaidh Laighne,⁷⁶ son to Innathmar or Ionadhmar,⁷⁷ son of Niadh Seadhamhuin,⁷⁸ son of Adamhar,⁷⁹ son of Fearchorb,⁸⁰ son of Modhchorb,⁸¹ son of Cobhthaig Caomb,⁸² son of Reachta Righdhearg,⁸³ son of Lughaidh Laighe,⁸⁴ son to Eochaidh,⁸⁵ son to Oilioll Fionn,⁸⁶ son of Art,⁸⁷ son of Luighaidh Lamhdhearg,⁸⁸ son to Eochaig Vairceas,⁸⁹ son of Luighaidh Jardhoinn,⁹⁰ son of Eadhna or Enda Dearn,⁹¹ son to Duach Fionn,⁹² son to Seadhna Jonaraice,⁹³ son of Breasrigh,⁹⁴ son to Art Imleach,⁹⁵

wanderer, or Cinaithreach; who was King of Munster, for thirty years, about A.D. 290.

⁶⁰ He reigned over Munster, for sixteen years.

⁶¹ He was King of Munster, for twenty-seven years.

⁶² He reigned over Munster, for twelve years, and about the year of our Lord 260. From him, the Dalcassians are said to derive their descent and name.

⁶³ He was King of Munster, for twenty-seven years, and he was married to Sadhbh, or Sabia, the daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who ruled over Ireland, in the second century of the Christian era.

⁶⁴ He was the son of Milesius, King of Spain, who founded the Milesian Colony, in Ireland. A Chronological Irish Poem of John O'Dugan, with an English translation by Michael Kearney, A.D. 1635, has been published, by John O'Daly, in 1847. It is intitled, "The Kings of the Race of Eibhear," and it notes their descent and reigns, down to a period, long subsequent to the death of Brian Boroimha. A Preface and Notes are added, by the editor.

⁶⁵ He had several sons, of whom the following three alone left issue, viz.: Eoghan-More, Cormac Cas and Cian. See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens" chap. i., p. 3.

⁶⁶ He was King of Munster, for twenty-three years.

⁶⁷ He was prince of Munster.

⁶⁸ He was half-king of Munster, for thirteen years.

⁶⁹ He was half-king of Munster, for ten years.

⁷⁰ He was King of Munster, for two years.

⁷¹ He was Prince of Munster.

⁷² He was King of Munster, for seventeen years.

⁷³ He was King of Munster, for thirty-six years.

⁷⁴ He was Monarch of Ireland, for ten years, and, he died, A.M. 5041. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., at that date. The same authority is subsequently quoted.

⁷⁵ He was King of Munster, for twenty-eight years.

⁷⁶ He was Monarch of Ireland, for five years; the Four Masters have it fifteen, and his death, at A.M. 5016.

⁷⁷ He was monarch of Ireland, for three years; the Four Masters have it nine, and his death, at A.M. 4990.

⁷⁸ He was monarch of Ireland, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4887.—Four Masters.

⁷⁹ He was monarch of Ireland, for five years, and he died, A.M. 4787.—Four Masters.

⁸⁰ He was monarch of Ireland, for eleven years, and he died, A.M. 4737.—Four Masters.

⁸¹ He was monarch of Ireland, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4701.—Four Masters.

⁸² He was King of Munster, for twenty-nine years.

⁸³ He was monarch, for twenty years, and he died, A.M. 4556.—Four Masters.

⁸⁴ He was monarch, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4469.—Four Masters.

⁸⁵ He was monarch, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4422.—Four Masters.

⁸⁶ He was monarch, for nine years; the Four Masters have it eleven, and his death, at A.M. 4415.

⁸⁷ He was monarch, for six years, and he died, A.M. 4394.

⁸⁸ He was monarch, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4368.

⁸⁹ He was monarch, for twelve years, and he died, A.M. 4356.—Four Masters.

⁹⁰ He was monarch, for nine years, and he died, A.M. 4328.

⁹¹ He was monarch, for twelve years, and he died, A.M. 4319.—Four Masters.

⁹² He was monarch, for five years; the Four Masters have it ten, and his death at A.M. 4306.

⁹³ He was monarch, for twenty years, and he died, A.M. 4290.—Four Masters.

⁹⁴ He was monarch, for nine years, and he died, A.M. 4247.—Four Masters.

⁹⁵ He was monarch, for twenty-two years; the Four Masters have it twelve years, and his death, at A.M. 4198.

son to Elim,⁹⁶ son of Rotheachta,⁹⁷ son of Roane,⁹⁸ son to Failbhe,⁹⁹ son of Cas Cead Chaigneach,¹⁰⁰ son to Failderghoid, or Aildergoid,¹⁰¹ son of Muinheamhoin,¹⁰² son to Casclothacht,¹⁰³ son to Irereorda,¹⁰⁴ son of Rotheachta,¹⁰⁵ son to Glas, son of Nuagatt Deaghlamh, son of Rosa,¹⁰⁶ son to Eochaidh Faobharglas,¹⁰⁷ son of Connaol,¹⁰⁸ son of Heber or Eber Fionn,¹⁰⁹ one of the sons of Milesius,¹¹⁰ the other two being Heremon,¹¹¹ or Eremon, and Ir.¹¹² Thus, Brian was directly descended from Milesius,¹¹³ the Spanish conqueror and colonizer of Ireland; and while, on the father's side, he came from the line of Heber,¹¹⁴ on the mother's side, his ancestry seems to have been derived from Heremon, the elder brother. The mother of Bryan was named Beibhionn Cianog, and she was daughter to Archadh,¹¹⁵ who ruled over a western territory of the Connaught province.

Before the time of Bryan Boroinha, there was no general system of family names in Ireland; for, every man or woman¹¹⁶ took the name, son or daughter of the father,¹¹⁷ who was son of the grandfather, and this was run backwards, in the order we find laid down in ancient chronicles,¹¹⁸ as illustrated in the pedigree of this great monarch, already given. Touching the illustrious subject of our present memoir demands a preliminary statement, which is closely connected with it, and which must be a matter of interest, for the reader to know. In ancient times, the genealogies of various Irish families—especially those of illustrious lineage¹¹⁹—were traced by our anti-

⁹⁶ He was monarch, only for one year, and he died, A.M. 4177.

⁹⁷ He was monarch, for seven years, and he died, A.M. 4176.

⁹⁸ He was prince of Ireland.

⁹⁹ He was King of Munster, for twenty-six years.

¹⁰⁰ He was King of Munster, for thirty-six years.

¹⁰¹ He was monarch, for seven years, some have it ten. He died, A.M. 3882.—Four Masters.

¹⁰² He was monarch, for five years, and he died, A.M. 3872.—Four Masters.

¹⁰³ He was King of Munster, for thirteen years.

¹⁰⁴ He was prince of Ireland.

¹⁰⁵ He was monarch, for twenty-five years, and he died, A.M. 3842.—Four Masters.

¹⁰⁶ He was prince of Ireland.

¹⁰⁷ He was monarch, for twenty years, and he died, A.M. 3727.—Four Masters.

¹⁰⁸ He was monarch, for thirty years, and he died, A.M. 3579.

¹⁰⁹ He was half-monarch of Ireland, for one year, being killed in a battle, fought against his brother Eremon, A.M. 3501.—Four Masters.

¹¹⁰ He was King of Spain. His sons are said to have arrived in Ireland, A.M. 3500, following the Septuagint calculation.—Four Masters.

¹¹¹ From him, descend the great families of Ulster, Leinster and Connaught, such as the O'Neills, O'Donnells, the Mac Murroughs, O'Conors, &c. He reigned fifteen years, and he died, A.M. 3516.

¹¹² From him descend the ancient races of Uladh or Ulidia, in the present counties of

Down and of Antrim. Among these, the family of Magennis is specially noticed. The O'Driscolls of the south also descend from Lugaidh, son of Ith, his cousin, as may be seen, in the Genealogy of the Corca Laidhe. See "Miscellany of the Celtic Society," edited by Dr. John O'Donovan, pp. 1 to 183.

¹¹³ It seems strange, that his presence in Ireland is ignored, by Thomas Moore, in his "History of Ireland;" although, "the sons of Milesius" are allowed—somewhat dubiously—to have landed on the Irish coast, 1300 years before the birth of Christ, according to the Bardic Chronology. See vol. i., chap. v., p. 79.

¹¹⁴ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., pp. 207 to 213.

¹¹⁵ He was son of Morough.

¹¹⁶ Like the Jews, the Irish took no notice of the pedigrees of women, beyond their descent on the father's side.

¹¹⁷ It is remarkable, that this same usage prevailed among the Jews, as we find everywhere illustrations of such custom, in both the Old and New Testaments.

¹¹⁸ We almost invariably find the king, chief, or other remarkable personage, traced back, through all the generations, to one or other of the four great heads of Irish families, viz.: Eremon, Eber, Ir, or Ith, as to the remote ancestor, or at least to some person, whose pedigree was clearly traceable, in the great genealogical treatises.

¹¹⁹ In the i. Book of Esdras, we have a long enumeration by name, of "the chiefs of families, and the genealogy of them," &c., chap. viii.

quaries to some remote parent-stock, from which a distinct tribe name sprang. This included, not alone the direct family descent, but its relation to all the other families of distinction, that came from the same origin, which was very generally a remote one.¹²⁰ The Books of Irish Genealogies and of Pedigrees appear to have been very numerous, in former times; although several of these records are now lost, yet many still exist, in various Irish Manuscripts, or they are indirectly quoted in the Lives of our Kings, Saints, and Heroes; so that, in all the great Books of Genealogies, the principal races are traced. However, among those Genealogies, one of the most important, now known to remain, is that of Dubhaltach Mac Firsigh,¹²¹ or Duaid Mac Firsigh, who compiled it, in the years, from 1650 to 1666. The pedigrees of our ancestors, in like manner, trace a particular individual, through the various generations backwards, to that distinguished head, who gave rise to the family name.¹²² Those contain many important items of historical information, which are not entered, in any of our Annals; while they shed a considerable amount of light, on the former social state of many independent tribes and families. Owing to errors of calculation and of transcription, it sometimes happens, that a link or single generation may be wanting; but, this it is often possible to supply, from some other authentic document. Every third year, and from times very remote, the provincial and clan records were returnable for examination, at the great Feis or Convention, at Tara. According to the statements of our historians, the most authentic and complete collection of national Records was preserved, for long centuries, at Tara, once the Ard-Righ's residence. After its ancient renown had been obscured, and when that seat had been deserted by the chief monarch, there can hardly be a doubt, but a like care was manifested, in whatever fortress he happened to reside. Those records were liable to be revised, by public authority; and, they had been often collated with similar documents, and corrected, when an error had been discovered. Not only the chief monarch of Erin, but every provincial King, and territorial Chief, had his own Ollamh or Doctor of Learning, and his Seanchaidhé or Antiquary, versed well in historical literature, and preserving

¹²⁰ Thus, from Ungaine Mor, who flourished over 500 years before the Incarnation of our Lord, descended through his elder son Cobhthach, the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, and other Ulster families, as well as all the Connaught families; while, from his second son Laeghaire, the chief families of Leinster are derived. In the second century of the Christian era, a great division of families in Leinster took place; for, its monarch Cathair Mor, divided the province among his sons, to some one of whom all the later Leinster families trace their descent. Again, in the fourth century, a great division of families and of territories took place in Ulster, and in Connaught, between the three sons of the monarch Eochaidh Muighmheadhoim. These were Brian, Fiachra and Niall, afterwards called Niall of the Nine Hostages. The two elder sons settled in Connaught; and from them descend the chief families of that province, north and south, excepting the O'Kellys, the Mac Ranells, and some others. The younger son Niall succeeded to the sovereignty. He had seven sons, and among these he partitioned the territories of Meath and of Ulster, that district known as

Uladh excepted. All the great families of Meath and of Ulster trace their pedigrees, to one or other of Niall's sons. Later on, fuller allusion will be made to the great Munster families, and to their descent.

¹²¹ A very complete digest of its contents has been published by Professor Eugene O'Curry, in his "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," *Lect. x.*, pp. 215 to 228.

¹²² Eugene O'Curry very justly remarks, that notwithstanding the sneers of English and anti-Irish writers, who so contemptuously regard an Irish or a Welsh pedigree, a great deal of serious study may be required, before any rational conclusion can be arrived at, regarding such a topic.

¹²³ In the Book of Genesis, it is stated, that Japhet, the son of Noah, had a son, named Magog, see chap. x., 2. It is remarkable, that the names of his sons are not there given; although long before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, the ancient pagan colonists traced their pedigrees to that remote ancestor. It is also said, the Bactrians, the Parthians, and other people, claimed descent from him, as well as the Milesians.

in books, national, provincial, and family records. Because, forsooth, several of our Genealogies and Pedigrees are not only carried back to Milesius, but even to Adam;¹²³ several ignorant, prejudiced, and illogical writers of our history have rashly assumed, without any examination of the question, that those Gaelic documents must be concoctions or conjectures, resting on no reliable authorities. The concurrent extrinsic and intrinsic evidences still remaining amply refute such presumption; and, the most sceptical enquirer must find it an impossible task, to prove the assertion, that all of those correlative records should be regarded as fictitious narratives, since to no past period or writer can the charge or even suspicion of forgery be brought. The wonderful unanimity and concordance of mere dry details, relating to the names and reigns of chief monarchs and provincial kings or chiefs, their length of duration, their line of descent, with an occasional want of uniformity in statement or in date, or a missing link of pedigree, with a certainty of unknown, but undoubtedly original sources from which existing records are drawn, take us altogether away from the region of bardic invention or of historic improbability. All our existing family lines of descent have been traced—some long centuries ago—evidently by genealogists, who entertained no doubts, regarding the bare and circumstantial *data* presented to their view, and of which they were mere copyists. The eastern origin alleged, for the derivation of the Milesians, induces the belief, that a custom prevailing among the ancient Jews—as the Sacred Scriptures attest—to preserve genealogies and pedigrees of their tribes and families,¹²⁴ even from the first of the human race,¹²⁵ had analogous usage among the conterminous nations, while their historians, so far as known, fully reveal its practice.¹²⁶

According to the Irish Genealogies and Pedigrees, from Heber or Eber Fionn proceed all the families, belonging to the south of Ireland. In the third century of the Christian era, a great division of territories took place, in Munster, between Fiacha Muilleathan, son to Eoghan Mor, the Elder, and Cormac Cas, younger son to Oillioll Oluim,¹²⁷ king of that province. Eoghan's son was placed in possession of South Munster, the seat of power being in the City of Cashel; while, his uncle Cormac Cas became King over North Munster, also known as Thomond. All the great Munster families of Heber

¹²⁴ Remarkable are the analogies, as found in the Book of Josue, regarding the division of lands and cities among the Jews. (see chap. xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., xvii., xviii., xix., xx., xxi., xxii., iii. Kings, chap. iv., ii. Esdras, chap. vii.), and as met with in the old tribal divisions of Ireland.

¹²⁵ We need only refer to the Book of Genesis, chap. v., x., xi.; to Exodus vi.; to Numbers i., xiii., xxvi., xxvii., xxxii., xxxiv.; to i. Paralipomenon i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi., vii., viii., ix., xi., xii., xiv., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxvi., xxvii.; to i. Esdras, ii., vii., viii., x., ii. Esdras, xi., xii. Likewise, in the New Testament, we have the genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ—through St. Joseph—traced from Abraham, in St. Matt. i., and his generation is traced from Heli, the Jewish legal father of St. Joseph, back to Adam, in St. Luke, iii.

¹²⁶ Nor was this the only custom, common to the ancient Jews and to the early Irish, as a careful study and comparison of the Sacred Scriptures, with the perusal of our historic

records, sufficiently demonstrate. A Dublin writer, and a barrister, Mr. Hamilton, has written a treatise, to prove that the Irish were originally Jews. This lent inspiration to one of the most noble and significant of Moore's "Irish Melodies," having for its title "The Parallel," and the first verse of which runs:—

"Yes, sad one of Sion, if closely resembling,
In shame and in sorrow, thy
wither'd-up heart—
If drinking deep, deep, of the same
'cup of trembling'
Could make us thy children, our
parent thou art."

¹²⁷ His father Mogh Nuadhat divided Erin with Conn of the Hundred Battles, but he was killed in the battle of Moylena, fought A.D. 167. See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," chap. i., p. 2.

Fionn's line trace their pedigrees to one or other of those two personages.¹²⁸ Now Oilioll Oluim had several sons, and no less than seven of these are said to have been killed, in a celebrated battle, fought at Magh Mucruimhé,¹²⁹ in the county of Galway. Among these was his eldest son, called Eoghan or Eugene Mor,¹³⁰ from whom, through his son Fiacha Muilleathan, is derived the Eugenan line.¹³¹ His second son, Cormac Cas, was the only one of Oilioll Oluim's children, that survived the battle of Magh Mucruimhé. Another of his sons, Cian, killed in this battle, left a son, named Tadhg, now rendered Teige or Thaddeus.¹³² After this great engagement, the old king divided his Munster kingdom into Thomond or North Munster, which he gave to Cormac Cas, and into Desmond or South Munster, which he gave to Fiacha Muilleathain. It is said, too, he left it in his will, that the kingdom of Leath-Mogha, or that half of Ireland south of the Escir Riada, should pass respectively to the reigning princes of Thomond and of Desmond, by what was called "The Law of alternate Succession."¹³³ This was a very unwise and unfortunate provision, for it caused perpetual strife, between both lines of inheritance, and especially, in reference to the sovereignty of Leath-Mogha. The wife of Cormac Cas is said to have been daughter of the celebrated Poet Oisin, or Ossian,¹³⁴ the son of Finn Mac Cumhail, or Fin Mac Cool. At that time, the northern division did not comprise the present county of Clare, which was in occupation of a tribe, belonging to the old Firbolg race. Subsequently, his descendant Lughaidh Meann contended with the Firbolgs, and took possession of their territory. Then, attaching it to his patrimony, the whole inheritance was afterwards denominated Tuadh Mhumhain, in modern times Anglicised into Thomond, or North Munster. The Dalcassians¹³⁵ are so called, on account of deriving their descent from Cormac Cas,¹³⁶ son to Oilioll Oluim, King of Munster. The O'Briens of Thomond and their correlatives were the people thus designated. However, there are others who assert, that the Dalcassians were more immediately derived from Cais or Cas,

¹²⁸ See M. M'Dermot's "New and Impartial History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. xvi., p. 346.

¹²⁹ The date of this engagement is referred to A. D. 195. See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," chap. i., p. 3.

¹³⁰ From him proceed the Eoganachts, who occupied the southern parts of Munster, from Magh Feimin, the plain extending from the River Suir to Cashel, on the east, and to mountain of Brandon, in Kerry, on the west. See *ibid.*

¹³¹ The MacCarthys, the O'Callaghans, the O'Sullivans, the O'Keefes, and others, are derived from it.

¹³² From him are descended the O'Carrolls of Ely O'Carroll, the O'Reardons, the O'Haras, the O'Garas, &c., as also several families of East Meath.

¹³³ See Daniel MacCarthy (Glas), "Historical Pedigree of the Sliocht Feidhlimidh, the MacCarthys of Gleanncroim, from Cart-hach, twenty-fourth in descent from Oilioll Oluim to this Day," p. 3.

¹³⁴ This celebrated Irish Bard has become famous all the world over, since the publication of the pretended English translation, in 1773, of James Macpherson's "Poems of

Ossian." A new edition, in two 8vo vols., has been published, in London, 1807. To it is prefixed A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal, by Hugh Blair, D.D. Also, at Edinburgh, A.D. 1818, was issued "Dana Oisein Mhic Fhinn, air an cur amach airson maith coitcheannta nuinntir na Gaeltachd," in an 8vo. volume. The authenticity of the originals and translation has been violently contested, and, in 1807, appeared in London, "The Poems of Ossian," in the original Gaelic, with a literal translation into Latin, by the late Robert Macfarlan, A.M. Together with a Dissertation on the authenticity of the Poems, by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. And a translation from the Italian of the Abbé Cesarotti's Dissertation on the controversy respecting the authenticity of Ossian, with notes and supplemental essay, by John M'Arthur, LL.D., published under the sanction of the Highland Society of London, in three 8vo volumes.

¹³⁵ A very interesting account of the branches, belonging to this race, will be found in Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. lxxxii, lxxxiii., pp. 386 to 390.

¹³⁶ He was the second son of Oilioll Oluim, who is so celebrated, in the pages of Irish history.

the son of Conall Eachluath, or Conall of the Swift Steeds. This Cas had twelve sons,¹³⁷ viz., Bloid, or Blod, Caisin,¹³⁸ Lughaidh,¹³⁹ Seadna,¹⁴⁰ Ængus Cinnathrach,¹⁴¹ Carthainn, Cainioch, Ængus Cinnaitin,¹⁴² Aedh,¹⁴³ Nae, Loisgenn, and Dealbaeth.¹⁴⁴ Of these, the eldest son Bloid or Blod is the great stem of the Dalcassian race, which is directly represented by the O'Briens; and, he had two sons, who are called Carthinn Finn and Brenan Ban.¹⁴⁵ The eldest Carthinn Finn had two sons; one of these was Eochaidh, surnamed Baildearg, or "of the Red Mole," and the other was Aengus.¹⁴⁶ The former was born, during the time, when St. Patrick¹⁴⁷ was on his first mission in Munster; while he received baptism and benediction, at the hands of the great Apostle himself.¹⁴⁸ Thus were the Eugenians and Dalcassians the two leading tribes of Munster, with distinctive territories; but, owing to their numbers and to the extent of their possessions, the former line was more powerful. The kingship of Munster was contested, between the chieftains of both families; but, generally, the Eugenians monopolized provincial rule. However, as an alternate right of succession was claimed, by the chiefs and people of Thomond, when they had force enough to prevail, they were sometimes recognised, as superiors in Munster.¹⁴⁹ But, under all circumstances, the rulers and people of Thomond remained in undisturbed possession of their own patrimonial houses and lands.¹⁵⁰ Thomond, called by the Irish Tuath Mumha, or North Munster, extended from Leim Chonchulainn,¹⁵¹ now Loop Head,¹⁵² at the mouth of the River Shannon, to Bealach Mor, Muighe-Dala,¹⁵³ now Ballaghmore, in Upper Ossory; and, from Sliabh Echtghe, or Slieve Aughty,¹⁵⁴ a mountainous district, on the frontiers of the counties of Clare and Galway, to Sliabh Eibhlinne, now Slieve Phelim,¹⁵⁵ in the county

¹³⁷ A Poem of forty stanzas, or one hundred and sixty lines, and relating to them, has been ascribed to Mac Liag. It begins with, *Da mac óeg ro éinn ó Chap*, or "Twelve sons that descended from Cas." See Edward O'Reilly's "Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers," p. lxxi. There are copies of this Poem, in the Book of Ballymote and of Lecain.

¹³⁸ From him descend the Soil Aodha, who are represented by the MacNamaras, the O'Gradys, the Mac Flannchadhas, now called Clanchys, the O'Caisins, &c.

¹³⁹ From him proceed the Muintir Dobhar-chon, who are represented by the O'Liddys of Clare.

¹⁴⁰ Pronounced Shédna, and from him were the Cinel Sedna, whose representatives appear to be unknown.

¹⁴¹ The O'Deas derive their descent from him.

¹⁴² The O'Quinns and the O'Nechtanns descend from him.

¹⁴³ From him, the family of O'Hea is derived.

¹⁴⁴ The Mac Cochlanns of Dealbhna, or Delvin, in the county of Westmeath, and the O'Sculllys, descend from him.

¹⁴⁵ The O'Hurleys and O'Maloneyes are his descendants. The descendants of the other sons of Bloid are not now distinguishable.

¹⁴⁶ From Aengus, the younger son, are derived the O'Comhraidhé, now called Curry,

the O'Cormacans, now called Mac Cormacs, the O'Seasnains, now called Sextons, the O'Riadas, now Reidys, &c.

¹⁴⁷ See his Life, at the 17th of March, chap. xix.

¹⁴⁸ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., pp. 209, 210.

¹⁴⁹ Thus, they were a perfectly independent tribe, from whom it was not lawful to levy tribute, nor rent, nor pledge, nor hostage, nor fostership fee; but, who were bound to check aggression on the freedom of Cashel, against Leth Cuinn, and to supply numerous forces for the maintenance of that freedom. They were bound only to give recognition to the supreme monarch of Ireland, even when he did not belong to the south. See *Cozaoh Fáehel re Sallaibh*, the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 52 to 57.

¹⁵⁰ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., pp. 203 to 228.

¹⁵¹ Or Cuchullain's Leap, as a local tradition has related.

¹⁵² This is a corruption of Leap Head.

¹⁵³ Otherwise called Slighe Dala, or the road leading from the south side of Tara Hill, and extending to the territory of Ossory.

¹⁵⁴ Sometimes called Baughty.

¹⁵⁵ The present Keeper Mountains.

of Tipperary. In ancient times, it is thought to have been much more extensive, especially towards the south.¹⁵⁶ The principality of Thomond embraced the whole of the present county of Clare; the parishes of Iniscaltra and Kilrush, in the county of Galway; the entire of Ely O'Carroll, in the King's County; the baronies of Ikerrin, Upper and Lower Ormond, Owney and Arra, and more than the western half of Clanwilliam barony, county of Tipperary; the baronies of Owneybeg, Coonagh and Clanwilliam, with the eastern halves of the baronies of Small and Coshlea, in the county of Limerick.¹⁵⁷ The southern boundary of this great territory is yet preserved, in that, which forms the diocese of Killaloe.¹⁵⁸ This ecclesiastical division has an interesting history and description of its own.¹⁵⁹

At an early period—about the end of the sixth century—a St. Lua,¹⁶⁰ or Molua,¹⁶¹ had selected a beautiful site, on the River Shannon, for the erection of his religious establishment, within the ancient principality of Thomond. The church, or oratory, which he built there, is said to have given name to the considerable city, which arose at Killaloe;¹⁶² and, it is thought to have stood upon an islet, in the River Shannon, where are the ruins of an ecclesiastical pile.¹⁶³ At present, this is called Friar's Island. It lies, about one half mile below Killaloe, and about thirty-five yards from the land. There a very ancient stone-roofed chapel of very considerable beauty is to be seen.¹⁶⁴ This is divided into a nave and choir.¹⁶⁵ It is situated, in the parish of Templechally,¹⁶⁶ in the Barony of Owney and Arra, county of Tipperary. Mollua's oratory, on Friar's Island, is somewhat damaged, yet its main features are easily discernible.¹⁶⁷ His disciple, St. Flannan,¹⁶⁸ succeeded him, and continued to preserve there religious institutions then founded, in a high degree of efficiency.

¹⁵⁶ John O'Donovan has written a very exhaustive tract, dated Feb. 13th, 1841, "Of the ancient territories of Thomond," forming one of the Irish Ordnance Survey Volumes, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. He has constructed a large map, with Irish names of districts and places, to illustrate his treatise. Annalistic entries are likewise appended.

¹⁵⁷ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Clare, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey, in 1841." The Ancient Territories in Thomond, a Tract compiled by the late Dr. O'Donovan.

¹⁵⁸ See "Leabhar na g-Geart, or the Book of Rights," edited by John O'Donovan, n. (w), pp. 260, 261.

¹⁵⁹ For some particulars, the reader is referred to the Rev. Philip Dwyer's "Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the close of the Eighteenth Century," chap. i. Introductory, pp. 1 to 15.

¹⁶⁰ Some have thought, he was St. Lua or Molua, of Clonfert-Molua, whose feast occurs, at the 4th of August; while others suppose, he was the St. Moluanus Leprosus, mentioned in Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., chap. lxxxiii., p. 389.

¹⁶¹ In a notice of Killaloe, no doubt following Ledwich, a modern writer very absurdly remarks, "whom sober persons have no hesitation in pronouncing a fictitious personage."—"Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 451.

¹⁶² One of Ledwich's foolish derivations of Irish places is to be found, when he tells us, that Cill-le-lua means "the church upon," or "near the water." He also ignorantly remarks, that St. Molua was "an ideal personage." See Antiquities of Ireland," p. 144.

¹⁶³ See Dr. George Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. iii., subs. 1, p. 281.

¹⁶⁴ There is a small copperplate illustration of this old church of Killaloe, and it is represented as being in a tolerably perfect state, in Ledwich's "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 147.

¹⁶⁵ The measurements of this church, and a picturesque drawing of it, by Du Noyer, are to be found, in "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Tipperary, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. ii. A detailed description of this old church, by John O'Donovan, is dated Oct. 13th, 1840, pp. 28 to 30.

¹⁶⁶ This is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," sheets 19, 25, 31.

¹⁶⁷ See Rev. Philip Dwyer's "Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the close of the Eighteenth Century," with an Appendix, chap. i. Introductory, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ He is regarded, as the patron of Killaloe Diocese, and his festival is there observed, on the 18th of December.

He was son to Toirdhealbhach, King of Thomond; and, it is said, he had been consecrated first bishop of Killaloe, by Pope John IV., about the year 639.¹⁶⁹ There is a very interesting old stone-roofed church there, immediately to the north of the cathedral, and it is thought to be very probable, that St. Flanan had been the original founder of this curious structure. The nave



Killaloe Old Church, County of Clare.

alone remains, and internally it measures twenty-nine feet, four inches, in length, by eighteen feet, in breadth. Some small portions of the chancel exist, and from these, it appears to have been only twelve feet in breadth, nor could it have been of much greater length. It can hardly be doubted, that this church is as ancient as the time of Bryan Borumha. A very competent judge¹⁷⁰ has remarked, that this building,¹⁷¹ with the exception of its ornamented door-way, is perfectly identical in style, with many of the earliest Churches and Round Towers of Ireland. This is called a Duirtheach, by Mr. O'Donovan, who measured it on the outside, to be 36 feet 4 inches, in length, by 25 feet, in breadth.¹⁷² This appears to be the correct ad-

measurement, from the windows, which lighted the apartment, placed above the nave, and within the sloping sides of the roof. The west gable-window has a semi-circular head, while the east gable-window has a triangular or straight-sided arch.¹⁷³ The chancel arch is wholly without ornament. It has inclined jambs and chamfered imposts.¹⁷⁴ The door-way of this church is ornamented,¹⁷⁵ and there is no good reason to believe, that it is of later date

¹⁶⁹ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Bishops of Killaloe," p. 590.

¹⁷⁰ Dr. George Petrie.

¹⁷¹ The accompanying illustration, drawn on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, and by him transferred to the wood, has been engraved by Mrs. Millard. As this church has lately been restored, some of the details slightly differ from Dr. George Petrie's admirable delineation of the western gable, as

found in his admirable work.

¹⁷² He gives other details, in "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County Clare, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839," vol. ii. Letter of John O'Donovan, pp. 342, 343.

¹⁷³ Two clearly-cut wood-engravings of both windows will be found, in Dr. George Petrie's work.

than other parts of the building. It is suggested,¹⁷⁶ that St. Flannan may have been familiar with the style of the Roman Churches, and that he may have imitated, to some extent, their ornamental features.¹⁷⁷ Mosses, ferns, and shrubs have inserted their roots between the interstices of the stone roof; and, they add even to the picturesqueness of the structure.

It seems a matter of difficulty to determine that year, when the birth of Bryan took place.¹⁷⁸ While the Annals of Inisfallen,¹⁷⁹ and those of the Four Masters state, A.D. 925, for his nativity,¹⁸⁰ those of Ulster have A.D. 941,¹⁸¹ which Dr. O'Donovan deems more likely to have been the true date.¹⁸² Whichsoever calculation we accept, it seems evident, this younger son¹⁸³ could not have long remained, under the care of his father, whose death is found recorded, and without distinctive eulogy, at A.D. 942, when Ceallachan of Caiseal gained the victory over Ceinneidigh, son of Lorcan, at Maghduin, or Moydown. How long, or if at all, Beibhionn survived her husband, does not appear, from any existing record, with which we are acquainted. In the latter part of the sixth century, a religious establishment had been founded, at Inis Faithlenn, on Loch Lene, now better known as Inisfallen Island, on the Lakes of Killarney, in the county of Kerry, by St. Finian Lobhar,¹⁸⁴ or by St. Finan Cam;¹⁸⁵ and, here, for centuries afterwards, a monastery and school appear to have flourished. In the ninth century lived Maelsuthain O'Carbhaill,¹⁸⁶ chief of the Eoganacht or Eugenian tribes, belonging to the territory of Loch Lene. It seems probable, that his early education had been received, at Inisfallen; and, towards the close of his days, after an eventful life, we find him among the inmates. He was a man of great learning, being regarded as the chief Saoi, or Doctor, of the western church. It has been supposed, that Bryan was educated by him, on the Island of Innisfallen;¹⁸⁷ but, if the subject of our biography received his training there, it seems more probable, that he was rather the school-fellow of Maelsuthain, which would fully account for the intimate friendship, existing between both, in after life. The death of Cenedigh¹⁸⁸ caused the elevation of his son Mathghamhain, or Mahon, to the kingship or chieftaincy of Thomond, about A.D. 951.¹⁸⁹ About a mile,

¹⁷⁴ It measures in height, eight feet, six inches, from the floor, to the vertex of the arch; and, in breadth, about four feet, six inches, immediately below the impost.

¹⁷⁵ Dr. Petrie gives a beautiful and an enlarged illustration of it, with the capital of the pillar on the north side, presenting a rude imitation of the Ionic scroll, while that on the south side presents two figures of animals resembling lambs. The architrave exhibits none of the ornaments, which are considered characteristic of Norman architecture.

¹⁷⁶ See Dr. George Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. iii., subs. 1, pp. 277 to 281.

¹⁷⁷ That he had the means for doing so appears from Sir James Ware's statement, that his father Theodoric—another form of the name—had endowed his church at Killaloe, with many estates, and dying full of years, he was interred in this church, by his son, St. Flannan.

¹⁷⁸ In Richard Ryan's "Biographia Hibernica," his birth is computed to have fallen out in the year 926. See vol. i., p. 114.

¹⁷⁹ See the Dublin Codex, where, by way of encomium, he is called the only defender of

Irish prosperity, as noticed in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome ii., p. 39.

¹⁸⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 616, 617, and n. (t), *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ At DCCCCL., al. xli., "Nati. tas Briain mc Cenntig."—"Annales Ultonienses." See Rev. Dr. Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome ii., p. 264.

¹⁸² See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (o), p. 747.

¹⁸³ By Eugene O'Curry, he is called the second son of Kennedy. See "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., p. 211.

¹⁸⁴ See his Life, given in the previous volume, at the 16th of March.

¹⁸⁵ His Life may be seen, at the 7th of April.

¹⁸⁶ Pronounced Mæsoohan O'Carroll.

¹⁸⁷ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. iv., pp. 75, 76.

¹⁸⁸ His death is placed at A.D. 950, in "Annales Ultonienses." See Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome iv., p. 270.

¹⁸⁹ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical

north-west of Killaloe, in the present county of Clare, arose the ancestral residence of this prince, known as Grianan Lachtna,¹⁹⁰ on the south shoulder of the hill of Craig Liath,¹⁹¹ and some traces of this ancient fortification yet remain.¹⁹² It may have been the case, that this ray-fortress was built by Lachtna, since it was called after him. Probably, it may have been the residence of his descendants, likewise, down to the time of our hero, who seems to have been born either there, or at Borunh,¹⁹³ which stood in the neighbourhood of Ceann Coradh, or Kincora, near Killaloe, and where, it is so well known, he chose in after years to fix his chief dwelling-place. However, the erection of this fortress has also been ascribed to himself.¹⁹⁴

The most careful attention must have been bestowed, by his parents and tutors, on the infancy and childhood of Bryan. His dispositions were happily moulded; his piety—of no ascetic cast however—was solid and sincere; his virtues were of a noble and generous quality, while his education was not neglected. Liberal studies occupied a considerable portion of his youthful career; and, in all manly exercises, he contended for the palm, among the sons of chieftains. Literature and politics formed the basis on which his instruction was grounded, but to warlike pursuits he was also addicted.¹⁹⁵ His enterprising genius and warlike spirit were eminently conspicuous, even in early life. His ardent temperament, and character for great courage, were emulated by the bravest and most adventurous, among the Dalcassian youths of Munster. They admired his activity of body, and his natural intrepidity of soul; while his morals excited popular reverence, and an universal expectation of a good, no less than of a glorious, career. The influence of such companionship quickly led to numerous bold and adventurous exploits, in an age, when turbulence and disorder often called forth deeds of the most heroic daring.

The Danes were constantly engaged, in harassing the people of Thomond, at this time; while Mahon and Bryan were obliged to defend their principality, by force and stratagem.¹⁹⁶ The foreigners seem to have made several lodgments, in strong places, throughout Thomond.¹⁹⁷ Bryan's first essays in actual conflict were important enough, to induce confidence in his military qualities, and to raise his character, among the clansmen and chiefs of his principality. His reputation for coolness in danger, for tried valour, and for prudent conduct, quickly prepared and opened the way for exercising command, at first, in a subordinate, but soon, in a higher, capacity. After Mahon had ascended the throne of Munster, his active military career was signalized by a battle, fought at Lake Gur, in which he obtained a signal victory over the Danes of Water-

Memoirs of the O'Briens," chap. ii., p. 12.

¹⁹⁰ This place probably had its name, from its sunny and southern aspect, on an elevated site, and because it was the royal residence of Lachtna, the great grandfather of Bryan. See Eugene O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," edited by Dr. W. K. Sullivan, vol. iii., Lect. xx., p. 24.

¹⁹¹ See *ibid.*, vol. ii., Lect. vi., n. 78, p.

115.

¹⁹² The Grianan Lachtna, so called from the noble prospect it commands, was an oblong edifice, surrounded with a fosse and ditch, now much effaced. It is 72 feet long, and 38 broad; but, although a considerable quantity of stones remain in the mound, it is difficult to know the ancient character of the building. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the

County of Clare, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839," vol. ii. John O'Donovan's Letter, p. 355.

¹⁹³ See at the word *Borunha*, in Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien's "Focaloir Gaoidhilge—sax—Bhearla, or an Irish English Dictionary."

¹⁹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 770, 771.

¹⁹⁵ See Richard Ryan's "Biographia Hibernica," vol. i., p. 114.

¹⁹⁶ See Dr. O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., pp. 229, 230.

¹⁹⁷ See *Cogaoh Gaedheil re Gallairbh*. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 58, 59.

¹⁹⁸ According to the Dublin Copy. See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome ii., p. 43.

ford, in the year 961, according to the Inisfallen Annals.¹⁹⁸ In this engagement, he was assisted by Donnchadh, the son of Ceallachan, King of Cashel. Here a great slaughter of the enemy took place. Although not expressly mentioned, it is supposed, that Bryan may have been present, in a subordinate position, and that a practical school for ripening his military talents had been afforded in this action, as in other contests.¹⁹⁹ The Irish chroniclers have several remarkable entries, to illustrate the heroism of Mahon's career and reign. His unquiet life was exercised in war, and signalized by frequent enterprises and adventures.²⁰⁰ In these, his brother Bryan perhaps took an active part, and his renown was on the increase, since his wise counsels determined important issues, not less than his manly valour. Nor was there any ground for supposing, that divergence of policy or of interest ever disunited those affectionate brothers. The brilliant results of continuous victories, and hostages of rival native chiefs being secured by Mahon, placed those Dalcassian chiefs high among the most eminent names, furnished by their country and period.

Bryan is said to have been in his thirty-fourth year,²⁰¹ when his eldest brother Mahon²⁰² ascended the throne of Munster, and assumed the responsibilities of a position, which required the exercise both of valour and of judgment. Against the Danes, especially, he advised a constant warfare; while through the woods, deserts, and forests, of North Munster, he led to action the young champions of Dal Cais. In his younger brother, fidelity to Mahon's fortunes was united, with a zeal and bravery capable of achieving the noblest actions. He and his companions in arms set up rude huts, instead of encampments, and they lurked in the caves of Ui Blait.²⁰³ From Lough Derg to the Fergus River, and from Siabh Echi or Baughty to Tra-traighe,²⁰⁴ they wasted the country, wherever the foreigners had formed a settlement. These had formed a fortifying bank around Tra-traighe, to make a strong garrison of the place; so that, they might thence issue, to subject all North Munster and Ui-Conaill. Numerous were the attacks of Bryan and of his hardy followers on them, while the foreigners were frequently surprised and slain, in twos, and in threes, and in fives, and in scores, and in hundreds, although with great loss to the victors, whom war and hardships had greatly diminished.²⁰⁵ The plains, the forests, the valleys, glens and mountain passes, throughout Munster, had been infested by numerous marauders, under lawless and unscrupulous leaders. These hostile plundering parties had ever a pretext for their misdeeds and acts of violence. Their appearance spread fear and alarm wherever they came; while security among those peacefully inclined and invaded could only be obtained, by brave and determined resistance. Against these disturbers of his territorial lands and rights, Bryan's bands of brave Dalcassians, trained to deeds of hardihood, under his leadership, had been sufficiently well exercised, in the use of arms, and they were skilled in the warfare of that age. The different raids and local quarrels are not always found, in the obscure history of that period. Hence, it affords no satisfactory means, for tracing the opening warlike actions of Bryan.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁹ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii, cap. xx., p. 83.

²⁰⁰ In the year 957, he plundered Cluainmic-Nois. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 676, 677.

²⁰¹ This, however, must be estimated, according to the *data* of our Annalists, which are often conflicting.

²⁰² There is a Poem, by St. Patrick's Comharba, on Mahon, the son of Cenneide, yet preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; it is classed 23 G. 22, in the Betham Manuscripts'

Catalogue. See p. 25, line 18.

²⁰³ In the Brussels Manuscript, this name is rendered O m bloir.

²⁰⁴ Not identified. Probably, it was some portion of shore on the Lower Shannon.

²⁰⁵ See *Cogaoh Saobhel Re Sallaoih*. The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 60 to 63.

²⁰⁶ See Rev. James Will's "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i. Second Period, p. 198.

Reprisals followed, as the only known means for repressing disorders. The earliest campaigning event of importance is recorded, as having taken place, probably in obedience to some dynastic necessity, which obliged the king, his attendant chiefs, and their troops, to wage a local war, from which neither honour nor permanent advantage could be derived. In the year 961,²⁰⁷ or 962,²⁰⁸ Feargal O'Ruarc was King of Connaught, and he is styled the Nebuchadonosor of the Irish, having wrought innumerable evils, according to an old Chronicle.²⁰⁹ That year, he obtained a great victory at Catinseen over the Momonians, and the Dalcassian territory was ravaged afterwards, by him.²¹⁰ This great victory was obtained at Catinchi,²¹¹ an island on the River Shannon, between Clonfert and Clonmacnoise, according to Dr. O'Donovan.²¹² It seems probable, that this invasion gave rise to an injured feeling, which led to a speedy reprisal. About the year 963,²¹³ Feargal or Farrell O'Ruairc held sway, over the province of Connaught. An expedition had been planned, in which Bryan served, under the standard of his brother Mahon. The purpose for which this expedition had been organized was to invade the adjoining province of Connaught, while the plunder of people living there was quite reconcilable with the customs of the time, and the ethics of Irish warfare, if such raids should be dignified with the name. This expedition seems to have been attended with the success anticipated, in its earliest stages. It was planned, with a secrecy, which left little time for preparation to the Connacians, when the forces of Munster marched over their borders, and created a panic. The party of King Mahon, having advanced to those districts, bordering on Lough Ree,²¹⁴ had swept together the spoils of a considerable territory, on the Connaught side of the River Shannon. He had gone so far as Athleague.²¹⁵ Soon, however, the Connacians took up arms. To secure their booty was an object of special importance, but of no easy attainment, for the Momonians. No doubt, the roads were intricate and in bad repair, so that a herd of cattle could not be driven with readiness, when a retrograde movement was desirable. The rapid retreat of the Munster forces commenced, as Feargal O'Ruarc, with a large body of vengeful Connacians, came in sight. An effort was made to intercept the line of march, and to drive the Muminonians before the superior force. Mahon was obliged to beat a confused and a hasty retreat. The River Fairgin obstructed his advance. Encumbered with their spoils, the Munstermen felt embarrassed in their position. They were by no means prepared, for the vigorous onset of their adversaries. However, here they stood at bay, and engaged their pursuers.²¹⁶ Immediately, O'Ruarc attacked with great impetuosity, and it required but an ordinary exercise of courage, to ensure the discomfiture of the Munster army. Both Mahon and his brother Bryan endeavoured to animate their men, but in vain; for, defeat was a consequence, no valour or skill could arrest, so unfavourable were the conditions, under which Mahon's clansmen contended. In this battle, it is stated, that Mahon was obliged to

²⁰⁷ According to the "Annals of the Four Masters."

²⁰⁸ According to the Dublin copy of the Inisfallen Annals.

²⁰⁹ According to the "Chronicon Scotorum," a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

²¹⁰ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome ii., p. 43.

²¹¹ It is called Kattince, in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, but the name of this place is thought to be obsolete.

²¹² See "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 682, 683, and n. (o), *ibid.*

²¹³ This is the true date, although the Annals of Clonmacnoise have it 957.

²¹⁴ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., p. 83.

²¹⁵ The Dublin copy of the Inisfallen Annals renders it (i.e. *Vadum lapidum*). See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tome ii., p. 43.

²¹⁶ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., p. 83.

leave his shield behind him.²¹⁷ Another account,²¹⁸ however, attributes all the victory and glory to the Munster hero;²¹⁹ but, it is quite evident, that Methgabhain suffered a terrible reverse.²²⁰ Finding the position untenable, he saved himself, after losing a considerable number of his forces, and all his spoils. Three grandsons of Lorcan, and seven score along with them, fell in this engagement.²²¹ Swimming the stream, Mahon escaped from the battlefield. In this engagement, the character of Bryan's valour was manifested, under adverse circumstances; but, his cool and steady resolution won admiration and applause, while it inspired a well-grounded hope, that in after time, he must gloriously retrieve that reverse, which was then experienced.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS IN LIMERICK—DESCRIPTION, HISTORY, MANNERS AND INVASIONS OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS—VICTORY OF MAHON AND BRYAN OVER THE NORTHMEN—MAHON IS TREACHEROUSLY DEPIVED OF LIFE BY MAELMUA—BRYAN ELECTED KING OF NORTH MUNSTER—HE OBTAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY OVER THE SCANDINAVIANS AND CONFEDERATE IRISH—HE DRIVES THE INVADERS FROM INISCATHY, AND FROM OTHER STATIONS.

FROM what has been already stated, it may well be supposed, that the Northmen at Limerick were a source of jealousy, fear, and danger, to the people of Thomond; and, in frequent conflicts, when issuing in force from their strongly fortified city, they were usually able to select a favourable time for surprises, as also a secure basis for retreat and protection. About the commencement of the ninth century, the Scandinavian ships, with their contingent of Gaills,¹ or Galls—a name applied by the Irish to foreigners—began to enter that fine sea-opening of the Shannon River, originally distinguished by the name Luimneach.² The “Chief of Luimneach of the Sea” owed fealty to “the King of fair Casaill,”³ as the Psalter of Cashel states; and, in the division of Ireland into Leath Cuinn and Leath Mogha, Luimneach was fixed as the western extremity of the latter half.⁴ A city is supposed to have existed, on the present site of Limerick, and to have been called Regia,⁵ by the Romans, in the second century after Christ. Frequently, allusion is made to Luimnech, in our Annals, at different subsequent periods; but, it is a certainty, those strangers and invaders found this a suitable place for commercial enterprises, or for warlike purposes. Besides its productive fisheries, a fertile soil, and an agreeable country surrounding it, with a good climate and favourable position; the foreigners selected this particular spot, for the erec-

²¹⁷ The Four Masters are silent, regarding this incident, which is related in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Inisfallen. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's “*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*,” tome ii., p. 44.

²¹⁸ This statement is found in that poem, cited from the Munster Book, by Vallancy.

²¹⁹ The Munster Annals have this event, at 965.

²²⁰ In Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's “*General History of Ireland*,” at A.D. 960, Mahon is stated to have been victorious. See vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., pp. 231, 232.

²²¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's “*Annals of the Four Masters*,” vol. ii., pp. 684, 685.

CHAPTER II.—¹ *ḡaill*, S. foreign-

ers, now applied only to the English.—Edward O'Reilly's *Sanar Gaoidhige-Saghbhearla*. An Irish-English Dictionary, *sub-voce*.

² This appears, from the Life of St. Carbrach of Lismore, as found in the Manuscript Book of Lismore.

³ See John O'Donovan's *Leabhar na ḡ-Ceart*, or the “*Book of Rights*,” pp. 260, 261.

⁴ See Maurice Lenihan's “*Limerick: its History and Antiquities*,” chap. i., p. 2.

⁵ The Geographer Claudius Ptolomy has such a designation, on his Map of Ireland.

tion of a strong fortress, which was further protected by walls and fortifications. The ancient Irish settlement on the Lower Shannon, denominated Lumneach,⁶ now Limerick,⁷ is supposed to have had a remote origin; but, probably, it was a place of little consequence, until the Northmen recognised its advantageous position, for navigation and commerce. This town was first plundered by them, in 812, and before the middle of the ninth century, they seem to have seized on it, as their chief southern stronghold, in Ireland. They erected a fort within it, and surrounded the city, which was then built, with walls and towers. During the century, which succeeded, their power increased, and their ships lent it a ready outlet to the Atlantic.⁸

To understand, not merely the condition of Ireland during the Norse domination, but also to elucidate the biography of Bryan Borumha, it may be desirable, to premise some remarks on the origin, history, manners and enterprises of that people. By the common appellation of Scandinavia, the ancients distinguished those large peninsular countries of north-eastern Europe, bearing towards and beyond the Arctic circle, and now chiefly known, as the three northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In the earliest times, those countries were inhabited by a German or Gothic tribe,⁹ although the aboriginal population—especially of the more northern parts—appear to have been of Finnish or Lapp extraction. Before the Christian era, the Cimbri were known to the Romans, as a people of great valour, having numerous and large fortifications within their country.¹⁰ About the beginning of the Christian era, the Romans had some indistinct knowledge of the Suiones, or Swedes, and of their turn for navigation.¹¹ But, the Scandinavian country, which attained the greatest historical prominence, was Norway, from the eighth to the twelfth century of the Christian era. In the first century, Pliny has an account of the peninsula of Nerigon, or of Norway. He speaks geographically of Swedish Norrige and of Danish Norge;¹² but, we are not particularly informed, about their social state. The peninsula of Denmark, or Jutland,¹³ is a vast bank of sand, gravel, water-worn stones, transported and rounded blocks of granite of all sizes, covered with a bed of clay and vegetable earth. This soil has been thrown up or formed by the ocean, and it defends from the fury of the waves a large portion of Northern Europe.¹⁴ For the most part, the soil is thin and

⁶ A battle was fought here, by Cormac Mac Art, Monarch of Ireland, against the people of Munster, in A.D. 241. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 112, 113.

⁷ A large and detailed Map of this city, with its modern situation on the River Shannon shown, is to be found on "The Travellers' Map of the River Shannon," arranged as a Guide to its Lakes, and the several Towns, Gentlemen's Seats, Ancient Castles, Ruins, Mines, Quarries, Trading Stations, and general Scenery on its Banks, from its source in Lough Allen to the Sea, in a course of 239 miles through the Counties of Leitrim, Longford, Roscommon, Westmeath, King's County, Tipperary, Galway, Limerick, Kerry and Clare, accurately taken from the survey made by John Grantham, Esq., C.E. Plate 14.

⁸ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 265.

⁹ Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus, a Neapolitan, wrote a history of the Goths, in twelve

books. He was secretary to Theodoric, King of the Goths, in Italy, and he died, about the year 562. This work was afterwards abridged by Jornandes.

¹⁰ See Tacitus "De Situ, Moribus et Populis Germaniæ," cap. xxxvii.

¹¹ Tacitus states: "forma navium eò dif- fert, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsu frontem agit: nec velis niinstrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus aljunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium."—"De Situ, Moribus, et Populis Germaniæ," cap. xlii.

¹² See James Bell's "System of Geography, Popular and Scientific," &c., vol. i., part i., p. 138.

¹³ It was called Chersonesis Cimbrica, and a German tribe, but originally from the East, inhabited that tract.

¹⁴ See Samuel Laing's "Observations on the Social and Political State of Denmark, and the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, in 1851," chap. i., p. 2. London, 1852, 8vo.

barren, little suited for agriculture, and pasturage is usually resorted to, as the means for feeding cattle.¹⁵ More to the north, Sweden is mountainous, broken and barren; towards the west, for the most part it is flat, especially along the eastern coast line; it abounds in lakes and rivers; it has numerous forests; and minerals—particularly iron—are to be found, in various places.¹⁶ For a considerable distance, from north to south, the summit of a high range of mountains forms the western boundary,¹⁷ between this country and Norway. Although both nations are now united under one crown, the respective lines are distinctly marked throughout the whole extent,¹⁸ while different laws and institutions prevail, in either country. The surface of Norway is mountainous, and, in most places, the good soil is shallow; while the whole country abounds in forests, lakes, and unnavigable rivers. The fisheries off the coast are usually productive, while timber-dressing and ship-building are the chief industrial arts.¹⁹ The coast line, towards the west, is high and rugged, with gulphs or fiords running deeply into the mainland. Barren rocks and mountains range over a great extent, yet here and there are romantic glens and fertile valleys.²⁰ The distant country of Thule, so often mentioned by the ancients, is thought to be identical with the present Iceland. This lay far out and westwardly, in the Northern Ocean. At present, the people there are generally tall, and seldom corpulent; their countenances are open and fair complexioned, while their hair is light coloured. The climate, soil and productions of Iceland²¹ have been already described.²² The Feroe Islands are formed of basaltic rocks; the soil is thin, mossy and wet, little suited for agriculture, but occasionally affording good pasture.²³

It has been generally supposed, that the Scythic was the mother language of the Goths and Germans;²⁴ so that we may consider the Scandinavian, or old Norse tongue, as derived from an Asiatic source. According to some writers, the Teutonic, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Flemish and English are only dialects of one chief language.²⁵ From the old Danish²⁶ or Scandinavian,²⁷ those languages, which are spoken from the coasts of Greenland, to those of Finland; from the Frozen Ocean to the Eider,²⁸ are derived.²⁹ In its

¹⁵ In 1864, the Dano-Prussian war stripped Denmark of its Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg; so that in 1880, it had only a population of 2,096,400, including 11,221 in the Farøe Islands. See Whitaker's "Almanack," for 1883, p. 333.

¹⁶ See James Bell's "System of Geography, Popular and Scientific," &c., vol. i., part i., pp. 189 to 195.

¹⁷ In December, 1881, Sweden had a population of 4,572,245 inhabitants. See Whitaker's "Almanack" for 1883, p. 351.

¹⁸ Since 1814, "this double kingdom has combined, under one king and two very different constitutions, two proud and free-spirited nations, each jealous of its peculiar privileges. The political condition of Sweden and Norway forms a permanent partition between them; there a jealous aristocracy is perpetually watching over its ancient privileges; here, the democracy struggles to defend its new-born rights. In both kingdoms, the peasantry and citizens hold a higher rank than in most European States."—"Popular Encyclopedia, or Conversations Lexicon," vol. vi., *Art.* Sweden and Norway, p. 474.

¹⁹ Norway has a population of 1,818,853 inhabitants. See Whitaker's "Almanack" for 1883, p. 352.

²⁰ See James Bell's "System of Geography, Popular and Scientific," &c., vol. i., part i., pp. 222 to 228.

²¹ Formerly Iceland was more populous than at present; while history proves, that its climate has been gradually growing more severe, and the soil more ungrateful. See "Popular Encyclopedia, or Conversations Lexicon," vol. iv. *Art.* Iceland, p. 32.

²² See vol. ii. of this work, where the Life of St. Buo, Missionary in Iceland, has been inserted.

²³ See James Bell's "System of Geography, Popular and Scientific," &c., vol. i., part i., pp. 166, 167.

²⁴ See Morhof, "De Lingua Germanica," p. 64.

²⁵ See Hag: Spiegel, "Glossarium-Sveo-Gothicum," Lund., 1722, 4to.

²⁶ Known as the *Danska tunga*.

²⁷ Called *Norrøena*.

²⁸ See Rask's "Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue," p. 42. Translation into English, by Thorpe.

²⁹ See Rev. J. Bosworth's "Dictionary of

purest state, the old Norse or Danish was carried into Iceland, by the first Norwegian refugees, in the ninth century; and, as modern Icelandic scholars read the oldest documents with the greatest facility, the antique, with but slight variations, may still be considered the living language of Iceland. Being trained to the use of letters and to the habit of writing, the Icelanders began to record in books, as on monuments, what they deemed most interesting and instructive, for themselves and for their posterity. The Scribes were literarymen, and they were greatly patronized. Norse inscriptions and records are even to be found, on their rocks and promontories; so that, those might go down to posterity, unless subjected to the accidents of nature.³⁰ But, they cared only for history or legendary biography. The Iceland Chroniclers have written the memorable events of their own and of their ancestors' times, both in prose and in verse. This they practised, before the other people of Scandinavia had acquired the use of letters.³¹ Iceland had a class of travelling minstrels, called Skalds,³² who handed down personal knowledge, or experience, with oral tradition and history, chiefly in verse. They were entertained and held in respect, by kings and heroes, whose companions they often were, during various expeditions. Thus, they were able to give very faithful and lively descriptions of desperate conflicts, they had witnessed, or in which they had valiantly fought.³³ In the Icelandic language, from Ragnar-Lodbrok to Valdemar II., there is a list of 230 among the chief Skalds, or poetical historians, kept. Among these are several crowned heads and celebrated warriors.³⁴ The Saga-man or story-teller recalled the memory of past events in prose. Hence came the Northern Sagas or Histories to be so named; but, the old Icelanders did not distinguish very critically between mythic and historic narrative. The Sagas were popular narratives, recording the lives of chiefs, kings, and noble families. They often introduce metrical passages, and they are very numerous. Those compositions may be classed, as Poetic or Fictitious, Mythic and Romantic, Biographic or Historical, as relating to general, local, and family traditions. Yet, in several cases, it is not an easy matter, to reduce them under any of the foregoing divisions, so discursive and arbitrary have been their themes. In course of time, those records were committed to writing. The Eddas are the earliest records known; one of these is called the poetic or elder Edda,³⁵ and the first compiler of this³⁶ was Scemund Sigfussen, a cleric, born in Iceland, A.D. 1056. He seems to have written some of those poetic effusions, from the recital of contemporary Skalds, and to have collected others from Manuscripts.³⁷

Some of these poems are traced back to the ninth and tenth centuries,

the Anglo-Saxon Language," Preface, sect. xi., p. cxlix.

³⁰ See Jacob Ziegler's *Schondia*, in the edition of Albert Krantz's "Rerum Germanicarum Historiæ Clarissimi Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniæ, Sueciæ, Noruagiæ, Chronica," p. 480, as published at Frankfurt on the Maine, A.D. 1583, fol.

³¹ From the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, the Northmen had a rude literature of their own; and a long list of their sagas will be found, in Samuel Liing's "Heimskringla; or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," vol. i. Preliminary Dissertation, chap. i., pp. 17 to 23.

³² From the Icelandic *Skald*, which means "a poet."

³³ See Rev. J. Bosworth's "Dictionary of

the Anglo-Saxon Language," Preface, sect. xi., num. 3, p. cxlvi.

³⁴ See Wheaton's "History of Northmen," p. 51.

³⁵ The word Edda is said to mean "a grandmother," and as expressed very doubtfully, by a commentator, "quasi prima mater ethnica religionis."

³⁶ The Icelandic text of the poetic Edda was published, in 4to, at Copenhagen, A.D. 1787, with a Latin translation, notes and glossary. A second volume was not printed, until A.D. 1818. A third volume appeared in 1828, edited by Professor Finn Magnussen.

³⁷ See Rev. J. Bosworth's "Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language," Preface, sect. xi., pp. cxlvi., cxlvii.

and they have allusions to pagan manners and customs. In Iceland, every chieftain was careful to preserve his genealogical tree; and, it appears very probable, that their mode for compiling family pedigrees had been derived, from the early Irish colonists. Still more important it is to know, that the historic Sagas were almost universally written, before the mythic and romantic ones.³⁸ The prose or younger Edda³⁹ was composed by Snorre Sturleson,⁴⁰ born of a noble family, A.D. 1178, at Hvamm, on the west coast of Iceland, and he was murdered, A.D. 1241. The *Heimskringla*,⁴¹ or Annals of the Norwegian Kings from Odin, is his great work.⁴² Several northern Sagas contain historic narratives, which serve to illustrate past transactions in Iceland, in Scotland, and in England.⁴³ The Sagas, and the other Scandinavian chroniclers, briefly relate much about Ireland, which is, for the most part, very trustworthy; and, at all events, it agrees with the representations, at that time, current among the Irish themselves. The northern chronicles generally refer to Ireland incidentally, or they are confined to the narrative of particular events.⁴⁴ Those contain accounts of the Norse achievements in Ireland, both in war and peace. The Irish records are still more copious, in reference to their invasions. Vast numbers of the Sagas and Eddas—some of them very ancient—have been collected by learned men, from the smoky huts of Iceland, and they have been purchased for the public Libraries of Copenhagen, of Stockholm, and of Christiana. Antiquarian Societies have been established for their accurate publication, critical study, and correct interpretation; philology has been enriched by the materials collected; while the ascertained age and authenticity of those old manuscripts have interested, not alone the learned men of the northern nations, but every enlightened lover of literature and of national history.

At an early period, Denmark was divided into a number of petty states, inhabited by wild and adventurous warriors, under the direction of different Jarls, or chiefs.⁴⁵ The first ruler of Denmark is said to have been Skiold, son of Odin;⁴⁶ but, his history and that of his posterity is greatly wrapped in fable,

³⁸ See "The Religion of the Northmen," by Rudolph Keyser, translated by Barclay Pennock. Introduction, chap. ii., p. 65. New York, 1854, 8vo.

³⁹ A complete edition of the original text was first published, at Stockholm, by Professor Rask, in 1818.

⁴⁰ He is called the Herodotus of the North.

⁴¹ It was published, by Peringskjöld, with a Latin and Swedish translation, in Two Volumes, folio, at Stockholm, A.D. 1697. Schönning and Thorlacius issued it, with a Latin and Danish translation, in Three Volumes, folio, at Copenhagen, 1777 to 1783. It was continued, by the younger Thorlacius and Werlauff, in Three Volumes, A.D. 1813 to 1826.

⁴² It has been translated from the Icelandic into English, by Samuel Laing, who has given a Preliminary Discourse, with a Memoir of Snorro Sturleson. This work appeared, in Three Octavo Volumes, at London, in 1844.

⁴³ As for instance, the "Sagan of Niall Porgeirssyn ok Somon Hans," &c., edited in Icelandic, by Olaus Olavius. Copenhagen, 1772, 4to. A Latin version of it was pub-

lished in 1809. This gives the *Njála* or Life of the celebrated Icelander, Njall Porgeirsson, and of his sons. Its matter is said to be correct, and its style ornate.

⁴⁴ See J. J. A. Worsac's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. ii., pp. 309, 310.

⁴⁵ Saxo, a writer of Danish origin, and distinguished by the title Grammaticus, on account of his learning and scholarship, was born about the middle of the twelfth century. He is said to have been provost of the cathedral church of Roskild. He wrote the History of Denmark, in Latin. It consists of sixteen Books; but, that first portion, relating to the origin of the Danes, and to the reigns of their ancient Kings, is full of fables; but, the last eight books, and particularly those which regard the events of his own times, deserve the utmost credit. It concludes with the year 1186, and the author died A.D. 1204, according to Stephens, the editor of his works, which were printed at Soroc.

⁴⁶ See S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. i. Introduction, p. 41.

nor is it an easy matter to prove what is authentic.⁴⁷ Not only have the modern Danish historians perpetuated and chronicled the deeds of their early kings;⁴⁸ but, even we are presented with real or fanciful engravings, representing their features and dress.⁴⁹ From the period of their dreaded invasions on and among the more southern countries of Europe, the warlike exploits of the Northmen Vikings and seafaring men have given celebrity to the Scandinavians, while their predatory expeditions have been recorded, by their native writers. The monuments yet remaining,⁵⁰ and the Runic inscriptions⁵¹ of the North, attest the former customs and national life of that people.⁵² The style of denomination they affected, in order to signify a boastful supremacy on the ocean, was that of Vikings or sea-kings. Among the Scandinavian adventurers, the Danes were renowned for their courage and ferocity.⁵³ In the writings of St. Gregory of Tours,⁵⁴ the name Danus, or Dane first appears.⁵⁵ Little is known regarding Denmark, until about the eighth century, after the Christian era. In the beginning of this century, and for two hundred years afterwards, the Danes were very formidable. In like manner, their neighbours the Norwegians were notorious, for their piracies and adventures by sea. The original inhabitants of Sweden were of Finnish or Lapp descent; but, these were driven to the extreme north, when the Goths and German Suiones began to encroach, on the more southern parts of that country. A regular government was first established, in Sweden, A.D. 994, by Olaf I., or Olaus, who was a convert to Christianity.⁵⁶ For centuries, the Goths and Swedes remained a distinct people, and their disputes distracted the kingdom;⁵⁷ until they became united, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when the powerful family of the Folkungs were on the throne. Norway was known, in the eighth century, as a country under the rule of powerful and turbulent Jarls, and of restless, adventurous sea-rovers. Before the close of the tenth century, little indeed is ascertained, regarding the distinctive internal history of Norway. Then, the Christian religion was established there, by King Olaf I. In the

⁴⁷ A learned French writer, Mallet, has written a work of great authority, "Histoire du Dannemarc."

⁴⁸ The "Dannemarks Riges Historie," ved Ludvig Holberg, published in Three, 4to volumes, from 1732 to 1735, gives a detailed history of Denmark.

⁴⁹ See especially "Danmarckis Rigis Kronicke" ved Arrild Huitfeldt til Odersberg D. R. Canceler, tomus i. Riobenhaffn, 1652, fol. (two vols.).

⁵⁰ Several curious monumental inscriptions are noted, in the two folio volumes of Bishop Eric Pontoppidan, "Marmora Danica Selectiora sive Inscriptionum quotquot Fatorum injuriis per Daniam supersunt, vel Ævo, vel elegantia, vel Rei Momento præ Reliquis, excellentiam Fasciculus." Hafniæ, 1739 and 1741.

⁵¹ Very curious plates of Northern Antiquities, illustrating churches, monuments, seals and and historic incidents will be found, in the two folio volumes of Johan Peringskiöld: "Monumentorum Sveo-Gothicorum," embracing in the first part Thiunia, cum Antiquitatibus ac Inscriptionibus quæ Cippis et Rupibus, vel Tumbis incisæ passim reperiuntur juxta delineatione, brevique commentario illustratæ, and published at Stockholm, in 1710; and, in the second part,

Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsala Nova Illustrata, published at Stockholm, in 1719.

⁵² Curious old wood-cuts, illustrating Northern life and the products of the Northern nations, will be found throughout the "Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus," &c., written by the Archbishop Olaus Magnus, at Rome, in 1555.

⁵³ The folio history of Denmark, drawn from native and foreign sources, has been learnedly compiled, by Claus Christofferson. Its title is "Synopsis Historiarum Danicarum," &c., and it bears the imprint, Risbenhaffn hoss, Heinrich Baldturch, Anno M. DC. XXII.

⁵⁴ His feast occurs, at November 17th, and he flourished in the sixth century.

⁵⁵ Also, see Joannis Mevrsi "Historiæ Danicæ, sive De Regibus Danicæ, qui familiam Oldenburgicam præcessere, eorumque rebus gestis, a Dano ad Canutum VI., in quo desinit Saxo." Amstelodami, A.D. 1610. cxxxviii. fol.

⁵⁶ See "Popular Encyclopedia, or Conversations Lexicon," vol. vi. *Art.* Sweden and Norway, p. 473.

⁵⁷ Adam of Bremen, who wrote in the year 1007, alludes to those disorders, in his history.

beginning of the eleventh century, Olaf II. continued this good work, and he subjected several petty princes to his rule.⁵⁸ The Norwegians were formerly governed by a number of Vikings, subject to a chief King; and, their ancient laws, which have been published, indicate much of their social state and civil polity.⁵⁹ Canute the Great, King of Denmark, conquered Norway in 1028, but he did not long retain its government; for, in 1034, the Norwegians had their own monarchs, who, even for a time, governed in Denmark.

It seems to be a well-established fact, that so early as the eighth century, Irish colonists and Christian missionaries, from our Island, had dwelt in remote Iceland. No doubt, they found or had attracted an indigenous people there,⁶⁰ and they probably instructed these, in the tenets of the true religion. However, under exceedingly unfavourable conditions, the Irish settlers in Iceland led religious lives,⁶¹ built churches, and cultivated literature, probably in the Scandinavian, as in their own language. The *Ira litur*, or letters of the Irish,⁶² and their books, were known to the pagan Norwegians and Swedes, who began to arrive there as adventurers, in the ninth century. Many of the Irish Christians—especially the monks—were then obliged to flee from the Island, and the natives, who had been converted to the true Faith, were subjected to the power of ever-increasing swarms of emigrants, during the tenth century, so that, it is probable, Christianity was gradually suppressed.⁶³ Notwithstanding, a school of poetry and history remained, to perpetuate in song and chronicle, the deeds of departed men and the events of past times, which an early civilization had taught the Irish settlers to cultivate, and which these in turn had communicated, as a precious legacy to those people, among whom they had lived for so long a period. In its pagan state, Iceland had a mythology and superstitions, peculiar to itself. The refugees from Norway replaced Christian practices, by an idolatrous worship. They established laws, which were observed by the colonists. For a long time, their literature breathed the spirit of their strange traditions and rude imaginations. But, the light of Faith began to dawn among the Icelanders, towards the close of the tenth century; and soon, the old manuscripts of the pagans were consigned to oblivion. Yet, their old laws were in force, until the time of Thorgeir,⁶⁴ who promulgated a Decree, in the year 1000,⁶⁵ at the public Assembly of the Island Representatives, that the Religion of Christ—then received by the greater part of the inhabitants⁶⁶—should be publicly propagated, and that

⁵⁸ See "Popular Encyclopedia, or Conversations Lexicon," vol. v. *Art.* Norway, p. 264.

⁵⁹ The Common Law of Norway, as it existed in the middle ages, may be studied, from the "Regis Magni Legum Reformatoris Leges Gula-Thingenses, sive Jus Commune Norvegicum." Ex Manuscriptis Legati Arna-Magnæani, cum interpretatione Latina et Danica, variis Lectionibus, indice Verborum et IV. Tabulis œneis. Havnæ, 1817, 4to.

⁶⁰ According to some accounts, in the beginning of the fifth century, Iceland was inhabited, and Venerable Bede gives a pretty accurate description of the Island.

⁶¹ On this subject, see George Webb Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal, or Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century," vol. i. Introduction. First Settlers, pp. vii., viii. Edinburgh, 1861, 8vo.

⁶² See Rev. George Miller's "Lectures on

the Philosophy of Modern History," vol. iii., Lect. xxvi., p. 204, and n. (1), p. 252.

⁶³ Notwithstanding, the Icelanders' Chronicles frequently allude to the personal history of men, living amongst them, who were of Irish extraction.

⁶⁴ For an account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, the reader is referred to the "Kristni-Saga, sive Historia Religionis Christianæ in Islandiam introductæ; nec non Patr. af Isleifi Biskupi, sive Narratio de Isleifo Episcopo; ex Manuscriptis Legati Magnæani cum Interpretatione Latina, notis, Chronologia, tabulis genealogicis, et Indicibus, tam Rerum quam verborum. Hafniæ, 1773, 8vo.

⁶⁵ According to the "Viga-Glums Saga, sive Vita Viga-Glumi," the pagan hero of Iceland was baptized during this year. See cap. xxviii., pp. 172, 173.

⁶⁶ About the year 1000, the Icelandic hero Glums was baptized. See the Viga-Glums Saga

paganism should be prohibited.⁶⁷ To the zeal of the holy King Olaus,⁶⁸ or Olaf, their conversion was principally owing,⁶⁹ and he had succeeded, likewise, in bringing the people of Greenland,⁷⁰ which was a discovery of the Icelandic navigator, known as Erich Raude,⁷¹ or the Red-headed, to the profession of Christianity.⁷² Churches were founded in Greenland,⁷³ which the Norwegians had settled; and, these old Norse colonies, at their most flourishing period, are said to have numbered 10,000 inhabitants.⁷⁴ During four centuries, this country formed a bishopric; but, the connexion between its Scandinavian settlers and the mother country was cut off. In the thirteenth century, it is thought, that the Skraelings, or Esquimaux, made a descent from the north, and extirpated the Scandinavian race, or perhaps absorbed these people among their own, the lowest race, both physically and intellectually, to be found in Europe.⁷⁵ Although traditions existed among the Greenlanders, regarding the first white visitors, and although Bishops had been appointed for the See,⁷⁶ down to the sixteenth century; yet, when John Davis rediscovered Greenland, in 1585, none others but Esquimaux people were to be found, anywhere long the coast. The inhabitants of the Fero or Farøe Islands⁷⁷—now a possession of Denmark—were converted, likewise, to the true Faith, towards the close of the tenth century.⁷⁸ However, the former customs and

sive Vita Viga-Glumi, Cujus Textus ad fidem præstantissimi Codicis membranei diligenter exactus est, et collatus cum multis libris chartaceis. E Manuscriptis Legati Magnæani. Havnæ, 1786, 4to.

⁶⁷ See such a statement, in "Hin Forn Logbók Islendinga sem nefuist Grágás. Codex Juris Islandorum Antiquissimus, qui nominatur Grágás. Ex duobus Manuscriptis Pergamenis (quæ sola supersunt) Bibliothecæ Regiæ et Legati Arnæ-Magnæani, nunc primum editus. Cum interpretatione Latina, Lectionibus variis, Indicibus Vocum et Rerum pp. Præmissa Commentatione Historica et Critica de hujus Juris origine et Indole," pp., ab J. F. G. Schlegel Conscrip-ta. Pars. i. Commentatio Historica et Critica, sect. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, pp. xiv. to xxi. Havnæ. Sumptibus Legati Arnæniag-næani. Typis H. H. Thiele, 1829, 4to, in Two Volumes.

⁶⁸ The festival of St. Olaus II., or St. Olave, King of Norway and martyr, was celebrated on the 29th of July, where his Acts will be found.

⁶⁹ Although little seems to be known, regarding the history of the early inhabitants of Greenland, much information about its products are to be found, in David Crantz's "History of Greenland: containing a Description of the Country and its inhabitants," &c. Translated from High Dutch, and published, in two octavo volumes, at London, A.D. 1767.

⁷⁰ See the account, in the "Kristni-Saga," cap. xi, pp. 82 to 101.

⁷¹ See *ibid.*, vol. i., Book iv., chap. i., sect. 2, pp. 243, 244.

⁷² In the ninth century, one Gunhjorn had seen Greenland; and, when Eric Röde, or Red Eric, was exiled from Iceland, in the tenth century, he set out with his kindred and friends to seek its inhospitable shores. Over

a great stretch of the south-west coast, they reared villages and farm houses.

⁷³ It is remarkable, that the vestiges of stone churches have been discovered there, while their architectural features and size are exactly identical with those of the primitive Irish churches. See an illustration, in John R. G. Hassard's "History of the United States of America," Part i., chap. i., p. 12.

⁷⁴ Patient research among the obscure pages of the Sagas has thrown fresh light upon doubtful historical data, and brought out new conclusions as to the sites of long-lost cities, monasteries and churches; while scientific inquiries have led to the conviction, that Greenland is not that ice-clad desert which for ages it has been considered to be, but that it contains grassy valleys worthy of the name it bears, which name, we know, it obtained from the bright verdure which at times fringes its southern point, and which, to Icelandic eyes, seemed beautiful in contrast with the desert wastes which were too familiar to them at home.—Henry Bedford's article, "Greenland: What is it," in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," vol. iv., No. 6, p. 359. New Series.

⁷⁵ In 1448, the Pope issued a brief to a Bishop of Norway, in which he complains of the pitiful condition of the inhabitants of Greenland, who had been attacked by sea-pirates, about thirty years before, when people of both sexes were carried off into captivity, by the hostile fleet.

⁷⁶ These bishops, however, did not make any effort to reach their dioceses.

⁷⁷ These were discovered, by Scandinavian navigators, at an early period. See Rev. J. Bosworth's "Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language," Preface, sect. xi., p. cxlv. London, 1838, 8vo.

⁷⁸ The dates are fixed, between A.D. 996 and 998, in the work intitled, "Johannis

spirit of the Norse people, moulded on old traditions, did not wholly depart, for many succeeding generations.

The peculiar Norse manners and customs, with characteristics of the Scandinavian superstitions, have been very ably treated, by various modern writers, and, especially by the learned Finn Magnussen;⁷⁹ but, speculation is still rife, in the interpretation of the Eddaic doctrines and mysteries.⁸⁰ The Northmen legends have accounts of a gigantic race inhabiting their regions.⁸¹ Such opinions were probably founded on their mythology of generation, which refers to the Frost-Giants, or Mountain-Giants.⁸² From their race sprang Odin, or Woden, the father of the bright and beautiful Æsir, the ruling Gods of Heaven and Earth. Asgard or Heaven was the abode of these Gods, and there was Odin's hall, the great Valhalla, roofed with shields, supported by spears, its benches adorned with coats of mail. Thither Odin invites all men slain in battle, and he refreshes them daily with boars' flesh and horns of mead. The other divinities have various offices to discharge there, or they interpose on earth, in the affairs of men. It was thought a time must come, when the world shall be destroyed, and when a new earth, eternally green and fair, shall spring up out of the sea. Dwarfs, demons, dragons, serpents, monsters, wolves, ghosts and apparitions, had their fantastic existence and form, in the Norse mythology, and in the Norseman's imagination. The celebrated chief divinity or hero of the north, the elder Odin, or Woden, is thought to have passed from southern Europe, or from Asia, into Scandinavia. He is generally regarded as a personage, partly historical—and in the remote past—yet chiefly mythological. He was largely mixed up with the northern superstitions, and the Asa dogmas, as understood by the Northmen of Norway and of Iceland. In the main, the Danes and Swedes seem to have followed the same traditions, customs, and dogmas. These are wild and extravagant, differing altogether from the Greek and Roman fictions

Messenii Scandia Illustrata, seu Chronologia de Rebus Scandiæ, hoc est, Sueciæ, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, atque una Islandiæ, Gronlandiæque, tam Ecclesiasticis quam politicis; a Mundi Cataclysmo, usque Annum Christi MDCXII gestis. Primum edita et observationibus aucta a Johanne Peringskiöld, tomus i. Chronologiæ Scandianæ, p. 76. Stockholmæ, 1700, fol.

⁷⁹ A very ingenious work, and most valuable for reference, on Northern pagan practices, is the "Priscæ Veterum Borealiæ Mythologiæ Lexicon, cuncta illius Cosmologica, Theosophica et Damonica Numina, Æntia et Loca ordine Alphabetico indicans, illustrans et e magna parte cum Exteris, ista contingentibus, comparans. Accedit Septentrionalium Gothorum, Scandinavorum aut Danorum Gentile Calendarium, ex Asia oriundum, jam primum expositum et cum variis cognatarum Gentium Fastis, Festis et solennibus Ritibus vel Superstitionibus collatum." Auctore Finno Magnussen, Havniæ, 1828, 4to.

⁸⁰ On this subject, Finn has written a great work, "Eddalæren og dens Oprindelse," 4ed. Kjøbh, 1824-1826.

⁸¹ See the rare work, "Hervarar Saga," edited with Notes in Latin, by Olaus Verelilius, cap. i., p. 4., Upsalæ, 1672, fol.; also, the Icelandic writer, Saxo Grammaticus, in "Danica Historia Libris xvi., annis

ab hinc Trecentis Quinquaginta, summa verborum elegantia, magna sententiarum gravitate, rerum denique admiranda varietate, intermixtis aliarum quoque Gentium historiis, conscripta." Prefacio 4, and lib. i., pp. 9, 15. Francofurti ad Moenum, A.D. 1576, fol.

⁸² According to the Dogmas of the Asa-Faith: "In the beginning of time there were two worlds: in the south was Muspell, light and flaming; over it rules Surtur, who sits at its boundaries with his flaming sword; in the North was Niffheim, cold and dark, with the fountain Hevergelmir in its midst, where the Dragon Niöhöggr dwells. Between these worlds was Ginungagap—the Yawning Chasm—still as the windless air. From Hevergelmir flowed forth ice-cold venom-streams. The rime from these streams met in Ginunga-gap with Muspell's sparks; then the rime-drops were quickened by the power of the heat, and the Jotun Ymir came into being, who of himself produced a race of evil Jotuns—the Frost Giants or Mountain Giants."—"The Religion of the Northmen," by Rudolph Keyser, Part First, chap. i., p. 89.

⁸³ Much curious information, on the Gentile religion of the Northmen, will be found, in the learned work of Professor Rudolph Keyser. "Nordmændenes Religions-forfatning i Hedendom-men," published at Christiania, in Norway. It has been translated

and rites. The Northmen divinities have been conceived as sensual and human-like, with temples and sacrifices, sorcery and divination, predominating.⁸³ How remotely derived these practices may have been can only be gleaned, from a study of the old Norse Saga and Edda literature of Iceland. In the time of Pompey the Great,⁸⁴ Sigga, a chief of the Asa, or Asiatics, is said to have retreated before him through Russia; and, he had resolved on returning, with a still greater force, to oppose the Roman legions. He is said to have been a Scythian prince, and to have been a priest of Odin; while he assumed the direction of religious services, as also of the civil government, in those countries he conquered.⁸⁵ The Icelandic Chronicles represent this priest—who seems to have been confounded with his God Odin⁸⁶—as a master of eloquence and of magic, the inventor of the Runic characters, an introducer of poetry among the Scandinavians, a great warrior, and, in course of time, a deified hero. He passed through Saxony and Franconia, and finally into Denmark. He was leader of those people known as Goths, and supposed to have been of Asiatic origin, owing to the affinity of their language with the Sanscrit and Persian. He is said to have given Denmark, as also Sweden, and Norway, a new dynasty of rulers;⁸⁷ finally, he retired into Sweden and died there, while the people, in times subsequent, built temples and instituted sacrifices to his honour.

On the southern and western shores of the Baltic, likewise, the Goths had formed their settlements. Allured by a love of adventure, and through the hope of plunder, vast numbers of their warriors began to swarm, into the more southern Roman provinces, so early as the third century. But, in the age succeeding, under their celebrated leader, Fritigern, they inflicted great losses on the Roman legions, especially in that memorable victory, obtained by them, at Hadrianople.⁸⁸ The Gothic people of the North had thus carried the fame of their warlike and ferocious hordes, into the central and southern countries of Europe;⁸⁹ and, they had become very formidable to the Romans, during the declining state of the Empire. While such events were transpiring by land, their fellow-countrymen in Scandinavia had covered the northern seas with vessels, which were soon destined to rear hardy seamen, for other adventures and to seek different lands. The magnificent oak and pine forests of Scandinavia afforded great facilities, for fitting out powerful

into English, by Barclay Pennoek, and published, at New York, 1854, 8vo.

⁸⁴ The actions of this celebrated hero are set forth, very fully, in "The Roman History: with Notes Historical, Geographical, and Critical," done into English, from the original French of the Rev. Fathers Catrou and Rouillé, vols. v., vi., Books liv. to lxxvi.

⁸⁵ Such is the account given of him, by Snorro Sturlesson, and by his commentator, Torfæus.

⁸⁶ "Notwithstanding the mysterious obscurity of the Edda, we can easily distinguish two persons confounded under the name of Odin,—the God of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. The latter, the Mahomet of the North, instituted a religion adopted to the climate and to the people. Numerous tribes, on either side of the Baltic, were subdued by the invincible valour of Odin, by his persuasive eloquence, and by the fame which he acquired of a most skilful magician."—Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol.

i., chap. x., p. 377. Edition of William Smith, LL.D. London, 1862, 8vo.

⁸⁷ The reader is referred, for further details, to S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. i., Book i., chap. i., ii., iii.

⁸⁸ See Edward Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., chap. xxvi., pp. 324 to 338. Edition of William Smith, LL.D.

⁸⁹ See that very rare and curious work, "Wilkina Saga, &c., sive Historia Wilkinensium, Theodorici Veronensis, ac Nilungorum; continens Regum atque Heroum quorundam Gothicorum Res gestas, per Russiam, Poloniam, Hungariam, Italiam, Burgundiam, Hispaniam," &c. Ex MSS. Codicibus Lingvæ veteris Scandicæ, in hodiernam Svecicam atque Latinam translata, opera Johannis Peringskiöld. Stockholm, A. D. M. DCC. XV., fol.

⁹⁰ These are said to have been used, by Harold Harfager, and by Olaf, Kings of Norway.

fleets; while its peninsular situation, with the many harbours around its coasts, gave them numberless places for secure anchorage. At first, light smacks were employed, for coasting and fishing purposes; but, soon, the captains and mariners entertained ambitious projects, while extending their voyages, and, by degrees, skilled operatives were enabled to build vessels of greater size and capacity. The Northmen used large and long ships, called "dragons," and "serpents,"⁹⁰ while some of them carried thirty-four banks of rowers.⁹¹ Those vessels were intended for war expeditions. Although exaggerated by the style and language, in the Saga of King Olaf, one of its descriptive passages may furnish an idea, regarding their size.⁹² Those vessels, in which the Norse embarked, were doubtless of considerable tonnage;⁹³ and each of them contained, probably, not less than one hundred seamen and warriors.⁹⁴ Chaunting the rude and heroic songs of their fathers, those hardy and dauntless adventurers plied alternately at the oars, or were engaged in hoisting, shifting,

⁹⁰ The Danish and Norwegian Kings, who invaded England and Ireland, during the ninth and tenth centuries, had frequently fleets of 200 to 300 ships. In the tenth century, Aulaf, or Olave, the Danish King of Dublin, and his allies, entered the Humber, with a fleet of 615 ships, according to Turner's account of the battle of Brunanburgh, in Northumberland. About that period, also, Harold, King of Denmark, and Hacon, a Norwegian Viking, had a fleet of 700 ships. Originally their vessels were twelve-oared boats, or small galleys. See the learned Frenchman, Mallet's "Northern Antiquities; or, a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Laws of the Ancient Danes and other Northern Nations, with a translation of the Edda," &c. This work, thus translated from the French, was published, in London, A.D. 1770. A new edition of it, revised and enlarged, has appeared in a popular form, for Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1847, 8vo.

⁹¹ We refer the reader to the poet Longfellow's "Tales of a Wayside Inn," where the building of the Long Serpent of King Olaf is introduced; and, there occurs the following allusion to his ship-builder, Thorberg Skafting:—

"Near him lay the Dragon stranded,
Built of old by Raud the Strong,
And King Olaf had commanded
He should build another Dragon,
Twice as large and long.

* * * * *

"Seventy ells and four extended
On the grass the vessel's keel;
High above it gilt and splendid,
Rose the figure-head ferocious,
With its crest of steel.

"Then they launched her from the
tressels,
In the shipyard by the sea;
She was grandest of all vessels,
Never ship was built in Norway
Half so fine as she!

"The Long Serpent was she christened,
'Mid the roar of cheer on cheer!
They who to the Saga listened
Heard the name of Thorberg Skafting
For a hundred year!"

⁹² A discovery has been made, in the year 1880, which serves to throw much light on the estimate here made. On the sea-shore, near Christiana, in Norway, and not far from Sandeford, was a tumulus, known to the people as King's Hill. Under this, according to tradition, a mighty warrior had been interred. While sinking a well, the whole of an old Viking vessel, with its stem turned towards the sea, was laid bare, with twenty of its ribs remaining in their places. Between stem and stern, it measured 77 feet, 11 inches, in length, while it was 16 feet, 6 inches, in breadth amid-ships. Judging by its proportions, this galley must have drawn nearly six feet of water. The northern antiquaries have fixed the date of its entombment, at about A.D. 800, when Scandinavia was still divided, among those wild chiefs and sea-kings. See Major W. G. Wood-Martin's "History of Sligo, County and Town, from the earliest Ages to the close of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, with illustrations from Original Drawings and Plans," Book ii., chap. iv., p. 145. Dublin: 1882, 8vo.

⁹³ Describing that particular ship, to which allusion has been made in a previous note, the writer adds: "Amid-ships reposed the Viking, surrounded by remains of men, horses, dogs, cooking utensils, drinking-cups, &c., so that, like Eoghan Bel, when the great father should call him, the chief might start, fully equipped, from the tomb; but more than a thousand years have rolled along since his galley "walked the waters like a thing of life," and still he awaits his call. Along the free-board were ranged a hundred shields; in the hulls, or hold, were small boats and a quantity of oars. The hundred bucklers which hung on the gunwale of the disintombed vessel represented one hundred fighting men. There must have been mariners

or furling the sails, while measuring the bearing and distance, by sunlight or starlight, which separated them, from the shores of their own country, and from those of the nations, they were about to invade. Bent on their piratical enterprises, the crews sought in more distant lands, and with ruthless determination, those means of subsistence, which their fatherland withheld from them.⁹⁵

Among the Danes, Icelanders, Swedes, and Norwegians, from time immemorial, Ireland had been celebrated for its excellent soil, for its charming situation, for its mild climate, for its fertility and beauty. An ancient Northern writer⁹⁶ acknowledges this, and, in terms of high praise; although, as he remarks, no vines grow there. According to some authorities, the foreigners from the north landed in Ireland—probably as peaceful immigrants—at rather an early date;⁹⁷ but, we cannot well be satisfied, regarding authorities given for such accounts.⁹⁸ The coasts of Scotland and of England lay nearer to them, and these were first invaded.⁹⁹ The Saxon Chronicle notices their arrival, at A.D. 787,¹⁰⁰ and again, in 793, when a great naval armament attacked the Island of Lindisfarne,¹⁰¹ where they killed several of the monks, and made others captives, demolishing their holy places, and carrying off all the treasures of their church.¹⁰² Next year, the Western Isles of Scotland, and the northern shores of England, were invaded.¹⁰³ Then were the church and monastery at Iona plundered by those Gentiles, who laid waste the Islands about it; and soon, supported by coming adventurers, their fleets were directed towards the shores of Ireland. The invaders landed on the Island of Reachrann,¹⁰⁴ supposed to be the present Lambay,¹⁰⁵ where they broke and plundered the shrines, and set fire to the place. Besides the general term of Gentiles and

also to look after the sails; indeed, to man such a ship a large crew was required. No wonder, therefore, that a fleet of these galleys should strike terror along any coast off which they hovered."—*Ibid.*, pp. 145, 146.

⁹⁵ J. Harris Stone's "Viking Ship."

⁹⁶ The composer of the "Kongespeil," or Mirror of Kings, compiled, in Norway, about the year 1200.

⁹⁷ The third century of the Christian era has been named, for the descent of King Sigir and his sons, to aid Eoghan More, who had fled to Spain, when he had been deprived of his Munster Kingdom, by Conn of the Hundred Battles. This theme has furnished the ground-work for a spirited ballad, by an Irish poet, Dr. George Sigeron, M.R.I.A., writing under the signature of Eriannah, in "The Harp," a Monthly Magazine, edited by M. J. M'Cann, and published in Dublin, A.D. 1869. The following is the opening stanza:—

"Danced the stream, laught the skies,
sang the trees merrily,
Whitely the mountain beamed, brightly
the berry lay;
South o'er the sparkling sea ran the
breeze cheerily,
Waving from Norway Clann Sigir
the Bold!"

—"The Saga of King Sigir and his sons," p. 306.

⁹⁸ It is said, there were Norwegians in

Tyrone, at the time of the Attacot insurrection. See Ilaverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. v., p. 32, note.

⁹⁹ It is said, that the conquests of Charlemagne over the Saxons, and their dispersion into Scandinavia, led them to originate or take part in the invasions of Britain and of France. See Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. i., pp. 5 to 10.

¹⁰⁰ Then, three ships came from Hærethalande, interpreted Norway, and they landed on the coast of Dorsetshire.

¹⁰¹ Before this time, dreadful prodigies, horrible lightnings, and dragons in the air, affrighted the nation of the Angles. See "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," according to the several original Authorities, Edited with a Translation, by Benjamin Thorpe, vol. i., p. 101, and vol. ii., p. 48. London, 1861, 8vo.

¹⁰² See Simeon of Durham, in "Historia Regum."

¹⁰³ At A.D. 794, the Annals of Ulster record, "Vastatio omnium isolarum Britanniae gentibus."—Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv.

¹⁰⁴ According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, A.D. 792, but the true year is 795. This was an ancient name for the present Island of Rathlin, off the north-coast of Antrim County.

¹⁰⁵ This was likewise called Reachrann. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 396, 397, and n. (i).

Pagans, the Irish distinguished between two invading nations; the Norwegians¹⁰⁶—the more formidable horde—being known as Fingalls, “white,” or “fair-headed strangers,”¹⁰⁷ also called Lochlannach,¹⁰⁸ or “people of Lochlann,”¹⁰⁹ while the Danes were known as Dubhgaill, “black,” or “dark-haired strangers,” also called Danars. But, in the accounts of their depredations on Ireland, our historians are not always careful, to distinguish between those nations.¹¹⁰ The wealth and resources, presented to their ambition, soon caused the Scandinavian Vikings and emigrants, to turn their attention, towards effecting conquests, in the Emerald Isle; as it bordered very closely upon their colonies, in England and Scotland, and especially when its fertility contrasted so favourably, with such poor countries as Greenland and those Islands, lying in the North Atlantic Ocean.¹¹¹

So early as the close of the eighth century, the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, by the Northmen, is chronicled; but, it was only in the century succeeding, that their inroads received repetition and dangerous consistence. To give some idea of their frequency and power, we have only to take a rapid glance, over the Annals and Chronicles of those Islands. In 805, no less than sixty-eight of the Iona monks were massacred, by the Northmen.¹¹² After some partial descents on the coasts, towards the close, and about the beginning, of the ninth century, the Scandinavians landed in force, on the shores of England. Soon they established there a supremacy over the Saxons, whose ealdormans and thanes were at war among themselves. In the reign of Egbert,¹¹³ and especially towards its close, their fleets appeared annually around the coasts of England. Everywhere they spread terror, for in addition to plunder, they frequently massacred the people, who dared to resist them. Especially, the Normans and Danes continued to persecute and put to death the clergy, monks and nuns, whose houses were pillaged; while they held, in scorn and hatred, the religion of the Christians. In 807,¹¹⁴ the foreigners landed on Inis Muiredaigh, now Inishmurry;¹¹⁵ the religious establishment there was burned, and they penetrated inland, so far as Roscommon.¹¹⁶ In 812 and 813, the Norwegians invaded Connaught and Munster; where they met with reverses in Umhaill, and in Eoghanacht-Loch-Lein,¹¹⁷ while they slaughtered many people living in Connemara.¹¹⁸ In the years 819¹¹⁹ and 820, those foreigners¹²⁰ made descents for plunder, on the eastern and southern

¹⁰⁶ They are called Lochlanns, especially in the older Manuscripts.

¹⁰⁷ The term *Ζοριμζλαρα*, translated “azure,” is sometimes applied to them; it is probable, because of their armour presenting the colour a greenish blue.

¹⁰⁸ Hirotha or Irruaith is the Irish name for Norway.

¹⁰⁹ This word is thought to signify Lake-land, including the *fjords*, or arms of the sea; and, in Ireland, too, we have corresponding applications of the term Loch, such as Loch Foyle, Loch Swilly, &c.

¹¹⁰ See *CoꝞaoh ꝞæoheꝞ Re Ꝟallaibh*. Edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, Introduction, pp. xxx., xxxi.

¹¹¹ See J. J. A. Worsæe’s “Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland.” The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. i., p. 299.

¹¹² According to the Ulster Annals. See Rev. Dr. O’Conor’s “*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*,” tomus iv., p. 195.

¹¹³ From A. D. 802, his ascendancy over other kings of the Saxon Heptarchy began to prevail, and he died in 836. See Sir Harris Nicholas’ “*Chronology of History*,” p. 355.

¹¹⁴ The Annals of the Four Masters have it, at A. D. 802, *recte*, 807.

¹¹⁵ On the west coast of Sligo.

¹¹⁶ See Dr. O’Donovan’s “*Annals of the Four Masters*,” vol. i., pp. 412, 413, and n. (x). *Ibid*.

¹¹⁷ See Miss M. F. Cusack’s “*Popular History of Ireland*,” chap. xii., p. 189.

¹¹⁸ See Charles Haliday’s “*Scandinavian History of Dublin*,” Book i., chap. i., p. 15.

¹¹⁹ This year, they devastated Howth. See John D’Alton’s “*History of the County of Dublin*,” p. 131.

¹²⁰ According to Dermod O’Connor’s Keating, they were White Lochlann, or Norwegians. “See *General History of Ireland*,” Second Book, p. 413.

shores of Ireland. Soon they began to devastate the sacred monuments of our island. In 822 and 823, they burned and plundered Bangor, Down, and Moville, in Ulster. The years succeeding are noticed, as being marked with devastations; but, in 830, Armagh, which had heretofore escaped plundering by strangers, was sacked thrice, within one month.¹²¹ Before the middle of this century, various places were attacked, in the interior; while the churches and monasteries were everywhere wrecked and plundered, by those gentiles. The fierce strangers generally managed to carry away the sacred relics, and many treasures of the sanctuary, before escaping to their vessels. The records of Armagh, for many years after that fatality of a first raid, are but an echo of the national history. While this city was regarded, as having an ecclesiastical supremacy over all other parts of Ireland, contests, regarding the archiepiscopal succession, had created frequent schisms. The kings and chiefs still continued their feuds, even when formidable and powerful combinations had been effected by the foreigners. These found Ultonia distracted by faction, and its strength divided. Civil discord had been heightened by religious contention. During the incumbency of Archbishop Artri, Armagh had suffered greatly to A.D. 832, the date assigned for his death. Diarmaid Ua Tighearnaigh comes next in order. Farannan succeeded, or rather displaced him, in 834.¹²² These two rivals, Farannan and O'Tierney, appear to have disputed archiepiscopal jurisdiction, each exercising the functions of the See, and this happened, during a period of great public calamity and confusion.

The Danes soon re-appeared, and continued their ravages, in different parts of Ireland. Their aggressions now became unintermitting; often they are successfully opposed, but frequently they are conquerors. They behaved with great cruelty to the vanquished. At length, these rose up in arms, and beat the invaders back to their ships, whenever time and preparation had been allowed for resistance. Fresh hordes were constantly arriving, and in different quarters. Under their various designations of Fingallians, Dubh-gallians, Lochlannans, the Northmen threatened to overwhelm Ulster. In the time of the Northmen descents on Ireland, a Danish writer estimates the population of our Island, at between six and seven millions;¹²³—this seems to us, however, a very exaggerated computation—while the woods, bogs and mountains, in the interior, gave the Celts an undoubted advantage over their Gothic invaders. Early in the ninth century, several Northmen crews had infested the southern shores of Ireland; and, it is especially mentioned, that they had taken possession of Cork,¹²⁴ and of Luinnech, or the Lower Shannon, whence the neighbouring country was plundered by them, namely, Corcobhaiscinn, Tradraige, and those lands occupied by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. However, in the year 834,¹²⁵ the chieftain of this latter tribe, and who was named Donnchadh—also head of the Ui-Fidhghente—assisted by Cennfaeladh, gave battle to the gentiles, at Seannad, or Shanid, in the barony of Lower Costello, and county of Limerick. Here, the foreigners were defeated, yet, they seem to have kept their hold on the place, where they had a strong fortification. They were in full force, at Luimneach, in 843, when they took Forannan, Primate of Armagh, at Cluain-Comharda,¹²⁶ with his relics and people, to their ships.

¹²¹ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. i., pp. 99, 100.

¹²² See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 45.

¹²³ See J. J. A. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ire-

land, sect. i., p. 299.

¹²⁴ About 820. See Miss M. F. Cusack's "History of the City and County of Cork," chap. iv., p. 55.

¹²⁵ According to the "Chronicum Scotorum," edited by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., p. 141.

¹²⁶ This place has not been identified

One of the most powerful naval expeditions was that conducted by Turgeis, or Turgesius, who had forced his way through Connaught and Leinster, and who now led his victorious Easterlings upon Armagh. As he advanced, Turgeis waged an unrelenting war against Christianity, levelling the churches to the ground, and treating the clergy with wanton barbarity. This leader assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners, in Ireland; and, he seems to have occupied, for some time, the whole of Leath-Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland. Three great fleets of foreigners appeared almost simultaneously, and their movements were probably under his guidance.¹²⁷ In the year 836, a fleet of sixty Norseman ships sailed into the mouth of the Boyne, while a convoy equally numerous entered the Liffey. Both forces were combined, and they spoiled all Magh Liphthe, or the plain of the Liffey, and Magh Breagh, that tract of country lying between Dublin and Drogheda. At Inbhear-nambarc,¹²⁸ they obtained a great and decisive victory, over all the southern Ui-Neills, or the people of Meath. The invaders then took possession of Dublin, for the first time, and here they established a strong garrison. It was probably about the same period, the country northwards had been settled by the Finngalls; so that, even at this day, its people are known as Fingallians, and the district is still called Fingal. In 838, the foreigners had a fleet on Lough Neagh, which enabled them to spoil the churches and territories around its shores. Thus, very considerable Scandinavian settlements, in the ninth century, had been formed throughout Ireland. According to the concurring evidence of the Irish and Northman Chronicles, for more than three centuries, the Scandinavians must have exercised very great influence, in the chief ports of Ireland. For a period of thirteen years, or from A.D. 831, or 832, to 845, Turgeis aimed at the establishment of a permanent colony of his countrymen in Ireland, and for the extermination or subjugation of the native kings and chiefs. He took care to select places, for the erection of strongholds, with the object of protecting the Northmen. These are said to have built Cahirs or Caers, and Cashels or Castles; and, likewise to have spread themselves over all Erin, which was subjugated, for a time. The chief seat of Turgeis' government appears to have been, at Armagh; while constant reinforcements of the Lochlannach arrived from Norway. Their fierce leader desired, likewise, to root out Christianity from our Island, and to introduce the national heathenism of his own country. The churches and monasteries of Ireland shared in the common calamity; they were stripped of their sacred vessels and ornaments; afterwards, they were set on fire, by the wicked invaders, without remorse or distinction.¹²⁹ Sometimes, the Irish were obliged to fly, and to seek the remotest mountain districts, when worsted in their isolated struggles with the invaders. During this supremacy of the Northmen, the clergy throughout the most part of Ireland were compelled to lurk for years, among the mountains, woods and bogs, as also in deserts and in caverns. Heavy tributary exactions were imposed on the people, who were often enslaved, when they could not afford to pay the taxes laid upon them. A series of extraordinary oppressions was commenced and long continued, by the Norwegians; while, their exactions are still remembered, even among the most ignorant people, still tenacious of the past, although their traditions chiefly hold the

¹²⁷ See *Coisíne Dáeohel Re Galluibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd. Introduction, p. xlii.

¹²⁸ It has the meaning, the *inver* or river-mouth of the barks or ships. Dr. O'Donovan considers this place—not yet clearly identified—as having been the ancient name

for the mouth of the River Rath-Inbhir, near Bray. See "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 454 to 457, and n. (b). *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ See Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, p. 415. Duffy's Edition.

Danes as responsible, for most of those tyrannical and savage acts. The Irish accounts, however, regarding the Normans and Danes, with their exactions, are rather vague, in many cases, and they seem to have been drawn from bardic compositions, based merely on popular rumours. These are spiced, too frequently, with strong national prejudice and dislike; therefore, we may be prepared for much exaggeration. In the year 837, the gentiles gained a great victory over the Connaughtmen, in which Maelduin, heir apparent to the throne of Connaught, was slain. The following year, a change of abbots at Armagh is noticed, Diarmaid Ua Tighearnaigh succeeding to Forannan of Rath-mic-Malais;¹³⁰ while in 839, the foreigners burned Armagh, with its cathedral and oratories.¹³¹ The ecclesiastical possessions seem to have been usurped, by Turgesius. Desiring to effect the conquest of Meath and of Connaught, he proceeded towards Lough Ree, to take command of a fleet there stationed. The Norse had launched their ships, even on the Irish lakes. With those vessels they coerced people, dwelling around their shores;¹³² while, up and down the Shannon, Turgesius sailed, plundering all the religious institutions, which were on or near its banks. At length, Maelseachlainn¹³³ took him prisoner, and the King of Meath is said to have effected this object, by a stratagem. The tyrant eagerly desired and had demanded his daughter, while the king appeared to comply with this demand. The place appointed for that interview with her was an island in Loch Uair, now known as Lough Owel; and, here, it was arranged, that she should be accompanied by fifteen beautiful young maidens, as prizes for fifteen of the most favoured Northmen chiefs. When the foreigners, suspecting no plot, had landed there, it was found, that fifteen avenging young Irishmen, disguised in female apparel, had daggers concealed beneath their dresses, with which they poignarded those assembled chiefs of the Scandinavians, with their king.¹³⁴ He was afterwards drowned in Lough Owel, near Mullingar, in 843, the date furnished for this transaction. That tale, however, referring to the immediate cause of his death, has been generally rejected as a romance, by most Irish historians.¹³⁵

The exposed position of Iona caused the community, who observed the rule of St. Columba, to resolve on erecting two new houses—one at Dunkeld, on the mainland of Scotland, and the other at Kells, in Ireland. Kenneth Mac'Alpin, of Scottish descent,¹³⁶ invaded the Picts in 839, and subjected them to his rule over Scotland, while his enterprise is thought to have been aided by the Scandinavian invaders.¹³⁷ His reign lasted, until A.D. 860. He left two sons, Constantin and Aed, besides three daughters, one married to Run, King of the Britons of Strathclyde, another married to Amlaibh,¹³⁸ or Olaf the White, Norwegian King of Dublin,¹³⁹ and the third, called Maelmaire,¹⁴⁰

¹³⁰ He seems, afterwards, to have gone into exile.

¹³¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 460, 461.

¹³² See J. J. A. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. ii., p. 308.

¹³³ He is called Omachlachelim, by Giraldus Cambrensis. See "Topographia Hibernica," cap. xl., p. 185. "Opera," vol. v., Edited by James F. Dimock, M.A.

¹³⁴ See *ibid.*

¹³⁵ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 125, and note.

¹³⁶ He probably ruled over the people in Galway, on the south-west coast of Scotland. It is thought, the name had been derived from

the Gall-Gaidhel, a compound of two Irish words, Gall, "Stranger," and Gaidhel, the national name for the Gaelic race. This term spread to the people of the western Isles of Scotland of Irish descent, and who were generally subjected to Northman domination.

¹³⁷ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vi., pp. 303 to

¹³⁸ His first wife seems to have been Audur the wealthy, daughter to Ketill Flatnose or Caittil Finn, a petty king of Norway, but settled in the Hebrides.

¹³⁹ This appears, from the "Three Fragments" of Irish Annals. See pp. 172, 173.

¹⁴⁰ The name may be Anglicised, "the servant of Mary."

married¹⁴¹ to Aedh Finnliath, monarch of Ireland, who died A.D. 879. It can hardly be doubted, that his daughters were married to Christian husbands, as their father is known to have been a special patron of religious persons.

After the death of the tyrant Turgesius, the tide of successes for the Northmen changed. In 844, when he had been thirteen years the lawfully recognised sovereign of Ireland, Niall Caille, son of Aedh Oirdnidhe, hastened to the relief of Armagh. There the Northmen received his onset, and a bloody encounter resulted in a victory for the Irish. It was dearly purchased, however, by the death of their leader, who perished in an attempt, to save one of his troop from being drowned. During the years succeeding, the foreigners sustained many defeats, in various parts of Ireland. Reinforcements were required to maintain their ascendancy, in the invaded Island, but on account of their great distance from Scardinavia, it was a physical impossibility for the Northmen to obtain assistance, in the hour of need, from their own country.¹⁴² In the year 849, a new race of invaders, the Dubhghoill, or Black Foreigners, arrived at Ath-cliath, to make war on the Fionghoill.¹⁴³ The former took possession of the fortress, and made a great slaughter of the Norwegians. This success was repeated, at Linn-Duachail, in the north of Ireland. In 850, a fleet of 160 Finghoill ships arrived in Carlingford Lough, to give battle to the Dubhghoill.¹⁴⁴ For three days and three nights, they fought against each other, but the Danes obtained a victory, and the Norwegians either escaped in their ships, or left these in possession of the conquerors.¹⁴⁵ While Dermot O'Tighernagh ruled over the primatial See, upon the Sunday after the Easter of 852, the gentiles stormed and sacked Armagh. This calamity broke the heart of the good Archbishop. He died, with the reputation of being the "wisest of the doctors of Europe."¹⁴⁶ In other struggles, the Irish were victorious. Amlaibh,¹⁴⁷ also called Amlaf, or Olaf, the White,¹⁴⁸ the son of the Lochlan King, came to Ireland, A.D. 851. All the foreigners in Ireland submitted to him,¹⁴⁹ and they exacted rent from the Gaedhil, or Irish.¹⁵⁰ With the natives, however, alliances were frequently entered into, and with Amlaibh was associated Imlar, or Ivor, ancestor to the Danish Kings of Dublin, and Ceartball, Chief of Ossory, in an invasion

¹⁴¹ The Ulster Annals, at A.D. 917, mention her, as Mailmaire inghen Cinaeda mac Alpin mor.

¹⁴² See J. J. A. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. i., pp. 229, 300.

¹⁴³ From some History of the Danish Invasions, which now appears to be lost, Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh gives a detailed account of this quarrel, between the Scandinavians themselves, in the "Three Fragments" of Irish Annals, edited with a translation and notes, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., pp. 114 to 125.

¹⁴⁴ Some curious particulars are related, about the Danes, after a first defeat, placing themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, and of his God, and then being victorious, after a great slaughter of the Norwegians. A horrible idea of the victors' ferocity is given, when we are informed, that their cauldrons were placed on heaps of Lochlann bodies, and one end of the spits, on which their meat was hung, had been stuck into some of

the corpses, while cooking their meals. This was witnessed, by the ambassadors of King Maels-eachlainn.

¹⁴⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 484, 485.

¹⁴⁶ See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ In the "Three Fragments" of Irish Annals, he is called Amlaöib Conung, and the editor, Dr. O'Donovan, has the query "is Conung an Hibernicized form of the Teutonic *Koenig* or *Koenung*, King?"

¹⁴⁸ He was a Norwegian.

¹⁴⁹ See an account of him, in Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian History of Dublin," chap. i., ii., pp. 18 to 33.

¹⁵⁰ At the year 854, an extraordinary fact, not noticed in the Annals of Ulster or of the Four Masters, is related, that many of the Irish forsook their Christian baptism, joined the Lochlanns, plundered Armagh, and carried away all its riches; but some of them did penance, and came to make satisfaction. See *ibid.*, pp. 126, 127.

of Meath, A.D. 857. Peace was proclaimed, after King Maelseachlainn had convoked a great assembly of Irish notables, at Rathhugh, in the county of Westmeath. The monarch of Ireland was obliged to contend with Aedh Finliath, son to Niall Caille, who leagued with the foreigners. Thus, our Annals present a dismal succession of struggles, between the islanders and their obstinate enemies. The former were always disunited, and often for that reason suffering disaster. In the year 860 died Maelseachlainn, after a reign of sixteen years,¹⁵¹ and he was succeeded by Aedh Finliath, in the sovereignty of Ireland. Meantime, the Saxons in England were harassed greatly by the Northmen. During the reigns of the English King Egbert's successors, Ethelwulf, Ethelbald, Ethelbert and Ethelbred, with varying fortunes, invasion succeeded invasion, but everywhere, the pirates spread ruin and conflagration. Various signal victories were obtained over the Saxons, until Alfred the Great was called to the throne in 871. His prudence, abilities and courage reversed their successes to the end of his reign, and his death took place, on the 26th of October, A.D. 899 to 901.¹⁵² His son Edward, who succeeded, obtained more real power over them, and his conquests were more durable.

During Maelseachlainn's reign, while the Scandinavians were repressed in the north of Ireland, those of Dublin invaded Leinster and Munster, which they ravaged, while they searched the very earth-caves for hidden booty. Limerick, Cork and Kerry were desolated by those plunderers. In 860, two noble chiefs of the Lochlanns, came with their forces to Luimnech, and thence went to Port-Lairge. The leaders were called Hona, who was a Druid,¹⁵³ and Tormir Torra; but, the people of Eoghanacht,¹⁵⁴ and of Aracliach,¹⁵⁵ opposed them. Those chiefs were slain, with a great number of their forces, and only a few escaped from the people of Munster.¹⁵⁶ In 867, Armagh was again burned, and one thousand of its citizens were slaughtered.¹⁵⁷ About this period, the Danes had landed in England, and had reduced the Kingdom of Northumbria, under their sway.¹⁵⁸ Nay more, the Norwegians are said even to have invaded the Mauritanians, or Moors, about A.D. 869; and, after fighting a bloody engagement with the king of that country, the Lochlanns gained a signal victory, and carried off a great number of captives to Erin, where these were known as blue or dark men, owing to the peculiar colour of their faces.¹⁵⁹ It must be allowed, that the White Gentiles fought with the Black Gentiles, about this time, and these latter were driven to Alba or Scotland. During this period, the Norwegians under Anlæibh and Imhar invaded Scotland, laying waste the country of the Picts. They returned to Dublin in 871, with two hundred ships, bringing a great number of captives, Picts, Angles and Britons.¹⁶⁰ Aedh Finliath died 876, and he was succeeded by Flann Sionna, the son of Maelseachlainn, on the throne of Ireland. During his long reign of forty years, this country enjoyed comparative immunity from

¹⁵¹ See "Gratianus Lucius, Cambrensis Eversus," vol. ii., cap. ix., pp. 30, 31. Rev. Matthew Kelly's edition.

¹⁵² See Rev. Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. iiii., iv., pp. 143 to 188.

¹⁵³ Most probably, this is a term used, because he died, praying to the gods and exercising magic.

¹⁵⁴ These lived, in the great plain surrounding Cashel.

¹⁵⁵ This territory is in the east of Limerick County.

¹⁵⁶ In the "Three Fragments" of Irish

Annals, this notice is to be found.

¹⁵⁷ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iiii., p. 112.

¹⁵⁸ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vi., p. 332.

¹⁵⁹ This is related, in the "Three Fragments" of Irish Annals, collected by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh, and edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., pp. 158 to 163.

¹⁶⁰ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vi., pp. 323 to 325.

foreign aggression ; yet, sometimes from the Norse settlements at Dublin, Limerick, Lough Foyle, Lough Neagh, and elsewhere, churches were plundered and districts ravaged.¹⁶¹ By a combined attack of Cearbhall, King of Leinster, and of Maelfinnia, King of Bregia, the foreigners were expelled from Dublin, A.D. 900, when they left many of their vessels behind them. Their leader was Sichfrith, son of Imhar.¹⁶² During this period, the Northmen committed extensive depredations, not only in Great Britain, but even on the Rhine, in France, in Normandy, in Italy, and in other European countries.¹⁶³ In 910, the Northmen took possession of Loch Dachaech,¹⁶⁴ or Port Lairge, now Waterford;¹⁶⁵ and, in the year 912, a still greater number of their vessels arrived in its harbour.¹⁶⁶ Great and frequent reinforcements followed them, in 913 ; so that the place became one of their strongest southern positions.¹⁶⁷ Those forces were under the command of Ragnall—grandson to Ivar—and also under Earl Ottir. In 916, died Flann Sionna, and he was succeeded, in the sovereignty of Ireland, by Niall Glandubh.¹⁶⁸ The foreigners, especially in the south, east and west of Ireland, were very aggressive, during his reign. The Irish gained some victories over the Norwegians and Danes ; but, the monarch of Ireland, leading a large northern force against those in Dublin, lost a battle and his life, at Kilmashogue, near Rathfarnham, September 15th, A.D. 919. Several Irish kings and chiefs perished in this engagement, among the rest Hugh Mac Eochagain, King of Ultonia.¹⁶⁹

The native Irish continued to maintain their prestige in arms, when they were assailed by their enemies, while the greater part of their country was occupied by a population of fighting men, in vastly superior numbers to their invaders ;¹⁷⁰ but, they had neglected the obvious precaution of establishing strongholds and of fortifying defensive positions, throughout the more exposed parts of the island. Their ports and harbours for the most part were unfurnished with vessels, except those small craft used for fishing ; nor were their sailors accustomed to the art of naval warfare, as their ships, at that time, had not been constructed for such a purpose. On the contrary, unopposed on their wild and accustomed element, the Northmen were enabled to select the less defensive creeks and coasts, for sudden and secure descent ; while, in case of reverses by land, the line of retreat to their ships was well guarded, and, in any case, it was a ready resource to hoist sail, and to convey a large number of warriors around the Irish shores, from one point to another. Donnchadh, son to Flann Sionna, succeeded as monarch, and he won a great victory over the Northmen. Gotfrid, or Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, after the death of his brother Ragnall,¹⁷¹ took possession of Dublin, and plundered Armagh, with a great part of the north of Ireland, in 921.¹⁷² Soon afterwards appeared

¹⁶¹ An account of such depredations will be found, in the "Three Fragments" of Irish Annals, by Dubhaltach Mac Firsibigh.

¹⁶² See *Cogsaoh Saebolh Re Sallavoh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd. Introduction, p. lxxiii.

¹⁶³ An account of these expeditions will be found, in Depping's "Histoire des Expéditions des Normands et leur Etablissement en France," liv. iii. Paris, 1843.

¹⁶⁴ The oldest name, according to the *Dinnseanchus*.

¹⁶⁵ There is no record of a Scandinavian King of Waterford, before A.D. 903. See Charles Holiday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. ii., p. 21.

¹⁶⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 580, 581, and pp.

584, 585.

¹⁶⁷ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xii., p. 195.

¹⁶⁸ See Martin Haverly's "History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 130.

¹⁶⁹ See L'Abbé Ma-Goghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne," tome i. Seconde Partie, chap. v., p. 400.

¹⁷⁰ See J. J. A. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. i., p. 297.

¹⁷¹ He was King of the Fingall and Dubhgal, showing that the Norwegians and Danes were then united, or, at least, allies.

¹⁷² See "Annales Ultonienses," p. 253.—Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv.

Tamar,¹⁷³ or Tomar, son of Elgi, who landed at Inis-Sibhtonn, now King's Island, Limerick,¹⁷⁴ with an immense fleet, while Lorean, son of Conligan, was King of Cashel. That invader plundered the greater part of Munster "both churches and chieftainries."¹⁷⁵ During the tenth century, the Northern adventurers had numerous ships in Ireland. A fleet appears to have been sent from Limerick, or rather equipped on Lough Derg, as the intervening rapids on the Shannon could hardly allow an ascent of the river from the former place. Even so far north as Lough Ree, the Norsemen went. They plundered churches and shrines on the islands, or along the shores, committing other outrages, also, and with little opposition, they returned safely to Limerick. In 925, Edward's eldest son, Athelstan, succeeded as the first monarch of all England, and he was signally successful, against the Normans and Danes. The Norwegians had colonized the kingdom of Northumbria, and the Britons of Cumbria were leagued with them, to preserve their national independence, during the reign of Athelstan's brother, King Edmund. After expelling the foreign forces from the northern parts of England, he attacked the Cumbrians, and having captured two sons of their King Dunmail, these were barbarously deprived of sight, while their country was placed under Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should become vassal to the King of England, and unite with Edmund in withstanding the attempts of the sea-kings. In 946, his brother Edred succeeded to the crown, and his efforts to repress the power of the Norwegians were successful, to the end of his reign, which happened in 955.

The Earl Oiter Dubh landed, with one hundred ships, at Waterford. The fleets of pirates and Danes began to multiply, and hordes of foreigners spread over Munster.¹⁷⁶ Among the fleets are enumerated¹⁷⁷ those of Oiberd, of Oduinn,¹⁷⁸ of Griffin,¹⁷⁹ of Snuatgar,¹⁸⁰ of Lagmann, of Erolf, of Sitriuc,¹⁸¹ of Buidnin,¹⁸² of Liagrslach, of Toirberdach,¹⁸³ of Eoan Barun, of Milid Buu,¹⁸⁴ of Suimin,¹⁸⁵ of Suainin,¹⁸⁶ and lastly, of Inghen Ruaidh.¹⁸⁷ Everywhere, around the coasts of Erin, they established ports, and on the land, fortresses were erected. Those furious and ferocious gentiles ravaged lands and houses; they destroyed churches and monasteries; they killed kings and chiefs, with their warriors; they inflicted

¹⁷³ He is said to have been the Scandinavian chieftain, Gormo *Gamle*, or "the aged."

¹⁷⁴ There is no record of any Scandinavian King in Limerick, until 940. See Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. ii., p. 21.

¹⁷⁵ See *Coḡaoh Ṣaehel Re Ṣallaibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. xxxiii., pp. 38, 39.

¹⁷⁶ In his unpublished treatise, respecting "The Fomorians and Lochlanns," written, by Duaid Mac Firbis, about A. D. 1650, we read, that Erin was filled, in the tenth century, with ships and adventurers. These are enumerated.

¹⁷⁷ In the *Coḡaoh Ṣaehel Re Ṣallaibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. xxxvi., pp. 40, 41.

¹⁷⁸ Called Odvin, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁷⁹ He is called Griffin, or Grisin, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸⁰ He is called Suatgar, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸¹ He is called Sitric, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸² He is called Buidin, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸³ He is probably the Torberd Roe, enumerated by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸⁴ *Mleadh Tua* is mentioned, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸⁵ So is he called, by Duaid Mac Firbis.

¹⁸⁶ By Duaid Mac Firbis, he is called *Suairnin*.

¹⁸⁷ The Red-haired maiden. She seems to have been a Northern Amazon, whose turn for piracy was long afterwards emulated, by the celebrated *Graine-uile*, of Clare Island, off the Mayo coast. By Duaid Mac Firbis, the present heroine is called the *Inghen Roe*. His account of the ships seems to have been largely borrowed from the *Coḡaoh Ṣaehel Re Ṣallaibh*. Yet, he enumerates the following, which can with difficulty be applied to any of the foregoing names, viz. : the ships of Birn, of Sgmann, of Earbadh, of Bernin, of the Crioslachs, and of Baruh. See J. J. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in

every kind of outrage and indignity on clerics and laics, on men, women, and children; they enslaved freemen as well as serfs, imposing heavy tributes and servitude on them; they carried youths and maidens on board their ships, and treated them as captives.¹⁸⁸ These injuries and outrages are referred, chiefly to the first half of the tenth century.¹⁸⁹ The Annals of Ireland afford us deplorable proofs of the frequency and horrible nature of those invasions; and, the foreigners settled at Limerick were not the least active, in deeds of bloodshed and plunder. Among these, Amhlaeibh Ceannairech¹⁹⁰ was notorious. He ravaged Lough Ree, but, in 937, Amhlaeibh, son of Godfrey, and lord of the foreigners, came from Dublin, making him a prisoner, with several of his foreigners. Then, Aulaf, the son of Godfrey, left Dublin for England. With a fleet of six hundred and fifteen sail, he cast anchor in the Humber. This was a signal, for the assembling of a large confederate force, consisting of Norwegians, Danes, Irish, Scots and Britons, summoned to his standard. The monarch of England, Athelstan, besides his own forces, purchased the aid of several sea-kings, and a desperate battle ensued. The English were victorious, while five confederate sea-kings, seven jarls, and several thousand men, fell in that engagement, on the side of Aulaf. Having sustained this great reverse, in the battle fought against King Athelstane and the Saxons, on the plain of Othlyn,¹⁹¹ by others called Brumby,¹⁹² the King of Dublin, with his followers, fled to their ships.¹⁹³ However, he went back again to Northumberland, and restored the Danish sway, in 941;¹⁹⁴ so that England was more or less harassed by the tyrant invaders, until the accession of Canute, surnamed the Great. The Scandinavian King of Dublin did not long survive his good fortune, for his death is recorded, at A.D. 942. To stem the tide of those Northmen inroads, Donnchadh, monarch of Ireland, and Muirheartach, son to Niall Glandubh, united their forces, and then marched to Ath-cliaith. Thence, they advanced to Ath-Truiston, a ford on the river Greece, near Mullaghmast, in the southern part of Kildare County. The Irish army plundered and devastated all the Danish settlements. The Annals of the Four Masters place these events, at A.D. 936,¹⁹⁵ while those of Ulster have 937, *alias* 938, as the year for their occurrence.

In the earlier part of the tenth century, were distinguished in Ireland two potentates, who, although celebrated for prowess and valour, had however only occupied stations, in subordination to the supreme Monarch. These were, in

Ireland, sect. ii. p. 308.

¹⁸⁸ During the last century, in particular, and at the beginning of the present one, Irish literati attributed to the Danes, or rather to the Norwegians, much of which, strictly speaking, they could have no valid claim. Not long ago, it was a firm belief among many educated men in Ireland, that there were still families in Denmark, who could not forget the dominion they had formerly exercised in Ireland, and who bore a title derived from the large estates, which their forefathers there had once conquered and possessed. It was likewise commonly supposed, that the Danes had carried with them from Ireland a great number of manuscripts, which were said to be preserved in one of the large collections of books in Copenhagen; as if, forsooth, it had been one of the chief aims of the bold and dangerous expeditions of the ancient Norwegians, at that remote period, to carry off scientific treasures, and, above

all, manuscripts written in Irish, and consequently, in a language that was for the most part entirely incomprehensible to them.

¹⁸⁹ See *Coḡaoh Saevhel ite Sallaibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. xxxvi., pp. 40 to 43.

¹⁹⁰ Translated Aulaf, of the Scabbed-head. See Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. viii., p. 69, n. 2.

¹⁹¹ According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

¹⁹² See the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," at A.D. 937.

¹⁹³ See Rev. Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. iv., pp. 199 to 201.

¹⁹⁴ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 201.

¹⁹⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 634 to 637, and n. (p). *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xix., pp. 69 to 71.

the North, the famous Muircheartach, son to Niall Glundubh, and Ceallachan, King of Cashel, who flourished in the southern parts of the Island. To neither, can the meed of true historic fame, or of personal heroism, be accorded; since, respect for too many of their motives and actions should justly be withdrawn.¹⁹⁶ Muircheartach distinguished himself, by victories obtained over the foreigners, in the years 921, 926, 932, and 933. He had some differences with Donnchadh, the Monarch of Ireland, whose daughter, Flanna, was his first wife; but, these were afterwards adjusted. He was married a second time to Dubhdara, daughter to Kellach, chief of Ossory, after the death of his former spouse, and which occurred, A.D. 940. In the year 937,¹⁹⁷ the foreigners planned an expedition against Aileach, which was held by Muircheartach. He was taken prisoner by them, and carried off to their ships; but, afterwards, he was providentially redeemed from them.¹⁹⁸ In 938, he accompanied Donnchadh, the chief Monarch, through Leinster and Munster, to take their hostages.¹⁹⁹ That very same year, Muircheartach mortally wounded and drowned Niall, son to Fearghal, the heir of Aileach, or of Northern Ireland. Again, Muircheartach, with the Northerns, made a victorious progress around Ireland,²⁰⁰ bringing Sitric,²⁰¹ lord of Ath-cliaith, with him, as a hostage, and also, Lorcan, King of Leinster, and Ceallachan, King of Cashel. In Connaught, Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, submitted to him; and, afterwards, he returned to Ailech, bringing the hostages with him. He kept them there, for nine months; and, then, he sent them to Donnchadh, who lived at Teamhair. That brave but unscrupulous prince, who aspired to the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed,²⁰² by Blacar, the son of Godfrey, lord of the foreigners, A.D. 943;²⁰³ and, the year following was the last of Donnchadh's reign, over Ireland. At this time, likewise, Dublin was destroyed by the Irish.

Ceallachan,²⁰⁴ King of Cashel, gained a victory over Ceinneidigh, son of Lorcan, at Moydown, or Moyadown.²⁰⁵ That very celebrated prince of south Munster, the son of Buadhachain, was renowned for his warlike exploits, in the south of Ireland. At first, his claim was contested by Cinneadaigh, father of Bryan Borumha, who came with a numerous retinue, so far as Gleanamhuin, to treat with the chiefs of Munster, for its throne was then vacant. However, the mother of Ceallachan, greatly reputed for her prudence and energy of character, made such an eloquent appeal to Cinneadigh, and to the chieftains assembled, that it was resolved, Ceallachan should be accepted and elected.²⁰⁶ He had been called to the sovereignty of Munster, about A.D. 920,²⁰⁷ when he was inaugurated with great state and ceremony,²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁷ The Annals of Ulster have it, A.D. 938, *alias* 939.

¹⁹⁸ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, pp. 164, 165.

¹⁹⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 636, 637.

²⁰⁰ These proceedings are set forth in the Poem of Cormacan Eigeas, written A.D. 942, and known as the "Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach," translated and edited by John O'Donovan, and published among the Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society, vol. i., Dublin A.D. 1841, 4to.

²⁰¹ Mr. Charles Haliday thinks, "more probably the son of Sitric."—"The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. viii., p. 72.

²⁰² At Ath-Fhirdia, now Ardee, in the county of Louth.

²⁰³ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xii., p. 197.

²⁰⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 646 to 655, with notes.

²⁰⁵ He was ancestor to the O'Callaghans, Mac Carthys, and O'Keefes. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (g), p. 631.

²⁰⁶ See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, pp. 454, 455.

²⁰⁷ According to some accounts, he reigned King of Cashel, only from 934 to 953. See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. xii., p. 361.

²⁰⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi.,

by the seventeen tribes of the Eugenians.²⁰⁹ His first great battle with the Danes of Limerick was fought, at Singland; when, after an obstinate resistance, the enemy was utterly routed, and driven into the city, where numbers of them were slain. However, instead of keeping possession of that stronghold, Ceallachan was satisfied with exacting large contributions, paid down in gold and merchandise, while hostages were taken as a security for the remainder. Afterwards, Ceallachan returned to Cashel, which was the city, where his royal fortress had been built.²¹⁰ It may well be doubted, that this provincial king deserves the reputation of disinterested patriotism, which has been too readily accorded him, especially by some of the Munster writers; since his acts, as recorded in our authentic Annals, are hardly reconcilable with love, either of country or of religion. Thus, we read, that after Clonmacnoise had been plundered, by the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, in 934,²¹¹ it was again sacrilegiously plundered, by Ceallachan Caisil.²¹² Soon, afterwards, we find him in alliance with the foreigners, for, this same Ceallachan, King of Caiseal, with the men of Munster, and Macca Cuinn, with the foreigners of Port Lairge, went into Meath, A.D. 937; and, they seized upon a great prey, taking the spoils and prisoners of Cill-eidhneach and Cill-achaidh.²¹³ The confederates, who made this foray, also seized upon their two abbots, namely, Muireadhach Ua Conchobhair, and Coibhdeanach, son of Beargdha; but, they left behind Oilill, son of Aenghus, lord of Uí Fothaidh, with many others, in the hands of Aimhergin, lord of Uí-Failghe. The men of Munster, under their King Ceallachan, who had the foreigners along with him, besides plundering the churches of Cluain-eidhneach and Cill-achaidh, also ravaged the territory of Meath, so far as Cluain-Iraird. The foreigners deserted Ath-cliaith about this time, owing to the help of God, and the intercession of Mac-tail,²¹⁴ who was the patron of Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare, and most probably, also, the patron of St. Michael le Pole's Church, near Ship-street, in the city of Dublin.²¹⁵ In 938, the turbulent King of Caiseal²¹⁶ took up arms, and a great slaughter was made of the Osraighi by him, the justifying causes for which are not mentioned. In the year 939, Ceallachan, with his forces, slaughtered the Deisi, because they had submitted to Muirheartach, son of Niall;²¹⁷ and, he slew two thousand of them, together with Ceilachair, son to Cormac, Maelgorm, son to Gibhleachan, Seghdha, son to Noebelan, Cleireach, son of Sesta, &c. Another battle was gained, however, by the Deisi, and by the Osraighi, over the King of Caiseal; when many were slain, in that encounter.²¹⁸ This same year, we read, that when Muirheartach marched into Munster, he found the people there ready to give him battle. We are told,²¹⁹ likewise, that Ceallachan requested the men of Munster, not to oppose

chap. ii., pp. 206, 207.

²⁰⁹ This account is taken from the tract, called the Wars of Callachan, in the Old Book of Lismore.

²¹⁰ See Maurice Lenihan's "Limerick; its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military," chap. i., p. 9.

²¹¹ See Dr. Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 630, 631, and n. (h). p. 632, *ibid.*

²¹² The date is corrected, by Dr. O'Donovan, to A.D. 936.

²¹³ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," chap. xix., p. 71.

²¹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp. 638, 639.

²¹⁵ See *ibid.*, n. (y). For a history and illustration of this mediæval church, the reader is referred to Sir William R. Wilde's Memoir of Gabriel Beranger, and his Labours in the Cause of Irish Art, Literature and Antiquities, from 1760 to 1780. See "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," for 1870, vol. i., part i., Fourth Series. pp. 42 to 49.

²¹⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp. 640, 641.

²¹⁷ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 131.

²¹⁸ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xix., p. 71.

²¹⁹ By Cormacan Eigeas.

the race of Eoghan ; while he consented to become a hostage,²²⁰ and a fetter was put upon him, by Muircheartach.²²¹ We are informed, that a formidable confederacy was organized against the generous Kennedy ; and, it is thought, that Ceallachan, with the Eoghanachts, was leader in this confederacy. The troops of Munster were allied with those of Connaught, in that movement. However, this pact was soon terminated, as peace seems to have been proclaimed between them : one of its conditions being the delivery of Duineachan, son to Kennedy, as a hostage. Afterwards, North and South Munster became united, and the power of Ceallachan, thus strengthened, was then very formidable to the Scandinavians.²²²

This provincial prince, and his hardy Momonians, engaged those foreigners in many battles.²²³ The King of Cashel fought them with such success, that they found it necessary to abandon the province of Munster, and to look out for new settlements. But, the Scandinavians still retained an affection for their old possessions. Finding themselves too weak to be re-instated, by force of arms, they projected a design, which was base and treacherous. At this time, the Northmen were under the command of Sitric, son to Turgesius,²²⁴ whose name alone was a terror to the Irish. Having first taken the advice of his counsel, that leader sent a messenger to Ceallachan, to notify his sincere inclination to establish peace, with a good understanding and correspondence between them. As a guarantee of his integrity and respect, he offered his sister,²²⁵ the princess royal of Denmark, in marriage. She was a lady of consummate virtue and of unexceptionable beauty. He engaged, likewise, never to invade or to disturb his government in Munster. The Northman general promised, that he should withdraw his forces, put an end to hostilities, and for the future would make no attempt upon his crown. He offered to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, that they should mutually assist each other, against their common enemies ; and, to sanction these proposals, he engaged to send the King of Munster suitable hostages, whose safety and quality must oblige him to observe the execution of the proffered terms. But, Sitric intended nothing less than to contract his sister²²⁶ feignedly to the King of Munster ; his design was really to murder Ceallachan, and his retinue, upon that very night such pretended marriage was to be solemnized, and then to seize upon his crown. To support his interest, after the commission of such an execrable act, and the better to establish himself in that province, Sitric communicated that perfidious resolution to Donnogh, son of Flann Sionna, King of Ireland. Instead of being startled at such a proposal, Donnogh encouraged it, and applauded the treacherous Northman. He even promised his friendship and alliance, after the execution ; for, it must be observed, the King of Ireland, at that time, was an enemy to the King of Munster, because he refused to pay his contributions and chief rents ; therefore, by such means, Donnogh thought he should get rid of a troublesome neighbour, who dis-

²²⁰ See the "Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill." Edited by Dr. O'Donovan, p. 43.

²²¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 640 to 643.

²²² See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. ii., pp. 207, 208.

²²³ In one of these, Sitric, King of Dublin, is said to have been made prisoner, together with his wife and sister, all of whom were conveyed to Waterford, but, after a short captivity, they were set at liberty by Ceallachan. See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient

and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 272.

²²⁴ He appears to have been a different person, from the celebrated tyrant, Turgesius, who had conquered the northern parts of Ireland, in the previous century, as already related.

²²⁵ See Alfred Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," p. 69.

²²⁶ By Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, she is called "the lovely and accomplished Beibhion."—"General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., p. 214.

puted his authority, and who denied him that homage and those testimonies of subjection, to which his predecessors laid claim. The messenger of Sitric, being introduced to Ceallachan, delivered the foregoing proposals in due form. That unfortunate prince fell into the snare laid for him, by one of his most inveterate enemies; for, when told about the marriage contract, regarding himself and the young princess, he was transported with joy, at the news. The fame of this young lady's beauty, her virtue, and her other accomplishments, had reached his ears long before,²²⁷ and he had conceived an affection for her, even before he had seen her. Ceallachan suspected nothing regarding the base design, and eagerly he returned compliments to Sitric. He promised to make him a visit, with all possible expedition.²²⁸ Accordingly, very expensive preparations were made for this journey, while Ceallachan was to be attended with a splendid retinue, and a princely equipage, comprising young princes and nobles of his province.²²⁹ For greater pomp and display, the King of Munster was to be followed by his body-guards, and by the choicest of his troops, in order to conduct the princess into his province, with all the state and magnificence, that became his birth and rank. However, Kennedy, the prince of North Munster, hearing about Ceallachan's intention, also that he intended to take with him the choicest forces, to leave the province of Munster unguarded, and thus open to the incursions of any hands, who should attempt to invade it, represented the imprudence of his resolution, and how dangerous it might be, to leave the country without defence. By his advice and through the strength of his reasons, Kennedy dissuaded the king from his purpose.²³⁰ Then, altering his measures, or at least modifying them, and appointing a sufficient force to secure the province, Ceallachan began his journey, attended by the young prince Dunchuan, the son of Kennedy, with some nobles, and followed only by a few of his body-guards.²³¹ He continued his journey, by making quick marches, and soon he arrived within sight of Dublin.

It so happened, that Sitric, the Scandinavian King, had married an Irish lady, whose name was Meorling, and who was daughter to Hugh Mac Eochaidh. Hearing that Ceallachan, King of Munster, was upon his journey, to accomplish the marriage rite with the princess-royal of Denmark, and that he had arrived almost so far as Kilmainham, near Dublin, the princess was somewhat surprised at it. She freely expostulated with Sitric, her husband, to know what could have induced him to bestow his sister in marriage upon the provincial prince, who was a professed enemy to the Danish race, and who had destroyed so many of the principal nobility and gentry, belonging to her husband's country. Then, with great freedom, Sitric discovered his design, and he replied, that urged by revenge, he had invited the King of Munster to Dublin; that he intended to disappoint him, regarding the nuptial rites with his sister; and, that when he had Ceallachan completely within his power, he resolved to sacrifice him to the ghosts of those renowned Danes, whom he had destroyed.²³² His wife was astonished, at the treachery and barbarity of this action, especially since Ceallachan was destined to be the victim; for, she had entertained a very tender regard for that prince, and she was perfectly attached to him, from the time

²²⁷ According to one account, he had already seen her. See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 273.

²²⁸ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 201.

²²⁹ Their names are set forth, in Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., pp.

214, 215.

²³⁰ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 381.

²³¹ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 273.

²³² See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 383.

she saw him by chance at Waterford. She had the prudence, however, not to discover her concern, and Meorling appeared before her husband to approve of his design; even, outwardly, she encouraged him in the execution of it, with considerable artifice and dissimulation. Next morning, she rose much earlier than usual, and being sensible that Ceallachan was upon the road to Dublin, she hastened with great privacy out of the town, and then she took up her station, at a convenient place, by which the King of Munster must necessarily pass. Here she discovered herself to him, and, declaring the particulars of that conspiracy which had been formed against his life, the princess advised him to retire, with the utmost speed, and to provide for his own safety, and for that of his followers. He was amazed and confounded with such intelligence, and expressing himself in a grateful manner to the lady, for her information, Ceallachan took leave of her, and then, turning about, he made the best of his way back towards Munster. But, Sitric had taken care to prevent his retreat; for, he had lined the hedges with armed Danes, and he laid so many ambushes in his way, that it was impossible for him to escape. Ceallachan and his retinue found themselves surrounded with enemies, who galled them on all sides, and who did great execution. The King of Munster ordered his men to fall on, and to defend themselves, against the treacherous Danes; when a desperate conflict began, in which many of the principal Momonians were slain. The Danes, likewise, suffered exceedingly in the action, and must have given way, before the superior courage of the king's guards, had those not been sustained by fresh reinforcements, coming from the city. These bands renewed the fight, and, at length after a terrible slaughter, the Scandinavians obtained a complete victory. In this engagement, Cellachan, King of Munster, and Dunchuan, son of Kennedy, were taken prisoners, after a long and resolute resistance; then, after they had stripped and plundered the dead, the Northmen returned with their royal captives, and in triumph, to the city of Dublin. Here, the prisoners were confined, but for a short time, and they were afterwards removed, under a strong guard, to Armagh, where they were imprisoned, with great strictness and severity. It is said, that nine Danish Earls were appointed, there, to command a strong body of troops. Their charge was to secure those prisoners, so that it should be impossible for any among them to escape.

The forces of Munster, that had the good fortune to save themselves by flight, returned home, where they related all about the Danish treachery,²³³ while they brought intelligence, respecting the captivity of their king, and the death of many among his followers, who perished in the ambuscade and attack. This account alarmed the whole province, but more particularly, it affected Kennedy, prince of North Munster, who was deputed regent of the country, and who had the sole management of public affairs, during the absence of the king. He was so incensed at the baseness of that act, and so concerned at the captivity of his son, that he resolved to take ample satisfaction, on those treacherous foreigners, and to rescue the prisoners, at any sacrifice; for, this purpose, he summoned together the provincial troops, and making their battalions still more complete by fresh recruits, he soon provided a formidable land army.²³⁴ To accomplish his design, with greater certainty, he fitted out a fleet of ships, and he manned it with able seamen, so that he might make sure of obtaining revenge. Kennedy had designed to attack the enemy, at once, by sea and by land. The command of the army was committed to the conduct

²³³ The present account is chiefly drawn from the historical tale, "Toriugheet Ceallachan Caishil, or The Pursuit after Ceallachan Cashel," and published by Rev. Dr. Keating. "The facts are probably embellished by the writer of the story, which rests

on some historical foundation."—Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. xii., pp. 361, 362, n. 1.

²³⁴ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 275.

of a brave and an experienced general, Donnogh Mac Keeffe, chief of Fearmoighe. To raise the courage of this general, and to inspire him with proper sentiments of indignation, Kennedy reminded him, about the nobility of his race, and about the magnanimity of his ancestors, who were Kings of Munster. Having repeated their names, and mentioned them with honour and due applause, he related their particular exploits, how their lives were exposed for their country's welfare, and how they repelled the insolence of foreign invaders; he then concluded, by informing Donnogh Mac Keeffe regarding the prospect he had of success, under his conduct, and trusting to his bravery, which he was certain must chastise those insolent foreigners, for violating the law of nations, and the established rights of hospitality. By that means, Kennedy hoped to procure deliverance for the island, and glory for those engaged in that enterprise. To support the provincial troops, if there should be occasion, Kennedy ordered a thousand choice soldiers of the martial Dailgais upon this expedition. He disposed them, under the command of three captains of confessed courage and experience. These were his own brothers, and they were distinguished by the names, Cosgrach, Lonargan, and Congallach.²³⁵ Kennedy resolved to prosecute this design with the utmost vigour, and therefore he raised five hundred more of the Dailgais tribe, while he appointed for their general the heroic Sioda, a son of Clan Cuilleain; while another five hundred of the same tribe, he placed under the conduct of Deagadh, the son of Daniel, a captain of distinguished bravery and experience, who likewise held command over numbers of the Dalcais nobility and gentry, who came from the country of Thomond, and who voluntarily offered their services, for this expedition. This army is said to have reached the number of 14,000 men, besides archers, slingers, and other light-armed troops.²³⁶

The fleet was now ready to sail, and its direction was entrusted to an admiral, perfectly skilled in maritime affairs. This was Failbhe Fionn,²³⁷ King of Desmond,²³⁸ and who was renowned for his intrepidity. These military preparations being effected, the army began to march from Munster, and it took a route through the province of Connaught. There, the chiefs and soldiers halted; when a council of war being called, it was agreed to send out considerable parties, to forage and to bring provisions, from Jermy and Umhall. In these places, they found a good booty of cattle, with other necessaries. They designed to carry these off to the camp. Thinking themselves secure of the prey, their scouts surprised them with intelligence, that they had discovered a body of troops marching towards them, in regular order, and with a commander at their head. This information obliged the foragers to retire without their plunder to the main body, who were immediately ordered to stand to their arms, and to await the issue. By this time, the strange troops approached nearer the outlines of the camp; but, they advanced without beginning hostilities, or discovering that they had any design to attack it. The general of Munster resolved to be satisfied, regarding their intentions; and, for that purpose, the brave Donnogh Mac Keeffe called to the commanding

²³⁵ This transaction is upon record, in an ancient composition, translated into English from the original Irish, and wherewith are these verses:—

“Go, my renowned brothers, command
This warlike tribe; your names shall
not be lost,
But the brave Cosgrach, and the stout
Lonargan
And Congallach invincible in war
Shall stand immortal in the lists of
fame.”

²³⁶ For a more particular enumeration of the chiefs and forces, engaged in this expedition, see Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., pp. 217, 218.

²³⁷ He is called Failbhi Finn, chief of Corcaiginey, by Rev. John Francis Shearman, in "Loca Particiana," No. xii., p. 361, n. 1.

²³⁸ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 202.

officer, demanding whence he came, and whether he was a friend or an enemy. The captain answered, that he came out of Munster, and his followers belonged to that province; while, these were raised out of two particular places, called Gaileangaidh and Luignig. He further stated, that most of them were the posterity of Teige, the son of Cein, son to the great Oilioil Ollum, while the rest were the men of Dealbna, descended from the renowned Dealbhaoith, son of Cas, son to Conal Eachluath, and that they were resolved to expose their lives against those barbarous Danes, who by the basest treachery had surprised their king, and who had kept him in an unjust captivity. He moreover informed Donnogh Mac Keeffe, that he had with him three officers of signal courage and abilities, who had a principal command over three clans. The tribe of the Gaileangaidhs were under the conduct of Hugh, the son of Dualgaia, Diarmuid Mac Fianachtaigh, was chief over the Luignighs, while Denis Mac Maoldomhnaig was captain of the Dealbhnas.²³⁹

This unexpected reinforcement consisted of five hundred expert archers, and of five hundred men, completely armed with swords and shields. That contingent was a very seasonable accumulation of force, and it proved to be of eminent service, in this expedition. Thus, the army of Munster was rendered formidable and united. Its march was directed towards Armagh,²⁴⁰ while it began hostilities, by plundering the adjacent country, and by destroying those inhabitants, who opposed the marching troops. Mortough, the son of Arnalaig, applied to the general, Donnogh Mac Keeffe, and desired he would return that booty, which had been carried away by the Momonian soldiers; for, he insisted upon the injustice of their action, and he pleaded, that it was barbarous to oppress a people, who were unconcerned in the quarrel, and who deserved protection, rather than to fall a sacrifice to the rapacious soldiers. But, his request was denied, though not absolutely; for Donnogh was content, that if there remained any booty, over and above what should satisfy the necessities of the army, it was to be returned. Yet, this answer was unsatisfactory, and resolving to revenge himself, upon the troops of Munster, Mortough despatched messengers privately to Armagh, to inform the Danes, that the provincial troops were upon their march, and that they were determined, at all hazards, to recover their king from imprisonment, and to do themselves justice upon those perfidious strangers, who broke through the received international laws, to make him their prisoner. The nine Danish Earls, said to have been the sons of Turgesius, and who were appointed to guard that castle, where Ceallachan, the King of Munster, and Dunchuain, the son of Kennedy, were confined, became alarmed at this intelligence, received from Murtough. Leaving a small number of their forces to secure the prisoners, whom they resolved to remove, the Northmen drew out their troops, and they marched out from Armagh, with a full resolution to offer battle to the army of Munster.²⁴¹ The provincial army directed their course towards that city; but, when they arrived there, it was soon understood, that the prisoners were conveyed out of the castle, and that they were to be carried to Sitric, who had ordered them on shipboard. Enraged at this disappointment, Donnogh gave no quarter to the Danes that fell in his way, but

²³⁹ This account is recorded, in a poem of good authority, and which begins with these English translated verses subjoined:—

“The most courageous tribes of Clanna
Cein
And the invincible Dealbhaoith,
United all their forces to redeem

Their king, and free him from imprisonment.”

²⁴⁰ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., p. 216.

²⁴¹ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 275.

cut them off to a man. Next morning, he marched towards Dundalk,²⁴² where they had intelligence, that their king and the young prince were confined under deck, by Sitric. Being informed about the number of the provincial forces, and sensible of his own incapacity to oppose them, Sitric had ordered all his men on board. Then, he resolved on his trying his fortune by sea, for on land he was much inferior to his enemies; while his shipping lay conveniently in the bay of Dundalk, and his vessels were of incalculable service, for they furnished him with an almost certain means of escape, and for getting clear away from the enemy.²⁴³ The army of Munster pursued him to the shore, and the soldiers expected, that the Danes were shut in by the sea, which should prevent their retreat; but, the southern forces were surprised to find their enemies on shipboard, for they had no notice, regarding their fleet, which lay at anchor, within that bay. The Irish were enraged at this disappointment, and while they were consulting what they should do, in such a juncture, they espied a sail of ships, in regular order, and steering with a brisk gale, towards the Danish fleet. This armament was eagerly watched by the Irish forces, who supposed it to be the fleet of Munster, under the conduct of that brave admiral Failbhe Fionn, and so it fortunately proved. Soon the land forces perceived the lately arrived vessels, drawn up in a line of battle, and forming to attack the Danes.

These foreigners expected no such movement; for they thought themselves secure, and that no enemy could possibly disturb them, in those seas. The Munster admiral, observing the disorder of their foes, fell upon the ship where Sitric, and his two brothers, Tor and Magnus, were. With irresistible force, Failbhe Fionn boarded her. No sooner did he find himself upon deck, than he saw Ceallachan, bound²⁴⁴ with cords to the mainmast. This exciting spectacle inspired him with fresh courage, and he resolved to deliver the prince, or to perish in the attempt. He drew his sword, and laid about him, with incredible fury; supported by his mariners, and after having slain several of the Danes, Failbhe cut the cords, which bound him, and set the prince at liberty. He then put a sword in Cealleachan's hand, and advised him to take upon himself the charge of that ship, whence he came, and which was now left without a commander. Failbhe desired the King of Munster to leave him engaged, with the Danish admiral, and he made no question, but he should be able to give a good account of the desperate issue, to which he was now committed. Ceallachan complied with this proposal, and Failbhe Fionn continued on board the Danish vessel, where he behaved with signal courage;²⁴⁵ but, at length, he was overborne by numbers, when fainting with loss of blood, he was slain.²⁴⁶ To discourage and terrify the Irish, some of whom followed their admiral into the enemy's ship, the Danes hacked and mangled his body, and, at last, they cut off his head.²⁴⁷ Thus fell the brave Failbhe Fionn, who was obliged to give way, before multitudes, that pressed upon him, after he had despatched many of them to the other world. Being sensible, how the loss of that ship should occasion the ruin of the fleet, Sitric and his brothers showed themselves able seamen and experienced commanders; they appeared with intrepidity, at the head of their body-guards, whom they had on board.

²⁴² See "The History of Dundalk, and its Environs from the earliest period to the present Time; with Memoirs of its eminent Men," by John D'Alton, Esq., and R. J. O'Flanagan, Esq., M.R.I.A., chap. ii., p. 15. Dublin, 1864, 8vo.

²⁴³ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., p. 220.

²⁴⁴ See Alfred Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," p. 69.

²⁴⁵ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 276.

²⁴⁶ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 203.

²⁴⁷ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 390.

This sea-fight was desperately contested. For some time, the fortune of the day seemed to be on the Scandinavian side, and the Northmen sailors began to have a distant prospect of victory. The Danish was much better manned than the Irish fleet.²⁴⁸ But, Fiongall, a valiant and an expert commander among the Irish, resolved to revenge the death of the admiral, whom he followed on board. Maintaining his post, with incredible bravery, he slew the foremost of the Danes that opposed him, and the decks of the ship were covered with blood. The number of the enemy was much superior to that of the Irish, and so, they continued to fight, and supplied the place of the slain. Fiongall found himself unable to keep possession of the Danish ship. Ashamed to retire into his own, he recollected himself, and seizing upon Sitric by the collar, he grasped the Scandinavian king close, and holding him firmly within his own arms, Fiongall leaped into the sea, where, in the disorder of the fight, both adversaries perished.²⁴⁹ Two undaunted captains among the Irish, Seagda and Conall, fired with the glory of this action, fell upon the Danes with redoubled fury. Resolving to put an end to this desperate struggle, by one great effort of hardihood and courage, they made their way through the enemy, towards Tor and Magnus, the two brothers of Sitric. Rushing violently upon them, the Irish captains caught them both in their arms, and jumped with them overboard. Again, in the confusion of this fierce sea-fight, they were all lost.²⁵⁰ Astonished at these desperate exploits of the Irish, the Northmen's courage began to abate, and the Momonians perceiving them to give way, pursued their advantage with such success, that they boarded most of the Danish fleet, killing and maiming their foes without distinction. On board the various ships, it is stated, that the combatants fought almost knee-deep in blood.²⁵¹ Victory finally declared for the Irish; but, it was bought at the expense of many valuable lives, for several brave officers and soldiers perished in that engagement. Nor is this to be wondered at, if it be considered, that the Danes were good seamen, that they were perfectly skilled in maritime affairs, and, likewise, that they were resolute and fierce, resolved to sell their lives at a dear rate; for, on the success of this action depended, not only their present security, but, likewise, their future peace and establishment in the Island.

Historians, who have written an account of this action, relate, that this naval fight, between the Irish and the Danes, was the most dreadful and terrible of any that happened upon those coasts for many ages. The officers eminently distinguished themselves, on both sides, nor were the seamen wanting in their duty; so that the slaughter was surprisingly great, no less than complete dominion for the Scandinavians, or liberty for Ireland, being the contested prize for complete victory on either scale. The army of Munster stood upon the shore, in sight of the engagement. The soldiers were almost beside themselves with excitement, as mere spectators, while they ran up and down the shore, with fury and distraction, because it was out of their power to assist their seafaring countrymen. These engaged with great disadvantage, so that the result remained doubtful, for some time; for, the Danes had all their land forces on board, and yet these were not a match for the Irish seamen, who behaved with wonderful conduct and bravery. These would have entirely destroyed the Danish fleet, had not some of the enemy escaped in their light galleys,

²⁴⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., p. 221.

²⁴⁹ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, pp. 276, 277.

²⁵⁰ See "The History of Dundalk and its

Environs," by John D'Alton, Esq., and R. J. O'Flanagan, Esq., M.R.I.A., chap. ii., p. 16.

²⁵¹ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iii., p. 220. This whole account is not attested, in our Irish Annals.

which were chased eagerly by the victorious Irish, but they could not overtake the fugitive cruisers. Having cleared the coast of those foreigners, the Irish vessels made to the shore, where they found their land army. These soldiers received them with open arms, and with joyful acclamations.²⁵² Especially, they were transported with delight, at the sight of their king, who had obtained his liberty, owing to this victory. Nor was Ceallachan, kept under constant apprehension of death, so long as he was in the custody of the enemy, less pleased with his deliverance; for, Sitric was a cruel tyrant, having a savage and unmerciful disposition. He had no regard for the majesty of the Munster king, nor did he respect the law of nations, by which his person was deemed sacred and inviolable; and, therefore, that potentate retained a grateful sense of the loyalty shown by his people. He applauded the bravery of his sea-forces, who had actually procured his freedom, and the fidelity of his land army, who had discovered so great an affection towards his person, and zeal for his safety, as to pursue the Danes. If these would have accepted of a battle, the subjects of King Cealleachan were ready to expose their lives in his service. He ordered provisions for his fleet, and when he had given instructions for the care of the wounded, he put himself at the head of his army, and by long marches, he arrived in Munster. There he resumed the management of affairs, and fixed himself in the government of that province. But, he met with opposition on his line of march, that was near being attended with fatal consequences; for, Mortough Mac Flann, King of Leinster, attempted to obstruct his passage, and to hinder him from conducting his troops through that province.²⁵³ That prince was of a mean and servile disposition; he consulted more the interests of the Danes, than the prosperity of his native country; upon their account, he determined to take revenge upon the army of Munster, and to vindicate the cause of those foreigners, against that of the brave Irish. He resolved on cutting off their retreat, by harassing them during their marches. To achieve this purpose, he summoned all the forces, under his command, he resolved to lay ambushes in the way of Ceallachan, and to fall upon him, when most unprovided for defence. But, the King of Munster had timely intelligence, regarding the treachery of this degenerate prince, who had renounced the love of his country, and who wanted to bring it under a foreign yoke. He prepared to receive the Leinster prince; and, he was greatly incensed, at the baseness of that attempt. Ceallachan commanded his men to give no quarter, but to make examples of those perfidious Irishmen, who had no title to mercy, and who were not to be treated as open and honourable enemies. To raise their indignation the more, he declared, that the Danes, being of another country, were to be used as the laws of nations direct; but, the enemies they were to encounter had forfeited the common and established rights of mankind, and, therefore, they were to be hunted down as robbers and beasts of prey, and not a man of them was to be spared. These severe injunctions, and the resolution of Ceallachan, were carried by deserters, to the King of Leinster. Dreading the resentment of the Momonians, now flushed with victory, he desisted from his enterprise, and withdrawing the forces of his province, Mortough Mac Flann retired to a considerable distance. He left the army of Munster to prosecute the journey homewards, without hinderance or molestation. In the year 951,²⁵⁴ Ceallachan and the men of Munster spoiled Sil-Anmchadha²⁵⁵ and Cluainfearta-Brenainn, as also the territory of Dealbhna-Beathra,²⁵⁶ while the Daimhliag of Gailine was burned by them.

²⁵² See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 391.

²⁵³ See Anthony Marmion's "Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland," Dundalk, p. 277.

²⁵⁴ At A. D. 949, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 664, 665. Dr. O'Donovan states, the true year to have been 951.

²⁵⁵ Or Race of Anmchadh, the tribe-name

Having settled himself in the command of Munster, Ceallachan began to reflect upon the servitude his subjects had endured, under the oppression of the Danes. Urged on by the treachery of these foreigners, and which, in person, he had sufficiently experienced, he heroically resolved to fall upon them, in every direction through the province, and to unite his whole forces, in order to expel them from the country. For this purpose, he recruited his troops, and completed his battalions. He first assaulted, with unexpected fury, those Danes that inhabited about Limerick, and, without much opposition, he obtained a signal victory; great numbers of the enemy he killed, and he took the rest who opposed him prisoners.²⁵⁷ This success gave new life to the prospects of the Irish; they plundered the country about Cashel, where they found a body of five hundred Danes, whom they put to the sword. Sitric, the general of the foreigners, attempted to recover their booty from the victors; but, he was obliged to retire, after many of his soldiers were slain in battle. Neither had the general himself escaped that slaughter, if he had not fled to his shipping, and by that means, Sitric put a stop to the pursuit. After this uninterrupted success, Ceallachan marched with his victorious army, to pay a visit to Daniel O'Faolan, King of the Deisies, with whom he entered into strict friendship; and, he admitted that toparch into alliance, by bestowing upon him in marriage his sister, whose name was Gromflath. She was a princess of great beauty, and of exemplary virtue. The King of Munster soon afterwards left this world, A.D. 954.²⁵⁸ After a troublesome and hazardous reign, this valiant ruler descended peaceably to his grave, and without violence. His successor in the throne of that province was Feargna, the son of Ailgeanan, son of Dungala. He enjoyed the government of that country only for two years, his life and reign being ended by treachery. He was murdered, by a set of conspirators, who were his own near relations.²⁵⁹ Afterwards, Mahon, the son of Ceannedigh, ascended the throne of Munster, and he reigned for twelve years.²⁶⁰

The natives dwelt, intermingled with the new immigrants, even in those districts, conquered by the foreigners, and which were mostly confined to the sea-coasts.²⁶¹ The national usages and manners, especially the religious doctrines and observances of Christianity, must have caused the invaders to enquire about and to contrast the evidences, on which their respective professions of belief rested.²⁶² The Irish ecclesiastics were able to explain and

of a sept of the Hy-Many of Connaught, now the O'Maddens. Their territory comprised the barony of Longford, county of Galway.

²⁵⁷ The former name for Gallen, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County. On the whole subject of Callaghan's romantic story, see what has been written, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., num. iv. "The Law of Tanistry Illustrated," Kinnedy, pp. 457 to 468.

²⁵⁸ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 393.

²⁵⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., the date for his death is 952; but, the editor states, the true year is 954. See pp. 670, 671, and n. (2). *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ See Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," second book, pp. 454, 466.

²⁶¹ See Maurice Lenihan's "Limerick; its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military," chap. i., p. 9.

²⁶² See J. J. A. Woræe's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. i., p. 297.

²⁶² St. Ansgar, or Anschaire, who was born on the 8th of September, A.D. 801, at Fouilloy, of Corbie, near Amiens, in France, is thought to have derived his origin, from one of those Saxon or Swedish families, transported from their own country, by the Emperor Charlemagne; and at the age of five or six years, he was instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. When Harold, King of Jutland, had been driven from his States, by the sons of Godfrey, King of the Normans; he took refuge at the Court of the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, where he was baptized. About the year 826, returning to his states, St. Ansgar, with another missionary, Autbert, accompanied him. Soon they opened a school at Haddéby, opposite Sleswick, and they converted a great number of infidels. In 829, Birn, or Biorn, King of Sweden, had asked from Louis le Débonnaire missionaries to evangelize his people. Again, St. Ansgar, with other companions, made his way into Sweden, where the faith of Jesus Christ made very considerable progress. Afterwards, St. Ansgar was conse-

illustrate the differences, between a pure form of worship, and the gross errors of the northerns. The better influences of Divine Grace gradually prevailed. It is generally thought that, in the ninth and especially in the tenth century, the Danes of Dublin had already embraced the Christian tenets;²⁶³ but, their countrymen, who settled in Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, remained, for a long time, obstinate pagans.²⁶⁴ However, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the work of conversion proceeded.²⁶⁵ Before the close of the latter age, nearly all the Scandinavian settlers throughout Ireland were in communion with the true Church. Notwithstanding the partial conversion of the Danes to Christianity, in some places throughout Ireland, still were they considered enemies by the natives. However, we find nothing more common, in our Annals, than the occasional alliances, for mutually interested motives, and, usually, for purposes of local protection, among the Lochlanns and the Irish.²⁶⁶ Sometimes, the Scandinavians fought against each other; and, as we may suppose, because differences of policy or personal jealousy urged them, under special provocation and peculiar circumstances.

Towards the close of the ninth century, Harald Harfagr, King of Norway, had expelled many of his Princes, Dukes, Earls, and rebellious subjects, from his dominions; and, taking to their vessels, a great number of those exiles, infested the coasts of Scandinavia, or landed on the Shetland and Orkney Islands, which they colonized.²⁶⁷ When his power had been completely restored, in Norway, that king sailed with a large fleet to the Orkneys, which he took possession of, and on returning to his kingdom, as a compensation for the loss of a son, killed in one of his battles, the Islands were bestowed on Rognwald, Earl of Maeri. He, in time, made them over to his brother Sigurd; and, their king gave him the title, Jarl of the Orkneys.²⁶⁸ Afterwards, he invaded the northern mainland of Scotland, and he conquered those opposing him, so that he added Caithness and Sutherland to his dominions. The Inchigall Hebrides, or Western Islands—called Sudreys by the foreigners—as also the Orkneyinga, or Northern Islands, served as permanent strongholds, for the Northmen and for their ships. The Norwegians had also subdued the Isle of Man. Thus, they severed all connexion, between the Irish, Albans, Angles, and Britons.²⁶⁹ After the death of Earl Sigurd, his son Guthorm succeeded in the Orkneys;²⁷⁰ but, he only reigned one winter, and he

crated Archbishop of Hamburg, with jurisdiction over Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Greenland, Holland, Iceland and Fionie, with the adjoining countries. He also became Bishop of Bremen. In Denmark and Sweden—of which countries he is regarded as the Apostle—he built many churches, and had them provided with excellent pastors. His evangelical labours were brought to a close, on the 3rd of February, A. D. 865. See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome ii., iii^e, Jour de Fevrier, pp. 230 to 236.

²⁶³ According to what we conceive to be a very incorrect statement, taken from the Black Book of Christ Church Cathedral, the Danes built "foinices sive voltæ," on its site, before the arrival of St. Patrick, in Ireland; while the Apostle is said, to have celebrated Mass in one of these, afterwards called "Fornix sive Volta S. Patricii." See John T. Gilbert's "History of the City of Dublin," vol. i., Appendix No. iii., p. 416.

²⁶⁴ See Rev. M. J. Brennan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," Eleventh century, chap. i., p. 200.

²⁶⁵ "The year 948 has generally been assigned as that of the conversion of the Danes to Christianity."—Miss M. F. Cusack's "Popular History of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 204.

²⁶⁶ See Haverly's "History of Ireland," chap. xiv., p. 134.

²⁶⁷ See "Northern Antiquities: or a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes," &c. Translated from L'Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannernarc, &c., Par Mons. Mallet, vol. i., chap. x., p. 215. Edinburgh, 1809, 8vo.

²⁶⁸ See E. William Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings," vol. i., chap. ii., p. 45.

²⁶⁹ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vii., p. 345.

²⁷⁰ Some curious illustrations of antiqui-

died childless. Then Earl Rognwald sent his son Hallad, to govern the Orkneys; however, he soon got tired of this rule, and resigned it to his brother Einar, who, from about the year 893 to about 936, was regarded as the Jarl.²⁷¹ His son Thorfinn was called the "Skull-cleaver," and he married Grelauga, daughter of Dungadr, or Duncan, the Jarl of Caithness, who brought that district, under the dominion of the Norwegian Earls of Orkney. Still, the Kings of Alban asserted the right to sovereignty over it, as one of the dependencies, belonging to their Scottish kingdom. By his wife, Thorfinn had five sons, and three of these were successively Earls over the Orkneys.²⁷² Havard, the eldest son, came first in order; but, he was slain, by his wife. Next followed Liotr, the second brother. He had another brother, Skuli, who went to Scotland, and he obtained a right to the earldom of Caithness, from the King of the Scots. This provoked a contest, however, between the brothers; Skuli, being supported by the Scottish King, and by a Scottish earl, called Magbiodr, was defeated and slain, in a battle, which gave Caithness to Earl Liotr. Another desperate battle ensued, between himself and the Scots, at Skidamyre, in Caithness, where he was again victorious, although he was left mortally wounded, on the field. His only surviving brother, Hlodver, next obtained the Earldom, but he died of sickness; and, he was buried, at Hofn, in Caithness. He left a son Sigurd, who succeeded him, about the year 980, an Earl of great renown, an able and a powerful warrior, who not only maintained Caithness against the Scots, but who was capable of fitting out war expeditions every summer, directed against the Sudrey or Western Islands, or against the shores of Scotland or of Ireland.²⁷³

The Isle of Man—said to have derived its name from an ancient mariner-king from Ireland, called Manahan Mac Lir—was at first under the dominion of the Scots or Irish,²⁷⁴ according to Orosius. By Aidan, it was annexed to the kingdom of the Scots; in A.D. 610, it was wrested from their domination, by Edwin, King of Northumbria; but, in the tenth century, it seems to have fallen under the rule of the Scandinavians,²⁷⁵ and to have become tributary to the King of Norway.²⁷⁶ Afterwards, the Island appears to have been vested, in the kings or lords of the Isles, who were of Northman descent.²⁷⁷ During the reign of the great Emperor Charlemagne, the Normans, Danes and Saxons had already invaded the lands, belonging to that renowned monarch.²⁷⁸ After his death, their inroads were still more frequent and formidable. Under the leadership of Rollo, or Rolf,²⁷⁹ in the year 911, the Scandinavians effected

ties there will be found, in Joseph Anderson's lately published work, "Scotland in Pagan Times," Lecture iv. Edinburgh, 1803, 8vo.

²⁷¹ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vii., pp. 344, 345, and n. (11).

²⁷² See E. William Robertson's "Scotland under her Early Kings," vol. i., chap. iv., p. 82.

²⁷³ See the Orkneyinga Saga, and Olaf Trygvasonar Saga. Also, "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis," pp. 330 to 333.

²⁷⁴ For its history, see Rev. James Johnston's "Chronicle of Man and of the Isles," in "Antiquitates Celto-Normanicae." The language of the Island of Man, usually called the Manks tongue, is a dialect of the ancient Gaelic.

²⁷⁵ See the account in Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Second Book, chap. i. Dublin and the Isle of Man, pp. 82 to 94.

²⁷⁶ See S. Haining's "Historical Sketch of the Isle of Man, with an account of the Druidical Temples, Curiosities," &c., with plates, published in 1824, 12mo.

²⁷⁷ See an interesting account of the Isle of Man, in Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of England," vol. iii., pp. 225 to 236.

²⁷⁸ See L. P. Anquetil's "Histoire de France," Deuxième Race dite des Carlovingiens, sect. i., p. 65.

²⁷⁹ In the "Annales de Monte Fernandi," edited by Aquila Smith, we have the entry at A. D. 877: "Bollo et sui Normanniam penetraverunt," p. 4. See the Irish Archæological

a descent upon the northern coast of France.²⁸⁰ A large tract of country was ceded to them, by Charles the Simple, in 912. There they gave name to Normandy, and they succeeded, in establishing a kingdom, where they were very powerful, in after ages.²⁸¹ Owing to geographical position, they were afterwards known by the name of Nordmans, or Northmen, relatively to the countries they invaded.²⁸² In search of further conquests, the Normans proceeded to Spain,²⁸³ to Italy,²⁸⁴ and to Sicily.²⁸⁵ They spread terror, wherever they went, owing to their indomitable courage, remorseless ferocity, and insatiable rapacity as invaders; so that, it might be said, they were everywhere in the ascendant, throughout the northern and western parts of Europe, during the tenth century.

After the death²⁸⁶ of Eadred, King of England, his nephews, Edwy²⁸⁷ and Edgar,²⁸⁸ sons to Edmund, ruled in succession, and their reigns were tolerably free from Northman attempts upon England. During the reigns of Edgar's two sons, Edward, the Martyr,²⁸⁹ and Ethelred II.,²⁹⁰ internal dissensions and disorders prevailed. Taking advantage of these troubles, the Northman armaments were directed against England. Two new and powerful invaders appeared, in 994; these were Sweyn, King of Denmark, and Olaf, King of Norway. Sweyn, or Swend, had murdered his father, and thus he seized upon the crown of Denmark, after this parricidal act. Twice was he expelled, by Eric, King of Sweden; but, twice he recovered possession of his kingdom. Olaf, the son of Tryggva, was a celebrated Vi-king pirate, who had repeatedly visited and plundered the coasts of Ireland,²⁹¹ of Britain, and of Normandy. Having embraced Christianity, he sailed to the Orkneys, and there he subdued and converted the natives. Afterwards, he steered for Norway, where the chiefs of that country had deposed Hacon the Bad; and, then Olaf was unexpectedly hailed as their king, on his arrival. Sweyn and Olaf formed a confederacy; when, with ninety-four ships, they entered the River Thames, and attacked London, but they were repulsed, with considerable loss.²⁹² How-

Society's Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. ii.

²⁸⁰ For a very interesting account of this hero and his exploits, the reader may consult Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England," vol. i., chap. iv., sect. 2, pp. 182 to 202.

²⁸¹ See Sharon Turner's "History of England, from the Norman Conquest, to the Accession of Edward the First," vol. i., chap. i., p. 11. London, 1814, 4to.

²⁸² Sigebert, and the writers of his age, usually called all the northern nations of the Scandian peninsula, by the title Nortmanni. See Baydrand's "Novum Lexicon Geographicum," &c., tomus i., p. 526.

²⁸³ Mallet gives an account, about a strong force of Scandinavian rovers having entered Spain, in September, A.D. 844. See "Northern Antiquities," p. 173, note. Bohn's edition.

²⁸⁴ Their arrival in Italy is assigned to A.D. 1016. See Edward Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. vii., chap. lvi., p. 102. William Smith's edition.

²⁸⁵ The Normans arrived in Sicily, A.D. 1038.

²⁸⁶ In A.D. 955. See John Speck's "History of Great Britain," Book vii., chap. xl., p. 385.

²⁸⁷ He reigned, from A.D. 955 to 958. See

"Pictorial History of England," vol. i., Book ii., chap. i., pp. 171, 172.

²⁸⁸ His reign is computed, from A.D. 958 to 975. See Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results," vol. i., chap. ii., sect. 5, pp. 65 to 68.

²⁸⁹ His term of rule was from A.D. 975 to 978. See Rev. John Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. v., pp. 231 to 233.

²⁹⁰ He ruled, in the midst of disturbances, from A.D. 978, to the time of his death, April 23rd, 1016.

²⁹¹ His conversion to Christianity took place, it is thought, after his visit to Ireland. His Church of St. Olaf, corruptly styled St. Tullock, stood formerly in St. Tullock's Lane, the lower part of Fishamble-street, Dublin. A portion of the clothes of St. Olaf, king and national saint of Norway, and also patron of that church, was kept in the Convent of the Holy Trinity, Dublin. In documents of the fifteenth century, the parish is styled that of "St. Olave the King." See John T. Gilbert's "History of the City of Dublin," vol. i., chap. ii., p. 48.

²⁹² See Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England," vol. i., chap. v., sect. 3, p. 316.

²⁹³ See S. A. Dunham's "History of Den

ever, they ravaged all the southern parts of England, until Ethelred agreed with them, to retire from the kingdom, on receiving a sum of sixteen thousand pounds. Olaf engaged, never more to harass his Christian brethren; and, soon afterwards, he left for Norway, where he made strenuous efforts, to convert all his subjects to the true faith. Then, Sweyn was compelled to follow him; but, he regarded Olaf's desertion of England, as a breach of faith, and never forgave his former confederate. Sweyn surprised Olaf, at sea, and near the islet of Wollin. This event is attributed, chiefly to the treachery of Sigvald, a pirate chief of Jomsberg.²⁹³ A superior force attacked him, at this place, and Olaf had not sufficient means, at his disposal, to resist their attack.²⁹⁴ With the determined resolution of never surrendering to his enemy, Olaf leaped from his ship into the waves, and thus he terminated that unequal contest.²⁹⁵ From 994 to 998, different parts of the English coasts were spoiled, by the pirates. During the absence of the Northman fleets, Ethelred attacked their settlements in Cumberland,²⁹⁶ and in the Isle of Man. In the year 1000, Sweyn had overrun and conquered a great part of Norway. Meantime, the Northmen were busily engaged, in overrunning the northern parts of France, while Robert was its king. The invaders returned from Normandy to England, in 1001, and they were again bought off, by a ransom of twenty-four thousand pounds. This only served to increase their cupidity, and to give them a proud consciousness of their ascendancy. The following year,²⁹⁷ a cruel and base expedient was adopted by Ethelred, who ordered the assassination of all the Northmen in England, on the same day, November 13th; and, this horrid massacre took place, aggravated by every species of insult and barbarity. However, in 1003, Sweyn returned with a powerful armament, and during four succeeding years, he indulged without molestation, in the pursuit of plunder and vengeance. Wherever the English armies appeared, they were routed with most dreadful slaughter; villages, towns, and cities, were set on fire, while their inhabitants were tortured and put to death. Finally, Ethelred was driven out of England, and Sweyn ruled there, by force of conquest, until the first week of February, 1014, when his death occurred.²⁹⁸

The foreign colonists, in Ireland, were exceedingly aggressive, while their increasing numbers and perfect organization enabled them to exercise acts of despotic tyranny and injustice, over the comparatively defenceless tribes of the Irish, living near their positions. Reprisals were the natural result, and the natives, in turn, were obliged to league, in defence of their property, their liberty, and their lives. However, Irishmen retained firm possession, even when most oppressed, of the whole large and fertile country of Ireland; while, the foreigners, in the chief cities, and in course of time, became transformed from pirates to merchants, occupying small districts in their immediate neighbourhood, but keeping up well-trained armies for defence, and sometimes for aggressive purposes, in the interior of the Island.²⁹⁹ The Norwegians, who could reach our Island by sea, and who could derive assistance, only from their own countrymen, settled upon the coasts of England and Scotland, were proportionately few; while, they had to contend with a numerous and warlike people, inhabiting an extensive and a distant country.³⁰⁰ Conghalach II.,

mark, Sweden and Norway," vol. i., chap. iii., pp. 234, 235.

²⁹⁴ See Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii., Book vi., chap. ix., p. 311.

²⁹⁵ The "Saxon Chronicle," edited by Rev. J. Ingram, places his death, at the year 1030. See p. 205.

²⁹⁶ See John Speed's "History of Bri-

taine," Book vii., chap. xliiii., p. 393.

²⁹⁷ See Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. ii., Book vi., chap. ix., p. 312.

²⁹⁸ See Rev. Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. v., pp. 236 to 248.

²⁹⁹ See Haverly's "History of Ireland," chap. xiv., p. 134.

son of Maelmithigh,³⁰¹ the sovereign of Ireland, obtained a victory over the Dublin Danes, and he seems to have been intent on establishing his supremacy, over the Irish provincial kings. An expedition he led to the west of Munster, A.D. 950, caused the death of two sons of Ceinneidigh; namely, Echthighern and Donnchuan, who were, it is said, not only the elder brothers of Bryan Boromha, but even of Mahon, they having been killed just ten years, before the beginning of his reign. However, in 955, having marched into Leinster, which he spoiled, Godfrey, lord of the foreigners at Dublin, surprised and slew him, at Tiguiran,³⁰² with his chiefs, and several of his troops.³⁰³ Domhnall, son to Muirheartach, then possessed the Irish throne; and, during the twenty-four years of his reign,³⁰⁴ several feuds are recorded, not alone between the Northman settlers, and the Irish, but even between the chiefs of Ireland themselves.

The foreigners are said to have established an iron despotism, all over the country; but, especially in the southern parts of Ireland, their power was felt to be greatest, and less liable to be contested, by any force the natives were able to collect, in order to check their encroachments. An immense fleet, under direction of Imar, grandson to Imar, chief king of the foreigners, with his three sons, Dubhcenn,³⁰⁵ Cu-allaidh³⁰⁶ and Aralt,³⁰⁷ came into the mouth of the River Shannon—presumably about the middle of the tenth century³⁰⁸—and the fleet anchored at Inis-Sibtond. The crews landed and encamped there, in the harbour of Limerick. Besides that protection, afforded by their insular position, and by their vessels, they erected fortifications, at that place. On it, a portion of the present city of Limerick now stands. A like number of vessels had never arrived before, in any part of Ireland. This enabled the foreigners, to make a strong and secure settlement, in that place; and, soon, they were recognised as scourges, among the people of Munster.³⁰⁹ The Vi-king, who established his chief seat in Limerick, soon overran the surrounding territory, exacting hostages and pledges, from the Irish and foreigners alike; while chiefs, superintendents, and tax-gatherers, were set over every district, to systematize the payment of rents and of tributes.¹¹⁰ Soldiers, stewards, or bailiffs, were billeted, in most of the native houses; and, their rapine, injuries, oppressions and insults, the population were obliged to endure. Besides the royal tribute, individual heads of families were obliged to pay an ounce of silver or white bronze, called Findruni;³¹¹ or, on penalty of non-compliance, the debtor was liable to have his nose cut off, or compelled to go into slavery. The Scandinavians were armed with heavy and well-fashioned swords; they carried well-riveted and long spears; they wore polished, trusty and well-fitting corslets; they served under leaders of great

³⁰⁰ See J. J. A. Worsae's "Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland." The Norwegians in Ireland, sect. i., p. 229.

³⁰¹ See Gratianus Lucius' "Cambrensis Eversus," vol. ii., cap. ix., pp. 32, 33. Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition.

³⁰² See Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ." Antiquitates Hibernicæ, p. 78.

³⁰³ His death is assigned to A.D. 956, in O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars iii., cap. xciii., p. 435.

³⁰⁴ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., p. 88.

³⁰⁵ Rendered, Black Head.

³⁰⁶ Rendered, Wild Dog.

³⁰⁷ Another form of the name Harold.

³⁰⁸ We have not the date or notice for this debarkation in our Annals.

³⁰⁹ See COGATH SACOHEL RE GALLAROH, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 48, 49.

³¹⁰ According to the author of the *Analecta*, they carried off Irish Manuscripts to Denmark, and in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the King of Denmark wished for a learned Irishman to translate them, but that queen refused his request. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland," part i., chap. ix., p. 95.

³¹¹ It was used chiefly in ornamental works, by the artists of ancient Erin. See *Cath mhughe Léana*, or "The Battle of Magh Lena," edited by Eugene O'Curry, Esq.,

valour and renown ; their warriors were known, likewise, to be ferocious and remorseless. They had a governor placed in the territory of every chieftain, an abbot was set over every church, and a guardsman over every village. These foreign oppressors lived as freebooters among those people, they had enslaved and demoralized. The native chieftains and their clansmen were jealously watched, lest they might combine to rid themselves of this slavery and oppression.³¹² Thousands of strong arms, but of irresolute souls, were ready to avenge a state of slavery, now become intolerable ; but, a champion soon appeared on the scene, whose valiant achievements were destined to free his countrymen from this thralldom.

The valiant son of Cenedigh, the subject of our Memoir, had endeavoured, with surprising spirit and ability, to maintain an unequal contest, against the enemies of his race and nation. But, Mathgamhain was almost reduced to a state of despair ; and, in an interview with his younger brother, he is stated to have counselled submission to the foreign yolk. An old Irish poem³¹³ recounts the places, called Craig Liath,³¹⁴ Bréintir,³¹⁵ the Forcus or Fergus River,³¹⁶ where Bryan had already won victories over the Northmen ; nor, is it probable, that the narrative is purely imaginative, or greatly exaggerated.³¹⁷ From it we glean, that Bryan endeavoured to excite his brother, to emulate the heroic actions of their ancestors, and to have neither peace or truce with the oppressors. A stranger tribe appears to have intervened, and to have procured a sort of armistice, between Mathgamhain and the Northmen ; while, knowing the number and force of their followers, the Dalcassian King deemed it overweening pride and presumption, on the part of Bryan, longer to contend, after the losses his followers had experienced. Notwithstanding, the choice between death and dishonour was hardly to be contested, in so just a cause ; nor could the Dalcassians submit to injuries and insults, through any fear to await the issue of other battles and enterprises.

It now became necessary, to take the advice of the chiefs and people, in that principality ; so that Mathgamhain and Bryan had them duly convened, for such a purpose.³¹⁸ In full assembly of the Dal Cais, when the alternative of war or of submission had been discussed, to their honour be it said, both old and young cried out with one voice, that they preferred meeting violence, and even death itself, in defending the freedom of their patrimony and of their race,

M.R.I.A., with translation and notes, p. 113, n. (w), Dublin, 1855, 8vo.

³¹² See *Cogaibh Fáehel Re Galluibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. xl., pp. 48 to 53.

³¹³ In the shape of a Dialogue, between Mathgamhain and Brian. The original Irish, with an English translation will be found in the *Cogaibh Fáehel Re Galluibh*, or "The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill." Edited, with Translation and Introduction, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., &c., chap. xlvi., pp. 62 to 65.

³¹⁴ It may be Anglicised, "the grey rock." This seems to have been the place, frequented by Oeibhinn (now Eevil) the familiar sprite of Dal-Cais, who is said to have enveloped in a magical cloud Dunlaing O'h-Artagain—a chief hero attend'nt on Murchadh, Brian Borumha's eldest son—to prevent him from joining in the battle of Clontarf. See "Miscellany of the Celtic Society." Edited by Dr. John O'Donovan. Appendix, p. 412, n. (z).

³¹⁵ This is probably Brentir of the Fear-macaigh and Cormacaigh, or the fetid district of the Kinel-Fearmaic and Ui-Cormaic. It was so called, owing to its situation, on the frontiers of their tribal territories. At present, it is locally called *Bréintire*, and it is a district, comprising seven townlands, lying north-east of Sliabh Callain, or Mount Callan, in the western part of Clare County. In Cromwell's time, a family of the O'Connells were transplanted thither, from the county of Kerry. At present, the property belongs to the Marquis of Thomond. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., n. (n), p. 2102.

³¹⁶ It rises in the barony of Corcomroe, and runs a devious course, through the county of Clare, by the town of Ennis, and it falls southwardly, into the Shannon, with a wide estuary.

³¹⁷ It begins with the line:—

Uathao rin a bhian banba.

³¹⁸ See Alfred Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," p. 34.

rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression of the pirates, or than abandon their lands and country to the invaders. This decision was now heartily commended, by Mathgamhain; when, he prudently advised, that they should all retire upon Cashel, and combine with the Eoghanachts of Munster. The great fortress on the rock of Cashel was then, probably, in the possession of its rightful inheritors; but, in any case, there were vast woods and mountain ranges, which could be advantageously used for offensive and defensive purposes, by their united forces. This counsel was approved, and accordingly, a hasty gathering of their clans was effected. Marching into the Eoghanacht country, the warriors of Muscraige,³¹⁹ from Dun na Sciath³²⁰ to Belach Accailli,³²¹ gathered to their standards. Afterwards, Mathgamhain moved to Cashel of the Kings. Wherever the foreigners had settled, they were disturbed, their houses were burned, and their property was taken. The year after the death of Donnchadh, son to Ceallachan, King of Cashel, Mathgamhain halted his troops, and then he encamped them, at Dun Cuirc.³²²

This sudden uprising of the Munster clans caused Imar, the chief King of Limerick, to array his forces; and, as Thomond was now denuded of its natural defenders, he summoned the Galls of his nation, as also the Gael, who were his allies, to ravage the Dalcassian territories. This bid fair to become a war of utter desolation, for those people who remained there. The Irish chiefs, found to favour Mathgamhain's expedition, Faelan, son to Cormac, King of the Desi,³²³ Flathri, son to Allamaran, King of Resad, and Sidechad, son to Segni, King of Titill,³²⁴ were slain by Imar and by the foreigners. Unfortunately, there were other Munster chiefs, ready to league with the common enemy; and, foremost among those were Maelnuadh,³²⁵ sometimes called Molloy, son to Bran, King of Desmumhain, or south Munster, and Donnabhan, or Donovan, son to Cathal, King of the Hy Cairbri.³²⁶ These were filled with a narrow provincial jealousy, because of Mathgamhain's ambitious projects and of his growing reputation, which aimed at giving him rule, over the whole south of Ireland.³²⁷ Wherefore, with united forces, Imar of Luimneach marched towards Cashel of the Kings, where Mathgamhain and Bryan had taken up their position, with the Dalcassians. Soon as the news reached them, a council of war was speedily summoned. Chiefs and warriors assembled, when Mathgamhain asked what they wished to do. They advised him, to march at their head as far as Cnamchoill,³²⁸ to meet

³¹⁹ An account of the different Muskerrys will be found, in notes to the *Life of St. Cera*, Virgin, at the 5th day of January, in our First Volume of this work.

³²⁰ The Dun or Fort of the Shields, now Dunnaskeagh, a townland in the parish of Rathlynin, barony of Clanwilliam, and County of Tipperary. The fort so called was on the top of a round hill in that townland, and some remains of it are yet traceable. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (c), p. 844.

³²¹ This place has not been identified. It must probably be sought for, at a point of the territory in Muskerry, quite in an opposite direction, from Dun-na-Sgiath.

³²² Or, the Fort of Corc. It was a bardic name for Bruice, county of Limerick, and it was then the seat of O'Donovan. See the "Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., n. 676, p. lxxvi.

³²³ In the southern part of Munster, this territory was situated.

³²⁴ It seems difficult, at present, to identify the names of those chiefs, mentioned in the text, with those denominations of their respective territories.

³²⁵ His name is written Maolmua, in Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., p. 85.

³²⁶ The Uí Cairbre Aebhdha, who occupied the present barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, and those plains extending thence, down to the River Shannon.

³²⁷ See Rev. C. B. Gibson's "History of the County and City of Cork," vol. i., chap. i., p. 2.

³²⁸ This place was situated, about one mile and a-half, eastwards from the town of Tipperary. Its English pronunciation is *K'naw-hill*, according to Haliday, in his translation of Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "History of Ireland," at p. 139.

the army of the foreigners, to ascertain their strength, and, if circumstances favoured them, to engage in battle; but, if the opposing forces were too numerous, it was deemed better to make a wood and camp assault on them, at Cnamhchoill.³²⁹ About this time, Cathal, son to Feradach, a chief of Delbna-mór,³³⁰ arrived to succour them, with one hundred armed men, fully equipped for battle, and each having a large warrior's shield at his side. Their leader was one of most renowned warriors in Ireland, and filled with a generous friendship for the Dal Cais. The five Delbhnas³³¹ were from the race of Lugaidh,³³² son to Oengus; and, moreover, wherever a soldier of the Dalcassians served, whether under Maelseachlainn, or under Aedh O'Neill, he hastened to answer the summons, and he mustered for the unequal conflict, under the banner of his hereditary prince. When all had assembled, a second council of war was held; and, as every petty chieftain of every minor tribe, if not every individual clansman, had a voice on the great question of war or of peace, so was a general assembly convoked, to decide the course to be adopted, or the plans for subsequent military operations.

About five miles westward from Cnamhchoill, the army of Imar had been encamped, and, at a place, where, as seems probable from the name, a large wood of willow trees grew.³³³ An open plain was there, and the unanimous decision of the Irish chiefs and warriors was to march against the foreigners, and to give them battle. The Dalcassian heroes had always claimed the right of leading the van, when entering an enemy's country,³³⁴ and of bringing up the rear, when it was necessary to retreat.³³⁵

In the year 968,³³⁶ at Sulchoid,³³⁷ near the border line of Tipperary and Limerick counties, the Northmen had taken their post. That place is frequently mentioned, in subsequent ages, and wars, even so far down as the last campaigns and revolutions, that happened in this kingdom. It was a noted and favourable position for the encampment of armies.³³⁸ This the foreigners deemed a suitable field, on which they might win a pitched battle. The Dalcassians were in full force, and they advanced to the attack, with confidence in the courage and capacity of their leaders, Mahon and Bryan.³³⁹ A detachment was sent

³²⁹ This is Anglicised, *Hazle or Nut Wood*. The locality is Clechoill, or Cleighile, in the parish of Kilshane, and barony of Clanwilliam. See "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," sheet 67.

³³⁰ Or the Great Delvin, now the barony of Delvin, in the east of the County of Westmeath.

³³¹ The Delbhna Territories are distinguished as the Deabhna Mor, and the Deabhna Beg, or the Little Delvin. The five sub-denominations are probably the Deabhna Eathra, and the Deabhna Teannmaighe, in Meath; the Deabhna Nuadhath, between the Rivers Suck and Shannon, the Deabhna Cuilcábhhar, and the Deabhna Feadha of *Tír-da-loch*, or of the Two Lakes, in Connaught. See O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. lxxxii., pp. 386, 387.

³³² Lugaidh Dealbhaedh was descended from Cas, ancestor of the Dal Cais of Thomond. See the "Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagáin and Giolla na naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, n. 26, p. vii.

³³³ It is situated, on the confines of Limerick and Tipperary counties, and in the

barony of Clanwilliam, which belongs to the latter county. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., n. (i), p. 2313.

³³⁴ The authority of a Poem, attributed to Cormac Mac Cullennan, king and bishop of Cashel, is cited for this statement.

³³⁵ See *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallabh*. "The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, cap. xli., pp. 54, 55.

³³⁶ According to the Annals of Innisfallen. Mr. O'Curry places this event, in or about the year 941, but, no doubt, this antedates it, by over twenty years.

³³⁷ In Cormac's Glossary, this word is rendered in Latin *Salicetum*, i.e. "The Sallow Wood." At the present day, it is Anglicised, *Sollghod*, or "Sallow head."

³³⁸ It is "guarded by heights on both sides, within one day's march of Limerick, and in the direct road from Dublin to that town, by the way of Cashel."—General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., num. iv., "Law of Tanistry Illustrated," p. 481.

³³⁹ It is stated, by Mr. O'Curry, that Bryan was only in his sixteenth year, at this time;

forward by the foreigners, and, it is said to have been one of cavalry, wearing corslets. This body of horse was intended to favour the purpose of observation; but, it was incautiously exposed to the intuitive and impetuous assault of Bryan, who advanced at the head of his impatient troops. On this day, he held an important command, while, in his abilities and valour, the Munster forces felt the utmost confidence. Nothing could exceed the ready and rapid movement, which carried with it skill and judgment in the execution and conception. Nor were the Northmen, under the command of Muiris,³⁴⁰ less prepared for action; and soon, their compact ranks were drawn out in array, to oppose the advancing Mononians. The battle commenced about sunrise, while it was fiercely and obstinately contested on both sides. At length, confusion followed, when an effective charge decided the fortunes of the battle, in favour of the brave Dal Cais. The fugitive Danes rushed unexpectedly upon the main body of their army, and threw it into complete disorder. Immediately disarray and panic spread through every rank, while Bryan promptly and vigorously followed up the advantage he had gained. He knew, that the entire force of Mahon was ready to secure a decisive victory. Pouring its eager and steady columns on the enemy, that charge of the commander-in-chief proved to be irresistible, against their broken masses. Vainly they resisted, for a time, but no force they possessed was equal to the effort made to retrieve their losses. A chief, named Carran³⁴¹ is said to have fallen, by the hand of Bryan, while Cathal, son of Feradach, signalized his prowess in combat, by slaying one, named Staball.³⁴² About mid-day, the Irish were victorious; when the foreigners began their retreat to the ditches and valleys and over plains, covering their line of retreat with dead bodies. Soon, they were utterly routed, with the loss of their chiefs, Treitill, Ruamann, Bernard, Maurice, and Torolb.³⁴³ It is said, that fully one-half their number fell, in this action, or in the pursuit, afterwards, and that the slain amounted to thousands of their bravest men.³⁴⁴ The conquerors broke their scattered ranks, while the fugitives fell continuously, along their line of retreat. An almost unresisted slaughter now commenced, and the Norsemen were utterly routed. This miserable destruction continued, until 2,000³⁴⁵—or 3,000 of the foreigners, according to some accounts—lay in heaps upon the field. At last, their whole remaining army in disorder endeavoured to escape by flight, towards their stronghold, the city of Limerick.

The Irish followed them, that same evening; and, according to the barbarous practice of that time, they beheaded great numbers of the slain. Filled with exultation, after their great victory, and still desirous of intercepting their enemies' chances for escape, the pursuit was continued during the whole night, and the Norsemen were not allowed one single moment of rest. Their great hope for refuge was to effect their escape

but, it seems to us, he had, at least, fully attained his majority.

³⁴⁰ Chief of the Limerick Danes, according to Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, in his "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., p. 330.

³⁴¹ He is called Carran Laighnech, or Carran of Leinster; and, he was probably one of those recreant Irish chiefs, who was in alliance with the invaders.

³⁴² He is called the son of Sigmall, most probably a Northman chief.

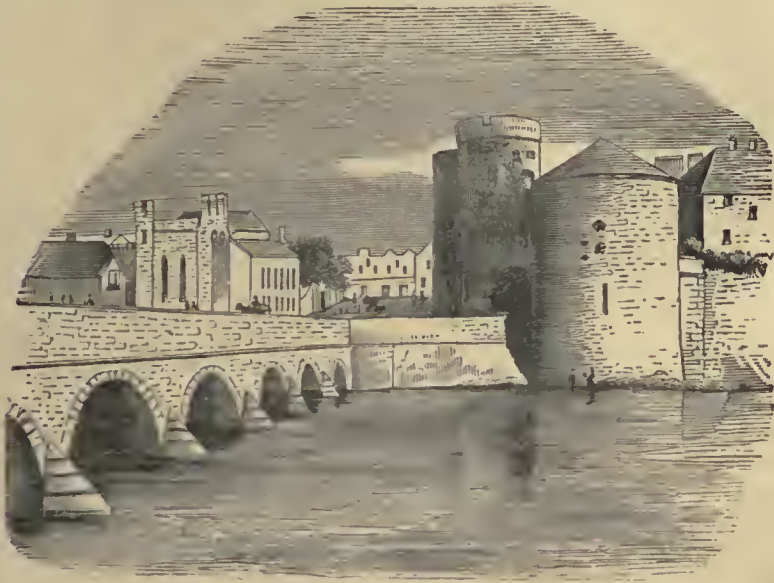
³⁴³ In the Tract on the wars between the Irish and the foreigners, it is not easy to ascertain whether the following were killed, in the battle of Sulcoit, or during the retreat,

or in the city of Limerick; but, their names there occur, and in this order, Staball, son of Sigmall, and Eilla, Tretel, Ruamand, or Redmond, Somarlid, or Somarligh, Manus of Luinnech, Tolbarb, and Infuit, with twenty hundred.

³⁴⁴ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. xix., p. 403.

³⁴⁵ See Maurice Lenihan's "Limerick; its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military," chap. i., pp. 9, 10. An article in "The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," at the word *BORU*, *BRIAN*, has the Danish loss at 3000 upon the field of battle. See vol. ii., p. 685.

into their stronghold, on the River Shannon. However, both parties entered Limerick together, while the work of death did not cease.³⁴⁵ The fort there was sacked by the Irish soldiers, so that it afforded no protection to the foreigners, who were forced even from their own houses.³⁴⁷ If quarter had



Thomond Bridge and King John's Castle, Limerick.

been sought, by the routed foreigners, it does not appear to have been granted.³⁴⁸ Prolonged into a hideous and an indiscriminate scene of havoc, blood flowed plenteously, in the streets of that doomed city. At last, the Danes' houses, and even their chief fort, having been burned to the ground, the Dalcassian vengeance hardly subsided—a scene of desolation extending far and wide. Mahon then collected all the gold, silver, jewels, cloths, stuffs, and rich spoils of the foreigners, in Limerick; while, he took away several boys and girls, as captives. As each chief and warrior had deserved, according to his valour and merits, reward was duly apportioned. Leaving behind him only a shapeless mass of smoking ruins, we are told, that the Momonians collected the helpless captives, on the hills of Saingel, a suburb of Limerick; and, that there, every man capable of bearing arms was massacred, while the remaining survivors were condemned to slavery.³⁴⁹ If this indiscriminate massacre took place,

³⁴⁵ The Annals of Innisfallen, in the Bodleian Codex, at Oxford, have the foregoing, at A. D. 951. The events in this series of the Innisfallen Annals, in general, are antedated, by fifteen, sixteen, or even by a still greater number of years. See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., n. p. 84.

³⁴⁷ The annexed engraving represents a partial view of the city of Limerick, at Tho-

mond Bridge. It has been drawn from a photograph, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

³⁴⁸ See J. Ferrar's "History of Limerick, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military," &c., part i., chap. i., p. 8.

³⁴⁹ See Cogadh Saehel Re Galluibh, or the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, chap. liii., pp. 78 to 81.

³⁵⁰ The Dublin Copy of the "Annales Inis-

the victors brutally tarnished the glory of their previous triumph. However, it is likely, only those guilty of the most flagrant offences were sentenced to death; since, we find it stated, that Mathgamhain banished the chief of the foreigners, Imar of Luimn ech, over the sea, as also Amlaibh, son of Amlaibh. It seems, that a great number of warriors embarked in their ships, and thus escaped the fury of the Irish; while, seeking the coasts of Britain, they attempted new conquests, but they were unsuccessful. A king of Britain repulsed those invaders, and Amlaibh was killed, during the progress of this expedition. Another curious picture of the usages then prevailing was that compliment paid to Cathal, who distinguished himself in the battle, as an auxiliary to Mathgamhain. The soldiers of his army held races there, in his honour; while, a great line of the captured foreign women was formed, and placed in a circle, on the hills of Saingel. They were stooped with the palms of their hands on the ground, and the horseboys of the army stood behind them to enforce this order. In such a humiliating position, the foreigners' women were obliged to witness the triumphant sports of their conquerors.³⁵⁰

Having thus broken the power of the Northmen, Mathgamhain next marched against their Irish allies. He first attacked the Ui-Enna of Aine, now Knockany, in the county of Limerick, but there, Cathal, the King-soldier of Erin, was killed. Next, he captured Maellnuadh, son of Bran. He signally defeated the foreigners in seven different engagements: at Sengulainn, at Leigh, in Trastraighe, and, at Machaire-m or, he gained some of those victories. At the latter place, having plundered Imlech, and encamped two days there, the foreigners of Waterford and those of Limerick were overtaken, and utterly routed, with great slaughter.³⁵¹ The foreign soldiers, who had been billeted on the territory of Munster, were killed, everywhere they were met. Mathgamhain also compelled the submission of Donnabh an, son to Cathal, King of the Ui Fidhgenti, and obliged him to give hostages, as he required such pledges, from all the other chiefs of Munster.

The Dalcassian race then held an undisputed superiority, especially throughout all the southern districts; and, Mahon firmly established himself on the throne of Munster, over which he ruled without challenge, for about six years.³⁵² The king and chiefs, as also the bravest warriors of the Northmen, were either slain or banished; the stewards or bailiffs, and the mercenary soldiers, once billeted on the people, were in turn enslaved. The supremacy, predicted for the Dal Cais, seemed to be theirs; and, from Oclan to Luimnech, from Cnam-coill to Luachair, the whole country belonged to them, possessing their rightful territory of Caille Cormaic. Meantime, the provincial and unpatriotic jealousy of some, among the leading chiefs of the Eoghanachts, became excited and alarmed, at the growing power of the Dalcassians. Imar had passed a year, in Wales; but, he returned again with a great fleet, to the western harbour of Luimnech. There, he attacked Beolan Littill and his son, who probably were Scandinavians in alliance with Mahon, and these he killed. He appears, afterwards, to have established himself, in some naval station, on the western harbour of Luimnech, whence, he made incursions on the country surrounding, took many spoils, and fought many battles. His object appears to have been the formation of a confederacy with the Eoghanachts, who were ready to revolt

falenses," has this slaughter of the Danes in Munster, at A.D. 975. See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 45.

³⁵¹ In the year 969, the foreigners of Limerick were driven from Inis-Sibtond, by the son of Ceinneadigh. See Maurice Lenihan's

"Limerick; its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military," chap. ii., p. 10.

³⁵² See A. G. Richey's "Lectures on the History of Ireland, down to A.D. 1534." Lecture iii., p. 66.

against Mahon's rule.³⁵³ In concert with Ivor, the former King of Limerick, two chiefs had treacherously resolved to deprive Mahon of life; for, it seems, that a second time, the latter had burned Limerick. To accomplish their object, the king of the Northmen held communication, with two of the southern chieftains; and, in the year 976, they planned a base plot, which fatally succeeded. Donovan,³⁵⁴ son of Cathal, King of Ui-Fidhgeinte,³⁵⁵ and Maelmua, or Molloy, son of Bran, King of Desmond,³⁵⁶ desired to weaken the growing power of the Dalcassians, feeling envious of their chieftain's fame; but, perhaps, more to avenge some real or fancied wrongs, or under the exasperation of some slight or insult. It is said, Molloy was the chief instigator of this deed, while Ivor contrived a most perfidious and cowardly scheme. He suggested, that Donovan should invite Mahon to his house, at Bruree,³⁵⁷ where a grand banquet had been prepared. Likely enough, the Thomond king had some misgivings, regarding the loyalty of his host, when accepting this invitation. According to the unsocial and unknightly practice of the period, he required sacred guarantees for his safety; and, these were readily plighted, on behalf of Columb Mac Kieragan, Bishop of Cork,³⁵⁸ with some of the Munster clergy, who had no reason to suspect any violation of hospitality. Mahon frankly and generously thought, he might trust to the honour of his former foes, and he was slow to suspect the wiles of such infamous assassins. Maolmua was a person, aspiring and presumptuous in character, while he was treacherous in disposition. He had once ventured to brave Mahon's authority, and, as a result, he suffered the reward of his temerity. That chief had now planned a scheme for revenge. He sent an urgent message, which was expressive of a strong desire, to confer with Mahon.³⁵⁹ There must have been some important understanding, giving weight and interest to this request, for it was complied with by Mahon. His frank and generous nature was peculiarly open to such a demand. Suspecting no guile, he summoned a few attendants, and then turned his course for an interview, towards the distant habitation of the chief. The people of the Comharba of Barri, and the people of Maelmua, came to

³⁵³ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., p. 233.

³⁵⁴ This chief was head of the family of O'Donovan; but, his race was afterwards driven from their original settlements, in the eleventh century, by the Fitzgeralds, Burkes, and O'Brians. They effected a settlement, about that time, at Cairbre, in the county of Cork, where they lived under their chief Amhlaobh O'Donnobhain.

³⁵⁵ The Iribe so called, at this period, possessed that portion of the county of Limerick, lying to the west of the River Maigh, now spelled Maigue, besides the barony of Coshma, in the same county. See Dr. John O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Ceapt*, or "The Book of Rights," p. 67, n. (g).

³⁵⁶ Macmua is the name generally given to this treacherous prince, by our Irish writers. See "Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," vol. ii., p. 685. The territory, called Desmond, was known to the Irish, as Deas Mumhan, or South Munster. According to Smith, in his Histories of the Counties of Cork and of Kerry, this large territory formerly comprised the whole of the present Cork county, and the greater part of Kerry county, as also

a portion of Waterford county, and a small part of Tipperary county, called the Eognacht Cashel, bordering on Cork county. It is said to have extended from Brandon Mountain, in the barony of Corkaguiney, county of Kerry, to the River Blackwater, near Lismore, in Waterford county. In latter times, under the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond, that territory was confined to the baronies of Bear and Bantry, with some other portions, in the south-east of Cork county, together with that part of Kerry county, south of the River Mang. For a very interesting description of its divisions, the reader is referred to "The Annals of Ireland," translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters. By Owen Connelan, Esq., with annotations by Philip Mac Dermott, Esq., M.D., and the Translator, pp. 170 to 183, n. 1.

³⁵⁷ See Rev. C. B. Gibson's "History of the County and City of Cork," vol. i., chap. i., p. 2.

³⁵⁸ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," chap. ii., p. 12.

³⁵⁹ The Dublin copy of the "Annales Inisfalenses," at A.D. 976, gives some interesting particulars of this transaction. See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., pp. 45, 46.

meet Mahon, so far as Croc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caoin ; while, the Comharba of Barri and Maelmua himself were at Raithin mór, in Fir Muigi.

Already, the place designed for the King of Thomond's death had been marked out, and he was hurried on, to an unfrequented hollow, among the mountains.³⁶⁰ It was probably late, when Mahon arrived at this lonesome region, among woods and mountains. There, an ambuscade awaited him and his small following,³⁶¹ They were quickly surrounded, by a strong party, and captured. Mahon found himself a helpless captive, and in the hands of his implacable enemy. He bore the Gospel of Barri on his breast, as a protection ; but, when he saw the treacherous sword aimed at his life, he threw the Book he carried towards the people of Columb Mac Kieragan, so that it should not be stained with his blood. The Gospel fell into the breast of a priest, in their company. The base and cowardly Maelmua had already arranged all the details of this shocking murder ; and, while he stood far off as the eye could see, he knew from the flashing of the naked sword, and the fall of Mahon, that the cruel deed was accomplished. The horses were then yoked for his departure ; when, the cleric came to him, and asked what he should do. Maelmua heartlessly answered, in irony and insult, "Cure yonder man, if he should come to thee." Then, the chief left, and, in the spirit of prophecy, the clerk poured a malediction on him, which was fulfilled, when Aedh, son of Gebennach, belonging to the Deisi-Beg, surprised in an alder hut and slew Maelmua,³⁶² at the ford of Belach Lechta. The two priests went to Columb, and told him what occurred ; they placed the Gospel on his breast, and it was stained already with the blood of Mahon.³⁶³ Great was the mourning over the Dalcassian hero, and elegies were composed, when the particulars of his tragic death became known ; while fierce indignation was enkindled, among the people of North Munster, to avenge that savage outrage. The bravery and good conduct of Bryan had called him, to take a leading part in public affairs. For some time, he had held the chieftainship of Thomond. It was a foregone conclusion, that should he survive Mahon, Bryan must have succeeded to his position ; for, his chiefs and clansmen would not have elected any other member of his family, to fill the throne of Munster, so pre-eminent were his merits. On his brother's death, therefore, Bryan was unanimously selected as his successor.³⁶⁴ He was then advanced in years, he had been married for a considerable time, and he was the father of a numerous family.³⁶⁵

For a while, the King of Thomond was obliged to defer his purpose of taking vengeance on the traitor ; for, other enemies, nearer home, gave him considerable uneasiness, and, he was obliged to act more immediately, in repressing their disorders. At that very time, while Bryan was meditating a just retribution against Maelmua, for his brother's death ; under their leaders, Imhar, and his two sons, Amhlaeibh and Duibh-chenn, the foreigners of Limerick were in great force, on the Lower Shannon. Here, they held possession of Inis-mór, also called Iniscathy, or Scatterry Island.

³⁶⁰ It is said to have been at some place, near Macroom, in the county of Cork.

³⁶¹ The Dublin copy of the Inisfallen Annals relates, that historians stated, it was at a mount called Caon, over which passed the road of Abhra.

³⁶² The story goes, that Molloy lost his eye-sight, and that he was buried on the north side of a hill, where the sun never shines. See Rev. C. B. Gibson's "History of the County and City of Cork." vol. i., chap. i., p. 3.

³⁶³ According to Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, Maolmuadh was proclaimed King of Munster, after this treacherous action. See "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. iv., p. 233.

³⁶⁴ The year 976 is that assigned for his accession, to the throne of Munster. See Rev. John Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxiii., sect. vii., p. 414.

³⁶⁵ Murrrough, Teige, and Donough, were his sons, at that time.

It had enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, and the invaders probably deemed themselves secure from attack, in such a place. This did not save them, however, for Bryan reasoned, that the habitual profaners of every sacred thing and person should not derive any advantage from their *ruse*. The *Ui Domhnaill*³⁶⁶ of Corco-Bhaiscinn³⁶⁷ took part in an expedition against them, and under the direction of Bryan, their local position gave them opportunities, for a very effective co-operation. Disregarding the sacred character of the place, and availing themselves of that position, and probably of the buildings, they established a garrison and an armory, in the monastery of that sacred island, which had been constructed for religious retirement, and for very different purposes.³⁶⁸ Through reverence for St. Senan, the founder, native Irish were still accustomed to flock thither in great numbers as pilgrims. In defiance of all danger, they desired to pay their vows, and to place their offerings, at the sacred altars and shrines of the Island. Thus, it afforded no inconsiderable acquisition, and it tempted greatly the rapacity of its foreign masters. The Danes had already drawn a strong detachment from Limerick, to garrison that place. To chastise their insolence and oppression, Bryan led a well-appointed force against them, in the year 977.³⁶⁹ With twelve hundred of his brave Dalcassians, he made the descent, by means of boats. Accordingly, he attacked them on the Island, thus, at least, violating the established law of Inis-Cathaigh. No doubt, his censures were readily removed, by the liberated Abbot and condoned by his community.³⁷⁰ After a fierce struggle with its Danish occupants, the King of Thomond and his soldiers defeated them, thus recovering entire possession of that sacred Island. Imar and his two sons were killed, by Bryan, and among the slain are noticed Dubhcenn and Cualaid. At this time, the King of Thomond is said to have been fifty years of age, by the Four Masters, and what is stranger still, that he "violated" Inis-Cathaigh; but, this expression has a technical, rather than a literal, meaning, as applied to his acts. Bryan now availed himself of their dispersion, to follow up this success. His name and position rendered him formidable to the Danes. Moving the troops under command to other stations, he laid waste those Scandinavian settlements, which were established on various islands in the Shannon, and along its banks. Besides Iniscatly, the Islands of Finn Inis and of Inis Da Dromann were plundered. The wives and women and children of the foreigners were captured. He carried off a rich spoil of gold, of silver, and of various goods, kept in those islands, and in their fortresses, when marching homewards on his return, and before disbanding his troops.

³⁶⁶ After the establishment of surnames, in the eleventh century, the chiefs of this region took the surnames of O'Donnell and of O'Bhaiscinn; but, the Mac Mathghamna or Mac Mahons became chiefs here, when the population and power of the Dal Cais had increased. In latter ages, the Corco Bhaiscinn territory was confined to the baronies of Clonderalaw and of Moyarta. See John O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, or "The Book of Rights," n. (g), pp. 48, 49.

³⁶⁷ This territory lay in the south-west of the county of Clare, and Loop Head formed its western extremity. It originally comprised the baronies of Clonderalaw, Moyarta and Ibricán, in that county. The inhabitants were called after Cairbre Bhaiscinn, or Cairbre of the Smooth Plain, who was their ancestor, and Corc signifies a race or progeny. He was brother to Cairbre Músc, and the son of Conaire Mór, monarch

of Ireland, in the beginning of the third century. See O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. lxiii., p. 321. Shortly after the English invasion, the Mac Gormans from Leinster took up their quarters here, in the north of Corca Bhaiscinn adjoining Corcomroe. See a further account of this territory and of its occupants, in the Life of St. Senan, Abbot of Iniscattery, at the 8th of March, chap. i., nn. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.

³⁶⁸ Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran places this expedition of Bryan subsequently to his avenging the death of Mahon on Maolmuadh, and so early as A.D. 969. See "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. v. p. 236.

³⁶⁹ The Annals of Clonmacnoise relate this event, at 970.

³⁷⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 704, 705, and n. (d).

This just ruler lost some time, in necessary preparation for a purpose he had then in view; but, he resolved on exacting a stern retribution, for the murder of his brother. The enterprise was judiciously arranged. It is stated, that he first sent, to demand an eric from Maelmua, for the murder of Mahon. Then, collecting an adequate force, in the year 978, Bryan marched southwards, and sought the perfidious Maelmua. Meantime, Donnabhan had invited Aralt,³⁷¹ or Harold, the son of Imar, to his alliance, and the foreigners of Mumhain had proclaimed him to be their king. Maelmua had formed an alliance with Donnabhan, and securing himself among the secluded and difficult recesses of that wild mountain district, which had been the scene of his crime, he hoped for a junction of their forces. Here, Maolmua was strongly posted. Having a considerable force of his own men, he was assisted, likewise, by the foreigners. Fear and hatred had animated these foreigners, to combine against the growing power of the Munster king. Maolmua thought he was safe from all danger, in his fastnesses, among the mountains. He was leader of a considerable force, and with presumptuous hope, he felt secure in his strategic position. He desired, moreover, to have the honour of defeating a hated rival, and he was prepared for Bryan's approach. However, the courage of the newly-elected King of Thomond was tempered, in a very unusual degree, with coolness and caution. The skill and experience, he had already acquired in the field, were formed by habits of forest or mountain warfare, and aided his enterprise. He quickly ascertained the tactics of the opposing leaders, with the strong positions they held. These were advantages, doubtless, his enemies had secured; but, so prompt were the movements of Bryan, that time was not allowed his adversaries, to collect and to concentrate their troops. Making a foray into Ui Fidhgenti, the King of Thomond plundered Cathair Cuan and killed those defending it. He carried off a great prey of cattle, and then applied himself to direct an onward movement. The King of Thomond discovered, that one of the allied chiefs had not yet reached his destination, although hastening on the road. A strong reinforcement was still expected, by Maolmua; but, it had not as yet come, to join his ranks. This detachment was under the command of Donovan. Taking his measures accordingly, Bryan seems to have anticipated that canon of warfare, which gained so much success and renown, for the greatest general of the past and present century,³⁷² by throwing his concentrated forces against a separated division, and by overwhelming its ranks on the line of approach, thus disconcerting his enemy. When Donovan's party appeared in view, thus intercepted and taken by surprise, their leader was completely defeated. The result to him was disastrous, for Bryan gained a complete and decisive victory over Donovan, who was routed in great disorder. That chief was numbered among the slain; and, besides Aralt, the son of Imar, was killed, with a great number of the foreigners, attached to Donovan's army. Innumerable cattle were driven away from that rich district, since this was the usual trophy and reward of every successful Irish foray. Rapidly turning round in a different direction, to meet the army of Maolmua, which was already in movement, Bryan marched unexpectedly against the foe. Maolmua had changed his disposition of the men under his command; probably, supposing Bryan to have been compromised, in his actual position, and, perhaps, to be still engaged with Donovan,

³⁷¹ This foreign colonist, and ally of O'Donovan, is called Avlavus, "a soldier of great experience," by Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, in his "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. v., p. 235.

³⁷² It is said of Napoleon Bonaparte: "Il

joignait en effet au génie profond des combinaisons le génie foudroyant des batailles; il y joignait surtout le prestige qui fascine les soldats, qui déconcert l'ennemi," &c.—M. A. Thiers' "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome xvii., liv. liii., p. 849.

who required immediate assistance. However this may be, there is no doubt, that Bryan thoroughly surprised Maolmua. This occurred, likewise, at a place, called Belach Lechta.³⁷³ It is said to have been near that spot, where Mahon's murder had been committed. The King of Thomond defeated the chief's soldiers, and with great slaughter, thus triumphing over the defeat of a second force, while he secured a double victory. Bryan's brave son, Morough,³⁷⁴ is stated to have won his first fame in this battle. Full of ardour and of vigour, he engaged hand to hand, in single combat, with Maolmua. Him Morough slew on the spot, and thus avenged the death of his uncle Mahon.³⁷⁵ Twelve hundred of the enemy, Gaill and Gaedhill, were slain, in that battle ;³⁷⁶ while, the completeness of his victory caused the King of Thomond to take foremost place, among the heroes of his time.

CHAPTER III.

ELEVATION OF BRIAN BOROMHA TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF MUNSTER—THE PRESENTS, SUBSIDIES, AND TRIBUTES, OF THAT KINGDOM—MAELSEACHLAINN MOR BECOMES THE SUPREME MONARCH OF IRELAND—HIS VICTORIES OVER THE NORTHMEN—HE CARRIES HOSTILITIES INTO THE KINGDOM OF MUNSTER—BRIAN'S WARFARE IN LEINSTER—MARRIAGES AND FAMILY OF THE MUNSTER KING.

WHEN Bryan had thus avenged the death of his brother Mahon, he then demanded hostages, from all the chiefs of Munster, as a security for their allegiance, to its now acknowledged sovereign. In the year 979,² he gained a battle, over the foreigners, at Fan Conrach, otherwise, called Dún Fain Connrach.² It would seem, that Domhnall, son to Fealán, of Port Lairge, had forced a war upon him, so that the King of Munster was now obliged to advance against the Desi, living in that quarter. He accordingly ravaged and plundered their territory, so far as Port Lairge, and he banished the instigator of that war. Besides those hostages, taken from the Munster chiefs, he demanded also hostages from the clergy and principal churches of that province, with an engagement to prevent rebels or thieves from taking sanctuary within their churches.³ His recent victories and the ability he displayed, in conducting warlike operations, had caused him to be regarded as a tower of strength,⁴ among the people, over whom he ruled ; while the foreigners of Limerick became more circumspect, in attempting any movement, which might excite his suspicions.

³⁷³ "Somewhere it seems between Mallow and Macroom."—Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxiii., sect. vii., p. 415.

³⁷⁴ He is called, the eldest son of Brien, by More, or Mor, daughter to O'Hine, prince of Jobh-Fiace-Aidhne, in Connaught. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. v., p. 235. We have corrected, what we conceive to be a typographical error in this work—More or Mor being substituted for Morc, as also, the wrong pagination.

³⁷⁵ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i. Second Period, p. 200.

³⁷⁶ See *Cogaoh Gaehel re Galluibh*, or "The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," edited by Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd,

cap. lxx., lxxvi., pp. 102 to 107.

CHAPTER III.—¹ This is the date given in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Inisfallen.

² It is Anglicised, the "Fort of Fan Conrach," *i.e.* of the Church or fane of Conrad.

³ See *Cogaoh Gaehel re Galluibh*, or "The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," edited by Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxvi., pp. 106, 107.

⁴ It is remarkable, that the name Brian, so frequently in after times borne by kings and chiefs—especially in the principality of Thomond—is derived from Bri, meaning "strength," and *an*, "very great." See "The Annals of the Four Masters," translated by Owen Connellan, Esq., with annotations by Philip Mac Dermott, Esq., M.D., and the translator, p. 41, n. 4, on Irish proper names.

In the ancient political state of Ireland, all the tribes descended from Olioll Olum, by his three sons, Eogan More, Cormac Cass, and Cian, were considered as belonging to free states. Thus, the Dailcais, with the following tribes and principalities, were exempt from paying fiscal tribute to the King of Munster, viz. :—1. The Eoganacht Cashel ;⁵ 2. the Eoganacht Aine ;⁶ 3. the Eoganacht Gleannamhain ;⁷ 4. the Eoganacht Raithlean ;⁸ 5. the Eoganacht Locha Lein ;⁹ 6. the Eoganacht Graffan ;¹⁰ 7. the Aoibh Liathain ;¹¹ 8. the Ua Conuill Gabhra ;¹² 9. the Aoibh Cairbre Aodhbha ;¹³ and, 10. the Eile y Fhogurtha,¹⁴ or the southern Eile, now Eliogarty.¹⁵ These were freed from the payment of an annual tribute, for the support of the king's household, which was maintained from other sources. It was customary, in ancient Ireland, for the supreme Monarch, and the superior Kings of the provinces, to reward their subordinate territorial chiefs, who owed them fealty and aid, by distributing as a matter of duty and of courtesy, several valuable gifts.¹⁶ Thus, subsidiary presents¹⁷ were made by the King of Munster, to the different pentarchs, or provincial kings, and to other princes of Ireland, during his royal tour to those kings and chiefs, which it seems was a matter of periodical occurrence. The King of Munster, attended by the chief princes of his kingdom, began his visits, with the King of Connaught,¹⁸ who entertained him for two months,¹⁹ at his royal palace of Cruachan,²⁰ and then this king escorted him to the territories of Tyrconnell. He presented gifts²¹ to the King of Tyrconnell,²² for which the said king supported him, and the nobility of Munster, for one month, at his palace of Roisruadh ;²³ and, afterwards

⁵ This was the original tribe name of the O'Donoghues, anciently settled in Hagh Feinhin, now the baronies of Iffa and Oiffa East, in the county of Tipperary. After the English invasion, they were driven from this territory, and they took possession of the district of Maguihy, in the county of Kerry. To this, the name Eoganacht Ui Dunnchadha was applied. It is Anglicised, Onaught-O'Donoghue.

⁶ This tribe and territory lay around Knockany, in the barony of Small and county of Limerick.

⁷ This place was also called Glenn-Amhnach, now Glanworth, in Roche's Country, northwards in Cork county.

⁸ This tribe and territory has not been identified.

⁹ This tribe preceded the O'Donoghues, in the district about the present Lakes of Killarney. They were probably of the family O'Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll.

¹⁰ Perhaps, the district about Knockgraffon, now a parish, in the barony of Middlethird, and county of Tipperary. There is a curious Moat, crowning the summit of a hill, at that place.

¹¹ Their territory was nearly co-extensive, with the present barony of Barrymore, in the county of Cork. The tribe name was derived from Eochaidh Liathanach, son to Daire Cearbha, ancestor of the Ui-Fidhgeinte.

¹² To them belonged the present barony of Connello, in the county of Limerick.

¹³ Otherwise, the Ui Cairbre Aebhdha, whose territory comprised the present

barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, and the plains extending thence, down to the River Shannon.

¹⁴ This is set forth, in the Book of Rights ; but, more at large, in that Irish poem, beginning with the words, A Eolcha Mumhan moire.

¹⁵ Or O'Fogarty's Ely, a barony in the county of Tipperary.

¹⁶ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi.

¹⁷ These are described, in the "Book of Rights," edited with a Translation and Notes, by John O'Donovan. Dublin, 1847, 8vo.

¹⁸ The King of Munster presented to him 100 steeds, 100 suits or tunics for military array, 100 swords, and 100 cups, or drinking horns, for which the Irish word is *corn*, harmonizing with the Latin *Cornu* ; and, Dr. O'Brien asserts, that drinking cups in Ireland were anciently of horn. Some finely ornamented ones are still preserved.

¹⁹ Rendered, likewise, two quarters.

²⁰ The ancient residence of the Kings of Connaught, where the ruins of forts and other ancient monuments are yet to be seen.

²¹ The gift was 20 steeds, 20 complete armours, and 20 cloaks.

²² Poetically called, the king of the rapid cataract of Badharn, or Eas Ruaidh mic Badhairn. It is now known, as Assaroe, or the Salmon Leap, on the River Erne, at the town of Ballyshannon, county of Donegal.

this king escorted him, to the principality of Tyrone. He presented, also,²⁴ to the King of Tyrone, for which this king entertained him for a month, at his palace of Aileach,²⁵ or Oiligh, and the local ruler thence conveyed him to Tulach-og.²⁶ He gave the King of Tulach-og his own special presentment,²⁷ in return for which, that dynast treated him and his suite for twelve days, at Drumchla,²⁸ and thence, the chief escorted him to the principality of Orgialla.²⁹ He presented³⁰ the King of Orgialla a token of favour, in gratitude for which that prince was to entertain him and his nobility for one month, at his palace of Eamhain;³¹ and, afterwards, that dynast was bound to escort him to the kingdom of Uladh.³² To the King of Uladh, the King of Munster presented³³ several valuables, in consideration of which royal present, that prince regaled him and his retinue, for two months, at his palace of Boirche, or at Tulach Chearnagh.³⁴ Then, the King of Uladh waited upon him, with the princes and nobles of his court, until he went to the kingdom of Meath. He presented a gift³⁵ to the King of Meath, for which that ruler treated him and his court during one month, in his palace of Taamhair, or Tara; and, afterwards, this king escorted him, with 100 of his own chiefs, to the kingdom of Leinster. He presented a bounty³⁶ to the potentate of Leinster, called King of the entrenched Ath Cliath,³⁷ in return for which gift, the Munster king was entertained for two months, by the two kings, ruling the northern and southern parts of Leinster. Then, the said kings, together with their nobles, were to accompany him, to the principality of Ossory, or as it is sometimes called Gabhran.³⁸ He royally presented³⁹ to the King of Ossory, for which this king was to entertain him, at his palace of Gowran,⁴⁰ for one month, and then the local dynast was bound to escort him, on to the territories of his own kingdom.

The King of Munster—who was also called the King of Cashel, because

²³ It was probably near the mouth of the River Erne.

²⁴ His presents were 50 steeds, with the usual trappings, 50 swords, and 50 cups, or drinking horns.

²⁵ The celebrated fort, near Londonderry, and over Lough Swilly.

²⁶ Now a village, in the parish of Desertcreight, barony of Dungannon, and county of Tyrone. See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 414.

²⁷ His gifts were 30 sorrel steeds, 30 swords, and 30 cups.

²⁸ This place has not been identified.

²⁹ The extent of this great northern territory has been already pointed out, in the *Life of St. Fancha*, chap. i., n. 19, at the 1st of January.

³⁰ His presents were 70 steeds, 70 suits of military apparel, and eight corslets.

³¹ Near the city of Armagh.

³² This name was formerly applied to the entire province of Ulster; but, after the year 332, it was restricted to a portion of Down and Antrim, bounded on the west by Lough Neagh and the Lower Bann, and by Gleann Ríghé, through which an artificial boundary was formed, now called the Dane's Cast.

³³ His gifts were 100 bay steeds, 100 swords, 100 cloaks, 100 cups, and 100 bed covers or counterpoints, curiously wrought. Ten ships are said to have been an additional present.

³⁴ Or Cearnach's Hill, near Tullycarney, in the county of Down.

³⁵ His presents were 100 steeds, 30 complete armours, 30 corslets, and 30 cloaks. Thirty rings and thirty chess-boards are substituted for the last, in the *Book of Rights*. See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, at pp. 38, 39.

³⁶ His gifts were 30 bond-women, 30 steeds, 30 cups, and 30 rich bed covers; ten ships with beds, are substituted for the last. See Dr. O'Donovan's edition.

³⁷ The Irish name for Dublin.

³⁸ For an enquiry into the origin and territorial extent of the country, anciently called *Laighin deas Gabhair*, *i.e.* Laghain, south of Gabhair, or Gowran, the reader is referred, to the "Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenney and South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society, for the year 1863, vol. iv., part ii. New Series. There, a paper by Mr. John Hogan, "Topographical and Historical Illustrations of the Suburbs of Kilkenney," contains some interesting notices, regarding the "Origin and Extent of the Ancient Kingdom of Ossory," pp. 252 to 267. The subject is continued, in succeeding volumes.

³⁹ His gifts were 30 horses, 30 corslets, or coats of mail, and 30 swords.

⁴⁰ Probably, in the town of that name, and in the barony so-called, county of Kilkenney. See General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., No. iii. *Critico-Historical Dissertation*, concerning the Ancient Irish Laws, &c. Part i., chap. ii., pp. 374 to 389.

of his usually residing at that place—presented by way of subsidy every year, ten golden cups, thirty golden-hilted swords, and thirty horses, in rich furniture,⁴¹ to the Dal-Cassian king, whenever he was not the sovereign of all Munster, to which he had an alternate right, according to the will of Ollioll Olum. To the King of Eoganacht Caisil, when the Dal-Cassian chief became King of Munster according to his alternative, he presented ten men slaves, ten women slaves, ten golden cups, and ten horses, in full furniture.⁴² He gave presents to the King of Ossory,⁴³ otherwise called the King of Gabhran; to the King of Ara,⁴⁴ probably Eoghanacht-Aradh;⁴⁵ to the King of Eile,⁴⁶ which derived name from Eile,⁴⁷ the seventh in descent from Cian, son to Ollioll Olum; to the King of Uaithe;⁴⁸ to the King of the Deise,⁴⁹ or Deisies;⁵⁰ to the King of Cairbre Aodhbha,⁵¹ whose principal seat was Brughrigh; to the King of Conall Gabhra;⁵² to the King of Aine Cliach;⁵³ to the King of Fearnmuighe;⁵⁴ or Gleanamhain;⁵⁵ to the King of Aiobh Liathain;⁵⁶ to the King of Musgruidhe,⁵⁷

⁴¹ In some copies of the Book of Rights, General Vallancey found added to the above presents, ten coats of mail, two cloaks richly adorned, and two pair of chess-boards, with curious workmanship.

⁴² This detail of the Public Rights, regarding both the King of Munster and the subordinate princes and states of the same province, is extracted from General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., No. III., p. 374, *et seq.*

⁴³ His tribute was ten shields, ten swords, and two cloaks, with gold clasps, and rich embroidery. The prose tract mentions ten horses, ten shields, ten cloaks, and two suits of military array.

⁴⁴ His tribute was six swords, six shields of curious workmanship, and six scarlet cloaks. The prose adds, seven shields, seven swords, and seven horses.

⁴⁵ Thought, by Dr. O'Donovan, to be the same as Eoghanacht-Caille-na-manach, the present barony of Kilnamanagh, in the county of Tipperary. See "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na naomh O'Huidhrin," n. 684, p. lxxvii.

⁴⁶ His tribute was six men slaves, six women slaves, six shields, and six swords; according to the prose, eight coats of mail, eight shields, eight swords, eight horses, and eight cups.

⁴⁷ This founder gave name to the territory, which anciently comprised the whole of Ely O'Carroll.

⁴⁸ He ruled over the present baronies of Owney, in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. His tribute was six shields, six swords, richly mounted, and six horses, magnificently accoutred, and particularly with golden-bitted bridles. According to the prose, seven horses, eight swords, and eight cups, together with particular marks of honour and distinction shown him, at the court of Cashel.

⁴⁹ This tribe was descended from Fiacha Suidhe, son to Feilimidh Reachtmair, who was monarch of Ireland, in the second century. Their territory comprised the greater

part of Waterford county, with a part of Tipperary. They had also a large territory in Meath, and its name is still retained, in the two baronies of Deece.

⁵⁰ His tribute was a ship well rigged, a golden-hilted sword, and a horse, in rich furniture. The prose has eight ships, eight men slaves, eight women slaves, eight coats of mail, eight shields, eight swords, and eight horses.

⁵¹ His tribute was ten slaves made captive in a foreign country, as appears from the plain text of the verse, viz.: Deith Gail gan Gaedhilga. The prose has seven bond-slaves, seven free servants, seven swords, and seven cups.

⁵² The following were his privileges and presents, viz.: while the King of Conal Gabhra remained at the court of Cashel, he had the honour to sit near the king at table, and at his departure from court, he was presented with a horse in rich furniture, as also a military suit of array, all his attendants received similar presents, proportioned to their respective ranks. According to the prose, the whole gift was only ten shields, ten swords, ten horses, and ten cups.

⁵³ His tribute was a sword and a shield of the king's own wearing, and thirty cloaks, which were given him in the month of May precisely, according to the verse, Is triocad brat gach Beiltine. The prose has eight swords, eight horses, eight cups, two coats of mail, and two cloaks.

⁵⁴ Anglicised, Fermoy.

⁵⁵ His tribute was one horse, richly accoutred, one shield, curiously wrought, and one sword. According to the prose, seven horses, seven shields, and seven cups, constituted the presentation.

⁵⁶ His tribute was a sword and a shield of the king's own wearing, one horse richly accoutred, and one embroidered cloak; according to the prose, five horses, five swords, five cloaks, and five cups, formed the presentation.

⁵⁷ His tribute was one of the king's own swords, one of his horses, and one of his hounds; the prose allows seven horses,

or Muskerry; to the King of Raithleann;⁵⁸ to the King of Dairinne;⁵⁹ to the King of Leim-con;⁶⁰ to the King of Loch-Lein;⁶¹ to the King of Dairbre;⁶² and to the King of Ciaruidhe,⁶³ or Kerry.⁶⁴ Other petty chiefs and states, too tedious to be mentioned, were considered deserving of recompense, in like manner; and, every one of these he complimented, with a proportionate present, by way of an annual subsidy.

The fiscal Tributes, and the manner of paying them, in kind, agreeably to the primitive usages, will be sufficiently exemplified, through the following entries,⁶⁵ which are on record. Those tributes, which were imposed for protective purposes were willingly paid, by the confederated tribes; while those, which implied subjection, were contested, when favourable opportunities were afforded. The idea of enforced servitude on a high-spirited and warlike people could not be expected to pass away from remembrance, and the protest was often manifested in stern resistance to a grievance, that was popularly and sensitively felt.

The King of Cashel, or of Munster, received a yearly tribute,⁶⁶ from the inhabitants; of Burren; from the inhabitants of Corcamruadh;⁶⁷ from the people of Corcabhaiscinn;⁶⁸ from the inhabitants of Corcaduibhne;⁶⁹ from those of Ciaruidhe;⁷⁰ from the people of Seactmadh;⁷¹ from the people of Corcaluighe;⁷² from the people of Musgruidhe;⁷³ from the inhabitants⁷⁴ of that part of Fearnmuighe, which belonged to O'Dugain, of the race of Ir, son to Mileadh; from the people of Desies;⁷⁵ from those of Uaithne;⁷⁶ from the inhabitants⁷⁷ of Ara; while from the people of Ossory,⁷⁸ their own special

seven coats of mail, and seven suits of complete armour.

⁵⁸ His tribute was ten swords, ten scarlet and ten blue cloaks, with ten cups; according to the prose, ten horses, ten coats of mail, and ten shields.

⁵⁹ His tribute was seven ships, seven coats of mail, and seven swords; according to the prose, seven ships, seven coats of mail, seven horses, seven swords, and seven cups.

⁶⁰ His tribute was a ship fully rigged, one horse in rich furniture, one cup curiously wrought, and one sword; in the prose, are found seven ships, seven horses, seven coats of mail, seven shields, and seven swords.

⁶¹ His tribute was ten ships, ten dun horses, and ten coats of mail; the prose states, seven ships, seven horses, seven coats of mail, seven shields, and seven swords.

⁶² His tribute was three ships, well rigged, and three swords; according to the prose, seven horses, seven hounds, and seven cups.

⁶³ His tribute was ten horses, well accoutred, and a silk cloak: according to the prose, he gave seven cloaks, with gold clasps, seven horses, and seven cups.

⁶⁴ In Latin Kerrigia. It obtained the name from Ciar, son of Fergus Mac Roy and of Meava, the celebrated Queen of Connaught. He flourished a short time before the Christian era.

⁶⁵ These are translated, out of the ancient record, called *Leabhar na g-Ccart*, or the *Book of Rights*.

⁶⁶ It consisted of 1,000 bullocks, 1,000

cows, 1,000 wethers, and 1,000 cloaks.

⁶⁷ This tribute consisted of 1,000 bullocks, 1,000 cows, 1,000 sheep, and 1,000 cloaks.

⁶⁸ This tribute was 1,000 bullocks, 1,000 wethers, 1,000 hogs, and 1,000 cloaks.

⁶⁹ This tribute comprised 1,000 bullocks and 1,000 cows; but, according to the poem beginning with the words, "*Cios Caisil Accualabhair*," it is added, 30 scarlet cloaks, 30 bullocks, and 30 milch cows.

⁷⁰ Their tribute was 1,000 bullocks, 1,000 cows, and 1,000 hogs.

⁷¹ Their tribute was 100 bullocks, 100 cows, and 100 hogs; but, according to the poem, they were to pay only, 60 bullocks, 60 cows, and 60 black wethers.

⁷² Their assessment comprised 100 bullocks, 100 cows, and 100 hogs.

⁷³ Their tribute was 1,000 cows, and 1,000 hogs; although other accounts add, 300 beeves, 300 hogs, 100 milch cows, and 100 cloaks.

⁷⁴ These returned 40 bullocks, 40 beeves, and 40 milch cows.

⁷⁵ These were assessed, in 1,000 bullocks, 1,000 milch cows, 2,000 hogs, 1,000 sheep, and 1,000 cloaks.

⁷⁶ They presented 300 milch cows, 300 hogs, 100 bullocks, and 300 cloaks.

⁷⁷ These returned 100 cows, 100 hogs, 200 wethers, and 100 green cloaks.

⁷⁸ These were obliged to pay 700 cows, and 700 cloaks; besides that obligation, incumbent on the King of Ossory, it was required, viz. : to supply the King of Munster with his contingent of armed men, when demanded upon any necessary occasion. And,

tribute to Munster was demanded.⁷⁹ Some of those tributes had no higher claims, than what had been afforded, by successful usurpation ;⁸⁰ while the manner, in which they had been exacted and enforced, were fruitful causes, for many of those tribal feuds, which are recorded in our Annals.

Among the distinguished heroes of Ireland, in the tenth century, was Maelseachlainn, the son of Domhnall,⁸¹ afterwards surnamed Mor. His name has been otherwise Anglicised, as Malachy. In the year 978,⁸² or 979,⁸³ he had won universal honour, throughout the land, by a splendid victory, obtained at Tara. The King of the Galls, or foreigners, Aulaf, residing at Dublin, appears to have called together the forces, established in the Islands north and west of Scotland, and from Man, to unite with his own soldiers, who marched under the leadership of his sons, to attack the monarch of Ireland, at the seat of his power. His son Ragnhall, Latinized Reginaldus, or Ranulphus, held chief command, over the foreigners. Conamhail,⁸⁴ son to Gilla-Arri, the orator of Ath-Cliath, and son to its deputy king, was one of his leading chiefs, in this expedition. A desperate battle ensued, and both of these Scandinavian heroes fell, while the forces of Meath and their allies were commanded by Maelseachlainn. After a contest of memorable fierceness, victory declared for the Irish forces. With great slaughter, on both sides, Maelseachlainn routed the Danes. Several thousand of their forces are stated to have fallen, in this engagement ;⁸⁵ and, among the rest, Reginald, their chief commander.⁸⁶ In the heat of this engagement fell Braen, son of Murchadh, royal heir of Leinster, Conghalach, son to Flann, lord of Gaileanga, with his son Maelan, Fiachna and Cuduilich, two sons of Dubhlaech, and lords of Feara Tulach, as also Lachtan, lord of Mughdhorn Maighen. We are not informed, by our annalists, on what side some of the foregoing fought. This battle broke the foreigners' strength and confidence, for a time. After the result was known, Aulaf went across the sea, and he died at I-Coluim-Cille.⁸⁷ The great probability is, he had abandoned worldly ambition for religious retirement. That valiant proof of his warlike ability, on the part of Malachy, was the sure way to arrive at power, in Ireland; for, having attained strength and renown, over the stranger hosts, the Irish people trusted in the valour of a protector, whose sword was best able to carve its way to success, when the foreigners were most formidable in numbers, and in organization.⁸⁸ Shortly after that great victory, at Tara, the monarch Domhnall, in 979,⁸⁹ or 980,⁹⁰ was removed, by death. He had retired to Armagh,⁹¹ where he piously engaged in penitential exercises, for a long time previous, to prepare well for his approaching dissolution.

in like manner, from different other countries, and petty states, were assessments required: all of which supplies were to be paid in, by those people, at stated times, and at certain seasons of the year. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. v., pp. 238 to 246.

⁷⁹ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," part ii., pp. 487 to 492.

⁸⁰ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i. Second Period, p. 201.

⁸¹ He was not the later monarch, but rather the son of Donnchadh, son to Flann.

⁸² According to the Annals of Ulster.

⁸³ According to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 708, 709.

⁸⁴ Perhaps, he is the "Irlavra, the gover-

nor of Dublin," who fell in this encounter according to Rev. Dr. Lanigan. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxiii., sect. vii., p. 415.

⁸⁵ Some writers have enumerated 5,000. See l'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande, Ancienne et Moderne," tome i. Seconde Partie, chap. vi., p. 407.

⁸⁶ See Gratianus Lucius' "Cambrensis Eversus," edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, vol. ii., cap. ix., pp. 32, 33.

⁸⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 708, 709.

⁸⁸ See Elias Regnault's "Histoire de l'Irlande," liv. i., chap. vi., p. 75.

⁸⁹ According to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 708, 709.

⁹⁰ According to Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. xciii., p. 435.

He was immediately succeeded, by the brave prince Malachy,—known as Maelseachlainn II., King of Ireland,—and whose reputation was so highly extolled, as a consequence of his recent victory. The year of his accession to the sovereignty was 980.⁹² While his valour and wisdom were such, as to shed permanent glory on his memory; yet, his advent was rather late, to redeem that weakness, which a succession of feeble monarchs had entailed on the sceptre of Tara. A continuous warfare against the Danes was waged by Malachy, after his accession to the throne, when he is said to have attained the thirtieth year of his age.⁹³ That very year, in conjunction with Eochaidh,⁹⁴ King of Ulidia, he led a great army against the foreigners of Ath-Cliath; and, marching into the parts of Fingall—then the place of greatest strength for the Northmen—he besieged Dublin, for three days and three nights. This blockade ended in a capitulation; the Dubliners agreed to surrender the Irish hostages and captives—numbering two thousand—which they held, and to give hostages in return, for the fulfilment of certain conditions imposed on them. Among the prisoners was Domhnall Claen, King of South Leinster, with many of the Ui-Neill. All of these captives, that lived in servitude to the Scandinavians, were liberated, without ransom. They were permitted to return, and to live in their respective countries, free from tribute or exaction, from the Shannon to the sea. Then, Mael-seachlainn issued his famous proclamation:—“Every one of the Gaeidhil, who is in the territory of the foreigners, in servitude and bondage, let him go to his own territory, in peace and happiness.” Besides, the victors were bought off, by a subsidy, consisting of valuable goods and jewels.⁹⁵ That strenuous warfare, which he prosecuted with almost unvarying success, and which he continued for so many successive years, against the Danes, kept them in a wholesome state of fear, from attempting inroads on any part of his dominions. The aspiring spirit of Malachy is manifested, by the activity and vigour of his opening career; while the vitality and strength of his monarchy are proved, by the resources which guided his enterprises. Nor do we consider, that his conducting of public affairs, relating to the whole kingdom of Ireland, deserves those reproaches of indolence and apathy, directed against his character, by depreciators, or by eulogists, of the King of Munster.

An expedition into the Dalcasian territory took place, A.D. 976, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, or following the chronology of the Four Masters, A.D. 981.⁹⁶ Doubtless, what the monarch deemed a political necessity required this display of power; for, he was jealous, regarding the ability and supposed ambitious designs of his rival in renown, and of his subordinate in station. The monarch of Ireland was every inch a hero; and yet, he wanted magnanimity to sustain such eminence, and the control of temper, to conceal his personal resentment. A rash and splenetic action showed how impolitic he might behave. His calm recollection and dignity of mind must have condemned, as a truly unworthy and mean proceeding, that predatory expedition, which he conducted. It could only serve, however, to awaken the vigilance and suspicion of Brian, but his feelings might have been more guardedly respected. Passing through Aenaah-Maigh-Adhair,⁹⁷ the monarch's troops

⁹² Hence, he was called Donnell of Ard-mach, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, which place his death, at A.D. 973.

⁹³ According to Sir James Ware's "Antiquitates Hibernicæ," cap. xxiv., p. 113, and Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. xciii., p. 435.

⁹⁴ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xx., p. 90.

⁹⁵ He is called the son of Ardgar.

⁹⁶ See Tigernac Annals, in Rev. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," pp. 261, 262.

⁹⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 714, 715, and n. (a).

⁹⁸ This place has been identified, by Dr. O'Donovan, with Moyre, near Tullagh, in the county of Clare. That name signifies, "the meeting-place of Magh Adhair."

came to an ancient and a venerable tree. It was an object, almost sacred in the memory of the people, for that immemorial usage, whereby the Dalcassian princes were inaugurated, with all the attendant rites, and under its spreading shades. This was a proud memorial of a high-spirited clan, and it grew at a place called Bile Magh Adhair.⁹⁸ Irritated by a swarm of humiliating and wounding associations, Malachy gave way to an ungovernable temper; and, impulsively, he ordered the tree of inauguration to be cut down. This order was promptly obeyed. Not alone the venerable tree was left prostrate on the ground; but, after having been dug from the earth, with its roots, it was disgracefully hacked to pieces. This action must have rankled in the breast of the brave king, who had received his honours, with such a laudable pride, on the part of his loyal clansmen, and under its shelter. A hallowed character was given to his resentment, for what was regarded as little less than a sacrilege. Bryan's suffering spirit was regulated, however, by a patient and a long-sighted comprehension, that the moment had not yet arrived, for the vindication of his interests and of his puissance. The dictates of calculation or ambition mastered the sense of insult, in his firm and capacious judgment; for, hasty, incomplete, and vain, efforts, only argue imbecility of purpose and of mind. He knew the time might come for action, and he was obliged to submit, for the present, as the supreme monarch of Ireland was over-confident in his power and resources. Therefore was Malachy rendered more proud and presumptuous, in consequence of this impunity.⁹⁹

Having levied a hosting for the purpose, in the following year, the monarch of Ireland entered part of an inheritance, then under the dominion of the Munster king. Forecast and secrecy enabled the latter, notwithstanding, to forestall the invader. He could not be allowed to pass unresisted, unless absolute humiliation and injustice were to be borne; and, the superior ability of Bryan is shown, by the course he adopted. Without being obliged to risk a battle, and only by the mere demonstration of a very imposing force, Bryan compelled the monarch to pause in his meditated career. He obliged the King of Ireland, also, to confirm, by a binding treaty, those claims, which were originally founded only in usurpation. The Leinster tribute, formerly ceded to Bryan, on this occasion, proved a trophy more honourable to himself, and more mortifying to his rival. It was most profitable and permanent, because it gave prestige and material power to the Dalcassian kings. However, the monarch naturally desired to establish his supremacy beyond question, and he could not acquiesce in the enforced dismemberment of a large province. He watched the sagacious and active administration, while he distrusted the growing power, of an aspiring nominal subordinate, but, in reality, of an able rival. Matured in Bryan's thought were the various chances, that time and tide bring to the grasp of men. The monarchy itself, he began to consider, might be the prize reserved for him, awaiting the seasonable opportunity for preferring his claim, and while biding the moment for execution of his plans.

To the promptings of self-interest and of necessity may we attribute an alliance, between the chief monarch, and Gluiniarm,¹⁰⁰ son of Amhlaeibh, when, in the year 982, or 983, they obtained a victory over Domhnall Claen, King of South Leinster, and over Imhar of Port-Laige, where many perished, both by drowning

⁹⁸ See Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien's "Focaloir Gaidhlighe-Sax-Bhearla, or an Irish English Dictionary," at the word *Bile*, which means "a tree."

⁹⁹ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i.

Second Period, pp. 201, 202.

¹⁰⁰ The name is rendered "of the iron knee," and as Dr. O'Donovan supposes, because his legs were cased in iron mail, to protect them from the strokes of Irish battle-axes.

and by killing. Among the victims were Gilla-Phadraig, and many others of distinction along with him. While Leinster was spoiled and ravaged, as far as the sea, Glean-da-Loch was plundered likewise, by the foreigners of Ath-Cliath. As a counter demonstration, the forces of Munster were placed on a war footing. Gilla-Phadraig, the son of Donnchadh, and that progenitor, from whom the Giolla-Phadraigs or Fitzpatrick's of Ossory derived their name, had sacrilegiously plundered Leighlin this year, for which act he was obliged to do penance. Against him, Bryan led a hosting, probably to avenge some real or fancied wrong. Seizing on the chief of Ossory, he was made a prisoner, while hostages were exacted from the people of that territory.¹⁰¹ Among the extorted contributions, due to the King of Munster, are to be classed especially, those from Leinster. The people of this province were among the chief sufferers, owing to the manner, in which those tributes were levied. The triennial Boromean Tribute,¹⁰² at first imposed by Tuathal, monarch of Ireland, on the people of Leinster, had been a fruitful source of periodical and sanguinary conflicts, between the chief monarch of Erin, and the people of that province, to the time of Finnachta the Festive, who abolished it, about 680, owing to the persuasion of St. Moling,¹⁰³ abbot of Tech Moling. However, as a punishment for the adherence of Leinster to the Danish cause, about the beginning of the eleventh century, Bryan, the son of Cinneadigh, again revived and levied it.¹⁰⁴ The Leinster province was stimulated to oppose the King of Thomond. The chief of the Northmen of Desies had joined, also, in a strong confederacy. With these were the foreigners of Cork and of Waterford, together with the chief of Ossory, all bent on opposing his claim. Notwithstanding, Bryan's resolute spirit and masterly tactics did not fail him. He came promptly upon the disunited forces of his enemies. He met some of these, at a place, called the Circle of the Sons of Conrad, and he burst upon them, with an overwhelming force. This onset quickly scattered them, and they fell into irretrievable confusion. With prodigious slaughter, he drove them from the field. That league was thus effectively dissipated. Bryan followed up his victory.¹⁰⁵ He then proceeded to ravage the territories of Leinster, and to indemnify himself for that tribute, which had been withheld. He advanced from Magh Ailbe, or the White Plain, near Leighlin. There, he demanded from Domhnall Claen, King of South Leinster, and from Tuathal, King of Western Liphí, who came into his house, hostages for their future submission. His progress could not be resisted, and he received their homage; while the conqueror took measures to enforce their submission, returning homewards the acknowledged King of Leath Mogha.¹⁰⁶ As sovereign over this great principality, the revenues of Bryan became more considerable, than were his returns, as King of Munster. The Leinster tribute to him, in the former

¹⁰¹ See at A.D. 982, Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 714, 715, with nn. (c, d).

¹⁰² It was fixed, by Tuathal, to consist of five thousand ounces of silver, five thousand cloaks, five thousand fat cows, five thousand fat hogs, five thousand fat wethers, and five thousand large vessels of brass or bronze. Owing to the great number of cows paid in it—*Bo* being the Gaedhlic for a *cow*—it is said to have been named Boromean; and, probably, that species of cattle had been most largely received, as a commutation for the want of other assessments, since cows could be more readily procurable, on the fertile pastures of Ireland, and be driven away

to satisfy the monarch's claims.

¹⁰³ His feast occurs, at the 17th of June.

¹⁰⁴ It is thought to have been from this circumstance, he obtained the surname of Boroimhé, or, of the Tribute. According Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran and to M'Curtin, Boroimhe signifies a tribute of cows or of cattle, as it was usually the case, that subsidies were levied in this fashion, from Irish districts.

¹⁰⁵ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i. Second Period, p. 201.

¹⁰⁶ See *Coisíne Sáothel Re Gallainb*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 106 to 109.

capacity, consisted, it is stated, of 300 gold-handled swords, 300 cows with brass yokes, 300 steeds, and 300 purple cloaks.¹⁰⁷

Devastating inroads on Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, signaled the reign of Maelseachlainn II. over Ireland.¹⁰⁸ These were continued for several years; and, they served to foster the hostility, while weakening the resources, of two great rivals. Various encroachments on established rights had led to anarchical contests, among the provincial rulers, in different parts of Ireland; while the Munster Kings were implicated in such quarrels, regarding the balance of power. As in England, under the Saxon Heptarchy,¹⁰⁹ and in Italy, during the Middle Ages,¹¹⁰ a narrow and local spirit usurped the large and generous sentiment of national patriotism. Existing customs and family or clan alliances too frequently stimulated divisions, fatal to the peace, prosperity and honour of the nation, especially when acted upon by selfish and false motives. The struggles for supremacy, between the northern, southern, and western princes, in the kingdom of Ireland, until the arrival of the English, especially when the princes of Thomond became powerful, dissipated the notion of a stable monarchy, under any single head of the native families. The power of Irish monarchical institutions had been weakened greatly, during the Danish inroads. However, the invaders had the multiple form of royalty, in the kingdoms of the north; for, no less than twelve of these petty kings were in Norway, alone, at one time.¹¹¹ In Ireland, too, the Ostmen had colonized distinct and detached places, under several independent chiefs, so that it was often difficult for them to act with speed and decision, in concert.¹¹² By position, the Leinster people were necessarily most exposed to the power and influence of the Norwegians and Danes, whose armaments were usually conducted to the eastern shores of Ireland. Those invaders were never slow, to strengthen their posts and settlements, by bringing over reinforcements, to protect themselves against the Irish. Besides, they were enabled, when taking advantage of domestic feuds, to find allies serviceable for their immediate purposes. Wherever those invaders met with a powerful enemy, they formed alliances among the tribes, naturally hostile to some provincial ruler, and they instigated resistance to his supremacy. Seldom did they miss an opportunity, to excite discontent and opposition among his tributaries. The recurrence of those opportunities was unhappily frequent, while the results, indeed, were too fatal and durable, for public and private welfare. Such intrigues and policy formed some of those obstacles, with which the genius and valour of Bryan had to contend.¹¹³

As we have already seen, More is stated to have been mother to Murrough, the eldest son of Bryan,¹¹⁴ and, therefore, we may fairly assume, that she was

¹⁰⁷ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 245.

¹⁰⁸ See Gratianus Lucius' "Cambrensis Eversus," edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, vol. ii., cap. ix., pp. 32 to 35.

¹⁰⁹ See John Speed's "Historie of Great Britaine," Book vii. The Original Invasions, and Heptarchie of the Saxons, &c., chap. i. to xlv., pp. 281 to 402.

¹¹⁰ See "Historical Class-Book, of the Christian Brothers." Outlines of Modern History, p. 337.

¹¹¹ According to the Herverar Saga. See Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," Book iii., chap. i.

¹¹² See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xix., p. 77.

¹¹³ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, p. 200.

¹¹⁴ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. v., p. 235.

¹¹⁵ The royal connexions of Aulaf were further extended and complicated, by the marriage of his daughter Radnalt with Conghalach, King of Ireland, according to the Book of Leinster. Conghalach was the son of Maelmithigh, by Ligach, daughter of Flann Sinna, and step-sister of Niall Glundubh and Gormflaith. Now Ligach died A.D. 921, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The Nialls Saga states, that she was first married to Bryan, and then to Aulaf Cuaran, chap. clv., p. 590.

the first wife of the great King of Munster. We do not find a record of her death; but, other accounts relate to his partner in wedlock, and who bears quite a different name. The celebrated Scandinavian King of Dublin, Aulaf Cuaran, had married Gormflaith,¹¹⁵ who was daughter to Murchadh,¹¹⁶ son of Finn, King of Leinster. By her he had Sitric.¹¹⁷ She then married Bryan Borumha, by whom she had Donnchadh. Gormflaith appears from her history, to have been an unprincipled woman, and she could hardly have been an addition to the domestic happiness of Bryan, who repudiated her.¹¹⁸ Afterwards, he married Dubhchobhlaig, daughter to the King of Connaught. Gormflaith married Maelseachlainn, by whom she became the mother of Conchobhar.¹¹⁹ It seems more than probable, that the nature of her relationship to the monarch of Ireland, and to the king of Munster, seriously complicated the political strain, which subsequently existed, between the two rival sovereigns. The date for Bryan's marriage to Duvchovlaigh has not transpired; yet, it seems to be referable, not to the earlier years of his life. The Munster monarch had six sons,¹²⁰ and these are named Murchadhach, or Morough, Tadhg, or Teige, Donnchadh, or Donogh, Domhnall, or Donnall, Conor, and Flann. Two of these left issue, namely Tadhg,¹²¹ the eldest son after Murogh, and Donogh.¹²² At present, it seems difficult to resolve exactly the order and connexion, relating to the various members of the great Munster sovereign's domestic circle; but, we have endeavoured to place accounts, in that sequence, we deem best calculated to elucidate the succeeding events, which marked his distinguished career.

CHAPTER IV.

MAELSEACHLAINN ASCENDS THE THRONE OF IRELAND—HIS ACHIEVEMENTS AND THE COUNTER MOVEMENTS OF BRYAN—GROWING POWER OF THE LATTER—HIS RESIDENCE AND MANNER OF LIVING AT KINCORA—WAR DECLARED BETWEEN MALACIY AND BRYAN—PEACE AGAIN ESTABLISHED, WHEN THEIR FORCES WERE UNITED AGAINST THE NORTHMEN—VICTORY OBTAINED AT GLENMAMA—RIVAL AMBITION OF MALACHY AND BRYAN.

THE accession of Maelseachlainn, to the throne of Ireland, influenced very materially the march of events. The commencement of his reign has been placed, at A.D. 980, by Tigernach.² However, the usually short annalistic announcements, even of incidents having an important bearing on the general

¹¹⁵ Murchadh, the father of Gormflaith, died A.D. 928. If she were born that year and died A.D. 1030, she was then 102 years old. It is not improbable, that she was first married to Bryan, and that divorced by him, she then married Aulaf.

¹¹⁷ He is said to have married the daughter of Brian Borumha; the latter monarch subsequently marrying Sitric's mother.

¹¹⁸ In Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., at A.D. 1030, there are some Irish verses, which describe the three marriages of Gormflaith as three leaps or jumps, that a woman should never take. This seems to hint, that the three leaps were not legitimate marriages. These were "a leap at Athcliath, or Duhlin," when she married Olaf Cuaran; "a leap at Tara," when she married Malachy II., and "a leap at Cashel," when she married Brian.

¹¹⁹ See Charles Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," Book i., chap. ix., pp.

78, 79, and nn. 3 to 7.

¹²⁰ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. x., p. 211.

¹²¹ He was father of Turlough, who had two sons Muirheartach, or Mortogh, and Diarmaid, or Dermod. From Tadhg descend the great family of the Thomond O'Brians.

¹²² The O'Brians of Cuanach and of Eatherlagh, in the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary, descend from him. Donogh, brother to Tadhg or Teige, is said, likewise, to have been ancestor to the family of Plunkett. See John O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees: or, the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation," part iv., chap. i., sect. 41, pp. 103, 104.

CHAPTER IV.—' See "Annales of Tigernaci," in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 261.

history of our country, leaves us very frequently at a loss, to account for various movements, which are recorded. The motives for action are still more concealed. Nor can we feel assured, that the dates and serial occurrences, found in annalistic entries, are always consecutively placed. In the year 984—for what special cause we know not—Maelseachlainn plundered Connaught, destroyed its islands, killed its chieftains, and reduced Mayo to ashes. In retaliation for these injuries, the Connaughtmen made an incursion, so far as Lough-Aininn. They burned Fearsa-Ceall, and slew its chief.² The year for these transactions was 985, according to the Annals of Tigernach.³ As an additional means, for sustaining his power and interest, Bryan had equipped a large fleet of vessels, on Lough Derg;⁴ for, it would seem, he desired, in this manner, to provide for defending the line of the River Shannon, and, as appears probable, to use it, likewise, for offensive purposes. The opportunity was soon sought or presented. We may well believe, that a mutual mistrust of each other's intentions, about this period, actuated the monarch of Ireland and himself. Perhaps, those events, we are about immediately to narrate, may have influenced the campaign, for which Bryan had been preparing, and which came to an issue, when the favourable moment arrived. During the year 986, the Irish monarch forcibly removed the shrine of Patrick from Ath-Fhirdiadh or Ardee, to Ath-Sighe,⁵ in consequence of the rebellion of the son of Cairelan. A peace was afterwards made, and to atone for his desecration of the shrine, Maelseachlainn submitted to that award, pronounced by the Archbishop of Armagh.⁶ This is specified, to have been the visitation of Meath, both church and state, and a banquet for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides even Cumhals,⁷ and every other demand in full. A costly and distant expedition had been organized by Malachy, who shortly afterwards found it necessary to chastise the aggressions of the Ostmen, so strongly posted on the eastern⁸ and southern boundaries of his territories. He led an army against the Danes of Dublin, as these were troublesome neighbours, on the Meathian frontiers, and in the year 989. In a battle, fought against those foreigners, many were slain by him. Afterwards, he laid siege to the Danish Dun, or fortress of the place, and which occupied the site of the present Castle in Dublin. He continued its investment, for twenty nights, cutting off the besieged from a supply of water, and they had nothing to drink during that period, but the brine.⁹ After enduring such extremity, the garrison surrendered, on condition of paying an ounce of gold for every garden, on each Christmas night, for ever, while he should be king.¹⁰

During this campaign on the eastern side of Leinster, Bryan, within his own dominion, had ordered the levying of his clansmen; and, with an immense army, he was soon in a condition, to march in another direction.¹¹ On the

² See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 716 to 719.

³ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 263.

⁴ See *COGACH SACRUEL RE GALLABH*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, pp. 108, 109.

⁵ We find this place, Latinized, "*i.e.* Vadum Iemurum," in the Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., Tigernachi Annales, A.D. 986. See pp. 263, 264.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp. 718, 719.

⁷ A Cumhal means 21 cows, or an equiva-

lent in money, or other property. See n. (1). *Ibid.*

⁸ It is thought, that early in the ninth century, Turgesius had fortified Drogheda, and had made it one of his strongholds. See John D'Alton's "History of Drogheda, with its Environs," vol. i., p. 86.

⁹ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., Tigernachi Annales, p. 265.

¹⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp. 722 to 725.

¹¹ The translator of the Book of Munster directs the present invasion of Bryan, against the Lagenians; while the Leobhar-Oiris—as mentioned by Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran—

Shannon, he had equipped a fleet, and, in its vessels, amounting to three hundred—according to one account—he embarked those forces, which were to move under his direction. Propelled by oars and sails, his boats were enabled to ascend that river to Lough Ree. The crews plundered all Breifne, beyond Ath Liag¹² upwards. The King of Munster appears to have divided his force, when it reached that central position. He sent one detachment into western Connaught. We read, that during this year, the men of Munster came in hosts upon Loch Ribh, and that they were aided by the foreigners of Port Lairge, who, as subjects, had probably been requisitioned, by the King of Munster. The Connaughtmen assembled to oppose them, when a battle was fought between them. A great number of the Munstermen and of the foreigners were slaughtered, by the Connacians. Among the slain was Dunlaing, son to Dubhdabhoireann, royal heir of Munster, and many others along with him.¹³ Muirgheas, son to Conchobhar, and the crown prince of Connaught, was slain by his foes, in the heat of that conflict.¹⁴ However, the forces of Munster appear to have prevailed. Contributions were required from the inhabitants, who were settled in the whole bordering country; and, as a matter of course, those tributes were given or guaranteed. In the year 984, also, the Kings of Leinster rendered homage to Bryan; and, subsequently, he assumed to act, as the supreme Monarch of Ireland.¹⁵ Bryan led another division of his army, into the province of Meath,¹⁶ as far as Uisnech. A hosting of this description meant the spreading of plunder, of waste, and of bloodshed, through those important districts of the monarchy. After this campaign, the King of Munster returned to his own principality, and laden with the spoils of two large provinces.

In reference to this heroic monarch, the bards and chroniclers have depicted in glowing colours, the valour, wisdom, and generosity of his character; and, no doubt, in their enthusiasm, his panegyrists have drawn largely from their imagination those remaining accounts, which must serve to embellish, if not to supply satisfactorily, the traits of his personal history. The spirit of the times favoured a taste for romance, and frequently, as at present is the fashion of rumour, represented real transactions in a false light. To attempt, at this time, a prosaic and rational narrative is more than perplexing; for, should we remove the brilliant varnish of fiction, we might not only tear away the true colours, but even the forms, and grouping, which are so traditionally combined in the picture.

Romantically situated on the western bank of the Lower Shannon, the town of Killaloe¹⁷ is approached by a bridge, consisting of several arches, and which spans a wide, but comparatively shallow, sweep of the river. Close to this spot arose the celebrated residence and fort of Kinncora. These lay below Lough Derg, and a magnificent range of mountains circled them round, towards the north, west, and south.¹⁸ On the summit of a small hill, and opposite

gives its destination, as being against Meath and Connaught. See "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 245.

¹² Now Lanesborough, in the parish and barony of Rathcline, county of Longford, at the head of Lough Ree, and on the left bank of the River Shannon. Formerly, it was a parliamentary borough, and a very excellent description and history of the place will be found, in the "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 589, 590.

¹³ The Annals of Tigernach have this event, at A.D. 988. See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum

Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 264.

¹⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 722, 723.

¹⁵ See Alexander G. Richey's, "Lectures on the History of Ireland, down to A.D. 1534," Lect. iii., p. 66.

¹⁶ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 244.

¹⁷ A beautiful Aquatinta view of this place was published, by Jonathan Fisher, at Dublin, in 1792, oblong folio.

¹⁸ See Plates 7 and 15 of "The Travellers'

the Bridge of Killaloe¹⁹—now consisting of nineteen arches²⁰—stood Bryan Boromha's palace of Kincora; and, it has been supposed, that this was erected, by the monarch himself.²¹ All traces of that celebrated fortress have now vanished; but, according to one conjecture,²² it must have extended from the verge of an eminence, over the River Shannon, and on to where the Catholic Church now stands.²³ Not far from that site arises the cruciform Cathedral building, surmounted in the centre by a low and



Cathedral and Bridge at Killaloe, on the River Shannon.

massive square tower.²⁴ Portions of this structure within the nave are said to have been erected, by the monarch, Brian Boromha, who is thought to have re-edified or repaired the first built Cathedral. It was reconstructed, once more, by Donald O'Brian, King of Thomond, in 1160. The portions of this building, which are Romanesque in character,

Map of the River Shannon, arranged as a Guide to its Lakes," &c., from the survey made by John Grantham, Esq., C.E. On Plate 15 is shown a wooded knoll, with some ornamental grounds, and it is called the Fort of Bel Boru.

¹⁹ See the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Clare," sheet 45.

²⁰ Formerly this bridge had a still greater number; and, while some of the arches are ancient, three or four in the centre and of ample span, were built in 1825, when the canal works, to connect Limerick with Lough Derg, were constructed. See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 449.

²¹ At A.D. 1012, the "Annals of the Four

Masters" state, that many Dangers or fortresses were erected by Bryan, and among the rest, the Caher of Ceann Coradh, of Inis Gaill dubh, and of Inis Loch Saighleann, &c. See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 768 to 771.

²² That of the celebrated Irish scholar, John O'Donovan.

²³ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Clare, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839," vol. ii. Letter of John O'Donovan, pp. 346, 347.

²⁴ The accompanying engraving, by Mrs. Millard, is after a drawing, taken on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, and by him transferred to the wood.

furnish evidence of greater antiquity, than the mediæval Gothic, predominating in its chief features and style.²⁵ Long lancet windows, splayed inwards, light the chancel and nave. The whole length of this cathedral is about 200 feet. The name Ceann-Coradh signifies, the Head of the Weir, and, it was Anglicised to Kincora.²⁶ It is identical with the site of the present town of Killaloe. Even, at this time, several eel weirs are there, on the River Shannon. We find it called Cathair-Cinn-coradh, or the Stone Fort of Kincora, which gives us a correct idea, regarding the chief building material of which it had been composed. It may be assumed, that the fortification had been a stronghold, and that quarters had been provided for the monarch and its guards, about the grounds adjoining. In the southern part of Craglea, in the parish of Killaloe, is Park-na-neagh, a field in which Bryan Boromha is said to have kept his horses.²⁷ Throughout his whole lifetime, the monarch loved to dwell in this seat of his power. Yet, notwithstanding the renown of the monarch, who had so long dwelt in it, Ceann-Coradh was destroyed after his death; nor does it seem to have been occupied, by his successors, for more than a century afterwards.²⁸ In 1118, Turlough O'Conor and the Connacians marched to the palace of Ceann Coradh. He then hurled the stones and timber, of which it was composed, into the River Shannon.²⁹ From Corrigen,³⁰ above Birdhill³¹ station, on the Limerick Railroad, a magnificent view of the River Shannon, flowing through its valley from Killaloe on towards Castle Connell, may be obtained. The lower waters of Lough Dearg appear beyond the old Cathedral Church and town. The site of Brian Boromha's former fortalice at Kincora is seen beneath a sublimely varied prospect of over-topping mountain scenery, spreading along and behind the Clare side of the Shannon, while no prospect can be finer or more picturesque, than the rich cultivated and extensive pastoral lands, that swell on every side. Vales, plains, hills and mountain ranges, are seen in most charming combination.

As the royal habitation of Tara had been deserted, after the sixth century,³² the monarch of Ireland fixed his residence, wherever he pleased; but, it was generally, if not invariably, within his immediate provincial territory. However, it would appear, that if Tara had ceased to be a city of importance, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Maelseachlainn lived on or near that historic hill, while he ruled as chief monarch, or as subordinate to Bryan Boromha, who, in turn, arrived at supreme dominion.

The bards of Ireland received entertainment and hospitality, in the court

²⁵ By William F. Wakeman, these are considered as referable to the thirteenth century.

²⁶ This name is still retained, in Kincora Lodge, near the site of Bryan's palace.

²⁷ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Clare, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839," vol. ii. Letter of John O'Donovan, p. 356.

²⁸ In 1061, Aedh an Gha-bearnaigh Ua Conchobhair, or Hugh O'Conor of the broken spear, demolished the Dun or fortress of Ceann Coradh, destroying the enclosing wall of its well, while he burned Cill-Dalua. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., p. 880, 881. Again, in 1088, Donald Mac Loughlin and Roderick O'Conor demolished and destroyed the walls of Ceann Coradh. See *ibid.*, pp. 934, 935.

This was avenged, in 1101, by Murtough O'Brien. See *ibid.*, pp. 966 to 969. A Poem on this subject, by Malmurry Magrath, has been composed. In 1107, Ceann Coradh and Cashel were burned by lightning, the first week after Easter, when sixty vats of Metheglin and Brogaid, or Beer, were destroyed.

²⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 984, 985, and pp. 1006, 1007.

³⁰ Like many a local denomination, this does not appear on the Irish Ordnance Survey Maps.

³¹ In the parish of Kilcomenty, barony of Owny and Arra, County of Tipperary,

³² "Shortly after the death of Dermot, the son of Fergus, in the year 563, the place was deserted, in consequence, as it is said, of a curse pronounced by St. Ruadan, or

of Bryan, at Kincora. One of these, named Mac Liag, was the most celebrated of that day; and, even yet, some compositions attributed to him survive. It seems a doubtful matter to know, when this poet left the court of Tadhg O'Kelly, and attached himself to that of Bryan Boromha. One opinion has it, that this may have occurred in 974, when at the age of forty-eight, the latter came to the throne of Munster, and lived at Ceann Coradh; which place has been associated with so many of the bard's admired compositions. Another supposition is, that when Bryan was elevated to the throne of all Erin, in 1002, Mac Liag became the monarch's Ollamh or Chief Poet.³³ Whether the monarch of Ireland performed on the national instrument is not known; yet, a curious and an interesting relic has come down to our times, dignified with the title of Bryan Boromha's Harp.³⁴ It is truly an object of exquisite design and workmanship,³⁵ the like of which could hardly be excelled by the products of our modern machinery, and musical manufacturing establishments. It was an instrument³⁶ fit to grace a monarch's court, in the highest state of refinement; and, no doubt, its chords often resounded to Irish song, in the festive hall.

In the year 990—probably in retaliation for the previous expedition of Bryan—Measeachlainn levied the forces of his principality, and he conducted an expedition, against the people of Thomond. Then was fought the battle of Carn-Fordroma,³⁷ in which he was victorious. Here perished Domhnall, son of Lorcan, and uncle to Bryan Boromha. He was lord of Muscraige-Thire,³⁸ and of Ui-Forggo, while six hundred men fell along with him,³⁹ in that action. During the year 990⁴⁰—according to some

Rodanus, of Lorha, against that king and his palace."—William F. Wakeman's "Archæologia Hibernica: a Hand-Book of Irish Antiquities, Pagan and Christian," part i., chap. iv., p. 40.

³³ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," vol. ii., Lect. vi., p. 115.

³⁴ The following history of this object is taken from the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 6, p. 48. There we are told, that Brian Boromha left his harp to his son Donough, who retired to Rome, having been deposed by his nephew. He carried with him, the crown, the harp, and other regalia of his celebrated father, and these he presented to the Pope, then reigning. They were kept in the Vatican. The crown was of massive gold, and it is said to have been preserved in Rome, to the present day, while the harp was sent as a gift to King Henry VIII., of England. This monarch gave the harp subsequently to the first Earl of Clanricarde, in whose family it remained till the beginning of the eighteenth century. Then, it came through a lady of the De Burgh family, into that of MacMahon of Clenagh, in the County of Clare. After her death, it passed into the possession of Commissioner MacNamara of Limerick. In 1782, it was presented to the Right Hon. William Conyngham, who deposited it in Trinity College Museum, where it is now preserved.

³⁵ The following particulars furnish a minute description: "It is thirty-two inches high, and of good workmanship, the

sounding-board is of oak, the arms of red sally, the extremity of the uppermost arm in part is capped with silver, extremely well wrought and chiselled. It contains a large crystal set in silver, and under it was another stone, now lost. The buttons or ornamented knobs, at the side of this arm, are of silver. On the front arm, are the arms chased in silver of the O'Brien family, the bloody hand supported by lions. On the sides of the front arm, within two circles, are two Irish wolf dogs, cut in the wood. The holes of the sounding board, where the strings entered, are neatly ornamented with an escutcheon of brass, carved and gilt; the larger sounding holes have been ornamented, probably with silver. The harp has twenty-eight keys and as many string holes, consequently there were as many strings. The foot piece, or rest, is broken off, and the parts, round which it was joined, are very rotten. The whole bears evidence of an expert artist."—*Ibid.*

³⁶ A diagram, representing the present appearance of this harp, accompanies the descriptive particulars. See *ibid.*

³⁷ It means "the Cairn," or "sepulchral heap of the long ridge," but the place has not been identified.

³⁸ This territory was reputed as a dependency on Thomond. See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," chap. ii., and n. 10, pp. 18, 456.

³⁹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp. 724 to 727.

⁴⁰ See "Chronicon Scotorum," edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 232, 233.

accounts in 992—Maelseachlainn led an army into Connaught, from which he brought a great prey of cattle.⁴¹ That very same year of the expedition, and probably taking advantage of his absence from Meath, Bryan conducted a hosting, against that territory, but with a result sufficiently inglorious. He proceeded so far as Loch Ainninn,⁴² now Lough Ennell;⁴³ however, he did not take a single prisoner, nor even a cow. Furthermore, he was obliged to return, by a secret flight;⁴⁴ and, probably, because Maelseachlainn got notice of this movement, and had prepared to intercept his retreat. According to other statements,⁴⁵ the forces of Munster wasted and destroyed all places in Meath, not leaving cow, beast, or man that they could meet untaken.⁴⁶ In the year following, as we read in the Annals, Maelsachlainn slew Egnech Ua Leochain, lord of Tuath-Luighne, in the abbot of Dovnach-Patrick's house. At this time, likewise, Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, King of Leinster, was ransomed from Maelseachlainn.⁴⁷ During the year 992, according to the Annals of Ulster, Murecan, Archbishop of Armagh, made his visitation of northern Ireland.⁴⁸ The King of Munster equipped a fleet, in the year 993. With it, he sailed on Loch Ree, proceeding to its navigable extremity,⁴⁹ and he plundered the men of Breifne.⁵⁰ In this respect, he had a decided superiority over the monarch of Ireland, who does not appear to have built vessels, able to cope with Bryan's fleet, which gave him mastery on the Shannon. It is stated, that the King of Munster burned the royal rath of Dun Sciath, about this period.⁵¹ In the year 993, we find an open war declared, between the monarch of Ireland and the King of Munster. Maelseachlainn, trusting to an overland march, drew out his forces, and leading them southwards, directed his course against Aenach-Thete, now Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary.⁵² He then plundered the country around it.⁵³ Brian appears to have attempted opposition;⁵⁴ but, he was unable to repel the invader, as the forces of Munster, which he commanded, were completely routed.⁵⁵

The existent state of Ireland, and the divergence of policy, which disturbed their relations, between such ambitious monarchs as Malachy and Bryan, indicated an inevitable struggle for pre-eminence, now apprehended on either side. These two prominent warrior kings must be supposed, providently to have calculated, that a final and decisive contest could not long be deferred, in the actual state shown by the balance of power. Both heroes must have looked upon the social and political condition of the Irish monarchy, as involving the prospects of interest, of fame, and of ambition, in which they were chiefly concerned. This year, likewise, Maelseachlainn resolved to be avenged on the foreigners in Dublin. They had taken advantage of his absence in the south, to ravage the territory of Meath. Next, he marched towards Ath-

⁴¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 728, 729.

⁴² See "Chronicum Scotorum," edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 232, 233.

⁴³ Here, it is said, the King of Ireland had his house.

⁴⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 728, 729.

⁴⁵ In the Annals of Clonmacnois,

⁴⁶ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," Mediæval Part, chap. ii., pp. 18, 19.

⁴⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 730, 731.

⁴⁸ See Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," vol. iv. Annals Ultonienses," p. 288, Bodleian copy.

⁴⁹ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," chap. ii., p. 19.

⁵⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 730, 731.

⁵¹ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 138.

⁵² See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," chap. ii., p. 20.

⁵³ Some of our annalists refer this invasion to A.D. 994.

⁵⁴ See the "Chronicum Scotorum," at A.D. 992, edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 234, 235.

⁵⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 732, 733.

⁵⁶ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ire-

Cliath, where he prevailed against its defenders.⁵⁶ He then carried away, by force, the ring of Tomar,⁵⁷ and the sword of Carlus.⁵⁸ Ragnall was slain, by the Leinstermen,⁵⁹ while Imhar fled again from Ath-Cliath, and Sitric took his place.⁶⁰ However, the foreigners were strongly established in their Leinster settlements; while they were supported, by chiefs of the Irish race, whose family alliances and interests were sustained, by bonds entered upon for mutual protection. This consideration and obstacle formed a strong barrier to their complete subjugation and permanent restraint, against all the hastily equipped forces and incomplete resources of the Irish monarch.

Ardently bent on resistance to the Danish power, yet, it was not to be expected, that those active and successful campaigns, which had confirmed the Munster usurpation, regarding the prerogatives of his crown, could be brooked with complacency, by the proud and warlike spirit of Malachy. At last, however, it was arranged by himself and Bryan, to confederate against their untrustworthy and powerful common enemy. This resolve was dictated by a sense of precaution and of self-preservation. Both rulers had merited the admiration of their fellow-countrymen. In the year 998, the King of Munster conducted a great naval expedition to Plein Pattoici, where the monarch of Ireland came to meet him. A mutual peace was concluded between them. For a season, and with fidelity to the national cause, the forces of both these kings acted in conjunction.⁶¹ The hostages of Leth Mogha, held by Mael-seachlainn, namely, those of the foreigners and of the Leinstermen, of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne and of the Ui Maine, were ceded to Bryan. It was arranged, that the prisoners taken on either side should be mutually restored.⁶² A treaty was based, on the mutual recognition of their respective rights. Bryan agreed not to trespass nor to make war on the monarch of Ireland, nor to encroach on his territory. The sovereignty of the two great divisions of Ireland, they agree to divide. Thus, Leath Cuinn, or the Northern half of Ireland was assigned to Malachy, as admittedly the supreme monarch; while, Leath Mogha, or the southern half of the Island, was left under the sway of Bryan. This treaty was followed by a military expedition, and having effected a junction of their forces, both sovereigns marched against the Ostmen, who resided in Dublin, their greatest stronghold, at the time, in Ireland. They met with very little resistance; and, the Irish forces returned, with the acquisition of spoils,⁶³ having enforced a contribution from their vanquished foes, and carried off their hostages.

That stipulated bond, which formed the basis for a dual government of Ireland, could have only lasted, notwithstanding, for an uncertain term. Whether by a joint sovereignty, or by an ascertained division of territory, matters not, especially when neither of the rulers could acknowledge a real suzerainty. It was only a temporary expedient, to reconcile conflicting

land, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 139.

⁵⁷ "Tomar or Tomrair was evidently the ancestor of the Danish Kings of Dublin. He flourished, in the beginning of the ninth century. He was Earl and tanist to the King of Lochlann, who was killed at the battle of Sciath Neachtain, near Castledermot, in the year 847." See "Leabhar-na-g Ceart, or the Book of Rights," Edited by John O'Donovan, Introduction, pp. xxxvi. to xli.

⁵⁸ To this event allusion is made, in the "Irish Melodies," by Thomas Moore:

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betray'd her;

When Malachi wore the collar of
gold,
Which he won from the proud invader."

⁵⁹ Namely, by the son of Murchadh, son of Finn.

⁶⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," pp., vol. ii., 734, 735.

⁶¹ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 139.

⁶² See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 244.

⁶³ They took the best part of their jewels,

interests. The pretensions and exalted character of either monarch had served to excite curiosity and to arouse expectation of rival ambitions, which the future turn of events should solve; and, it was easy to foresee, that the existing state of affairs began to grow uncertain of duration and uneasy for both monarchs, whom policy rather than cordiality had allied, but hardly had united. No one can doubt, that the results soon became perfectly conformable to the situation. Those two illustrious men were charged with the destinies of the chiefs and people subject to them. Under the most favourable conditions, it is an exceedingly difficult art to govern well and wisely, in relation to public interests; and, the difficulty is greatly increased, wherever authority is questioned and unsettled, when aiming to establish order and right on a basis, which should secure the happiness and prosperity of a whole nation. The warrior kings were led to indulge changes of opinion, as well by the shifting course of events, as by those suspicions, which must have naturally influenced them. The leading objects of Malachy and Bryan were not unworthy the sympathy and support of their respective subjects. Their lives were devoted to the welfare of a common country, but each showed anxiety to defend his personal aspirations and privileges. Most of our historians have considered them, as fulfilling all the duties of patriot chiefs; but, reflection, on the less generous and more selfish policy of rulers in their position, must cause us to modify this view, especially as judged by the after-current of their lives. The common enemy, the Dane, was an independent element of disturbance and of annoyance to the people of their country; and, never could these be assured of impunity, so long as their vigilance and activity ceased. That Maelseachlainn and Bryan were mutually jealous of each other's encroachment and power is obvious. The most fixed object of either monarch was the maintenance or extension of his power. Patriotism, in the wider range, was hardly realized, in Ireland, at this period; for, it must be assumed, only as understood, by the social exigencies of the time, and in a limited sense. Statesmanship, occupied with the social welfare and harmony of all classes, was not then a profession and a practice, in any country of the known world. Modified by many private motives, and owing to an immediate necessity to provide for every pressing contingency, considerations, which might have found a true remedy for the welfare of an entire people, were beyond the conception or accomplishment of even the wisest and ablest men then living.

In Leinster, Maelmordha, or Malmorra, the son of Murchadh, had usurped the crown,⁶⁴ during the year 998,⁶⁵ or 999,⁶⁶ through assistance rendered to him, by the Danes of Dublin, under the leadership of Sitric, son of Amhlaeibh.⁶⁷ On this occasion, they took the King of Leinster, Donnchadh, son of Domhnall,⁶⁸ as a prisoner, and his position was afterwards assumed, by Maelmordha. This circumstance probably influenced that important movement, which next engages the historian's attention. The monarch of Ireland and the King of Munster united their forces, and directed their march upon Leinster, in order to engage the Northmen and their Irish allies.⁶⁹

as stated in Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 736, 737.

⁶⁴ His predecessor Donald Mac-Lorcan was obliged to abdicate, having been taken prisoner, as Harris states, in his "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin." chap. ix., p. 192.

⁶⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 738, 739.

⁶⁶ The Annals of Tighernach place this event, in the year 999.

⁶⁷ The "Chronicum Scotorum," has this event, at A. D. 997.

⁶⁸ He is styled "the crooked," in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii. Tigernachi Annales, p. 268.

⁶⁹ According to the translator of the Book of Munster. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 245.

⁷⁰ According to the Annals of Tigernach.

A decisive victory was obtained, in the year 998,⁷⁰ not far from Dunlavan, and in the valley of Glenmama, among the Wicklow mountains, where the Irish forces encamped. The Northmen of Dublin had received timely notice, regarding their position and objects. Thinking to gain a victory, by stealing on their enemies, and thus hoping for advantage, by surprising them unawares, the Danes came on their army, and seemingly with a superior force. However, their manœuvre was rendered useless, by the state of readiness, in which Malachy and Bryan were found; while, the skill and valour of the Irish leaders were exerted, and to some purpose.⁷¹ The attack and defence were obstinately contested on both sides. After much bloodshed, the Ostmen were utterly routed, and they fled in great confusion, having lost numbers of their men, and many chiefs.⁷² Among these latter were Harolf, or Harold, the son to Aulaf, who was King of Dublin, and Cuilen, son to Eitigen. Carolus, called Cloidheamh, or of the Sword, a prince of Denmark, is said, also, to have fallen, in this encounter.⁷³ It proved to have been a most important advantage for the Irish. The power of the Danes was there broken, at least, for a time;⁷⁴ while the issue of that battle now dispelled all reasonable expectations of their being able to cope, with two such renowned and experienced commanders, as the monarch of Ireland, and his ally, Bryan King of Munster.

These powerful rivals were brought, at last, into collision. They began to feel, that the time for a divergency of their previous political courses was now clearing, to engage in that contest, which sooner or latter impended. They must soon meet the test, and of necessity join issue, on this matter of pronounced movements, in which both were engaged. Probably, each bent his mind to obtain a personal advantage, the sole consideration for rivals in their situation. Feeling the oppressiveness of the Leinster tribute, the Lagenians invited the foreigners to confederate with them against Bryan,⁷⁵ to whom they bid defiance. The conduct of Malachy was governed by caution; and, it was perhaps the best calculated, to cover his designs. His movements, no doubt, admitted an inference, which Bryan might deem unfavourable to his rights, and of doubtful construction, under any view of the case. Malachy marched his troops with great parade into Leinster, where a predatory excursion was brought to bear against those, who by ancient right had been his own subjects, but who could not serve two masters, at one and the same time. By the terms of a treaty, the invaded province owed both tribute and allegiance to Bryan. To recover his sovereignty there must have been Malachy's principal object; and to retain it must have been the desire of Bryan. The most serious loss of dominion over Leinster, which the monarchy had sustained, was the most splendid acquisition of the Munster kings.⁷⁶ There can be little doubt, even at this distance of time, as to the several discordant impulses, that brought about great divergence of action, and which moved these rivals to declare hostilities. Without a jealous eye, Bryan could not overlook such equivocal demonstrations; and, to secure his actual position, a bolder and more decisive step must be taken.

See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 268.

⁷¹ The Leabhar-Oiris declares this victory to have been achieved by Mumonians only. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 245.

⁷² Gratianus Lucius attributes this defeat to Malachy, the monarch. See "Cambrensis Everus," vol. ii., cap. ix., pp. 34, 35. Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition.

⁷³ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "Gene-

ral History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 246.

⁷⁴ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i. Second Period, p. 203.

⁷⁵ See that statement, which is contained, in Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 245.

⁷⁶ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i. Second Period, p. 203,

CHAPTER V.

THE KING OF MUNSTER OBTAINS THE SUPREME RULE IN IRELAND—ROMANTIC AND ANNALISTIC ACCOUNTS OF THIS EVENT—SUBMISSION TO AND ALLIANCE OF MAELSEACHLAINN WITH BRYAN BOROIMHA—THEIR HOSTING LED AGAINST THE NORTHERNS—THIS EXPEDITION INTERRUPTED—THE CONVENTION HELD AT DUNDALK ACCEPTS BRYAN AS SUPREME MONARCH OVER IRELAND—HIS ROYAL PROGRESSES.

A GREAT political contest was looming before the minds of two powerful rivals; but, by mutual consent, peace had been observed, for some time, between these ambitious competitors. It was a strained forbearance, only kept within bounds, by the danger of breaking ground in a rupture, the consequences of which neither Malachy nor Bryan could rightly forecast. However, the latter deemed, that crisis had opportunely come; and, he began to form a league, which it was intended should deprive the monarch Malachy of his crown. Bryan's daughter had married Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin; and now commenced, what our annalists call "the first turning of Bryan and the Connaughtmen, against Maelseachlainn Mor."¹ By some writers, it has been asserted, that Malachy had been addicted to a life of pleasure, that he became indolent,² and that the chiefs and people of Ireland deemed the happiness of their country to have been sacrificed to his love of ease, and to his diversions.³ His want of greater energy, in checking the advances of the foreigners, after the five first years of his reign, made a strong impression on the chiefs of the kingdom, especially when they contrasted his apathy, with the restless and enterprising spirit of Bryan. This caused them to hope, that the blessings of peace and subordination, then confined to Leath-Mogha, should extend to all the people. It is said, that a convention of chiefs, representing the different states of Connaught and of Munster, was held; and, as a result of their deliberations, that deputies were sent to require the deposition of Malachy, as he neither exerted himself like a prince, in defence of his country, nor sufficiently protected his subjects.⁴ This convention is placed, at A.D. 1000,⁵ by some of our historical writers.

We have a romantic account of this important movement, and which, if not found conflicting with our authentic annals, at least, humanly speaking, bears in some particulars the impress of improbability, as related by some old chroniclers.⁶ Yet, several incidents laid down, may be quite reconcilable with the truth of genuine history, as also with the manners and the motives which actuated the leading characters of that period. Something must be deducted from narratives, that have come down to us, when they proceed from very remote sources; but, we are not wholly at liberty to withhold the account which follows. The deputies of the convention, we are told, expostulated with Malachy, and used the freedom to inform him, that a King of Ireland, who had at heart the happiness of his people, would never suffer the insolent attacks of the foreigners, to pass unavenged, as he did; that the brave Bryan Boroimha undertook the cause of public liberty, and to repel the incursions

CHAPTER V.—¹ This is deemed to have been effected through guile or treachery, according to the old Book of Lecan, and, also, according to Tighernach, the Annalist, who lived very near this period.

² See Rev. Geoffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 475.

³ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ix., p. 404.

⁴ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 246.

⁵ See *ibid.*

⁶ The narrative of these transactions is that chiefly contained, in Dermot O'Connor's translation of Rev. Dr. Keating's "General History of Ireland."

⁷ This kind of language from the electors

of the haughty Danes. Therefore, it had been resolved by the chiefs, that he deserved to wear the crown of Ireland, as he knew how to defend it, with honour to himself, and how to ensure happiness for his subjects. In fine, those ambassadors declared, they were commissioned to acquaint Malachy, that the nobility and gentry designed to dethrone him; and, therefore, to prevent bloodshed and disturbance, they advised him to resign the supreme rule of his own accord, and to retire into a more private station of life.⁷ This representation was received with the utmost scorn and indignation by Maelseachlainn, who absolutely refused to comply. He resolved to enter into no treaty with the nobility of Munster, who desired to meet him at a place called Magh da Caombhog.⁸ He insisted upon his hereditary rights of possession, and these he determined to maintain, to the very last extremity. The King of Munster, informed by his messengers regarding the resolution of the monarch, had resolved upon making use of force, to depose him, and to seize upon the crown. For this purpose, he raised an army of 20,000 veterans.⁹ These consisted of the Munster standing forces, and of the Danish auxiliary troops, whom he had received into pay, particularly those who held possessions in Leath Mogha, and who, for that reason, owed homage and subjection to the King of Munster. At the head of his Momonian battalions. Bryan set out, and directed his march towards Tara. Before commencing hostilities, however, he despatched a herald to the King of Ireland. That herald had orders to summon Maelseachlainn to resign the throne, and to send hostages of the first quality to Bryan, the better to secure his future obedience. If the monarch refused this demand, the herald was to challenge him to submit their dispute, by a decisive battle, to the longest and sharpest sword. Surprised at this message, Maelseachlainn answered, that he was in no condition to give Bryan battle immediately, because his army was disbanded, and it should require some time to collect them together, nor was it out of cowardice he refused to meet the Munster army in the field. If Bryan would suspend hostilities, and allow him the respite of a month, to muster his forces, and particularly the troops of Leath Cuinn,¹⁰ the King of Ireland promised, he would accept the challenge; or, if his subjects refused to support him in this resolution with men or money, he promised to send proper hostages, as a security for his obedience. He likewise desired the commissioners of Munster, to use their interest with Bryan, and so appeal to his generosity,¹¹ that he would not permit his army to plunder Meath, but that he would restrain their incursions, and continue at Tara, until the time for the cessation of hostilities had expired. His ambassadors returned with this answer to the Munster King, who accepted the conditions proposed. Bryan commanded his officers to continue the soldiers peaceably in their quarters, until further orders were given. Meantime, Maelseachlainn convened the principal nobility of Leath Cuinn. He opened the whole case, and advised with them, regarding this important subject. He despatched messengers, moreover, to most of the petty princes in the king-

of Ireland was not unusual. The Catha-Cnucha relates, that in the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, the states convened at Tara, before the occurrence of the battle, from which the record is named, addressed the monarch in these terms:—"Resign, O King, the throne of Tara to some prince more worthy, since you do not protect your subjects from the incursions of Cumhal, and the children of Cathoir-More." See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi.,

p. 246.

⁸ It does not seem to have been identified.

⁹ According to Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 247.

¹⁰ See, also, *Cogaoh Saohel Re Sal-Laibh*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxii., pp. 118, 119.

¹¹ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi.

dom, to demand their assistance. He sent Giolla Comhgall,¹² by some historians called Abbot of Bangor, whom he retained as his antiquary,¹³ to the great Hugh O'Neill, the most powerful chief in Ulster,¹⁴ to require his proportion of troops, in this pressing emergency, upon which his crown and the security of his person depended. If O'Neill refused to supply him with his quota of troops, he was warned to provide hostages and to send them, as an evidence of his subjection and obedience to Bryan Boroimha, King of Munster; for, these were the terms he was bound to comply with, and which, although severe in themselves, yet the necessity of affairs should oblige him to accept. That antiquary had a commission, to deliver the same message to Eochaidh, son of Ardgal, King of Ulster, as also to Cathal, son to O'Connor, King of Connaught. He required their immediate assistance, and if they were unwilling to support the monarch against the Munster army, he had orders to represent, that if the King of Ireland was forced to resign his crown, and to surrender the royal seat of Tara, where the Irish monarchs had resided for so many ages, it could be no reproach to him, because he was denied the assistance of his subjects. He was instructed to declare, moreover, that such dishonour should more immediately affect the O'Neills, and the principal nobility of Leath Cuinn, whose ancestors had been in possession of the Irish throne, for so many successive generations.¹⁵

The messenger was very faithful, in the execution of his orders; and, when he represented all those circumstances, and the necessity of the king's affairs, to the nobility of Leath Cuinn, the answer he received from Hugh O'Neill was, that when the royal seat of Tara was possessed by Eoghán's posterity, his own great ancestors defended it against all external attempts. Therefore, it was reasonable, that those who were its masters should secure themselves in the possession or deliver it up; but, with regard to himself, he absolutely refused to assist the King of Ireland, who had lost the affections of his people, or to draw upon himself the displeasure and resentment of the noble tribe of the Dailgais, whose friendship he esteemed. Wherefore, he determined to take no part in that dispute. Giolla Comhgall returned with this unwelcome answer to the King of Ireland. Finding himself abandoned by the petty princes, and reflecting that the non-compliance of Hugh O'Neill might be attended with injurious consequences—since the influence of his example might prevail upon others to withdraw their supplies—Maelseachlainn resolved to pay a visit in person, and to persuade the northern prince, if possible, to interest himself in his cause. As an argument, which the monarch thought irresistible, he offered, rather than the royal seat of Tara might fall under the power of Bryan Boroimha, that he should resign his own right, and if O'Neill used his utmost efforts to defend the monarchy against the enemy, Maelseachlainn engaged to confirm him, in the possession of that ancient seat of power, and in the lands belonging to it; while he promised for himself and for his successors, that no claim should be revived, and that the

¹² This means "the servant of Comhgall." We find no corresponding name in our Annals. But, in the year 1016, a Dermot O'Maoltealcha, successor of Comgall, died. He is said to have been a learned scholar, a scribe, and a bishop. See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix A, sect. iv., p. 154.

¹³ In the Irish Tract, *Cogadh Gaiohel re Galluibh*, he is called *Gilla Comgall ua Slebh*, or *Gilla Comgall O'Slebh*,

and he is stated to have been Ollum or poet of Ulaid.

¹⁴ See the account of these transactions, as furnished in Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's *General History of Ireland*, vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 248.

¹⁵ This accords with the account, contained in the *Cogadh Gaiohel re Galluibh*, and, there too, is introduced the Irish poem, composed by Gilla Comgall O'Slebh, and addressed to Aodh O'Neill. See chap. lxxii., lxxiii., pp. 120 to 127.

monarchy should descend without opposition to O'Neill's posterity. So violent was the resentment, felt by the King of Ireland against Bryan Boiroinhe, that he had resolved to disappoint those designs of the Munster king, at any sacrifice; particularly, he intended, that the seat of Tara, which was the high court of the Irish monarchs, should not fall into the hands of Bryan. On hearing such proposals, Hugh O'Neill desired to be excused from giving an immediate answer, and he insisted upon time, to convene the principal nobility of Siol Eogain, in order to ascertain their sentiments and opinions, upon a matter of such great importance. Accordingly, when the assembly met, he communicated to them the cause for the King of Ireland's arrival, and the seemingly advantageous proposals he offered, if they would support him against the King of Munster, and the army that was raised against him, by the tribe of the Dailgais. After some debates, the chiefs of Siol Eogain came to a resolution, not to concern themselves with the King of Ireland; for, they suspected his intentions and offers, supposing he did not design to renounce Tara, after his own affair was accomplished, and when he found himself securely established on the throne. Accordingly, they advised Hugh O'Neill, that he should return a courteous answer to the King of Ireland, but, with an absolute refusal, to act in a quarrel of that consequence, which might possibly draw upon him new enemies, and whose resentment might prove his destruction.¹⁶

The representatives in that convention perceived, however, that they might procure some advantages for themselves, through the misfortunes and exigencies of the King of Ireland. Therefore, after some consideration, they imagined, that the answer agreed upon at their meeting might be altered or modified. Although they seemed satisfied, that if they joined the King of Ireland's army against the forces of Munster, they might lose their lives, and that scarce a man of them should return home—especially since they were to engage the martial and invincible tribe of the Dailgais, who never turned their backs, and who were the constant scourges of the Danes—yet they resolved to venture assistance for the King of Ireland, and to raise a competent force, on condition that they might find a recompense, equal to the hazard, and that he should deliver to them one-half of the Meathian country, and the lands of Tara for a reward. They had resolved, too, if they did not meet with success in the expedition, that their wives and children should be sufficiently provided for; and, although they might lose their lives, it was deemed their duty to take a proper care for the interests of their posterity. Accordingly, these proposals in such terms were offered to Maolseachluin, who received them with indignation, apprehending them to be exorbitant and unjust. Therefore, he left O'Neill, and with his retinue returned to his own court. Under such disappointments, he was undetermined what course to adopt, and therefore he summoned the principal men of Clan Colman, to assist him with their advice. He represented to the tribal nobility the deplorable state of his affairs, and particularly he informed them, about the insolence and haughty demands of Hugh O'Neill, as also those of the Siol Eogain chiefs. He requested withal, that they would not leave him in this extremity, but that they should continue their fidelity to him, at this time, and when he had most occasion for their counsel and assistance. The clans, assembled upon that emergency, weighing even the minutest circumstance of the case, came to this resolution, that being unable to meet the King of Munster in the field, and to decide the dispute by force of arms, their monarch should make his submis-

¹⁶ The narrative in the text, although more circumstantial, agrees with that in the

COZAOH ZAEOLHE RE ZALLAIBH. See chap. lxiv., pp. 126 to 131.

sion to Bryan Boiroimha, and immediately go to his camp at Tara, where he had lain for a month, and there, to offer him his future obedience. This advice was complied with by Maelseachlainn, who taking with him twelve hundred horse, arrived at the King of Munster's camp.¹⁷ He was soon admitted into the presence of Bryan Boiroimha, who received him with great courtesy, and there accepted his submission.¹⁸ As the monarch had come without guarantee or protection, and depending solely on the honour of his rival, the latter touched with his misfortunes, and assured of his submission, refused to take hostages, which were tendered.¹⁹

For this romantic account, in all its statements, we may rest assured, there is hardly good authority. Our annals relate the deposition of Malachy, and the success of Bryan, in a briefer and more prosaic fashion, as we are now about to give the best received accounts. In all probability, the King of Munster had a clear perception of the fact, which can now be so easily inferred, that his object, by the issue of a very important expedition had been quietly secured; and, if so, there needs no further reason for any forbearance, which saved his force, which avoided an unnecessary risk, and which ensured their

¹⁷ If we are to credit the account given in the Bruodin Chronicle, quoted by O'Halloran, on this occasion Malachic waited on Bryan at Tara, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and all the regalia. This statement, and the speeches which followed, are ingeniously and pathetically reported, with an affecting scene of Malachy in tears yielding to Bryan's embrace; but, they may well be relegated to the imaginative flights of fancy, on the part of the narrator.

¹⁸ In addition to what is recorded in the text, we are told, that Maolseachlainn so resented the treatment he received from Hugh O'Neill, that he informed Bryen of what had passed; and, notwithstanding, that his unfortunate circumstances obliged him to submit, yet he still retained so much of the kingly spirit, he told the Munster potentate, that his submission was no reflection upon his personal courage, for he had fully determined to give him battle, if his subjects had allowed him to have a competent force. He declared, therefore, his present tender of obedience, to be the result of invincible necessity, and which it was out of his power to overrule. This ingenuous declaration made such an impression upon the King of Munster, that he was sensibly affected with the posture of the fallen monarch's affairs. It is furthermore related, that Bryan promised, if his adversary had any prospect of retrieving the difficulties under which he lay, Bryan would forego the advantages now had, and allow him a year's respite, to repair his broken fortune. Then, he engaged to meet Maelseachlainn in the field, and there decide the controversy by the sword; and, Bryan further engaged, that he would rely upon Maelseachlainn's honour, for the execution of those terms already arranged, after the year had expired, and that he would not insist upon hostages, as a security for their performance. In the meantime, he proposed to march

northwards with his army, and to watch the motions of Hugh O'Neill, and Eochaidh, son to Ardgail, King of Ulster. If he found these inclined to oppose him, Bryan resolved to engage them, and he said, moreover, that he should not be surprised if Maolseachlainn should join his northern confederates, and fight against him, since he was willing to hazard his cause upon the issue of a battle, and that the victor should afterwards enjoy the crown of Ireland without further disturbance. Moved with the generosity of the Momonian king, Maelseachlainn assured him, that he abhorred such ungrateful and dishonourable practices. Moreover, he promised, even were it in his power, not to assist them against Bryan; but, he told the King of Munster his opinion, that the northern progress was then unseasonable, and might justly be deferred for another opportunity, and, therefore, Maelseachlainn dissuaded him from undertaking it. This advice was accepted by Bryen, and it was suitable to the condition of his army; for, the greater part of his provisions was now exhausted, and he was in no capacity to attempt such a journey, or to execute such a design. Bryen therefore decamped from Tara, and directed his march homewards; but, first he made a present of 240 fine horses to the Irish monarch, and he bestowed very munificent gifts of gold and silver upon his retinue. The two kings parted in great friendship, and with all the outward testimonies of affection and respect. Bryen Boiroimha returned to his court in Munster, while Maolseachlainn took upon himself the care of his government, and the administration of the public affairs. See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, pp. 476 to 481. Translated by Dermot O'Connor.

¹⁹ See Cogadh Saebhel Re Gallainbh, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxiii., lxxiv., lxxv., pp. 130 to 133.

golden opinions, from all classes of his subjects. The view here taken of Bryan's cautious policy, if not absolutely affirmed, is strongly justified, by the concurring conduct, both of himself and of those excluded branches, connected with the monarchical family.²⁰ Collecting the chiefs and forces of South Connaught, in the year 1000, with the men of Ossory and of Leinster, as also with the forces of Munster, and strengthening himself additionally, by a strong party of the foreigners, settled in Dublin, Bryan marched towards the royal seat of Tara.²¹ This bold movement brought him to the very centre of Malachy's possessions.²² Discovering that the monarch had then taken up a position, on the plain of Bregia, Bryan detached in advance of his army a party of Danish cavalry. Most probably, this military movement was for the purpose of making observations. However, these allies had a collision with Malachy's force. Rashly pressing on, they experienced a hard fate in the encounter, for they were cut almost to pieces.²³ Afterwards, Bryan's army proceeded to Fearta-Neimheadh,²⁴ in Magh Breagh; but, finding the army of Malachy to be superior, the King of Munster deemed it prudent to retreat, when he had arrived, on the scene for action. Without plundering or burning, or daring to risk a battle, he retraced his course, and retired from Meath. Nor were the men of Munster more successful, the following year, when they caused a great depredation, in the south of Meath, and on the Nones of January, 1001, when Aengus, son of Carrach, with a few of his people, overtook them, recovered the spoils, and killed several, whose heads were borne off, as trophies of the victory. Afterwards, Maelseachlainn, King of Ireland, and Cathal Ua Conchobhai, in friendly alliance, agreed to raise a causeway or artificial ford, at Ath-liag,²⁵ now Lanesborough, each carrying his portion of the work to the middle of the Shannon.²⁶

In the following year, 1002,²⁷ the powerful rival of Maelseachlainn having marched to Ath-Luain, with a hosting of Munstermen, Leinstermen and foreigners, found himself at the head of a strong force. Thus, he weakened the Ui-Neill of the south and the Connaughtmen, while he took their hostages.²⁸ Neither help for the monarch in his hour of trial, nor pity for his misfortune,²⁹ was then to be found. However, Maelseachlainn was allowed to retain the peaceable possession of Tara, and the crown lands of Meath; while he acknowledged Bryan as his suzerain.³⁰ Without a blow to retrieve the honour of his house, the "descendant of a series of fifty Hy-Niell Kings"³¹ became a subject. The fallen monarch pledged his allegiance to Bryan, as

²⁰ See Rev. James Willis' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, pp. 203, 204.

²¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 742, 743.

²² See Elias Regnault's "Histoire de l'Irlande," liv. i., chap. v., p. 54.

²³ This event is placed, under the year 999, *alias* 1000, in the "Annales Ultoniennes." See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iv., p. 292.

²⁴ This is translated, Neimhidh's Gravic. Dr. O'Donovan thinks the place to be Fear-tagh, in the parish of Moynalty, barony of Lower Kells, and county of Meath.

²⁵ The Annals of Ulster state, at this same year, that both of these potentates raised a *tochar*, or road, at Atha Luain, now Ath-lone.

²⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 744, 745,

and n. (r).

²⁷ According to the most authentic computation.

²⁸ The "Annales Ultoniennes" notice this event, under the year 1001. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iv., p. 293.

²⁹ In a work of very considerable merit, curious and interesting matter has been collected, including the proceedings of Brian, from the deposition of Maelseachlainn, or Malachy, the last of the line of the Hy-Niell Monarchs of Ireland, to the battle of Clontarf. See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," chap. iii., pp. 24 to 37.

³⁰ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vi., p. 250.

³¹ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 100.

the future recognised King of Ireland; although, to the close of his reign, Maelseachlainn is said to have nourished a secret resentment against the victor.³² This event of Malachy's deposition has been referred to A.D. 996, in Mageoghan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise;³³ but, the more exact chronology of Tighernach places it, at A.D. 1002.³⁴ The vast numerical superiority of Bryan's army made it evident, that nothing but defeat was to be expected from resistance. The monarch therefore submitted, while hostages³⁵ were given by himself and by the Connaughtmen. Making those appeals to the justice and generosity of his rival, and which suited the occasion, he secured present safety by submission, and by giving security for his future allegiance. It is unfair to assert, that in usurping the supreme power, Bryan was clearly impelled by motives of selfish ambition;³⁶ for, we can well conceive a political necessity, in urging this course, which should largely be taken into account.

The year of Christ 1002, is held by some writers—such as the Four Masters—to have been the first year of Bryan, as supreme monarch over Ireland.³⁷ At that period, he is thought to have attained the ripe age of seventy-six years.³⁸ He is said³⁹ to have been solemnly anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Cashel,⁴⁰ at Tara, in the presence of the princes and chief nobles of the land.⁴¹ However, the statement about Bryan's age is very much to be doubted; and, it is thought, he had then only attained about the sixty-first year, when his deposed rival Maelseachlainn was about fifty-three.⁴² Bryan's supremacy was not readily acknowledged, however, especially in the northern division of Ireland. For this reason, an expedition had been planned, and his direction of it towards the quarter, where his authority was likely to be most questioned, was prudently conceived. Attempts have been made, according to the illustrious bard and historian, Thomas Moore, to lend an appearance of popular sanction to Bryan's usurpation, by the plausible pretence, that it was owing to the solicitation of the states and princes of Connaught, that he was induced to adopt measures for the deposition of Malachy.⁴³ But, whatever may have been the originating causes for this action, we are informed, and on apparently good authority, that Bryan was the best and most famous king of his time, during the twelve years of his reign, and that he was well worthy of the government; nor had he a peer among the previous or subsequent monarchs of the Irish nation, "for Manhood, Fortune, Manners, Laws, Liberality, Religion, and

³² See Walter Harris', "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, from the earliest Accounts," chap. ix., p. 195.

³³ The writer of this chronicle adds, that Moylesaghlyn was deposed, "in such manner as I do not intend to relate in this place."

³⁴ See Dr. George Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. iii., sub-sect. 3, p. 390.

³⁵ These were at first conveyed to Athlone, and afterwards conducted to Bryan's house. See *COGSAOH SAOHHEL RE SAL-LAIBH*, chap. lxxvi., pp. 132, 133.

³⁶ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 120.

³⁷ There is a Genealogical Table of the several branches of the O'Briens, beginning with Brian Boroihmhe, Monarch of Ireland, A.D. 1002, and his six sons, Morrogh, Conor, Flan, Teige, Donald, and Donogh, taken from the Irish Annals, in John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," Appen-

dix, pp. 544, 545.

³⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 746, 747.

³⁹ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., pp. 253, 254.

⁴⁰ Strictly speaking, at this period, the prelate of that see was not invested with metropolitan jurisdiction.

⁴¹ It is related, when proclamation was made to the people, that Brien, the son of Cineidi, the son of Lorcan, with his genealogy traced back to Milesius, was monarch of Ireland, the multitude confirmed the choice, by giving what was called the Royal Shout.

⁴² Such is the opinion of Dr. John O'Donovan, in "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., p. 747, n. (o).

⁴³ See "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 120.

⁴⁴ According to Mageoghegan's translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," at A.D. 996.

many other good parts.⁴⁴ Nor is it easy, at this distance of time, to estimate as it deserves, a revolution, which transferred the sceptre of Ireland from the descendant of Heremon, the elder of Milead's sons, to a prince sprung from the younger brother, Heber, and to find that object, for which Mogha Nuadhath contended in the second century, accomplished by Bryan Boroimha, in the beginning of the eleventh.⁴⁵ The Northern and the Southern Hy-Nialls had long previous to his reign divided the sovereignty between them.⁴⁶ At the first entry of Bryan to supreme power in his kingdom, the whole realm was overrun and overspread everywhere by the Northmen: the churches, abbeyes, and other religious places, were by them quite razed and debased, or otherwise turned to vile, base, and abominable uses. Almost all the noblemen and gentlemen, with those that were distinguished, had been turned out of their lands and livings, without any hope of recovery or future redress. Some of the best persons were compelled to serve, and were held in bondage, while both human law and God's fear were set aside.⁴⁷

It has been supposed, notwithstanding, that Bryan could hardly have entailed any more ruinous evil upon the country, than to set an example of contempt for established rights, thereby weakening, in the minds of the people, that habitual reverence for ancient laws and usages, which was the only security afforded by the national character, for the preservation of public order and peace.⁴⁸ This consideration, however, takes only a partial view of the situation—one greatly complicated by personal right or prerogative and by general interests, on both sides, or by public policy and uncertainty, at a very unsettled period of our history. The principles, which should guide national as individual morality, are well understood, in the abstract; it is only when they are to be applied in practice, that difficulties arise to confuse the faculties, not alone of rulers and of their subjects, but even of conscientious moralists, having the most acute intellect and profound knowledge of the rules for action. No opinion is historically well formed, which does not include a full and fair consideration of all the important circum-

⁴⁵ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," *Mediæval Part*, chap. ii., pp. 22, 23.

⁴⁶ In the work already quoted, we find a clear and intelligible list of the Irish monarchs, descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, according to the chronology of the Four Masters. See *ibid.*, Preface xvii. to xix.

⁴⁷ The Annals of Clonmacnoise add:—"In sume it was strange how men of any fashion cou'd use other men as the Danes did use the Irish-men at that time. But King Bryan Borowe was a meet salve to cure such festered soares, all the phisick in the world cou'd not help it else where, in a small time he banished the Danes, made up the Churches and Religious houses, restored the nobility to their Antient patrimony and possessions, and in fine, brought all to a notable reformation."

⁴⁸ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 120.

⁴⁹ A vindication of Bryan is thus furnished in Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," as follows:—"And worthy he was to command a kingdom of much larger extent, for he was a prince invincible in arms, of great experience in military

discipline, munificent to his friends, and merciful to his enemies. He had a great share in the affections of the people, upon account of his many heroic victories and accomplishments, nor was it unjust or inglorious in him to make an attempt upon the crown of Ireland, for it appears in this history, that the course of succession was often interrupted, and hereditary rights laid aside; the monarchy was in some measure elective, and generally fell into the hands of the most valiant and beloved by the people; so that the aspersions that are fixed by some authors upon the character of this Momonian prince, for thrusting himself by violence into the throne of Munster are ill supported; nor did he violate any of the established laws, or act contrary to the constitution of the kingdom. The greatest part of the island he subdued by his arms, for he forced under his obedience all who refused to confess his authority; but the justice and natural clemency of his temper soon procured him the affections of the people of all ranks and conditions, so that he was proclaimed by universal consent, and Maolseachluin was obliged to resign the sceptre, and retire peaceably to the state of a subject," Book ii., pp. 482, 483.

stances, bearing on passing or remote transactions; yet, the kings and the people of that period were obliged to face dictates or obscurities of policy, and the urgent necessities of cases that arose. Nor were the respective states of Ireland of one accord, in reference to the past and existing condition of affairs. The superiority of Bryan's religious as also energetic character, and his remarkable abilities, caused him to be idolized by the people; while his ascendant military genius pointed him out, as the leader best qualified to defend their national prosperity and liberty, against the machinations and forces of those powerful foreign colonists and invaders, who so frequently disturbed their domestic peace.⁴⁹

During the first year of Brian's reign, the Irish Annals record disturbances and outrages occurring, in various parts of the kingdom. A conference is said to have been held at Dun Delga, or Dundalk, between Bryan, and Aedh, with Eochaidh, from the northern parts of Ireland. A truce, which was to last for a year, obliged the latter, to observe peace with Maelseachlainn and the people of Connaught.⁵⁰ Notwithstanding his signal victory over the supreme monarch, it required all the forecast, resolution, combination and vigilance, with a demonstration of military force, on the part of Brian; for, the different branches of Hy-Nialls could hardly brook the fancied wrongs and humiliation sustained, by the head of their family.⁵¹ Timid yet sufficiently intelligible attempts at disturbance followed. These were terminated, by a bolder effort, which gave occasion for Bryan to crush their disaffection. In the year 1003, an army was led by the monarch into North Connaught; and, he was accompanied by Maelseachlainn, so far as Traigh-Eoithaile,⁵² a large strand, near Ballysadare,⁵³ in the present county of Sligo. His object was to proceed around Ireland, while accompanied by the deposed monarch, now acting as his ally. However, the advance of Bryan further was interrupted by the people of Tyrone,⁵⁴ and their hostile attitude caused him to retreat.⁵⁵ In his progress, Bryan desired to manifest his power, with a fine military following. His state was maintained, by the chiefs of Leath Mogha, with their officers, attendants and forces. What added most to his political and moral influence, accompanied by that contingent due from his own province, Maelseachlainn followed, in the retinue of his victorious rival. The monarch Bryan encountered some feeble demonstrations, on the part of Aodh, grandson to the renowned Murkertach, and the northern Hy-Niell, who severally exhibited a disposition to resist. The force, which accompanied Bryan and Maelseachlainn was not sufficiently numerous, to penetrate beyond North Connaught, especially as a serious opposition to their further progress was now threatened. There, they were obliged to remain, for the Ui-Neill of the North prevented their further advance;⁵⁶ but, while they resolved on returning, it was intended to prepare a more effective army, and to prosecute again their progress towards the North, to curb the rebellious spirit of its chiefs and people. Perhaps, it

⁴⁹ See Cogaoih Saohel Re Sallaibh, chap. lxxvi., pp. 132 to 135.

⁵⁰ See Elias Regnault's "Histoire de l'Irlande," liv. i., chap. vi., p. 77.

⁵¹ The Annals of Ulster call it *tracht n Eoithaile*, which Dr. O'Conor translates, "litus Eothal."—"Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., p. 294.

⁵² The accounts of this place are very fully given, in Very Rev. Archdeacon T. O'Rorke's "History, Antiquities, and present State of the Parishes of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, in the County of Sligo," &c. Dublin, no date,

8vo.

⁵³ See the "Annales Ultoniensis," at A. D. 1003, in Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., p. 294.

⁵⁴ See for these particulars John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," chap. iii., p. 24.

⁵⁵ See Dr. Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 748, 749, and n. (u).

⁵⁶ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, pp. 204, 205.

might carry too far the license of historical scepticism, should we refuse to Malachy that praise, which his subsequent course of conduct, so far as known, will fairly support. If his motives were not of the highest order, his actions will yet bear the noblest interpretation; and, although he could not, with safety or prudent policy, have acted otherwise, than in alliance with Bryan, which, while it preserved his substantial power, kept open the succession, yet, we must admit, that the most heroic patriotism could not have selected higher ground, than the course actually pursued, by the deposed monarch. A high standard of conduct, in whatever motives it may begin, seldom fails to call into action those ennobling characteristics, from which it should have arisen. Such is generally the mixed character of human virtue. Setting aside the philosophy of motives, Malachy's acquiescence in his rival's supremacy was followed by a sincere and a manly, as well as by a judicious, adoption of the best means and measures, to give firmness and security, as well as a beneficial direction, to Bryan's government. Aware that a struggle for the monarchy must prove the certain sacrifice of the Irish nation to the common enemy, he wisely and nobly exerted his influence, as it appears, to preserve the peace of the country.⁵⁷

It was agreed, by both, that a great convention⁵⁸ of the men of all Ireland should assemble at Dun-Dealgan, now Dundalk, in Conaille-Muirtheimhne. Not alone the Meathmen, the Connaughtmen, the Leinstermen, and the Munstermen, but, likewise, the foreigners, the Ulidians, the Cinel-Conaill,⁵⁹ the Cinel-Eoghain,⁶⁰ and the Airghialla,⁶¹ there assembled. With these were Aedh, son of Dornhall Ua Neill, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ireland, and Eochaidh, son to Ardghar, King of Ulidia. This was a very important and imposing convocation of kings, princes, and chiefs, who were ready to deliberate, on the changed condition of affairs, in their common country. Their deliberations appear to have been harmoniously conducted, and their decision was unanimous, to accept Bryan Borumha as the supreme monarch of Ireland, for the future.⁶² We are told, that all separated in peace, "without hostages or booty, spoils or pledges."⁶³

The royal progresses of Bryan Boromha for some years were conspicuous features of his reign, while they greatly served to uphold his policy and his able management of affairs. They must have combined many important advantages. Admirably adapted to captivate and to excite admiration, in the multitude; they produced deep impressions and moral effects, which were not intended to be invidious, nor insulting. They procured, likewise, submission from, and a necessary surveillance over, the subordinate chiefs.⁶⁴ These most exalted in rank had gifts and honours bestowed on them, with no

⁵⁸ It is strange, this great national assembly is not even noticed, in "The History of Dundalk, and its Environs," &c., by John D'Alton, and by J. R. O'Flanagan.

⁵⁹ The race of Conall, inhabiting Donegal.

⁶⁰ The race of Eoghan, inhabiting Tyrone.

⁶¹ These were a people, inhabiting that district reaching from Louth to Fermanagh, and taking in some of the adjoining counties of Ulster.

⁶² In order to give Bryan's usurpation some semblance of concert and deliberation, we are told, according to Thomas Moore, that a convention of the princes of the kingdom, held at Dundalk, was preliminary to the as-

sumption of the monarchy, and that it was convoked, in contemplation of that step. He then adds:—"But, the truth is, for none of these supposed preparatives of his usurpation is there the slightest authority in any of our records; and the convention held at Dundalk, or Dundalk, so far from being a preliminary measure, did not take place till after the "first rebellion," as it is styled by our annalists, of the King of Munster against the monarch."—"History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., pp. 120, 121.

⁶³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 744 to 747.

⁶⁴ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, p. 205.

sparing hand ; and, such favours were judiciously distributed. The deepest and most lasting friendships were created, by these ceremonious and magnificent displays of power, courtesy, and magnanimity combined. Personal ambition, it would seem, was subordinate to the sense of duty, which actuated the new monarch ; and, his actions sufficiently evince a love of goodness, predominating over his aims to live great and glorious.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION OF BRYAN BOROIMHA—HIS VISIT TO ARMAGH—RETURN TO THE SOUTH, AND DISBANDING OF HIS ARMY—HIS NAVAL EXPEDITION TO ENGLAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND—CONVENTION AT TARA—HIS REGULATIONS CONCERNING FAMILY SURNAMES AND THE INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY—EMBASSIES TO EUROPEAN KINGS—HIS PATRONAGE OF RELIGIOUS AND OF LEARNED MEN—PIOUS FOUNDATIONS—HIS STATE AND MANNER OF LIVING—HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARACTER AS A MONARCH—DEATH OF HIS WIFE, DUVCHOVLAIH, AND OF HIS BROTHER MARCAN.

SOON after the great convention at Dundalk, the newly-acknowledged Sovereign of Ireland found it necessary to make a levy of his lieges, both Gaels and Galls, who were stationed from Silabh Fuaid,¹ to the southern parts of the kingdom. His march was now directed, against the men of Hy-Niall and of Ulaidh.² The foreigners, who were his subjects, furnished a very considerable contingent of Brian Borumha's allies, during his northern progress. They had assisted him, likewise, in deposing Maelseachlainn II., as also in weakening the power of the Northern Ui Neill, on this occasion. The hosting of Bryan was now led against the young and heroic Aedh O'Neill,³ who aspired to the throne of Ireland, and who watched with great jealousy the usurped jurisdiction of the new monarch. Again, we are informed, that a hosting was led by Brian, son of Ceinneidigh, with the men of the south of Ireland, into Cinel-Eoghain and Ulidia, to demand hostages, about the year 1004,⁴ or 1005. The account of this expedition, as furnished from the Book of Cluain-mic-nois,⁵ and from the Book ⁶of the Island,⁷ relates, that the forces

CHAPTER VI.—The present Fews Mountains, in the county of Armagh. They seem to have been so called, from the chieftain Fuaid, who fell there in a victory obtained over the Tuatha-De-Dananns, A.M. 3500. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 26, 27.

² See *Cogaoh Saehel re Gallabh*, edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxvii., pp. 134, 135.

³ He gained a victory, in the year 1004, against Uladh, but in that battle fought at Craove Tulcha, he lost his life, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and in the fifteenth of his government over Tyrone. "There are hardly any instances in Irish history, of a prince being vested so early in life with the dignity of government ; and this circumstance alone must raise our idea of the talents of this young hero."—Charles O'Connor's "Dissertations on the History of Ireland," sect. xviii., p. 248, and *note*.

⁴ The Annals of Ulster, as may be seen in

Dr. O'Connor's "*Remum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms iv., place the arrival of Bryan's army at Armagh, in the year 1004. See pp. 295, 296.

⁵ According to Dr. O'Donovan, this is probably the chronicle, translated into English, by Connell Mageoghegan, in 1627 ; but, this passage is not to be found, in that translation.

⁶ This was a book of Annals, continued by Augustin Magraidin, to his own time, A.D. 1405. Ware had a part of these Annals, with some additions made, after Magraidin's death. See Harris's edition of Ware's "*Writers of Ireland*," p. 87 ; also Colgan's "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," p. 5, and Archdall's "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," p. 442. These Annals have not been yet identified ; and, it is not known, if they are extant.

⁷ The Island of All Saints, in Loch Ribh, or Ree, Upper Shannon.

⁸ See the *Cogaoh Saehel re Gallabh*,

of Bryan proceeded through Meath, where they remained a night, at Tailltin.⁸ Afterwards, they marched northwards; but, they appear to have failed in the great object had in view; for, they did not obtain the hostages of the races of Conall, under the rule of Maelruany O'Maldory, or of Eoghlan, under the sway of Aodh O'Neill. It seems to us, that our historians have somewhat confused the order of narrative, in reference to Bryan Boromha's northern expeditions, soon after he had attained the sovereignty. He took a route, however, through the middle of Connaught,⁹ and into Magh-n-Ai,¹⁰ over the Coirr Shliabh,¹¹ into Tir Ailella.¹² He went thence into the country of Cairpre,¹³ and beyond Sligeach;¹⁴ he kept his left hand to the sea, and his right to the land, on towards Ben Gulban,¹⁵ he crossed over Dubh,¹⁶ and over Drobhaois,¹⁷ and into Magh-n-Eine.¹⁸ He then passed over Ath-Seanaigh, at Eas-Ruaidh,¹⁹ into Tir-Aedha,²⁰ and on through Bearnas Mór.²¹ He next marched over Fearsad,²² and went into Tir Eoghlan.²³ It seems probable, however, that the chieftains and clansmen of Tyrconnell and of Tirowen were able to baffle the movements of Bryan's invading army; for, in their native wilds and fastnesses, they refused to give him pledges of submission.²⁴

While in those northern parts, we can hardly doubt, that the monarch should desire to visit the great metropolitan city, and to become the welcome guest of its primate, Maelmury.²⁵ His stay was somewhat prolonged there, since, by our chroniclers we are told, that Bryan remained a week at Ard-Macha. He was accompanied, by a considerable retinue of Irish kings. There, he left twenty ounces of gold,²⁶ as an offering, upon the altar of St. Patrick, at Ard-Macha.²⁷ While in that city, the monarch likewise expressed a desire, his body should repose there after death, although the holy sanctuary of Ireland's patron saint was far removed from Killaloe, the place of entombment for Bryan's ancestors. This religious king had for his Anmchara, or Counsellor, Maelsuthain O' Cearbhaill,²⁸ to whom allusion has been already made; and, while Bryan was in Armagh, we find, Maelsuthain accompanied the monarch

chap. lxxvii., pp. 134, 135.

⁸ Such is the account, as found in the *Cois na h-Éire*, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxviii., pp. 134 to 137. These events are placed by the editor, at A.D. 1005.

¹⁰ Also called Magh n-Aoi-mhic-Allguba, a plain in the county of Roscommon.

¹¹ Also called Coirshliabh-na-Seaghsa, or the Curliou Hills.

¹² A territory, in the eastern part of the present county of Sligo.

¹³ Now the barony of Carbury, in the northern part of Sligo County.

¹⁴ Now Sligo.

¹⁵ Now known as Benbulban, a towering range of steep mountains, rising over the deep valley of Glenlough, in the county of Sligo.

¹⁶ Still known as the Duff or Bunduff River.

¹⁷ This river rises in Lough Melvin, and it falls into the sea, not far from Bundoran.

¹⁸ Now the Moy, a plain lying between the Rivers Erne and Drowes, near Ballyshannon.

¹⁹ Now Assaroe waterfall, on the Erne River.

²⁰ Now Tirhugh Barony, in the county of Donegal.

²¹ The romantic pass of Barnesmore, be-

tween the present towns of Donegal and of Stranorlar.

²² Also called Fearsat-Suilighe, or "the crossing of the Swilly," now Farsetmore, about two miles east of Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal.

²³ The territory of the Northern Hy-Nials.

²⁴ Two years, afterwards, Aedh and Eochaidh, the great chiefs of the North, fought the battle of Craebh Tulcha, in which both were killed, and where, also, the principal nobles of Ulaidh were slain.

²⁵ Also called Marian, the son of Eocha, who succeeded in this see, A.D. 1001, and who sat for nineteen years. He died A.D. 1021. See Harris' Ware, vol. i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 49.

²⁶ Maurice Lenihan calls it "a gold collar" of that weight. See "Limerick; its History and Antiquities," chap. ii., p. 13.

²⁷ See Dr. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. Annals Ultonienses, pp. 295, 296.

²⁸ A curious old legend regarding him is to be found in the "Liber Flavus Fergusorum," part i., fol. 11a. This Manuscript is on vellum, and contained in two 4to vols., written in the year 1434. It belonged to James Marianus Kennedy, Esq., of 47 Gloucester-street, Dublin. A catalogue of its

thither, from a curious entry, in his own handwriting, and traced in the presence of Bryan. This autograph is yet extant, and, it may be seen, in the celebrated Book of Armagh.²⁹ Bryan Boroimhe has been called Emperor Scotorum,³⁰ and this seems to have been his title, even before that time, when he had visited the holy city of Armagh. A curious notice, in corroboration of such fact, is to be found in the ancient Book of Armagh, which is thought to be as old as the eighth century.³¹ During this time of his stay, the monarch appears to have acknowledged that Primatial Seat, as having supreme jurisdiction over all the other Irish Sees. Having left Armagh, he traversed the territories of Dál Riada, and of Dál Araidhe, and he went into Ulaidh.³² From these places, he carried off their hostages.³³ The expeditionary army of Bryan next moved into Conaille-Muirthumhne, and they arrived about Lammas, at Bealach-duin.³⁴ The Leinstermen then proceeded southwards, across Breagha, or Bregia, to their territory, and the foreigners³⁵ by sea went round to their respective fortresses.³⁶ The Munstermen also, and the Osraighi went through Meath,³⁷ to their several countries.

Subsequently, we find it stated, that the monarch Bryan planned a great

contents has been furnished, by Professor O'Curry.

²⁹ See Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. iv., p. 76. And Appendix xl., xli., pp. 529 to 533.

³⁰ A Latin entry, but in Irish characters, remains in the Book of Armagh, at fol. xvi. h. b., of which the following is the text:—"Sanctus Patris [ci] us iens ad cælum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam baptisiam [?] tam causarum quod elemosinarum deferentium esse apostolicæ urbi que Scotice nominatur Ardd Macha. Sic reperi in bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi id est Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani imperatoris Scotorum et que scripsi finiguit pro omnibus regibus Macceriæ."

"Sanctus Patri [ci] us iens ad cælum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam baptisiam [?] tam causarum quod elemosinarum deferentium esse apostolicæ urbi que Scotice nominatur Ardd Macha. Sic reperi in bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi id est Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani imperatoris Scotorum et que scripsi finiguit pro omnibus regibus Macceriæ." ["St. Patrick, going up to heaven, commanded that all the fruit of his labour as well of baptisms as of causes and of alms, should be carried to the Apostolic City, which is called Scotice [*i.e.* the Gaelic] Ardd Macha. So I have found it in the book-collections of the Scots [*i.e.* the Gaelic]. I have written [this], that is [I] Calvus Perennis [lit. "Bald for ever," *i.e.* Mael-suthain] in the sight [under the eyes] of Brian Emperor of the Scots, and what I have written he determined for all the kings of Macceriæ [*i.e.*, Cashel or Munster"]. See *ibid.* Explanation of the Fac-Similes. R. pp. 653, 654.

³¹ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. xvi., p. 343.

³² We are told, that while Bryan was at Craebh Tulcha, the Ulaidh supplied him with twelve hundred beeves, twelve hundred hogs, and twelve hundred wethers. In return, the monarch bestowed twelve hundred horses to them, besides gold, silver and clothing. No *Biatach*—the Irish title for a township purveyor—departed from Bryan, without receiving a horse, or some other gift, that deserved his thanks. The duty of those *Biatachs* in Eirn was to supply provisions to all chieftains and persons of rank, travelling with attendants through the country.

³³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 752, 753.

³⁴ The place of this name, referred to by the Four Masters, at the years 770, 778, 868, 969, is the present Castle Kieran, near Kells, in the county of Meath. But, from references to the sea and to the plain of Bregia, in this passage, it would appear, that the Belach-duin, here mentioned, was in the present county of Louth. It is probably intended for Belach-Duna-Dealgan, *i.e.*, the road or pass of Dundalk, according to Dr. O'Donovan.

³⁵ These belonged chiefly to Ath Cliath, to Port Lairge, and to Luimnech. The old writer in the Annals is not very accurate here, in describing the points of the compass; for, he states, that the foreigners went eastwards, although their course in reality was southwards.

³⁶ Most likely, this refers not to Dublin.

³⁷ The old annalist remarks, that they went westwards; but south-westwardly probably describes much better, their line of march. Westwards will apply to the men of Connaught, who belonged to the host, but not to those of Ossory, who dwelt southwards of the point, where their dispersion took place. In the *Cogaob Saebhel re Saebhbh*, their course, when disbanded, is correctly given.

³⁸ Those living in England.

naval expedition ; and, it is said, he summoned the Gail of Ath-Cliath and of Port Lairge, as likewise, the mariners of Ui Ceinnsealaigh and of the Ui Eathach of Mumhain, to take part in it. This expedition appears to have been threatened, against the Saxons,³⁸ the Britons,³⁹ and the Scots of Alban.⁴⁰ In the history of these people, we find no records, regarding that maritime invasion. However, about this period, the Saxons suffered greatly under the Scandinavian oppressions ;⁴¹ and, they were obliged to purchase their temporary safety, by paying large tributes to the conquerors.⁴² We are at a loss to know, whether Bryan's ships were sent against the Northmen, settled in Saxonland, or against the Saxons themselves. Again, the people of Wales had to sustain repeated attacks from the Danes and from the Irish.⁴³ In Scotland, that invasion must have occurred, during the reign of Malcolm II., an able prince and a renowned leader ;⁴⁴ but, it seems most probable, that he was in friendly alliance with Bryan, who only waged war with his enemies, the Norsemen in Scotland. The chiefs, commanding the Irish fleet, demanded and levied a heavy tribute from the people, whose shores they invaded. Hostages and pledges moreover were demanded and taken for its exact payment.⁴⁵

After his coronation at Tara, a Feis or national assembly was then convened, by Bryan. In it, many new and wholesome laws and regulations were framed.⁴⁶ Here, too, the national history and records were revised, by his orders. One of the great social changes, that marked his reign, must be noticed. He gave surnames as a distinction, to all the leading families of his time, and this was a well-considered measure of convenience and of policy. Knowing the great advantages to be derived from the preservation of pedigrees and genealogies, as also, in order to avoid probable confusion and mistake, in recording them, to Bryan Boiroimhe is attributed the idea of establishing surnames for the principal tribal chiefs and families of Ireland,⁴⁷ so as thus to distinguish the several stocks or branches of Milesian descent.⁴⁸ Evidences, furnished by our authentic annals and pedigrees, are very strong, to support this belief. It is a fact, that the greater number of the more distinguished Irish family names were assumed from ancestors, who were cotemporary with this monarch,⁴⁹ and who flourished in the tenth or in the beginning of the eleventh century. Each chief, according to Bryan's regulations, was to be called after some certain ancestor, whose particular virtues should remind him regarding the family origin ; nor were titles to be imposed arbitrarily, as in other countries, according to the direction. Although such a custom had been introduced into Munster, in the days of Ceallachan, and into other provinces, it had been confined to

³⁹ Or the inhabitants of Wales.

⁴⁰ These are specified as the Lemhnaigh (Lennox people) of Alba, and the Aier-Gaedhil, or people of Argyll.

⁴¹ See John Speed's "History of Great Brittain," Book vii., chap. xliiii., pp. 393 to 395.

⁴² See Matthew of Westminster's "Flores Historiarum," pp. 386, 387.

⁴³ See Charles Wilkins' "Wales, Past and Present," chap. xiii., p. 80.

⁴⁴ He ruled from A.D. 1003 to 1033. See Rev. James Taylor's "Pictorial History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. iv., pp. 37, 38.

⁴⁵ We are told, that Bryan distributed all this tribute according to established right, viz. : a third part of it to the King of Ath-Cliath ; a third to the warriors of Laighin and of the Ui Eathach, of Mumhain ; with another third to the professors of sciences

and of arts, as also to every one, who was most in need of it. See *Coisíochtaí* re *Seallath*, chap. xxviii., pp. 136, 137.

⁴⁶ According to the Bruodin Chronicle, cited by Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran. The Bruodins were hereditary historians of North Munster.

⁴⁷ Such is the statement found, in an original Latin MS., as quoted by John O'Donovan.

⁴⁸ In the "Irish Penny Journal," vol. i., John O'Donovan has written a series of very interesting articles, on the "Origin and Meaning of Irish Family Names." See No. 41, pp. 326 to 328 ; No. 42, pp. 330 to 332 ; No. 46, pp. 365 to 366 ; No. 48, pp. 381 to 384 ; No. 50, pp. 396 to 398 ; No. 51, pp. 405 to 407 ; No. 52, pp. 413 to 415.

⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, No. 46, p. 365.

very few families; however, from the beginning of Bryan Boroimha's reign, it came into very general use. Thus, from the sovereign of that day, his descendants assumed the name O'Brian, or the descendants of Bryan. From his renowned brother Mahon, the issue of this latter prince retained the title of Mac Mahon, or sons of Mahon. The chief of each family, although bearing another name, were distinguished only by a surname, the other branches and families having their particular name prefixed to it.⁵⁰ Territories were allotted to the surnames,⁵¹ and such distribution seems to have been desirable, in the interests of prevailing clanship.

This monarch conceived an enlightened idea, applicable to the state of Ireland, in his time. He found a hierarchy of distinction already existent, and he instituted the degrees of chief, of poet, and of ecclesiastic,⁵² with probably some special prerogatives allotted to each class. The commons of the kingdom, who were lords of lands, the farmers, and the lowest degree of the people, were endowed with immunities, through the munificence of this prince. He bestowed upon the native Irish, whatever territories he had conquered from the Danes; and, if those who were the original proprietors happened to be alive, and could give evidence of their right, they were settled and confirmed, in their former possessions.⁵³ This monarch fixed the boundaries of every lordship or cantred; and, such registration, with a title-deed, was a necessary safeguard, to preserve the rights of property.

Bishops and pastors, who had been driven from their places, in consequence of the public disorders prevailing, were restored, through the pious monarch's solicitude and influence. His vigorous, prudent, and Christian policy, soon placed Bryan on a basis of power and of right, which left him pre-eminent among the greatest men of his age. When he had wisely regulated the national system, he despatched ambassadors to the different princes of Europe, announcing his election to the Irish monarchy.⁵⁴ With the embassies were sent fine horses, wolf-dogs and hawks, as presents for the respective kings, for such were the courtesies of that time in Ireland.

Much of the romance and exaggeration in praise of this popular hero must be distrusted, however, and our historians have often exceeded that legitimate line of narrative, which alone should interest the candid enquirer. Thus, when it is stated, that Bryan never refused science from the night of his birth to the night of his death,⁵⁵ we may fairly infer, that when he had the opportunity, he loved to encourage learning and learned men, everywhere throughout his dominions.⁵⁶ We are even told, that as the Northmen had wantonly destroyed books and writings, in every church and sanctuary, from the beginning to the end of their sway in Ireland; he sent learned men, with money furnished by himself, to buy books beyond the sea, so that the losses effected, through fire and water, might thus be replaced, by learned works which they were commissioned to purchase.⁵⁷ Enough is known to convince us, that a considerable improvement in the state of Ireland distinguished the reign of Bryan.

⁵⁰ "Certain it is, that the few Irish who have still preserved their family honours, should, in justice, take precedence of the present nobility of Europe, as being *allodial*, or titles from the most remote antiquity, whereas these lost are at best of modern date."—Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., p. 255.

⁵¹ According to Mac Liag's supposed fragment, relating to Bryan's Life.

⁵² According to Mac Liag's attributed fragment.

⁵³ Dr. J. Geoffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," translated by Dermot O'Connor, Book ii., p. 485.

⁵⁴ According to the Bruodin Chronicle, cited by O'Halloran.

⁵⁵ These are expressions, found in the eulogistic fragment, supposed to have been written by Mac Liag.

⁵⁶ See Joseph Cooper Walker's "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," sect. iv., p. 59.

⁵⁷ See *Coḡaoh Faehel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 138, 139.

Besides the constant revenue, which arose from the two provinces of Munster, and which was paid yearly into his exchequer,⁵⁸ other large subsidies were contributed, when Bryan was acknowledged as supreme monarch over Ireland. Schools and colleges⁵⁹ arose, wherever they were most required; while those that had been destroyed by the foreigners, or that had fallen into decay, were revived, in several parts of the kingdom. He appointed professors and masters, to teach wisdom and knowledge.⁶⁰ In their nurseries of learning, the liberal sciences with the various branches of sacred and of human knowledge were taught; public hospices and libraries were built for poor students, and a provision was made for youth of promising hopes, who were unable to support themselves. Bryan animated timid merit, by well-grounded hopes.⁶¹ Thus were the universities and monasteries enriched, while they were governed by regular discipline, which effected the training of persons having excellent abilities in all professions. The Irish schools revived, and the decayed state of learning no longer existed. The professors not only concerned themselves, by instructing the youth of their own kingdom, but they were also of excellent use, in polishing and enlightening the rude and illiterate of neighbouring nations.⁶²

The offerings of Bryan, at the shrines of various holy places, are recorded. This generosity affords an additional proof of his zeal for the interests of religion, and of that earnest spirit of piety, which specially marked his grand character. Many great works and repairs were made by him.⁶³ Religious houses and hospitals were endowed or aided by Bryan, who always delighted in the companionship of bishops, priests, and monks; while this conduct procured for him the zealous support of the secular clergy, and from the regular houses the gratitude of their highly influential inmates. During his reign, the example and exhortations of the Irish clergy wonderfully facilitated the conversion and civilization of the foreigners.⁶⁴ The monarch delighted to spend a considerable portion of his revenues in founding, building, or repairing sanctuaries, cathedrals and churches; while his general and generous alms,⁶⁵ towards several religious establishments throughout Ireland, filled the minds of all his subjects with admiration for that munificence, which did not subordinate the spiritual needs both of clergy and laity, to even the exigencies of his civil administration. In addition to the church of Cell Dalua,⁶⁶ he erected *damliaics*⁶⁷ and *duirtheachs*⁶⁸ throughout Ireland; besides seven monasteries and various cells.⁶⁹ Several of these special erections are noticed. The church on Holy Island,⁷⁰ Lough Derg, is said to have been restored or remodelled, by Bryan Boromhe, when monarch of Ireland, in the early part of the eleventh century, It consisted of a nave, measuring thirty feet internally, and having a breadth of twenty-one feet, the chancel being a square of about

⁵⁸ See Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 486. Dermot O'Connor's translation.

⁵⁹ Called Theological and Filean Colleges, by Joseph Cooper Walker.

⁶⁰ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 138, 139.

⁶¹ See Joseph Cooper Walker's "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," sect. iv. p. 59.

⁶² See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 484.

⁶³ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 138, 139.

⁶⁴ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., p. 255.

⁶⁵ Lands, cattle and furniture were included among these gifts, as we find them recorded.

⁶⁶ Or Killaloe. See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 138, 139.

⁶⁷ Interpreted to mean, churches built with stone.

⁶⁸ Supposed to be small penitential cells, or private oratories.

⁶⁹ According to the Life of Bryan Boromha, attributed to Mac Liag, his secretary.

⁷⁰ There is a sketch of this scene, by Benjamin Clayton, in "The Irish Penny Magazine," vol. i., No. 36. It is followed, by John D'Alton's article, with historic and topographical notices. See pp. 281, 282.

fifteen feet.⁷¹ A fine window in the southern wall is round-headed, and it has varied semi-cylindrical mouldings, very deeply cut.⁷² This style seems peculiar to Ireland, about that period, although its prototypes, most probably, may be elsewhere discovered. The ornamental portions of this church are chiefly



Old Church on Inis-Caltra, Lower Shannon.

found, in its western doorway, and in its chancel arch ; although only portions of the side walls now remain, in the chancel. These walls are of ashlar masonry, and they differ totally in character from those of the nave.⁷³ They are probably cotemporaneous with its ornamental features, or at least, with some of them.⁷⁴ A portion of the entrance doorway only remains, at present ; it consisted externally of three concentric and receding semi-circular arches, ornamented on thin faces with chevron-moulding, and carved in hollow lines. The piers of these arches were rectangular, but somewhat rounded at their angles. They form semi-cylindrical shafts, with angular mouldings on each side ; on their capitals are well-shaped human faces, carved in low relief. The chancel arch is less distinguished for ornament than the doorway,

⁷¹ In the opinion of Dr. Petrie, these measurements seem to be those of St. Caimin's original church, which was erected in the seventh century, as appeared obvious to him, from the character of the masonry, and from some features in the nave, which, if remodelled, was never wholly destroyed.

⁷² It is ornamented with an architrave, very similar in style to that of the doorways, in many of the Round Towers. Another window is there, which appears to be original, having a horizontal head and inclined

sides. In the middle of the west gable, and towards its summit, there is a small triangular window, formed of three stones. Dr. Petrie gives illustrations of these several windows, in his work.

⁷³ The present illustration, drawn on the spot, and transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, has been engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁷⁴ Doubts may be entertained, that all of these features are of cotemporaneous age, or of very ancient erection.

and, on its western face, it was formed of three concentric and recessed arches. It is double-faced, on its eastern or inner side. The arches consist simply of square-edged rib-work; the ornamental sculpture is confined to the piers, which are rounded into semi-columns, adorned with capitals.⁷⁵ It is doubtful, whether the doorway and chancel-arch of this church be of cotemporaneous architecture; but, there is no reason to suppose, that either of them is later than Bryan's time, when the church is stated to have been restored, or rebuilt. That monarch's restoration is thought, however, to have been confined to the chancel.⁷⁶ Among the works he inaugurated or completed are said to have been no less than thirty-two *cloichteachs*,⁷⁷ or bell-towers, which are supposed to have been indetical with our Irish Round Towers.⁷⁸ One of these erected at Tomgraney,⁷⁹ in the county of Clare, A.D. 964, was repaired by Bryan Boromha. But, we do not find a complete and detailed list of his various ecclesiastical erections.

The early historians reckon this excellent monarch, among the number of those heroic and munificent kings, that sat upon the Irish throne. They always mention him, as the third sovereign, whose conduct and heroic virtues raised the reputation of the Irish, and made them formidable to their enemies.⁸⁰ Bryan supported his royal grandeur, by a splendid court, while he kept a most sumptuous and hospitable table, suited to his dignity; for, lavish expenditure characterized all the great royal establishments of that period. The place of his residence, according to most writers, was Ceann Coradh, where his retinue was becoming the majesty of an Irish monarch.⁸¹ It is stated, by others, however, that this monarch pulled down the royal seat of Cean-Coradh, which was about a mile beyond Killaloe, as it had become ruinous, and that he converted it into kitchens and offices. At a place, some distance from it, he erected a noble banqueting-house. From the kitchens were two long galleries,⁸² or corridors, parallel to each other, and carried across a flat to the banqueting-house. This place was called Ball-Boromha, or the Habitation of Boromha. From this, a wooden bridge was carried across the Shannon, for the convenience of his house. The stone one lower down was strongly fortified,⁸³ and opposite it were his wine cellars. That place afterwards bore the name of Cloch-na-Fhionne, "the wine store," or "building."⁸⁴ Thither the chief provinces of the Island brought their subsidies and contributions. These were very large, to defray the expenses of his royal court.⁸⁵ Bryan sup-

⁷⁵ Of these, Dr. Petrie furnishes illustrations.

⁷⁶ See Dr. George Petrie's work, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. i., sub-sec. i., pp. 281 to 284.

⁷⁷ According to the fragment, thought to be Mac Liag's Life of this Monarch, and which is now preserved among the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin.

⁷⁸ See Dr. George Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," part ii., sect. iii., sub-sec. 3, pp. 389, 390.

⁷⁹ It is a parish, in the barony of Upper Tulla, and shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Clare," sheets 13, 20, 28, 29, 36, 37. The townland itself is marked on sheet 28.

⁸⁰ Of these excellent monarchs, they esteem the first to have been Conaire, the Great, the son of Eidirgeoil; the second

was Cormac, the son of Art, son to Conn, the renowned hero of the Hundred Battles; while the third was the most illustrious Bryan Boiroimha, King of Ireland.

⁸¹ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 486.

⁸² One hundred servants every day were arranged at dinner and supper, in each of these galleries, in order to serve and remove the dishes with sufficient celerity.

⁸³ This was evident, in the time of Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran.

⁸⁴ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., pp. 256, 257.

⁸⁵ An account of these particulars has been transmitted to us, by a celebrated poet and antiquary, in a poem beginning with these words: "Boiroimhe baile na Riogh." This writer expressly relates the constant tribute, both of provisions and of other necessaries,

ported his princely character, with liberality and magnificence; while he exceeded the munificence and state of most, among those monarchs, who were his predecessors on the throne. Those great revenues, that were annually paid into the exchequer of this prince, by the several countries throughout the island, furnished evidence of that pomp and grandeur, distinguishing his royal court at Ceann Coradh. The quantity and quality of provisions, that were daily consumed, are scarce credible; yet, are such accounts on record, in Irish documents.⁸⁶ Byran laid down injunctions, for regulating the precedence of the kings and chieftains,⁸⁷ whenever they took places in the public assemblies, convened through his summons.⁸⁸ None of whatever quality, moreover, among the nobility, were permitted to wear arms, in the court of this prince, but the noble tribe of the Dailgais, who formed his household troops.⁸⁹

This self-appointed and popularly accepted sovereign was vigilant in controlling disaffection, when he possessed supreme power. This he wielded, only for maintenance of law and justice. Turbulence was restrained among the native kings, chiefs and people, by a judicious application of policy, towards conciliating public opinion, and by occasional manifestations of material force, to suppress every attempt at disturbance.⁹⁰ Under the kindly administration of this monarch, the Kingdom of Ireland gradually recovered from the scenes of desolation and havoc, caused by foreign and domestic wars; while comparative tranquillity and plenty characterized the years of his sovereignty.⁹¹ King Brian was sufficiently politic, to select his time for action, and the opportunities for combining his means and power, before he ventured to enforce his authority. Thus did his reign become most prosperous for Ireland, and there

that was paid, not only by the two provinces of Munster, but by the other three provinces of the Island.

⁸⁶ The particulars are specified, in Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," and in the following order: 2,670 beeves, 1,370 hogs, 180 loads or tons of iron, 325 hogsheads or pipes of red wine, and 150 pipes of other wines of various sorts, and 500 mantles. These annual tributes, appointed for the use and service of the crown, were laid by public laws upon the several countries of the Island, and in the following proportion: 800 cows and 800 hogs were fixed upon the province of Connaught, and appointed to be sent annually, upon the first day of November; 500 cloaks and mantles and 500 cows were to be supplied from the country of Tyreonnell; 60 hogs, and 60 loads or tons of iron was the yearly tribute of the inhabitants of Tir Eogain; 150 cows, and 150 hogs were to be paid by the Clana Rughraidhe, in the province of Ulster; 160 cows was the contribution of the Oirgialachs; 300 beeves, 300 hogs, and 300 loads or tons of iron, were to be paid by the province of Leinster; 60 beeves, 60 hogs, and 60 loads or tons of iron, were provided by the people of Ossory; 150 pipes or hogsheads of wine was the proportion of the Danes, who inhabited the City of Dublin; while 365 pipes or hogsheads of red wine was the yearly tribute demanded from the Danes of Limerick. See the Second Book, pp. 486 to 488.

⁸⁷ On this subject of Irish classes in society and their privileges, see Eugene O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," edited by W. K. Sullivan, Ph.D., vol. iii. Appendix ii, pp. 465 to 522.

⁸⁸ By having recourse to the poetical composition mentioned by Keating, the several orders are at large expressed, as that document states.

⁸⁹ As translated from the original Irish of Keating, the following verses testify to this privilege:—

"The most illustrious tribe of Dailgais
Alone were honoured with the privilege
Of wearing arms when they appear'd
at court."

—Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, pp. 488, 489.

⁹⁰ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, p. 205.

⁹¹ In Dr. Keating's "General History of Ireland," as translated by Dermot O'Connor, the following verses indicate this state of happiness:—

"The most renowned Bryen Boiroimhe
Governed the isle in peace; and
through his reign
The Irish were a brave and wealthy
people,
And wars and discord ceased."

can be little question, that his faculty for administration was excellent,⁹² while his decrees were universally respected. Restless chiefs were kept in awe, and the ruthless Danes were restrained from those incessant and well-organized raids; arising from the sanctioned practice of robbery on an extensive scale;⁹³ while some native chiefs were ready to combine with the foreigner, because it suited their selfish purposes, and satisfied some ignoble passion or personal rivalry. This most enlightened sovereign did a great deal to strengthen Ireland, by promoting and by cultivating the gentle arts of peace, although the unhappy circumstances of his epoch kept him almost perpetually, in the turmoils of war. As an administrator, he applied to the revision of established laws, into which corruptions and abuse had crept;⁹⁴ while he attended most sedulously, to their just application and execution. An advance in national prosperity, even under inveterate social and political disadvantages, must have been greatly developed; and, undoubtedly, it followed the means, he so well and so wisely adopted. Those good laws, sanctioned by the monarch, and everywhere executed with strictness and impartiality,⁹⁵ had impressed the minds of his people, and had inspired his subjects, with a spirit of honour, integrity and virtue. As an instance of the practical results of good government, it is recorded, that a maiden in the flush of youth, and "beautiful exceedingly,"⁹⁶ had travelled alone and on foot, throughout the realm, without either her honour or her treasure being assailed.⁹⁷ It is stated, that she set out from Torach,⁹⁸ in the north of Ireland, carrying a gold-ring on a horse-rod,⁹⁹ and that she arrived, at a place, called Tonn Cliodhna,¹⁰⁰ which lay at the utmost distance from her point of departure,¹⁰¹ and in the extremest part of the southern province. This romantic statement is found, in some Irish bardic verses,¹⁰² which have been often quoted.

The monarch expended much of his public revenues—said to have equalled those of any prince in Europe—on objects of solid improvement

⁹² See Alexander G. Richey's "Lectures on the History of Ireland, down to A.D. 1534." Lect. iii., p. 67.

⁹³ We may well question the accuracy of the following account regarding Bryan, and given in these vague terms: "He extirpated, dispersed, banished, caused to fly, stripped, maimed, ruined, and destroyed the foreigners in every district and in every territory throughout the breadth of all Erin. He killed also their kings, and their chieftains, their heroes and brave soldiers, their men of renown and valour. He enslaved and reduced to bondage their stewards and their collectors, and their swordsmen, their mercenaries, and comely, large, cleanly youths, and their smooth, youthful girls."—Cogaith Fáeohel Re Fállaibh, chap. lxxix., pp. 136 to 139. An Irish Poem is quoted, on the authority of which, apparently, the foregoing statement is based.

⁹⁴ See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 485. Dermot O'Connor's translation.

⁹⁵ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., p. 255.

⁹⁶ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book x.

⁹⁷ The poet Moore has made that tradition the basis of his celebrated lyric, in the "Irish

Melodies," and that fine composition, so dramatic and inspiring, is set to a charming, well-known air:—

"Rich and rare were the gems she wore,
And a bright gold ring on her wand she bore;
But oh! her beauty was far beyond
Her sparkling gems, or snow-white wand."

⁹⁸ Now Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal. See Cogaith Fáeohel Re Fállaibh, chap. lxxx., pp. 138, 139.

⁹⁹ These circumstances are commemorated, in an ancient Irish poem.

¹⁰⁰ Or the "wave of Cliona," off Cape Clear." See "Irish Folk Lore," by Laggenensis, chap. xi., p. 77.

¹⁰¹ For some legendary notices of the Bannshee Cliodhna, the reader is referred to Dr. John O'Donovan's paper, "Elegy on the death of the Rev. Edmund Kavanagh," in "Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society." New Series, vol. i., part i., p. 127.

¹⁰² These are to be found, in Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," and they have been translated into English verse, by Dermot O'Connor. They have

and of permanent utility, proportioned to his resources.¹⁰³ Fortresses and Duns were erected or repaired, in good strategic positions—the necessity for which became obvious—as the foreigners had used their own Irish strongholds, for purposes both of attack and of defence. He fortified the fastnesses and islands, as also the royal forts of Cashel, of Cean Feabradh,¹⁰⁴ of Inis Locha Cea,¹⁰⁵ of Inis Locha Guir, or Gair,¹⁰⁶ of Dun Eochair Maighe,¹⁰⁷ of Dun Jasc,¹⁰⁸ of Dun Trillaig,¹⁰⁹ of Dun Grott,¹¹⁰ of Dun Cliach,¹¹¹ of Insi an Gaill Duibh,¹¹² of Inis Locha Saighlean,¹¹³ of Rosna Riogh,¹¹⁴ of Ceann Coradh,¹¹⁵ of Boirumha, and of all the royal forts, in the province of Munster.¹¹⁶ Dun Crot and Rosach¹¹⁷ are added to these, in another account;¹¹⁸ but, they hardly differ from other forms of names already given, while most of the places have been identified.¹¹⁹ Besides these fortifications for defence, the monarch kept a standing army of his brave Dalcassians. These were well equipped and ready for all emergencies of state; besides, they were troops of tried fidelity. Money appropriated to public uses was justly applied,¹²⁰ although it was generously expended, also, in giving hospitable entertainments and banquets, which were a chief means for attaching to the monarch subordinate kings and chiefs of the realm. He lived chastely, and therefore he was revered, by his domestics and subjects. The marriage ceremony was confirmed by Bryan, according to an account, furnished in the fragmentary eulogy¹²¹ of this monarch; and, by that remark, we are probably to understand, that he procured nuptials to be observed and solemnized, with greater reverence. He desired, that the canons of the Church should be observed, and that their religious rules should guide the clergy. His own devotions were faithfully observed. His judgments were universally approved, because he loved to defend the rights of all classes. Enjoying a great reputation everywhere for valour and prowess, during those years¹²² he reigned over

even been rendered into French verse, by M. Lally Tolendal :—

“ Une vierge, unissant aux dons de la nature
De l’or et de rubis l’éclat et la valeur,
A la clarté du jour ou dans la nuit obscure
D’une mer jusqu’à l’autre allait sans protecteur,
Ne perdait rien de sa parure,
Ne risquait rien pour sa pudeur.”

—Feller’s “Dictionnaire Historique.”

¹⁰³ See Dr. Sylvester O’Halloran’s “General History of Ireland,” vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., pp. 256.

¹⁰⁴ Sometimes called Cenn Abrat.

¹⁰⁵ Also called Loch Cend. Dr. O’Donovan is doubtful, if this be Lough Cre, near Roscrea.

¹⁰⁶ Now Lough Gur, county of Limerick.

¹⁰⁷ Now Bruree, county of Limerick.

¹⁰⁸ Now Cahir.

¹⁰⁹ Now Duntreyleague.

¹¹⁰ Dungrod, in Aherlow Glen, in the county of Tipperary.

¹¹¹ Called, likewise, Dun Cliath, on the top of Knockany Hill.

¹¹² The signification is “the Island of the

Black Foreigners.” It is stated, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, at the year 1016, that this was the name of an island in the Shannon, but it has not been yet identified. It was probably another name for the King’s Island, Limerick.

¹¹³ The Island of Loch Saigleann. Its situation was unknown to Dr. O’Donovan.

¹¹⁴ Identical with Rosnaree Ford, on the River Boyne, where, it is said, the Monarch of Ireland, Cormac Mac Art, lies interred. See Sir William R. Wilde’s “Beauties of the Boyne, and its Tributary, the Blackwater,” chap. viii., pp. 187, 188.

¹¹⁵ It is also called Cathair-Cinn-Coradh, or the stone fort of Kincora.

¹¹⁶ See Dr. Jeffrey Keating’s “General History of Ireland,” translated by Dermot O’Connor, Second Book, p. 485.

¹¹⁷ Also called “Rosach of the Kings.”

¹¹⁸ See *Cogadh Saorhel re Saibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 140, 141.

¹¹⁹ See Dr. O’Donovan’s “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. ii., n. (w), p. 770.

¹²⁰ See Dr. Sylvester O’Halloran’s “General History of Ireland,” vol. ii., Book xi., chap. vii., p. 255.

¹²¹ That attributed to his secretary Mac Liag.

¹²² According to an Irish poet, named Gilla Mududa O’Cassidy, Abbot of Ardbrecan, fifteen years are assigned him, in the

Erinn, Bryan was powerful, and also secured in the affections of his subjects, while they held him in great honour.¹²³ He laid out good roads in different directions throughout the island; while these served to promote ready access, between various posts and stations, before almost inaccessible. He constructed bridges over deep waters and rivers, that had previously been impassable; and thus, the facilities for travel and commerce were materially improved. Those public works made him very popular, among his subjects.¹²⁴ He hanged or put to death robbers and thieves, who were the plunderers of Erinn. The instigators of war, of murder, and of trespass, were fined and imprisoned.¹²⁵ Favourites and sycophants were banished, from the court of Bryan. Such was his sense of inflexible justice, that he would not suffer the meanest of his subjects to be oppressed or injured, by any of the nobles, even although these were his own relatives.¹²⁶

The closing years of Bryan's life, however, were clouded with some domestic bereavements. The monarch's wife, Duvchovlaigh, who was daughter to the King of Connaught, died A.D. 1008;¹²⁷ while, the void she occasioned in Bryan's home was soon widened, by the removal of other prized friends and relations. This wife is called Dubhchabhla, in the Annals of Ulster, which place her death, at this same year.¹²⁸ Under the date of 1009,¹²⁹ in the Annals of the Four Masters,¹³⁰ we find the death of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhaill recorded, with a high encomium, and after he had led a good life. This year, also, Bryan is said to have conducted an army to Cleanloch,¹³¹ or Clonenloch, a region of the mountain Fuath,¹³² where he received the hostages of the northern half of Ireland.¹³³ In A.D. 1010, the monarch's own brother, Marcan, head of the clergy of Munster, departed this life.¹³⁴ His exact position in the Irish Church, we have not been able to ascertain.

While those events were transpiring, the columns of Bryan's army were ready to move in the direction of Dublin. The division of his son Murrough had already preceded him.¹³⁵ After some time had been spent on his march, the monarch reached Kilmainham, which lay a little distance west from Dublin. He encamped there, and remained for some months;¹³⁶ his object being probably to favour the enterprise of Murrough, by preventing the Leinstermen or Ostmen from sending any forces to oppose him. The monarch found no army in Leinster able to withstand his progress;¹³⁷ and, now he attempted to besiege Dublin. His army drew lines about the stronghold, but they seem to have made no progress in its capture, and they found it difficult to obtain

monarchy, although Dr. Keating, and most of our Irish historians, only give him twelve. His stanzas are preserved, in the "Book of Lecan," fol. 312a., and in the "Leabhar Gabhala," or Book of Conquests, p. 233. Both of those Manuscripts are preserved, in the Royal Irish Academy.

¹²³ See *Coḡaṡh ḡaeṡhel ṡe ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxx., pp. 140, 141.

¹²⁴ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, p. 485.

¹²⁵ See *Coḡaṡh ḡaeṡhel ṡe ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxxix., pp. 136, 137.

¹²⁶ See Dr. Keating's "General History of Ireland," translated by Dermot O'Connor, Book ii., p. 485.

¹²⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 760, 761, and n. (p).

¹²⁸ Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iv., p. 298.

¹²⁹ *Recte* A.D. 1010.

¹³⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 760, 761.

¹³¹ It was situated near Newtown Hamilton, in the county of Armagh.

¹³² Anglicised, the Fews.

¹³³ See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iv. *Annales Ultoniensis*, p. 299.

¹³⁴ See John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoir of the O'Briens," part i., chap. iii., p. 25.

¹³⁵ See *Coḡaṡh ḡaeṡhel ṡe ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxxvi., pp. 150, 151.

¹³⁶ It is said, he remained here, from the August of that year to Christmas; or as another account has it, from the festival of Ciaran in harvest to great Christmas.

¹³⁷ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 260.

provisions from a country already plundered, especially when the bleak winter set in. So far Bryan had succeeded, in blockading the city, which was well fortified, and in keeping the Danes within their walls, although he was unable probably to capture the place, by assault, or by a regular siege. During the time he lay there, neither the foreigners, nor the Leinstermen, would give him battle, while they refused a single hostage or subsidy. Provisions for his army could no longer be obtained; while, it is likely, the Dubliners were well supplied by sea.¹³⁸ As more decisive results could not then be obtained, he broke up his encampment, and marched homewards. Bryan returned to Kincora,¹³⁹ having obtained some advantages, and enriched with those spoils he had secured; while the plunder of the Leinster province compensated for his failure, to take possession of Danish Dublin. Although the Danes are said to have enclosed Cork with walls, so early as the middle of the ninth century;¹⁴⁰ yet, the Irish seem to have had possession of this and of other southern cities in the time of Bryan Boromha. During his encampment before the walls of Dublin, the Danes had effected a most destructive descent on Munster. A great fleet of the foreigners arrived there, A.D. 1012,¹⁴¹ and they burned Corcach;¹⁴² but, the invaders met with a speedy retribution. Before these could re-embark, they received a severe repulse from the inhabitants. This cost them many lives. Among the slain was Aulaff, or Amhlaeibh, son to Sitrick, the King of Dublin, chief of the foreigners. Besides him, Mathghamhain, son to Dubhghall, and many others, were slain, by Cathal, son of Domhnall, son to Dubhdabhoireann.¹⁴³ The restless activity of the Ostmen was not to be subdued, however, by any casual demonstration of military power. Having the strongest fortifications then in the island, with superior naval and commercial resources, although inferior in numerical force, they were probably more subjected to military discipline, and better provided with arms than the Irish.¹⁴⁴ In the North, in the British Isles, and elsewhere, their countrymen were very powerful; and, therefore, the Ostmen in Ireland were desirous of establishing their supremacy over the natives. Their ambitious designs soon became manifest; the opportunity seemed favourable for their enterprise; then a gigantic struggle was resolved on, the means for which were now prepared, and on a scale of the greatest magnitude.

CHAPTER VII.

DISTURBANCES RAISED AGAINST BRYAN'S SUPREMACY—HIS EXPEDITION TO MAGH CORRAN—HIE AND MAELSEACHLAINN MARCH ON MUIRTHEMNE—THE KING OF LEINSTER ORGANIZES A GREAT CONFEDERACY TO OPPOSE THE MONARCH OF IRELAND—WAR IN 1012—MAELSEACHLAINN AND BRYAN ARE OBLIGED TO ACT AGAINST THE CONFEDERATED IRISH AND THE SCANDINAVIANS—UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF MAELSEACHLAINN—BRYAN BOROMHA INVADES LEINSTER, AND ADVANCES VICTORIOUSLY TO DUBLIN—THE FOREIGNERS ARE DEFEATED AT CORK—THEIR POWER AND RESOURCES.

THE state of unrest, prevailing among the native kings and chiefs, no less than that agitating the foreign element in Ireland, seldom allowed the mon-

¹³⁸ See *Cogaoh Gaehel Re Fallaibh*, chap. lxxvi., pp. 150, 151.

¹³⁹ See John D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin," p. 605.

¹⁴⁰ See Charles Smith's "Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork," vol. i., Book ii., chap. ix., pp. 362, 363.

¹⁴¹ See Miss M. F. Cusack's "History of the City and County of Cork," chap. v.,

p. 74.

¹⁴² Now the city of Cork. God immediately took vengeance on them for that deed, is an expression, used by the Four Masters.

¹⁴³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 768, 769.

¹⁴⁴ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen." vol. i., Second Period, p. 206.

arch sufficient leisure to reform or consolidate the framework of his governmental policy. With all the bristling and numerous entries of those periodic events, recorded in our annals, we are often at a loss, to trace their origin and sequence, or the influences those incidents must have exercised on cotemporary character and history. Especially, in the northern parts of Ireland, the supremacy of Bryan had not been acknowledged;² nay more, his power had been resisted and baffled, by the Hy Nialls. This sufficiently appears, from their almost unrestrained inroads among themselves, about this period of his reign, when something like anarchy prevailed in that special quarter. Flaithbheartach, or Flaherty, the brother of Aodh O'Neill, had succeeded on his throne;³ and, his turbulent disposition must have caused very considerable anxiety to the sovereign. He made an irruption into Ulidia, when he slew the chief of Leath-Chathail, who was named Cuuladh, son of Aengus, in 1006. He then took away seven hostages from the Ulidians.³ The same ruthless King of Tyrone barbarously blinded Donnchada O'Kelly, at Inishowen, and killed him afterwards;⁴ while he led an army against the men of Bregh, from whom he carried away a great cattle-spoil. His rancour, manifested towards Maelseachlainn, seems to have exceeded that entertained against Bryan himself; but, it is probable, that having extorted sureties by force, Flahertach had learned to fear and respect the military dictator.⁵ He appears to have acted, sometimes, in concert with the Ard Righ.

During the year 1011, the monarch Brian invaded Magh-Corran,⁶ probably the plain of Corran,⁷ in Sligo. Here are to be seen the remarkable Kesh Caves.⁸ These are lofty and magnificent, presenting themselves like gigantic doorways, on the western side, and leading to the innermost recesses of the mountain. If the local accounts are to be trusted, the caves contain lakes of unfathomable depth and spars of unimaginable beauty, while they are said to reach even to the eastern part of the mountain.⁹ They are about half-way up the side of Kish-Corran.¹⁰ On this occasion, having arrived at the plain of Corran, the monarch of Ireland succeeded in bringing Maelruany O'Maeldorad, King of Tyrconnell, bound to the citadel of Cincora.¹¹ Here he was detained as a captive. For some time, this chieftain had been closely confined, in the custody of Bryan, at his royal seat of power, but afterwards he was generously

CHAPTER VII.—¹ The Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D., remarks, that until three or four years, before the battle of Clontarf, the races of Eoghan and of Conall paid no tribute to Bryan. See Gratianus Lucius' *Cambrensis Eversus*," vol. ii., cap. ix., n. (o), p. 36.

² See Charles O'Connor's "Dissertations on the History of Ireland," sect. xviii., p. 248.

³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 758, 759.

⁴ The Annals of Ulster have these incidents placed, at A.D. 1008.

⁵ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 101.

⁶ This locality has not been sufficiently identified, at present.

⁷ See Major W. G. Wood-Martin's "History of Sligo, County and Town, from the Earliest Ages to the Close of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," with Illustrations from Original Drawings and Plans, Book ii., chap. iv., p. 165.

⁸ This place, according to the ancient topographical tract, the *Dinnseanchus*, was so called from the gentle harper Corann, who, for his skill in playing, received it from that magical race, called the *Tuatha De Danaan*. Popular tradition still points to the cave of Kish-Corran, as his residence.

⁹ See the graceful sketch, with pen and pencil, by George Petrie, in the "Irish Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 2, pp. 9, 10.

¹⁰ They are south-east of Ballymote. These caves are described, by Edward J. Hardman, H.M.G.S., in Appendix A, to Major Wood-Martin's "History of Sligo," p. 376.

¹¹ See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 300.

¹² See Charles O'Connor's "Dissertations on the History of Ireland," sect. xviii., p. 248.

¹³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 764, 765.

¹⁴ Kilmacrenan, in the county of Donegal, was the principal church and residence of

enlarged.¹² Domhnall, son to the Irish monarch, died, A.D. 1011;¹³ for this year, as we learn, the lord of Cinel-Luighdheach,¹⁴ who is named Mael-ruanaidh Ua Domhnaill,¹⁵ was slain by the men of Magh-Ithe.¹⁶ Again, Murchadh, son of Bryan, with the men of Munster, the Leinstermen, with the southern Ui Neill, and Flaithbheartach, son of Muirheartach, lord of Oileach,¹⁷ with the soldiers of the North, plundered Cinel Luighdheach,¹⁸ while they carried off three hundred and a great prey of cattle. Flaithbheartach Ua Neill led his forces to Dun-Eathach,¹⁹ when he burned the fortress and demolished the town, while he carried off pledges from Niall, son of Dubhthuinne.²⁰ An army was led by Bryan into the plain of Muirthemne, in 1011, and it effected the full liberation of the Churches of St. Patrick.²¹ This year, also, it is recorded, that Bryan and Maelseachlainn were encamped, at Anaghduiv.²² St. Patrick's Cross-staff—called the Pastoral Staff—had been broken by the Northerners, in some contention that ensued.²³ This action was regarded as a great profanation, and it furnished the occasion for organizing an expedition,²⁴ against the men of Cucuailgne.²⁵ We cannot discover, if the Fionnfai—also written Fionnfaidheach—was an object distinct from the Bachall-Phatraic, or crozier of St. Patrick; but, it appears to have been profaned by some people, in this part of the country.²⁶ Maelseachlainn had conducted his forces, likewise, into Conaill Muirthevni,²⁷ to demand satisfaction for this outrage, and to avenge the violence offered to that reliquary. It was brought, most probably, from Armagh by the Primate, during some visitation, in that part of his jurisdiction, when his claims seem to have been disputed.

So far as we can presage from the history of this era, the supreme monarch Bryan Borimha had faithful and firm alliance with the King of Meath; for, their enterprises were usually planned in conjunction, and designed to accomplish some common object.²⁸ A convention had been arranged, but where we are not told, between Bryan and Maelmury,²⁹ most probably the King of Leinster. It has not transpired, for what purpose their conference

this cantred. The tribe name was derived from Lughaidh, son of Sedna, son to Fearghus Ceannfoda, or Fergus the Long-headed, son of Conall Gulban, son to Niall of the Nine Hostages.

¹⁵ This is the earliest notice of the O'Donnell surname, in Irish history. It is derived from Domhnal, son of Eigneachan, who died A.D. 901. At first, only chiefs over the Cinel-Luighdheach, after the Anglo-Norman invasion, they became supreme kings of Tyrconnell.

¹⁶ This was the name of a plain, along the River Finn, in the barony of Raphoe, and county of Donegal.

¹⁷ The celebrated Fort of Ailech, near the city of Derry.

¹⁸ This territory extended from the Dobhar stream, to the River Suilige, or Swilly, in the present county of Donegal. See "Battle of Magh Rath," n. (u), pp. 157, 158.

¹⁹ Now Duneight, near the River Lagan.

²⁰ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 764, 765.

²¹ See Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 301.

²² This may be interpreted "the black marsh." There is a townland, called Annagh-

duff, in the barony of Upper Loughtee, represented on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Cavan," sheet 15. But, it may be doubted, that this was the actual site, alluded to in the text.

²³ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 302.

²⁴ According to the *Annals of Ulster*.

²⁵ Now Cooly, a mountainous district, in the northern part of Louth county. Originally, it was a portion of Uladh, although now in the province of Leinster. See "The Topographical Poems of John Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, p. xxviii., n. 183.

²⁶ See Rev. Robert King's "Memoir Introductory to the early History of the Primate of Armagh," p. 77.

²⁷ This is the correct reading, although the Clarendon Codex, tome 49, of the *Ulster Annals*, translates the Irish text into Tyrconnell.

²⁸ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., pp. 101, 102.

²⁹ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 302.

³⁰ See Dermot O'Conor's Keating's

was held ; but, it is more than likely, that the monarch's policy aimed at the establishment of a league between them. The foundation on which history should rest must be sought in ascertained facts ; yet, failing these, busy conjecture too often has alone supplied matter for narrative to the chronicler. No cordial understanding seems to have been arrived at, although motives of self-interest averted any open rupture, at that time ; nor could the faith of Maelmuraidh be trusted, since he was treacherous and wily in disposition. Having established his revenues, and by his munificence and other virtues rehabilitated the ancient character of the Irish, that had been declining for some ages, the monarch Bryan resolved to built some shipping and to become formidable to his foes by sea, or on the inland lakes.³⁰ He sent to Maolmordha Mac Murchuda, desiring that three of the longest and largest masts, that could be found in his territories, should be sent to him. This request, as conveyed, was immediately granted by the provincial prince. Maelmordha ordered his woods to be surveyed. The fairest and tallest trees were marked out, to be cut down ; they were hewed by shipwrights, moreover, before they were sent to the dock-yards of Bryan, at Ceann Coradh. The trees were pine,³¹ and taken from Fídh Gaibhli.³² Although the woods have disappeared, a river there is yet called Fídh Gaibhle.³³ Now it is known as Figili, or Feegile,³⁴ a denomination yet existing, in the parish of Clonsast,³⁵ barony of Coolestown, in the King's County. Here, there is an old church,³⁶ on the verge of a very extensive bog ; and, doubtless, it was formerly a district covered with pine-woods. The forest there extended into the three territories of the *Ui Failghe*,³⁷ of the *Ui Faelain*,³⁸ and of the *Ui Muiredhaigh*.³⁹ It was at the point, where the present county of Kildare unites with the King's and the Queen's County.⁴⁰ Maelmordha had resolved to come himself, and to present the masts in person to the King of Ireland. The first of these was carried by the inhabitants of *Jobh Failge*, or *Ui Failge*. The second mast was borne by the people of *Jobh Faolain*, or *Ui Faelain*. The third of these

"General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 489.

³¹ See *COḠAḠH FAEOHEL RE FÁLLAIBH*. pp. 142, 143.

³² This was the celebrated wood of Leinster, yet locally called *Fee-Goille*, or *Fee-guille*. It was situated, near Portarlinton, and on the north side of the River Barrow. An ancient Poem in "The Book of Leinster" celebrates the wood of *Fid-n-Gaible* as surpassing all other woods. This poem is attributed to *Broccan Craibdech*, and it begins, *Lecht COḠMAIC*. See pp. 43, 44. Edited by Robert Atkinson, M.A., LL.D. Dublin, 1880, roy. fol.

³³ The word derived its name from the River *Gabhal*, meaning "fork," which it forms, at the junction of *Cluain Sasta* and *Cluain Mor*. See Dr. O'Donovan's *Leabhar na Ḡ-Ceapṫ*, or *Book of Rights*, n. (o), p. 214.

³⁴ It is a very considerable tributary of the River Barrow, which it joins a little to the north of *Monasterewan*.

³⁵ It is represented on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," sheets 19, 20, 27, 28, 34. The townlands of Upper and Lower Clonsast are on sheet 27.

³⁶ *St. Bearchain* is regarded as its patron and founder. In the "Book of Leinster" a Poem of his is quoted, at fol. 112a.

³⁷ Also Anglicised *Offaly*, or *Ophaly*, a large territory of Leinster, now represented by the Baronies of East and West Offaly, in the King's County, with those of *Portnahinch* and *Tinnahinch*, in the Queen's County, as also, that portion of the King's County, comprised within the diocese of *Kildare* and *Leighlin*. See "The Topographical Poems of John Dubhagain and *Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhain*," edited by John O'Donovan, p. 1., n. 406.

³⁸ Their territory comprised, about the northern half of the present county of *Kildare*. The *Mac Eochaid*s, or *Keoghs*, and the *O'Byrnes*, were settled there, previous to the Anglo-Norman Invasion. See *ibid.*, p. xlvii., n. 368.

³⁹ Their territory embraced, about the southern half of the present county of *Kildare*, and it belonged to the *O'Tooles*, previous to the Anglo-Norman Invasion. See *ibid.*, p. xlvii., 367.

⁴⁰ See Rev. James Henthorn Todd's Introduction to the *COḠAḠH FAEOHEL RE FÁLLAIBH*, pp. clxi, clxii.

⁴¹ This form *Jobh* is found in *Dermod*

masts was carried by the Jobh⁴¹ Muireadhuig, or people known as the Ui Muireadhaigh. Other accounts have it, that the people of Laighis, and of the Commains, were contributors on this occasion.⁴² A violent contest took place between the three tribes, that were appointed to carry the masts, while on the way, and engaged in conveying them.⁴³ This quarrel occurred, at places not known, but called Sliabh⁴⁴ and Bhoguig,⁴⁵ according to the Rev. Jeffrey Keating; while other authors assert, that at a remarkable bog,⁴⁶ near the wood where the trees grew, this controversy was carried on, with great heat and animosity, on all sides. The tribes contended as to which of them should belong the point of precedence, and to go foremost with their burden, so as to be the first admitted, into the presence of the Irish monarch. At length, it came to the ears of Maolmordha, the King of Leinster, who seems to have accompanied the carriers. If true, this furnishes a very curious picture, exhibiting the manners of those times. Instead of behaving as a neutral in that quarrel, among his clansmen, Maolmordha immediately got down from his horse, and declared himself, in favour of the tribe of Jobh Faolain.⁴⁷ He rushed into the midst of the throng, and coming to the mast, he clapped his shoulders under it, as a common bearer, and he took a share of the burden with his favoured clansmen. But, in the struggle he made, to distinguish himself on this occasion, a silver button that kept together his rich tunic flew off and was lost. This mantle had been presented to the prince, by Bryan Boiromha,⁴⁸ King of Ireland, some short time before, and it had been worn by the King of Leinster, no doubt, as an intended compliment, on his coming visit. It was made of the richest silk, embroidered in a splendid manner, with gold and silver, while the borders were fringed about, with a gold lace of inestimable value. The King of Leinster, having thus interposed by his authority in this dispute, the tribes were obedient, and they proceeded leisurely on their journey. By slow movements, they arrived at Cenn Coradh. There they were courteously received, and the clansmen were generously rewarded by the Irish monarch. This visit took place, subsequent to A.D. 1009.⁴⁹ The King of Leinster received all due respect at the court, where he was welcomed by his sister,⁵⁰ then supposed to preside over its hospitalities. The name was Gormghlath, or Gormlaith.⁵¹ By her marriage with Bryan Boiromha, she was acknowledged as Queen of Ireland.⁵² How-

O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, p. 489.

⁴² Rev. Dr. Todd deems this an interpolation, in his text, though found in two of the copies, from which it was prepared; for, if it were to be admitted, there must have been more than the three masts, to which allusion had been previously made by his author.

⁴³ One account has it, that the tribes were obliged to proceed in single file, at a particular place, and they were respectively too proud to yield precedence.

⁴⁴ Probably the present Slieve Bloom Mountains, which seem to have lain on their way to Killaloe.

⁴⁵ This place has not been identified.

⁴⁶ The *Cogaoh Saohel Re Gallabh* has it, ascending a boggy mountain.

⁴⁷ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, p. 490.

⁴⁸ According to the Irish customs of Tanistry, a gift presented from one king to ano-

ther implied vassalage on the part of the recipient.

⁴⁹ See *Cogaoh Saohel Re Gallabh*, or The War of the Gaedhlin with the Gaill, edited by Rev. James Henthorn Todd. Introduction, n. 1., p. clxi.

⁵⁰ They were both the children of Murchad, who was slain A.D. 970, so that they must have been forty years old—if not more—at this time. Their grandfather was Finn, chief of the Ui Failghe. He was slain, A.D. 928, and his father who died A.D. 921, was Maolmordha, the son of Conchobhar, chief of Ossaly. Sir Charles Coote, without quoting his authority, tells us, that "Hy Falgia is derived from Hy Bealgia, that is the country of the worshippers of Beal."—"General View of the Agriculture and Manufactures of the King's County," &c. Introduction, p. 1.

⁵¹ His death is recorded, at A.D. 1020.

⁵² It is said, she was the most beautiful woman of her day in Ireland. See Alfred

ever, a considerable difficulty is here raised, to account for the truth of such a statement. No doubt, our historians assert, that Gormflaith had been married to Bryan Boromha; but, it may be questioned, if this marriage took place after 1009, when his wife Dubhcobhlaigh, daughter to Cathal O'Conor, King of Connaught, died. Gormflaith's character has been subjected to much obloquy. She is said to have been the mother of Bryan's son Donnchadh, who fought in the battle at Clontarf; so that, her marriage with the monarch must have been an earlier one. It has been suggested, that after Dubhcobhlaigh's death, Gormflaith, who was probably divorced from the monarch, might have visited Kincora, in the hope of recovering her position; but, finding herself coldly received, she became "grim" against Bryan,⁵³ and resolved on a deadly revenge.⁵⁴ After the usual greetings and ceremonies had past, between the brother and sister, the King of Leinster desired the queen, that she would be pleased to fix a button upon his mantle, in place of the one he had lost. He then related, how a dispute had arisen between those tribes, that were appointed to carry the masts, which he was proud of the honour of bearing upon his shoulders, as a testimony of his subjection and obedience to her husband, the King of Ireland. Reflecting upon the independence and renown of her ancestors, who never paid homage to any prince, the queen was so incensed, at this servile disposition of her brother, that she upbraided him severely, for his cowardice and meanness of spirit. She declared, that he had degenerated from the courage and bravery of his family, in submitting to a yoke, that never had been worn by any of her illustrious house, and so, by such means, entailing bondage and slavery upon all his posterity. Then violently pulling the mantle from his shoulders, with indignation, she threw it into the fire.⁵⁵

Her words and action naturally irritated her brother, and prepared him to resent every insult offered by the Dalcassians. An occasion was soon presented, for a private quarrel, while Maelmordha, the King of Leinster, was their guest, at the castle of Brian Boromha and of Gormflaith. Being at an entertainment, held in Kincora, a game of chess⁵⁶ or tables was played, the next morning, between Murrough, the son of Bryan, and Conuing,⁵⁷ the son of Dunchuain; or, as other accounts have it, the confessor⁵⁸ of St. Caomhgin, of Glendalough, was the person then engaged, playing against the heir apparent of Ireland. The King of Leinster was a mere spectator of the tournament. But, when Morrough was at a point of this game, Maolmordha observed a critical position, and advised the antagonist to a movement, which caused the Munster prince to lose the game. This conduct nettled Morough, who observed to the King of Leinster with a sneer, that if he had given as good advice to the Danes, when they fought at the battle of Glen-mama, they should not have received so great an overthrow. This allusion awakened unpleasant recollections, and it provoked a retort. Maolmordha answered indignantly, that if the Danes had been defeated, owing to his advice, he

Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography," p. 35.

⁵³ This is an expression used, by the Njal-Saga.

⁵⁴ See *Cogaibh Gaedhel re Gallaidh*, or the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd. Introduction, p. clxi., n. 1.

⁵⁵ See Dermot O'Connor's *Keating's "General History of Ireland,"* Second Book, pp. 489 to 491.

⁵⁶ This was a favourite game in Ireland,

especially in the castles of the kings and nobles.

⁵⁷ He was the nephew of Bryan, and, afterwards killed, in the Battle of Clontarf.

⁵⁸ Conaing O'Carroll, "head of the charity and piety of the Gaedhil," and erenach of Glendalough, died A.D. 1031, according to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 822, 823.

⁵⁹ "Have the yew-tree made ready for them by yourself," is said to have been the reply of Murchadh, according to the account

should soon put them in a way to retrieve their loss;⁵⁹ while, he intended to take full revenge, not alone on Murrough, but on his father Bryan, the monarch of Ireland. Whereupon, Murrough replied, that those foreigners had been so frequently chastised by the Irish army, that he stood in no fear of any attempt they could make, even if the King of Leinster were at their head. Instantly, Maelmordha became violently enraged, and he retired to a bed-chamber.⁶⁰ So great was his indignation, that the Leinster dynast refused to appear at the public banquet. He passed the whole night in restless anger, and in devising means, to indulge his schemes for revenge. To avoid being arrested by Morough—a course the King of Leinster feared—early the next morning he arose, and set out in the direction for Leinster. Without taking leave of his host, the high-souled monarch, or any of his household,⁶¹ Maolmordha was already on the road. His conduct affected the good monarch, when hearing of the royal guest's departure. Bryan sent one of his servants, named Cocaran,⁶² after the King of Leinster, to request his return and reconciliation with Morough. The servant of Bryan overtook Maelmordha, while

given, in the *Cogadh Saohel re Saol-Lavoh*. pp. 144, 145. This was an allusion to Maolmordha having concealed himself in a yew-tree, after the battle of Glenmama. See n. 3, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ The Book of Howth has probably constructed quite a different version of the occurrences, from this story, as generally told by our Irish shanachies, and which may be regarded as altogether romantic; for, that chronicle, [disregarding good authority or consistency, too frequently abounds in the marvellous. An incident of family intrigue and dishonour, reflecting on Murrough O'Brien's character, is there related to have stirred up the great war, between the Irish and the Danes, and which was finally resolved at Clontarf. Thus it is abridged from Hanmer, and it is only of any worth, because relating incidentally some details, that serve to illustrate the Anglo-Norman traditions about Clontarf. A Danish merchant of Dublin, and said to have been fourth son to the King of Denmark, was jealous of his fair and Irish-born wife. Having occasion to absent himself on a mercantile travelling excursion in far countries, the White Merchant—for so he is called—left his wife as a lady in waiting, and under the protection of Bryan's wife. The King of Ireland assumed duty of her guardianship, during that merchant's absence. However, distrustful of the result, his journey was made unhappy, by doubts about her fidelity. The remainder of this romantic story savours of invention, and that tasteless flavour of improbability, which served to amuse the frivolous minds of that age, when it had been composed. Hastening his return, the merchant came, early in the morning, and having a private key, by surprise he entered into his wife's apartment. There he found her in company with Morough, the monarch's eldest son. We need only observe here, the unblushing inconsistencies of this unsavoury narrative, so redolent of a filthy

imagination, which catered for the lords, who ruled in castles. We are left to wild conjecture, as to how the private key could have been obtained by the Danish merchant, to any apartment in King Bryan's palace—we are to presume of Kincora—or, as to how a stranger could approach there in perfect secrecy. Following Hanmer's very absurd narrative of the merchant, "hee wheeled about, devising what was best to be done, at length resolving himself to depart for that time, tooke *Moroghs* sword, and put it into his owne scabbard, and his into *Moroghs* scabbard."—"Chronicle of Ireland," p. 183. The spirit of knight-errantry governs the sequence of the story-teller's account; the merchant indignantly repaired to the monarch Bryan, and complained of the injury and indignity, which Murrough had perpetrated against him. The just and inflexible monarch answered, that although Murrough was his own son, yet if the Danish merchant gave judgment against him, it should immediately be put into execution. The merchant declared, that he should leave his unfaithful wife to Murrough, but, according to Hanmer, he added, "I will be revenged upon him and his partakers in the field, as soone as possibly may be, and I doubt not but all Ireland shall rue the day of this villainie." Afterwards, he went to Denmark, and brought over the Danes and Norwegians, who fought at Clontarf. It is probable, that the foregoing account passed for history, not alone among the castellans of Howth, but among the Anglo-Normans of Dublin, for many succeeding generations. Nor is it wonderful, since great masters of historic fiction can fill modern novels with incidents quite as credible.

⁶¹ See L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande Ancienne et Moderne," tome i., chap. vi., p. 410.

⁶² From this Cogaran, the Jobh Cogaran, in the province of Munster, received its tribe

mounting his horse, at the east of the Shannon River, and not far from Killaloe, near the end of the plank-bridge. He delivered the message from the monarch, who desired his return, until he should carry home with him both cattle and pay.⁶³ But, this overture was rejected by Maelmordha. All the while, he listened only with indignation, to the servant's proposal. As soon as he was done speaking, Maelmordha raised the staff of yew, which he held in his hand, and brandished it over the innocent messenger's head. Giving him three furious blows with that walking-stick, the Leinster king fractured his skull.⁶⁴ This outrageous and unprovoked act, made known to Bryan in a short time, showed how little Maelmordha respected the monarch, and how utterly he rejected such reconciliation, owing to his ungovernable passion.⁶⁵ Some advised the monarch, to pursue the King of Leinster, and to bring him back, until he should be obliged to make submission. But, Bryan magnanimously declared, he would not take advantage of the offending king, in his palace; while, he resolved to demand justice from him, at the threshold of his own house.⁶⁶ Maolmordha pursued his way on horseback, and hastened to his own province of Leinster. The speed of his journey may be estimated, when it is credited, that he arrived that very night at Sen Leas Abain, or the old fort of St. Alban, which was built on the Douglas, a tributary stream of the River Barrow. This was situated, within the district of Ua m-Buidhi,⁶⁷ which comprised the present baronies of Ballyadams and of Slievemargy, in the Queen's County. The distance between this place and Killaloe cannot be much under sixty miles. This might be regarded, as an unusual journey on horseback, in a single day. Maelmordha spent the night, at the house of the son of Berdai, King of Ui-mBuidhi. Early the next morning, he arrived at the Garbh Thamhnach.⁶⁸ Here was the house of Dunlang, son to Tuathal, King of Iarthar Liphí.⁶⁹ There he assembled his chiefs and nobles, in a convention, representing to them the insult he had received at Kincora. It was a one-sided statement, we may rest assured, yet not the less effective on that account. His immediate lieges were inflamed to so great a degree, that they entered into the views of their king, and resolved to renounce their allegiance to Bryan. According to the counsel agreed to, they despatched messengers to Flaith-Chertach, King of Ailech, and son to Muircheartach O'Neill, exhorting him to make war upon Maelseachlainn and upon Uladh. Other messengers were sent to Fearghal Ua Ruairc, King of Brefni, and to Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, King of Cairbre. Moved by those representations made to them, these potentates agreed to renounce their allegiance to Bryan,⁷⁰ and to unite for the purpose of taking the initiative against him, and against his faithful ally, Maelseachlainn. A series of combined attacks was arranged, and these were to be directed from different quarters. The next object of Maolmordha was to confederate with the Danes, and to seek their alliance, so that he might bid the monarch defiance, when ready to appear in the field, and at the head of his various contingents.

name. See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Second Book, p. 493.

⁶³ See *COZAOH ZAEOHEL RE ZAALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiii., pp. 144, 145.

⁶⁴ It was necessary to carry Cocaran to Kincora, in a litter, according to the received accounts.

⁶⁵ See Rev. James Will's "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, p. 208.

⁶⁶ See *COZAOH ZAEOHEL RE ZAALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiii., pp. 146, 147.

⁶⁷ In his Topographical Poem, O'Huidhirin alludes to *Crioch O'Muighi*, another form of *Crioch Ua m-Buidhe*, lying on the west side of the River Barrow. See Dr. O'Donovan's *leabhar na h-Seanach*, or "Book of Rights," n. (n), pp. 213, 214.

⁶⁸ The meaning seems to be "a rough field producing fresh green grass." No corresponding denomination is now traceable.

⁶⁹ This may be rendered, "west of the Liffey" River.

⁷⁰ See *COZAOH ZAEOHEL RE ZAALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiv.

Owing to this combination, a great war soon raged, between the foreigners and the Gaedhil. It broke out in the year 1012.⁷¹ Apparently, the first movements were directed by the restless Flaithbheartach, who led an army into Cinel-Conaill, until he arrived at Magh-Cedne,⁷² in the southern part of Donegal. Then, he carried off a great prey of cows, and returned safe to his house. A second time, the same Flaithbheartach entered Cinel-Conaill, when he advanced to Druim-Claibh, and Tracht-Eothaile. There Niall, son of Gillaphadraig, was slain, and Maelruanaidh Ua Maeldoraidh was defeated. It seems likely, that the latter had been chased out of his own territory of Tyrconnell, and that he had been overtaken, at Tracht-Eothaile. Meantime, Maelseachlainn finding the principality of Tír-Eogain exposed to his attacks, led his forces so far as Magh-da-ghabhal, which was burned. Then, the southern Hy-Niall preyed so far as Tealach-Oog, and having obtained spoils, they returned towards Meath. Again, Flaithbheartach brought his retainers to Ard-Uladh,⁷³ in the east of Down county; while he plundered all that country, taking with him an immense number of cattle, and many prisoners. It is difficult now to distinguish the intricacies of those various conflicts, which were doubtless the results of counter-policies and diversions of interests, among the leading Irish potentates. Flaithbheartach next marched upon Meath, which, for the most part, he plundered and ravaged. It would seem, that Bryan had sent some of his officers to aid Maelseachlainn, more immediately exposed to aggression, until the monarch should be able to create a diversion in his favour. In one of those encounters, which took place, a high steward of the monarch, and who is called Oslí,⁷⁴ son to Dubhcenn,⁷⁵ son of Imar, was slain, with many more.⁷⁶

Soon, the attention of Maelseachlainn had been directed towards another quarter. A great depredation was committed, by Ualgharg Ua Ciardha, lord of Cairbre, and by Fearghal, the son of Niall O'Ruairc, with the men of Teathbha,⁷⁷ in Gaileanga.⁷⁸ Being at that time intoxicated after drinking, a few good men composing the household of Maelseachlainn overtook them, and, without considering their own inferiority, imprudently challenged them to fight a battle. This the people of Teathbha accepted, and they proved victorious. Several fell in the encounter. Among the slain were found Domhnall,⁷⁹ son to Donnchadh,⁸⁰ and grandson of Maelseachlainn; Dubhtaichligh Ua Mael-

pp. 146, 147.

⁷¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 768, 769.

⁷² Now Moy, a plain situated between the Rivers Erne and Drowes.

⁷³ Now the Ards, Latinized, *Altitudo Ulteriorum*. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.D. 1010 *recte* 1011, and 1011, *recte* 1012, with notes, pp. 762 to 767.

⁷⁴ He was probably of Scandinavian origin.

⁷⁵ This name may be Anglicized, Black Head.

⁷⁶ See *COGAOH SAEOHEL RE SALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiv., pp. 146, 147.

⁷⁷ Also called Tefnia, in Latin, and Anglicised Taffa, Teffa, and Teffa-land, by Conall Mag-uoghan, in his translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise." This territory lay, in Longford and Westmeath counties, the River Eithne, or Inny, dividing it into two parts, distinguished as north and south.

⁷⁸ Or Galeng, also called Gallen. The name of Gaileanga Mor, or Great Gaileanga, was the principality of O'Leochain. The name is still preserved, in the barony of Mor-Gallion, in the northern part of Meath county, the configuration of which is shown, on the fine Map, designed by William Larkin, A.D. 1812, for the Grand Jury of the county of Meath. But, it seems probable, that the ancient territory had been of much greater extent, since it took in the mountainous district of Sliabh Guaire or Slieve Gorey, now a part of Clonkee barony, county of Cavan. See "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, n. 21, p. vi.

⁷⁹ According to the *COGAOH SAEOHEL RE SALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiv., pp. 148, 149, which calls him the royal heir of Temhair.

⁸⁰ According to the Four Masters, this person, the son of Maelseachlainn, was slain.

challann,⁸¹ lord of Dealbhna-Beag,⁸² Donnchadh, son to Donnchadh Finn, royal heir of Teamhair; Cearnachan,⁸³ son to Flann, lord of Luigne,⁸⁴ Seanan Ua Leochain,⁸⁵ lord of Gaileanga, with many others. With his army, Mael-seachlainn afterwards overtook them. The spoils taken were then left behind. In the struggle which ensued, Ualgharg Ua Ciardha, lord of Cairbre, and Tadhg Ua Cearnachan,⁸⁶ with many others, perished.⁸⁷

With combined forces, those foes to the King of Meath had ventured to make a fierce incursion into Malachy's province. He repelled that injury, by levying a considerable following, and by an inroad into Leinster. This province he ravaged, and he burned the country, as far as the Hill of Howth—anciently known as Ben Hedar.⁸⁸ The Northmen then held possession of all that country, immediately adjoining Dublin. While Maelseachlainn advanced unguardedly, his progress was intercepted, a few miles northwards from Ath-Cliath, by the combined forces of the King of Leinster and by the Danes, who attacked his troops. Not dreaming of a surprise, Sitric and Maelmordha overtook one of his preying parties, at a place called Draighnen,⁸⁹ now Drinan, near Kinsaly, in the county of Dublin. Malachy's force was defeated, with a great loss of lives. Among the slain were his son, and many chiefs of his province. In this encounter, besides Flann,⁹⁰ son to Maelseachlainn, fell the son of Lorcan,⁹¹ son to Echthigern, lord of Cinel-Meachair, and many other men, numbering in all two hundred, who were slain,⁹² although the Ulster Annals only make this loss of lives one hundred and fifty. Maolmordha had already engaged in his confederacy, not alone the Irish, but the foreigners. The Scandinavians of Dublin, and those living abroad, were next invited to unite a vast force, destined to oppose Bryan and Maelseachlainn.⁹³ But, time was required for the maturing of this expedition. While awaiting their arrival, the King of Leinster collected a body of his provincials, with the Danes, and penetrating into Meath, he reached Termon-Feichin, also called the Fabhar of Fechin. Captives and cattle were seized at this place.⁹⁴ The King of Leinster then retreated, destroying the country, and carrying off an immense booty.⁹⁵ In his distress, Malachy addressed an appeal, to the chief and now recognised monarch of Ireland. He complained,

⁸¹ Now *Anglice*, pronounced Mulholland, but without the prefix of O'. There were several distinct families of this name, in Ireland. See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," pp. 370 to 375.

⁸² Or Little Delvin, now the barony of Fore, or Demifore, in the north-west of the county of Meath.

⁸³ He is called Cernach, in the *COGSAH FAEHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiv., pp. 148, 149.

⁸⁴ Sometimes found written *Lini*, or *Linè*.

⁸⁵ Also called Ua Leuchan.

⁸⁶ His death is noticed, in the *COGSAH FAEHEL RE FALLAIBH*, *ibid.*, pp. 148, 149.

⁸⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 766 to 769.

⁸⁸ The Rev. James Wills incorrectly interprets it, "the mountain of birds," in his "Lives of Illustrior and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, p. 206.

⁸⁹ The translated Annals of Ulster have it spelled Draynan.

⁹⁰ In the *COGSAH FAEHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxiv., pp. 148, 153, we find *Albanach*, or the Scotchman, substituted.

⁹¹ Lorcan himself is named, as having been killed, in the work just quoted.

⁹² In commemoration of the defeat at Draighnen, a quatrain was composed, and it is thus rendered into English:—

"Not well on Monday on the expedition did Meathmen go to overrun;
The foreigners, it was heard were joyful of the journey at the Draighnen."

⁹³ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 259.

⁹⁴ See the *COGSAH FAEHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxv., pp. 148, 149.

⁹⁵ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 250.

⁹⁶ See the *COGSAH FAEHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. lxxxv., pp. 148, 149.

that his territory had been plundered, and that his sons had been killed. He earnestly prayed, that the foreigners and the Laighin, with the Breifni, the Cairbri, and the Cinel-Eoghain, should not be allowed to direct all their forces against himself, without being afforded any succour.⁹⁶ It is said, that he proceeded in person to the palace at Kincora, or to Ball Boirimhe,⁹⁷ for that purpose; and, he represented the danger to which he was exposed, from the hostility of his formidable neighbours.⁹⁸ To this application, however, a refusal was returned, although promises of assistance were probably made.⁹⁹ The King of Meath was thus left to defend his possessions, by such means as his own narrow resources supplied.¹⁰⁰ The prudence of that refusal may well be doubted;¹⁰¹ but, it is probable, that Bryan could not readily engage, at the time, to support the depressed state of Malachy.

The defeat of Maelseachlainn was attended with other consequences, as a triumph thus obtained emboldened the victors to follow up their successes. It soon required a movement on the part of Bryan, to restrain the Leinstermen and Danes.¹⁰² These of Dublin combined with the Irish of Wicklow, and both parties soon assumed a menacing attitude. It was now necessary to check their progress, and Bryan was ready to move his forces, to those points threatened by the confederates. The Ossorians appear to have combined, likewise, against him. Accordingly, the monarch summoned his chiefs, and now led his army towards Leinster. The Irish forces wasted the lands of Ossory, on their line of march. Dunnchadh Mac Giolla Patraic¹⁰³ seems to have been its king, at this time, and hostile to the Ard Righ. The men of Munster and of Connaught were chiefly those engaged on the expedition. His army was led by Brian, towards Ath-an-chairthinn,¹⁰⁴ and he there encamped.¹⁰⁵ He laid siege to the foreigners, as the Annals state, for three months; but, probably, not at this particular place, as they held no strongholds then, in the interior of midland Erinn. Brian, with the forces under his command,¹⁰⁶ encamped at Sliabh Mairge,¹⁰⁷ to defend Munster. The position was admirably chosen as a strategic and commanding post. While his enemies to be encountered lay in the plains before him, those he had kept in check were behind, in the plains of Ossory; nor could it be safe to advance, while Thomond and Desmond were exposed to a possible attack. A depredation, by Murchadh, eldest son of Brian, in Leinster, is recorded in our Annals; and, this was probably directed from Slieve Margy towards the east, while the monarch's forces were still in observation. When the covering army deemed it safe to march from its mountain cantonments, their tents were struck, and the Irish forces moved onwards, in a northerly direction, and towards the chief stronghold of the Scandinavians. Actively engaged in this excursion, but apart, was the trusty and brave Morough. While Bryan remained

⁹⁶ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 260.

⁹⁸ See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., pp. 105, 106.

⁹⁹ See John D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin," pp. 604, 605.

¹⁰⁰ See the Annals of Inisfallen, at A.D. 1013.

¹⁰¹ See Rev. James Will's "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, p. 206.

¹⁰² See Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xxi., p. 106.

¹⁰³ His father, Gilba Patraic, was slain

A.D. 996, by Donovan, son of Imar, King of Waterford, and by Domhnal, son of Faelan, prince of the Deisi. See Rev. John F. Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. xii., p. 365.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. O'Donovan renders Ath-na-Chairthinn: *i.e.*, Ford of the Rock, the situation of which is unknown, as he states.

¹⁰⁵ It is Latinized "Vadum Officinæ ferriaræ," in Rev. Dr. Conon's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. Annales Ultonienses, p. 302.

¹⁰⁶ Or of the province, according to the Ulster Annals.

¹⁰⁷ Now that district, comprised in the

in observation, his warlike son was sent to create a diversion, in the heart of the Wicklow mountains. That duty was readily undertaken by Morough, who carried plunder, devastation,¹⁰⁸ and slaughter, so far as Glendalough, then a considerable city, belonging to Maelmordha. Then, Leinster was plundered by the Munster chief, so far as Ath-cliaith, whither he moved, to effect a preconcerted junction with his father. On Murrough's line of march, he devastated the country from Gleann-da-locha as far as Cill-Maighneann.¹⁰⁹ During this time, he kept up communications with the main army, commanded by Bryan. The whole invaded province suffered terribly, from the relentless assaults of Murrough, who carried off great spoils and innumerable prisoners, to the green of Ath-Cliath.

The foreign settlers in Ireland had the prudence, activity, and address, which enabled them to multiply their attacks, and to put in motion the ever-ready and restless turbulence of their neighbours, in whatever direction their own policy required.¹¹⁰ To their intrigues, we may probably ascribe many of the local disturbances, which affected the kingdom. Maelseachlainn had planned an expedition against the foreigners; but, while he was engaged with the Northmen of Dublin, the King of Tyrone invaded the southern Hy-Niall.¹¹¹ An army was led by Flaithbheartach, lord of Aileach, to Maighen-Attaed,¹¹² by the son of Ceanannus. Maelseachlainn left the hill undisputed to him, and because, most probably, his muster of force was insufficient, to cope with the King of Tyrone. No partial effort, or merely predatory descent, however, could avail the Danes for succeeding, against Bryan's growing power. Their extensively increasing possessions in cities and towns gave great influence to the foreigners. It was necessary for them to adopt, far more ordered and energetic measures, to carry out their ambitious schemes of conquest, and to effect their own security, as they had already suffered so many defeats. The designs of Bryan, and his vigorous strokes in oft-repeated expeditions, were then better understood, by the foreign colonists, than can be known,¹¹³ at the present time.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST CAMPAIGN OF BRYAN—CHRONOLOGY AND ACCOUNTS OF IT REMAINING—THE KING OF LEINSTER AND THE DUBLIN OSTMEN SEND EMISSARIES FOR DISTANT REINFORCEMENTS—BRYAN BOROMHA MUSTERS HIS FORCES—HE MARCHES INTO LEINSTER, AND HE ARRIVES AT DUBLIN—CONCENTRATION OF THE LEINSTER AND SCANDINAVIAN ARMIES—POSITION OF THE MONARCH, ON THE PLAIN OF MAGH-N-ELTA.

Now, the whole power of the North was to be arrayed, for a vast and closing struggle with the Monarch of Ireland, who found so many of his own countrymen desirous to rebel against his authority, and to overturn his rule. This, however, required no ordinary exertion. Accordingly, a great expedition was in course of preparation. It was destined to arouse that energetic

barony of Slievemargy, Queen's County. The translated Ulster Annals term it Mountaine Marci.

¹⁰⁸ See Walter Harris' "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, from the Earliest Accounts," chap. ix., p. 193.

¹⁰⁹ Now Kilmainham, near Dublin.

¹¹⁰ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, p. 206.

¹¹¹ See Charles O'Connor's "Dissertations on the History of Ireland," sect. xviii., p. 248.

¹¹² This means "Attaedh's little plain." This might be Anglicized Moynalty; but, the name is apparently obsolete, at present.

¹¹³ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., part i., Second Period, p. 206.

effort of national defence, which culminated victoriously for Bryan Boromha, on the field of Clontarf,¹ where his glorious and heroic career on earth closed.

The dates given for this last celebrated campaign of the Irish Monarch have been confused and varied, in accounts which have come down to our times. By some writers, the period has been considerably antedated. Thus, while a missing leaf,² containing probably what relates to the Battle of Clontarf, is not published, in Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor's edition of Tigernach's Annals;³ the "Annales Inisfalenses," Bodleian copy, place this last war of Bryan, at the year 996.⁴ However, much more diffusely, and at the year 1014, does the Dublin copy of these Annals give a very detailed account regarding the celebrated battle of Clontarf,⁵ and differing altogether in text, from the Oxford Codex. The year 1012 is the date, given for this great engagement, in the "Chronicum Scotorum."⁶ The Four Masters have the year 1013, for that event.⁷ About the end of the year 1013, or the beginning of 1014, has been assigned, likewise, for the opening of Bryan's last campaign.⁸ A Welsh calculation places this date for the battle of Clontarf to 1013;⁹ but, it was really fought on the following year, as all the best authorities are now agreed. At A.D. 1014, the "Annales Buelliani" have the battle of Clontarf;¹⁰ and, the English translation follows the original, with some interesting comments to elucidate the account.¹¹ This same year, also, the Annals of Lóch Cé¹² open with a narrative of that celebrated engagement.¹³ The Njals-Saga¹⁴ adopts the latter date for the campaign, and battle, with which it concluded. The Annals of Ulster place the event, at 1013, or 1014;¹⁵ and, the corrected chronology of Marianus Scottus, who lived not very long after the time, has it at the latter year.¹⁶ All our most reliable modern historical authorities are agreed, on the same date.

Less difficult is it, however, to settle the chronology, than to place, in suitable order and statement, the incidents of this campaign. All those causes which moved the hosts engaged on either side, and which immediately brought on that decisive battle, can hardly be analyzed, at the present time.¹⁷ According to the Danish writer, Torfæus,¹⁸ Kormlod,¹⁹ a woman of

CHAPTER VIII.—¹ Now a parish, in the Barony of Coolock, and defined on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps, for the County of Dublin," sheets 15, 18, 19. Clontarf Town and sheds are marked, on sheet 19; the divisions of its townland, into East and West, are shown on sheets 18, 19.

² See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii. Annales Tigernaci, p. 271.

³ A hiatus is to be found in this, the Bodleian copy, viz., from A.D. 1003 to A.D. 1018.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵ See the Irish text, with the Latin translation, *ibid.*, pp. 60 to 70.

⁶ Edited by William M. Hennessy. See pp. 250 to 253.

⁷ See *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, &c., edited with a translation and copious notes, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., vol. ii., pp. 772 to 781.

⁸ See Walter Harris' "History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin," chap. ix., p. 194.

⁹ See "Annales Cambriæ," edited by the

Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A., at p. 22.

¹⁰ See pars. ii., pp. 15 to 17, in Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii.

¹¹ See John D'Alton's "History of Ireland and Annals of Boyle," vol. ii., pp. 165 to 178.

¹² The *Annála Loch Cé*, or the Annals of Loch Cé, a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590, edited with translation, by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A.

¹³ See vol. i., pp. 2 to 13.

¹⁴ See cap. clvii., clviii., pp. 599 to 623.

¹⁵ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., pp. 303 to 306.

¹⁶ See Pertz's "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v. Mariani Scotti Chronicon, p. 555.

¹⁷ See, on this subject, John O'Donoghue's "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," Mediæval Part, chap. iii., pp. 26 to 37.

¹⁸ In his History of the Orkneys, at chap. x., p. 33. Copenhagen, 1697, fol.

¹⁹ Called Gormlaith, by the Irish.

²⁰ She is said, to have been the greatest

very depraved morals,²⁰ and repudiated by her former husband,²¹ Bryan Boromha, was mainly the instigator of this war. Sitric of the Silken Beard, and King of Dublin, was her son, by another husband.²² As we have already premised, the accounts, even of great public events, at this period, and which have come down to us, exceed the sober truth of history, by the introduction of improbable occurrences and easily ascertainable fictions. Various are the narratives, furnished in records of the times succeeding this period, and given by our Irish historians, to account for the war now impending. However, so widely do they differ in statement, and so improbable are many of the circumstances introduced, that it is nearly impossible to reduce them into reliable shape. Yet, have we to regard the story of those distant transactions, as not wholly irreconcilable with facts, that are disguised under turgid description, and the mannerism of the bards, chroniclers, skaalds and saga-men, in the Irish and Norse traditions of the time. But, as various statements are extant, both on the Irish and the Norse side;²³ these have been subjected to a close examination—especially the earlier ones—and with a view to elicit the most consistent and reliable version. That ancient Tract, relating to the Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill, comes foremost in importance, as a remote account, and it has been relied on, discounting much that seems to be imaginative, yet not wholly incredible. An ancient Irish Manuscript, intituled *Cath Chluana Tarbh*, contains another description, especially of the celebrated battle;²⁴ and, the substance of this statement has been published, already, by the celebrated Gaelic scholar, John O'Donovan.²⁵ A more recent account endeavours to investigate the exact site, on which the great closing battle had been fought.²⁶ Some of the *Sagas*, or northern stories, are full of detailed description, in reference to the Norse expedition, its origin, progress and results. Thus, the *Nials-saga* gives a curious relation of those circumstances, connected with this great war,²⁷ and, as we may suppose, agreeing with the Northman accounts.²⁸ Again, the story of *Burnt Njal*, or *Life in Iceland*, at the end of the tenth century,²⁹ contains most interesting illustrative details,³⁰ relating to the same subject. We are informed, that the *Nials-Saga* has always and justly been placed before all of its class, as peculiar in matter, style, and spirit.³¹

beauty of the day, and to have set off her personal attractions by ornaments, which were not the products of her own skill and industry.

²¹ This ignominy she deeply resented.

²² He was Olaf Kuaran.

²³ However curious and interesting the subject matter of these *Sagas* may be, and however specific their details, we must confess our ignorance, regarding the exact amount of credence to be given, in reference to their Irish historic allusions.

²⁴ See in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, that article headed "The Battle of Clontarf," pp. 133 to 136.

²⁵ He tells us, however, that the *Annals of Innisfallen* and of *Ulster* have been followed, in many details, especially, when giving the list of chieftains, who fell in that engagement.

²⁶ See "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. v. Fourth series, No. 40. On the site of the Battle of Clontarf, by Thomas O'Gorman, pp. 169 to 182.

²⁷ Especially in cap. clv., clvi., clvii., clviii., pp. 589 to 623.

²⁸ See "Nials-Saga," *Historia Niali et Filiorum*, Latine reddita, cum adjecta Chronologia, variis Textus Islandici Lectionibus, earumque crisi, nec non Glossario et Indice Rerum et Locorum. Accesserit specimina scripturæ Codicum Membraneorum tabulis æneis incisa. Sumptibus Petri Friderici Suhmii et Legati Arma-Magnæani. Havniæ, anno MDCCCLX., 4to.

²⁹ It has been translated from *Njals Saga*, by George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., and published at Edinburgh, A.D. 1861, in two vols. 8vo.

³⁰ See the Introduction, *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. clxxxix. to cxcviii. Also vol. ii., cap. cliii., cliv., clv., clvi., pp. 322 to 343.

³¹ See Dr. Guðbrand Vigfusson's "*Sturlunga Saga*, including the *Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordson* and other works," edited with Prologomena, Appendices, Tables, Indices and Maps, vol. i. Prologomena, sect. 8, p. xlii. Oxford, 1878, 8vo.

At this period, the Leinstermen and the whole Scanian race acted in concert; and, soon it was apparent, that their ambitious designs must lead to a formidable struggle for supremacy, and against the authority of the Irish monarch. The Northmen deemed it necessary, to collect a powerful armament, and they adopted those means, which were required to insure the success of their arms. The King of Leinster approved of their measures and engagements; while he prepared his own forces, to second the efforts of their gathering host. For this great expedition, the Danes collected their reinforcements, from all parts of Europe.³² Having been parted from Brian, her former husband, Gormflaith, or Kormlada,³³ sent her son Sitric, or Sigtrygg, to induce the Norsemen to attack the monarch of Ireland, at Clontarf.³⁴ She was the fairest of all women, and, adds the Saga very enigmatically, the best gifted in everything that was not in her own power; but, it was the talk of men, that she did all things ill, over which she had any power.³⁵ Her husband's name was Olaftratte, and her son Sigtrygg went from Ireland, arriving in the Orkney Islands, while Earl Sigurd was keeping his Yule festival there, in 1013. Earl Gilli, Sigurd's brother-in-law,³⁶ out of the Southern Isles, was with him, at that time. King Sigtrygg sat there on a high seat, in the middle, and on either side of the king was placed one of the Earls.³⁷ The whole hall was filled with an audience, to hear a story on Yule Day itself, from Gunnar Lambi's son, who sat on a stool; but, before he had ended, one Kari drew a sword, and cut off his head.³⁸ The northern Sagas have mistaken the relationship of both Sigtrygg and Brian; and, after those accounts, Thomas Gray, the Poet, strangely states, that Sictryg, "with the silken beard,"³⁹ was father-in-law to Bryan, King of Dublin, with whom he was making war.⁴⁰

When Sigtrygg first moved this subject to Sigurd, the latter was very reluctant to engage in the contest, and all his men endeavoured to dissuade him from it. However, he demanded Sigtrygg's mother's hand for his alliance, and to be King of Ireland, if he slew Bryan. To his arrangement, the Danish King of Dublin gave his assent. Then Sigtrygg fared south to Ireland, and told his mother Kormlada what he had promised Earl Sigurd, and the understanding given, that he accepted such conditions. She showed herself well pleased at that arrangement; but, she said a greater force must be gathered. She informed him, that two vikings and brothers lay off the west coast of Man; one of these was Ospak, and the other was Broder, men of great hardihood. She said, moreover, that these must be induced, at any price, to sustain his quarrel. Again, King Sigtrygg sets out on his errand, and finds both of these vikings lying outside, and in ships, off the Isle of Man. Broder refused the proposal, until King Sigtrygg promised him the kingdom and his mother. Finally, the condition was agreed to, and the secret was to have been kept in such a manner, that Earl Sigurd should know nothing about it. Then, the

³² See S. A. Dunham's "History of Denmark, Sweden and Norway," vol. i., Book i., chap. iv., sect. i., p. 320.

³³ This is the name given to her, in the Scandian Sagas.

³⁴ See the "Nials Saga," chap. clv., p. 590. The date for this mission is placed, at A.D. 1012; but, it seems referable rather, to the following year.

³⁵ The story of the Burnt Njal relates: "Kormlada was not the mother of King Brian's children, and so grim was she against King Brian after their parting, that she would gladly have him dead."

³⁶ He had to wife Swanlauga, Earl

Sigurd's sister.

³⁷ As a curious picture of the manners in vogue, away from Sigtrygg sat his men and the men of Earl Gilli, on the inner side.

³⁸ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. cliii., cliv., pp. 322 to 327. We are told, that the head of Gunnar Lambi's son spun off, on to the board, before the king and the earls.

³⁹ This appendage to his features supposes some peculiarity, marked by the description.

⁴⁰ See "Poetical Works," vol. i., Ode viii. The Fatal Sisters, p. 78. London, 1825, 8vo. A new edition, in two volumes.

King of Dublin hastened home to his unprincipled mother, and told her how things stood. After that, Ospak, who had ten ships, and Brodir, who had twenty, talked over the secret arrangement; but, Ospak, a heathen, and the wisest of men, refused to join Brodir, against so good a king as Bryan. Both got wroth in the debate, and sundered their band, at once; but, while Ospak's ships lay within a sound, Brodir's vessels were outside from them.⁴¹

The Danes summoned their countrymen, to join this great expedition; while, in Ireland itself, their allies were to be found among the natives, who had been accustomed to serve with them in the field. Emissaries or agents duly instructed were sent to Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, as also to their colonial offshoots,⁴² urging by every argument the adventurous vikings to muster their hordes, and to draw out their vessels, from the northern fords. Plat, a strong knight of Lochlann, and the hero Conmael, were invited to join the confederacy.⁴³ We are informed, likewise, that the King of Denmark sent his two sons, Carolus Kanutus⁴⁴ and Andreas, at the head of twelve thousand men, and that these were safely landed in Dublin, where they were kindly received and refreshed by Maelmordha.⁴⁵ It is stated, moreover, that thirty thousand men were embodied in Scandinavia, and, afterwards, these made a descent on the shores of Ireland, landing at Clontarf.⁴⁶ Thus, Danes came from the regions of snow,⁴⁷ and from the Mediterranean Gothland. The Sclaves and Wandali, likewise, dwelt on islands of the Baltic sea, and spread their pagan hordes on the Continent, towards the south;⁴⁸ but, we have no account, that those people took any part in the invasion. The Irish Scandinavian colonists invited the Jarl Brodor,⁴⁹ or Broder,⁵⁰ a renowned warrior, apparently from the North of Saxon-land, to take a command on their behalf, and he accordingly consented to join the expedition. By one authority, he is called the Earl of Cair Ascadal, as also, son to the King of Lochlann,⁵¹ and by another, he is denominated Earl of Caer Ebroc,⁵² that is of York, in England.⁵³ He is said, not only to have embraced Christianity,⁵⁴ but even to have become a Mass Deacon, by consecration. Afterwards, he apostatized, and he resorted to gentile practices. He is called "God's dastard," being a worshipper of heathen fiends, and of all men most addicted to sorcery. He

⁴¹ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," chap. cliv., pp. 327 to 329.

⁴² See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland: from the Earliest Period to the Emancipation of the Catholics," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99. Glasgow edition, no date, 8vo.

⁴³ See *COGSAH SAEBHEL RE SALLABH*, chap. lxxxvii., pp. 152, 153.

⁴⁴ Sometimes called Carl Canuteson.

⁴⁵ See the Battle of Clontarf, an article by John O'Donovan, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

⁴⁶ See Dr. Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 184.

⁴⁷ So state the "Annales Inisfalenses," Dublin copy, and in a note, Rev. Dr. O'Connor interprets this designation, as including "Norwegia, Suedia, Jutlandia."—"Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 62.

⁴⁸ See A. Krantzii "Viri in Theologia et Jurc Pontificio Celebrissimi, Historiique, Clarissimi, Wandalia. De Wandalorum vera Origine, variis gentibus, crebris e patria migrationibus, regnis item, quorum vel autores

vel eversores, fuerunt," lib. ii., cap. 21, p. 33. Francofurti, M.D.LXXX, fol.

⁴⁹ He is also called "Broderick, a famous leader against the Britons of Wales and Cornwall."—Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99.

⁵⁰ He is called Bruadar, chief of the Danes, in the Dublin copy of "Annales Inisfalenses," in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 61.

⁵¹ Such is the account in the Manuscript, distinguished as B, in Rev. James Henthorn Todd's edition of *COGSAH SAEBHEL RE SALLABH*, p. 151, n. 14.

⁵² According to the Annals of Loch Cé. Dr. Todd thinks, however, that this must be a mistake.

⁵³ Another account has it, that Carolus and Anrud, son of Ebhric, and also two sons of the White Danes, joined this expedition. See "Annales Inisfalenses," p. 61 (Dublin copy), in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii.

⁵⁴ According to the "Nials-Saga."

wore a coat of mail, which no steel could bite, and black hair so long, that he tucked its locks under his belt. He was both tall and strong.⁵⁵ The Danes invited, also, Amlaibh,⁵⁶ son to the King of Lochlann. Both of the last-named chiefs⁵⁷ are called Earls of Cair, and of all the North of Saxonland. These are stated to have been chiefs of ships, outlaws, ferocious and impious men, having no reverence "for God or man, for church or for sanctuary."⁵⁸ According to the account, these were at the head of two thousand hard-hearted mercenaries,⁵⁹ being men in armour.⁶⁰ Other statements have it, that those chiefs commanded only one thousand men.⁶¹ From Manann or the Isle of Man,⁶² from Sci,⁶³ and from Leodhas,⁶⁴ assistance was sought. Suibne, Earl of Man, sent the "war arrow" through all those "out-islands," that obeyed him as Lord.⁶⁵ To Scotland, and to the Hebrides⁶⁶ and Orkney Islands,⁶⁷ the envoys repaired, to knit well the ramifications of this great confederacy. The Cat Islands⁶⁸ are mentioned as having furnished a contingent, as likewise, Cenn Tyre and Airer-Gaedhel.⁶⁹ There Sigurd,⁷⁰ the powerful Earl of the Orkneys,⁷¹ who began his rule over these islands, A.D. 996, and who had also possession of Caithness and of Sutherland, was remarkable for his warlike adventurers, at this epoch, both by sea and land. The

⁵⁵ See the account, in George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. cliv., p. 329.

⁵⁶ Probably, he is not distinct from Ascadal, Earl of Cair Ascadal.

⁵⁷ The romantic tale, known as the Cath Chluana Tarbh, distinguishes them as Broda and Asgal, two sons of the King of Lochlann, and probably they were brothers.

⁵⁸ See *Coḡaoh ḡaehel re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxxvii., pp. 150 to 153.

⁵⁹ Accustomed to hire themselves for gold or silver, or for other treasures; in other words, they were a standing and a regularly disciplined body of men. See *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Their armour is stated to have been triple-plated, of refined iron or of cool uncorroding brass, polished, glittering and strong, encasing their sides and bodies, from head to foot. See *ibid.*

⁶¹ According to the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, as also, the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests.

⁶² There the original Celtic population had yielded to the Scandinavian. At this time, the Danish pirates had possession of Man. The Manx language resembles more the Erse of Ireland and the Gaelic of Scotland, than the Cymric or Lesser Breton. See *Eliséé Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, la Terre et les Hommes,"* tome iv. *Ile de Man*, p. 626.

⁶³ Probably the Island of Sky, although in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, we find *Sgiligia*, interpreted Shetland, by Rev. Dr. O'Conor, in "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., p. 61, n. 3.

⁶⁴ Otherwise, *Leodhasa*, interpreted Lewis, by Rev. Dr. O'Conor. *Ibid.*, n. 4.

⁶⁵ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," &c., vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99.

⁶⁶ *Cead*, as used in the Dublin copy of the

Innisfallen Annals, is interpreted, the Hebrides, by Rev. Dr. O'Conor, in "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., p. 61, n. 2.

⁶⁷ In 966, states the Poet Gray, the people of the Orkney Islands became Christians, but probably it happened in 995; however, although they and the other Gothic nations no longer worshipped their old divinities, yet they never doubted of their existence, or forgot their ancient mythology. See "The Works of Thomas Gray, containing his Poems and Correspondence, with Memoirs of his Life and Writings," tome i., p. 78, note.

⁶⁸ The people of the Orc Islands and of the Cat Islands are represented, as "an assembled army of ignorant, barbarous, thoughtless, irreclaimable, unsocial foreigners." See *Coḡaoh ḡaehel re ḡallaibh*, chap. lxxxvii., pp. 152, 153.

⁶⁹ In the Dublin copy of the "*Annales Inisfalenses*," the Irish version has *Cinnuire agus Oirear Gaedhil*, which is translated, by Dr. Charles O'Conor, "et Kentiriae et Orientalium Hibernorum." He adds, in a note to this passage, "*i.e.* in mare Hibernico Orientali." This latter is a mistaken identification of their position, which was in Argyle. See "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., pp. 61, 62.

⁷⁰ Sometimes he is called Sigurd, Hlödver's son, as in the Nials-Saga, cap. clviii.; sometimes, Sinchrath, son of Lodar, as in the Annals of Ulster; sometimes, Sichfrith, son of Lódar, as in the "Annals of the Four Masters;" and sometimes, Sincrad, son of Lotar, or Sitric, son of Lodar, as in the different copies of the *Coḡaoh ḡaehel re ḡallaibh*.

⁷¹ He is called Luadar, Count of the Orkney Islands—evidently a mistake for his father's name—in the Dublin copy of the "*Annales Inisfalenses*." See Rev. Dr.

coasts of Ross and Moray were ravaged by him; the Hebrides paid him tribute;⁷² in 1006, the Scottish king, Malcolm II. tried, but in vain, to purchase peace for Scotland, by giving his daughter in marriage, as a second wife. Sigurd made a second descent upon Moray in 1010, but, he was signally defeated, at Mortlach, and with great slaughter, after a protracted struggle.⁷³ This fierce leader was probably only a nominal Christian.⁷⁴ Wearing the dull amenities of repose, around his own shores, when the blast of war blew from a distance, and probably hoping to share the anticipated division of Irish soil, in favour of foreign auxiliaries;⁷⁵ this brave Viking spread his sails to the aid of Sigtric, Northman King of Dublin.⁷⁶ The hundred inhabited isles,⁷⁷ which lie between Yell and Man, sent in their contingents to swell the following of the renowned Earl.⁷⁸

In 1013, Sweyn invaded England, and he took possession of a considerable portion of that country, having been acknowledged as its king.⁷⁹ Whether he assisted the project of invasion, or not, seems to be unknown; but, he died in the following year,⁸⁰ after a remarkable career. Two barons of the Corr Britons,⁸¹ or Coir-Bhreathnaicc,⁸² and Corndabbliteoc,⁸³ of the Britons at Cill Muni,⁸⁴ or St. David's, were invited to this confederacy. From another place, the Coir-na-Liogog foreigners were collected, for the anticipated invasion.⁸⁵ After the death of Sweyn, Canute, the son, completed his father's conquests, and he became King of Denmark, of Norway, and of England. Under Canute, the power of Denmark reached its highest position. He was styled the Great; but, he was probably too much engaged with other enterprises, to lend any considerable assistance to that expedition, destined for Ireland.⁸⁶

O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 61.

⁷² It is stated, that "the Kings of Denmark and Norway treated with him on equal terms."—Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," &c., vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99.

⁷³ See Dr. James Taylor's "Pictorial History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. i., p. 37.

⁷⁴ It is said, that Olaf Tryggveson, the first Christian King of Norway, returning from a vi-king expedition to the west, came to the Orkneys, A.D. 997, and seized Earl Sigurd, as he lay under the Isle of Hoy, in a single ship. King Olaf offered to ransom the Earl, if he consented to embrace the true faith and be baptized, that he should become his man, and proclaim Christianity over all the Orkneys. He submitted to these conditions, and give his son Hundi as a hostage. See Olaf Tryggveson's "Saga," cap. lii.

⁷⁵ Flosi, an adventurer, who was on a visit with Sigurd, offered to accompany him on the expedition; but this, the Earl would not permit, since he had a pilgrimage to fulfil. However, fifteen of his band were accepted by the Earl, to go on this voyage. Then Flosi went with Earl Gilli to the Southern Isles. Thorstein, son to Hall of the side, Harfu the red, and Erling of Stranmey, went along with Earl Sigurd. See the "Saga," chap. clvi., p. 333.

⁷⁶ See "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. ii., pp. 540, 541.

⁷⁷ After their conversion, these contained three hundred churches and chapels.

⁷⁸ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99.

⁷⁹ See Edward A. Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest of England; its Causes and Results." chap. v., sect. 4, pp. 396, 397.

⁸⁰ "Sven, à qui ils avaient laissé prendre, en l'année 1014, le titre de roi d'Angleterre, mourut dans cette même année, assez subitement pour qu'il y ait lieu d'attribuer sa mort à un élan d'indignation patriotique."—Augustin Thierry's "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses Causes et de ses Suites jusqu'à nos Jours, en Angleterre, en Ecosse, en Irlande et sur le Continent," tome i., liv. ii., p. 216. Sixième édition, Paris, 1843, 8vo.

⁸¹ From Barru and from the Corrbritons, according to another account, aid came.

⁸² In the Dublin copy of the "Annales Inisfalenses," Rev. Dr. O'Conor translates this in the Latin, "et Wallorum," to which he appends, n. 2 "Corwallia, juxta marginalem notam."—"Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 62.

⁸³ The Manuscript B has the name Cornbliteoc.

⁸⁴ In the Dublin copy of the "Annales Inisfalenses," the Irish version has *agus Breathnaicc Cillemuine*; and to this, Rev. Dr. O'Conor appends n. 3, "Nempe S. Davidis Menevensis."—"Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 62.

⁸⁵ Rev. Dr. O'Conor conjectures this to be meant for Cornubia, as he translates it in

Even the Danes of Normandy, then signalized as Northmen, as those of Britain and of the Isles around her coasts, heard the summons to arms with delight. Then they had embraced Christianity. The pagan kings of Scandinavia brought aid to their Christian fellow-countrymen, in Ireland, as they did in Normandy; for, the origin of race and of language caused relations of alliance and of national fraternity.⁸⁷ However, the Dukes of Normandy had long acknowledged themselves as vassals of the successors to Charlemagne and Capet.⁸⁸ When the romanesque language had prevailed among the Normans, they were called Franks, Romans, or Velques, by the Scandinavians.⁸⁹ Carlus and Ebric,⁹⁰ two sons to the King of France, are said to have been invited to join this expedition;⁹¹ but, we may assume, that these were chiefs of the Normans.⁹² They entered into the confederacy, and were pleased at the prospect of settling in the cities⁹³ and towns, already opened to commerce, by the men of their race; while possessions and lands were thought to be the certain acquisition of those colonists,⁹⁴ who having triumphed over the natives of Erin, were, by the irregular laws of warfare then prevailing, entitled to those spoils won by their valour.

No less than sixteen thousand Danes, already settled in Dublin, and in other strongholds of Ireland, together with all the power of Leinster, were gathered under the command of King Maelmordha,⁹⁵ who either claimed a suzerainty over them, or whose supremacy seems to have been admitted, for the occasion. The din of preparation was heard on the coasts, and within the islands of the Baltic, to their more southern settlements. Joyfully did the hardy Norsemen receive the decision arrived at by their chiefs. Their natural courage, aroused by the message, was responded to with the readiness and excitement of warriors accustomed to bold adventures, whether on sea or land. They were already assured of conquest, owing to the extensive scale on which the expedition had been planned.

When he found a great war pending, with all possible speed, Bryan Boromha summoned his lieges, and he mustered the forces of Munster and of Connaught, under his standard. These were joined, likewise, by the men of Midhe, or of Meath,⁹⁶ to the number of one thousand warriors. The remote situation of Ireland, which lay so far towards the south and west, in the Atlantic Ocean, and the widely dispersed colonies of the confederates, were no slight protection from the Northman invasion, while efforts were being

the Latin. See *ibid.*, p. 62, and n. 4.

⁸⁶ However, Carl Canuteson, Prince of Denmark, and one who joined the expedition, as a commander, was probably his son.

⁸⁷ See Augustin Thierry's "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses Causes et de ses Suites jusqu' a nos Jours, en Angleterre, en Ecosse, en Irlande et sur le Continent," tome i., liv. ii., p. 214.

⁸⁸ See Edward Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. vii., chap. lvi., p. 102. William Smith's edition.

⁸⁹ See Augustin Thierry's "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands," &c., tome i., liv. ii., p. 215.

⁹⁰ One account has it Ellric.

⁹¹ See *COGABH SACOBEL RE GALLABH*, chap. lxxvii., pp. 152, 153.

⁹² See a Map of Normandie, designed and

engraved by Ambroise Tardieu, in the Atlas to illustrate Augustin Thierry's "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands," &c., tome i.

⁹³ The monk Ademar, whose Chronicle was written before 1031, in the opinion of Labbe, states, "ut Hirlandis extinctis ipsi pro ipsis inhabitarent opulentissimam terram quæ xii. civitates cum amplissimis Episcopatus et unum regem habet, ac propriam linguam sed Latinas literas, quam Sanctus Patricius Romanus ad fidem convertit."

⁹⁴ The same monk of Epharchius of Angouleme states, that in their large fleet, the Normans brought their wives and children to settle in Ireland, so assured were they of success.

⁹⁵ See John O'Donovan, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

⁹⁶ See Charles George Walpole's "Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union with Great

made to combine and to collect all the native forces. Morrourh,⁹⁷ the Prince of Ireland, with his five brothers, Connor,⁹⁸ Flann,⁹⁹ Teige,¹⁰⁰ Daniel,¹⁰¹ and Donough,¹⁰² marched with their illustrious father to Clontarf; although, they were respectively the sons of different mothers.¹⁰³ Morrourh took with him, likewise, his son Turlough, then a mere youth, who was resolved to distinguish himself in this expedition.¹⁰⁴ To the support of public liberty came the sons of Kennedy, son of Lorcan, whose names were, Dunchuain, Eichiaruinn, Anluan, Lachtna, Cosgrach, Lorcan Seanachan, Ogan, Maolruadhna, and Aingidh.¹⁰⁵ The Northern Sagas mention a foster-child of the monarch Bryan, who was full grown, and the bravest of all men, at this time, and who eminently distinguished himself during this war. He is called Kerthialfad.¹⁰⁶ The sons of Dunchuain, the son of Kennedy, voluntarily offered their services to the King of Ireland; their names were Lonargan, Ceilliochair, Kennedy, Fiangalach, and Jonnrachtach. Eochaidh, son of Jonnrachtach and Dublgin, son to Eochaidh, and Beolan, appeared, at the head of their friends, relations, and dependents, to fight for the common cause, against the King of Leinster.¹⁰⁷ The posterity of Fiachadh Muilleathan,¹⁰⁸ or the Eugenic line, with all their dependents, mustered to the monarch's call. These were the Mac Carthy Mor, the O'Sullivan, the O'Bryan, the O'Callaghan, and the O'Keefe, families. The posterity of Cormac Cas, or the Dalcassian line, rose in defence of their common country. These were branched out into several families, the Jobh Bloid, or Ui-Bloid,¹⁰⁹ the Jobh Caisin,¹¹⁰ or Ui-Caisin,¹¹¹

Britain," Book i., chap. iii., p. 25. London, 1882, 8vo.

⁹⁷ He was the son of Mor, daughter of Heidhin, son to Claireach, son of Eadalach, son to Cumusgach, King of Ive-fiachrachaidline in Connaught, according to the writer of the "Critico-Historical Dissertations, concerning the Laws of the Ancient Irish, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernis," vol. i., No. iv., part ii., p. 545.

⁹⁸ He is said to have been son of Mor, the first wife of Bryan. See *ibid.*

⁹⁹ He is said, likewise, to have been son of Mor, according to the Leabhar Irse of the Mulconnerys. See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ He is said to have been Bryan's son, by his second wife Eachraid, the daughter of Carolus, son to Oillil Fionn, King of Ive-Neadh-a-odhbha, a principality of Meath. See *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Also called Donal, and a son of Eachraid, the second wife of Bryan. See *ibid.*

¹⁰² It is said, that Donogh was an only son of Bryan Boroimha, by Gormlaith. See *ibid.*

¹⁰³ The writer in General Vallancey's collections states, that it may be inferred, Bryan had four wives, as the Chronicon Scotorum, at 1009, mentions the death of Dubhchabla, daughter to Cathal, son to Conor, King of Connaught. See *ibid.*, p. 546.

¹⁰⁴ Differently indeed are the sons of the great Irish monarch named, in a Northern Chronicle; but, it is probable, the information, obtained by the writer, had been derived from a doubtful source. Thus, we read: "Duncan was the name of the first of King Brian's sons; the second was Margad; the third, Takt, whom we call Tann, he was the

youngest of them; but the elder sons of King Brian were full grown, and the briskest of men."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of, Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. cliv., p. 323.

¹⁰⁵ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 495.

¹⁰⁶ He was the son of King Kyli, who had many wars with King Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit; but when King Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met King Kyli, and then they were atoned, and King Brian took his son Kerthialfad to him, and loved him more than his own sons. Such is the account given in the "Story of Burnt Njal," George Webbe Dasent's edition, vol. ii., chap. cliv., p. 323.

¹⁰⁷ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., p. 496.

¹⁰⁸ His father was Eugene Mor, and his mother was Muncha, the daughter of Dil da Chreaga. He was born at Ath Uisioll, on the River Suir. His father was killed, at the battle of Magh Muchrime, soon after his conception, and his mother died when giving him birth. This is stated in a Poem, attributed to Oilioll Olum. Only one of his two sons Oilioll Flan Beag left issue.

¹⁰⁹ Descended from Bloid or Blod, son to Cais or Cas, King of Thomond, about the time of St. Patrick.

¹¹⁰ The Mac Namaras' original territory was called Hy-Caisin.

¹¹¹ Descended from Caisin, also son of the same Cais. The Caisins, the Mac Namaras, the Clanchys, and O'Grady's, of Thomond, descended from this tribe.

the Clann Aongusa Cinnathrach,¹¹² the Cineal Baoth,¹¹³ the Cineal Cuallacht,¹¹⁴ the Cineal Faibhe, and the Clan Eachach,¹¹⁵ with Cellach, son of Dubhgin, the Clan Cuilleain,¹¹⁶ Meanmain, son to Assiodha, son of Sioda, son to Maolcluithe, the Cineal Fearnach,¹¹⁷ with Maolmeadha, son of Baodan,¹¹⁸ Besides these, the Desii of Munster,¹¹⁹ the Muintir-Iffernain,¹²⁰ the Clann Scannlainn,¹²¹ the men of Feara-Maighe,¹²² of Ciarraighe-Luachra,¹²³ of Eoghanacht-Locha Lein,¹²⁴ of Corcobaischinn,¹²⁵ of Ara,¹²⁶ of Muscraidh Cuirc,¹²⁷ and of Muscraidh-Aodha,¹²⁸ the Ui Eachach,¹²⁹ the Ui Liathain,¹³⁰ the Ui Connall Gabhra,¹³¹ the men of Cairbre-Aodhbha,¹³² and the men of Eile or Ely,¹³³ marched under the standard of Bryan.¹³⁴ Because of their propinquity and near rela-

¹¹² The O'Deas descended from Cinnathrach, son to the same Cais.

¹¹³ This name is now obsolete; but, that tribe dwelt in the Brentii, now Breintre, a district lying north-east of Sliabh Collain, and comprising seven townlands, in the county of Clare.

¹¹⁴ According to the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, their territory comprised the south-eastern part of Inchiquin barony, county of Clare. The Castles of Ballygriffy and Moyvarna were in it.

¹¹⁵ There was a Cinel-Eachach, also called Corca Each, the race of Eochaidh, son of Eoghan, who were in the present barony of Loughinsholin, county of Londonderry. See "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by John O'Donovan, n. 85, p. xvii.

¹¹⁶ This was one of the Mac Namaras' tribe-names, and it applied also to their territory, originally known as Hy-Caisin. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. iii., n. (f), pp. 498, 499, and vol. v., n. (p), p. 1600.

¹¹⁷ These were a tribe of Thomond, inhabiting the present barony of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare. Their cantred comprised the parishes of Rath, Kilmamona, Killinaboy, Kilvedain, Kilvilly, Dysart, Ruane, Kilnoe, Kilkeedy and Inishcronan, according to the Trinity College Library Manuscript, classed E 2. 14.

¹¹⁸ See *Dermod O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland,"* Book ii., pp. 495, 496.

¹¹⁹ These were seated in the eastern extremity of Waterford county, extending from the River Suir to the sea, and from Lismore to Credan Head.

¹²⁰ They were a sept of the Dalcassians, originally seated at Inchiquin and Corofin, in the county of Clare.

¹²¹ Or Muintir Scannlainn of Ui-Fiachrach, who at an early period sunk under the O'Shanghnesses and O'Heynes. See their Pedigree in "The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," edited by John O'Donovan, pp. 58 to 61, and n. (x).

¹²² This name *Fearamaighe* signifies "men of the plain," but their situation is now unknown. See "Topographical Poems of John

O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," edited by John O'Donovan, n. 86, pp. xvii., xviii. The O'Ciaraains, now Kerns, lived here, and it seems to have been in the north of Ireland.

¹²³ Now in the county of Kerry.

¹²⁴ These lived near the present Lakes of Killarney.

¹²⁵ East and West Corobaischinn were situated in the south western portion of Clare county.

¹²⁶ The people of Ara were divided from the Hy-Fidhginte, by the River Samhair, now supposed to be the Morning Star, in Limerick county. They were of Rudrician race.

¹²⁷ Now comprised in the barony of Clanwilliam, county of Tipperary.

¹²⁸ The territory of the O'Heas, often Anglicised Hayes, and it lay on both sides of the Abhainn Mor, or Blackwater, near its source, in the north-west of Cork county.

¹²⁹ In General Vallancey's work, they are called the Ive-Eachach, and they are probably not different from the Clan Eachach, already mentioned.

¹³⁰ Their territory was nearly co-extensive with the present barony of Barrymore, county of Cork.

¹³¹ Now the barony of Connello, county of Limerick.

¹³² The territory of Ui Cairbre Aebhdha, of which O'Donovan was chief, comprised the barony of Coshma, in the county of Limerick, the districts around Bruree and Kilmallock, with the plains along the River Maigue. That Kerry was part of it appears highly probable, in the opinion of John O'Donovan.

¹³³ The people and territory of Eile derive their denomination from Eile, seventh in descent from Cian, son to Olioll Olum. The territory was divided into eight Tuatha, ruled by as many petty chiefs, over whom O'Carroll was head king. Ancient Eile comprised the present baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt, that Ely O'Carroll, now in the King's County; the diocesan boundaries of Killaloe and Meath diocese being the north line of demarcation. Ikerrin and Elgogarty baronies, in the county of Tipperary, belonged to it. This territory was all included in ancient Mumhan, and its people were

tionship to the monarch, whose mother was a princess of Connaught, the chiefs of that province loyally responded to his summons. Thus, the King of Ireland was supported, by the assistance of Teige, or Tadhg, the son of Morrough O'Kelly,¹³⁵ King of Hy-Maine,¹³⁶ and who so greatly distinguished himself, that in after times, he is set down in the family pedigrees, as Tadhg Catha Bhriain, or Teige of the Battle of Brian.¹³⁷ This Teige O'Kelly, with his chiefs, had raised a strong body of men out of the province of Conacht, and he appeared at the head of them.¹³⁸ Maolruadhna na Paidre O'Heon, or Mulrony O'Heyne, of the Prayer, the prince of Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne,¹³⁹ with his clansmen, were embodied for the occasion. Flaherty, the King of West Connaught, and Connor, son to Maolruana, King of Magh-Lurg, brought their forces. It is said, that Hugh O'Neill made an offer of his troops and his service, to attend the imperial standard; but, Bryan politely declined the offer, distrusting his fidelity to the cause.¹⁴⁰ From the north of Ireland, however, came the men of Oirgiall, under the command of their King Carrol, and the men of Fermanach, under their King Mac Guibhir, or Maguire.¹⁴¹ Among the Leinster chiefs, O'More and O'Nolan are enumerated, as allies of the Irish monarch.¹⁴² Many others of the first quality and interest in their country resolved to gather what strength they were able. This rising amounted to a considerable number of troops; some were well accustomed to warfare, while others were levied for the first time, to oppose the Leinster king, who conspired with a foreign power, to bring slavery upon his country.¹⁴³ As the relationship, interests and policy of Malcolm II.,¹⁴⁴ King of Scotland, had been involved in the issue of entirely destroying the Scandinavian ascendancy, in his own country; so was it a matter of importance to him, that Bryan's army should be largely reinforced from Alban. Accordingly, no less than ten Mormaers, or chieftains, led as many bands of Galls or foreign auxiliaries, and

called the Muintir-Cearbhaill. See the Poem of O'Huidhrin, in "The Topographical Poems of John O'Duibhigain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin," pp. 130 to 135, with notes by the editor, John O'Donovan, 757 to 782, pp. lxxxiv. to lxxxvi.

¹³⁴ See General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Dissertations concerning the Laws of the Ancient Irish, part ii., No. iv., pp. 537, 538.

¹³⁵ He died, A.D. 960.

¹³⁶ This territory adjoined Thomond, and it lay immediately to the north; its eastern boundary was the River Shannon, from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, to the county of Clare, and from Athlone in a western direction, towards Seefin and Athenry, in the county of Galway. See the Map prefixed to "The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country," translated and annotated by John O'Donovan, in 1843.

¹³⁷ See *ibid.* Additional Notes, A, p. 99.

¹³⁸ According to an Irish Poem, he had been chief of Hy-Many for thirteen years. *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ This small territory lay northwards of Thomond, it being bounded by Hy-Maine to the east, and by Galway Bay on the west. This territory—called after Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, who died A.D. 662—was co-extensive with the diocese of Kil-

macduagh. See "The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," edited by John O'Donovan. Addenda. B., p. 373.

¹⁴⁰ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 261.

¹⁴¹ See General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. The Law of Tanistry Illustrated," part ii., No. iv., p. 528.

¹⁴² See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland: from the Earliest Period to the Emancipation of the Catholics," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

¹⁴³ See Dermot O'Connor's Keating's "General History of Ireland," Book ii., pp. 495, 496.

¹⁴⁴ The Rev. Paul O'Brien, D.D., who contributed the valuable Paper, intitled, "A Critico-Historical Dissertation, concerning the Ancient Irish Laws, or National Customs, called Gavel-kind and Tanistry, or Senior Government," states, that he had seen in an old anonymous manuscript, that a daughter of Bryan Boroimha was married to Malcolm II., son to Kinneth, King of Scotland." See part ii., p. 547, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., No. iv. The Annals of Innisfallen mention, that Bryan had a daughter Sadhbh, or Sabia, who was married to Cian, son to Maolmuadh Mac Brian, King of

these landed in Ireland. Among them was Donald,¹⁴⁵ the Mormaer or Great Steward of Marr,¹⁴⁶ and he appears to have been the chief in command over those Scots. Nor could Bryan rely, it is said,¹⁴⁷ on the fidelity of some, who joined him as auxiliaries. The men of Meath came in, and with proffered aid, to the monarch Bryan; but, if we are to credit some accounts, there was little real intention of supporting his cause, and especially, if a chance were afforded to withhold their allegiance. The Meathians were under the conduct of Mael-seachlin, their king; and, his former hostilities with the present monarch of Ireland may have caused some misgivings, as to the course he might take. However, he seems to have been equally an object for the hostility of the Leinster people, as of their Scandinavian auxiliaries, at the period when this campaign opened. Still, some Momanian accounts will have it, that at a critical emergency, he had designed to ruin any reputation for honour or patriotism, he might have previously gained. But, his conduct on the field shows, that he remained faithful to his allegiance, and his being elected as the supreme monarch of Ireland a second time, immediately after the death of Bryan, indicate, that no suspicion of his traitorous designs had been entertained, by the nation at large. Mealseachlain is said to have boasted, that he and his thousand Meathmen intended to desert Bryan, on the day of battle. We have good reasons for deeming this to be a calumny, which has hardly sufficient proof to sustain it.

About the festival of St. Patrick, in spring, the muster of Bryan's army was effected.¹⁴⁸ He knew those exertions made during the summer and winter of 1013, to combine an overwhelming force of opponents.¹⁴⁹ He then marched directly towards Leinster, as it has been stated, with 30,000 well-appointed and chosen men, under his standards.¹⁵⁰ On his approach, it seems probable, that Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, and the King of Laighin, with the forces of this province, and of Ui Cennselaigh, hastened for protection to Ath-Cliath. These fugitive foes formed three very great and strong battalions.¹⁵¹ The province of Leinster had been denuded of troops, and consequently it had been left uncovered, by Maelmordha,¹⁵² who probably judged it wise, to draw all his forces together, for what he supposed must have proved a decisive battle. Under the circumstances, it seems to have been a well-calculated stroke of generalship. Meantime, Bryan had sent his son Donchadh, with the new levies of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of the Munstermen, to make a raid upon the Leinster territories.¹⁵³ It is said, he was at the head of a third part of the Eugenian forces. The King of Ailech, Hugh O'Neill, pretended a desire to assist the monarch. But, Bryan had not forgotten a negotiation between himself and Maelseachlainn; so that having suspicions about his sincerity, the monarch is related to have refused such an offer.¹⁵⁴ It seems a

Ive-Eacach, A.D. 979. They had a son, called Mahon, from whom the O'Mahonys of Ive-Eachach descended.

¹⁴⁵ He was the son of Eimin, the son of Cannich.

¹⁴⁶ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. viii., p. 387, and n. 4.

¹⁴⁷ See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., No. iv. A Critico-Historical Dissertation, &c., p. 526.

¹⁴⁸ See *Cogaith Saethel Re Gallaih*, chap. lxxxvii., pp. 150, 151.

¹⁴⁹ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," &c., vol. i., Book

ii., chap. vi.; p. 99.

¹⁵⁰ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 261.

¹⁵¹ See *Cogaith Saethel Re Gallaih*, chap. lxxxvii., pp. 150, 151.

¹⁵² He was indefatigable, not only in raising new levies, but in labouring to detach different princes from the interest of their country. See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 260.

¹⁵³ It is said, "his absence was restricted to three days, as the king thought it would not be prudent to risk a battle without the

corruption of historic truth,¹⁵⁵ when we are told, that with base treachery to the national cause, information was sent to the King of Leinster, by Mael-seachlainn,¹⁵⁶ so that he might take advantage of the monarch's numerical inferiority and attack him, with a comparative prospect of success.¹⁵⁷ In the absence of its fighting men, the province of Leinster was entirely despoiled. The main army of Bryan appears to have been in advance, plundering Ui Gabhla,¹⁵⁸ Ui Donnchadha,¹⁵⁹ and Fine Gall.¹⁶⁰ Clondalkin and Kilmainham—as being settlements of the enemy—were burned by Bryan, while the Leinster king and his Northmen auxiliaries were concentrating their forces, around or within the walls of Dublin. The Irish monarch, at the head of his army, had now reached Ath-Cliath, and under circumstances extremely critical. Bryan there encamped on the plains, near Dublin, some state at Kilmainham,¹⁶¹ and with a smaller army, than he should have had in array;¹⁶² because it was found necessary, to order some diversion of his troops. Meantime, the fleet of Sigurd bore southwards from Kirkwall, and swept the subject coasts of Scotland. It gathered from every firth and loch its galleys and its fighting men. Their rendezvous was the Isle of Man, where Suibne had placed his own forces, under the command of Brodar.¹⁶³ Whether it was the result of Donchadh's inability to come up in time for concentration, or whether it was intended for a strategic movement, inspired by a confidence of victory on the Irish side; their state of isolation must have been attended with great hazard to the general issue of that memorable day, at Clontarf, especially when the Irish monarch was engaged, in the presence of such mighty and united confederates.

During the month of April, sailing from the Isle of Man, Broder, with his powerful armament, appears to have arrived in Dublin, where he had several days to organize his forces. The Niáls Saga, written in the Danish language, but also translated into Latin, while supplying many details, in reference to the expedition fitted out for Ireland, has a curious statement, in relation to the action of the two great leaders, Sigurd, Earl of the Orkneys, and Broder, commander-in-chief of the Northmen. Direful portents had been witnessed,

co-operation of these troops."—Miss Julia Corner's "History of Ireland; from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," p. 31. London, no date, 12mo.

¹⁵⁴ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 261.

¹⁵⁵ See the Battle of Clontarf, by John O'Donovan, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁵⁶ John O'Mahony, in his edition of Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "History of Ireland," attributes this suspicion to the calumnious aspersions of the Shannachies of Munster, and he states, that Maoilseachlainn Mór well merited his title of the Great. He also remarks, that some writers barbarously translated his name into Malachy, when writing it in English; others more properly call him Melaghlín. According to another writer his name is formed of the familiar prefix Maol (*vulgo* Mul), and Seachnall, the name for an ancient disciple of St. Patrick, and from whom Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath was called. By usage, the last letters have become transposed. See "The Gaelic Journal," vol. i., No. 1., p. 5, *note*.

¹⁵⁷ This is stated, in the Dublin copy of

the Annals of Innisfallen. See Rev. Dr. Conon's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., pp. 60, 61.

¹⁵⁸ This territory is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1072, but nothing has been discovered as yet, to show where the Ui Gabhla were located. See *leabhar na 5-ceart*, or "The Book of Rights," Dr. O'Donovan's note (h), pp. 252, 253.

¹⁵⁹ That portion of Dublin county, through which the River Dodder flows, according to Dr. O'Donovan.

¹⁶⁰ The northern part of Dublin county.

¹⁶¹ According to General Vallancey, in his "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," where there is an account of Bryan Boiroimh. See vol. i., No. iv. Critico-Historical Dissertations concerning the Laws of the Ancient Irish, part ii., pp. 522 to 547.

¹⁶² See the Battle of Clontarf, by John O'Donovan, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁶³ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," &c., vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 99.

¹⁶⁴ One night, a great din passed over Brodir and his men, so that all awoke,

even before the expedition had reached its destination.¹⁶⁴ Until he pledged peace, Ospak would not tell Brodir the meaning of these extraordinary signs, and even having procured this promise, he refused to expound them, until night fell. Then he said, "When blood rained on you, therefore shall ye shed many men's blood, both of your own and others. But, when you heard a great din, then you must have been shown the crack of doom, and you shall all die speedily. But, when weapons fought against you, that must forebode a battle; but, when ravens pressed you, that marks the devils which you put faith in, and who will drag you all down to the pains of hell." Then, Brodir was so wroth, that he could answer never a word. At once, going to his men, he caused them to lay his ships in a line across the sound, and to moor them, by bearing their cables on shore, at either end of the line. He meant to slay Ospak and all his men the next morning. However, the latter chief saw through the plans of Brodir; then, he vowed to embrace the true faith, to seek King Bryan, and to follow him until his death-day. He now resolved to lay his ships in a line, to punt them along the shore with poles, and to cut the cables of Brodir's ships. Soon these began to fall aboard of one another, while the crews were fast asleep. Ospak and his men thus got out of the firth, sailed westwards to Ireland, and went to Connaught. There, Ospak told King Bryan all that he had learned. Afterwards, he was baptized, and gave himself over into the king's hands.¹⁶⁵

Those prodigies and their interpretation were not calculated, however, to extinguish the hopes of the Scandinavian sailors and warriors, during their voyage. A truly formidable body of Northmen had been assembled under Broder, at Dublin, after Palm Sunday, A.D. 1014;¹⁶⁶ for, on that very day,¹⁶⁷ Earl Sigurd arrived with his vessels and troops, in the Bay of Dublin.¹⁶⁸ These bands and their confederates became impatient for the fray. A few days only elapsed, until their desires were gratified, with the coming prospect of a great battle, but not with the successful result to them of an ever-memorable victory. Broder was a gentile, who believed in oracular pronouncements, and he was anxious to obtain some answers, that might help him to prognosticate his chances of war in the coming contest. Yet, it seems the reply was so equivocal, that he drew a favourable augury from it: "If the battle be fought on Friday, King Bryan shall fall, victory being obtained; but, if it be fought before that day, all who stand opposed to him shall be slain." Wherefore, Broder deemed it wise, not to engage his forces before the Day of Venus.¹⁶⁹

sprung up, and put on their clothes. Along with that came a shower of boiling blood. Then, they covered themselves with their shields, but, notwithstanding, many were scalded. This portent lasted until day, and a man died on board of every ship. Then, they slept during the day; but, the second night there was a din, and again all sprang up. Swords leaped out of their sheaths, while axes and spears flew about in the air and fought. The weapons pressed them so hard, that they had to shield themselves. Still many were wounded, and, again, a man died out of every ship. This wonder, too, lasted all till day. They slept again the day after; but, the third night, there was a din of the same kind. Then, ravens flew at them, having apparently beaks and claws of iron. These ravens pressed them so hard, that they had to keep them off with their swords, and had to cover themselves with their shields. This

went on until the day, and another man then died in every ship. Then, they went to sleep first of all, but when Brodir woke up, drawing his breath painfully, he bade them put off in a boat to see Ospak. Taking some men with him, he found Ospak, and told him all that had happened, asking him what those signs boded.

¹⁶⁵ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," and in vol. ii., chap. clv., pp. 330 to 332.

¹⁶⁶ See John O'Donovan's account of the Battle of Clontarf in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁶⁷ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 601.

¹⁶⁸ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," &c., vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 333.

¹⁶⁹ See the Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ; sive Series Re-

The monarch of Ireland arrived with his army, on the plain, called Magh n-Elda, or Magh n-Elta,¹⁷⁰ in old documents. This was the beautifully undulating tract of country, lying to the north and north-west of Ath-Cliath, and bearing in the direction of Meath, whence we may suppose Bryan had marched in conjunction with Maelseachlain. From about eighteen to twenty thousand men are supposed to have been present, under his command. The blockade of Dublin appears to have been renewed. Foraging parties were despatched, through the surrounding country. The foreigners saw the conflagrations in Fine Gall,¹⁷¹ and in the district of Edar,¹⁷² which brought ruin on the homesteads of their countrymen; and, their desires for taking revenge, before the monarch could procure the arrival of reinforcements, were now greatly excited. The monarch's head-quarters were on the plain of Ath-Cliath.¹⁷³ It seems probable, that the Irish encampment extended from Oxmantown Green,¹⁷⁴ quite close to Ath-Cliath,¹⁷⁵ and eastwards towards Glasnevin,¹⁷⁶ Clonturk,¹⁷⁷ and the crests of the rising grounds, in the direction of the Hill of Howth. Amidst the Irish lines, a portion of that plain, formerly called Magh-nEalta Edair, "Old plain of the flocks of Edair," lay. This sloped downwards, to that level stripe of shore, afterwards known as Clontarf.¹⁷⁸ The wood of Tomar¹⁷⁹ sheltered the Irish position. There can hardly

rum Gestarum inter Nationes Britannicarum Insularum et Gentes Septentrionales," pp. 120, 121. These literary gleanings consist of extracts taken from Snorro; from Landnama-boc; from Egilli Scallagrimi-saga; from Niála-saga; from O. Tryggvasonar-saga; from Orkneyinga-Saga; from Hriggiar-stikki; from Knythinga-saga; from Speculo Regali; and from other sources.

¹⁷⁰ Or the Plain of the Flocks. It lay between the Hill of Howth and Tallagh. See Rev. James Henthorn Todd's Introduction to *Cogaoh Saohel re Saallabh*, p. clxxi., n. 6.

¹⁷¹ See a very interesting series of articles in "The Irish Builder," by John S. Sloane, on Fingall, historic and descriptive, vol. xxv., No. 571, *et seq.* Also, vol. xxvi.

¹⁷² Edar—who gave name to Brimeduir, near Dublin—is stated to have been a chief, who flourished a few centuries before the Christian era. See Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. xlv., p. 271.

¹⁷³ The Rev. Dr. Todd supposes, that this was probably the plain between Kilmainham and the city; but, the position extending in the direction of the present James's-street does not seem a favourable one for the blockading army, as the situation is confined in extent, for the most part low, flanked by the River Liffey, and liable to sudden surprises from the strong and warlike garrison, close at hand, and protected by strong walls.

¹⁷⁴ Such is the opinion of Thomas O'Gorman, in his article, "On the site of the Battle of Clontarf," in the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland: originally founded as the Kilkenny Archaeological Society," &c., vol. v. Fourth Series, No. 40, p. 177.

¹⁷⁵ The same writer believes, that Ath-

Cliath lay on the north side of the Liffey, while Dublinne was on the southern side, and formed the fortified position of the foreigners. A passage between both places is said to have been formed of hurdles. While Jocelin, in his Life of St. Patrick, speaks of Ath-Cliath, or Dublin, at one time, as a village, and again as a city, in the twelfth century, it is supposed, although closely adjoining, these were distinct localities. See *ibid.*, p. 173, note.

¹⁷⁶ This parish, in the barony of Coolock, and partially in that of the city of Dublin, is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Dublin," sheets 14, 18. The village proper is marked, on the latter sheet.

¹⁷⁷ A townland and parish, in the barony of Coolock, marked out, *ibid.*

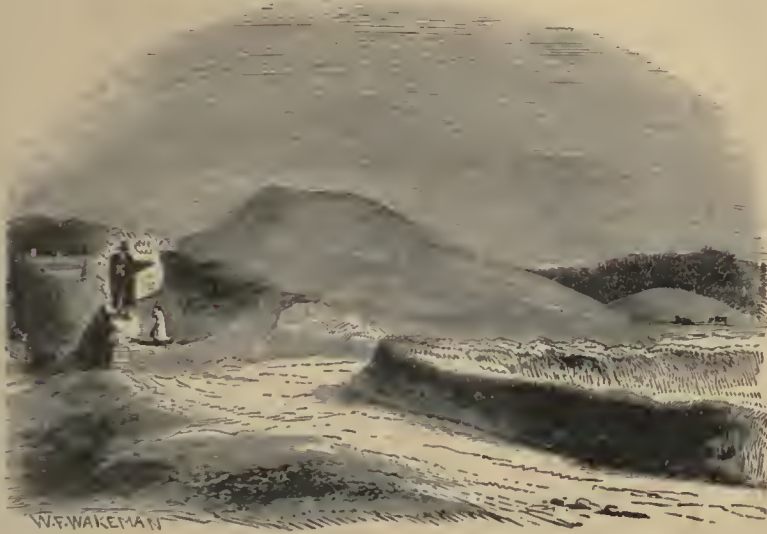
¹⁷⁸ In the time of Henry II., a House of the Knights Templars was here; but, when these were expelled, A.D. 1313, in the reign of Edward II., a Preceptory of Knights Hospitallers occupied their place. See Sir James Ware "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus Ejus Disquisitiones," cap. xxvi., p. 144.

¹⁷⁹ It is thought to have been situated, between Clontarf and Dublin, along the north side of the Liffey. Other forms of the name are Tomhrar, Tombar, and Tomrair. It is perhaps the Scandinavian Thormodr, [Thor's man], which was a common name in Iceland. In Ireland, it seems to have been given to all the Kings of Dublin, who are called "Chieftains of Tomar." Perhaps it was regarded as a royal park. See Rev. James Henthorn Todd's edition of *Cogaoh Saohel re Saallabh*. Introduction, pp. lxxvii., n. 4, and c'xxviii., n. 1.

¹⁸⁰ The accompanying illustration represents two of these mounds—thought to be sepulchral, as they are unquestionably artifi-

be a doubt, but this outskirt had been a well-cultivated district, at that period, and it had been occupied by the Scandinavian colonists, who probably fled for protection within the walls of Dublin, from the neighbourhood of Clontarf.

Here, at the present time, there is a suburban village, stretching along the northern margin on the Bay of Dublin; while, close beside it are yet remaining several mounds,¹⁸⁰ more or less perfect, and supposed to have been con-



Mounds, near the Village of Clontarf, County of Dublin.

structed over the bodies of those, who fell in the engagement.¹⁸¹ Several neat dwellings arise along that road, which now skirts the bay; but, the most attractive villas recede, with an unstudied diversity of site, through shaded and rural lanes, to higher ranges of a gently sloping plateau.¹⁸² From the position occupied by Bryan's army, the arrival of numerous ships in the harbour, and bring-

cial. Those in closest proximity to each other, and to Clontarf, were drawn on the spot, December, 1833, by William F. Wakeman, who, in company with the Very Rev. Patrick Canon O'Neill, P.P., and the writer, carefully examined them. The engraving is by Mrs. Millard. The lower portion of that tumulus in the foreground had been removed on one side, within the memory of persons yet living, to admit the construction of a temporary hut, now removed. A much frequented path winds around the base, and separates the barrow from a small stream of water, running towards the sea, which is near; and much of the upper part of the mound itself seems to have been washed or worn away by the action of rain, or owing to the climbing propensities of children and visitors. Small pieces of charcoal are to be seen protruding from this evidently artificial

mound, and human bones are said to have been found, beneath the surface. A nearly similar description applies to the other mound, shown in the engraving, a short distance towards the rear. Not far removed and within the convent grounds, a still larger and more conspicuous artificial mound is now shaded and surrounded, by tall trees.

¹⁸¹ It seems strange, that no attempt has been made to carefully examine these monuments, without destroying them. An opinion has been offered, that on the day of the battle at Clontarf, these mounds were probably ancient.

¹⁸² In the year 1824, J. N. Brewer describes numerous small wooden buildings, erected by fishermen, for the purpose of drying fish, and these were called "the Sheds of Clontarf."—"Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., p. 191.

ing auxiliaries from all directions, was plainly seen ; but, no efforts could be made to prevent the foemen landing, as they had secure access to the other side of the Liffey, where there were no forces to oppose them.¹⁸³

On Holy Thursday, a council of war was held by the Irish monarch, at which the great chiefs of his army assembled.¹⁸⁴ These were Maelseachlain and his Meathian nobles ; the Munster nobles, and pre-eminently the Dalcasians, with Murchadh, Bryan's eldest son, and Conaing, son of Bryan's brother Donnchuan, lord of Ormond ; the Conacians with Tadhg, surnamed *an eich gill*, or of the White Horse, son to Conchobhair, King of Connaught. We may be assured, that many other chieftains, not here enumerated, were present at those discussions. The subject of their deliberations is not known ; but, the result appears to have been their determination to risk a general engagement, on the following morning. The Irish forces are said to have moved from Kilmainham to Drumcondra, for the place of encampment.¹⁸⁵ Maelseachlainn and the men of Meath were not of one mind with the rest ;¹⁸⁶ and, probably, this will serve to explain the Munster calumny, against him and his clansmen.¹⁸⁷ Meantime, on that same Holy Thursday, another council of war was held in Dublin. At this, it is stated, that Kormlod¹⁸⁸—called by the Irish Gormlaith—assisted. A certain warrior, riding a dapple-grey horse, bearing a halberd, and in full armour, attended, and he held a long conference with the council.¹⁸⁹ This man was probably an Irish traitor,¹⁹⁰ who is supposed to have urged the Leinster and Scandinavian chiefs, to take advantage of Prince Donnchad's absence, with his forces, and to make an immediate attack on King Bryan's camp. This advice was evidently well received, and it was finally resolved, to have all their disposable battalions drawn out in order of battle, on the succeeding day. The evening before it was fought, the enemy possibly marched out from Dublin, so as to concentrate their army between Dublin and Clontarf, and in a line along the sea-shore. It so happened, of all Fridays in the year, the day for that great engagement fell on the Friday before Easter ; that awful anniversary, when the altars of the Church are veiled throughout Christendom, and when the dark stone is rolled to the door of the mystic Sepulchre.¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ "King Brian came with all his host to the Burg, and on the Friday the host faced out of the Burg, and both armies were drawn up in array."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii, chap. clvi., p. 334.

¹⁸⁴ According to some, the night before the battle of Clontarf, the pirates had spent their pay, and their ships lying at Benn Edair were sought by them to return homewards ; while, dreading the valour of Murchadh and of the Dal Cais in general, they had offered Bryan, on the previous night, that if he delayed the burning and devastation of the country until the next day, they would raise their sail-masts and never return again. But, now finding that the destruction of their district had commenced, those pirates resolved to have a share of the plunder, and they prepared to commence the fight in the morning. See Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd's edition of *Coḡaoh ḡaohel re ḡallabh*. Introduction, pp. clxxii., clxxiii., and chap. xc., pp. 156, 157, with notes.

¹⁸⁵ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

¹⁸⁶ See Rev. James Henthorn Todd's edition of *Coḡaoh ḡaohel re ḡallabh*, &c., pp. 154, 155.

¹⁸⁷ See General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i., No. iv., pp. 525, 526.

¹⁸⁸ Brian was the name of the king who first had her to wife, but they were then parted. See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. cliii., p. 323.

¹⁸⁹ According to the "Njals-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

¹⁹⁰ This circumstance probably originated the report, that Maelseachlainn of Meath had sent him as a messenger, to reveal the weakness and division of Bryan's army, at the time.

¹⁹¹ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

¹⁹² Among these was the gold-spangled

It is probable, that knowing how numerous were the enemies' forces prepared to oppose him, Bryan retrograded from his advanced position near the city. However, on looking towards the rear, he saw with pleasure, a huge, disciplined and compact phalanx of his forces, traversing the plain, and moving in silence towards him; haughtily and unitedly they marched, with three score and ten banners fluttering over their heads, and of different colours.¹⁹² They moved near his tent, and there halted.¹⁹³ When night had come, the monarch retired to rest, in order to prepare himself for the anxieties and fatigues of the morrow; but, according to legendary accounts, which have been admitted even into our Annals, Bryan's sleep and thoughts were disturbed by visions, which caused him a sad presentiment of his own death, and that of numerous members belonging to his family. One of those visions introduces St. Senan and his clerics appearing to a servant of the monarch,¹⁹⁴ while the familiar sprite,¹⁹⁵ or guardian *bannshee* of his royal house, came from Craigelea, near Killaloe, to hold a conversation, sadly foreboding evils to him on

banner of Fergal Ua Ruairc, chief king over the territory of Breffny and Conmaicni. This was known as the variegated and lucky banner, that had gained the victory, in every conflict and battle. Fergal himself was there, and Domhnall, son of Regallach, and Gilla-na-Naemh, son to Domhnall, grandson of Fergal, with the nobles of the territory of Breffni and of Conmaicni.

¹⁹³ "Fergal and the nobles advanced to where Brian was, to meet him, and Brian gave them a hearty friendly welcome; and Murchadh rose up to him, and seated him in his place. And Brian asked him the news, and he told him that Aedh, son of Ualgaire Ua Ciardha, King of Cairbri, refused to accompany him to that battle in defence of Brian. And therefore Brian cursed Ua Ciardha and the Cairbri, and gave a blessing to Fergal and to the men of Breffni also."—*COZAOH SAOHEL RE FALLOIBH*, or "The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, chap. lxxix., pp. 154 to 157.

¹⁹⁴ It is stated, in *ANNALS LOCHA CE*, edited by William M. Hennessey, that Indeirge, son of Uadhan, *i.e.*, Brian's orderly-servant, saw in a vision, the night before the battle, a synod of many clerics, as he thought coming towards the camp, singing psalms and reading aloud; when Indeirge asked who the clerics were. "That is Senan, son of Gerrehinn," said the clerics. "What has brought him hither from his own church?" asked Indeirge. "Debts that are due to him from Brian," replied the cleric, "and it is to demand them he has come here." "They would be paid to him at his house," said Indeirge, "even though he had not come for them here." "To-morrow the time for paying them to Senan arrives," said the cleric, "and they must be paid." They afterwards departed from him. Indeirge told Brian, moreover, about that vision he had seen, and the king's mind was the worse for hearing it. Diarmaid Ua Corrain, *i.e.*, the orderly-man of Domhnall, son of Diar-

maid, and who had been at the killing of the Foreigners in Inis-Cathaigh, saw a similar vision, on the night of Easter Friday, and thirty-seven years before that Friday night, when Brian was slain. See vol. i., pp. 6 to 9.

¹⁹⁵ Oebhinn, daughter of Donn-Oilen, came a short time before nocturns on that night, from the *Siah* (fairy-place) of Craige-laith, to converse with Brian, and told him, that he should fall on the morrow. Brian enquired of her, who of his sons should be king after him, and how many of them should be slain in the battle along with himself. She said, "the first son [whom thou shalt see] shall be king after thee." Wherefore it was, that Brian sent for Murchadh, in order that he might come to speak with him before all, ere the multitude could arrive. Murchadh came not, until he put on his garment. Then it was, that Donchadh heard the voice of Brian, conversing with his orderly-servant, and he waited not to put on all his clothes; but, he came quickly and placed his hand on the post of the bed in which Brian lay in his tent. He asked Brian, what he was to do, or whether he should go on the foraging excursions, or remain in the camp. However, when Brian recognised Donnchadh's voice—for he did not like that he should be the first coming to him—he said, "I care not what thou doest, as it was not for thee I was seeking." Donnchadh, thereupon, left the tent in anger, when Murchadh met him in the door of the tent, and neither of them saluted the other. Murchadh then came, and he was conversing with Brian, who said to him, "go to thy bed until the day comes, and that which I should wish, God has not permitted for thee." All evil omens were thus crowding upon them, until the morning of the day came with its full brightness, *i.e.*, Easter Friday. See *ibid.*, pp. 8 to 11.

¹⁹⁶ The reader—making due allowance for the dissimilarity of character and cause—will here recollect Shakespeare's famous scene

the following day.¹⁹⁶ It would seem, moreover, that the Scanian ships spread their sails, and landed a considerable contingent on the north shore of the bay, while their other bands marched along the north bank of the Liffey to join them. With the sea behind, and thus unfavourably placed for strategic purposes, their line of battle probably extended from the Tolka to Dollymount, a distance of nearly two miles. Their main body was placed, it is likely, in the immediate vicinity of Clontarf; while their numerical superiority and excellent appointments inspired them with ardent hopes of securing a complete victory.

CHAPTER IX.

MORNING OF THE BATTLE—DISPOSITION OF THE IRISH AND NORTHMAN FORCES—ADDRESS OF BRYAN BOROIMHA TO HIS ARMY—COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT BATTLE AT CLONTARF—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT, AS RECORDED—CLOSE OF THE BATTLE WITH A SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE IRISH—THE MONARCH BRYAN BOROIMHA IS KILLED, WITH A GREAT NUMBER OF CHIEFS AND WARRIORS ON THE IRISH AND SCANDINAVIAN SIDE—HIS REMAINS ARE BROUGHT TO ARMAGH, WHERE THEY WERE HONOURABLY INTERRED—MEMORIALS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS MONARCH—CONCLUSION.

THE day of battle is said to have been formally agreed on, between the Irish and Danish leaders; these latter, however, rather coercing the former, to fall in with their choice. Being now animated by the number of his auxiliaries, the King of Leinster, without brooking a longer delay, is stated to have bid defiance, by a herald, to the Monarch Bryan, who was challenged to fight at Moynealty, that spacious plain near Dublin, and on the field, now called Clontarf. The course of events, and the manners of the time, appear as lending some colour to this statement; while, the accepting of such a challenge may have been more the result of deliberate policy and confidence, than of romantic courage, on the part of the Irish monarch. Bryan would have wished to avoid fighting, on the last week of Lent, but, more especially, on that solemn day, through reverence for our Divine Redeemer's great atonement; yet, he was determined to defend himself, if attacked.¹ Moreover, he was daily expecting reinforcements; but, still he had no assurance of their immediate arrival. All our Irish historians, who treat about this remarkable epoch, have given special prominence to the glorious close of this illustrious Monarch's career. Although some fictions or gross exaggerations may abound, in various records, yet, there can scarcely be a doubt, as to the general accuracy of many details, regarding the engagement at Clontarf. In song and in story, this fierce battle has been celebrated. In a highly imaginative and dramatic manner are related certain particulars, referring to it, in the Histories of the Northmen.² It has become the glowing theme for Irish chroniclers,

the night before the battle of Bosworth:—

“shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of
Richard,
Than can the substance of ten thousand
soldiers,
Armed all in proof, and led, by shallow
Richmond,³
—“King Richard III.,” Act. v., Scene iii.

CHAPTER IX.—¹ See John O'Donovan's

paper, “The Battle of Clontarf,” in “The Dublin Penny Journal,” vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

² See “The Story of Burnt Njal,” or *Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century*. From the Icelandic of the Njals Saga. By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., vol. ii., chap. cliii., cliv., clv., clvi., pp. 322 to 343.

³ Our modern *litterati* have made the battle of Clontarf the subject for various and for some admired compositions.

ancient and modern, as also, for other writers, to treat, and in various forms of composition. Some of these accounts are inflated and romantic to a degree; but, the style of composition, in the eleventh century, was turgid, and more wanting in correct taste, than at earlier periods. Such descriptions require to be toned down, in a more modern prosaic fashion; since exuberance of imagination is too frequently substituted for more desirable historic details.³

In the early part of this century, John D'Alton wrote a poem, intitled, "Dermid; or Erin in the Days of Ború;" but, it is romantic in plot, and only historical, where he describes the celebrated battle. The Rev. Dr. Drummond also wrote an elegant poem, intitled, "Clontarf."⁴ Under the signature of Desmond, in "The Nation,"⁵ appeared a Poem, on the "Battle of Clontarf," by Denis Florence MacCarthy;⁶ and, beyond the Atlantic, another more enlarged, rhythmical composition has been published, by John Augustus Shea.⁷ Later still, an anonymous poem has been issued, on this subject.⁸ In the Irish language, also, the Rev. John James O'Carroll, S.J., has composed certain dramatic scenes,⁹ which open with an address from Bryan Boróimhe, before his last battle; and, this dialogue is continued, by other speakers.¹⁰ The Saga accounts we find to be very inexact or unreliable, and these appear, for the most part, to have been founded on mistaken reports. Other annalistic narratives, less minute, are so brief as to leave unintelligible some special allusions, for want of historic light to clear away their shadows. Although differences of statement are to be found, with some apocryphal accounts, in various authorities; yet, those are generally the result of mistake and misapprehension, on the part of different writers, without intention to deceive their readers. Even in such divergencies, we do not meet with insurmountable difficulties, which cannot reasonably be reconciled or explained. From the varied and occasional conflicting accounts, we have endeavoured to class many particulars into their probable order, and to blend the shifting colours into those hues we deem the most harmonious. Where we cannot wholly succeed, opposing statements are accurately presented, either in the text or notes. Inferences from recorded acts, with those probabilities drawn from the situation and actors, are sometimes set down; but always, with an appearance of evidence, at least, to sustain the matters which follow, while describing such a memorable event, in the history of Ireland.

The northern accounts have strangely mistaken the season for this occurrence. Thus, Christmas Day is falsely assumed to have been a date for the battle of Clontarf,¹¹ in the Nials-Saga.¹² However, that mighty encounter took

⁴ It comprises two Books, with Preface and Notes, appearing anonymously, in 1822. It was published, by Hodges and M'Arthur, Dublin, in 24mo.

⁵ See vol. i., No. 2.

⁶ See the late edition of his Poems, edited in 1882, by his son, John MacCarthy. Preface, p. vi.

⁷ See "Clontarf; or the Field of the Green Banner: an Historical Romance. And other Poems." By J. Augustus Shea, New York, 1843, 12mo. This work is dedicated to William Cullen Bryant. After a poetic Introduction, it opens at page 11 with the following lines:—

"Clontarf—of memories ever dear
To heart and spirit, which thy
story,
Through the dim lapse of many a year,

illuminates with its rays of glory,
Pride of the ancient days, to thee
I wake my humble minstrelsy."

⁸ Thus, "Brian Ború," a Tragedy, by J. T. B., was published, in 1879, Dublin, 8vo.

⁹ The English translation, in blank verse, appropriately accompanies them, for the benefit of the non-Irish scholar. These dialogues are headed, ἀνάστροφαι διαλόγοι.

¹⁰ See "The Gaelic Journal," vol. i., No. i., *et seq.* Dublin, 1882, *et seq.* 4to.

¹¹ See William M. Hennessey's edition of *Annála Locha Ce*, or "The Annals of Lough Cé," vol. i., pp. 2, 3.

¹² This authority has been followed, likewise, in the introductory notices of Thomas Gray, the Poet, to his celebrated ode, "The

place on Good Friday, and it fell on the 23rd of April, A.D. 1014. It has been supposed, that the opposing leaders and armies were mutually ignorant of their foemen's plans and intentions. The Danes recalled the force sent into Magh-n-Ealta, and drew out that which remained in Dublin, leaving there a sufficient garrison in the fortress. Their land and sea forces were at once united, and they appear to have taken their position on Thursday night.¹³ When the morning dawned, the Scanian and Leinster forces were along the sea-shore, while the army of the Irish monarch faced them towards the west. The line of that memorable engagement extended from the salmon-weir, at the present Ballybough bridge over the River Tolka,¹⁴ onward to Clontarf, and towards Howth—not less than two miles—so that it was impossible to take in, at a glance, the probabilities of a defeat or a victory.¹⁵ There can hardly be a doubt, that the brunt of the shock during the day was most centralized about Clontarf village and Dollymount, where the death-mounds¹⁶



Mound near Conquer Hill, beside the Dollymount Road, near Clontarf.

remaining appear to have been more numerous and larger, than in other localities, along the north shores of the bay. Near the latter locality, there is a slight elevation over the strand, locally known as Conquer Hill. Close to this spot, and within the lawn of a handsome old residence, is a low circular *tumulus*,¹⁷ which, at present, only faintly exhibits its former great elevation ;

Fatal Sisters," translated from the Norse tongue.

¹³ See "Journal of the Royal and Archaeological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 40. On the site of the Battle of Clontarf. By Thomas O'Gorman, pp. 174, 175.

¹⁴ Here there seemed to be a structure, known as Dubhgalls' Bridge, on the day of the battle at Clontarf.

¹⁵ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popu-

lar History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 101.

¹⁶ One of these formerly arose to a considerable height, near the suburban villa of Mr. Allingham. Within the memory of many persons yet living, it has been levelled almost to the ground.

¹⁷ Its traces are shown, in the foreground of the accompanying illustration, from a drawing taken on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, in January, 1883: afterwards, it was

but, tradition has it, that several human bones were found, at the time of its being partially levelled, and, moreover, many others have been disturbed, from under the mould of the neighbouring fields.

It is thought, the chief object of the Leinster and Danish forces had been to hurry on a battle, before the return of that division, which was absent from Bryan's army, and under the leadership of his son Donnchad. Meantime, the Irish Monarch had drawn his troops from west to north-east, by Drumcondra, and on towards the district around Howth.¹⁸ This was a line of march, nearly parallel with that of their enemies' land forces, moving along the Liffey's descending course, to where a junction had been formed with the sea-faring vi-kings and their pirates. The Irish Monarch hemmed in their battalions landwards, and thus he secured a fairly good position for retreat, in case of disaster. As a measure of precaution, and probably of reinforcement, the Scaniah ships were drawn towards the shore, in the rear of their marshalled battalions. The sea must have been exceedingly rough, during that day of the battle, and it was hardly possible for their vessels to venture closely near the land, even at high tide. Still, their proximity gave additional courage and confidence to the Leinstermen and to the Northmen.¹⁹ Their line of battle has been described as of crescent shape, the horns extending from Ballybough Bridge²⁰ towards the promontory of Howth, and the inner curve communicating with their ships.²¹ A not unlikely interpretation, describing the marching order from Dublin of the Leinster and Northmen forces, is given, that Brodar led the first division of the foreign Danars, as the vanguard; next moved the second or main body, comprising the foreigners of Ath-Cliath, under the command of Dubhgall, son of Aulaf; and lastly, as their rere-guard, Maelmordha, King of Leinster, directed the men of his province. On the Irish side, the Dalcassian tribes, forming the front of Brian's battalion, were under the leadership of his son Murchad; behind them, in the centre, marched the other columns of Munster, led by the King of the Decies; while the troops of Connaught, under their leaders O'Kelly and O'Heyne, brought up the rear. When their respective divisions halted for the night, they probably faced round and took their opposite stations, as the troops happened to be placed; besides, this order seems to accord best, with the natural disposition of their several lines, and to a certain extent, it serves to explain some apparent contrarieties of narrative.²² An opinion has been advanced, that the locality, where the armies were ranged and engaged for action, extended chiefly

transferred by him to the wood, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard. The middle distance represents the branch of Dublin Bay, near the North Bull breakwater, while the background takes in the Hill of Howth, which also has a recorded connexion with this great battle-field.

¹⁸ See "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 40. On the Site of the Battle of Clontarf, by Thomas O'Gorman, p. 175.

¹⁹ "At length each plan maturely weighed,

'Twas ruled to draw the battle blade

And try their banners on the plain;
Where, should they wield the war
in vain,

And victory forsake their fray,

Their ships were near them in the bay,
For succour prompt, with ready sail,
To bear them safely from the Gael."

—John Augustus Shea's "Clontarf," p. 62.

²⁰ Where the ancient salmon-weir was placed.

²¹ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

²² See "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 40. On the Site of the Battle of Clontarf, by Thomas O'Gorman, pp. 176, 177.

²³ Its exact position has not been defined, by any known authority; but, Mr. O'Gorman conjectures, that during the Danish

from Dubhgal's Bridge,²³ which it is supposed had been erected, either at the end of the present Bridge-street, or of Bridgefoot-street, and leading from the fortress of Dublin over the River Liffey. Then, it is thought, towards the east, the River "Tulcain," or Tolka, with the "Weir of Clontarf,"²⁴ must have been the limit for the armies, in that direction; while Tomar's Wood²⁵ extended, possibly, from the Plain of Clontarf, along the present North Strand, and on to where Lower Gardiner-street now stands, within the city of Dublin. One authority has it, that the battle raged from the Tulcadh to Ath-Cliath;²⁶ and this would seem to favour the opinion already advanced. Some statements²⁷ to be met with, in a critical and detailed narrative of the engagement we possess, record the finding of human bones in large quantities, with ancient weapons and pieces of iron resembling broad rivets, at the New Gardens of Cavendish-row and Granby-row;²⁸ as also, a tradition at Clonliffe, about a well,²⁹ said to have refreshed the Irish chiefs during the battle; these are circumstances advanced, as evidence of the views presented to us, by a modern writer.³⁰ However, nearly all our ancient and recent chroniclers have named Clontarf, as the chief site for this battle, and popular tradition has most consistently maintained this conclusion, from time immemorial to the present day; while we are willing enough to admit, that some phases and junctures of the great contest may have extended to the places immediately described, yet, it seems to us, the still remaining monuments, and circumstances of the event as detailed, rather indicate a more eastward position, at least, for its opening scenes.

The commander-in-chief over the united battalions of Leinster and of Scandinavia, on this day, was Maolmordha;³¹ while, from his action in and the circumstances of the campaign, such a prominent position may well be accorded to him. Those troops spent the night, in preparing for a general engagement, and presented themselves at the first appearance of day-light, on the plain of Clontarf, with their colours displayed and in position.³² At an early hour, Bryan's opponents had formed their forces into three divisions—other accounts have it, into seven³³ great and strong battalions.³⁴ The first division,

occupation of Dublin, it seems to have replaced the primitive one, known as the "Ford of Hurdles."

²⁴ Hence this battle is commonly called *Cath Coradh Chuanatarbh*, or "The Battle of the Weir of Clontarf," according to Rev. Dr. Todd, who also tells us, that this ancient salmon-weir is supposed to have been at the present Ballybough Bridge, on the road from Dublin to Clontarf. See Introduction to *Coḡadh Saorhel Re ḡallairbh*, p. clxxxiv., n. 3.

²⁵ Its exact position cannot be defined; but probably, it grew on one side or other of the River Tolka, and perhaps, it extended on both sides of this stream.

²⁶ See William M. Hennessey's edition of "Chronicum Scotorum," pp. 252, 253.

²⁷ Such as those of the battle having been witnessed, from an early period of the day to sunset, from the walls of Dublin, by the men and women of the foreigners, so that friends could be distinguished from foes, while among the spectators were the Danish king and his wife holding conversation on its progress. This, however, may have been a purely imaginative episode, introduced upon mere rumour; while, it must be observed,

that other accounts give Sitrick a share in the battle as fought on the field.

²⁸ According to a Paper, in Wilson's "Dublin Magazine" for June, 1763.

²⁹ This is pointed out within the grounds of the Diocesan Catholic College of Holy Cross, at Clonliffe.

³⁰ See "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 40. Thomas O'Gorman's paper "On the Site of the Battle of Clontarf," pp. 179 to 181.

³¹ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 262.

³² See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Rev. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 526.

³³ The *Annála Lochs Cé* have it, five battalions of the foreigners in the field, and one within the fortress of Dublin. See pp. 6, 7.

³⁴ See "Annales Inisfalenses," Dublin copy. Rev. Dr. Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 61. The army of Danes is there said to have been

it is said, consisted of a thousand Northmen,³⁵ and under Carl Canuteson fought ten hundred in armour, as they are called in the Irish Annals, or fourteen hundred, as they are enumerated in northern chronicles.³⁶ We are told, moreover, that the foreigners in Ireland and the Leinstermen placed Brodar,³⁷ Earl of Caer Ebroc,³⁸ his Danars and Norwegians, with his mother's son Conmael, in the front line of battle. With these were Siucaid, or Sigurd,³⁹ son of Lothar, Earl of the Orc or Orkney Islands,⁴⁰ and Plait, the bravest knight of all the foreigners. According to other accounts, the one thousand mailed Northmen⁴¹ were commanded by Carolus and Anrud,⁴² two White Danes,⁴³ or rather Norwegian princes.⁴⁴ Torbenn the Black, Sunin or Suimhni, and Suanin or Suainni, were with the foremost battalions, besides the foreign nobles of Europe from Lochland westwards.⁴⁵ This choice band of warriors was covered with coats of mail,⁴⁶ from head to foot. It is stated, moreover, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, that the advanced army of the Danes was led, by two sons of the White Pirates of the Loughs;⁴⁷ while another account places Sitricius, King of Dublin, as commander of the first division, comprising the Danes of Dublin, with the auxiliaries sent from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.⁴⁸ The Northmen were armed, as we are told, with spears and javelins; they were, likewise, expert bowmen; and they used shields for their defence.⁴⁹ The Denmarkins are described, in the Irish account, as piratical foreigners, bold and hard-hearted. They wore heavy and stout corslets⁵⁰ of double-refined iron, and of cool, uncorroding

covered with mail and well armed.

³⁵ According to Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, Broder and Aisgiodal, two Danish princes, landed as the leaders of two thousand choice troops, armed from head to foot. See "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., pp. 260, 261.

³⁶ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

³⁷ He is called, also, the son of Osli, in the *Coisíoh Saéohel Re Sallaibh*, chap. cxvi., pp. 206, 207.

³⁸ Or Caer-Eabhrog, as rendered, in the Annals of Lough Cé.

³⁹ The Latin version of the "Nials-Saga" calls him "Sigurdo dynastae Hlödveris filio." See cap. clviii., p. 601.

⁴⁰ In the *Annala Lochá Cé*, edited by William M. Hennessey, it is said Siograd Finn, interpreted Sigurd the Fair, and Siograd Donn, or Sigurd the Brown, two sons of Lothar, were on this expedition. See pp. 4, 5, and nn. 6, 7.

⁴¹ There were one thousand men of the invaders, covered with coats of mail, according to the Annals of Boyle, of Ulster, and of the Four Masters.

⁴² Called also the son of Elbric, son to the King of Lochlann.

⁴³ Such is the expression found, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 61.

⁴⁴ See John O'Donovan's account of the Battle of Clontarf.

⁴⁵ This expression in the *Coisíoh Saéohel Re Sallaibh*, should rather be south-

wards, as their colonists spread in this direction.

⁴⁶ "A skin-protecting suit of flashing steel."—Denis Florence MacCarthy's "Ferdiah." See "Poems," p. 41, Dublin, 1882, 8vo.

⁴⁷ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., 62.

⁴⁸ See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 526.

⁴⁹ A curious description and illustration of one of these ancient wooden shields, covered with painted leather, and having iron hold-fasts for the arm, may be seen, in "Museum Wormianum seu Historia Rerum Rariorum, tam Naturalium, quam Artificialium, tam Domesticarum, quam Exoticarum, quæ Hafriæ Danorum in ædibus Authoris servantur," Adornata ab Olas Worm, Med. Doct. et in Regia Hafniensi Academiâ, ohni Professore Publico, lib. iv. cap. ix., pp. 370, 371. Lugduni Batavorum, clò, lbc., Lv., fol.

⁵⁰ The *Annala Lochá Cé* relate, that a thousand bold and powerful black Danar heroes took part in this war, having shields and targets, with many corslets from Thafinn. The editor, William M. Hennessey, deems the latter word to be an error, probably, as it is nearly obliterated in the MS. This is Professor O'Curry's reading of it; but Mr. Hennessey rather thinks *o ca finnloél* . . . from Finn Lochi [*ainn*], or Norway, to be more correct. See pp. 4,

brass, polished, pliable, and triple-plated. These were intended to protect their skulls, skins and bodies, from all sorts of heavy and sharp weapons. They bore stout, rough, broad, green and dark spears,⁵¹ as also, heavy, strong and powerful swords. They drew polished and yellow-shining bows; and, they carried quivers of a barbarous fashion, to contain their poisoned arrows; these were barbed and keen, sharp, bounding, penetrating, dealing terrible and murderous wounds. The Danars are described, moreover, as "blue-green" pagans;⁵² owing probably to the fact, that their armour gave them such an appearance. In addition, it may be observed, that the Scandians, as well as the Irish, wore their hair in long and flowing locks. The foreigners of Dublin were marshalled, in one very strong battalion, under two brave soldiers, Dolat and Conmael.⁵³ Luad was there, and fought with them.⁵⁴ This powerful *corps* was composed of most valiant fighting men; and these are said to have been ranked behind the Denmarkians already mentioned. At their head were Dubhgall,⁵⁵ Gilla Ciarain,⁵⁶ Donchad,⁵⁷ and Amlaf Lagmund,⁵⁸ four crown princes of the foreigners. Besides these, Ottir, or Oitir the Black,⁵⁹ Grisin⁶⁰ or Grifin, or Greisiam,⁶¹ Lummin or Luimmin, and Snadgair,⁶² four petty kings of the foreigners, and four chieftains of ships, with the foreign nobles of Erin, joined their division. It seems probable, that here, too, were ranged the "great armies and famous young bands of Fine-Gall."⁶³ Another battalion or division consisted of Lagenians. These were about nine thousand strong, and they were commanded by their King Maelmordha Mac Morough.⁶⁴ Under him, several minor princes brought their clansmen to battle. The Ui Cennselaigh were joined with the Laighin, and both contingents are stated to have been ranked, behind the Irish-Scanian forces. Boetan, son to Dunlang, King of Western Laighin, and Domhnall,⁶⁵ King over the Forthuagha of Laighin, were joined with them. The Mac Tuathal, or O'Toole, named Dunlang,⁶⁶ King of the Liffey territory, was there, as also, Brogorban,⁶⁷ prince of Hy-Falg, or Ophaly. Besides these, the nobles of Leinster, and a large body of the Danes, fought under Maelmordha's command.⁶⁸ Dunlang,⁶⁹ King of the Liffey, kept the flank of the pirates, with ten hundred men armed for battle; and, his position was on the north side of the great centre body, or nearest to Howth, thus forming the extreme right wing of the Leinster and Scandian army.⁷⁰ The third division was formed of

5, and n. 10.

⁵¹ In the museums of Scandinavia, as in those of Ireland, we have yet numerous specimens of spear-heads, answering to this description, admittedly belonging to the Northmen, and probably of that period.

⁵² See *COGATH FÆOHEL RE FÁLLAIBH*, chap. xci., pp. 158 to 161.

⁵³ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 61.

⁵⁴ See *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Son of Amlaf.

⁵⁶ Son of Glun-iaraind, son of Amlaf.

⁵⁷ Grandson of Erulf.

⁵⁸ Son of Goffraidh.

⁵⁹ He is also called Uithir the Black, *i.e.* the warrior of Caer-Eighist, not identified by the editor of *annala locha Cé*. See pp. 4, 5, and n. 2.

⁶⁰ Called Grisine, a Knight of the Flemings. See *ibid.*

⁶¹ A Knight of the Normans. See *ibid.*

⁶² Besides these, in the Codex B, are named Suainin and Sigraidh.

⁶³ See *Annala locha Cé*, or the Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 4, 5.

⁶⁴ See "Annale Inisfalenses," Dublin copy, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 61.

⁶⁵ Son of Fergal.

⁶⁶ Son of Tuathal.

⁶⁷ Son of Conchobhar.

⁶⁸ Another account has it, that this second division consisted of the insular Danish auxiliaries, under the command of Sitricus, son to Lodar. See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Dr. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 526.

⁶⁹ In one instance, he seems, by oversight, to have been called Dunnall, King of Liphe.

Northmen, collected from the Isles,⁷¹ and from their various dependencies in Scotland. Accounts somewhat differing are given, regarding those who commanded.⁷² Loder,⁷³ or Luader,⁷⁴ Earl of the Orkneys, is said by some to have borne the chieftaincy of that valiant and adventurous division. Yet, this statement is not so historically exact; for, we read, in nearly all accounts, that Sigard, his son, was the celebrated Jarl there ruling, at this period, and their commander. According to the Scandinavian accounts,⁷⁵ Brodir was on one wing of the battle, and King Sigtrygg on the other, while Earl Sigurd was in the middle.⁷⁶ However, it does not seem to be established, that King Sigtrygg was engaged with the hosts,⁷⁷ in the field, at least during the after part of the battle; for, he is described as being a spectator of the conflict from the walls of Dublin,⁷⁸ where it would seem he had charge of the garrison. In the third division, we are told,⁷⁹ Bruader the Danish leader fought; and, here were placed, likewise, the men of Cornwall, with those Scanians from the region of snow, and from Mediterranean Gothland.⁸⁰ Both Black Lochlonnachs and Fair Lochlonnachs were ranged on the field of battle.⁸¹ With the expeditionary army came merchants from the lands of the Saxons, from the Britons, and even from the Romans.⁸² France also sent its contingent of invaders.⁸³ The fleet, which had brought the auxiliary Northmen to Ireland, was commanded by Broder, who now fought on land, in this third division. Under him were ranged the Danes from Anglesy and Wales, as also the Manxmen.⁸⁴ From Innsi-Gall and from Renna,⁸⁵ as also from Flanders, came warriors to join in this struggle.⁸⁶

However, Bryan was not dismayed by this mighty force; but, depending on Divine Providence, and on the bravery and skill of his troops, the Irish Monarch prepared for battle. In the front, he ranged the valiant, active, intelligent and intrepid Dalcassians,⁸⁷ and with them were the Clann Laighdeach.⁸⁸ These

⁷⁰ See *Cogadh Saehel re Galluibh*, chap. xciv., ci, pp. 162 to 165, and 176, 177.

⁷¹ Namely from Cead, (literally *one hundred*), or the Hebrides, from Man, from Sletland, from Lewis, from Cantyre, as also the eastern Irish. See the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., pp. 61, 62.

⁷² By the author of "*Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish*," it is stated, that Maelmordha Mac Murchada, commanded the last division, composed of Leinstermen, with a thousand Danish troops. See part ii., chap. i., p. 526. General Vallancey's "*Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*," vol. i.

⁷³ Or Hlodver. He was not living at this period, having died about the year 980.

⁷⁴ See "*Annales Inisfallenenses*," Dublin copy, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., p. 61.

⁷⁵ See "*Nials-Saga*," cap. clviii., p. 602.

⁷⁶ See George Webbe Dasent's "*Story of Burnt Njal*," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 334.

⁷⁷ According to the *Cogadh Saehel re Galluibh*, the son of Amlaibh, and King of Ath Cliath, went not into battle on that day. See chap. cxvii., pp. 206, 207.

⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, chap. cviii., cx., pp. 190, 191, 192, 193.

⁷⁹ In the Dublin copy of the *Innisfallen Annals*.

⁸⁰ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," toms ii., pp. 61, 62, with notes.

⁸¹ See *Annala Locha Cé*, or *Annals of Lough Cé*, edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 4, 5.

⁸² See *ibid.*

⁸³ At this period, it was greatly disturbed, by the disorders and feuds of the petty kings and barons. See Henri Martin's "*Histoire de France*," tome iii. *Deuxième Partie*, liv. xvii., *France du Moyen Age.—Féodalité*, pp. 38 to 49.

⁸⁴ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "*Popular History of Ireland*," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 100.

⁸⁵ Supposed to be derived from *Rinn*, "a point," and probably meaning the Rinn of Galloway, in Scotland.

⁸⁶ See *Annala Locha Cé*, or the "*Annals of Loch Cé*," edited by William M. Hennessy, pp. 4, 5, and n. 8.

⁸⁷ These are called the Gamandraidh, an ancient warlike people of the Firbolg race, who lived at Erris, in Connaught; but, the name is here used in the general sense of heroes or warriors.

⁸⁸ Also written the Clann Luighdeach, or Ludech, or the descendants of Lugaid-Menn, King of Thomond. He was ancestor of the

latter were probably the men of the five Dealbnas.⁸⁹ It is said, the monarch divided the troops under his command into three distinct corps. One of these was directed to oppose the enemy's first division, and it was placed under his son Murchadh or Morough,⁹⁰ who, after the Trojan hero, is styled "the matchless Hector of Erinn".⁹¹ Along with him fought his own son Tordhelbach, or Turlough,⁹² with a select body of the brave Dalcassians.⁹³ Some of the Munster historians state, however, that Murchadh, the son of Bryan, was placed, mixed with the battalions of Desmond, as of Thomond, and that both of these were posted side by side. Next to Aedh Ua Neill, Murchadh was lord of the volunteers of Erinn, for there was not a king of any single tribe in the island, that had not a son or a brother in his household. The northern chroniclers state,⁹⁴ that among the Irish in mid-battle was Kerthialfad,⁹⁵ and before him the banners were borne.⁹⁶ The son of Murchadh, named Tordhelbach, was deemed the best crown prince of Erinn, in his time.⁹⁷ With him was Conaing, the son of Doncuán, one of the three men in Erinn most valued by Bryan; also, there stood Niall Ua Cuinn,⁹⁸ Eochaidh,⁹⁹ and Cudulligh,¹⁰⁰ the three re-re-guards of the Monarch; and, Domhnall,¹⁰¹ King of Corcabhaiscinn, with the greater part of the bravest men among the Dalcassians. Besides these already mentioned, four other sons of Bryan are said to have been in the field; namely, Tadgh or Teige, Domhnall or Donald, Conchubhar, or

Dal Cais Borumha, from whom, in the sixteenth degree, Bryan himself descended. See Appendix B, Table iii., in the *COGAÓH SAOHEL RE SAOLAIBH*, p. 247.

⁸⁹ In such case, they had only a collateral relationship with Bryan, branching from Lugaid Dealbh n Aodh, brother to Blod, and ninth in descent from Oilioll Olum. See *ibid.*

⁹⁰ While some writers state, he was sixty-three years of age, at this time, Dr. O'Donovan thinks his age was only fifty-three, or perhaps, only forty-three.

⁹¹ The writer of the *COGAÓH SAOHEL RE SAOLAIBH* furthermore pronounces the high eulogy, that he was the yew of Ross—one of the famous old trees of Ireland—among the princes of Erinn; the head of the valour, bravery, chivalry, munificence, liberality and beauty of the men of the world in his time, and during his career; since the historians of the Gaedhil do not relate, that there was any man among the sons of Adam in his time, who could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him.

⁹² Also called Terence, as Anglicised.

⁹³ The following extravagancies of panegyric and style are lavished on them, we suspect them as "brave, valiant champions; soldierly, active, nimble, bold, full of courage, quick, doing great deeds, pompous, beautiful, aggressive, hot, strong, swelling, bright, fresh, never weary, terrible, valiant, victorious heroes and chieftains, and champions and brave soldiers, the men of high deeds, and honour, and renown of Erinn; namely, the heavy weight that broke down every stronghold, and cleft every way, and sprang over every obstacle, and flayed every stout head, that is to say, the descendants of Lugaidh,

son of Oenghus Tirech, who are called the Dal Cais of Borumha, and the stainless intelligent heroes of the Gaidhill along with them. These were a tribe, worthy of being compared with the sons of Miledh, for kingliness and great renown, for energy and dignity, and martial prowess. They were the Franks of ancient Fodhla, in intelligence and pure valour, the comely, beautiful, noble, ever victorious sons of Israel of Erinn, for virtue, for generosity, for dignity, for truth, and for worth, the strong tearing, brave lions of the Gaedhil for valour and bold deeds; the terrible nimble wolf-hounds of victorious Banba, for strength and firmness, the graceful symmetrical hawks of mild Europe, against whom neither battle, nor battlefield, nor conflict, nor combat, was ever before, nor then was maintained."—*COGAÓH SAOHEL RE SAOLAIBH*, pp. 160, 161.

⁹⁴ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

⁹⁵ From the part he is made to take in the battle, we are inclined to believe, the Northmen intended by this name to designate Murchadh. However, it is intimated, that he survived the battle of Clontarf, in the northern account; but, it would seem, rumour furnished the chief staple, for their writers, in reference to this day.

⁹⁶ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 334.

⁹⁷ At this period, he was only fifteen years of age, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

⁹⁸ The Uí Cuinn were a distinguished sept of the Dal-Cassians, and from them the Earls of Dunraven have descended.

⁹⁹ Son of Dunadach.

¹⁰⁰ Son of Cennetigh.

¹⁰¹ Son of Diarmaid.

¹⁰² According to Dr. Sylvester O'Hallo-

Connor, and Flann.¹⁰² Moreover, various chieftains were there, such Donchuad, son of Kennedy, Lonargain, Ceiliochair, Fiongallach and Ionnrachtach; together with three Reguli from Tefia, as also Laogegan and Ultan.¹⁰³ A body of men from Conmaicne-mara, a western part of Ireland, were marshalled under Carnan, their chief.¹⁰⁴ These were ordered, with Feargal Ua Ruairc and the Ui Briuin, to the left wing of the army. It seems doubtful properly to name or identify that Irish leader, called in the northern chronicles Ulfus Hraeda,¹⁰⁵ or Wolf the quarrelsome,¹⁰⁶ who was on that wing of the battle against which Brodir stood; we are told, moreover, on the other wing, where Sigtrygg stood against the Irish, were Ospak and his sons.¹⁰⁷ To this division Maelseachlainn, King of Temhair, was ordered by Bryan to join his followers, composing the battalion of the men of Midhe.¹⁰⁸ It is pretended,¹⁰⁹ that he had arranged with the foreigners, on the preceding day, to have a ditch between himself and them,¹¹⁰ both parties engaging mutual forbearance during the fight, provided the foreigners should not attack Maelseachlainn. With this evil understanding, it is said, that the King of Temhair refused to take the post assigned him. The ten Mormaers or Great Stewards of Bryan were drawn up, with their foreign auxiliaries, on one side of his army. Foremost among these was Domhnall,¹¹¹ son of Eimin,¹¹² high steward of Alban,¹¹³ others call him the Mormaer of Marr.¹¹⁴ With him was Muredach, descended from Maine Leamhna,¹¹⁵ Mormhaor of Leavna, or Lennox;¹¹⁶ and, although we only find these names recorded, the whole force of Alban was probably here arrayed, and on Bryan's side.¹¹⁷

Over that division, which was in order of battle to fight the second of their enemy, commanded by Maelmordha, King of Leinster, Bryan placed Kian¹¹⁸ and Donald,¹¹⁹ two princes of the Eugenic line, under whom were the chiefs and forces from Desmond, and from other southern

ran, there were in the field of Bryan's immediate family, five sons, his grandson, and fifteen nephews. See "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., book xi., chap. viii., p. 261.

¹⁰³ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in the Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 62.

¹⁰⁴ The *Annála Locha Cé* state, however, that save the Hi-Maine and the Hi-Fiachrach and Cenel-Oedha, the men of Connaught did not aid Brian; and as no good-will existed between himself and Tadhg-an-eichghil, son of Cathal, son to Conchobhar, King of Connaught, so he refused to go with the Monarch to Cluain tarbh. See pp. 6, 7.

¹⁰⁵ See "Nuls-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

¹⁰⁶ He is called a great champion and warrior, while he is said to have been brother to King Brian, in the Saga.

¹⁰⁷ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of the Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 334.

¹⁰⁸ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 62. Dublin copy of the Innisfallen Annals.

¹⁰⁹ The *Annála Locha Cé* have it, that the men of Mumha alone, Mael-hechlainn, with the men of Midhe, and the South Connacians, were the chief supporters of Bryan on this day. See pp. 6, 7.

¹¹⁰ The previous authority has it, that Maelseachlainn retired the space of a field,

from the place of battle. See the Innisfallen Annals, and the Dublin copy, at p. 65.

¹¹¹ Chief of the Eochanachts of Magh Geirginn, or Marr, in Scotland.

¹¹² He was son to Canich. See Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. lxxxi., pp. 382, 384.

¹¹³ See *Cogadh Saorhel Re Fallaibh*, chap. xcvi., c., pp. 168, 169, 174, 175.

¹¹⁴ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. viii., p. 387.

¹¹⁵ This Maine Leamhna was son to Corc, son of Lughaidh, son to Oilíoll Flannbeg, son of Fiacha Meuilleathan, son to Eoghan Mor, son to Oilíoll Ollum, King of Munster.

¹¹⁶ See O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., chap. lxxxi., pp. 382 to 384. According to this writer, from the former descended the ancient Earls of Marr, tracing their origin to Carbre the Pict; while from the latter descended the Earls of Lennox, supposed to be derived from Manius Levinus.

¹¹⁷ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap., viii., p. 387, n. 4.

¹¹⁸ Son of Maolmuadh, son to Bron. See Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 63.

¹¹⁹ Son to Dubdaboren. See *ibid.*

¹²⁰ See *ibid.*

parts of Ireland. Kian is said to have been one of the tallest and most beautiful among the Irish chieftains.¹²⁰ According to another account, Bryan collected one very strong and great battalion, formed from the chosen hosts of all Munster, who were stationed as supports, in the rear of his foremost troops.¹²¹ At the head of those reinforcements, he had two chief leaders.¹²² These were Mothla, son of Domhnall, son to Faelan,¹²³ King of the Desies, and Murcertach, or Murtough, in other accounts called Mangnus, son to Amnchadha, King of Hy-Liathain. Among the subordinate leaders of note, in this division, were Scanlan, son to Cathal, chief of the Eoganacht of Lough Lein;¹²⁴ Cathal Mac Donabhain or son of Donovan, Rígh h Ccairbre, or Lord of Hy-Cairbre Eabha; Loingseach h Dubhloinn or O'Dowling, chief of Hy-Connall Gaura; and the son of Beothach,¹²⁵ King of Kerry-Luachra; with Geibbionach, son to Dubhagan,¹²⁶ chief of Fermoy Feine. The troops of Ely O'Carroll, under their chief O'Carroll, were joined by another O'Carroll, the prince of Oriel, in Ulster, together with Maguire, the prince of Feramanagh.¹²⁷

That division, which was opposed to the third of their antagonists,¹²⁸ who were the insular Scandinavians, consisted chiefly of Connacians, commanded by Tadhg,¹²⁹ or Teigue O'Conor, as their chief.¹³⁰ Under him served Mulronee O'Heyne,¹³¹ chief of Aidhne;¹³² Teige O'Kelly,¹³³ King of Hy-Maine; O'Flaherty,¹³⁴ King of Muintir Murchadha; Connor O'Mulronee,¹³⁵ chief of Moylurg; Hugh Guineagh O'Doyle,¹³⁶ and Foghartagh,¹³⁷ son to Donall, two chiefs of Ely; Murtogh,¹³⁸ son to Corc, chief of Muscraighe-Cuir; Hugh,¹³⁹ son to Loughlin, chief of Hy-Cuanach; Donall,¹⁴⁰ son to

¹²⁰ Among others, the Cineal Laoghaire were in this division. See *ibid.*

¹²² According to the Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien's account, the second Irish division was under the command of Teige O'Conor. See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. "Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 527.

¹²³ From him, the O'Faelains, or O'Phe-lans, of the Desies, took their hereditary surname.

¹²⁴ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 63.

¹²⁵ The Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen calls him Mac Beotaic mac Muiredh Rígh Ciaruidhe Luachra—the latter territory is Latinized *Ciarradia juncoasa*. See *ibid.*

¹²⁶ From him the family of Ui Dubhagain, now Duggan, derive their origin. This family formerly belonged to Fermoy, in the county of Cork.

¹²⁷ According to Anna La Locha Cé, the Ulidians, the Airghialla, the Cenel-Eoghan, the Cenel-Conaill, with the men of Northern Connaught, were not with Bryan on that day, when the battle of Clontarf had been fought, See pp. 6, 7.

¹²⁸ According to Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien, the last division of Bryan's army was under the command of Cian and Donal, leading the Eugenians and Desians. See General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Dissertations on the National Customs and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 528.

¹²⁹ He is called Tadhg mc Cathail mc Conchubhair Rígh Connacht. See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 63.

¹³⁰ In the Tract *Cogaobh Saebhel Re SaLlabbh*, it is stated, that the battalion of Connaught was led by Maelruanaidh Ua-n-Eidhin, and by Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, King of the Ui-Maini, and by Maelruanaidh, son of Murchius, King of Muintir Maelruanaidh, and by Domhnall, grandson of Cuceninn, King of Ui n Diarmada, and by Ualgarg, son of Cerin, having all the nobles of Connaught with him. See chap. xciv., xcv., xcvi., pp. 162 to 169.

¹³¹ Or Maolruana O'Heidinn Rígh Aidhne. See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 63.

¹³² From him the chiefs of Hy-Fiachrach-Aidhne, in the county of Galway, descend. See Dr. O'Donovan's "The Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," p. 398.

¹³³ Or, O'Cealla Ríghh Maine. See "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 63.

¹³⁴ Or O'Flaithbhiorta Rígh muintire Murchadha. See *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Or Conchubhar O'Maolruana Rígh Muighe-luig. See *ibid.*

¹³⁶ Also called Aodh-guineach O'Dughall or Hugh the Wounder. See *ibid.*, p. 64.

¹³⁷ Or Fogartach mc Domhnaill da Rígh Eile. See *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Or Muirchíortach mc Cuir Rígh Musgraidhe. See *ibid.*

¹³⁹ Or Aedh mc Lochlainn Rígh O'Cuan-cha. See *ibid.*

Dermad, chief of Corca-Baisgin;¹⁴¹ Donough,¹⁴² son to Cathal, chief of Muscraige Aedha; and Ectigerna,¹⁴³ son to Donegan, King of Ara.¹⁴⁴ These leaders and their clansmen now waited the signal for action.

When the order for battle had been arranged on the Irish side, Bryan issued from his tent, to review his troops, and to raise their courage for the desperate struggle, which was soon to commence. We are not to suppose, as might be inferred from descriptions of the array on both sides, that either of the armies had been massed in three divisions, one drawn up before or after another column.¹⁴⁵ Rather it may be considered as altogether probable, that from their respective positions, the battalions formed into open and lengthened lines,¹⁴⁶ with supporting reserves, to relieve or fill up the foremost ranks, as need required; and, it was only in such order their weapons could be wielded with effect, while no considerable part of either army could remain inactive, after the onset had been fairly commenced. Holding a crucifix in his left hand, the aged monarch had his sword in the right. With his son Murchadh, Bryan rode through the ranks,¹⁴⁷ and addressed them, in words, calculated to animate,¹⁴⁸ and to inspire them with a determination to

¹⁴⁰ Or Domhnall mc Diarmada Righ Corcabaisgin. See *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ East Corcobaskin was comprised in the barony of Clonderlaw, in the county of Clare.

¹⁴² Or Donncha mac Caithil Righ Musgruidhe Aedha. See *ibid.*

¹⁴³ Or Ectiagharn mac Donagain Righ Aradh. See *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ See, also, the Battle of Clontarf, by John O'Donovan, in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁴⁵ See "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 40. "On the Site of the Battle of Clontarf," by Thomas O'Gorman, p. 176.

¹⁴⁶ This agrees also with the account of a centre and wings, in the "Njals Saga" account of the battle. See cap. clviii., p. 602.

¹⁴⁷ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 66.

¹⁴⁸ A modern poet, William Kenealy, has rendered this address into English verse. It is to be found in "The Ballads of Ireland" collected and edited by Edward Hayes, vol. i., pp. 81, 83. Some stanzas of this poem we here quote:—

"Chiefs and Kernes of Dalcassia | Brothers of my past career,
Oft we've trodden on the pirate-flag
that flaunts before us here;
You remember Inniscattery, how we
bounded on the foe,
As the torrent of the mountain burst
upon the plain below!

"They have razed our proudest castles
—spoiled the Temples of the
Lord—
Burnt to dust the sacred relics—put
the peaceful to the sword—

Desecrated all things holy—as they
soon may do again,
If their power to-day we smite not—
if to-day we be not men!

* * * *

"On this day the God-man suffered—
look upon the sacred sign—
May we conquer 'neath its shadow, as
of old did Constantine!
May the heathen tribe of Odin fade
before it like a dream,
And the triumph of this glorious day
in future annals gleam!

"God of Heaven, bless our banner—
nerve our sinews for the strife?
Fight we now for all that's holy—for
our altars, land, and life—
For red vengeance on the spoiler,
whom the blazing temples trace—
For the honour of our maidens and
the glory of our race!

"Should I fall before the foeman, 't is
the death I seek to-day;
Should ten thousand daggers pierce
me, bear my body not away,
Till this day of days be over—till the
field is fought and won—
Then the holy Mass be chaunted, and
the funeral rites be done.

* * * *

"Men of Erin | men of Erin | grasp the
battle-axe and spear!
Chase these Northern wolves before
you, like a herd of frightened deer!
Burst their ranks, like bolts from
heaven! Down on the heathen
crew,
For the glory of the Crucified, and
Erin's glory too!"

strain every effort, throughout the fierce contest, which was now impending.¹⁴⁹ His words of exhortation are thus reported: "Be not dismayed, because my son Donogh, with the third part of the Momonian forces, is absent from you, for they are plundering Leinster, and the Danish territories. Long have the men of Ireland groaned under the tyranny of these seafaring pirates! the murderers of your kings and chieftains! plunderers of your fortresses! profane destroyers of the churches and monasteries of God! who have trampled upon and committed to the flames, the relics of his saints!" Then, raising his voice, he cried out: "May the Almighty God, through his great mercy, give you strength and courage this day, to put an end for ever to the Lochlannan tyranny in Ireland, and to revenge upon them their many perfidies, and their profanations of those sacred edifices, dedicated to his worship—this day on which Jesus Christ himself suffered death for your redemption."¹⁵⁰ So saying, he showed them the symbol of the bloody sacrifice,¹⁵¹ in his left hand, and taking his golden-hilted sword in the right,¹⁵² the Monarch declared that he was willing to lose his life in so just and honourable a cause. Then he proceeded towards the centre, to lead his troops into action; but, the chiefs of his army, with one voice, requested their great monarch would retire from the field of battle, on account of his great age. They also requested, that he should leave to his eldest son, Morogh, the chief command, on this eventful day.¹⁵³ The monarch was now unable to lend much greater aid, than the moral weight of his presence, to the combatants arrayed on his side.¹⁵⁴ We may rest assured, however, that he anxiously watched the vicissitudes of this battle, by directing or counselling the movements of his subordinate chiefs.¹⁵⁵ Wherefore, at the entreaty of his friends, after this review and exhortation of the troops, he retired to his tent, which stood at some distance, and which was guarded by three of his aids.¹⁵⁶ Here, alternately prostrating himself before the crucifix, or looking out from his tent door upon the dread scene that lay beyond, the Monarch most earnestly awaited the result.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁹ See a brief report of this speech, in the Dublin copy of the Innisfallen Annals. Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., pp. 64, 65.

¹⁵⁰ See John O'Donovan, on "The Battle of Clontarf," in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁵¹ See the "Annals of Innisfallen," at A.D. 1014. Dublin copy, in Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 65.

¹⁵² In such situation, we may well apply to him these lines of the Irish-American poet, Rev. Abraham J. Ryan:—

"Out of its scabbard! Never hand
Waved sword from stain as free,
Nor purer sword led braver band,
Nor braver bled for a brighter land;
Nor brighter band had a cause as
grand."

¹⁵³ See "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134. John O'Donovan, on "The Battle of Clontarf."

¹⁵⁴ According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, of Innisfallen, and of the Four Masters, he was then in the eighty-eighth year of his age; however, the Annals of Ulster have him only in his seventy-third year, and

this latter, in the opinion of Dr. O'Donovan, seems correct.

¹⁵⁵ The monarch does not appear to have been more actively engaged, in this battle; although, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, it is stated, that Brian and Murchad, with the army of the Dalcassians, rushed against the thousand warriors in shirts of mail. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ According to the Danish account, a shieldburg, or a ring of men holding their shields locked together, was thrown round King Bryan, while his host was drawn up in array before them. See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 334.

¹⁵⁷ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 101.

¹⁵⁸ A curious circumstance, with a remarkable coincidence, has to be related, in connection with the narrative given by the writer of the Tract, *Cois na h-Éireann* ite *Éalluibh*; viz., that the full tide happened at sunrise, when the battle commenced. See chap. cix., pp. 190, 191. This is thought to prove, that the writer himself, if not an eyewitness to the scene he describe, must have derived his information from those, who

After sunrise,¹⁵⁸ and when their men had formed into line, on both sides, the signal for battle was given,¹⁵⁹ and the Irish forces prepared to advance from their positions. While arranging the battalions of Thomond and of Desmond, Murchadh went forward "a hand's cast" beyond the rest, to attack the foreigners. Then, Bryan sent Domhnall, son of Emin, that his son should fall back, until he moved in a line with the Dal Cais. To this message Murchadh replied, that the advice was timid and cowardly; he added, that if he were alone in the midst of Fídh Gaibhle,¹⁶⁰ he would not retreat one step backwards, before the men of Erin, and why, therefore, should anyone ask him to retreat, in the presence of the Gaill and of the Gaedhil.¹⁶¹ Instantly, the nobles of Desmond pressed forward to follow Murchadh, wishing to surround the Danmarkians and foreigners; but, this intemperate onset was received by the latter with a firm front, and a great number of the Munster chiefs were killed on that spot.

When the battle commenced at a very early hour in the morning, the full tide had already set in, on the shore at Clontarf;¹⁶² while the sun shone with unusual brightness,¹⁶³ As if indicating the tempest of war, in which both armies were now involved, on this celebrated battle-field, and the furious passions of the combatants on earth; a great storm of the elements arose, and the winds blew with unusual violence, the waves surging along the strand, in spray and foam, while the combat raged.¹⁶⁴ The Northmen had certain superstitious notions, and perhaps, some hopes or fears awakened by those circumstances; for, the pagans among them heard the voices of departed heroes, or of mythologic spirits,¹⁶⁵ in the rush of wind over their heads, each man interpreting those omens, as his fancy or feeling was awakened, by the solemn warnings then conveyed to his thoughts. The Christian soldiers among the Irish and Scánians had other recollections, recurring to their minds, on

communicated the truth. Without intimating his object to Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., and the learned and scientific Fellow of Trinity College, the Rev. Dr. Todd requested him to solve this problem: "What was the hour of high water, at the shore of Clontarf, in Dublin Bay, on the 23rd of April, 1014?" This was accordingly done by Dr. Haughton, who communicated the particulars of his calculation to the Royal Irish Academy, in May, 1861. See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., p. 496.

¹⁵⁹ According to Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, the battle commenced "at eight in the morning."—"General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 263.

¹⁶⁰ It is probable, that this wood, near Portarlinton, was one of the disputed border frontiers. It will be seen, moreover, that the trees borne from this wood are said to have immediately occasioned that breach between Bryan Boroiimha and Maclmordha, the King of Leinster.

¹⁶¹ When his counsel was rejected, Domhnall, son of Emin, said to Murchadh, "thy countenance is bad, O royal champion, although thy courage is great." Murchadh answered, he had cause for that, because many a false hero would leave his share of the battle to him, at the end of the day. The son of Emin said, that his own share of it should not be left to Murchadh, and he truly fulfilled that promise.

¹⁶² It was estimated, that on the date mentioned, April 23rd, A. D. 1014, the highest tide along the Clontarf shore could not have differed many minutes, from five hours and thirty minutes a.m.; while, in the evening, the tide was full in, at the same place, and at five hours, fifty-five minutes. In the month of April, the sun rises at from five hours, thirty minutes, to four hours, thirty minutes, so that the full tide in the morning nearly corresponded with sunrise. See the Rev. James Henthorn Todd's Introduction to the *Cogaadh Saohel Re Gallairbh* pp. xxv to xxvii, and chap. cix., pp. 190, 191.

¹⁶³ The morning of Easter Friday came with its full brightness. See *Annála Locha Cé*, vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

¹⁶⁴ This description is inferred, from the faith of that attributed to Maelseachlainn, and addressed to the Clan Colman.

¹⁶⁵ Even the Irish account bears strange testimony to the belief in fantastic agencies at work, on this remarkable day. "And there arose a wild, impetuous, precipitate, furious, dark, frightful, voracious, merciless, combative, contentious vulture, screaming and fluttering over their heads. And there also arose the satyrs, and the idiots, and the maniacs, of the valleys, and the witches, and the goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying demon of the air, and of the firmament, and the feeble demoniac phantom host, and they were screaming and com-

this great solemnity of Good Friday, when the dread sacrifice and atonement of Christ should have been religiously celebrated in the churches, and, when the din of arms was least in unison, with the commemoration of his death. So compact were the battalions on both sides, and in such regular order, that we are told, a four horse chariot could run over the heads of the soldiers standing in line.¹⁶⁶

In all previous engagements, he had fought with fewer forces than in this battle, which was destined to crown Bryan with a glory, which only then culminated.¹⁶⁷ All depended on force of action and unity of effort, for either side, while courage was signally manifested, by the opposing leaders and by their warriors. At this very critical moment, if we are to credit the account contained in the *Cath-Chluana-Tarbh*, and followed by the Munster writers, finding favourable opportunity for being revenged on Bryan, who had humbled him in so many previous contests, Maelseachlain retired suddenly from the scene of action, and withdrew his thousand Meathians to a distance from the field of battle. There he remained, as is stated, an inactive and inglorious spectator, while waiting the long deferred issue, during the whole time of the engagement, without desiring to join either of the contending armies. Were this a real defection from the national cause, it must have greatly disconcerted the Irish monarch's army, and their men should be very much disheartened, with a fear of treachery towards their commander-in-chief; as probably, Bryan's soldiers were unequal in numbers, when compared with those of the enemy.¹⁶⁸ The Munster narratives will have it, that Morough showed great courage, notwithstanding, under the depressing circumstance, and at a juncture least expected. With singular presence of mind, he inflamed the ardour of his troops, and appealed to those brave spirits, who waited the onset. Crying out to his brave Dalcassians, that this was the time to distinguish themselves, as they should have the unrivalled glory of vanquishing that formidable body of the enemy opposed to them, the illustrious Irish leader placed himself in the van, and marched forward to begin the encounter. However, these prejudiced statements, so derogatory to the honour and fame of Maelseachlainn, are not deserving just credence, since they rest on no trustworthy historic reference; while, it is positively stated, that the King of Meath signally distinguished himself by hard fighting, and especially, towards the close of this most obstinate battle.¹⁶⁹ The truth seems to be, that Maelseachlainn and his forces had been placed as a reserve, near the field, so that their services might be available, to support any weakened or disordered column, to guard the rear of Murrough's active combatants, or to secure a safe retreat, in case of disaster. This arrangement was not only consistent with sound generalship; but, it seems to have been a matter, commending itself especially to the military discretion and experience of Morough. We are told,¹⁷⁰ moreover, that "a tall man of armes,"¹⁷¹ in the beginning of the battle fled away, fearing the hardiness of the Danes and Norwegians, and that he went to Donogh Mac Brian, the brother of Morough, who was coming with forces to the field. That

paring the valour and combat of both parties."

¹⁶⁶ See *COGATH DAEOHEL RE GALLABH*, chap. xcix., pp. 172, 173.

¹⁶⁷ See Elias Regnault's "Histoire de l'Irlande," liv. i., chap. vi., p. 78.

¹⁶⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 263.

¹⁶⁹ It must be observed, that before and after the battle of Clontarf, Maelseachlainn was steady and consistent, in his enmity to

the Danes and Leinstermen. If any suspicion of treachery or misconduct on the part of Maelseachlainn prevailed among the Irish, after the battle of Clontarf, it is not at all likely, that he should have been elected as the supreme monarch of Ireland, consequent on the deaths of Brian Boromh, and of his heir-apparent Morough, both of whom fell gloriously on the field.

¹⁷⁰ By Dr. Meredith Hanmer, in his "Chronicle of Ireland," pp. 184, 185.

¹⁷¹ He is called "a Priest's sonne," by

traitor, it is said, persuaded Donough to retreat, saying further, that there was no hope of good success to be obtained in this field.¹⁷² Whether such a story has relation or not, with the suspicion of Maelseachlainn's treachery, may be questioned; but, it does not seem to rest on any very ancient authority.

In their battles of old, mail armour was used by the Irish;¹⁷³ and, although no special allusion is made to it on the day of Clontarf, we can hardly doubt, that the chiefs, at least, wore it, as a defence, and as a mark of distinction. The Dal Cais, however, as we are informed, wore long, white, handsome and well-adjusted shirts, with long comfortable vests. Over these were many-coloured and well-shaped tunics. They carried glittering spears,¹⁷⁴ well-riveted and shaped, with handles of white hazel; as also, sharp darts, thick set with bright nails, to be cast at the enemy. They bore large, bright and variegated shields, with bosses of brass, and elegant chains of bronzes,¹⁷⁵ which were fastened to the sides of clansmen. Besides, they wielded strong, broad and sharp Lochlann axes,¹⁷⁶ glittering and gracefully shaped. They had well-tempered, sharp-pointed, keen-edged, straight and bright-sided swords.¹⁷⁷ These latter weapons were especially borne by the leaders, as also, by the royal knights and chiefs; while the men of distinction wore golden-crested helmets, set with brilliants and precious stones.¹⁷⁸ The battalions of the Tuadh-mumhain and of the Desmumhain appear to have been ranged side by side, at the first onset, which was made by the Irish, under the leadership of Murchadh. These held the central and advanced position. On his right, Dunlang O'Hartugan,¹⁷⁹ a young hero of uncommon beauty, impetuous, strong, graceful, active and courageous, drew onwards and towards his leader. The Dalcaissians, deemed to have been the *elite* of Bryan's forces, closely engaged the division of Northern foes opposed to them, and wielded their battle-axes, swords and daggers, with astonishing vigour. But, the vi-kings and chieftains of the period, deemed to be champions among their followers and clansmen, were eager to distinguish themselves, by feats of single combat and with adversaries, who had the ambition to engage with them. Thus, the night before the

Hanmer, who has very incorrectly related this story, if—as seems probable—he borrowed it from "The Book of Howth." See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth," edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., and William Bullen, Esq., pp. 25, 26. London, 1871, royal 8vo.

¹⁷² Then we are informed: "This man being taken, confessed the whole treason, and for punishment, was carried to the windy gates, twelve miles from Dublin, set alive standing in the ground with a great heape of stones about him, as it pleased the Commanders to direct."—Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," pp. 184, 185.

¹⁷³ See Dr. John O'Donovan's Introduction and Notes to the "Battle of Magh Rath," edited for the Irish Archaeological Society.

¹⁷⁴ It is added, that they were "empoisoned," which, if true, affords a sad reflection on the inhumanity of warfare in Ireland, at the period.

¹⁷⁵ Most probably, to prevent them from falling off the arms of their bearers on the day of battle.

¹⁷⁶ These were for cutting and maiming

the close well-fastened coats of mail opposed to them.

¹⁷⁷ We are told, moreover, that they were used for hacking and mutilating skulls and bodies.

¹⁷⁸ That such was the style of ornament—falsely called barbaric—of that period, and of centuries previous in Ireland, may be plainly demonstrated, from antique specimens, still preserved in our Museums.

¹⁷⁹ Murchadh recognised him and made three springs to meet him. He kissed Dunlang, and welcomed him, saying: "O youth! it was long until thou camest to us: great must be the love and attachment of some woman for thee, which has induced thee to abandon me, and to abandon Brian, and Conaing, and Donnchadh, as also the nobles of Dal Cais in like manner, and the delights of Erin, until this day." "Alas, O King," said Dunlang, "the delight that I have abandoned for thee is greater, if thou didst but know it, namely, life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay; beyond any delight of earth's delights to me, until the judgment; and, if I had not pledged my word to thee, I should not have come here: moreover, it is fated

battle, the Northman chief, named Plait,¹⁸⁰ had boasted, that there was not a man in Erinn, who was able to fight him. This boast had reached the ears of the brave Domhnall, son of Eimin, high steward of Alban, who was ranged on Bryan's side. It so happened, that both were arrayed in opposing ranks, and each of them remembered the challenge of the eve before, so that when the morning came the opportunity for a duel was afforded. Then, Plait came forth from the battalion of his men in armour, and he called out three different times, "Faras Domhnall," which meant, "Where is Domhnall?" Domhnall answered and said, "Here thou reptile." They fought then, in presence of their respective warriors, and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other. After a desperate struggle, a fatal termination of the contest for both chiefs resulted. Their dead bodies fell on the plain, with the sword of each champion through the heart of the other; while the hair of each was grasped in the clenched hand of his adversary. This combat of the pair was engaged in, at the first opening of the battle.¹⁸¹

When the wings fell on one another¹⁸²—which we may assume to be soon after the battle commenced—there was a very hard fight.¹⁸³ The second division of the Irish army fought under the command of the Connaught King. These brave soldiers hastened to engage the Danes of Leinster and their insular levies. Other accounts state, that the men of Connaught advanced towards the foreigners of Ath-Cliath, and that they attacked each other. The person, stationed on the flank of the pirates' battalions was Dunnall, or Dunlang, son to Tuathal, King of Liphe, with ten hundred men armed for battle. On the flank of Brian's forces, and against these—their equal in numbers and in might—were Ferghail Ua Ruairc, Domhnall, son of Raghallach, and Gilla-na-Noemh, son to Domhnall O'Ferghail, with the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni. These opponents attacked each other, detaching themselves from the great body of the army. The distance of a bow-shot intervened between them and the other warriors, on the north side of the main forces. These combatants began to stab and hew each other, with great violence. The rival parties were about equally matched in arms, in vesture, and in appearance. And none of the combatants paid attention to any mischance that happened at Cluain-Tarbh, on that day, excepting the evil and contention, which were mutually occasioned, in their own particular quarter.¹⁸⁴

The troops of South Munster, arrayed under their respective chieftains, are said to have attacked Maelmordha and his degenerate Lagenians. The impetuosity of the Irish was irresistible;¹⁸⁵ and, if we are to credit one

for me to die on that day thou shalt die." "Shall I receive death this day, then?" said Murchadh. "Thou shalt receive it indeed," said Dunlang, "and Brian, and Conaing, shall receive it, with almost all the nobles of Erinn, and Toirdhelbhach thy son." "This is not good encouragement for fighting," said Murchadh, "and if we had such news, we would not have told it to thee; but, however, often was I offered in hills and in fairy mansions, this world and these gifts; yet, I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them." "What man," said Dunlang, "wouldst thou choose to be kept off thee this day?" "There are yonder," said Murchadh, "sixteen men, who are captains of fleets, and every one of them is a man to combat a hundred, on sea and on land; besides Brotor, and Cornalbliteoc, and Maelmordha, and also

the Laughin." "Leave them," said Dunlang, "Cornalbliteoc to me; and, if I can do more, thou shalt have my further aid." "That, Dunlang, is a service, indeed, if thou didst but know it," was the reply of Murchadh. See *COGSAOH FAEOHEL RE ZALLAIBH*, chap. xeviii., pp. 170 to 173.

¹⁸⁰ He was a valiant champion of the foreigners, and son to the King of Lochlainn.

¹⁸¹ See *COGSAOH FAEOHEL RE ZALLAIBH*, chap. c., pp. 174 to 177.

¹⁸² See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

¹⁸³ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., pp. 334, 335.

¹⁸⁴ See *COGSAOH FAEOHEL RE ZALLAIBH* chap. ci., pp. 176, 177.

¹⁸⁵ See Alexander M. Sullivan's "Story of

account,¹⁸⁶ in the early part of this day, they carried all before them, so as even to drive the enemy from his position on the field.¹⁸⁷ However, soon after the engagement commenced, it raged with great fierceness and fury all along the line of battle. The situation of the ground, being then probably more clear of trees than at present, admitted of no ambuscades, and none could have been used; spears, battle-axes, and swords were in the hands of strong men, who fought breast to breast. The victors in one rank, frequently fell victims in the next;¹⁸⁸ there could be no retreating, on either side, until the battle ended. The commanders were chiefs of high renown, and while individually performing prodigies of valour, their soldiers were inspired with heroic courage by their example.¹⁸⁹ From the number of prime quality that fell on both sides, and from certain details of the engagement, we may almost infer, that the chiefs in every part of the field sought their equals in station, among the opposing ranks, and attacked each other in single combat,¹⁹⁰ where one or both paid the forfeit of life, in a deadly encounter.

On this day, prodigies of valour were performed by the Irish commander-in-chief, Morough, and his deeds of prowess have been specially commemorated.¹⁹¹ High-sounding are the epithets and extravagant the eulogies applied to him, by the ancient chronicler; but, while indulging in more than Homeric flights of fancy, the encomium degenerates, too frequently, into pedantic and extravagant rhapsodies.¹⁹² During the progress of this desperate struggle, we are informed, that Murchadh wielded two swords, one in the right and the other in the left hand—a mode of fighting, which could only be exercised, by a man of powerful strength, and by one admirably well trained, in the use

Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 98.

¹⁸⁶ That in the "Book of Howth."

¹⁸⁷ It is said, the Danes were obliged to retreat to Collis—probably the Hill of Howth is meant. See "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., and William Bullen, Esq.

¹⁸⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 263.

¹⁸⁹ See John O'Donovan, on "The Battle of Clontarf," in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 134.

¹⁹⁰ See Alexander M. Sullivan's "Story of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 98.

¹⁹¹ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., pp. 263 to 265.

¹⁹² Thus, it is stated: "He was the last man that had true valour in Erin. It was he that pledged the word of a true champion, that he would not retreat one foot before the whole of the human race, for any reason whatsoever, but this alone, that he might die of his wounds. He was the last man in Erin who was a match for a hundred. He was the last man who killed a hundred in a day. His was the last step that true valour ever took in Erin. For this is what the historians of the Gaelic say, that seven like Murchadh, would be a match for Mac Samhain; and seven like Mac Samhain a match for Lugh Lagha; and seven like Lugh Lagha, a match for Conall Cernach; and seven like Conall Cernach, a match for Lugh Lamha-fada, the son of Eithlenn; and

seven like Lugh Lamha, a match for Hector, the son of Priam. Such are the degrees and variations of illustrious championship from the beginning of the world; and there was no illustrious championship previous to Hector, because it was only an infant till his time, and was not fit for action, nor shall there be after Murchadh, because it shall be a palsied drivelling dotard ever after. And thus championship and the world are compared with human life, according to intellectual metaphor. He was the metaphorical Hector of all-victorious Erin, in religion, and in valour, and in championship, in generosity, and in munificence. He was pleasant, affable, intelligent, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, for promoting the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race, during his own career and time. He was the second powerful Hercules, who destroyed and exterminated serpents and monsters out of Erin; who searched the lakes and pools, and caverns of noble-landed Fodhla, whom no fortress or fastness in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamha-fada, who, like him, sprang over every obstacle, laid bare every brave head, and exterminated and expelled the foreigners and pirates out of Erin. He was the gate of battle, and the hurdle of conflict, and the sheltering tree, and the impregnable tower, against the enemies of his fatherland and of his race during his time and during his career."—*Cogaobh Saebhel Re Gallabh,* chap. cvii., pp. 186 to 189.

¹⁹³ See Rev. Paul O'Brien's "Disserta-

of these weapons. If such were the case, we may assume, that he must have divested himself of his shield, to allow his arms full range and swing, in dealing his blows. Perhaps, however, the origin of this report may be assigned to the fact, that his right hand or arm had become swollen and disabled,¹⁹³ owing to the constant and repeated personal assaults he had been obliged to give and to receive, during the heat of this battle; so that, he may have been necessitated to shift occasionally the weapon, from his right to his left hand, in order to relieve the muscular strain he was compelled to endure. Not alone have the Munster historians borne testimony to his prowess, but even the Leinster and Scandinavian chroniclers¹⁹⁴ have stated, that during his desperate onset, no less than fifty of his enemies fell by his right hand, and as many more by his left. Furthermore, it is related, that neither shield nor coat of mail was proof against his strokes, which were so vigorous, that he was never obliged vainly to repeat one of them. Each of his blows cut through the body, head, or bone of his opponent, if it did not even at once inflict death. Surrounding him were the brave and active champions of his own household, and these numbered seven score who were the sons of Kings; the man of smallest patrimony among them, at least, was lord over a townland.¹⁹⁵ This noble body-guard moved behind their leader, in one compact battalion. They followed him eagerly, actively, and with fierce, fiery valour, as he moved over the plain. Again, the irresistible and matchless phalanx of the Clann Luighdech were always in a line, with their great chieftain. At one period of the battle, it appears, that these troops were obliged to yield ground, before the impetuous Norwegians and the piratical Denmarkians.¹⁹⁶ However, this repulse only quickened the blood and raised the spirit of Murchadh to an excessive degree. With uncontrollable fury, he resolved on retrieving the fortunes of the day. Unceasingly occupied with his hand to hand encounters, the body-guard that surrounded him fought desperately, in the heat of conflict, and they passed thrice victoriously through the enemy's battalions opposed to them.¹⁹⁷ Meanwhile, between the different corps of both armies, a general and an obstinate fight continued.¹⁹⁸ It would seem, that the Dal Cais¹⁹⁹ and the Eugenic swords were joined together, in one vehement onset against a compact phalanx of Denmarkians, covered with thrice-riveted and powerful protective armour. The burnished shields and embossed targets of the Clann Ludech, met the bright battle-axes of the Danars, in this conflict.²⁰⁰ The slaughter committed by Morough excited more especially the fury of Carolus and Conmaol. These were two Danes of distinction.²⁰¹ They attacked him

tions on the National Customs, and the State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 531, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

¹⁹⁴ Hence, it appears, that accounts of this battle had been written by natives of Leinster; but, we have not as yet discovered them, and there is too much reason to fear, that they have been unfortunately lost. Of the Scandinavian Chronicles, the Njal Saga is the only one we have seen, containing the account of Bryan's battle, and it is also likely, that other Sagas referring to it may have been lost or destroyed.

¹⁹⁵ The phrase *trioca ceo* was used, to signify a barony, or a townland.

¹⁹⁶ See *Coḡaoh gaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. cviii., pp. 188, 189.

¹⁹⁷ See *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ See Rev. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs and State

Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 529, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

¹⁹⁹ Their hard, straight swords are noticed.

²⁰⁰ In the usual style of hyperbole, this combat is noticed in the *Coḡaoh gaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. ciii., pp. 178 to 181.

²⁰¹ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 66.

²⁰² "And they who saw it gleaming there,
And knew who bore it, knelt to swear
That where that sword led, they would dare

To follow and to die."

—Rev. Abraham J. Ryan.

in conjunction; but, Murough's might prevailed, and both fell by his sword.²⁰² The Dalcassians had been severely pressed, however, by the Danars, during this engagement; and, this circumstance added fury to the onslaught of Murough, the greatness of his soul even rising with the emergencies of danger.²⁰³

While the forces of Brian met in this fierce combat, he was guarded by three of his aids.²⁰⁴ Prostrate before the crucifix,²⁰⁵ a cushion was spread under him. Then he opened a psalter. He began to clasp his hands in prayer, after the battle had commenced; and, there was no one with him in the tent, save his own attendant, whose name was Latean.²⁰⁶ Brian said to this attendant, "Watch thou the battle and the combats, while I sing the psalms." He then sang fifty psalms, he recited fifty prayers, and fifty pater-nosters. He asked the attendant after that, what were the conditions, in which he found the battalions? The attendant answered, that they were mixed together, and closely confounded. He also said, that each of the warriors had come within the grasp of an opponent. He added, "not louder in my ears could be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows upon heads, and bones, and skulls, on both sides." Then Bryan asked, what was the condition of Murchadh's standard; and the attendant said, "It is standing, and many of the Dalcassian banners are around it; many heads are falling, while a multitude of trophies, and spoils, with heads of foreigners, are along with it." "That is good news, indeed," said Bryan.²⁰⁷

Meantime, Dunlang O'Hartugan²⁰⁸ rushed on the host of the pirates, and he spared not one of them, that came in his way. He approached Cornabliteoc, and each of these soon became roughly engaged, in a fierce assault of arms. Then, three of the soldiers belonging to Cornabliteoc rushed in front of him, and they made three simultaneous thrusts at Dunlang. However, the indomitable spirit of this chief had been specially roused, and his ardour was too much excited, to heed their interposition. Drawing his spear with great force, its point passed, not only through the body armour but even through the body of Cornabliteoc, who fell in the encounter. His men immediately formed a firm circle around the body; and then commenced one of the three most violent combats, that took place at Cluain Tarbh. Not less than thrice fifty of his foes that were there turned at the same time against Dunlang. His men stood bravely by their chief's side, and the opposing bands dealt ardent thrusts and fearful blows, at each other. The foreigners deemed it a point of military honour, to rescue the body of their leader; but, every one of these who waited was wounded and beaten, until there remained no interposition between the Irish leader and his rival, who was slain. The gallant defence of the foreigners procured neither respect nor mercy for their chief; for, by Dunlang and by his warriors, they were driven away, after a fierce contest. Then the head of Cornabliteoc was cut off,²⁰⁹ as the most coveted trophy of a champion's victory, in those times.

The other Irish commanders not only joined their brave followers in action, but led them through all its dangers. In like manner, distinguished as

²⁰² See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Gallabh*, chap. cviii., pp. 188, 189.

²⁰⁴ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 101.

²⁰⁵ This is still the devotion practised in our churches on Good Friday.

²⁰⁶ "From whom," adds the transcribers, "are the O'Lateans, still in Munster." This

comment is placed within brackets, by Rev. James Henthorn Todd, who found it in two different Manuscripts.

²⁰⁷ See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Gallabh*, chap. cxiii., pp. 196 to 199.

²⁰⁸ This seems to have been the chief called Dolir Abertegan, in Dr. Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 185.

²⁰⁹ See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Gallabh*,

warriors, they found foemen, not less inured to campaigning than themselves. Though their respective deeds of daring have not been all recorded;²¹⁰ yet, can we estimate fairly their exploits, from the nature of the contest in which they were engaged, and because of the fierce passions aroused on both sides.²¹¹ The fight became a most desperate one, and it was furiously contested.²¹² Everywhere the chiefs and their warriors left sanguinary traces of courage, among the opposing forces. It would seem, that a mere youth—only fifteen years of age—Toirdhealbhadh, or Turlough, the son of Murchadh, and grandson of Brian Boroime, emulated the example of his renowned ancestors, and of his brave companions in arms. He fought, on this day, among the veteran warriors. He survived, until the close of the battle.²¹³ The raven banner of Earl Sigurd, woven by his mother with magical skill, floated proudly on the field.²¹⁴ Clad in mail, and foremost among his islanders, he dealt wounds and death beneath its folds.²¹⁵ One of the chiefs on the Irish side, who particularly distinguished himself in the battle, was Tadhg Mor O'Ceallaigh,²¹⁶ who is said to have done more towards breaking the power of the foreigners, than any other chieftain, not even excepting Brian himself. He had been thirteen years chief of Hy-Maine; and, he is compared to a wolf-dog contending against the foreigners, and when fighting the Danes. For this reason, moreover, he is set down in the family pedigree, as Tadhg Catha Bhriain, or Teige of the Battle of Brian.²¹⁷

Never was manifested greater intrepidity, resolution, or perseverance—for both armies still remembered their former and mutual animosities—than on this remarkable day, when they fought with such desperation.²¹⁸ The battle, as we are told,²¹⁹ raged from Tulcadh²²⁰ to Athcliath.²²¹ One of the

chap. civ., pp. 182 to 185.

²¹⁰ See John O'Donovan, on "The Battle of Clontarf," in "The Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 135.

²¹¹ If we can credit the authenticity of this statement, dreadful must have been the scenes and carnage of this day: but, we are informed, that Maelseachlainn, who resumed the monarchy of Ireland, after the fall of Bryan, had been requested, by the clan Colman, to describe the battle of Clontarf. These are said to have been his words: "It is impossible for human language to describe it, an angel from heaven only could give a correct idea, of the terrors of that day! We retired to the distance of a fallow-field from the combatants, the high wind of the spring blowing from them towards us. And we were no longer than half an hour there, when neither of the two armies could discern each other, nor could one know his father or brother, even though he were next to him, unless he could recognise his voice, or know the spot on which he stood, and we were all covered over, both faces, arms, heads, hair, and clothes, with red drops of blood, borne from them on the wings of the wind! And, should we attempt to assist them, we could not, for our arms were entangled with the locks of their hair, which were cut off by the swords, and blown towards us by the wind, so that we were all the time engaged in disentangling our arms. And it was wonderful that those that were in the battle could endure such horror, without becoming distracted. And

they fought from sunrise, until the dusk of the evening, when the full tide carried the ships away." See *ibid.*, p. 135, 136.

²¹² "The fight was desperate, the field all bloud, a horse (they say) was sometime to his belly in bloud."—Dr. Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 182.

²¹³ See *Cozadh Saothel Re Gallaidh*, chap. cx., pp. 192, 193.

²¹⁴ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. i. Introduction, p. cxc., note.

²¹⁵ After King Olaf's death, Sigurd abandoned his fealty to him, and probably, also, his Christianity. See Laing's "Kings of Norway," vol. ii., p. 131.

²¹⁶ He is also called Teige, Thaddæus, or Timothy O'Kelly, and from this hero, all the septa of the O'Kellys of Hy-Many are descended.

²¹⁷ See "The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's country," edited with a Translation and Notes by John O'Donovan. Additional Notes, A, p. 99.

²¹⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., pp. 263.

²¹⁹ See the "Chronicum Scotorum," edited by William M. Hennessy, p. 252, 253.

²²⁰ Supposed to be the River Tolka.

²²¹ Now Dublin.

²²² In the Harleian copy of the "Annales Inisfalenses," he is called "Sitric mc Luadar Jarla Inns h Orc."—Rev. Dr. O'Connor's

bravest and most celebrated warriors, fighting on the Danish side, was Sitric, the son of Loder.²²² This is only another name for Earl Sigurd of the Orkneys. This valiant leader had a hard battle with Kerthialfad.²²³ The latter came on so fast, that he laid low all who were in the front rank, and he broke the array of Earl Sigurd right up to his banner, and there was again a hard fight. Kerthialfad smote the standard-bearer his death-blow, at once, and so on, one after the other, all who stood near him.²²⁴ It is stated, that Bryan had observed the Danish commander making great havoc among the Eugenians, during the heat of this battle; and, therefore, he directed Murrough to hasten and meet him, while charged to check his proceedings if possible.²²⁵ A well, from which the Irish chiefs refreshed themselves during this battle, is even now pointed out, in Castle Avenue, near Clontarf.²²⁶ It is still publicly used.²²⁷ Sigurd was engaged, making a fierce attack on the Dalgais.²²⁸ He observed, that Morough and other chieftains of the Irish army, after maintaining the heat of action, for a considerable time, at intervals had retired from the battle still raging with undiminished fury. This happened more than twice, in the earlier portion of the day, but after their return, seemingly possessed of double vigour,²²⁹ the Irish leaders began once more to restore the spirits of their faithful clansmen. This withdrawal they found to be necessary, both to quench their thirst, and to cool their hands, which were greatly swollen, owing to the violent use of their swords and battle-axes. An adjoining spring,²³⁰ over which a guard of men²³¹ was placed, served to refresh the wearied and wounded, who fell out of the fight. To prevent this resource from being available, a great effort was made by the Danes, who soon destroyed the relief it afforded.²³² Rejoining his troops and for the last time, Sitrick, the valiant leader of the Orkney men, marshalled his hardy islanders, and with a body of these—Norsemen by descent—he was making a fresh attack on the Dalcassians. In him, Morough recognised a foe, most formidable, and at the head of his troops. Singled out from the rest of his followers, soon a combat hand to hand was engaged in, between that brave Earl and the intrepid Morough. The latter rushed violently against his opponent, and with drawn sword slashed open the bands, clasps, buckles and buttons, fastening Sigurd's helmet, and this fell backwards off his head. Then drawing two

"*Rezum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," tomus ii., p. 66.

²²³ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 603.

²²⁴ The following Danish account succeeds: "Then Earl Sigurd called on Thorstein, the son of Hal of the Side, to bear the banner, and Thorstein was just about to lift the banner, but then Asmund the White said, 'Don't bear the banner! for all they who bear it get their death.' 'Hrafn the Red!' called out Earl Sigurd, 'bear thou the banner.' 'Bear thine own devil thyself,' answered Hrafn. Then the Earl said, 'Tis fittest that the beggar should bear the bag;' and with that he took the banner from the staff and put it under his cloak. A little after, Asmund the White was slain, and then the Earl was pierced through with a spear."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., pp. 335, 336.

²²⁵ See Rev. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs, and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," Part ii., chap.

i., pp. 530, 531, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

²²⁶ Near the mansion of Mr. Vernon.

²²⁷ It has been lately re-edified, with a handsome metal front and inscription, describing it as "King Brian's Well."

²²⁸ He is called Sitric Mac Lodair, in Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 264.

²²⁹ See John O'Donovan, on "The Battle of Clontarf," in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, pp. 134, 135.

²³⁰ Near Clontarf, this well is yet shown by the inhabitants, according to Thomas O'Gorman. This lies close to the new Protestant church, conspicuous along the shore, by its tall spire.

²³¹ A Manuscript account of the Battle of Clontarf defines the number to be only twelve.

²³² See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 264.

strokes across the Earl's exposed neck, he was felled to the ground.²³³ Far different was the manner of his death, as related by other Irish authorities, who state, that Murchad used a battle-axe during this encounter, and probably in that manner,²³⁴ practised by the ancient Irish.²³⁵ The result proved fatal to the valiant Jarl. Murchad's battle-axe, it is said, divided Sitrick's body in two, even through the armour,²³⁶ which all the Danish leaders appear to have worn. The Scanian account states, however, that Sigurd was pierced through with a spear;²³⁷ but, the name of his slayer is not given.

One of the most determined and devastating episodes, even of this sanguinary battle, was the fight maintained against the men of Connaught, by the foreigners of Ath-Cliath; so that, those engaged in it, on both sides, were nearly all killed. Historians relate, that of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne, not more than one hundred survived that deadly encounter, with Fergal Ua Ruairc their leader. The Ui Cendselaigh forces were entirely routed there, and these were afterwards pursued to the battalion of the mail-clad men. A wood of shelter was near these, and the Ui Cendselaigh were in order of battle, with their back towards the coats of mail. After this hard struggle, nine of the household troops of Fergal overtook Dunlang, the son of Tuathal, and killed him; then, Mac an Trin, who was captain of Fergal's household, beheaded him, and he brought the head to Fergal as a trophy, with congratulations on this dearly won triumph. The few of those Connaicians that were left went then into Brian's battalion, and ranged themselves behind Murchad's standard. After the fall of all their other seventy standards, and the killing of their chiefs, Fergal's great and prized flag was still kept floating over them.²³⁸

It is stated, that during the forenoon, success favoured the Irish side,²³⁹ until a fresh body of Danes, who were kept in the rear, were ordered to the front, in the afternoon.²⁴⁰ These troops came upon the Irish by surprise; for, immediately afterwards, they carried slaughter and destruction into the ranks of their opponents. This was asserted by some writers;²⁴¹ nevertheless, the authority or grounds, on which this statement rests, cannot be easily ascertained.²⁴² Advantage, however, if gained, cannot have been more than temporary. During the progress of this engagement, Conaing, King of Des-Mumha, faced Maelmordha, the son of Murchadh, King of Leinster. A

²³³ See *COGSAH SAOHEL RE SALLAIBH*, pp. 194, 195.

²³⁴ Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that the Irish held the axe with one hand, not with both, the thumb being stretched along the handle, and directing the blow, from which neither the helmet erected into a cone can defend the head, nor the iron-mail the rest of the body. Whence it happens, he adds, in our times, that the whole thigh of a soldier, though ever so well cased in iron-mail, is cut off by one blow of the axe, the thigh and the leg falling on one side of the horse, and the dying body on the other. See "Opera," vol. v., "Topographia Hibernica." Dist. iii., cap. x., p. 151. Edition of James F. Dimock, M.A.

²³⁵ Said by Giraldus Cambrensis to have been adopted by them "a Norwagiensibus et Oustmannis."—*Ibid.*

²³⁶ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 66.

²³⁷ See Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiquities Celto-Scandicæ," p. 123.

²³⁸ See *COGSAH SAOHEL RE SALLAIBH*, chap. ci., pp. 176, 177.

²³⁹ The Book of Howth tells us, that after a repulse to Collis, the strangers "returned again to the battle, and so wan the field by very force of fight, and killed both Bren and left his son Morhowe for dead, be-north the stinking stream, lying upon his shield; to whom came a priest called Segert Ne Fenemy, and asked for his son, which told him that he fled in the beginning of the field under a rock that was in the strand beside the field."—"Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth," edited by J. S. Brewer, and William Bullen, p. 25.

²⁴⁰ See Dr. Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 184.

²⁴¹ Probably, the only authority for such a statement is that romantic account in the Book of Howth.

²⁴² According to Hanmer, the Danes "fiercely fought and encountered with the wearie and wounded Irish, and wonne the field."

fierce contest ensued. Sixteen men were killed, each man rushing in front of his lord, to save him from some adversary. At last the kings met, and fell upon each other, when a vindictive combat was waged between them. This continued, until both of them were slain.²⁴³ On the Irish side fought the brave Scandinavian admiral, named Ospak. He had gone through all the battle, on his wing.²⁴⁴ Ospak had been sore wounded, and he lost both of his sons, ere Sigtrygg retreated before him. It seems doubtful, whether Sigurd, otherwise Sigtric, Jarl of the Orkneys, be here meant, or Sitrick, King of Dublin; but, most probably, it was the former.

The Monarch's cushion had been re-adjusted under him, and he sang the same number of psalms, of prayers, and of paters, as before. Again, Bryan asked his attendant, what was the condition of their battalions. The attendant answered and said, that there was not living on earth the person, who could distinguish one of the combatants from the other. He added, that the greater part of the hosts, at either side, had fallen, and those who were alive had been so covered with splatterings of blood, on head, body, and vesture, that a father could not even know his son among them, while confusion prevailed everywhere. The Monarch asked, what was the condition of Murchadh's standard, and the attendant said, that it was far from him, that it passed through the battalions westwards, and that it was still standing. Brian replied, that the men of Erin should be well, while his flag continued floating, because their courage and valour must remain, so long as they could see it borne aloft.²⁴⁵

Distinguished among the Scandinavian chiefs, Brodir went through the host of the foe,²⁴⁶ and he felled the foremost who stood there, but no steel could bite on his mail.²⁴⁷ His actions in the battle seem to have been performed, near the wood of Tomar.²⁴⁸ At length, Wolf the quarrelsome turned to meet him, and thrust thrice so fiercely at him, that Brodir fell at each lunge, and was well-nigh prevented from getting on his feet again;²⁴⁹ but, soon as ever he found his feet, he fled away into the wood at once.

It is said, that while this great contest lasted, the people of Ath-Cliath were watching from their walls and battlements the various movements of those reaping the harvest of death. The heavy gleaming battle-axes and bright flashing swords were seen by them;²⁵⁰ and, accounts have it, that the warriors' hair, which they cut off, was floated by the high wind,²⁵¹ even so far as the position occupied by those spectators. Among them were Sitric, the son of Amhlaibh, or Amlaff, who was married to the daughter of Brian. She then stood beside him, on the battlements of his watch-tower. "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, "many is the sheaf they let go from them." The daughter of Brian, who seems to have been more the partisan of her father and of his family than of her husband, cautiously replied, "At the end of the day, that will be seen."²⁵²

²⁴³ See *Cogaobh Saehel Re Galluibh*, chap. cv., pp. 184, 185.

²⁴⁴ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

²⁴⁵ See *Cogaobh Saehel Re Galluibh*, chap. cxiii., pp. 198, 199.

²⁴⁶ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 602.

²⁴⁷ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., cap. clvi., p. 335.

²⁴⁸ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., pp. 602, 603.

²⁴⁹ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story

of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 335.

²⁵⁰ If this be true, the day itself must have been sunshiny and clear, to enable the Danes of Dublin to see from their walls so far as Clontarf, a distance of at least three or four miles. However, it is very probable, the sightseers could have safely ventured outside the city gates, and taken post on vantage-ground, which might enable them clearly to discern all the chief movements of those engaged in that conflict.

²⁵¹ This accords, also, with the statement of *Maelseachlainn* to the Clan Colman.

While Murchadh was otherwise engaged, a valiant son to the King of Lochlann fought among the battalions. This was Anraid, or Anrad, son of Elbric, who furiously directed his assault against the Dalcaassians. He made a great slaughter among them, and, wherever he appeared, they opened way before him. This enraged Murchadh, when he perceived it. Then, turning obliquely on the ranks of the mail-clad warriors, he killed fifteen men on his right and fifteen on his left, until he reached the son of Elbric. However, there is a considerable amount of confusion in this narrative, for, the proper name set down signifies "a warrior;"²⁵³ while other authorities call him solely, the son of Ebric, and sometimes, the son of Elbric.²⁵⁴ As became his high reputation for activity and courage on the battle-field, the proud admiration of his soldiers was the illusive Morough, who fought bravely, always in the front ranks among his hardy Dalcaassians. At length, the violent exertion of his right or sword arm, caused both his hand and arm so much pain, that he was unable to lift them up, for they had become greatly swollen. While in this almost helpless condition, and quite unable to strike with his wonted vigour, Morrough was suddenly attacked by Aurudh, or Anraid. But, closing upon the Dane, the Dalcaasian prince threw down his sword, and laying hold of him on the top of the head with the left hand, Murchadh drew Aurudh out of his coat of mail, by pulling it forward over his head. Then both fought a wrestling battle; but, by superior force or dexterity, Murchadh contrived to throw the foreigner on the ground, while he remained uppermost. Leaning with his breast upon the hilt, for no longer could he use the right arm, Murrough pressed upon it, with the whole weight of his body, and thus inflicted a death-wound on his opponent. However, even in his dying state, the fierce Aurudh did not fall unavenged. He saw the skeine, or short Irish dagger, which hung by Morrough's side, and with a convulsive grasp, he tore it from the belt.²⁵⁵ Then directing its point against Murrough, the dying warrior, at the same instant, inflicted a mortal wound²⁵⁶ on the renowned Dalcaasian leader. The Lochlann chief expired on the spot; and, suffering great agony, from the thrust he had received.²⁵⁷ According to other accounts, Morrough was in the act of stooping to relieve an enemy, when he received from this foe his death-wound. Such a deplorable and tragic disaster, however, had not the effect of turning the fortune of the day, for the Danes and for their allies.²⁵⁸ The valiant Murrough after his fall was borne away from the battle-field mortally wounded.²⁵⁹

The issue of this dreadful day's carnage remained long doubtful; for, although blood flowed in torrents, there was no sign of yielding on either side. Every man had sufficient work on hands to know only his own adven-

²⁵² See *Coḡaoh Ḥaēohel Re Ḥallaibh*, chap. cviii., pp. 199, 191.

²⁵³ In Edward O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary" *anraio* is rendered "a champion," *sub voce*.

²⁵⁴ The same person is evidently meant, however; and, in the opinion of Dr. Todd, the name intended was probably Eohric, or Eric, or perhaps, Elbric.

²⁵⁵ In the *Coḡaoh Ḥaēohel Re Ḥallaibh*, it is stated, that Anraid drew his own knife. See pp. 196, 197.

²⁵⁶ It is stated, he cut open the entrails of Murchadh, which fell on the ground, when the Dalcaasian hero was seized with faintings and shiverings. Yet, strangeto say, he was able in this crisis, to cut off his adversary's head,

and so they mutually killed each other. See *ibid*. The extravagancies of such accounts are obvious, and do not deserve credence.

²⁵⁷ See the account of this tragic duel on the field, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen.—Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scrip̄tores," toms ii., p. 66.

²⁵⁸ See Haverly's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv. p. 148.

²⁵⁹ According to the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, he was then in his sixty-third year. See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scrip̄tores," toms ii., p. 67.

²⁶⁰ See *Coḡaoh Ḥaēohel Re Ḥallaibh*, chap. cvi., pp. 184 to 187.

²⁶¹ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum

tures, owing to the greatness of his distress, remarks the old chronicler ; and those, who could have had an idea of it, fell there, on either side, so that God alone had full knowledge of the deeds and events, which transpired on that field of carnage.²⁶⁰ The battle, begun at an early hour in the morning, still raged on to the evening.²⁶¹ Meantime, the ebb-tide had carried the foreigners' vessels out to sea ; but, when it came to fill and return, many of their ships came on the flood, and close to land.²⁶² The Irish now prepared for a supreme effort, and made a general attack, on the weakened bands of their enemies. Destitute of leaders, who had exposed their lives to perils while fighting in the foremost ranks, the Danes fell into disorder, and then the issue was soon decided.²⁶³ About four o'clock, in the afternoon, the tide of battle seemed inclining to the Irish ; and then, the ranks of their adversaries began to reel. Discomfiture of a decisive character had now become assured. Everywhere the foreigners saw the field of battle covered with the dead and dying of their own forces ; and, while the number of their surviving warriors was sensibly diminishing, the confidence and elation of the Irish proportionally increased. The force of their shock was not any longer to be resisted, by the Danes, and wild confusion ensued through their disordered ranks.²⁶⁴ The greatest and bravest of their leaders had already fallen, after displaying the most heroic valour, and few were now left to take their places. Soon after the retreat of Sigtrygg,²⁶⁵ we are told, that flight broke out through all the strangers' host.²⁶⁶

The last and greatest of Bryan's battles had now been fought, nor was he destined to survive it. If we are to accept the authority of some writers, he had then attained his eighty-eighth year.²⁶⁷ The circumstances attending his death, however, have been differently related. The northern accounts have it, that when Brodir saw King Bryan's troops chasing the fliers, there were only a few men left by the shieldburg. Then he rushed out of the wood, where he had been concealed, broke through the shieldburg, and hewed at the king.²⁶⁸ This statement is not inconsistent with the Irish narratives ; and, all authorities seem to be agreed, that Broder was his slayer. The oldest known record of the battle on the Irish side relates, that only one attendant, named Latean, was with the monarch, at this time. His cushion had been re-adjusted under Brian, and he sang, for the third time during that day, fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters ; the fighting having continued all that time.²⁶⁹ Another authority has it, that not Lactean, but Laidir,²⁷⁰ the

Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., *Annales Inisfalenses*, p. 67.

²⁶² See *Cogadh Saorhel Re Gallaidh*, chap. cix., pp. 190, 191.

²⁶³ "Twas set of sun, and freedom blessed

His pathway down the golden west.
Defeat now on every side
The Norsemen's flight was wild and wide :

Yet oft they turned in broken strife,
Nor yielded even with yielding life ;

But lifted oft and oft again
The sword of faint but desperate men."

—John Augustus Shea's "Clontarf," p. 86.

²⁶⁴ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 148.

²⁶⁵ We are doubtful, whether this be the Earl of Orkney, or the Danish King of Dublin.

²⁶⁶ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 336.

²⁶⁷ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., *Annales Inisfalenses*, p. 67.

²⁶⁸ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii. chap. clvi. p. 337.

²⁶⁹ He asked then of the attendant, in what state were the forces. The attendant answered : "They appear to me the same as if Tomar's Wood was on fire, and as if the seven battalions had been cutting away at its underwood, and at its young shoots, for a month, leaving its stately trees and its immense oaks standing. In such manner are the armies now on either side, the greater part of them having fallen, while a few brave men and gallant heroes only are still left standing. Their further condition is, that

servant of Bryan, happened to be in attendance on his royal master. Observing the confusion spreading around, and seeing some of the Danes surging through the Irish host, he feared, that the imperial army must have been defeated, and he was seized with a sudden panic. Hastily entering the tent of Bryan, who was on his knees before the crucifix, his servant requested,²⁷¹ that the monarch would immediately take a horse and flee. "No," says Bryan, "it was to conquer or die I came here ;²⁷² but, do you and my other attendants take my horses to Armagh, and communicate my will to the successor of St. Patrick. That I bequeath my soul to God, my body to Armagh, and my blessing to my son Donough. Give two hundred cows to Armagh, along with my body ; also, go directly to Swords of St. Columkille, and order them to come for my body to-morrow, so as to conduct it to Duleek of St. Kieran, and let them convey it thence to Louth ; whither let Maelmurry, the son of Eochy, Comharb of St. Patrick, come with the family of Armagh, and then convey it to their cathedral."²⁷³ "People are coming towards us," said the servant. "What sort of people are they?" asked Bryan. "Green naked people," cried the servant. "They are the Danes in armour," said Bryan.²⁷⁴ He then rose from his pillow, seized his sword, and stood to await the approach of Broder,

they are wounded, pierced through and dismembered ; while they are disorganized all round, like the grinding of a mill, turning the wrong way ; but, the foreigners are now defeated, and Murchadh's standard has fallen." "That is sad news," said Bien ; "on my word, the honour and valour of Erinn fell, when that standard fell ; and, indeed, Erinn has fallen now ; for, never shall there appear henceforth a champion, comparable to that champion. And what avails it me to survive this day, or that I should obtain the sovereignty of the world, after the fall of Murchadh, and Conaing, and the other nobles of the Dál Cais." See *Coḡaoh Ṣaḡoel Re Ṣallaibh*, chap. cxiii., p. 198 to 201.

²⁷⁰ See John O'Donovan, on the Battle of Clontarf, in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 135.

²⁷¹ According to the *Coḡaoh Ṣaḡoel Re Ṣallaibh*, the attendant Latean then said : "Woe is me, if thou wouldst take my advice, thou oughtest to mount thy horse, and we should go to the camp, and remain there among the servants ; since every one, who escapes this battle, should come to us, and around us will they rally. Besides, the battalions are now mixed together in confusion ; while a party of the foreigners have rejected the idea of retreating to the sea, and we know not who may approach us where we now are." See chap. cxiii., pp. 200, 201.

²⁷² The *Coḡaoh Ṣaḡoel Re Ṣallaibh*, relates this closing scene somewhat differently, and as follows : "O God ! thou boy," said Bryan, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive. What could it profit me if I did ? For Aibhell, of Craig Laith, came to me last night, and she told me, that I should be killed on this day ; moreover, she told me, that the first of my sons I should see on this

day should be my successor in the sovereignty, and he is Donnchadh. Go thou, Laidean, take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing : carry out my will after my death, viz., my body and my soul to God and to St. Patrick, that I am to be carried to Ard-macha ; and my blessing to Donnchadh, for discharging my last bequests after me, viz., twelve score of cows to be given to the Comharba of Patrick and to the society at Ard-macha ; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua, as also to the churches of Mumbain, their dues. Donnchadh knows, that I have not wealth of gold or silver ; but, he is to pay them, in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me. Go this night to Sord, and desire them to come early on to-morrow for my body, and to convey it thence to Damhliag, of Cianan, and then let them carry it thence to Lughmhagh ; thence let Maelmuire Mac Eochadha, Comharba of Patrick, and the society of Ard-macha, come to meet me at Lughmhagh." See chap. cxiii., pp. 200 to 203.

²⁷³ See John O'Donovan, on the Battle of Clontarf, in the "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 17, p. 135.

²⁷⁴ While they were engaged in this conversation, according to another account, the attendant perceived a party of foreigners approaching them. Earl Brodar was there, and two warriors along with him. "There are people coming towards us here," said the attendant. "Woe is me, what manner of people are they?" said Bryan. "A blue, stark naked people," replied the attendant. "Alas !" said Brian, "they are the foreigners in armour, and it is not to do good they come." While he was saying this, the Monarch arose, stepped off the cushion, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar passed him by, and did not notice him. One of the three, who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said—"Cing, Cing," said he, "this

with some of his followers. The monarch saw no part of him without armour, except his eyes and his feet. Then Bryan raised his hand, and gave him a blow, with which he cut off the left leg from the knee, and the right from the ankle; but, Broder's axe met the head of Bryan, and fractured it.²⁷⁵ He fell mortally wounded, and almost immediately gave up the ghost. The northern account states, that the lad Takt²⁷⁶ threw his arm in the way. A miraculous incident is then recorded. The stroke took it off, and the king's head, likewise; but, the king's blood came on the lad's stump, and the stump was healed by it, on the spot. Then Brodir called out, with a loud voice—"Now let man tell man, that Brodir felled Brian."²⁷⁷

This Danish version regarding his death, as found in the Nials Saga, is in part probable; other statements, however, are unreliable.²⁷⁸ It is added, on the same authority, that the ferocious pirate was then hemmed in by Brian's returned guards and captured alive. Some men ran after those, that were chasing the fliers, and they were told, that King Brian had fallen. Then, both Wolf the quarrelsome and Kerthialfad turned back straight way; they closed a ring round Brodir and his men, and threw branches of trees on them.²⁷⁹ The Irish soldiers took a savage vengeance for the death of their king, who but for their own neglect should have been safe.²⁸⁰ Immediately adjoining Conquer Hill is the level, known as Bryan Boroimhe's Field,²⁸¹ and where it is said the brave old warrior fell²⁸² on the battle-plain, while he was already rejoicing and thanking the Almighty for the splendid victory he had gained.²⁸³ Near it are some remarkable moats. These are popularly supposed to represent the funereal pyres, heaped over the slain, and shortly after this great battle had been decided.²⁸⁴ However, we believe, that at the time of his

is the King." "No, no, but Priest, Priest," said Brodar, it is not he, but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the great king, Brian." Brodar then turned round and appeared with a bright gleaming and trusty battle-axe in his hand, having its handle set in the middle. When Brian saw Brodar, he gazed at him, and then gave him a stroke with his sword, which cut off his left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot. The foreigner dealt Brian a stroke, which cleft his head utterly; but, Brian killed the second man that was with Brodar, and they both fell mutually by each other. See *Cogsaoh Saephel Re Galluibh*, chap. xiv., pp. 202, 203.

²⁷⁵ With all the fury of a dying warrior, it is stated, in another version, that Brian beheaded Broder, and killed a second Dane, by whom he was attacked; but this seems to have been a misconception of the original narrator's meaning, which is somewhat confused.

²⁷⁷ It seems, as if he were a new person introduced at this scene of the Monarch's death. Probably, by Takt, the northern writer understood Tadg, or Teigue, a well-known Irish name.

²⁷⁸ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Brunt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 337.

²⁷⁹ See Martin Haverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 148.

²⁸⁰ Wolf the quarrelsome cut open Brodir's belly, and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of

him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him.—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Brunt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 337. This no doubt, is a Northern fiction.

²⁸⁰ See Haverty's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 149.

²⁸¹ A great excavation, near Conquer Hill, is now filled with water, to the depth of several feet, owing to the circumstance of earth having been formerly taken away to make bricks; and, therefore, that place is now known by the name of the Brick Fields.

²⁸² An old woman over eighty years of age in 1883, but of excellent and retentive memory, a native of Clontarf—where her ancestors resided for several past generations—was able to show that spot, where the Monarch Bryan fell, according to her father's version of the local tradition.

²⁸³ Many of the people maintain, that Conquer Hill was the spot where Bryan was murdered—they do not say killed—because his death, was one by assassination.

²⁸⁴ Hitherto, no scientific antiquarian attempt has been made, to explore the inner and middle parts of those unquestionably artificial structures; but, it appears to be quite probable, the human remains of several, who were killed on the day of that great battle, must be found, with perhaps some ancient armorial objects of the highest interest to antiquaries.

²⁸⁵ In the *annála Lochá Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy,

death, the monarch was not so near the sea-shore; but rather, that his post was in the camp, not far from Tomar's Wood, and according to some Irish accounts,²⁸⁵ Brian and Conaing were killed, at the rear of the army, not expecting an attack.²⁸⁶ Thus, on the field of battle, in the act of prayer, on the day of our Lord's Crucifixion, fell the Christian king, in the cause of native land and of Holy Cross. Many elegies have been dedicated to his memory, and not the least noble of these strains belong to his enemies. In death, as in life, he was still Brian "of the Tributes."²⁸⁷

Towards the end, and after they had killed Bryan Boroinhe, the Danes or Ostmen recovered their spirits,²⁸⁸ and rushing upon the Irish, became uppermost, in the opinion of Sir James Ware;²⁸⁹ and, this seems not wholly improbable, if we accept the truth of that statement, regarding the colloquy between Bryan and his attendant Latean, towards the close of this engagement.²⁹⁰ Due north from the village of Clontarf, and quite near the present sea-road, at Dollymount strand, a low, but lengthened druum, or ridge of ground, rises near the inner road-wall. This is called, at the present time, Conquer Hill; and, popular belief has it, that here some of the Danes—and probably a strong body,—made a last determined stand, towards the closing of the day's battle, while the other divisions of their army were in great disorder. This action may have been intended to cover a retreat to their ships, riding at

we have the following statement:—"The supreme king, *i.e.*, Brian, son of Ceaneidigh, and Conaing, son of Donnucuan, were behind the battalions, chaunting their psalms, and performing prayers, when a vehement, furious, Danmarkian escaped from the battle, avoiding death, until he came to the place where the king was. As soon as the Danmarkian perceived the king unguarded, he unsheathed his sword, and beheaded the supreme king of Erin, and he beheaded Conaing likewise; and he himself fell in the mutual wounding of that fight." See vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

²⁸⁷ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., *Annales* Buellani, p. 17.

²⁸⁸ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "History of Ireland," Book ii., chap. vi., pp. 101, 102.

²⁸⁹ Their own traditions have converted the Irish into a complete Scandinavian victory. The following account is from the Book of Howth:—"The causes that the field was lost. First, the haste that Bren the King made to the field, and did not tarry till his friends came to his aid, as his sons and others, which came three days after the field with 7,000 men. This great haste and worse speed may be an example to all men. Another cause was the field was lost, after the Normans landed five days, the Danes and Normans made haste to come to Doubling, to win the town; and fearing that, Bren made as much haste and provision to prevent that as he might, and came with the force he had against them, and placed his men in this order. The horsemen was put on the right hand of his woward as nigh the sea as might be, thinking that their enemies should not go to their ships backward. The har-

nessed and best men was put in battle, in the vanguard and foremost afore their horsemen a good distance, that they should break the force of their enemies, which was all afoot and had no horsemen. The left wing was kerne and men with slings, spears, stones, and shields, all naked men, for on that side was a great wood, be-north the Stinking Stream, the which the king fearing the Normans would take that way to Dublinge. The Normans and Danes, that seeing, divided them in this order, and staid at Clontarff till their men was parted in three parts. In the first battle they placed their best men on the left wing, as nigh these as they might, against the King's horsemen, which they doubted most, and fearing that the horsemen would compass them about. These horsemen were the force of the King's army. This woward went foremost, and fought with the main battle of the King's, and by reason of the slimy and deep ground towards the sea, the horsemen did nothing, being there placed afore as their ill-fortune was. The second battle of the Normans was all spearmen afoot, meaning thereby, if the King's horsemen should get away behind their woward, that they should be a wall or surance to their back. The third battle was their cross-bows and slings, which met so the kerne that they could do little aid to the King. And also the King's horsemen stood him in no stead. By reason thereof the King lost the field and his life, and 11,000 men and his son."—"Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth," pp. 26, 27.

²⁸⁹ See "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus Ejus," &c., cap. xxiv., p. 114.

²⁹⁰ See *Cois na h-Éire* re *Fallaibh*, chap. cxiii., pp. 200, 201.

anchor, on a full tide, and drawn up close to the sea-shore. At length, however, the Danes gave way on every side, nor was it even possible for them to seek safety in their flight. They could only turn towards the city, or to the sea,²⁹¹ where they endeavoured to reach their vessels. These were now their chief means for effecting escape. But, as on this memorable day, a high wind prevailed, especially if it blew from the east or north—as often happens at the spring-time of the year—with the tide and billows surging towards the sea-shore, it must have added greatly to those difficulties, experienced by the Danes, in reaching their vessels. Confusion became general throughout the foreigners' army, and their scattered bands rushed terrified, in every direction. Numbers of them had been totally dispersed and disbanded, nor were they able to effect a retreat, under favourable conditions.²⁹² The Irish sea and its ship-lined strand could not ensure any great protection, for their utterly routed and demoralized army; nor could the mariners on guard afford any considerable assistance, to those wading or swimming through the water, vengeful pursuers flushed with victory pressing on their rear. Several perished miserably, and their bodies were covered by the wild waves along the shore, or were carried out to sea. Then it was, that Brian's daughter, and the wife of Amhlaibh's son, looking from Ath Cliath, said: "It appears to me, that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What meanest thou, O woman?" returned Amhlaibh's son. "The foreigners are going into the sea, their natural inheritance," said she; "I wonder is it heat, that is upon them; but, they tarry not to be milked, if it be." The son of Amhlaibh, her husband, filled with indignation, then gave her a blow.²⁹³

Towards the close of that great decisive battle, the troops of Brian made a lodgment, at the head of Dubhgall's Bridge. This movement cut off retreat for the Leinstermen and Scandinavians, towards a wood, which was on the other side.²⁹⁴ Unable to make a further rally,²⁹⁵ many of the surviving foreigners fled to their vessels, and then took an eternal farewell of the coasts around that country, where they had experienced such disastrous reverses. Less hopeful even were the Leinster forces of escape, as these must fly towards Dublin, and being hardly able to break through the opposing lines of Munstermen. Moreover, the Dalcassians and men of Connaught, with their surviving chieftains, pressed closely upon the fugitives. Filled with exasperation, owing to the death of Bryan, and to their own great losses on the field of battle, no quarter was given. Notwithstanding the cries of the vanquished for mercy, these were closely pursued, and slain, in great numbers. Hundreds of dead bodies lay in heaps along the sea-shore, while great numbers were drowned in the sea.²⁹⁶ While some of the routed Danes fled to their ships near the strand, and were pursued by the victorious army; others found it more practicable or necessary, to seek refuge within the gates of Dublin,²⁹⁷ where a large Northman force was doubtless kept in reserve, and where the greater number of the citizens naturally sympathized with their cause. Towards

²⁹¹ See Martin Haverly's "History of Ireland, Ancient and Modern," chap. xiv., p. 148.

²⁹² "Thor-tein Hall of the Side's son stood still, while all the others fled, and tied his shoe-string. Then Kerthialfad asked, why he ran not as the others. 'Because,' said Thorsten, 'I can't get home to-night, since I am at home out in Iceland.' Kerthialfad gave him peace."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 336. Also, see "Nials-Saga," chap. clviii., pp. 603, 604.

²⁹³ See *Coḡaṡh Saebhel Re Galluibh*, chap. cx., pp. 192, 193.

²⁹⁴ We have given in the text, what we suppose to be the meaning—which is obscure—of the old Irish Chronicle. To us, from the description, the wood appears to have been situated, between the Toika and Dublin.

²⁹⁵ See Ferd. Warner's "History of Ireland," vol. i., Book x., p. 440.

²⁹⁶ See *Coḡaṡh Saebhel Re Galluibh*, chap. cix., pp. 190 to 193.

²⁹⁷ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book ix.,

Dubhgall's Bridge, about twenty of the foreigners, belonging to Ath-Cliath, retreated before the household troops of Tadhya Ua Cellaigh. All of those fugitives were there killed, and last among them fell Arnail Scot.²⁹⁸

Several mounds or tumuli are yet to be seen along the sea-shore, and in these it has been supposed, that the bodies of those slain in the battle were buried.²⁹⁹ Within some beautiful pleasure grounds,³⁰⁰ westwards from Clontarf, and in the direction of Dublin city, certain artificial mounds are noticeable, and rising over a sheet of water. One of these and cone-shaped,³⁰¹ occupies a very prominent



Mound within Mr. Colley's Demesne.

position, on the very crest of an irregular surface of earth. Here tradition states, that one of the kings, slain in the day's fight, now lies interred.³⁰² Along the site of the present Crescent,³⁰³ near the Tolka, the slaughter appears to have been very great. In a funereal mound,³⁰⁴ near Forrest, in the barony of Coolock, and not far from Clontarf, numbers of human bones were to be seen lying promiscuously, before the middle of the last century.³⁰⁵ Two

chap. viii., p. 266.

²⁹⁸ See *Cogsaoh Saehel Re Fallabh*, chap. cvi., pp. 184, 185.

²⁹⁹ See a Paper "On the Site of the Battle of Clontarf," by Thomas O'Gorman, in the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. v., Fourth Series, Part i., p. 169.

³⁰⁰ At present, Mr. Colley's Demesne.

³⁰¹ It was drawn on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, December, 1882, and afterwards transferred by him to the wood, which was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

³⁰² Such was the information obtained on the spot, from one of the family thereresiding.

³⁰³ There is found a group of houses, arranged in that shape, and built at the end of the last century. Human bones and other ancient remains were there turned up, as a party who built those houses mentioned to Thomas O'Gorman.

³⁰⁴ It had been opened, by order of a Mr. Blair, on whose lands it stood.

³⁰⁵ On a 17th of April, probably 1744, Walter Harris saw and handled these human

other mounds,³⁰⁶ and of the same kind, were within half a mile of the former barrow.³⁰⁷ It has been supposed, that the battle probably extended, from the Tolka River,³⁰⁸ and over much of that ground, now occupied by the north-east part of Dublin,³⁰⁹ as human bones, in great numbers, have been there discovered.³¹⁰ This seems quite probable, especially towards the close of this contest. According to the Annals of the Four Masters,³¹¹ Maelseachlainn, with his Meathians,³¹² took a brave and an active part in the after battle against the foreigners and Leinstermen, by routing and pursuing their forces with heavy blows, from Tulcainn, now the River Tolka,³¹³ to Athcliath, the former name for Dublin. Such was the ardour of the boy Turlough,³¹⁴ that he pursued the Danes into the sea. After the battle was over, his body was found, near the fishing-weir of Clontarf. Both his hands, being fast bound in the hair of a Dane's head,³¹⁵ indicated the death-struggle, which closed his early and promising career of life.³¹⁶ We read also, that Hrafn the Red was chased out into a certain river;³¹⁷ in imagination he saw there the pains of hell down below him, and he thought the devils wanted to drag him towards them. Then Hrafn said, "Thy dog, Apostle Peter! hath run twice to Rome, and he would run the third time, if thou gavest him leave."³¹⁸ Then, the devils let him loose, and Hrafn got safely across that river.³¹⁹

The numbers slain in this day's battle have been variously estimated. Hardly a nobly-born man escaped, or sought to escape. According to one account, on the Galls' side,³²⁰ the ten hundred in armour, and three thousand others of the enemy, with about an equal number of the men of Ireland, lay dead upon the field.³²¹ The greater part of the Island Danes, with their

remains, supposed by him to have been deposited there A.D. 1014, after the celebrated Battle of Clontarf. He also was told, that some curious gentlemen measured a skeleton there, and that from the dimensions taken, the person, to whom the bones once belonged, could not have been much less than nine feet in height!

³⁰⁶ If opened, as Harris suggests, they might reveal new discoveries.

³⁰⁷ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. xviii., pp. 149, 150.

³⁰⁸ We are told, in William M. Hennessy's version of the "Chronicum Scotorum," that "the battle raged from Tulcadh to Ath Cliath." See pp. 252, 253.

³⁰⁹ See J. N. Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," vol. i., p. 191, *note*.

³¹⁰ When excavating for a new street, in 1763, according to Wilson's "Dublin Magazine," for May of that year, where Rev. Dr. Ledwich has some remarks, on this subject.

³¹¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. ii., pp. 774 to 777, and n. (t) *ibid*.

³¹² In William M. Hennessy's *annala Locha Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, it is stated, that the men of Mumha and of Midhe and of the south of Connaught were led by Bryan Boromha against the foreigners of Ath Cliath and against the Lagenians, to bring them under his obedience, as he had previously brought them. See vol. i., pp. 2, 3.

³¹³ This stream takes from Meath an eastern direction through the county of

Dublin. It flows from Mullahidart on through the village of Finglas, and passing under Ballybough and Annesley bridges, south of Clontarf, it falls into the Irish Sea.

³¹⁴ He was only fifteen years old, at this time, according to the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomos ii., p. 67.

³¹⁵ According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

³¹⁶ "No mark of fame,
Yet graced young Turlogh's virgin
shield;

He lived as yet an unknown name,
This was his first—his fatal field."

—John D'Alton's "Dermid; or Erin in the Days of Boru," canto xi., sect. xiii., p. 734.

³¹⁷ Either the Liffey or the Tolka.

³¹⁸ By these words he expressed an intention of going a third time, on a pilgrimage to Rome, if St. Peter helped him out of that strait.

³¹⁹ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., pp. 336, 337.

³²⁰ The *annala Locha Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, have it "cedidit ex adversa caterva Gallorum."—Vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³²¹ See Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 101.

leaders, are said to have fallen ; while, a great slaughter of the Leinstermen, with their chiefs took place, and, extending from the field of battle to Dublin, as also to the vessels of the foreigners.³²² The vanquished confederate forces numbered among their slain leaders, Maelmordha,³²³ the chief instigator of all this bloodshed,³²⁴ with Brogarbhan,³²⁵ son to Conchobhar, tanist of Hy-Failghe,³²⁶ or Ophaly, and Tuathal,³²⁷ son to Ugaire, the heir apparent to the crown of Leinster. Besides these, we find enumerated Dunlaing,³²⁸ son to Tuathal, King of Lifé, and Domhnall, son to Fergall, King of Fortu-aith Laigen, as killed.³²⁹ Nearly all the chiefs of Leinster, with three thousand of their bravest troops,³³⁰ are estimated to have perished, during the action, or after it while in retreat. According to another account, two thousand of the Lagenians were slain, with eleven hundred of the Ui-Ceinnselaigh.³³¹ Besides their principal officers, the Danish loss is said, by some authorities, to have reached the almost incredible number of fourteen thousand men. On the part of the Galls, besides Brodar,³³² or Brotor,³³³ who killed Bryan, the Annals of Ulster enumerate the following chiefs as having fallen on this day, viz., Siuchrad,³³⁴ Dubgall,³³⁵ Gillaciarain,³³⁶ or Gildas Ciaran,³³⁷ Ottir, or Uithir the Black,³³⁸ Suartgar,³³⁹ Donchad O'Erulf,³⁴⁰ Grisene,³⁴¹ Luinne and Amlaibh or Amlaf, son of Lagman or Ladmann,³⁴² together with six thousand men killed and wounded.³⁴³ Besides the foregoing names of chiefs, the Annals of Innisfallen give those of Carolus,³⁴⁴ and Anruth, two sons to the King of Lochlann,³⁴⁵ as also Dolat and Connhaol.³⁴⁶ In addition to these are enumerated, Luiminin and Siogradh, Goistilin Gall and Amond,³⁴⁷ Simond,³⁴⁸ Sefraid,³⁴⁹ Bernard,³⁵⁰ Eoin the Baron and Rickard,³⁵¹ with Oisill and Raghall, the two sons of Imhar, the grandsons of Imhar.³⁵² According

³²² See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii., p. 65.

³²³ See *ibid.*, p. 66.

³²⁴ The Annals of Lough Cé style him, Murchadh, chief king of Laighen.

³²⁵ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii., p. 66.

³²⁶ See *AnnaLa Lochá Cé* or Annals of Lough Cé, by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³²⁷ He is called, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, Tuthal h Gaire Riogh-damhna Laighen. See "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii., p. 66.

³²⁸ He received a wound, from the effects of which died.

³²⁹ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 208, 209.

³³⁰ See the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii., p. 66.

³³¹ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 208, 209.

³³² That is the captain of the fleet, who slew Brien, add the *AnnaLa Lochá Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³³³ Or Broder, son of Oslí, and Earl of Caer Ebroc, and along with him were killed a thousand plundering Danes, both Saxons and Lochlanns. See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re*

ḡallaibh, chap. cxvii., pp. 206, 207.

³³⁴ Called Sitrioc mc Luadar Jarla Inns h Orc, in the Annals of Innisfallen, Dublin copy. In the *annaLa Lochá Cé*, he is called Sighrud, son of Lothar, Jarl of Insi-h-Orc.

³³⁵ Called son of Amhlaibh.

³³⁶ Called son of Gluniarainn, royal heir of the foreigners, in the *annaLa Lochá Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³³⁷ These two, called Dubhgal mac Amlaiomh, and Giolla Cuaran mac Gluiniaruim, were regarded as two prospective kings of the Danes. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii. *Annales Inisfalenses*, pp. 66, 67.

³³⁸ So called, in the *annaLa Lochá Cé*.

³³⁹ Called Suairtghair, in the Annals of Lough Cé.

³⁴⁰ He is called Donnchadh O'h Eruilbh, in the *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 206, 207.

³⁴¹ Also called Grisin, perhaps we should read Grifin.

³⁴² Also called Laghman.

³⁴³ See Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 305.

³⁴⁴ Another account has it Carlus and Ciarlus, the two sons of the King of Lochlann.

³⁴⁵ See Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus ii., *Annales Inisfalenses*, p. 66.

to the Annals of Boyle,³⁵³ 3,000 foreigners were killed, while with more particularity, the Annals of Innisfallen have 3,012. In some of the Northmen's divisions, not a single warrior was left alive, so implacably did the victors follow up their success. Brodir's men—but probably only those are meant who participated in the Monarch's murder—were slain to a man.³⁵⁴ On the side of the Galls, at least six thousand perished, either by killing or by drowning, as we are told.³⁵⁵ The total loss on the enemy's side, according to one writer, was six hundred and three score hundreds, or six thousand six hundred.³⁵⁶ Among these, one thousand warriors, who wore coats of mail, were altogether slain,³⁵⁷ so that not even one escaped from that field of carnage. Again, fifteen men of the Burners fell in Brian's battle,³⁵⁸ and there too fell Halldor, son of Gudmund, the powerful and brave Erling of Straumej.³⁵⁹ Sitrick, son to Amhlaibh, King of Ath Cliath, was not killed, as happened to all the other foreigners of distinction, because he did not go into the battle, but remained on guard, within the walls of his fortress.³⁶⁰ In the Nials-Saga, one of the northern princes is introduced as asking,³⁶¹ some time after the battle, what had become of his men? The answer given to him was couched in these words, that they were all killed.

It is not wonderful, that in this most obstinate engagement, which was waged from sunrise to dusk, the victory was dearly won, owing to the number slain, even on the conqueror's side. The Annals of Innisfallen,³⁶² after enumerating among the slain the Monarch Bryan³⁶³ and a few of his chiefs, with Maelmorda, King of Leinster, states in general, that many others fell on the Irish side; while there was a great slaughter of the Leinster Reguli, and of the foreigners, belonging to the western world,³⁶⁴ on the other side.³⁶⁵ About this period, and long afterwards, an incorrect geographical notion prevailed, that the Britannic and Irish Islands, as also the Scandinavian countries, had a more westward direction, as shown on several ancient maps. The royal family of Munster were left to mourn the loss of three generations cut down

³⁴⁶ "Morrow advance I o'er heaps of slain

That marked his path upon the plain;

In vain Connaul dared his might,
Or challenged him to single fight;
In vain he raised his sword to heaven

With many a mystic sign engraven."

—John D'Alton's "Dermid; or Erin in the Days of Boru," canto xi., sect. xix., pp. 379, 380.

³⁴⁷ He was the son of Duilbhghin, and both of these named were two kings of Port Lairge.

³⁴⁸ Son of Turgeis.

³⁴⁹ Son of Sunan.

³⁵⁰ Son of Suanin.

³⁵¹ These were two sons of the Ingen Ruaidh.

³⁵² See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Fallaibh* chap. cxvii., pp. 206, 207.

³⁵³ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomos ii., *Annales Buellani*, p. 17.

³⁵⁴ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 338.

³⁵⁵ See *Annala Lochá Cé*, or the Annals

of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³⁵⁶ See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Fallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 208, 209.

³⁵⁷ Such is the account given, in the Dublin copy of the "Annals of Innisfallen."—Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomos ii., p. 65.

³⁵⁸ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 605.

³⁵⁹ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 338.

³⁶⁰ See *Cogaoh Saehel Re Fallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 206 to 209.

³⁶¹ This dialogue seems an allusion to that division, clothed in the coats of mail.

³⁶² The Bodleian copy.

³⁶³ In the *Annala Lochá Cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, he is called the supreme king of the Gaedhel of Erin, and of the foreigners of Britain, and the Augustus of the whole north-west of Europe. See vol. i., pp. 10, 11.

³⁶⁴ According to the *Cogaoh Saehel Re Fallaibh*, chap. cxvii., pp. 206, 207, there were killed in that battle, the greater part of the men of valour of the Gaill and of the Gaedhil, belonging to all the west of Europe.

³⁶⁵ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomos ii., p. 54.

in the one day, and upon the same field of battle.³⁶⁶ Besides the aged monarch³⁶⁷ himself, Murchad³⁶⁸ or Morough,³⁶⁹ with two of his brothers and his son Tordelbác³⁷⁰ or Turlogh, fell in this most sanguinary encounter. His nephew Conaing³⁷¹ or Conang,³⁷² the son of Donnucann, was slain, likewise, in this battle. Domhnall,³⁷³ son to Diarmaid, lord of Corca Bhaiscinn,³⁷⁴ Geibheannach, son to Dubhagan,³⁷⁵ chief of Fera-Maighe,³⁷⁶ Mac Beatha,³⁷⁷ son to Muireadhach,³⁷⁸ Claen the chief of Ciarraighe-Luachra,³⁷⁹ and Sgannlan³⁸⁰ or Scannlan, son to Cathal, lord of Eoghanacht-Locha Lein, were killed. Among others are mentioned, Eocha, son to Dunadhach, chief of the Clann-Scannlaine, Niall Ua Cuinn,³⁸¹ and Cuduiligh, son to Ceinneidigh,³⁸² who were the three aids-de-camp, or companions in arms,³⁸³ to the monarch Brian himself.³⁸⁴ These three defenders were slain, with many other nobles.³⁸⁵ Dubhdabhorrenn, son of Domhnall, Loingsech, son of Dunlaing,³⁸⁶ and Mothla,³⁸⁷ son to Domhnall, son to Faelan, lord in South Mumhan or Munster,³⁸⁸ Deisi were slain. The powerful Connaught prince, Tadhg Ua Ceallaigh or O'Kelly,³⁸⁹ chief over Hy-Maine,³⁹⁰ as likewise Maelruanaidh na Paidre Ua

³⁶⁶ See Alexander M. Sullivan's "Story of Ireland," chap. xiii., p. 100.

³⁶⁷ Brianus, King of Ireland, with his son Ascuthin, namely King Duly, was killed, A.D. 1013, according to the Cambrian Annals. See "Annales Cambriæ," edited by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A., p. 22.

³⁶⁸ See the Annals of Innisfallen, Bodleian and Dublin copies, in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., pp. 54, 63.

³⁶⁹ This is the more modern spelling of his name, by Irish historians.

³⁷⁰ See the Annals of Innisfallen, Bodleian and Dublin copies.

³⁷¹ He is called, the royal heir of Mumha, in *annála locha cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁷² The Bodleian copy of the Innisfallen Annals calls him Chonchang, son of Duindchuan.

³⁷³ He was progenitor of the O'Domhnaill or O'Donnell family belonging to East Corca Bhaiscinn. He was ancestor of the O'Ceirbhaill or O'Carroll family, who were lords or chieftains of Eoghanacht-Locha-Lein, now Killarney. Afterwards, the O'Donohoes, a branch of the Ui-Eathach-Mumhan, dispossessed them.

³⁷⁴ See the Annals of Innisfallen, Bodleian and Dublin copies.

³⁷⁵ The Druid Meogh Roth is said to have been his ancestor, and he is thought to have descended from Cuanna Mac Cailchine, commonly called Laech Liathmhúine.

³⁷⁶ He is called, Geibhendach Ua Dubhagain, King of Fera-Maighe, in the *annála locha cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, edited by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁷⁷ He is called Baedan, in the *coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*. According to Dr. O'Donovan, he was the ancestor of O'Connor Kerry, "though in the pedigrees the only

Mac Beatha to be found is made Mac Beatha, son of Conchobhar, but it should clearly be Mac Beatha, son of Muiriadhach Claen, son of Conchobhar, the progenitor from whom the O'Connors Kerry derive their hereditary surname."—"Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., n. (p), pp. 774, 775. The editor afterwards instances several distinguished descendants of this family.

³⁷⁸ The Bodleian copy of the Annals of Innisfallen calls him Bethad, son of Murchertach, only; while the Dublin copy names him McBeataic mc Muiredh Righ Ciaruidhe Luachra. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., pp. 54, 63.

³⁷⁹ He is styled Mac Bethaidh, son of Muiredhach Claen, King of Ciarraighe-Luachra, in *annála locha cé*, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁸⁰ Thus written, in the *annála locha cé*, *ibid.*

³⁸¹ This chief was ancestor to the O'Quinns of Muintir-Iffermain, who originally were seated at Inchiquin and Corofin, in the County of Clare.

³⁸² In the translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, by Magheoghegan, they are called "three noblemen of the king's bed-chamber."

³⁸³ Thus they are called, in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii.

³⁸⁴ See *annála locha cé*, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁸⁵ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. "Annales Ultoniensis," p. 305.

³⁸⁶ See *coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxviii., pp. 208, 209.

³⁸⁷ He was the first, who was called O'Faelain. Latinized, Nepos Foilani.

³⁸⁸ See *annála locha cé*, or Annals of Lough Cé, by William M. Hennessy, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

h Eidhin,³⁹¹ or O'Heyne, lord of Aidhne, with many other distinguished leaders, lay dead on the field. Among those slain, on the Irish side, the loss of Dunlang Ua Hartegan was especially lamented.³⁹² According to the prevailing tradition, a dreadful slaughter of the Connaughtmen took place in this battle,³⁹³ and especially very few of the O'Kellys or O'Heynes survived it. Muredach Mormhaor,³⁹⁴ the great Steward of Leamhne, or Lennox, and Domhnall,³⁹⁵ son of Eimhin, son of Cainneach,³⁹⁶ the great Steward of Mair, or Mar, with other brave Albanian Scots, who were descendants from Corc, King of Munster, died in the same cause.³⁹⁷ Together with the foregoing, the almost incredible number of sixteen hundred of the Irish nobles is said to have fallen at Clontarf;³⁹⁸ but, certainly the proportion of chiefs to their clansmen was over the average counted on most other battle-fields.³⁹⁹ Eleven thousand of the Irish were slain, according to Hanner;⁴⁰⁰ but, this doubtless is a gross exaggeration, and probably, about half that number fell.

That this was a real and great victory for the Irish forces is attested, not alone by all our Irish annalists,⁴⁰¹ but even in the Northern chronicles and sagas. In both Irish and Danish versions, the Northmen are represented as flying for refuge, and in all directions, from the field of combat. Thus, not only the general unanimity of Irish chroniclers, but even the Scandinavian accounts⁴⁰² of this sanguinary battle—long after famous throughout Europe—

³⁸⁹ The Bod'leaincopy of the Annals of Innisfallen calls him, *Thadhé hua Cellaich ui hua Maine*. The *Annála Uocha Cé*, name him, Tadhg, son of Murchadh Ua Ceallaigh, King of Uí Maine. See vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁹⁰ A curious tradition of the Hy-Many O'Kellys states, that after the fall of Teige Mor, in the battle of Clontarf, a certain animal like a dog issued from the sea, to protect his body from the Danes. This animal remained on guard, until the Hy-Many carried away the corpse of their chief. Ever since, the strange animal has been painted on the crest of the O'Kellys of Hy-Many. See the "Tribes and Customs of Ily-Many," edited by John O'Donovan. Additional Notes, A, p. 99.

³⁹¹ This is interpreted, Mulronee O'Heyne of the Prayer. The progenitor of this family, Eidhin, brother to Maelfabhill, gave name to the O'Heynes, now rendered into Hynes. The chieftain, who fell at Clontarf, was the first person ever called O'Heidhin.

³⁹² A soldier of Morhe, called Douling of Hertakane, is said to have fought best, on the field of Clontarf, according to the Book of Howth. It adds: "After Mag Morliowe he was the first that staid in Ireland."—"Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., and William Bullen, Esq., p. 26.

³⁹³ See *COGSAH FAEHHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. ci., cvi., pp. 176, 177, 184, 185.

³⁹⁴ See Roderick O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," pars. iii., cap. lxxxi., p. 384.

³⁹⁵ He was descended from Maine Leamhna, the brother of Cairbre Luachra, who was ancestor of the O'Murchartys or O'Moriartys of Kerry. See *ibid.*, p. 382.

³⁹⁶ Called Cainnech Mór, in *ANNALA LOCHA CÉ*, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

³⁹⁷ The former alliance of the Albans and the Hibernians is treated of, in "Polychronicon," Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century. Edited by Churchill Babington, B.D., &c., vol. i., lib. i., cap. xxxvii., pp. 382 to 395. London, 1865, et seq. 8vo.

³⁹⁸ See *COGSAH FAEHHEL RE FALLAIBH*, chap. cxviii., pp. 208 to 211.

³⁹⁹ The *ANNALA LOCHA CÉ*, after enumerating, by name, many of the foregoing names of Irish chiefs, adds, "et alii multi nobiles."—Vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

⁴⁰⁰ See "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 184.

⁴⁰¹ See those accounts, contained in the Annals of Innisfallen, under the year 1014, as also, in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters.

⁴⁰² "This event happened in the Orkneys, that Hareck thought he saw Earl Sigurd, and some men with him. Then Hareck took his horse and rode to meet the Earl. Men saw that they met and rode under a brae, but they were never seen again, and not a scrap was ever found of Hareck.

"Earl Gilli in the Southern Isles dreamed that a man came to him and said his name was Hostfnnn, and told him he was come from Ireland.

"The Earl thought he asked him for tidings thence, and then he sang this song:—

"I have been where warriors wrestled,
High in Erin sang the sword,
Boss to boss met many bucklers,
Steel rung sharp on rattling helm;
I call tell of all their struggle;
Sigurd fell in flight of spears;
Brian fell, but kept his kingdom
Ere he lost one drop of blood."

are sufficient to remove any supposition of victory having been obtained by the Northmen.⁴⁰³ Those dreadful portents, related by them, assure us of the calamities they endured, with their disastrous defeat.⁴⁰⁴ The misfortunes of the fated field have left their impress on those traditions, the reflex of wild and weird superstitions, which regard the Northman's belief in magic practices, and preternatural agency, as depicted for us, by many of their old chroniclers.⁴⁰⁵ In the Norse tongue, this account is yet to be found, and Thormodus Torfæus,⁴⁰⁶ has drawn it from a remote source; as also in Bartholinus,⁴⁰⁷ the same statement has been preserved. We are told, that at Suinefell in Iceland, blood came on the priest's stole on Good Friday, so that he had to put it off.⁴⁰⁸ Not the least distinguished was Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, who fell in the battle of Clontarf, while bravely commanding his division,⁴⁰⁹ and his death is said to have been accompanied by certain wild visions. The Fatal Sisters appeared on the field at Clontarf and were busied among the heaps of slain.⁴¹⁰ These were seen weaving the web of destiny, for those destined to fall in that engagement. On this Good Friday, Darrud, or Daurrud, a native of Caithness, saw at a distance a number of persons on horseback,⁴¹¹ riding full speed towards a hill, which they seemed to enter.⁴¹² Others say, they went into a bower, with a window slit in it.⁴¹³ These were the Valkyriar, or female divinities, who were the servants of Odin or Woden. Their name signifies *Chusers of the slain*. They were mounted on swift horses, with drawn swords in their hands; while, in the throng of battle, they selected such as were destined for slaughter, and conducted them to Valhalla. Curiosity led Daurrud to follow them.⁴¹⁴ Looking through an opening in the rocks, or bower, he saw twelve gigantic female figures. They were employed about a loom; and, as they wove, they sung a decadful song. If we

"Those two, Flosi and the Earl, talked much of this dream. A week after, Hrafn the Red came thither, and told them all the tidings of Brian's battle, the fall of the King and of Earl Sigurd, and Brodir and all the Vikings.

"What," said Flosi, "hast thou to tell me of my men?" "They all fell there," says Hrafn, but thy brother-in-law Thorstein took peace from Kerthialfard, and is now with him."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., pp. 342, 343.

⁴⁰³ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., pp. 620 to 623.

⁴⁰⁴ "At Thvattwater, the priest thought he saw on Good Friday a long deep of the sea hard by the altar, and then he saw many awful sights, and it was long ere he could sing the prayers."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 342.

⁴⁰⁵ See "Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis ac mineris metallicis et rebus mirabilibus, necnon universis penè animalibus in Septentrione degentibus, eorumque natura Opvs vt varium, plurimarumque rerum cognitione refertum, atque cum exemplis externis, tum expressis rerum internarum picturis illustratum, ita delecta-

tione incunditateque" plenum, maxima lectoris animum voluptate facillè perfundens." Auctore Olao Magno Gotho Archiepiscopo Vpsalensi Suetiæ et Gothiæ Primate, lib. iii., cap. x. De fatalibus sororibus et Nymphis, pp. 110, 111. Romæ, M.D.L.V., fol.

⁴⁰⁶ In "The Oreades," published at Hafniæ, A.D. 1679, fol., a wail over the defeat of the Islemen is heard.

⁴⁰⁷ See Lib. iii., cap. i., p. 617, 4to.

⁴⁰⁸ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 342.

⁴⁰⁹ A noble Ode, borrowed from a Norse original, has been composed, by the Poet Gray, and this commemoration of Sigurd's fate is contained in "The Fatal Sisters."

⁴¹⁰ See Daniel Wilson's "Archæology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," Part iv., chap. vi., p. 589.

⁴¹¹ "Onc account [has it, there were twelve folk riding together.

⁴¹² See "Poems" of Thomas Gray, vol. i., Ode viii., p. 78.

⁴¹³ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 338.

⁴¹⁴ See the "Nials-Saga," or "Vita Nialis," cap. clviii. Pugna Brianiana.

⁴¹⁵ "Men's heads were the weights, but men's entrails were the warp and weft, a sword was the shuttle, and the reels were arrows."—George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 338.

are to believe the authority of the Sagas,⁴¹⁶ their song is still preserved, in the original Norse tongue and measure.⁴¹⁷ Daurrud heard the weird strains they sang, and he learnt them by heart.⁴¹⁸ When the Fatal Sisters had finished their web, they tore it into twelve pieces. Each took her portion: six galloped to the north, and as many to the south.⁴¹⁹ Their song has been translated into Latin,⁴²⁰ in the Nials-Saga,⁴²¹ with notes illustrating it. Later still, that Norse song has been metrically rendered, by one of the masters of English verse,⁴²² how-

⁴¹⁶ The original of this, according to Thomas Gray, begins:—

“ Vitt er orpit fyrir valfalli,” &c.

The Latin version begins:—

“ Late diffanditur.”

This account is drawn, we are told: Ex Orcadibus Thormond Torfæi.

⁴¹⁷ The following, according to another version, is the opening verse:—

“ Vitt er erpinn
Fyrir valfalli
Riss reidi sky
Rignir blóði
Nú er fyr geirum
Grár uppkominn
Vefr verþíðdar
Per er vinur fulla,
Raudum veftri
Randversk bla.”

—Rev. James Johnstone's “Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ,” p. 124.

⁴¹⁸ In George Wehbe Dasent's “Story of Burnt Njal,” we have translated into English “The Woof of War.” See vol. ii., chap. civ., pp. 338 to 341.

⁴¹⁹ See “Poems” of Thomas Gray, vol. i., Ode viii., p. 79.

⁴²⁰ This is one version of the opening verse:—

“ Ampla constituta sunt
Siragis anteludia
Vela texori jugi.
Sanguinem nubes pluit.
Pila nunc præragiens
Leucophæa tollitur
Tela militantium;
Hæcce complices replent
Qvam ruhro subtemine
Lividoque, prælii.”

—Rev. James Johnstone's “Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ,” &c., p. 124.

⁴²¹ See cap. clviii., pp. 606 to 620.

⁴²² The Poet, Thomas Gray. This production, known as “The Fatal Sisters,” appears among his Poems, with the Latin version, from which it has been translated, forming an Appendix. See vol. i., Ode viii., pp. 78 to 85. The following is the English version of Gray:—

“ Now the storm begins to lower,
(Haste, the loom of hell prepare),

Iron sleet of arrowy shower
Hurtles in the darkened air.

“ Glittering lances are the loom,
Where the dusky warp we strain,
Weaving many a soldier's doom,
Orkney's woe, and Randver's hane.

“ See the griesly texture grow l
(’Tis of human entrails made),
And the weights, that play below,
Each a gasping warrior's head.

“ Shafts for shuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cords along.
Sword, that once a monarch bore,
Keep the tissue close and strong.

“ Mista, black terrific maid,
Sangrida and Hilda, see,
Joy the wayward work to aid:
'Tis the woof of victory.

“ Ere the ruddy sun he set,
Pikes must shiver, javelins sing,
Blade with clattering buckler meet
Hauberk crash and helmet ring.

“ (Weave the crimson web of war),
Let us go, and let us fly,
Where our friends the conflict share,
Where they triumph, where they die.

“ As the paths of fate we tread,
Wading through this ensanguined
field,
Gondula, and Geira, spread
O'er the youthful king your shield.

“ We the reins to slaughter give,
Ours to kill, and ours to spare:
Spite of danger he shall live,
(Weave the crimson web of war).

“ They whom once the desert-beach
Pent within its bleak domain,
Soon their ample sway shall stretch
O'er the plenty of the plain.

“ Low the dauntless Earl is laid,
Gored with many a gaping wound,
Fate demands a nobler head;
Soon a king shall bite the ground.

“ Long his loss shall Eirin weep,
Ne'er again his likeness see;
Long her strains in sorrow steep
Strains of immortality l

ever, this version is by no means literal. A like event to what befel Daurrud happened, it is stated, to Brand Gneisti's son, in the Faroe Isles.⁴²³

The body of the glorious monarch Bryan was found on the field of Clontarf,⁴²⁴ when victory had unmistakably declared for the Irish.⁴²⁵ There, too, numbers of the wounded were discovered to be still living; and for these, sledges and biers were made, to carry them with less pain, from that place of slaughter.⁴²⁶ Among those mortally wounded was their brave leader Prince Murchadh, who, after the battle, made a confession of his sins, and received the Holy Sacrament.⁴²⁷ He lived on, however, to the next morning. This was a happy consummation of his glorious life, and one well becoming a religious prince, whose career in arms was a brilliant one, such as the ambitious might envy, but whose bed of earthly victory was hallowed with a still brighter prospect of never-fading glory. After the battle was over,⁴²⁸ the Irish took King Bryan's body and laid it out. The king's head, we are told, had grown fast to the trunk.⁴²⁹

The deceased hero immediately took his place in history, national and foreign,⁴³⁰ after the sanguinary encounter at Clontarf, which in compliment to him has been designated, "Brian's battle,"⁴³¹ even as called in the Sagas. Such a sore defeat prevented any general northern combination, for the subsequent invasion of Ireland; since gloom and mourning spread over almost every homestead throughout Scandinavia, while many an adventurous colonist, who joined in the Irish expedition, never returned to relate the story of that signal disaster.⁴³² The sanguinary character and duration of this great battle were such, as to render it unusual in those times.⁴³³ The day after, on Holy Saturday, the surviving Irish returned to visit the scene of that dreadful contest, and they buried there every one of their slain, whom they were able to recognise.⁴³⁴ As well in the Danish and Northmen Sagas, as in the chroni-

"Horror covers all the heath,
Clouds of carnage blot the sun.
Sisters, weave the web of death;
Sisters, cease; the work is done.

"Hail the task, and hail the hands!
Songs of joy and triumph sing!
Joy to the victorious bands;
Triumph to the younger king.

"Mortal, thou that hear'st the tale,
Learn the tenor of our song.
Scotland through each winding vale
Far and wide the notes prolong.

"Sisters, hence with spurs of speed:
Each her thundering falchion wield;
Each bestride her sable steed,
Hurry, hurry to the field!"

⁴²³ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 342.

⁴²⁴ "Sad Erin weeps
Her monarch slain—the great, the good,
the wise,—
Boroimhe—has fallen!—fallen is the
pride
Of Erin's sons!—Her sword is cast
away,
Dimmed is her shield, and bowed to
earth her crest!
The fairest star of chivalry is set!"
—"Clontarf," a Poem, Book ii., p. 36.

⁴²⁵ Thus closed the glorious career of a sovereign, whose "hand was bent on war, but whose heart was for the peace of Erin." Richard Ryan's "Biographia Hibernica," vol. ii., p. 116.

⁴²⁶ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxix., pp. 210, 211.

⁴²⁷ According to the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, in Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., p. 66.

⁴²⁸ See "Nials-Saga," cap. clviii., p. 604.

⁴²⁹ See George Webbe Dasent's "Story of Burnt Njal," vol. ii., chap. clvi., p. 338.

⁴³⁰ See Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vi., p. 102.

⁴³¹ See "Vita Nialis," where it is designated, at cap. clviii., *Pugna Brianina*, pp. 601 to 623.

⁴³² "Round Sitric's keel
Ne'er wave shall whiten more—nor
Anrud's sail
Swell to the laughing breeze."

—"Clontarf," a Poem, Book ii., p. 35.

⁴³³ See Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms ii., *Annales Ininlalenses*, p. 66.

⁴³⁴ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxix., pp. 210, 211.

⁴³⁵ Ademar of St. Cibard, a monk of An-

cle of the Isles; and in those of England, Scotland, Wales, and of the Continent, this great defeat of the foreigners was recorded. One chronicler,⁴³⁵ and a contemporary,⁴³⁶ makes the battle of Clontarf last for three whole days; however, this statement does not agree with other and more authentic accounts, for, it was confined to a decisive engagement of several hours' duration, yet ending on the day it commenced. It is even said, that then and there, all the Northmen were killed.⁴³⁷ Moreover, we find added, that crowds of their women and children were drowned in the sea.⁴³⁸

The age of Bryan Boroimha has been variously estimated: according to some accounts, he had reached his eighty-eighth⁴³⁹ year, while others again make him only seventy-three⁴⁴⁰ years old, at the time of his death. He is said to have reigned thirty-eight years, as king over Munster, and to have been twelve years, in the chief sovereignty of Erin.⁴⁴¹ Like Leonidas⁴⁴² and Epaminondas,⁴⁴³ he fell, combating in his country's cause, and grasping victory even in death.⁴⁴⁴ On the fall of Bryan, his bard Mac Liag composed a celebrated Elegy, which has been rendered into English verse, by one of our celebrated Irish poets.⁴⁴⁵ Another elegiac composition, with Irish text and English translation,⁴⁴⁶ known as Kincora, or Mac Liag's Lament, the original being assigned to A.D. 1015, has been published.⁴⁴⁷ Two other admirable pieces, with Irish texts, and having the English headings, Mac Liag mournfully remembers Bryan and his Nobles,⁴⁴⁸ and Mac Liag in exile remembers Brian,⁴⁴⁹ have been rendered into English, by Rev. William Hamilton Drummond, D.D.—an Irish poet, and distinguished for his varied talents.

During the fierce engagement at Clontarf, that strong detachment, under the command of Donchadh, had been otherwise occupied. After their great victory had been achieved, the men of Munster collected together and encamped on the green of Ath Cliath,⁴⁵⁰ where they remained for two days and two nights, awaiting Donchadh's arrival. His troops were the last levies of the Dalcassians, who brought with them a great spoil from Leinster; for, it seems, that some delay had been necessary, in bringing up all the Irish Monarch's reserves.⁴⁵¹ At length, at the hour of Vespers, and on Easter Sunday night, Donchadh arrived, driving before him a great prey of cattle.⁴⁵² Thus, having plundered Leinster, he reached Kilmainham, but too late for sharing in the dangers and glory of that memorable day.⁴⁵³ There, he met with his brother Teige, and Kian the son of Molloy, with all who survived that battle, both sound and wounded.⁴⁵⁴ Grateful for their kindly services,

goulême, has such an account. He was born in 988, and he lived to the year 1031. There is a good notice of his Life and Works in "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tome vii., sect. 1, 2, pp. 300 to 308.

⁴³⁶ See M. le d'Hoeffer's "Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les Temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nous jours," tome i., cols. 276, 277.

⁴³⁷ "Consertum est ergo prælium per triduum incessanter, et Normannorum nullus vivus evasit."—Ademari "Historiarum," lib. iii. The chronology of this battle, in his chronicle, seems to be set down at A.D. 1016. See Pertz's "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus iv., p. 140.

⁴³⁸ "Uxores eorum cum parvulis sese cunctæ in mare precipites suffocarunt. Qui vivi capti sunt, feris ad laniandum projecti sunt. Unum ex captivis rex vivere, quia Christianum captivum fuisse cognovit, et

cum muneribus donavit."—*Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ According to the writer of *Cogaobh Saorhel re Galluibh*, chap. cxvi., pp. 204, 205. This authority has been followed, by many—if not by most—of our annalists and biographers. See Richard Ryan's "Biographia Hibernica," vol. i., p. 116.

⁴⁴⁰ This is the age assigned to him, in the Annals of Ulster.

⁴⁴¹ See Dr. Jeffrey Keating's "General History of Ireland," part ii., p. 482.

⁴⁴² See an account of him, in George Grote's "History of Greece," vol. iii., part ii., chap. xl., pp. 423 to 442.

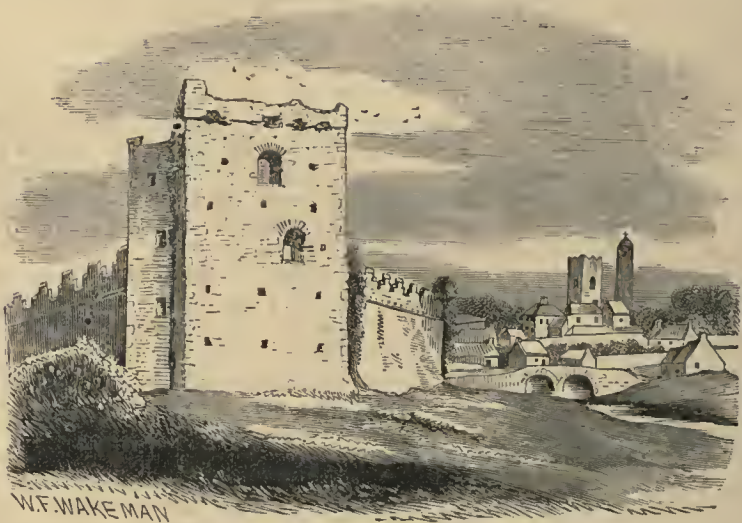
⁴⁴³ For the various events of his career, see *ibid.*, vol. vii., part ii., chap. lxxvii. to lxxx., pp. 72 to 314.

⁴⁴⁴ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iii., p. 123.

⁴⁴⁵ See "Poems" of James Clarence

and in obedience to his father's dying request, Donagh sent jewels and offerings, to the Comharb and subordinate clergy of St. Patrick; ⁴⁵⁵ while, in the fifty-first year of his age, that prince succeeded his father, ⁴⁵⁶ but as we are told, he did not rule over the fourth part of Ireland. ⁴⁵⁷

According to the provisions of his will, ⁴⁵⁸ the King of Ireland had resolved, that his body should be conveyed to Armagh, after his death. His son Donnchadh religiously fulfilled this bequeathed obligation, and all the other bequests made, and so secured the blessing of his illustrious father. ⁴⁵⁹ Soon as the monks at Swords heard of the order for interment, they came directly to the camp. The first stage of this mournful and solemn procession was northwards from Clontarf, and the clergy of Swords, with



Medieval Archiepiscopal Palace, Monastic remains, and Round Tower, at Swords, County of Dublin.

religious rites and ceremonies, brought the remains of this renowned, heroic and religious monarch, together with those of his son Murchadh, to their abbey, ⁴⁶⁰ where the coffins were deposited for that night. Here are still to

Mangan. New York edition, 1859, 8vo. In the Irish "Anthology," at pp. 382 to 384, is the following, intitled "Kinkora":—

"O, where, Kinkora! is Brian the Great?

And where is the beauty that once was thine?

O, where are the princes and nobles that sate

At the feast in thy halls, and drank the red wine!

Where, O Kinkora?

"O, where Kinkora! are thy valorous lords?

O, whither, thou Hospitable! are they gone?

O, where are the Dalcassians of the golden swords?

And where are the warriors Brian led on?

Where, O Kinkora?

"And where is Murrough, the descendant of kings;

The defeater of a hundred—the daringly brave—

Who set but slight store by jewels and rings—

Who swam down the torrent and laughed at its wave?

Where, O Kinkora?

"And where is Donagh, King Brian's worthy son?

be seen, many fine ecclesiastical and mediæval remains.⁴⁶¹ Thence, the next morning, the clergy of Damliag, or Duleek, with similar marks of respect, had the bodies conducted, to the church of St. Kieran; and there, too, they were received by the monks, who bore the coffins to their religious establishment.

And where Conaing, the beautiful
chief?
And Kian and Corc? Alas they are
gone—
They have left me this night alone
with my grief!
Left me, Kinkora!

“And where are the chiefs with whom
Brian went forth,
The never vanquished sons of Eriu
the brave,
The great King of Onaght, renowned
for his worth,
And the hosts of Baskinn from the
western wave?
Where, O Kinkora?

“O where is Duvlann of the swift-footed
steeds?
And where is Kian, who was son of
Molloy?
And where is King Lonergan, the
fame of whose deeds
In the red battle-field no time can
destroy?
Where, O Kinkora?

“And where is that youth of majestic
height,
The faith-keeping Prince of the
Scots? Even he,
As wide as his fame was, as great was
his might,
Was tributary, O Kinkora, to thee.
Thee, O Kinkora!

“They are gone those heroes of royal
birth,
Who plundered no churches, and
broke no trust;
’Tis weary for me to be living on
earth
When they, O Kinkora, lie low in
the dust!
Low, O Kinkora!

“O, never again will Princes appear,
To rival the Dalcassians of the
cleaving swords;
I can never dream of meeting afar or
anear,
In the east or the west, such heroes
and lords!
Never, Kinkora!

“O, dear are the images my memory
calls up
Of Brian Boru!—how he never
would miss

To give me at the banquet, the first
bright cup!
Ah! why did he heap on me honour
like this?
Why, O Kincora?

“I am Mac-Liag, and my home is on
the Lake:
Thither often, to that palace whose
beauty is fled,
Came Brian, to ask me, and I went
for his sake,
O, my grief! that I should live,
and Brian be dead!
Dead, O Kinkora!

⁴⁴⁶ This poem has been translated, by John D’Alton.

⁴⁴⁷ See James Hardiman’s “Irish Minstrelsy, or Bardic Remains of Ireland, with English Poetical Translations,” vol. ii., pp. 196 to 201. London, 1831, 8vo.

⁴⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 202 to 207.

⁴⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 208 to 211.

⁴⁵⁰ This notice seems to confirm Richard Stanilhurst’s account, that the Danes were not settled on the north side of the city, until “the year 1095,” when they built “Ost-mantowne, that is, the town of the Ost-mannes.”—Raphaell Holinshed’s “Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland,” vol. vi. “Treatise containing a plain and perfect Description of Ireland,” &c., chap. iii., p. 26.

⁴⁵¹ In Dr. Villiers Stanford’s “Songs of Old Ireland,” set to music, there is one called “The Return from Fingal;” while, this is supposed by some, to have been the march played or sung by the troops of Brian Boromha, and in celebration of the victory obtained at Clontarf. Published by Boosey and Co., London, 1883.

⁴⁵² Twenty-eight oxen were slaughtered on the green of Ath-Cliath, after his arrival. We are told, moreover, that the foreigners who were in Ath Cliath threatened to come out to give battle to Donnchadh, and to such of the Dal Cais as were alive there, because it was great pain to them to have their cows killed in their presence. And a message came from the son of Amhlaibh, telling them to take an ox for every twenty, and to leave all the other oxen behind, except that number. Donnchadh said, “We have not been hitherto in the pay of the son of Imar, nor shall we be so in future; for, it appears to us, that our hostility to each other is now greater than ever.” Such of the oxen as were yet alive were then slaughtered, in sight of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; but, the foreigners declined battle, owing to their fear

Here, the clergy of Lughmagh, or Louth, received the corpses, and attended for the purpose of their removal to that monastery.⁴⁶² The Archbishop of Armagh, with many seniors of his church,⁴⁶³ had already set out from the Primatial See, to manifest his singular respect for the glorious monarch, who desired his remains to rest in St. Patrick's city until the day of the general Resurrection. With his suffragans and clergy, the Archbishop received the body at Louth. Thence, it was conveyed, with great solemnity, to their cathedral, where the highest honours were paid to King Bryan's memory. The accounts are so universal, and confirming this statement, that it seems surprising any popular misconception could have arisen, regarding his interment at Killaloe.⁴⁶⁴ For twelve days and as many nights,⁴⁶⁵ the body was watched by the clergy. During the whole of this time, there was a continuance of sacrifices, of watchings, of prayers and of devotions.⁴⁶⁶ The remains were interred, with great funeral pomp and ceremony, at the north side of the altar, set up in the great church of Armagh. A monument of hewn marble covered them;⁴⁶⁷

of Donnchadh and of the Dal Cais. See *Coisíoch Fáeohel re Fálaíbh*, chap. cxix., pp. 210, 211.

⁴⁵³ In John O'Donoghue's lately published "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens," the reader will find detailed, the history of the O'Briens during sixteen centuries, and specially of the descendants of Brian Boróimhe; the grant of the royal palace of Cashel to the Church, by Mortogh O'Brien, and the erection of Cormac's chapel thereon. The relations of the O'Briens with the great Norman families settled in Ireland, after the advent of Henry II., and their struggle to maintain the independency of their territory of Thomond, are also related. After the settlement of the Anglo-Normans, the abortive attempt to combine the forces of the Irish princes at the Congress of Caeluise, attended by Teige O'Brien, Brian O'Neill, and others, for the expulsion of the invaders, will be found highly interesting, as the first attempt to shake off the yoke of the foreigners. The divisions of the O'Briens—one of whom invited Edward Bruce to Munster, while the other, the ancestor of the present head of the family, was appointed to command the army prepared to expel him—occupy considerable space. The relations subsisting between the O'Briens and the Desmond Fitzgeralds; the alliances between the former and the De Burghs; and the exaction of "black rent" by the O'Briens from the English settlers protected by them, disclose a most curious state of society. The origin of the antagonism between the houses of Kildare and of Ormond, and the share of the O'Briens in these quarrels, are fully detailed.

⁴⁵⁴ See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i., Second Period, pp. 213, 214.

⁴⁵⁵ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iii., p. 123.

⁴⁵⁶ This fact, related in the "Chronicon" of Marianus Scottus, may give us some clue

to the age of Bryan.

⁴⁵⁷ See Pertz's "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v., p. 555.

⁴⁵⁸ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iii., p. 123.

⁴⁵⁹ See *Coisíoch Fáeohel re Fálaíbh*, chap. cxliii., cxviii., pp. 200 to 203, 210, 211.

⁴⁶⁰ See Rev. Dr. Paul O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs, and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 534, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

⁴⁶¹ The annexed illustration represents an ancient castle, in the foreground, and formerly used as a palace, by the Archbishops of Dublin; in the middle distance are portions of the modern town; while, in the far distance are the mediæval belfry-tower of the monastery, and an ancient Round Tower. This drawing, taken on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, has been transferred by him to the wood, which was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁴⁶² See Rev. James Wills' "Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen," vol. i. Second Period, p. 212.

⁴⁶³ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iii., p. 123.

⁴⁶⁴ However, in Jonathan Fisher's "Scenery of Ireland," at plate xi., illustrating Killaloe on the River Shannon, it is stated, A.D. 1792, that near the cathedral were some remains of the mausoleum of Brian Boru.

⁴⁶⁵ According to a Manuscript, quoted by Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran, in his "General History of Ireland," vol. ii., Book xi., chap. viii., p. 296.

⁴⁶⁶ See James Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh," chap. iii., p. 123.

⁴⁶⁷ See Rev. Dr. O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs, and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 534, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

but, this has long since disappeared, or it cannot at present be recognised. The body of Morough ⁴⁶⁸ was removed, likewise, from the field of Clontarf to Armagh, as stated by the ancient writer.⁴⁶⁹ Besides, it is said, the bodies of his son Turlough and of Conuing, the son of Donnchuan, were interred in another tomb, at the south side of the same church.⁴⁷⁰ Another account has it, that the head of Conang, and that of Faelan, prince of the Desies, were taken away,⁴⁷¹ while the bodies were left behind, possibly because these could not be identified. This course can only be accounted for on the supposition, that after these chiefs had fallen in battle, their slayers or others had decapitated them, as was the barbarous custom of vanquishers, at that period. Thirty bodies of those nobles, who had been slain at Clontarf, were carried away by the clansmen to their territorial churches, wherever these were situated over Erin.⁴⁷²

The grandson of Bryan, who is called Turlough, and many of the other chiefs, were interred, it is stated, near the monastery, and within the cemetery of Kilmainham. A large shaft ⁴⁷³ of a broken cross ⁴⁷⁴ is yet to be seen, and

standing upright.⁴⁷⁵ This tradition represents, as marking the grave of one among Brian Boromhe's sons.⁴⁷⁶ Another account of Richard Stanihurst ⁴⁷⁷ has it, that the chief potentates of the Irish slain were Brian Borrough, Miagh Macke Bren, Tadie Okellie, Dolin Ahertegan, and Gille Barramede.⁴⁷⁸ These were buried at Kilmainham, "over against the great crosse."⁴⁷⁹ The memorials of this great monarch yet remaining deserve to be recounted, in closing his Memoir. He is said to have been a poet and a musician, as well as a warrior;⁴⁸⁰ and to him is attributed that air *Thugamuir fein an Samhra lin*, "We bring the Summer with us."⁴⁸¹ The Chronicle of Marianus Scotus records him as Brian, King of Hibernia, slain on Good Friday, the ninth of the Calends of May,⁴⁸² with his hands and his mind towards God.⁴⁸³ On this day, likewise, he is commemorated by Marianus O'Gorman.⁴⁸⁴



Shaft of the large Cross at Kilmainham.

Following the high encomium of Marianus Scotus, John Wilson ⁴⁸⁵ has

⁴⁶⁸ We are told, however, with great particularity, in reference to Kilmainham, that "Morogh, the son of Brian, was buried at the west end of the priory church."—Rev. Nathaniel Burton's "History of the Royal

Hospital, Kilmainham, near Dublin, from the original foundation as a Priory of Knights Templars, and afterwards as Knight Hospitalers, by Richard Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow, A.D. 1174, to the

included this illustrious individual among the martyrs, and his varied merits or services to religion have given him a claim to the highest veneration.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, this saintly king, so justly celebrated for his great actions and piety, has been inscribed on the pages of the English and Irish Martyrologies. Indeed, on other merely national calendars, some names were inscribed, which had not better claims to public veneration, than Brian's name had on the Irish.⁴⁸⁷ Hence, we should not feel surprised, if such truly national and religious divines as Archdeacon John Lynch of Tuam, and Father Stephen White,⁴⁸⁸ have accorded to him the honours and rewards of Martyrdom.

On Ard-Oilean or High Island, off the western coast of Ireland, and on a steep summit, there was a spring, called Bryan Boramy's well, as also a standing water, on the brook whereof there was a mill.⁴⁸⁹ An ancient sword, preserved in a small armoury at Rostellan Castle,⁴⁹⁰ is said to have belonged to the heroic Brian Boromha. A few years after the battle of the Boyne, it is

present Time," with copious Notes and an Appendix, Miscellanea, p. 199, note. Dublin, 1843, 8vo.

⁴⁶⁹ See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re ḡallaibh*, chap. cxviii., pp. 210, 211.

⁴⁷⁰ See Rev. Dr. O'Brien's "Dissertations on the National Customs, and State Laws of the Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., p. 534, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i.

⁴⁷¹ Their heads, it is said, were deposited, in the south aisle of that great church, in Armagh.

⁴⁷² See *Coḡaoh ḡaeohel Re ḡallaibh* chap. cxix., pp. 211 to 213.

⁴⁷³ The accompanying illustration was drawn on the spot, by William F. Wakeman, in December, 1882, and it was afterwards transferred to the wood, which has been engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁴⁷⁴ A lithograph of this is given in Rev. Nathaniel Burton's "History of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, near Dublin," Miscellanea, p. 198.

⁴⁷⁵ In a letter, dated Enniskillen, June 4th, 1883, the following admeasurements of the ancient cross at Kilmainham are given by William F. Wakeman:—"Height of shaft 10 feet, breadth of shaft, at base, 2 feet 5 inches, thickness of shaft, at base, 11 inches. N.B.—The stone in which the shaft is inserted is, in plan, rudely quadrangular, measuring 7 feet, by 5 feet 6 inches. It would be idle, without digging, to speculate on the depth of this stone in the earth. The remains, altogether, present a very ancient look, and the monument, when perfect, must have exhibited a very grand appearance."

⁴⁷⁶ The Jesuit Campion, who published his "Historie of Ireland, written in the yeare 1571," has given us a tradition of that time regarding the "field in Clatarfe, where diverse noble Irishmen were slayne, that lye buried before the crosse of Kilmaynam."—The First Booke, cap. xv., p. 76. Dublin edition, 1809, 4to.

⁴⁷⁷ His name is otherwise written Richard Stanyhurst. See an account of him and of

his writings in S. Austin Allibone's "Critical Dictionary of English Literature," &c., vol. ii., p. 2225.

⁴⁷⁸ See Richard Stanhurst's "Treatise containing a plaine and perfect Description of Ireland," &c., in Holinshed's "Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland," vol. vi. Ireland, chap. iii., p. 26. New edition, London, 1807, 1808, 4to.

⁴⁷⁹ See Doctor Meredith Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," p. 185.

⁴⁸⁰ See "Clontarf," a Poem, Book ii., Preface, p. xi.

⁴⁸¹ Walsh is quoted for the statement, that this allusion to the season of the year was an anticipation of prosperity, prophesied after the expulsion of the Danes.

⁴⁸² This 23rd of April.

⁴⁸³ See Pertz's "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v. Mariani Scotti Chronicon, p. 555.

⁴⁸⁴ See Father Stephen White's "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. v., p. 53.

⁴⁸⁵ In his English Martyrology.

⁴⁸⁶ See John D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin," p. 71.

⁴⁸⁷ See the edition of Gratianus Lucius' "Cambrensis Eversus," by Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D., vol. iii., chap. xxviii., pp. 170, 171, and n. (p).

⁴⁸⁸ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. v., p. 53.

⁴⁸⁹ See Roderic O'Flaherty's "Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught," edited by James Hardiman, p. 115.

⁴⁹⁰ Near the Cove of Cork, and a seat of the Marquis of Thomond. See W. H. Bartlett's "Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland," vol. ii., sect. iv., pp. 75, 76.

⁴⁹¹ In Foley Ant., June 24, 1787.

⁴⁹² By Thomas Cornwall, as he was digging in his garden. He kept it during his life, and after death it was possessed by his son John.

⁴⁹³ According to the opinion of Rev. Dean Richardson of Belturbet, county of Cavan, in 1796.

⁴⁹⁴ See "Clontarf," a Poem, Preface, pp. x., xi.

related,⁴⁹² that Brian Boroimhe's sceptre was found near Clontarf,⁴⁹³ and that some characters, thereon inscribed,⁴⁹³ pointed to such a conclusion.⁴⁹⁴

Among the saints of Ireland, Bryan Boroimha has been recorded; while the panegyric of this monarch has been pronounced, by one of the Munster chroniclers, and in a style of the highest eulogy, when comparing him with other most remarkable characters, found in the history of this world. Thus, for chastity and for unostentatious devotion, he is likened to the brilliant and magnanimous Moses; for truthfulness, for worthiness, and for the maintenance of his sovereignty, he was the faithful, fervent, honourable and gallant David of Erinn; he is also called the happy, wealthy, and peaceable Solomon of the Gaedhil. For his energy and dignity, for his battles and triumphs, he is called the strong and irresistible second Alexander; for the prosperity and freedom of his country and of his race, he is compared to the beautiful and ever-victorious Octavin, the term employed to distinguish Augustus Cæsar. In addition to these encomiums, he is classed among the three countrymen of his own, who brought most prosperity to Erinn. Furthermore, he is praised, for having steadfastly contended against the foreigners and pirates, whom he banished or killed; while, he is also lauded, for having released the men and women of Ireland from their bondage, and from those iniquities practised against them. He is said to have gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners.⁴⁹⁵ This great ruler was styled the "Irish Alfred," the "Solomon of the West," with other appreciative titles of distinction, which were conferred on him, for the signal virtues and merits of a great and noble character.

As a valiant leader of high intellectual eminence, he found in Ireland a defective political organization, turbulence and divisions, among chiefs and tribes, with a weak executive, in no sense having clearly-defined national objects and interests in view. He wished to establish a new principle of elective or of hereditary sovereignty, in the centre of the Island, and vested in his own family. He desired to unite, in common efforts for his country's welfare, the chieftains and people of his own race; and, as he found the Scandinavians already settled in Ireland, he laboured to enlist their services, and to conciliate their obedience as subjects, while he endeavoured to roll back the tide of foreign invasion. But, the destructive battle at Clontarf proved disastrous to all his projects. The death of the statesman King, and of his son and grandson, on the same day, and in the same field, prevented the perpetuation of the great principle of unity, upon which he intended to have reformed and controlled the old Irish Monarchy. However, the power of combination was then destroyed; for, a new dynasty is rarely the work of one able man,⁴⁹⁶ since practical and politic successors are required, to frame well the essential parts of a rule, left more or less incomplete, at his death. No such men survived this day—one almost as fatal in its results to the victors as to the vanquished. It is stated, that several of the saints and righteous ones of Erinn—among the rest the prophet Berchan⁴⁹⁷—had predicted the death of Brian, and the calamities that should ensue, in consequence of his fall.

So far as we can judge, by the incidents of this great Monarch's career, he had almost insuperable difficulties to surmount. The pertinacity with which he repelled invasions of the Northmen or Danes—a belligerent and piratical race, then greatly dreaded as the unprincipled ravagers of Europe—was a theme for national and very general rejoicing. To Christians of every clime,

⁴⁹⁵ See *Cogadh Gaehel Re Gallaidh*, chap. cxv., pp. 202 to 205.

⁴⁹⁶ See Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee's "Popular History of Ireland," vol. i., Book ii., chap. vii., pp. 102 to 104.

⁴⁹⁷ In the *Cogadh Gaehel Re Gallaidh*, some quatrains of an Irish poem attributed to him are quoted, and these have been translated into English, by the editor. See chap. cxvi., pp. 204, 205.

the great battle at Clontarf must be of peculiar significance, as actually relating to the last fight between Christianity and paganism for foothold, and within a land, so eminently distinguished in the annals of civilization. After this great victory, the power of the Danes in Ireland, and the designs of the Norsemen on that country, were broken. Still the country was not entirely free from their attacks, until after the end of the eleventh century. From that day of Clontarf, the long-cherished Northern idea regarding a conquest of Ireland seems to have been abandoned by that indomitable people, who were satisfied to remain as colonists. Having embraced Christianity, they lived unmolested in the chief maritime cities of our nation. The services of this Emperor to Ireland were even greater, as a civil administrator than as a military hero, owing to his sagacity and comprehensive projects. In the arts of peace, he was eminently successful. So alert, so vigilant and pervading, was the policy of Bryan, that ancient and venerable institutions were restored, and most generally reformed; laws which had been instituted for the protection of life and property, and which, in the general disorder, had been disregarded, or had become obsolete, were restored and vigorously enforced.⁴⁹⁸ But here, we have to estimate chiefly the religious aspect of a noble character. His munificence in founding churches and monasteries, his justice in ruling, and the private virtues of his spotless life, made him be regarded, as the model for a saintly king; and, as such, he deserves to live in the recollection of all his countrymen, an example of greatness and of goodness.

ARTICLE II.—ST. IBAR, OR IVOR, BISHOP OF BEG ERIN, COUNTY OF WEXFORD. [*Supposed to have lived in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries.*] The extension of Christianity to our Island could not have materially differed in system, from that usually pursued in heathen lands, at the present day. The missionary perhaps, had special graces bestowed on him to labour for souls, and such was doubtless the case with St. Ibar.¹ As our materials for his biography are imperfect, we must rest satisfied with some reconstructed skeleton of dates and extracts from various sources, which can scarcely serve fully to develop the life-like form and character of this ancient Irish patriarch. However, one of the most celebrated fathers of the early Irish Church was St. Ibar, or Ivor, regarded as bishop of Beg Erin.² Ussher appears to have had a Life of this saint in his possession. From this he quotes, in the omissions to his great work, "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*,"³ as found in the *addenda*. It was the intention of Colgan⁴ to publish a Life of this early Irish missionary; and, some short Acts of St. Ibar have been written, by the Bollandists,⁵ who state, they had a Life of him, but that it abounded in fables. Bishop Challoner has some account of this saint.⁶ In Rev. Alban Butler's

⁴⁹⁸ Yet, he was merciful. "King Brian thrice forgave all his outlaws the same fault, but if they misbehaved themselves oftener, then he let them be judged by the law; and from this one may mark what a king he must have been."—George Webbe Dasent's "*Story of Burnt Njal*," vol. ii., chap. cliii., p. 324.

ARTICLE II.—¹ In patents of King James I., we find this saint is called St. Ivoy. See *An Account of the Barony of Forth*, in the County of Wexford, written at the close of the seventeenth century, edited by Herbert F. Hore, in "*Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*," *New Series*, vol. iv., part i., p. 68, n. 7.

² Besides his place so named, near Wexford town, there is another denomination, Begerin—distinguished into Lloyd and Loftus in the parish of Old Ross, and barony of Bantry. See "*Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wexford*," sheets 29, 30, 34, 35.

³ See p. 507, "Pag. 410, lin. 28, *post* [leginus] *adde*, et *Vita ipsius Ibari*," &c.

⁴ See "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," *Januarii* xxix. *Vita S. Gildæ Badonici*, n. 13, p. 190.

⁵ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," *tomus iii.*, *Aprilis* xxiii. *De Sancto Ibaro Episcopo Hiberno*, pp. 173, 174, as also *Appendix*, p. 991.

⁶ See "*Britannia Sancta*," part i., at

"Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints" is entered a few brief notices of St. Ibar, or Ivor, Bishop in Ireland,⁷ as also in Rev. S. Baring Gould's collection,⁸ and in Rev. John F. Shearman's work.⁹ According to the O'Clerys, he sprung from the race of Conall Cearnach, while Lassar, of the Deisi, of Bregia, was his mother.¹⁰ Again, we learn from a different source, that our saint, called Ibarus or Ivorus, was son of a father, named Lugna, and of a mother, named Daferia.¹¹ He was born in the Ulster province, and in a portion of it, called Cruintain;¹² over which Colman, son of Neman, reigned, at the time. In other documents, Abban's mother is called *Cooinech Abbadh*.¹³ The sister of Bishop Iobhar, *i.e.*, Milla, was the mother of Abban, as found in the Life of Abban,¹⁴ according to the O'Clerys. He is called the elder Abban,¹⁵ and thought to have been distinguished from a junior Abban; although their Acts are supposed to have been confounded. His sister Mella is said to have married Cormac, King of Leinster.¹⁶ His birth has been placed under the year 388, in the Index Chronologicus,¹⁷ appended to Archbishop Ussher's work. This, however, is very generally allowed to have been too early a date for his birth. We are told, that Ibar gave indications of great sanctity, and from his earliest youth.¹⁸ He was instructed in sacred learning, by an Abbot named St. Motta. Such being the case, it has been remarked, that this Motta must be regarded, as a different person from St. Mochteus, a disciple of St. Patrick, and the Bishop of Louth.¹⁹ By other writers, it is thought, Ibar was retained by the Irish Apostle in a kind of training, for some years before he was placed in a permanent position; that he was a religious instructor and guardian of St. Brigid's²⁰ community; and that he preceded St. Conleath,²¹ in such a capacity, between A.D. 480 and 490.²² A celebrated and accomplished man, named Abaris, and surnamed the Hyperborean, is said to have come from a northern country to visit Greece. Though he appeared a barbarian in dress, yet he spoke Greek with so much facility and correctness, that he might be supposed an orator from the midst of the Lyceum.²³ He is said to have been given to divination,²⁴ to have written

April 23, pp. 253, 254.

⁷ See vol. iv., at April 23rd.

⁸ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 23rd, p. 310.

⁹ "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., pp. 406 to 410.

¹⁰ The glossographer in the "Leabhar Breac" has it, that Iubar was son of Cucorb, son to Coirpre, son of Niall, son to Echaid, from whom the Ui-Echach of Ulster descended. This, he tells us, is found in the history of St. Columkille. See Whitley Stokes On the Calendar of Cengus, in "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i., p. lxxvi.

¹¹ Speaking of this Daferia, the Life of St. Ibar, quoted by Ussher, continues: "quæ et eidem peperit Mellam postea reginam Laginensium nuptam Cormaco Regi, qui pater fuit S. Abbani Confessoris, et Abbatis cænobi Magarnoide in regione Kensellach."—"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." Addenda quædam omissa, p. 507.

¹² See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 253.

¹³ "What was her name is of very little consequence; and it is sufficient to know, that there is no authority worth attending to for the story of her having been a sister of Ibar."—Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical His-

tory of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. iv., n. 45, pp. 17, 18.

¹⁴ Chapter i.

¹⁵ See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., p. 408, and n. 1. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ From this union, St. Abban, Abbot of Magharoide, in the territory of Kensellach, it is stated sprung. See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 253.

¹⁷ See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," p. 513.

¹⁸ "Not in pleasure's fairy bowers,
Da'ly'ing with the deadly flowers,
Passed with him the flying hours."

—Denis Florence M'Carthy's "Underglimpses and other Poems," p. 156.

¹⁹ See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," Addenda quædam omissa, p. 507.

²⁰ See St. Brigid's Life, written at the 1st of February.

²¹ See his Life, at the 3rd of May.

²² See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., pp. 407, 408.

²³ Such was the statement of Himerus the Sophist *apud Photium*, p. 1136.

²⁴ See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stomat.* lib. i., p. 334.

oracles in those countries through which he passed,²⁵ and to have dedicated to the Hyperborean Apollo the gold in foreign lands, after returning to his own country.²⁶ One of our Irish historians²⁷ deems it probable, that Abaris was an Irishman, and a Druid, as the name was a common one, and peculiar in Ireland. Thus, Heber, Heber Scot, Heber Fion, and others are known; while Abarus and Ibarus were the Latinized forms. Hence, he seems to insinuate, the Hyperborean mentioned may have been identical with the present Abarus, or Ibarus, who instructed his countrymen in Christianity, before the great St. Patrick's mission in our Island.²⁸ These conjectures, however, seem rather vague and visionary for most historic enquirers. In the life of our saint,²⁹ it is said, that when he was an adult, and advanced to the order of priesthood, being distinguished for the sanctity of his life, he was sent to preach the Gospel in Ireland.³⁰ One account has it, that a St. Ibar was instrumental in the conversion of the twelve sons of Barr, a dynast of Leix.³¹ Perhaps, he was not different from the present St. Ibar, who is said to have been united in bonds of friendship, with Saints Ailbe³² and Declan.³³ With them he was engaged, in propagating the Gospel throughout Ireland, before St. Patrick's arrival. According to an inedited Life of St. Brigid,³⁴ an Ibar is called Bishop, and he is stated to have remained in the plain of Gessyll, before St. Patrick's mission opened in Ireland. In Conchubran's Life of St. Monenna, or Modwenna,³⁵ Virgin, this author says in his first book, that St. Ibar dwelt in those Islands beyond Ireland, and situated in the western ocean. Three of these were distinguished by the same name. From such circumstance, we may fairly suppose, that allusion has been made to the Islands of Arran.³⁶ However, on such matters, we are not assured with certainty, although Tirechan³⁷ numbers Ibar among the holy prelates ordained by St. Patrick. From him, Ibar received a mission, to preach the Gospel in Ireland, as is supposed. He succeeded in converting a great number of persons to the Christian faith, and in causing them to lead regular and virtuous lives. At the command of St. Patrick, it is said, Saints Elbeus and Hibarus not only restored a youth to life, but even to his former beauty and health.³⁸ By his prayers, also, he is said to have averted a grievous pestilence, which prevailed over Ireland, and especially within the territories of Colman, King of Meath.³⁹ Ibar travelled to the bounds of Leinster,⁴⁰ and towards the southern part of this province, named Hy-Kinselleagh, where hearing of an Island, out in the sea,⁴¹ and called Beg Erin,⁴²

²⁵ Appollonius, Admirabl. Hist., sect. 4.

²⁶ Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorei, cap. xix.

²⁷ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran.

²⁸ See Dr. Sylvester O'Halloran's "Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland," part i., chap. ix., pp. 90, 91.

²⁹ As quoted by Archbishop Ussher.

³⁰ According to Rev. Alban Butler, he preached in Meath and Leinster.

³¹ According to the Genealogies found in the Book of Lecain, and translated by the Rev. P. M'Loughlin, whose Manuscript is now in the Royal Irish Academy.

³² His feast occurs, at the 12th of September.

³³ His festival occurs, at the 24th of July.

³⁴ Formerly possessed by Archbishop Ussher.

³⁵ At the 5th of July, her feast is held.

³⁶ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvi., p. 414.

³⁷ In Vita S. Patricii.

³⁸ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiii. De Sancto Ibaro Episcopo Hiberno, num. 3, p. 174.

³⁹ See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 254.

⁴⁰ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." Addenda quædam omissa, p. 508.

⁴¹ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. i., p. 329. These notices are signed, J. O'D., and are dated, June 8th, 1840.

⁴² "Mitto quod de annulo Templi Ibari, a quodam Germaniæ heræ et insigni prædone cui *Tor-lich*, ed est, *Jovem amans*, nomen fuisse dicitur, ex *Beg-Erin* insula post Ibari mortem ablato, ac deinde restituto, in Vita ipsius habetur traditum."—Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." Ad-

not far from the coast, he took possession, and founded thereon a famous monastery. This island was situated on the estuary, north of Wexford harbour.⁴³ It lay off the eastern shore, and in a county bearing the same name,⁴⁴ in the province of Leinster.⁴⁵ It, and the associated islands, at present, are surrounded by reclaimed land.⁴⁶ It was anciently called Inis-Fail.⁴⁷ Neither



Town of Wexford, from the Ferry Bank.

Father Colgan nor Dr. O'Donovan appears to have known this circumstance. The settlement of St. Ibar, in this place, is thought to have been after he left Kildare.⁴⁸ The history of Beg Eri⁴⁹ is interesting; and, it has been given by Mr. O'Donovan, with his own comments.⁵⁰ After alluding to the old church of Ardavan,⁵¹ we are informed, that not far from this church, but belonging to the parish of Ardcolumnb, is situated the celebrated Island of Beg-Eire, or

denda quædam omnia, p. 509.

⁴³ The accompanying illustration presents a view of the town of Wexford, as seen from the Ferry Bank. It was drawn on the wood, from a photograph, by William F. Wake-man, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁴⁴ It is stated, that in Gough's Camden's "Britannia," Begeri is rendered, "the little land in the water," a derivation which Mr. O'Donovan remarks, "deserves to be laughed at." Yet, this reference I cannot find there.

⁴⁵ According to the O'Clerys.

⁴⁶ See a detailed and a most interesting description of this locality, by George H. Kinehan, M.R.I.A., in the "Journal of the Historical and Archeological Association of Ireland," vol. ii., Fourth Series, July, 1873, No. 15, pp. 435, 436.

⁴⁷ This was a discovery made by Eugene O'Curry. See "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Appendix No. ii., p. 480, n. 22.

⁴⁸ See Rev. John F. Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., p. 408.

⁴⁹ In 1840, it belonged to an attorney, named Cooper.

⁵⁰ See the "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840, vol. i., pp., 329, 330. These notices are signed, J. O'D., and dated, June 8th, 1840. Various extracts are then inserted in this volume, referring to Beg-Erin, and these extend from p. 331 to p. 346.

⁵¹ Where St. Caomhan was venerated, on the 12th of June.

as the Latin writers style it *Parva Hibernia*, i.e., Little Ireland.⁵² The name of this island is accounted for in a story, inserted by a commentator, on the Festivity of St. Ængus.⁵³ Some of the antiquities here have received illustration from Mr. Wakeman's pencil.⁵⁴ Among the western islands around Ireland, it is stated,⁵⁵ Ptolemy places the Island Edri, by Pliny called Andros. The learned Sir James Ware believes it to be the same as Beg-Eri.⁵⁶ However, Ware is thought to be wrong in hazarding this conjecture. The "Edri desertum" of Ptolemy is the Edair of the Irish, which is now called the Hill of Howth,⁵⁷ according to Mr. O'Donovan. In his *Life of St. Patrick*, Jocelyn introduces this St. Hilarus, as a bishop.⁵⁸ A curious statement is made, that St. Ibar left the roads full, and the kitchens empty, at Armagh.⁵⁹ A very ancient vellum book,⁶⁰ containing the Martyrology of Maelruain of Tamhlacht, and the synonymous saints of Erin, states, that Bishop Iobhar had a similarity of manners and of life with John the Baptist. In *Duald Mac Firbis*, we find entered, under the head of Beg-Eri,⁶¹ and Ere-Beg,⁶² Bishop Ibar, who was in Erin as a bishop, before Patrick came as a bishop into it. He dwelt in an island—in the sea near to Leinster—and, which is named Beg-Eri,⁶³ as we are further informed. Although he admits, that both Ailbe and Ibar are called Bishops, in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, about the year 446;⁶⁴ yet, Dr. Lanigan imagines, that this title solely applies to a subsequent period of their lives, as they were then in a state of scholarship, and belonging to a class of young gentlemen, whom St. Patrick was wont to have in his suite as pupils.⁶⁵ This assumption, however, is wholly gratuitous. Of a like character is an assertion, that Ibar was a disciple of St. Patrick, being mentioned as such in some of his *Lives in Tirechan's list*, and in a supposition, that Colgan contradicts himself,⁶⁶ by reckoning Ibar among the Irish Apostle's disciples.⁶⁷ The fact of our saint being called a disciple does not necessarily imply, that he received his ecclesiastical training, under the Irish Apostle. Built upon the latter assumption, also, is the statement, that Ibar had not

⁵² See John O'Donovan's Letter of June 8th, 1840.

⁵³ "This is the Bishop Ibar (now Ivor) whomade the great opposition to Patrick and left the *plúigeoa lona* and the *cúlseoa fára* at Armagh. Patrick was enraged at this, and said to Ivar, 'thou shalt not be in Erin.' Ivar answered and said to him, 'in whatever place I shall be, I shall call it Erin.' Unde Bec-Eri nominata est."

⁵⁴ Three ancient stones, found on the island of Beg-Erin, are represented, in the *Oblong Book of Sketches for the County of Wexford*, p. 3. These are also found, on another sheet more highly finished in ink, and ready for the engraver. On each of these stones, delineations of crosses are inscribed. On the longest of these three stones, which is 2 feet 9 inches in length, there is an addition to the lower shaft of this cross, which represents some interlaced antique tracery. A stone, apparently next in size, is marked 1 foot 10 inches in length.

⁵⁵ See Gough's *Camden's "Britannia,"* vol. iii., p. 547.

⁵⁶ See "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus," cap. x., p. 53.

⁵⁷ See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the progress of

the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. i., p. 342.

⁵⁸ See Colgan's "*Trias Thaumaturga*," *Vita Sexta S. Patricii*, cap. lxxxiii., p. 84.

⁵⁹ According to the *Glossographer*, in the "*Leabhar Breac*."

⁶⁰ Allusion is made here to the leaves taken from the *Book of Leinster*.

⁶¹ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," *Irish MSS. Series*, vol. i., part i., pp. 90, 91.

⁶² That is Beg Ere.

⁶³ Also, *ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.

⁶⁴ "He might have been old enough about the year 446 to be a bishop; but, had he been then one, we would rather imagine that St. Patrick would have assigned to him a district, in which he might exercise his functions, than keep him along with himself."—"Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vi., sect. viii., n. 76, p. 290.

⁶⁵ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vi., sect. viii., n. 76, p. 290.

⁶⁶ See "*Trias Thaumaturga*," *Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii*, cap. xxxiii., p. 265.

⁶⁷ See Dr. Lanigan's "*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. i., chap. i., sect. xiii., pp. 28, 29.

become a bishop, so early as people generally imagine; although, it is thought, there can be no doubt of his having been consecrated as such, before St. Patrick's death,⁶⁸ in all probability, he having been old enough to assume that dignity, prior to A.D. 465.⁶⁹ We are told, that on account of his learning, and the place where St. Ibar, called also Ivore, lived, some authors entitle him Doctor Begerensis.⁷⁰ A celebrated school was established, in connection with this monastery, and to which disciples⁷¹ flocked from all parts of Ireland, and even from more distant countries. No less than one hundred and fifty are stated to have lived under Ibar's rule.⁷² The year 420 is said to have been that,⁷³ during which our saint's mission took place in Ireland.⁷⁴ Without giving us his authority for the statement, Archdall states, that Ibar presided over the school of Beg-Erin, so early as that year.⁷⁵ However, the probability is, that this school was established, at a much later period. In the Life of St. Abban,⁷⁶ it is stated, that his uncle St. Ibar dwelt more in Beg-Erin, than in other parts of Ireland, and for a special reason, because this was his favourite place of retreat.⁷⁷ It appears, that he had many monks, clerics, and religious females, under his direction,⁷⁸ and in different places throughout our Island.⁷⁹ There is extant, some account of a ring, which had been stolen away from Ibar's monastery, by a robber named Tor lieb, but subsequently it was restored.⁸⁰ Among many pupils of our saint was included his nephew, Abban, son of Ibar's sister Mella;⁸¹ for whom her holy brother prayed, at the time she gave birth to her son. However, Colgan was not able to prove, that Mella was sister to Ibar, as stated in the Life. Yet, he would fain keep up the assumption of Abban having been nephew to St. Ibar, and he strives to show that Maguire was mistaken. It is thought, St. Ibar was not he who baptized St. Fillan,⁸² Abbot in Scotland, but rather some other person bearing a similar name.⁸³ For particulars of St. Abban's connection with his renowned uncle, the reader is referred to the Life⁸⁴ of this Abbot of Magharnoidhe. In this rather unauthentic biography, it is said, that St. Ibar set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, and arrived in Britain; although it is asserted,⁸⁵ without any qualification, that there is no mention of his journeying to Rome, or to any other place out

⁶⁸ But, Henschenn repudiates the idea, that St. Ibar could have lived so early as before the time of St. Patrick. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiii. De Sancto Ibaro Episcopo Hiberno, num. 4, p. 174.

⁶⁹ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., pp. 334, 335.

⁷⁰ See "Monasticon Hibernicum, or the Monastical History of Ireland," &c., p. 17. This work was written by Captain Stevens, the continuator of Dugdale. London, 1722, 8vo.

⁷¹ In the Life of St. Modwena, chap. ii., and iv.; as also, in the Lives of St. Declan, chap. xiv., and xx., and of St. Ailbe, chap. vii., and of St. Patrick, by Jocelyn, chap. lxxxiii.

⁷² Such is the number assigned to him, in that Litany ascribed to St. Aengus, and set forth in the following words:—"Ter quinquagenos sanctissimos Monachos qui sub disciplina S. Ibari instructi sunt, per Jesum Christum invoco in auxilium meum."

⁷³ According to Ussher.

⁷⁴ See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum An-

tiquitates," Index Chronologicus, p. 515.

⁷⁵ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 733.

⁷⁶ Given by Colgan, at the 16th of March.

⁷⁷ See chapter vii.

⁷⁸ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxix. Januarii. Vita S. Gildæ Bado-nici, n. 13, p. 190.

⁷⁹ Also, Vita S. Abbani, cap. vii., *ibid.*, xvi. Martii, p. 612.

⁸⁰ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum," tomus iv., Annales Ultonienses, p. 9, n. 5.

⁸¹ According to Maguire, in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Martii, Appendix ad Acta S. Abbani, cap. iii., p. 626.

⁸² His feast occurs at the 9th of January, where his Life is given.

⁸³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiii., Appendix, p. 991.

⁸⁴ Written for the 27th of October. See, also, Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Martii. Vita S. Abbani, cap. iii., iv., vi., vii., ix., xii., xiv., xvi., pp. 610 to 615.

⁸⁵ By Rev. Dr. Lanigan.

of Ireland.⁸⁶ Besides this account, we have a notice of a Bishop Ibar,⁸⁷ who after all may not be distinguished from the present holy man. This is in those ten *Folia*, extracted from the "Book of Leinster," and now kept in the Franciscan archives.⁸⁸ Among the Bishops of Kildare was one called Ivor, thought by some to have been identical with the present holy man.⁸⁹ In the Life of St. Declan, it is related, that for a time, Ibar resisted the authority of St. Patrick, our Irish Apostle; refusing to be [subject to him, as he did not wish to receive a Patron of Ireland, from a foreign nation. This intemperate display of nationality, at first gave rise to some differences among both of these holy personages; but, afterwards, it is said, that through Angelic persuasion, peace and friendship were established between them. At that time, when St. Patrick was in the territory, known as Ara-chliach, he was violently opposed by the Dynast, Olild of Hy-Cuanach. The Irish Apostle ordered St. Ailbe and St. Ibar to offer up their prayers to God; in consequence of which, that chief, his family, and his subjects, were converted to the true faith.⁹⁰ The Annals of Ulster⁹¹ record St. Ibar's death, at A.D. 499, 500,⁹² and 503. Under the year 500, on the 9th of the Kalends of May, and at the age of 303 years, is Bishop Ibar's death recorded, in the "Chronicum Scotorum." According to the Annals of the Four Masters,⁹³ St. Ibar died in the twenty-second year of Lughaidh's reign, on the 23rd day of April, and in the year of Christ 500. The same authority tells us, that he reached the extraordinary age of three hundred and four years. He died A.C. 500.⁹⁴ His festival is on the 23rd of April, according to Duald Mac Firbis. His death is recorded in the Annals of Cambria,⁹⁵ at A.D. 501. In the Annals of Clonmacnoise, at 504, in the three hundred and third year of his age,⁹⁶ is placed the death of St. Ibar. This is even exceeded by the O'Clerys, who state, that he was four hundred and four years old, when he resigned his spirit. It is related, by the ancient author of St. Abban's Life, that the relics of Ibar lay in Beg Erin monastery. There they were greatly honoured, in his time, by the ancient Irish; while frequent miracles were known to have taken place, through his powerful intercession, and for him the Leinster people entertained a profound veneration.⁹⁷ The Martyrology of Tallagh places his festival, at the 23rd of April.⁹⁸ Ængus the Festilogist speaks of him, at this date, and in terms of high eulogy.⁹⁹ In the Irish Calendar, at the Nones of May Calends,

⁸⁶ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. i., sect. xiii., p. 28.

⁸⁷ At page 17, col. 4, and from a Manuscript, which has since been published in a much larger work, we find a notice in Latin and Irish of Bishop Ibar of Emly (?).

⁸⁸ At Merchants-quay Convent, Dublin.

⁸⁹ See Rev. M. Comerford's "Collections relating to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin," vol. i., p. 1, and n. *ibid*.

⁹⁰ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vi., sect. viii., p. 287.

⁹¹ See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, pp. 9, 11.

⁹² O'Flaherty has added the *criteria* "501, Dung. Annal. S. Ibarus, 500, Ussher." See William M. Hennessy's "Chronicum Scotorum," n. 10, pp. 34, 35.

⁹³ See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 162, 163.

⁹⁴ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish

Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 90, 91.

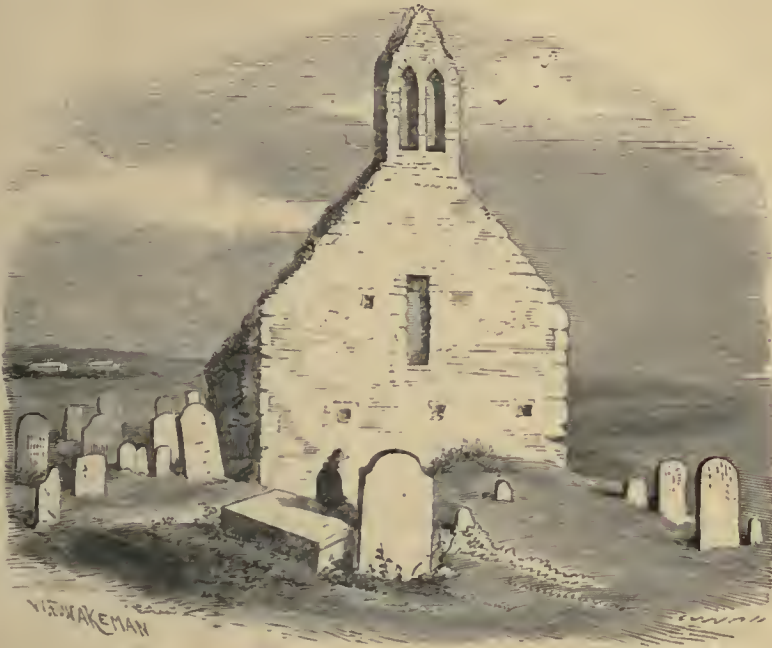
⁹⁵ See "Annales Cambriæ," edited by Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, p. 3. They state, likewise, that he rested in the Lord, in the ccci. year of his age. Pliny in the 7th Book and 48th chapter of his Natural History states, that many of the Arcadian Kings lived to the age of 300 years.

⁹⁶ Dr. O'Connor says, that the great age ascribed to him and to other saints is owing to the error of transcribers in mistaking τρι. l., thrice fifty, for τρι. c. three hundred. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., p. 162, n. (1).

⁹⁷ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Martii. Vita S. Abbani, cap. vii., p. 612.

⁹⁸ See the Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition, at the ix. of the Kalends of May (April 23rd), where we find the feast "S. Ibairi Eps."—"Calendar of Irish Saints," &c., p. xxii. The Franciscan copy, likewise, has *Sci Ibari Epi*.

(April 23rd), his commemoration is recorded.¹⁰⁰ The Kalendar of Drummond also has the festival of Ibar bishop and confessor entered, at the 23rd of April.¹⁰¹ Henry Fitzsimon places this saint in his Calendar, but he does not assign a date for the festival.¹⁰² The Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁰³ on this day, records the name of Iobhar, Bishop. At this date, likewise, his feast occurs in Rev. Alban Butler's work,¹⁰⁴ as also in the "Circle of the Seasons."¹⁰⁵ Formerly a church, and at present a parish, de-



Old Church in Lady's Island, County Wexford.

icated to St. Iberius,¹⁰⁶ was in the town of Wexford.¹⁰⁷ There is a united parish, likewise, in the county of Wexford, called St. Mary's or Lady's Island, and St.

⁹⁹ The "Leabhar Breac" copy has this verse :

Loichet eḡcḡur 1ḡar
 4ḡorḡ cenḡ ceḡh eḡur
 4ḡ bḡeo ḡarḡuḡno eḡur
 1ḡ eḡirḡnoḡ bḡic beḡar.

It is thus rendered into English, by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—“(The) light of Bishop Ibar, who struck down every heresy's head, a splendid flame over a sparkling wave, in Becc-Erin he died.”

¹⁰⁰ I decipher these following notices of this saint:—“1ḡbar eḡarḡoc 4ḡ 1 4 ḡeall beḡḡ eḡre. 1. 1ḡur rḡl for mḡur 4 mḡḡ la huḡb ceḡnḡealḡ. Ceḡrḡe bl 4ḡ ḡeḡrḡe cenḡ 4 4ḡur 4ḡ eḡan rḡ rḡoḡḡ 4 rḡrḡoḡ 4ḡo ḡoḡḡno. 500.”—Ordinance, Survey Office copy.

Common Place Book F., p. 40, now preserved at the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁰¹ Thus ix. Kal. Maii. “Et apud Hiberniam sanctus episcopus et confessor Ibar hoc die ad Christum migravit.”—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 11.

¹⁰² See "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernix," in O'Sullevan Beare's "Historix Catholicx Ibernix Compendium," toms i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 55.

¹⁰³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

¹⁰⁴ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April 23rd.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 114.

¹⁰⁶ See Rev. John F. Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., p. 410.

Ibar.¹⁰⁸ There is an interesting ruined church on Lady's Island,¹⁰⁹ within the former parish, as also a square tower,¹¹⁰ supposed to have occupied the site of a fortress still more ancient.¹¹¹ Only the west gable of the old church, surmounted by a double loop-holed and pointed belfry, is now visible, with a few feet of the side walls.¹¹² The parish of St. Ivor proper,¹¹³ is bounded on the north by Kilsoran parish; on the east by the parishes of Kilraan¹¹⁴ and Lady's Island;¹¹⁵ on the south by Lady's Island and Lough Togher; and on the west by Tacumshin parish.¹¹⁶ There are no antiquities in St. Ivor's parish,¹¹⁷ but the ruins of an ancient church,¹¹⁸ which are somewhat older than the churches, generally to be met with, in the barony of Forth. It consisted of nave and choir: the former measured 27 feet, in length, and 15 feet, 10 inches, in breadth, on the inside; while the latter was 22 feet, 4 inches, in length, and 14 feet, 4 inches, in breadth. The west gable is perfect, and it contains a quadrangular window, but no belfry, in which particular, it differs from the other ruins of churches, in that barony.¹¹⁹ There is no well in the parish, at present called after St. Ivor; but, Mr. O'Donovan had some reason to believe, that well which now bears the name of St. Catherine formerly bore his name. Turases had been performed at this holy well, but they have gradually grown into disuse, since the commencement of this present century. About the year 1680, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ibarius, or Ivorius, in the pretty Island of Begg-Erin, opposite to Wexford. It was much frequented by pious pilgrims; while infirm persons derived much consolation from their visits, and it is said many miracles were there wrought.¹²⁰ About this time, too, a wooden image of St. Iberian, the patron saint, was preserved in this church. To it, Colonel Solomon Richards scoffingly alludes, in a

¹⁰⁷ The present St. Iberius' church is now converted into the Protestant parochial church, "a plain edifice, with rusticated quoins, and surmounted by a small cupola." — "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 541.

¹⁰⁸ In the authorities before John O'Donovan, the name of this parish is written *St. Iberius*; but, it is always pronounced *St. Ivor's*, by the people, and he thought, that form of the name should be better than a false Latinized one.

¹⁰⁹ This was drawn by William F. Wakeman, June 27th, 1840, for the Irish Ordnance Survey. It is reproduced by him on the wood, in the current illustration, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹¹⁰ A beautiful ink sketch of this has been preserved by William F. Wakeman.

¹¹¹ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 347.

¹¹² Some observations by Mr. O'Donovan will be found, in reference to this parish, in "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. i., pp. 299 to 301.

¹¹³ The name of this parish is derived from the celebrated St. Ibar or Ivar.

¹¹⁴ In the barony of Forth. It is marked on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wexford," sheet 48.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*, sheets 48, 53.

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, sheets 47, 48, 52, 53.

¹¹⁷ This is in the barony of Forth, and noted on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Wexford," sheets 48, 53. St. Iberius, in Wexford town, is on sheet 37.

¹¹⁸ We find a very interesting, but faint pencil drawing, of this ruin, by William F. Wakeman, in the Oblong Book of Sketches for the County of Wexford, p. 46.

¹¹⁹ The middle gable is also in tolerable preservation, and it contains a round choir arch. This is 7 feet, 10 inches, in height, from the present level of the ground, and 6 feet, 8 inches, in width. The south wall is all destroyed, except a small portion near the west gable, containing a pointed doorway. This is 5 feet, 7 inches, in height; and, 3 feet, 2 inches, in breadth. The north wall and all the choir are destroyed. By comparing this with other churches, John O'Donovan would pronounce it five centuries old. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Wexford, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840," vol. i., pp. 302, 303. These notices are signed J. O'D., and they are dated, June 8th, 1840. A pencil sketch of St. Ivor's church is found, among the artist's drawings, for the County Wexford.

¹²⁰ See "Journal of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society," New Series, vol. iv., part i., pp. 61, 68, n. (7), *ibid.*

curious paper, written at this period.¹²¹ From all that can now be known, the present saint—however illustrious in his day—has fallen into the obscurities of our national history.

ARTICLE III.—ST. SUAIRLEACH, ABBOT OF MAGHERALIN, COUNTY OF DOWN. According to one account, this holy man is said to have belonged to the northern province, and to the parish of Magheralin. This lies, partly in the barony of Oneilland East, county of Armagh, but chiefly in that of Lower Iveagh, county of Down. However, the entry in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 23rd of April, for the saint of this day, is Soardlech ind Edhnen.² There he seems to be associated in locality, with the holy man, of whom a notice succeeds. One townland in the parish of Magheralin is yet called Linn Huachuille, where the old monastery stood. It was so called, from St. Colman, or Mocholmoc, the founder, who died in 699.³ On this day, the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ registers a festival in honour of Suairleach, Abbot of Linn Duachaille. According to some accounts,⁵ this holy abbot died, A.D. 770;⁶ while A.D. 774 is set down for that event, in the Annals of Ulster.⁷ Subsequently to this date, that place was frequently ravaged by the Danish invaders, as recorded in our chronicles.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. MACCOIGE OF INDEDHINEN, PROBABLY INDENEN, COUNTY OF MEATH. In the Franciscan copy of the Martyrology of Tallagh, at the 23rd of April, there is a notice of Maccoge;¹ and, as if he were associated in locality with the previous saint, at Insi Dednean. At an early period, an abbey was founded here; but its precise location seems to have puzzled the inquiries of one, among our best local investigators.² Maccoge of Indedhinen,³ is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ as having been venerated on this day. This place is in all probability identical with Indenen,⁵ situated in the territory of Bregia, and not far from Slane, in the county of Meath.⁶ In the year 849, Suairleach of Indednen, with the clergy of Meath, attended a royal meeting, at Armagh.⁷ Although other notices of abbots and bishops occur, in connection with Indednen; yet, Maccoge does not appear in our Annals, so that, when the present saint flourished is uncertain.

¹²¹ It has been edited and published, by Herbert F. Hore. See *ibid.*, p. 90.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² In the Franciscan copy, the reading is Soardlech ind Edhnen.

³ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 334.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 103, 109.

⁵ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dro-more," n. (1), p. 110, and Appendix LL, p. 377.

⁶ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 374, 375.

⁷ See *ibid.*, n. (1).

ARTICLE IV.—¹ It reads Maccóge.

² See Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," for interesting

notices of this place, vol. i., chap. xxiv., pp. 138 to 140.

³ A note, by Dr. Reeves, at Indedhinen, states, "This is the same name as that which occurs two lines after. Both are written in the gloss on Marianus, which also places in *indedenen* over the name Suairleach."

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. See Appendix to the Introduction, p. xlvi., and p. 109.

⁵ This denomination does not appear in the "General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes and Baronies of Ireland."

⁶ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 540.

⁷ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 482, 483.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr.

ARTICLE V.—ST. MIANNACH, OF INDEIDHNEN, PROBABLY OF INDENEN, COUNTY OF MEATH. Among the celebrities of this place in our ecclesiastical history, we have only the following passages to produce. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 23rd of April, is written, Mianach Dechte, ocus Mianach i Fothirbhi Liathain. We may take it for granted, however, that some mistake must have crept in, at this passage. As we have already stated, the locality was probably identical with Indenen, in the county of Meath. This place, with with some annalistic entries regarding its abbots and officials, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Mr. Cogan.² We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that veneration was given on this day to Miannach, of Indeidhuén. In the table post-fixed, his name is Latinized, *Desiderius*.⁴

ARTICLE VI.—ST. AICHEACH. Veneration was given on this day to Aicheach, as the Martyrology of Donegal¹ records. It has been supposed, she was a daughter of Darerca,² the sister of St. Patrick, and that she may be identical with Achea, who had another sister, St. Laloca, a holy virgin. She is said to have had seventeen brothers, who were virtuous transmarine bishops.³ Among these was Bishop Mel of Ardagh, whose Life has been given already, at the 6th day of February.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. MEITHCEARN. On this day, according to the Martyrology of Donegal,² there was a festival in honour of Meithcearn. We can find nothing more to throw light on this saint's memory.

Twenty-fourth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. EGBERT, PRIEST AND MONK OF IONA, SCOTLAND.

[SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.]

THE Acts of this holy man were first written by Venerable Bede,¹ who lived at a period, not very remote from the age of the subject selected for his imperishable record.² From this Memoir, succeeding writers have chiefly drawn. In John Capgrave's "Nova Legenda Angliæ,"³ we find a

Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, I can make out, MIANNACH AGUR DŌICHE AGUR IAN I FOTHIRBHI LIATHAIN.

² See "Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. xxiv., p. 138.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. See Appendix to the Introduction, p. xlvii., and pp. 108, 109.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 446, 447.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

² Her feast is placed, at the 22nd of March.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga." Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. iv., pp. 227, 228.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. iii., cap. xxvii., pp. 240 to 243; lib. iv., cap. iii., p. 267; lib. v., cap. x., pp. 400 to 403, cap. xxiii., pp. 479 to 481.

² Also to this early English ecclesiastical historian are attributed the following lines:—

"Egbertus digna virtutum laude cor-
uscus,
Astriferum Octavis veneranter scandit
Olympum."

—"Spicilegium" Lucæ D'Acherii, tomus x. Martyrologium sub nomine Bedæ conscriptum, carmine heroico.

³ See Fol, cxxi., cxxii.

⁴ See "De Viris Illustribus Ordinis S.

notice of St. Egbert, Monk; and, Trithemius⁴ makes him an Abbot and a ruler, over the monasteries of St. Columban.⁵ This mistake has been repeated by Wion, Menard and Bucelin. St. Egbert, abbot, appears, classed at this date, among the Irish Saints, whose biographies Colgan designed publishing.⁶ Dean Cressy has published very fully an account of this holy man, in his Church History of Brittany.⁷ The Bollandists have published his Acts,⁸ with a previous commentary,⁹ and notes.¹⁰ In Baillet's "Les Vies des Saints," the name of St. Egbert appears at the 24th of April.¹¹ Bishop Challoner,¹² Le Comte de Montalembert,¹³ Les Petits Bollandistes,¹⁴ and Rev. S. Baring-Gould,¹⁵ have historic accounts of this celebrated man.

St. Egbert was an Englishman by birth, and issued from a noble race. It is thought, he was born, among the southern Saxons, owing to the rather ambiguous way, in which Bede introduces him to the notice of his readers. Some authors, he says, thus inform us. For some time, Egbert was brought up in the famous monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, and in the days, when Finan¹⁶ or Colman¹⁷ had been Bishops of Lindisfarne. At this time, likewise, it was very common for many of the Saxon students, to leave their native country, and to dwell in Ireland. Either to improve in sacred learning, or to embrace in that Island a more holy and continent life, was their chief purpose. Among these were Edilhun¹⁸ and Egbert, two young men of great capacity, and belonging to the English nobility. The former was brother to Ethelwin,¹⁹ a man no less beloved by God. Afterwards, he went over to Ireland for the purpose of study. Having been well instructed, Ethelwin returned into his own country. Having been made Bishop in the province of Lindsey, he governed most worthily, and for a long time, that church, committed to his charge.²⁰

While Egbert and Edilhun were in a monastery,²¹ which in the language of the Scots was called Rathmelsigi,²² and when all their companions were either snatched away from this world, by that great mortality, which prevailed A.D. 664,²³ or when these were dispersed into other places, the two Saxon students were both attacked by the same pestilential disease. They were most grievously ill, for some time. Then, thinking he should die, Egbert went out in the morning from the infirmary, and sitting alone, in a convenient place, he began

Benedicti," lib. iii., cap. 130.

⁵ It seems probable, however, that he meant St. Columba.

⁶ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum."

⁷ See Book xvi., chap. xxiii., pp. 407, 408; Book xxi., chap. xxviii., pp. 551, 552; and, Book xxii., chap. xx., pp. 575, 576.

⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. De Sancto Egberto Presbytero in Insula Hyensi, pp. 313 to 315, and Appendix, p. 997.

⁹ In two paragraphs.

¹⁰ This account is chiefly taken from Venerable Bede's History.

¹¹ See tome i., pp. 323 to 325.

¹² See "Britannia Sancta," part i., pp. 259 to 265.

¹³ See "Les Moines d'Occident," tome v., liv. xv., chap. iii., pp. 16 to 22.

¹⁴ See "Vies des Saints," tome v., xxiv., Jour d'Avril, pp. 12, 13.

¹⁵ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., pp. 327 to 331.

¹⁶ See his Life, already given, at the 17th of February.

¹⁷ He is venerated, at the 8th of August.

¹⁸ In the English and Irish Martyrologies, his feast is assigned to the 21st of September.

¹⁹ St. Ethelwin had a feast, at 29th of July. See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 147.

²⁰ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. iii., cap. xxvii., p. 241.

²¹ Montalembert hazards a strange assertion about it, when he states, "dont le site est adjourd'hui représenté par les ruines pittoresque de Mellifont."—"Les Moines d'Occident," tome v., liv. xv., chap. iii., p. 17.

²² Colgan places it in the province of Connaught, and there, he states, that a certain St. Colman was venerated. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Index Topographicus. Another name for it was Rathmailsidhe. See, at Die xxx. Martii, De S. Colmano Iannensi sive Linnensi Abbate, n. 3, p. 793. Its exact location does not appear to be known.

seriously to reflect on his past actions.²⁴ Filled with compunction at the remembrance of his sins, the face of Egbert was wet with his tears, and from the bottom of his heart the penitent prayed to God, that he might not die as yet, but that he might first have time to do penance for the past negligences of his childhood and youth, as also to exercise himself more abundantly in the practice of good works. He also made a vow, that he would live a stranger and pilgrim abroad, so as never to return to his native island of Great Britain: moreover, that besides the Canonical hours of the Divine Office—if he were not bodily sick—he would daily sing the whole Psalter to the Almighty's praise, and that every week he would pass one whole day and night in a rigorous fast. After these tears, prayers, and vows, he went back, and found his companion asleep; and then, lying down upon his bed, he also began to compose himself for rest. When he had lain quietly awhile, his companion awaking looked on him, and said, "O, Brother Egbert, O, what have you done? I was in hopes we should have entered together into everlasting life." Egbert then replied: "However, be assured, that you shall receive what you have asked for." Egbert had learned in a vision, what the other had prayed for, and that his request should be granted. In short, Edilhun died the next night; but, Egbert, getting the better of his distemper, recovered. He lived for a long time, afterwards, and gracing the degree of priesthood to which he was promoted, with actions worthy of his sacred calling. Humility, meekness, continence, simplicity, and justice, rendered him a perfect man; so that he did great service, to his own countrymen, and also to the nations, both of the Scots and of the Picts, among whom he lived in exile, giving them the holy example of his life. Owing to his labours in preaching, by his authority in correcting, and through his piety in relieving such as were in need, with what he received from the rich, Egbert effected great good. He added to the vows already mentioned, that during Lent he would eat but once in the day; and even then, nothing but bread and thin milk, and that doled out by measure. This fresh milk he used to put in a vessel the day before; and, the next day skimming off the cream, he drank only what remained, and eat a little bread. This same method of abstinence he took care always to observe, for forty days before the Nativity of our Lord; and likewise, for the same number of days after Pentecost.²⁵

During his youth, for some time, St. Chad²⁶ led a monastic life with our saint in Ireland.²⁷ Both lived in the exercise of prayer, of abstinence, and of meditation on the Divine Scriptures. The most reverend Father Egbert, being in conversation with Hygbald,²⁸ a most holy and mortified man, who was Abbot in the province of Lindsey, and who had come out of Britain to visit him, their subject of discourse, as it became holy men, was upon the lives of the fathers that had gone before them, and with a desire to imitate them. Mention being made of the most reverend Prelate Chad, "I know a man," said Egbert, "in this Island,²⁹ yet living in the flesh, who,

²³ This was known as the Buidhe Connail. See, at this same year, Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 274 to 277, and nn. (q, r, s, t, u, w, x), *ibid.*

²⁴ Bede says, he was informed about this matter, by a priest, venerable for his age, and of great veracity, who declared he had heard these things, from Egbert's own mouth.

²⁵ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. i., cap. xxvii., pp. 241 to 243.

²⁶ He died on the 2nd of March, A.D. 672.

See his Acts in Surius, "De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis," &c., tomus ii. De S. Ceadda Episcopo, pp. 43 to 45.

²⁷ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. iv., cap. iii., p. 267.

²⁸ The feast of St. Hygbald, Abbot and Confessor, occurs, at the 22nd of September. See Sir Harris-Nicholas' "Chronology of History," p. 154.

²⁹ Allusion is here made to Ireland.

³⁰ See his Life, at the 7th of January. See, also, that of St. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield, at the 2nd of March.

when that man passed out of this world, saw the soul of his brother Cedda³⁰ come down from heaven, with a company of Angels, and taking his soul along with them, they returned thither again."³¹ Our saint admonished Egfrid, King of the Northumbrians, to desist from his unjust expedition into Ireland,³² in 684, and not to hurt an innocent people, that had done him no harm. But, refusing to hear him, and laying waste that nation, which had always been most friendly to the English, and not sparing even the churches or monasteries, Egfrid was justly punished the following year. Leading his army against the Picts, and being drawn by them into some defiles among the mountains, all were destroyed, in that expedition.³³ One of the principal occurrences in the life of St. Egbert is referable to the mission of Saints Willebrord,³⁴ Swibert³⁵ and their companions, into Germany. Thither, the saint desired to have gone himself, but he was prohibited by manifestations from heaven, which induced him to alter his intentions. However, he was mainly instrumental, in directing the attention of his associates to that great work.³⁶ There were people called Frisons,³⁷ Rugians,³⁸ Danes,³⁹ Huns,⁴⁰ Old Saxons,⁴¹ and Boructuarians,⁴² from whom the Angli and Saxons, dwelling in England during Venerable Bede's period, were known to have descended.⁴³ There were many other nations in these parts of Europe still following their pagan rites, and to whom the soldier of Christ Egbert had designed to repair. Sailing about Britain, he resolved to try, if he could deliver any of them from Satan, and bring them over to Christ; or, if he could not effect this, he designed to visit Rome, where he might see and reverence the monuments of the Blessed Apostles, martyrs of Christ. However, he was hindered from performing any of these things, owing to the oracles and the power of heaven. When he had chosen companions, the most strenuous and fit, to preach the word, while excelling both in virtue and learning, and when he had prepared all things which seemed necessary for their voyage; there came to him one day, and early in the morning, a brother, who was formerly a disciple and servitor to Boisil,⁴⁴ that priest beloved of God.⁴⁵ That brother related to Egbert a vision he had seen that night. "When after Matins,"⁴⁶ said he, "I lay down in my bed, and had fallen into a slumber, there appeared to me my old master and

³¹ Which, whether he said this of himself, or of some other, we do not certainly know, adds Bede; but, we doubt not the trustworthiness of a narrative, and certified, by so holy a man.

³² This raid was conducted under Bcorht, "a warlike and sanguinary chieftain."—Rev. Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. i., chap. iii., p. 107.

³³ This event occurred on the 20th of June, A.D. 685, at the Mire of Dunnichen. See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. i., Book I., chap. v., pp. 265, 266.

³⁴ See his Life, at the 7th of November.

³⁵ See his Life, at the 1st of March.

³⁶ See Rev. John Lingard's "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," chap. xiii., p. 259.

³⁷ See an account of these people, in the Life of St. Suitbert, at the 1st of March.

³⁸ They dwelt near the opening of the Baltic Sea, and the Island of Rugen, at the present day, preserves their denomination and locality.

³⁹ About these people, we have said sufficient, in the Life of Bryan Boromha, at

the preceding day.

⁴⁰ A very full account of these people and their migrations will be found, in Edward Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., chap. xxvi., pp. 306 to 318, and vol. iv., chap. xxx., p. 44, chap. xxxii., p. 160, chap. xxxiv., pp. 191 to 219, chap. xxxv., pp. 220 to 248. Dr. William Smith's edition.

⁴¹ See Kemble's "Saxons in England," vol. i.

⁴² See an account of these people, in the Life of St. Suitbert, at the 1st of March. Also the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. De Sancto Egberto Presbytero in Insula Hyensi, nn. (i, k, l, m, n, o), p. 315.

⁴³ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. v., cap. x., pp. 400 to 403.

⁴⁴ See his Life, at the 23rd of February.

⁴⁵ This happened, at the time, when the said Boisil was Provost of the monastery of Mailros, under the Abbot Eata.

⁴⁶ In his religious community, it seems, these were recited or sung after midnight, and before the dawn of morning.

most loving tutor, Boisil, who asked me, whether I knew him? I said, 'yes; you are Boisil.' He replied, 'I am come to bring Egbert the answer of the Lord our Saviour, which nevertheless must be delivered to him by you. Tell him, therefore, that he cannot perform the journey he has proposed, for it is the will of God, that he should rather go to teach in the monasteries of Columba.'⁴⁷ This illustrious Cenobiarch was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the Picts, beyond the northern mountains; and, he was the first founder of that celebrated monastery in the Island of Hy, which continued for a long time in great veneration, among the Scots and Picts. Having heard the words of this vision, Egbert ordered the brother that had related it to him, that he should say nothing about it to any other person, lest perhaps it might be an illusion. However, considering within himself, he apprehended the admonition was a real one; and, he did not desist from preparing for his projected journey to teach the gentiles. A few days afterwards, the same brother came to him again, stating that Boisil that very night, also, had appeared to him after matins, and that he had said, "Why did you communicate to Egbert in so negligent and in so tepid a manner, what I enjoined you to tell him? Go now, and let him know, that willing or not willing, he must remain in the monasteries of Columba; because their ploughs do not go straight, and he is to bring them to the right way." Hearing this again, Egbert commanded the brother not to reveal the same to any person; and though he was assured of the vision, Egbert made another attempt, to begin his intended journey with the brethren already mentioned. When they had put on board all that was necessary for so distant a journey, and while they were waiting some days for favourable winds; so violent a storm arose one night, that after having lost some part of the cargo, the ship ran aground, and was left upon her side among the waves; yet, whatever belonged to Egbert and to his companions was saved.⁴⁸ Whereupon, he dropped the designed voyage, and he quietly remained at home. However, one of his companions, named Wicbert, was remarkable for his contempt of this world, and for his great learning, having for many years lived a stranger in Ireland. There, he led an eremitical life in great perfection, and, afterwards, he went abroad. Arriving in Frisia, he preached the word of salvation, for two whole years to that people, and to Rathbod their king.⁴⁹ Yet, he did not reap any fruit, from all his labour among these barbarous auditors. So, returning to the beloved place whence he proceeded, he gave himself up to our Lord, in his accustomed spirit of recollection; and, since he could not profit those that were without, by bringing them to the true faith, he laboured to be so much the more serviceable among his own people, by those examples of his virtue, which were given.⁵⁰

When the man of God, Egbert, perceived, that he was neither permitted to preach to the gentiles, being withheld on account of some other advantage to holy Church, and regarding which he was beforehand admonished by the Divine Oracle, nor that Wicbert, who went into those parts, had met with any success, he still attempted to send to this work of the Word some holy and industrious men. Among these, that great man Willebrord was most eminent, both as regarded his priestly degree and his merit. Those missionaries, being twelve in number, visited Pippin, Duke of the Franks,⁵¹ and they were kindly received by him; and, whereas, he had lately subdued the hither Frisia, from which he had expelled King Rathbod, the Duke sent them thither to preach. These missionaries are deservedly looked upon, as the Apostles of the northern

⁴⁷ The great saint, whose Life is given, at the 9th of June.

⁴⁸ See "*Batavia Sancta*," pars. i. p. 32.

⁴⁹ For an account of him, see the Life of

St. Suitbert, at the 1st of March.

⁵⁰ See Venerable Bede's "*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*," lib. v., cap. x., p. 403.

countries of Europe ; which, under God, owe their Christianity to the Apostles' zeal, and to that of St Egbert, the great promoter of this mission. St. Wilfrid,⁵² Bishop of York, had laboured successfully to introduce the discipline of the Roman Church into his diocese, in opposition to the Scottish usages ;⁵³ but, still great opposition was manifested to that reform by the monks, who had retained the Irish custom, to the time of Egbert. The holy man next took into hands that other great work, for which he was reserved. His chief task was inducing the monks of Hy, with the other subject monasteries, to observe the canonical celebration of Easter. Coming from Ireland to the monastery of Hy, in 716, Egbert was honourably and with much joy received by the monks. Being most persuasive in his teaching, and most devout in practising what he taught, Egbert was very willingly hearkened to by all ; while, owing to his godly and frequent exhortations, he brought them away from their tenacious adhesion to that tradition of their ancestors. To them might be applied the words of the Apostle, that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. However, Egbert soon taught them to celebrate the principal solemnity of Easter, after the Catholic and Apostolic manner. This appears to have been the result of a wonderful dispensation in the Divine goodness ; for, since the Irish people had been careful to communicate to the English, willingly and without envy, the knowledge they had of God's truths, it was even just, that they should afterwards, by means of the English, be brought to a perfect rule of life, and in such things as those, in which they had been defective.

On the death of Conamhail,⁵⁴ in 710, Dunchadh,⁵⁵ became Abbot over Iona, which monastery he governed, and his death is recorded, at A.D. 717.⁵⁶ Under Abbot Dunchadh, and about eighty years after they had sent Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to preach the Gospel to the English nation, those monks of Hy adopted that generally received rite, for the mode and time of observing Easter.⁵⁷ They abandoned, in like manner, the former Irish style of tonsure, by shaving the head from ear to ear, and they adopted the *Coronal* shape, on the top of their heads. The man of God, Egbert, remained thirteen years in the aforesaid Island, which he had, as it were, consecrated to Christ, by the light of a new grace. He there promoted ecclesiastical society and peace, among the fraternity.⁵⁸ This is the Egbert, so called Abbot of Iona, who is mentioned by Colgan, with a festival for the 24th of April, A.D. 729 ;⁵⁹ however, he seems to have had no authority, for assigning the holy man so high a position in the Abbey. A record of his death, by Tighernach, only styles him, the soldier of Christ.⁶⁰

⁵² Also called Pepin d'Heristal.

⁵³ His feast occurs, at the 24th of April, and his Life, by Eadmar, is published on this day, by the Bollandists, with learned notes and illustrations. See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. De S. Wilfrido Primo, Archiepiscopo Eboracense in Anglia, pp. 292 to 312. A feast for the translation of his relics is placed, at the 12th of October.

⁵⁴ See Clement Reyner's "Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, sive Disceptatio Historica de Antiquitate Ordinis Congregationis que Monachorum Nigrorum, S. Benedicti in Regno Angliæ. Tractatus Primus. Sectio i., sect. 8, p. 31. Duaci 1626 folio.

⁵⁵ See notices of him, at the 11th of September.

⁵⁶ See his Life, at the 25th of May.

⁵⁶ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," Additional Notes (O), pp. 378 to 381.

⁵⁷ The Annals of Ulster, according to Ussher, have this change recorded, at A.D. 716, on Saturday, the fourth day before the Kalends of September. However, the date is 715, as Rev. Dr. O'Conor shows, in the "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," toms iv. "Annales Ultonienses," p. 74, and n. 2.

⁵⁸ See Dean Cressy's "Church History of Britanny," Book xxi., chap. xxviii., p. 552.

⁵⁹ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ," cap. iii., sect. v., p. 501.

⁶⁰ Thus, ἄριστος ἄριστος is the appellation given.

Egbert had now attained the ninetyeth year of his age, and the time for his release approached. In the year 729, Easter Sunday was celebrated on the 24th of April. Having performed the solemnities of his Mass in memory of the Resurrection of our Lord, Egbert departed that very same day from this world. He passed to heaven, there to complete, or rather, there to celebrate, without end, with the Lord, with the Apostles, and with the rest of its happy citizens, the joy of that great festival. This he had begun upon earth, and with those brethren, whom he had converted to the state of unity. It was a wonderful dispensation of Divine Providence, that this venerable man did not only pass out of this world to the Father on Easter-day; but, also, while Easter was kept that very day, on which, heretofore it had not been observed, in that place. The brethren, therefore, were glad, because of their having now the assured and Catholic knowledge regarding the time for observing Easter. They rejoiced in the patronage of that Father, now going to the Lord, and by whom they had been corrected. He rejoiced, likewise, that he had been kept so long in the flesh, until he saw his hearers receive and celebrate Easter with him, on that very day, which before they always avoided. Thus, this most Reverend Father, being assured of their correction, rejoiced to see the day of the Lord. He saw it and was glad.⁶¹

It has been stated, that Egbert was venerated, at Dorn, in Sutherland,⁶² and, this is recorded, in the Scottish Menology of Thomas Dempster.⁶³ His office,⁶⁴ as a semi-double,⁶⁵ was formerly recited in the Diocese of Utrecht; because he was regarded, as having been instrumental in bringing the Christian Faith to the Low Countries. In the Irish as in the English Martyrologies, this holy man is commemorated. According to the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁶⁶ veneration was given, at this date, to Echtbriht, a Saxon.⁶⁷ The Roman Martyrology and Father Stephen White⁶⁸ commemorate this saint, at the 24th of April. Ferarius, in his General Catalogue of Saints, and Ghinius, in his Natal Days of Holy Canons, have a record of his feast. In Henry Fitzsimon's "Catalogus Aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernix," this Abbot Egbert is also classed among our national saints, and Venerable Bede's authority is given, for placing his feast at the 24th of April. Miræus⁶⁹ and Molanus⁷⁰ have entered it, among Festivals of Saints belonging to the Netherlands, because of the interest felt by Egbert, in promoting the establishment of the Gospel in that country.⁷¹ In the Anonymous Catalogue of Irish Saints, published by O'Sullivan Beare, his name likewise occurs,⁷² and also, in nearly all the ancient and modern Calendars.

ARTICLE II.—ST. FUILEN, OR FOILANUS, OF DROMMAT, OR DRUIM-FODA. The Martyrologies of Tallagh¹ and of Marianus O'Gorman enter St.

⁶¹ See Venerable Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum," lib. v., cap. xxiii., p. 481.

⁶² According to Ferrarius.

⁶³ He cites Arnold Wion and the Scottish Breviary, for the statement; but, his reference cannot be verified.

⁶⁴ The Lessons of the Second Nocturn were contracted.

⁶⁵ In it, the following prayer was read:—"Deus cujus Spiritu Beatus Egbertus, salutem gentium sitiens, varios fidei præcones in opus Evangelicum destinavit; dirige, quæsumus, ejus intercedentibus meritis, ad te tuorum corda servorum, ut spiritus tui fervore concepto, et in fide inveniantur stabiles et in opere efficaces."

⁶⁶ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Bollandists, quoting the same authority, at this date, have Ecbrietus. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 260.

⁶⁷ The Franciscan copy, enters, at this date Ecbrieti pax.

⁶⁸ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iv., p. 39., cap. v., pp. 63, 67.

⁶⁹ In Fastis Belgicis.

⁷⁰ In Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii.

⁷¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. De Sancto Egberto, Presbytero in Insula Hyensi. Prologomina, num. 1, 2, p. 313.

⁷² See "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernix Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi.,

Foilan, of Druim-Foda,² at the 24th day of the month, in April. The Bollandists notice Failenus de Dromata,³ at the same date. There is a parish of Dromod, in the county of Kerry; but, we cannot state, that it is the place to which allusion is here made. Wishing to ascertain, if this could be identical with Drommat, the writer applied to the Rev. Eugene Murphy, curate of the former place. He was an erudite and accomplished Irish scholar and antiquary. His opinions, on this subject, were stated,⁴ that there was no trace of Fuilen or Foileann, in Dromod; but, he remarked, that there was a Dromatha—as he had been told—in the adjoining parish of Glennbeith.⁵ In reference to it, he promised to make further enquiry, and to give the result of any discovery he could make. On the River Smearlach, a tributary of Feil, there are two townlands; one known as Dromfada beg, and the other as Dromfada mor; yet, he could not discover if a *cill*, or *patron*, had been in either place. On the left bank of the River Inny (County Kerry) were the remains of two old churches, viz., one was called Killeen liath⁶ the grey little church,⁷ while the other bore no name, but it stood on the lands of Baile na Cille, and it was overlooked by a farm, called Drom na Cille. Between these, and to the south of them, there is a place on the banks of a streamlet, called Caol-Cabidil. Beside this latter was Cumar nan Greallach—the latter word seems to be a proper name. The Cills at Dromod are Ulaig Ceannaeich, and Cill mc Ciarain-Cannig, on the south of the Inny. There is another Cill Canig,⁸ on the side of a mountain, north of Kenmare. There is a Cill falline (Cill allinne) on the upper Mang above Currens, and four miles west of Castleisland;⁹ but, there is no Drom—except Dromtaiab. The Rev. Mr. Murphy learned, however, that Dromfada, was an old name for West Cove.¹⁰ Near it was the old church of Coad, “Teampul i Choaid,” or “Tempul Choaid,” but there is no tradition of Failean.¹¹ The name Fuilen, of Drommat,¹² venerated on this day, we read, in the Martyrology of Donegal.¹³

ARTICLE III.—ST. EGNEACH, SON OF CUCATHRACH. This name is entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April, as Eicneach

p. 50.

ARTICLE II.—¹ In the Franciscan copy, we read: *puilen opum pota*.

² See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xvi. Januarii, Appendix, cap. i., p. 104.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

⁴ In a letter, written towards the close of December, 1871, from Waterville, county of Kerry.

⁵ Or Glanbehy, in the barony of Iveragh, and it is marked, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," sheets 55, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72, 81, 82.

⁶ At Killeen liath, there is a small basin, embedded in the earth and grass. It is perforated, so as to admit water to pass down through it.

⁷ The remains of Cilleen liath and Baile na Cille lie to the left of the road from the new Catholic Church of Dromod—on the road from Waterville to Cahirciveen—and to Bealach Oisín. On the left bank of the Inny, there is a holy water stoup. It is shallow, and not more than three or four inches deep. The width of this basin, at the top, is about

twelve inches. At Baile na Cille, hard-by and at a distance of about six feet, there is a high Bile of Cuileann, or a holly wood.

⁸ Can these names refer to a St. Canice? enquires the Rev. Mr. Murphy.

⁹ The parish so called is in the barony of Turghanacmy, and it is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," sheets 23, 30, 31, 39, 40, 49. The town of Castleisland is on sheet 40, *ibid.*

¹⁰ The Tobar of Crocán and old Bile are well known, and a patron was held there, about the end of July, or about the 1st of August.

¹¹ In addition to the foregoing interesting local information, the Rev. Eugene Murphy wrote to me, that he had a search-warrant, for books stolen from Dr. Buckley's library, at Gale, near Cashenferry. Among these, there is mention of very old books, such as Deirdre, belonging to his Irish collection.

¹² In a note Dr. Todd says, at the word *Drommata*, "The gloss in Mar. Gorman reads, *ἄρον στα*."

¹³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. See Appendix to the Introduction, p. xlvi., and pp. 110, 111.

mac Concathrach. The Bollandists have it Einchus fil Concathraci.² There was an Egnech, also called Eccnech, who was a bishop and an anchorite, as likewise the Comarb,³ or successor to Enda of Ara, or otherwise he was Abbot of Killeany, in the great Island of Arran, in the Bay of Galway. He died, in the year 916; but, on what day, we have not been able to ascertain.⁴ Hence, it is not permitted us to conjecture, that he may be identified with the present saint. On this day, likewise, the Martyrology of Donegal⁵ registers the name Egneach, son of Cucathrach, as having veneration paid him. Under the head Delga,⁶ Duald Mac Firbis records, the slaying of Egnach, bishop of Delga,⁷ A.D. 837.⁸

ARTICLE IV.—ST. FINCHEILLE, OR FINCHEALL, VIRGIN. The cloisters and their dwellers are the noblest objects in the ignoble ages. This is even the opinion of generous non-Catholics. They are the living embodiment of a feeling, which existed among the vestals, even before it was purified and consecrated in the holy Catholic church. Among the holy daughters of Erin, in her early day, we find a record of Fincheille, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April. Her period or place is not given. The Bollandists record her as Fincella Virgo.² Her personal history seems to be unknown. This day was dedicated to the veneration of Fincheall, Virgin, as we meet again recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal.³

ARTICLE V.—ST. SEACHTAN, SEACHT MIOSAIGH, OR SEACHTAN, OF THE SEVEN RELIQUARIES. The insertion found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April, is Sechtan ocus Sechtmisid. It has evidently been incorrectly entered. The Bollandists note, at this day, Sechtanus Septimester.² On this day, we read in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that a festival was celebrated, in honour of Seachtan, Seacht Miosaigh,⁴ or Seachtan, of the Seven Reliquaries.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. UILDBRITH, OR HUBRITAN, A SAXON. [*Seventh or Eighth Century.*] The simple entry, Uildbrithi,¹ occurs in the Martyrology

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy we read: Eicnech mac, with some contractions unintelligible to the writer.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

³ According to Duald Mac Firbis.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 592, 593, and (n.) i., *ibid.* Also "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 86, 87, and n. 4, *ibid.*

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

⁶ Dealga is now Kildalkey, in the county of Meath, according to William M. Hennessy's note.

⁷ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 104, 105.

⁸ According to the Four Masters.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr.

Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy is Fincelle. u.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 260.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy we read Sechtan ocus Sechtmisid.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

⁴ Dr. Todd says in a note, at *Seacht Miosaigh*: "i.e., of the seven reliquaries. The gloss in Marianus Gorman reads, *reachtmíro*, and the Mart. Taml. has *Sechtan agus Sechtmíro*. Or, the epithet may signify, of seven months in the womb."

ARTICLE VI.—¹ In the Franciscan copy is *uilebrithi*.

of Tallagh,² at the 24th of April; and, on the same day, Marianus O'Gorman has recorded his feast.³ He is said to have been the son of Cusperius, a Saxon prince, and of Bernicia, his wife. The brother to St. Gerald of Mayo Hubritan is called Uildbrit, or Huiltbrith. He flourished, probably in the seventh or eighth century. Some account of him will be found, in Colgan's work,⁴ when recording the Life St. Gerald, at the 13th of March. The Bollandists⁵ have Hulbritus, at the 24th of April; and, the Annals of Ulster record the death of his brother, at A.D. 731.⁶

ARTICLE VII.—ST. COENMAT, OR CAOINNET, OF CUILCIOCHMAGH. We find this name set down in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April, as Coemnat Cuil Cichmaigh. The Bollandists² write the name simply, as Coenneta, at the same day. It is difficult to identify the place already mentioned. The name of Caoinnet³ is entered, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ as having a festival, and at this same date.

ARTICLE VIII.—THE SONS OF BAETHAN, OR BEGAN. On the 24th of April, the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ registers, Mac Becgani, as having been venerated. The Bollandists have it Fili Baethani.² In like manner, we learn, that a festival, in honour of the sons of Baethan,³ was celebrated, and on this day, according to the Martyrology of Donegal.⁴

ARTICLE IX.—REPUTED FEAST OF BRECAN, BISHOP AND ABBOT OF MAGH BILE. Under the head of Magh Bile, Duaid Mac Firbis enters, Breacan, bishop and abbot of Magh Bile, April 24th.¹ But, the Martyrology of Tallagh and that of Donegal enter his festival, at the 29th of this month.

ARTICLE X.—THE SONS OF CAELBHADH. The Martyrology of Tallagh notices the sons of Coelbad¹ at the 24th of April; and, quoting it, the Bollandists have Fili Caelbadii.² The Martyrology of Donegal³ mentions, that the sons of Caelbhadh were venerated on this day.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

³ See "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. vi., where the Rev. Dr. Reeves has a learned article, on St. Beretchert of Tullylease, pp. 267 to 275.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Martii xiii. Vita S. Giraldi, Abbatis Elit-herenensis et Magioensis, n. 5, p. 602.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

⁶ See Rev. Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., p. 82.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has Coemnat Cuilcicimagh.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 260.

³ Dr. Todd says in a note, at this proper name, "Caoinnet." "The more recent hand adds here 'Caomnat Cuile cioemnaige,' [Caomnat of Cuilcicimagh] Mart. Taml."

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp.

110, 111.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy reads: mēic Bæcain.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 260.

³ In a note by Dr. Todd, at *Baethan*, are are told: "The more recent hand adds here, 'mēic Began [son of Began], Mart. Taml.' The Brussels MS. reads, mēic Becgāin."

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 120, 121.

ARTICLE X.—¹ In the Franciscan copy, we read: mēic Coelbad.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE XI.—ST. FLANN, SON OF NESSAN. [*Probably in the Seventh Century.*] The mere record of this saint's festival takes place, on this day, in the Martyrologies of Donegal and of Cashel. He was one of Nessan's sons ;¹ and, most probably, he flourished in the seventh century.

ARTICLE XII.—BLESSED FLANN UA TAGAIN, AIRCHINNECH OF DURROW, KING'S COUNTY. [*Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.*] This was a wise and a celebrated man. Colgan had intended to say more regarding him, at this date.¹ Flann Ua Tacain was Airchinnech of Durrow, in the present King's County. He was regarded as a person specially distinguished for his knowledge.² He died A.D. 1022.³

ARTICLE XIII.—ST. FLANN, ABBOT OF IONA, SCOTLAND. [*Ninth Century.*] Another St. Flann, who was Abbot of Hy, is venerated on the 24th of April.¹ He was the son of Maelduin, and he belonged to the race of Conall Gulban. His pedigree is given in the Neamhseanchas, and it makes him twelfth in descent from Conall Gulban. Flann succeeded to the Abbey of Iona, on the death of Feradhach Mac Cormaic, A.D. 880, and he departed this life April 24th, A.D. 891, after his incumbency of eleven years.²

ARTICLE XIV.—ST. LUGHAIDH, PRIEST. By nature we are formed to desire happiness, but it appears strange, that the generality of human beings so greatly mistake its real object. The pleasures of sense cannot procure a high or lasting enjoyment. It is the Christian, faithful to his noblest promptings of duty, that secures the proper aim of a well-directed life. The simple record Lughaidh Sac—for sacerdos, or "priest"—occurs in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April. The Bollandists, from the same authority, enter Lugadius Sacerdos, at the same date ;² but, we find no details, to further elucidate his biography. The name of Lughaidh, Priest, occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ as having a festival, on this day. He descended from the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, as we are there informed.

ARTICLE XV.—ST. DIARMAIT, OR DIARMAID, BISHOP. Religious duty obliges to bear something as well as to do something ; rest may even occasionally become a duty ; but, not a single instant of life ought to be disengaged, from its peculiar claim on our time, even although this involve trouble and suffering. The name of Diarmaid is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date. He seems to have been a Bishop,² but when he lived is not

ARTICLE XI.—¹ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Martii, Acta S.S. Dichulli, Munissæ, et Neslugii, fratrum, p. 60, n. 9. See, also, text and notes, in the Acts of these saints, which will be found, at the 15th of March.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. iv., sect. i., p. 507.

² See Rev. Dr. Reeves' "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, Additional notes (O), p. 398.

³ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., pp. 802, 803.

ARTICLE XIII.—¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. ii., sect. v., p. 502.

² See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba. Additional notes (O), p. 392.

ARTICLE XIV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has *Лугаио прерв*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE XV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy enters *Диармайт еар*.

² The Bollandists, from the same authority, call him *Diermitius Episcopus*. See

known. One Dermot O'Tigernach was Archbishop of Armagh, and he succeeded Faranan, when the latter abdicated that office in 848. He was regarded as one of the wisest Doctors in Europe. In 850, or 851, the heathen Norsemen laid Armagh waste; and, this is thought to have weighed heavily on his spirits. It caused him to pine away with grief, and it brought him to a premature grave.³ He died soon after Easter Sunday, A.D. 852. We find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ that Dearmait, Bishop, had veneration paid him on this day; but, we are not able to identify him clearly with that prelate, who ruled the See of Armagh, in the ninth century.

ARTICLE XVI.—ST. COIP, OR COIPP, VIRGIN, OF CLUAIN CIOCHMAGH. The general character of a nun's life is that of peaceful seclusion, and a monotonous but fervent discharge of religious offices; nor is there reason to believe, this holy virgin's time was passed in any other exceptional manner. An entry of her own and of her father's name is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 24th of April. By the Bollandists,² she is called Copia Filia Carnavi. The name of her place, however, is omitted. A St. Cipia or Copia, mother of St. Bite, is classed among the holy women, veiled by St. Patrick. He left her, at the church of Elphin.³ Colgan thinks, that she may be identified with the present St. Coip.⁴ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ veneration was given, on this day, to Coipp, virgin and daughter of Caernán, of Cluain Ciochmagh.

ARTICLE XVII.—REPUTED FESTIVAL FOR ISAAC. In the Franciscan copy, we do not meet with such a name, as heads this Article, at the 24th of April; but, a saint, called Isaac, is found entered in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ without any further description, at this day. Nor can we find, elsewhere, any warrant for his festival.

ARTICLE XVIII.—FESTIVAL OF THE THREE INNOCENT CHILDREN, IN A FURNACE, AND THE PASSION OF ST. GEORGE. In the early Irish Church, the aforementioned Feasts were observed, as we find recorded, in the Feilire of St. Ængus,¹ at this date. The three innocent children were Sedrech, Misac, and Abdinego, as called by the Chaldeans; but, Ananias, Acarias, and Misahel, as named by the Hebrews.² Those children were cast into a furnace of fire aflame, by Nebuchadnezzar;³ but, nevertheless God the Father freed and

¹ Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted festivals, p. 260.

² See Harris' Ware, vol i., "Archbishops of Armagh," p. 45.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE XVI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan entry is Coip i. e. Copiam.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 260.

³ See also what is said, at the notices of St. Coppia, or Cobba, at the 18th of January.

⁴ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xxxix., p. 134, and n. 78, p. 176. Also Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 270.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 108, 109.

ARTICLE XVII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

ARTICLE XVIII.—¹ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, the following stanza is met with:—

DUARO NATHU MAC NENBAC
 APYAPU POCHLA OINE
 PAIR ZUPYU ZYUAN BUADA
 CO XXXXAT MOR MILE.

Thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—
 "The victory of the three innocent children, in a furnace, a famous number. (The) passion of George, a sun of victory, with thirty great thousands."

² Such is the account, as furnished by the Glossographer to the "Leabhar Breac" version, and he adds:—*AGUR XXX. M. AGUR OCCXXX. INCNABCUON ONO.* This is translated, by Dr. Whitley Stokes: "and 30, 729

rescued them, so that the fire hurt them not.⁴ These are also entered, in the Franciscan copy of the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁵ at the 24th of April; as also, in several ancient Kalendars and Manuscript Martyrologies,⁶ at this same date.⁷ In reference to St. George's thirty great thousands, these are stated⁸ to have been the number of those martyrs he brought to Christ.⁹ The Bollandists have notices, at this date, of George, of Maurice, and of Tiberius, belonging to the Theban Legion, who shed their blood, rather than deny their faith, in time of the Emperor Maximian, and at Pinerolium, in Piedmont, Italy.¹⁰ In a Greek Manuscript Synaxarium, and in other ancient authorities, at this same date is a feast of St. George, a Martyr.¹¹ It seems probable, that St. George of the Theban Legion, with his companions in victorious death, was the subject for veneration, in our early Irish church.

Twenty-fifth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. MAGUIL, OR MACHALDUS, PATRON AND BISHOP, IN
THE ISLE OF MAN.

[FIFTH CENTURY.]

N EARLY equidistant from England, Ireland and Scotland, about thirty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, where broadest, lies the Isle of Man,¹ where a form of the Gaelic language is still in use.² The isolated kingdom of the Manx, small though it may be, has an interesting religious, social and national history.³ To our own great Apostle, St. Patrick, some

with Nebuchadnezzar moreover.”

³ This history is related, in the Book of Daniel, chap. iii.

⁴ See *ibid.*

⁵ And at p. 359, in the published version, contained in “The Book of Leinster,” edited by Robert Atkinson, M.A., LL.D., &c.

⁶ Such as the Hieronymian, Raban, Ussurd, and Notker. See the Bollandists’ “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 261.

⁷ However, the Roman Martyrology, Ado’s and some other Martyrologies, have this festival, at the 16th of December. See *ibid.*

⁸ According to the Commentator on St. Ængus, in the “Leabhar Breac” version of the Feilire.

⁹ In the Franciscan copy of the Tallagh Martyrology we read at this date: *παρρησιον* cum xxxviii.

¹⁰ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxiv. De Sanctis Martyribus Thebæis, Mauritio, Georgio et Tiberio, Pinarolii in Pedemontio, p. 266.

¹¹ Thus recorded: S. Georgii Megalomyrtis Dedicatio Ecclesie Cyparissi. See, among the pretermitted saints, *ibid.*, p. 260.

ARTICLE I.—¹ A very excellent representation of it is given, on Collin’s “Large Map of the Isle of Man,” published during the last century, in royal folio size. It contains a view of Peel Castle. A still earlier Map of the Isle, in royal folio size, bears the imprint of 1595, and of 1610; this is known as T. Durham’s “Isle of Man, exactly described, and into several Parishes divided, with every Towne, Village, Baye and River therein containd.” There is an interesting description of this Island, on the back, with a Chronicle of the Kings of Man.

² See “The Popular Encyclopedia; or Conversations Lexicon,” vol. iv., p. 655.

³ See an interesting work on this subject, R. Townley’s “Antiquities of the Isle of Man, Manners and Customs of the inhabitants, Tales of the Friaries, Abbeys and other Religious Establishments,” in two 8vo volumes.

⁴ See in vol. iii. of this work, the “Life of

writers have ascribed the first Christian fruits there gathered,⁴ among the aboriginal inhabitants.⁵ We are further informed, that being regarded as first founder of and missionary⁶ of the Manx Church,⁷ St. Patrick left Germanus,⁸ in 447, to rule as bishop over the people he converted, in the Isle of Man.⁹ He is said, to have been one of St. Patrick's own disciples.¹⁰ He settled the matter of religion so firmly in this Island, that it was said, the people never afterwards relapsed into paganism. He is stated to have died, during the lifetime of St. Patrick.¹¹ The cathedral church of Man was dedicated, however, to a St. Germanus. It is said, St. Patrick afterwards consecrated it—some think Conindrus and others Romulus;¹² while Jocelyn make them contemporaries, and living together on the Isle of Man, having been placed there, by the Irish Apostle, after the death of Germanus. Their accession to the episcopate has been assigned, to A.D. 474.¹³ However, this chronology has been contested;¹⁴ for, many writers believe St. Patrick to have died, before the period named.¹⁵ The early Lives of the Irish Apostle, although they mention Conindrus and Romulus, are quite silent on this subject of St. Patrick having preached there. They give us no hint, about the propagation of Christianity in Man, except on the occasion of Maccaldus' voyage thither. The Manx very generally give the name of Maughold to him, whom they regard as a special Patron. He is also called Machella and Manchoild.¹⁶

The chief accounts remaining, to illustrate the Acts of St. Machaldus, are to be found in some of St. Patrick's Lives, and especially in those of the Tripartite¹⁷ and of Jocelyn.¹⁸ By Probus,¹⁹ he is called Macfail, and Maguil

St. Patrick," at the 17th of March, the date for his festival, chap. vi., xxii.

⁵ Jocelyn pretends, on his returning from an excursion to Great Britain, that St. Patrick undertook the conversion of those inhabiting various small islands, particularly Eubonia or Mannia.

⁶ The Tripartite Life throws out a hint, that the mission of St. Patrick had some influence on the Gospel progress within that island. This exhibits Man as having become famous, after the arrival of St. Patrick, by serving as a retreat for monks.

⁷ In Richard Gough's Camden's "Britannia," vol. iii., it is said, St. Patrick converted the Isle of Man to the Christian faith, about 440, when the bishopric was first erected. See p. 701.

⁸ His feast is referred to the 3rd of July, by Colgan, in "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, n. 103, p. 113.

⁹ Germanus is not spoken of, however, in any of St. Patrick's Lives, except in that Life by Jocelyn. Neither is he mentioned in the Chronicle of Man. He is thought to have been a fictitious personage, introduced in consequence of the cathedral of Man being dedicated to a St. German, who was no other than the great St. German of Auxerre. He, too, was highly revered by the ancient Irish. Ussher had seen into the mistake of sending one Germanus from Rome with St. Patrick. See Wood's "Account of the Isle of Man," chap. vii.

¹⁰ Some have incorrectly stated, that he had been a Canon of the Lateran Church. Ussher, depending on Jocelyn's statement, admits

Germanus to have been St. Patrick's disciple, as also a Bishop of the Isle of Man. See "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," pp. 643 to 842.

¹¹ See Rev. J. G. Cumming's "Isle of Man," Appendix P, p. 342.

¹² The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick states, that the bishops Conderius and Romailus were persons, who disseminated and propagated the faith and doctrine of Christ, in that island.

¹³ See Ussher's "Index Chronologicus," at A.D., CCCLXXIV.

¹⁴ According to the Tripartite Life, those two bishops were in Man, before the foundation of the See of Armagh. Wherefore, if they lived there, it must have been prior to A.D. 455, as Rev. Dr. Lanigan computes the period.

¹⁵ The Rev. Dr. Lanigan concludes, that there is no sufficient foundation for the statement of St. Patrick having preached in Man; that its first bishop was not the pretended Germanus; and that, although it may not be improbable, that Conindrus and Romulus had received their appointment from St. Patrick, we have no decisive testimony on that subject. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vi., n. 118, pp. 305 to 307.

¹⁶ See Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," p. 298, Russell's edition.

¹⁷ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. lx., lxi., pp. 160, 161, and n. 87 to 91, p. 185.

¹⁸ See Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cli., clii.,

is another appellation given to him. The Third Life of St. Patrick has a brief account regarding him, under the latter name.²⁰ In the Fourth Life, he is called Ciclops, and afterwards Demana.²¹ The festival of St. Magil, Maccaldus, or Maccalleus, has been assigned to the 25th of April, by Colgan,²² who strangely enough confounds Maccaleus with Maccaldus, in one passage,²³ while elsewhere he makes a distinction between them.²⁴ It was Colgan's intention to have published a Life of St. Machaldus, at the 25th of April.²⁵ The Bollandists have the accounts of St. Machald, chiefly drawn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, and from Jocelyn, when recording his Acts, at this date.²⁶ It is generally assumed, that the present saint may not be confounded with St. Machaille, who gave the veil to St. Brigid. The names are similar, however, and the festivals appear to refer, as supposed, to this same day. The Rev. Alban Butler registers St. Macull, or Maughold, confessor, at the 25th of April,²⁷ and whose name is Latinized, as he supposes, Macallius. At the 25th of April, there is an account of St. Machalus, who had then a festival.²⁸ We may consider him, as not distinct from St. Machaldus. In his Life of St. Patrick, Jocelyn has an interesting but a very legendary account of St. Machaldus;²⁹ and, this seems to have been drawn, in a great measure, from an earlier narrative, to be found in the Irish Tripartite Life of our great Apostle. From this we may glean, that Machaldus belonged to the northern parts of Ireland;³⁰ and, the particular district was Mag-inis, in Lecale.³¹ We are obliged to follow the legendary narrative of his acts, without any possibility of correcting what may be supposed the fabulous portion. In one of St. Patrick's Lives, he is called Ciclops;³² and, it is said, that he lurked in a rough and mountainous part of the country, as also, that he was a wicked and cruel tyrant, who killed men and took spoils from them.³³ It is stated, likewise, that himself and his impious companions had a Diberch—some diabolic sign³⁴—on their heads.³⁵

While travelling into Ulydia, we are told St. Patrick found one Magiul, a heathen, also called Machaldus. He was eminent in wickedness, and notorious for his cruelty. As like always accords with like, he gathered to him no small company, well practised in theft, in rapine, and in blood. It happened, on a time, that the blessed Patrick was journeying with his people through that place,

pp. 98, 99, and nn. 156 to 159, pp. 115, 116.

¹⁹ See *Quinta Vita S. Patricii*, lib. ii., cap. ix., x., xi., pp. 52, 53, and nn. 6, 7, 8, p. 63.

²⁰ See *Tertia Vita S. Patricii*, cap. lxxiii., p. 27, and nn. 71, 72, p. 34.

²¹ See *Quarta Vita S. Patricii*, cap. lxxxi., lxxxi., pp. 45, 46, and nn. 60 to 65, p. 50.

²² See "*Trias Thaumaturga*," pp. 265, 266.

²³ See "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," xiii. Januarii. De S. Connano, n. 7, p. 60.

²⁴ As elsewhere mentioned, both names are distinct, in the Irish language. See the Life of St. Brigid, at the 1st of February, chap. iii., and notes 82, 83.

²⁵ See "*Trias Thaumaturga*," *Tertia Vita S. Patricii*, n. 77, p. 34.

²⁶ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus iii., xxv. Aprilis. De Sanctis Episcopis Hibernis Macalloe in Cruachadia, et Machaldo in Insula Mona, pp. 366 to 368.

²⁷ See "*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints*," vol. iv., Aprilis xxv.

²⁸ See Bishop Forbes' "*Kalendar of Scottish Saints*," p. 380.

²⁹ See "*Trias Thaumaturga*," *Sexta Vita S. Patricii*, cap. cli., clii., pp. 98, 99.

³⁰ He lived "in regionibus Ulteriorum."—*Quarta Vita S. Patricii*, cap. lxxxi., p. 45. See Colgan's "*Trias Thaumaturga*."

³¹ See *ibid.* *Septima Vita S. Patricii*, lib. iii., cap. lx., p. 160. In this region lay Down and Saul. See n. 87, p. 187.

³² He was called so, probably from a supposed resemblance to Polyphemus, celebrated for his cruelties and robberies.

³³ See *ibid.* *Quarta Vita S. Patricii*, n. 60, p. 50.

³⁴ This may have been a badge of confederacy, or it may have been intended to frighten travellers.

³⁵ See *ibid.* *Tertia Vita S. Patricii*, cap. lxxiii., p. 27.

where lurked this band of evil-doers, waiting for any traveller, on whom they might rush forth, either to destroy or to despoil him. Beholding the saint, they thought at first to slay him, as the seducer of their souls, and the destroyer of their gods; but, suddenly, their purpose being changed by the Divine will, they thought it a shame to shed the blood of a peaceful, weak, and an unarmed old man. Counselling one another to prove, or rather to mock, the power of Christ, and the holiness of Patrick, they placed one of their companions, named Garban, on a couch, and though he was in perfect health, they feigned him to be dead, thinking thus to impose on the Irish Apostle.³⁶ They covered their accomplice with a cloak, and offering prayers, intended to deceive, they besought the man of God, that he would provide the funeral rites, or, as he was wont, restore to life the dead man. But, through revelation of the Holy Spirit, he understood what they had done, and pronounced, that these scorers had deceivingly, yet not falsely, declared their companion to be truly dead. Therefore, disregarding their entreaties, he prayed to God for the souls of the deriders, and then went on his way. The saint had not journeyed far, when they uncovered the cloak, from their companion; and lo! they found him not a pretended corpse, but really dead.

Affrighted at this fearful event, and dreading lest the same fateshould happen to themselves, they followed Patrick, and fell at his feet. Acknowledging their offence, through their contrition, they obtained pardon. Then, they all believed in the Lord; and, in his name, were they baptized. Afterwards did the saint, at their humble entreaty, revive the dead man, and regenerating him in the holy font of baptism, Patrick associated him to the faith in Christ.³⁷ Machaldus, their chief, falling at St. Patrick's feet, confessed his sins, and entreated with many tears, that a life of penitence should be imposed upon him, whereby he might attain the life of eternity. The saint inspired by heaven enjoined, that the penitent should renounce his native soil, and give all his substance to the poor. Afterwards, he clothed Machaldus, it is stated, in a vile and rough garment, and chained him down with chains of iron, casting the key, which secured them, into the ocean. Likewise, St. Patrick commanded him to enter alone, and without oars, into a boat made only of hides.³⁸ The Irish Apostle further enjoined, that on whatsoever country Machaldus should land, under the guidance of the Lord, there should he serve the Church of Christ, even to the end of his days. Truly repenting, Machaldus did as his great pastor had enjoined; for, bound with iron chains, and bearing on his head the tonsure, as token of penitence, he entered alone into that boat. Under the protection of God, committing himself to His mercy and to the waves, Machaldus was borne by them onwards to the Island Eubonia.³⁹ It was called Mannia, or Man, even so early as the twelfth century;⁴⁰ while another form of the name is Manain.⁴¹ A northern wind caused the bark to be wafted southwards to the Island Iuuoonia, as another account states.⁴² The ancient armorial bearings of the See of Man and Sodor were represented by azure, St. Columba⁴³ at sea in a cock-boat, all proper in chief, and overhead a

³⁶ See his Life, chap. xxi., in the previous volume.

³⁷ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. lx., pp. 160, 161.

³⁸ The Fourth Life calls it "culleum," or what the Irish were accustomed to call a *currack*, being formed of twigs woven together, and covered with leather or skins.

³⁹ Speaking of Machaldus, the Tripartite Life states: "Venit autem in Manniam sive Euboniam, olim Dryudum et gentilium

vatum, postea, ab adventu sancti Patricii, Christi nystarum et Monachorum secessu; et sede nobilem, clarumque insulam," &c. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. lxi., p. 161.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.* Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. clii., p. 98.

⁴¹ See *ibid.* Tertia Vita S. Patricii, cap. lxxiii., p. 27.

⁴² See *ibid.* Quarta Vita S. Patricii, cap. lxxxi., p. 45.

⁴³ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

blazing star in or.⁴⁴ It seems probable, however, the figure was not intended for St. Columba, but for St. Maughold, as it bears so closely a resemblance to the legend concerning his arrival on the Island. Moreover, the latter was the senior saint, and he was held, by the Manx, in especial repute.⁴⁵

At that time, in Eubonia lived the two bishops, named Conindrius and Romulus,⁴⁶ whom St. Patrick himself had consecrated and appointed to rule over the people of that island, and to instruct them in the faith of Christ, after the death of Germanus, the first bishop. These saintly prelates, beholding Machaldus, marvelled much, pitied his misery, but when they understood his case, they received him kindly, and retained him with themselves. In the Fourth of St. Patrick's Lives, Machaldus is called Demana.⁴⁷ During the episcopacy of Romulus, St. Maughold was cast ashore in his little corrach or leather-covered boat, and at that head of land, which now bears his name.⁴⁸ Here was Kirk Maughold founded, in after times, and it was dedicated to our saint.⁴⁹



Kirk Maughold, Isle of Man.

The latter is built on a lofty promontory, and in the middle of a most extensive cemetery,⁵⁰ while near it are many Runic inscriptions, cut upon long flat stones.⁵¹

⁴⁴ See Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops."

⁴⁵ See Rev. Joseph George Cumming's "Isle of Man," Appendix P, p. 340.

⁴⁶ These are the names given them in the Fourth Life, and by Jocelyn. By Probus, one is called Conindrus, and in the Tripartite Life, they are styled Conderius and Romailus. According to Colgan, one is more correctly called Condirius, venerated in our Irish Calendars, on the 17th of November, and the other Romulus or Romanus, venerated on the 18th of November. See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Vita S. Patricii, nn. 63, 64, p. 50.

⁴⁷ Colgan suggests, that this seems to be an error, for de Mona, or de Mannia. However, the Irish language has Demhan as the ordinary appellation of "the demon." See *ibid.*, n. 60. This term may have been applied to his past life; yet, the former interpretation seems to be most probable.

⁴⁸ Underneath some moss-covered rocks, there is a spring called St. Maughold's well, and an object called St. Maughol's chair. The waters are supposed to produce supernatural effects. See George Woods' "Account of the Past and Present State of the Isle of Man," chap. xiii., p. 172. London, 1811, 8vo.

The truly penitent Machaldus applied his bodily and mental powers, to follow the counsel and rules of both those holy bishops, until at last, through Divine appointment, he deserved to succeed them, in the episcopal office.⁵² By the universal consent of the Manx, he was chosen, in due course, as their bishop. This is said to have occurred, about five years after St. Patrick's death, *i.e.* in 498.⁵³ How long he sat as bishop is uncertain; but, he is said to have succeeded, immediately on the death of Conindrius and of Romulus, ascribed to the year just noted.⁵⁴ However, the Bollandists are of opinion, that his succession should be assigned to an earlier period.⁵⁵ After he had for some time there abided, one day a fish happened to be taken in the sea, and brought unto their dwelling. When the fish was opened before them, a key was found in its belly, as the legend runs, and Machaldus being thus released from his chains, gave thanks to God, and went thenceforth free. It has been supposed,⁵⁶ but incorrectly, that St. Machaldus—confounded with Macca-leus⁵⁷—gave the veil to St. Brigid,⁵⁸ Patroness of Ireland, and that she received it from the former Bishop, in the Isle of Man. Increasing in holiness, after the deaths of the pious bishops named, Machaldus attained the episcopal degree; while, he is said, to have been an illustrious prelate, and to have ruled over Ard-Ebranensis.⁵⁹ Being eminent for his miracles and for his virtues, there did he rest, and there, too, is he held in special veneration. In that island there was a city after him named, of no small extent, the remains of whose walls might long ago be seen. In the cemetery of its church, there was a sarcophagus of hollow stone, whereout a spring continually exuded, in the twelfth century. This was sweet to the draught, wholesome to the taste, and it healed divers infirmities.⁶⁰ It is added, whosoever drinketh thereof, either receiveth instant health, or instantly he dieth. And in that stone are the bones of St. Machaldus said to rest; yet, therein is nothing found save only clear water. Though many oftentimes endeavoured to remove the stone, and especially the King of the Norici,⁶¹ who subdued the island, that he might at all times have sweet water; yet, have they all failed in their attempt, for the deeper they have delved to raise up the stone, so much the more deeply was it found fixed in the earth.⁶² The Annals of Ulster state, that M'Caille, Epi Mannensis died, A.D. 489.⁶³ However, there may be some confusion

⁴⁹ The accompanying illustration, from a photograph furnished by Rev. E. Caffrey, when stationed at Douglas, was drawn on the wood by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁵⁰ See "A Description and Historical Account of the Isle of Man," &c., p. 138.

⁵¹ See Rev. J. Cumming, "The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man," containing fourteen interesting plates, with descriptions, 4to, 1857.

⁵² This statement of Probus ends with the sentence: "Hic est Macfail episcopus, clarus et sanctus postmodum effectus in Euoniensium civitate, cujus nos adjuvent sancta suffragia."—Quinta Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xi., p. 53.

⁵³ See Rev. Joseph George Cumming's "Isle of Man," &c., Appendix P, p. 342.

⁵⁴ See Ussher's "Index Chronologicus," ad A.D., CCCXCXVIII.

⁵⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomos iii., xxv. Aprilis. De Sanctis Episcopis Hibernis Macalleo in Crvachadia, et Machaldo in Insula Mona, sect. 4, p. 368.

⁵⁶ By Ilector Boetius, in "Scotorum His-

torix," lib. ix., fol. 158. Other writers have since copied his statement.

⁵⁷ Also a Bishop, and venerated on this day, in Ireland. The account of his place and acts will be found, in the Article succeeding.

⁵⁸ See Her Life, already written, at the 1st day of February—that for his festival—at chap. iii.

⁵⁹ This statement is in a quotation, taken from an older work, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.

⁶⁰ In the time of Jocelyn. This famous spring is alluded to, in these lines:—

"Nor now is heard the solemn bell,
From famed St. Maughold's sacred well,
Where many a matron bowed;
And offered up her anxious prayer,
For large estate, and worthy heir,
And many a chapel vowed."

—John D'Alton's "Dermid; or Erin in the Days of Ború," canto iii., sect. v., p. 69.

⁶¹ By this term, we are to understand the Norwegians or Normans, who held sway, in the Isle of Man.

⁶² See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. clii., pp. 98, 99, and n. 159, p. 116.

here, in confounding St. Machaldus with the holy Bishop, whose Acts immediately follow. It is stated,⁶⁴ that Machaldus died, A.D. 518. This will more nearly coincide with Sacheverell's account, that he was Bishop there, for over twenty-four years. It can hardly be admitted, with Dr. Heylin, that he ruled to A.D. 578.⁶⁵ Many churches in Scotland, and one church in Wales, are dedicated to this saint.⁶⁶

In after times, the Isle of Man held a close relation with Ireland.⁶⁷ Its first missionaries seem to have been recruited from our Island. There is reason to suppose, in early days, the population was not very large, as during the eighth century, Venerable Bebe estimates the inhabitants at three hundred families. There are several very ancient and interesting churches in the Isle of Man,⁶⁸ and these have been frequently described. In one of these, called St. Maughold, the relics of the Patron had been preserved to the time of the Protestant Reformation,⁶⁹ which did not seriously affect the Catholics there, until about the seventeenth century. A succession of bishops ruled over the diocese here established, and their names are recorded in the chronicles of the Isle of Man. After the early Christian ages, it was seized upon by the Norwegians.⁷⁰ For a long period, it had a succession of kings,⁷¹ and their history has been preserved, chiefly in connexion with that of the Hebridean chiefs,⁷² who belonged to the Northman race.⁷³ It is said, that Pope Gregory IV., who sat from 828 to 844,⁷⁴ erected this island with all the Hebrides into one bishopric, and the prelate who presided over this See was called Bishop of Sodor⁷⁵ and Man.⁷⁶ But, when the latter became dependent on the Kingdom of England, the Western Islands claimed to have a bishop of their own. He was styled Sodorenensis, but more commonly Bishop of the Isles. During an interregnum in 1075, on the death of their King Lag-man, the nobility of the Isles sent commissioners to Muirheard O'Brien, King of Ireland, asking him to send some worthy person of the royal family, who might act as regent, until the son of Godred was fit to govern. The king nominated one Donald McTade to the office, and recommended him to govern the country with bounty and moderation. But, disregarding such instructions, the regent behaved despotically and cruelly towards the people, so that at last a confederacy of Hebridean chiefs expelled him from the Island. Near the close

⁶³ See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv. *Annales Ultonienses*, pp. 7, 8.

⁶⁴ In Keith's "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," p. 298. Russel's edition.

⁶⁵ This is probably a misprint, for A.D. 518. See Rev. Joseph George Cumming's "Isle of Man," &c. Appendix P, p. 342.

⁶⁶ There is a remarkable spring, at Chapelton of Kilmachlie, in the immediate neighbourhood of the old chapel outlines, and in the parish of Inveravon. It is cased with stones. See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 380.

⁶⁷ See Gough's Camden's "Britannia," vol. iii., p. 699.

⁶⁸ At Douglas, but without date, has been published Delamotte's "Eight Views of the Churches and Chapels in the Isle of Man." This is an oblong 4to volume.

⁶⁹ See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome v. xxv^e Jour d'Avril, n. I, p. 15.

⁷⁰ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vii., p. 345.

⁷¹ See "A Descriptive Historical Account of the Isle of Man," &c., pp. 40, 41, published at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1809, 12mo.

⁷² See the Rev. James Johnstone's "Antiquitates Celto-Normanicae," *Chronicon Manniae*, pp. 3 to 55.

⁷³ The old Kings of Man, Table DCXL, with the Kings of Man, and Earls of Derby, of the Family of Stanley, Table DCXLI have their descent set down, in the Rev. William Betham's "Genealogical Tables of the Sovereigns of the World, from the Earliest to the Present Period." London, 1795, folio.

⁷⁴ See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 209.

⁷⁵ This Swedish word is said to mean the sail or oar islands, and it is said the Northmen so named them, as objects for their frequent expeditions southwards. See "Encyclopædia Britannica." Art. Isle of Man.

⁷⁶ See R. Willis' "Account of the Diocese of Man," with plates, published in the last century, 4to.

of the eleventh century, Magnus Barefoot subdued it, and in 1143, Godred, who afterwards became King over the Northmen of Dublin. After the invasion of Scotland by Haco, King of Norway, and the junction of Magnus, King of Man, with his forces, they were defeated in the Battle of Largs⁷⁷ by Alexander III., King of Scotland, who recovered possession, and then ruled over the Hebrideans and Manx, in the year 1266.⁷⁸ When he died, these latter people placed themselves under the protection of Edward I., who then governed England. He directed it to be restored to John Baliol, who had done homage for the kingdom of Scotland, held then from the English crown. Man was afterwards seized upon by Edward II.⁷⁹ The English kings who succeeded bestowed the Island upon their favourites. Edward III., by letters patent, conveyed Man to Sir Simeon de Montacute. At length, Sir John Stanley, under Henry IV. of England, became owner in perpetuity, and it was regarded as an appanage of his family. When the tenth Earl of Derby died without issue, in the first half of the last century, the Isle of Man reverted to the Duke of Athol, who had married one of the Ladies Stanley.⁸⁰ This Duke gave the island, with certain reservations, to the British Government, but, it was purchased for the sum of £70,000.⁸¹ In 1829, these reservations were also yielded, on the payment of a considerable sum. Altogether, the Isle of Man cost about half a million sterling to the British Government. Notwithstanding, during all these changes, the Manx never gave up their own form of government, their laws, nor their independence.⁸² The industrious, intelligent and thrifty population of this Island is about 52,000, while agriculture, mining, and fishing⁸³ maintain them in plenty. During the summer season, there is a large influx of pleasure-seekers and visitors. Their lead, copper, zinc, and iron mines are worked with great advantage to their export trade;⁸⁴ while they pay small royalties, on the mines which are opened. With these fines upon them, they contrive, however, to enjoy a good political and social constitution, besides having the blessings of home rule, and a popular representation. Their House of Keys is the Parliament; while the members manage all important affairs, and provide for the necessities of their constituents, consistently with a wise economy in the administration of their revenues. The people profess, for the most part, the religion of the English Established Church; however, they have their own canons, and an independent convocation.⁸⁵

For some time after the so-called Reformation, the Manx made a

⁷⁷ See an account of these transactions in Dr. James Taylor's "Pictorial History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. vi., pp. 73 to 80.

⁷⁸ See the Chronicle of the Kings of Man, in Gough's Camden's "Britannia," vol. liii., p. 709.

⁷⁹ See James Bell's "System of Geography, Popular and Scientific," vol. liii., part i., p. 168.

⁸⁰ See "History of the House of Stanley from the Conquest," published at Preston, A.D. 1793, 8vo.

⁸¹ See "History of the Isle of Man, with the Situation and Geographical Description thereof, and account of the Purchase of the Island from the Duke of Athol." This was published at Preston, A.D. 1793, 8vo.

⁸² M. A. Mills has edited the "Ancient Ordinances and Statute Laws of the Isle of Man, carefully copied from, and compared with, the original Records, from the earliest date to the year 1841." This is a thick royal

8vo volume, published at Douglas in that year.

⁸³ Their herring and cod fisheries produce about £60,000 per annum. They cure about 400,000 barrels of herrings or about thirty millions of that fish alone.

⁸⁴ The customs duties bring about £30,000 per annum to the British revenue.

⁸⁵ The Manx have regulated not many years ago their ecclesiastical courts, and abolished one court which had little or nothing to do, while the vicar-general was then over-ruled in a demand, which interfered with the public interest, as the House of Keys understood it.

⁸⁶ For this account and the succeeding statements, the writer is indebted to the Rev. Edward Caffrey, who served the Mission of St. Mary's, Douglas, for some time in the Isle of Man. His interesting letter is dated St. Mary's, Widnes, Lancashire, May 5th, 1873.

noble stand against the Reformers.⁸⁶ At length, Catholicity seems to have disappeared, and it used to be repeated, that not a Manx Papist could be found. However, the Church was gradually recruited, by the accession of a few Catholic fishermen,⁸⁷ during the last century;⁸⁸ and, in the beginning of the present. Father M'Pharlan, a native of Down, and previously P.P. of Castleknock, was the first to build a Catholic chapel on the Island. This was dedicated to St. Brigid, about the year 1811.⁸⁹ It was a mile out from town, and quite close to the ancient Nunnery of St. Brigid.⁹⁰ A Father Gahan, S.J., came to the Island in 1825, and from this time, a resident priest always lived there.⁹¹ Afterwards, Father Peter M'Grath, who arrived direct from Maynooth, was full of zeal, and the flock under his charge daily increased.⁹² This mission was next entrusted to Father Carr, who built St. Mary's, in Douglas. One of the guide books says, it is undoubtedly the finest church on the Island.⁹³ The Isle of Man, until recent times, was thought to have been under the guardianship of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin; but, it is now attached to the Diocese of Liverpool, and subject to the jurisdiction of its Bishop. At present, there is a Catholic population there of about three thousand souls.

ARTICLE II.—ST. MACCAILLE, BISHOP AT CROGHAN, KING'S COUNTY. [*Fifth Century.*] One of the revered prelates of our early Irish Church was

⁸⁷ A Father Johnson, O.S.B., came for a time, in the year 1779, to hear their confessions, but he returned again to Whitehaven. The father of Mr. William Rooney and others had to leave Ireland in 1796, and when they came, there was neither priest, nor Catholic, to be found on the Isle. Mr. Rooney, a highly-respectable Irishman, living on the Isle of Man, communicated this information to the Rev. Mr. Caffrey. Another family named Fagan fled from the '98 affair, and brought with them as chaplain a Father Collins, who died soon after his arrival, and who is buried at St. Michael's, Derby Haven.

⁸⁸ It appears, that a census of the Catholics was taken about 1781, by order of the Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District of England, and that the number returned was only 25. After that same time, an exiled French priest came from Nantes, and he is highly praised, by a Protestant writer, for his morals and learning. He was allowed to celebrate Mass in a barn, near St. Mary's famous abbey of Rushen. That ecclesiastic lived with the Governor of Castle Rushen, taught his and the Protestant Bishop's children French, besides teaching at Peel grammar school.

⁸⁹ During the memorable struggle of '98, a Major Taukman was commanding the brutal Manx Fencibles, and Fr. M'Pharlan allowed him the use of his house. On coming to the Isle, Father M'Pharlan was gratefully acknowledged by the Major, who was owner of the "nunnery" grounds, and he gave a piece of land for 5s., on which St. Bridgid's little chapel was erected. The stone, with the inscription, is still preserved at St.

Mary's, Douglas. "Deo, Optimo, Maximo. Sanctæ Brigittæ Capella, Pristinæ pietate reddidit. Revus Milesius Mac Pharlan juxta Dublinium Parochus, A.D. 1811."

⁹⁰ The Very Rev. Andrew O'Connell, before he became Parish Priest of SS. Michael and John, Dublin, afterwards translated to St. Mary's, Haddington-road, and who died Dean of Dublin, A.D. 1876, with several other Irish priests, spent short missionary intervals, among the poor Irish refugees, who dwelt on the Island.

⁹¹ His congregation began rapidly to increase. He purchased a Club-house, in the town of Douglas, and that he converted into a very neat chapel. He died in 1837, from a fever caught in the discharge of his holy ministrations.

⁹² He bought that ground, on which now stands the handsome church of St. Mary's, in Douglas. When about to commence building the church, after seventeen years of hard missionary labour, he was removed from the Island. Both Father Gahan and Father M'Grath are still spoken of by the old inhabitants, Catholic and Protestant, with the greatest veneration.

⁹³ It was opened in August, 1859, by Dr. Gos, Bishop of Liverpool. Ramsey has its neat little Chapel of Our Lady and St. Maughold, with a resident priest; nor are the simple fishermen of Peel without their chapel, dedicated to SS. Patrick and Germanus. It is built near the ruins of Peel Castle, and it was opened in 1865. There is now a community of Sisters of Mercy, who teach the poor schools, keep a select school for young ladies, and who do a great deal of good, by their visits to the sick and desitute.

the venerable man of whom we are now to treat, but whose special Acts do not seem to have been written. The Bollandists have published accounts of the Holy Bishops Maccalleus, of Cruachad, and of Machaldus, in the Isle of Man, at the 25th of April.¹ As we have seen, in the previous Article, these personages are to be distinguished. Mac-Caille is variously called Maccille, Macalleus, Filius Cailleus, Maccille,² and Machillus. This latter is the form of his name, as used by Surius.³ Little is known, regarding the birth and parentage of this saint. As in the Irish language, however, Mac signifies "son," and as, in a notice of this holy man, taken from one of St. Patrick's Lives,⁴ his name is Latinized *Filius Caille*, it seems to be almost certain, that Caille was the name of his father,⁵ and it may have been given by his parents, or it may have arisen, owing to some other cause. Nevertheless, another opinion has been advanced, and which shows, that Maccalle may have been the true way for spelling his own name. He is sometimes called Macull,⁶ yet, this has probably more immediate reference to the saint, whose Life precedes. Maccaille is stated, also, to have been one of St. Patrick's nephews, by his sister Darerca;⁷ and, he is thought, in all probability, to have been the same as that Maceleus, who is classed among the disciples of St. Patrick.⁸ Again, it is conjectured,⁹ that Maceleus had been identical with a person mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,¹⁰ and who is named Macetus, or Maccetus.¹¹ Having found Maccalleus elsewhere, and wishing to swell the number of St. Patrick's disciples, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan remarks, that Colgan thought it better, to distinguish him from the Maceleus of Tirechan.¹² However, Maceleus or Makaleus differs not from Maccaleus, in the ancient Irish pronunciation. A very general opinion now prevails, that the present holy man had been a disciple to St. Mel, or Melchu, of whom St. Patrick was supposed to be uncle. St. Maccaille was elevated to the government of a church at Cruachad, or Cruachan Bri-Ele,¹³ in the territory of Offaly, or Hy Failge;¹⁴ and, this place is expressly mentioned in the Calendar of Cashel, and in other documents, as that where his church stood.¹⁵ Here, it is stated, he was a Bishop. It was on the confines of Leinster and Munster,¹⁶ according to the

See the "Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register and Almanack, for the year of our Lord 1872," p. 167. London, 12mo.

ARTICLE II.—"See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., xxv. Aprilis. "De Sanctis Episcopis Hibernicis Macalleo in Cruachadia, et Machaldo in Insula Mona, pp. 366 to 368.

² According to a Manuscript, belonging to the Monastery of St. Amand.

³ In "De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis."

⁴ Which is quoted, in Usher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., p. 336.

⁵ Colgan observes: "loco tamen nominum prioriorum temporis successu usurpata. ut suo loco constabit de nominibus *Maccarthinn, Maccainne, Macveiche, Maccallain, Mac-lasre, Macnise, Mactail, Mactrena*, aliisque similibus." See "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Prima S. Brigidæ, sect. 8, 9, and Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, n. 11, pp. 525, 526.

⁶ See Circle of the Seasons," p. 116.

⁷ This statement is given, in the O'Clerys' Martyrology. Her feast is assigned to the 22d of March.

⁸ Who are included in Tirechan's list.

This is an opinion of Rev. Dr. Lanigan.

⁹ By Father John Colgan.

¹⁰ See Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xli., p. 135, and n. 81, p. 176, lib. iii., cap. xxviii., p. 167, and n. 129, p. 188.

¹¹ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 268.

¹² See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., p. 335, and n. 33, 39, 42, pp. 337 to 339, *ibid.*

¹³ See under this head, Dual Mac Firbis, entry of Mac Caille, Bishop, in "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 102, 103.

¹⁴ "This place is still well known, and the ruins of the church of St. Maccaille are to be seen on the eastern side of the conspicuous hill of Croghan, near Tyrrell's Pass, on the confines of the King's County, and the county of Westmeath."—Dr. Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., p. 152, n. (m).

¹⁵ See "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. iii., p. 519, and n. 11, pp. 525, 526.

former extent of the latter province, and before a part of it was added to the present King's County. The Eile, with which the name of that place terminates, was a district, commonly called Ely O'Carroll. It has been supposed, that while Mac-calle's See was established, at the place already named; his jurisdiction also extended over a considerable tract of country, and that we may reasonably conclude, he had been consecrated, before A.D. 465.¹⁷ The range of Croghan Hills gives name to a small parish, in the barony of Lower Philipstown, King's County. There are three well-defined summits, the highest of which rises towards the west, and this elevation is terminated by a remarkable cone, from which a most extensive and varied view of all the neighbouring Irish counties may be obtained. Immediately under it, and sloping along the hill-side, with its aspect towards the east, the crowded



Croghan Hill and Cemetery, King's County.

cemetery, within which a church¹⁸ was formerly to be seen, is now enclosed, with a low and parapeted stone wall. A great number of head-stones¹⁹ with inscriptions rise over the graves; and this spot is still a favourite and frequented place for interments.²⁰ This hill was, no doubt, that site, formerly selected by St. Macaille, for his religious establishment.²¹ It is said, one Macca, or as

¹⁶ See *ibid.* Appendix Quinta ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. iv., p. 231.

¹⁷ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., p. 335, and n. 44, pp. 339, 340, *ibid.*

¹⁸ The writer was informed, by a farmer named Egan, living near the place, that the foundations remained, and were occasionally unearthed, near the centre of the present

grave-yard.

¹⁹ The material used for these is the grey limestone of the King's County.

²⁰ The accompanying illustration, drawn on the spot by the author, in August, 1883, was afterwards transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

²¹ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the

others will have it Machilla,²² a disciple of St. Patrick, presented the veil to St. Bridget. By many, it was supposed, that the holy Patroness of Kildare received it from the Bishop of Soder, in the Isle of Man.²³ He bore a name, somewhat similar to that of our saint, and to this circumstance may be attributed the popular error. But, he does not appear to have been baptized, much less consecrated as Bishop, at the time when St. Brigid had been veiled. However, the illustrious and holy Abbess received the veil from the son of Cuille, or Caille, *i.e.*, Maccaille,²⁴ in Uisninch Midi, or Usneagh, in Westmeath, according to some accounts;²⁵ and there, too, it has been supposed, that our saint usually resided. It is stated, that Maccaille had an inspiration from Heaven, regarding St. Brigid's earnest desire of becoming a virgin, she being so remarkable for her maidenly love of chastity.²⁶ He consecrated her to the Almighty,²⁷ by receiving her vows, and by investing her with a white cloak,²⁸ or veil, the usual dress of nuns, in the early times of Christianity.²⁹ The white garment of St. Brigid is noticed, likewise, as having been her peculiar dress, in the Third of her published Lives. There is no notice, about the cutting of her hair, which in the profession of holy virgins was not practised, at this early period.³⁰ The date for St. Brigid's profession has been referred, to about the middle of the fifth century. That Maccaille then officiated, is to be found in that entry of the Cashel Calendar,³¹ regarding his festival day, and this statement has been followed by Cathal Maguire.³² An old Poem,³³ ascribed to St. Brogan Cloen, agrees with such a notion.³⁴ On this occasion, according to another account,³⁵ St. Brigid³⁶ went to receive the

Four Masters," vol. i., n. (m), p. 152.

²² According to John Capgrave: "Et assumptis secum tribus puellis perrexit ad Episcopum Machillam, Sancti Patricii discipulum."—"Vita S. Brigidæ," sect. 4.

²³ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., p. 336.

²⁴ Nearly all our Irish Annals and Calendars agree in this statement. See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., n. 44, pp. 339, 340.

²⁵ See a passage from Tirechan, quoted by Ussher, at p. 1031, in his "Primordia."

²⁶ According to the Life of St. Brigid, by Cogitosus. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. iii., p. 519.

²⁷ This is stated, in the Fifth Life of St. Brigid, as published by Colgan, in his "Trias Thaumaturga." See cap. xxviii., p. 573. The Calendars of Cashel and of Maguire also accord. See *ibid.*, p. 525.

²⁸ Tirechan calls it a "pallium," and speaking of a certain church founded by the Irish Apostle, in the southern part of Meath, he observes, "in qua S. Brigida pallium cæpit sub manibus filii Caille in Uisnech Midhe.

²⁹ See Rev. Joseph Bingham's "Origines Ecclesiasticæ. The Antiquities of the Christian Church." Book vii., chap. iv., sect. 6, pp. 265 to 267.

³⁰ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. iii., n. 34, p. 387.

³¹ At the 25th of April: "St. Maccalleus,

qui colitur in Cruachan Brighelæ in regione de Iffalgia, ipse dedit velum Sanctæ Brigidæ."

³² At the same day, in his Festilogy, this writer observes: "S. Maccalleus Episcopus Magnus, cujus Ecclesia est in Cruachan Brigh-eile in regione Iffalgæ, et qui posuit velum candidum supra caput Sanctæ Brigidæ."

³³ Written on the Virtues and Miracles of St. Brigid, and it is thought only a short time after her death. See it reproduced, in Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Prima S. Brigidæ, pp. 515 to 518.

³⁴ "Posuit avibus Maccalleus velum
Supra caput Sanctæ Brigidæ
Clarus est in ejus gestis;
In celo exaudita est ejus petitio
Deum precor in omnibus adversis,
Modis omnibus, quibus valet os
meum,
Profundiorum pelago, magnifice
predicabilem:
Trinum et Unum. Veridica nar-
ratio."

—Stanzas 8, 9.

³⁵ In Colgan, *ibid.* It is said, St. Ultan in his Life of the saint relates, that she received the veil from Bishop Mel, a disciple of St. Patrick. See Tertia Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. 18, p. 529. The same statement is to be found, by other writers of her Acts, in the Irish language.

³⁶ Her feast occurs, at the 1st of February.

order of penitence³⁷ from Bishop Mel;³⁸ or, in other words, to be invested with the religious habit, as already stated in her Life.³⁹ Some modern writers have incorrectly stated, that our Apostle St. Patrick was the prelate who received the profession of the holy virgin, St. Brigid.⁴⁰ However, it seems not improbable, that both St. Mel and St. Maccaille officiated, at this investing ceremony.⁴¹ The latter might have been deputed by the former, to take a leading part in that solemn function, which led to the great works afterwards accomplished by the holy virgin. Thus, to each of them might fairly be attributed a part in the ceremony of veiling, although it be immediately and properly referable to the ministry of St. Maccailleus. When her father Dubtach found, that heaven had decreed his daughter to become a consecrated virgin, he desired that Melchon should have charge of her religious direction, and, accordingly, she was providentially conducted to the temple, by one who accosted her on her way, but who is not named.⁴² Perhaps, he may not have been any other than St. Mac-Caille. Other pious virgins accompanied St. Brigid, and to share her graces.⁴³ Then took place that remarkable miracle of a great flame extending from St. Brigid's head to the very roof of the church.⁴⁴ In admiration of this phenomenon, the Bishop especially made diligent enquiries about the saint's parents, he also learned her manner of living, from the time of her infancy. One of his clerics informed him, that she was Brigid, the wonder-worker, and a daughter to Dubtach. On hearing this, the Bishop

³⁷ For the above statement, the Martyrology of Donegal has a reference, to the Life of Bridget, chap. 17.

³⁸ His feast occurs, at the 6th of February.

³⁹ See chap. iii., in vol. ii. of this work.

⁴⁰ Thus, John Brampton, in his Hist. Jorنالens, ad A.D. 1185, and Henry of Marlborough, in his Chronicle at A.D. 493. An old writer of St. Brigid's Acts, in "Historiarum Sanctorum Collectione," published at Louvain, in 1485, says, that she was veiled "a duobus Sanctis Episcopis discipulis S. Patricii."

⁴¹ See St. Mel's Life, at the 6th of February, chap. i., vol. ii.

⁴² The Sixth Life of St. Brigid gives the foregoing and following account:—

" Respondens ille viator ;
Ipse ego ductor ero vester : nunc cernite
templum ;
Intrantes pariter : steterat tunc præsul
ad aram.
Virginibus septem stipatur virgo beata
Æqualis voti numerum assignata figuris
Brigida sancta Dei pedibus voluebat, et
orat :
Pontificem precibus lachrymis et voce
precat ;
O pater alme tuis cernis cum sistimus
aris.
Nunc benedic famulas devoto pectore
stantes.
Et sancto nostras signabis chrismate
frontes."

⁴³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga,"

Sexta Vita S. Brigidæ, sect. xi., xii., xiii., p. 584.

⁴⁴ "Tempore quo præsul fundebat
chrismatis undas

Virgineasque simul benedixit pollice pallas ;

Et cum sancta caput curvabat poplite flexo

Amplectendo pedem retinens altaris et orat ;

(Mira loquor!) de sancto vertice flammæ

Ascendere polo : signum dixere parentes

Virginis. Antistes miratur talia Melchon,

O Benedicta Deo sacro velamine virgo ;

Sancta mei memorans dixit sis Brigida vello.

Talibus alloquitur verbis. Dimisit euntem.

. . . Desunt hic aliqua.

" Altera namque suæ virtutis signa reliquit,

Flammis consumptum, cinerem sic usque redactum ;

Sed bene pes quartus, manibus quem virgo tenebat

Manserat altaris, tetigit non impetus ignis.

Magna Dei virtus servabat fissile lignum

Ignibus illæsum, nec solvit longa vetustas,

Altaris quartus servatur pes tribus ustis."

was most anxious to comply with the virgin's desires. Her good fame seemed to herald a future career of great usefulness in the Church. The Bishop who received her religious profession is stated, likewise, to have procured a suitable place, for the establishment of her nunnery. He presented her with as many cows, as there were members in her community; but, the number of her virgins, at the time of her religious commencement, has been differently stated. The Third Life says, she left her father's house attended by three, but it afterwards enumerates, eight postulants,⁴⁵ while the Fifth Life has seven. The home which St. Brigid occupied, in the beginning of her monastic seclusion, is thought to have been not far from the place where Mac-Caille lived. According to one conjecture, it was called Rath-brighde, or Brigid's rath. This was situated within the territory of Fearcall, in Meath. Another supposition is, that it may have been at Tegh-Brighide, or Brigid's House, in Kinel-Fiacha, the country about Kilbeggan.⁴⁶ As St. Brigid was then very young and inexperienced, St. Mac-Caille appears to have devoted some portion of his time to her instruction, and to supply the religious necessities of her community. He exercised hospitality towards herself and her nuns; and, on one occasion, when they had been invited to a banquet, an interesting spiritual colloquy took place.⁴⁷ In the opinion of the Bollandists, the veiling of St. Brigid took place, before A.D. 440; while Ussher places the event, at A.D. 467,⁴⁸ and he states, that St. Patrick, or some one of his disciples, was reported to have given it to her, when she was little over fourteen years old. As her peculiar practice, and on the recommendation of St. Mac-Caille, to aim at excellence, in a special degree, St. Brigid selected Mercy, while her other religious applied themselves respectively to observe some chosen virtue, with great constancy and fervour.⁴⁹ The Bollandists place the death of our saint, in the year 456, on supposition, that St. Patrick survived him four years.⁵⁰ The Annals of Innisfallen⁵¹ have A.D. 484, for that event.⁵² The *Chronicum Scotorum* places Maccaille's death, at A.D. 487. The Annals of Senat-mac-Magnus, of Clonmacnoise, those of the Island,⁵³ and other authorities—such as Duald Mac Firbis—have 489. According to the Annals of the Four Masters, Bishop Mac-caille died in the year 489; ⁵⁴ which, after his usual manner, Rev. Dr. Lanigan interprets into A.D. 490.⁵⁵ This latter, however, is the year set down for his death, in the Annals of Tigernach.⁵⁶ The Felire of St. Ængus ⁵⁷

⁴⁵ It seems, that when they arrived at the place where the bishop was, they met there four or five other postulants. See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. iii., n. 44, pp. 388, 389.

⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, n. 47, pp. 386, 389.

⁴⁷ See the relation, in the Life of St. Brigid, chap. iii., as already detailed in our Second Volume, at the 1st of February.

⁴⁸ See Index Chronologicus, in "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," at A.D. CCCCLXVII., p. 522.

⁴⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Vita S. Brigidæ, cap. xxxii., p. 574.

⁵⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., xxv. Aprilis, p. 367.

⁵¹ Bodleian copy, Rawlinson, No. 503.

⁵² See Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., "Quies meice Calle Episc." *Annales Inisfalenses*, p. 4.

⁵³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ, n. 11, p. 526.

⁵⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. i., pp. 152, 153.

⁵⁵ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. xiii., p. 418, also, n. 165, p. 420, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ The Bodleian copy, Rawlinson, No. 488. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii. Tigernachi Annales, p. 123.

⁵⁷ The Leabhar Breac copy has this stanza:—

marc uasal in Egipt
 nrosig focal caille
 fleisc ois aobul tinne
 eiscop moir mac caille.

Thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—
 "Noble Marc in Egypt
 deserves not a word
 of neglect. A rod of gold, a vast bar, great
 bishop Mac-Caille."

records the feast of St. Mac Caille, at the 25th of April, and with phrases conferring on him very exalted praise. A glossographer on the passage distinguishes him, as having his church in Cruachen Brig Eli, in Ui-Failge, and as having set the veil on St. Bridgid's head, while he took Mochuda's hand out of Rathin.⁵⁸ This closes with an observation: "He comes not till the end of 435 years." This seems alluding to some former legend regarding him. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁵⁹ at this date, we meet with the simple entry, Mac Caille, Bishop. His festival occurs, on the 25th day of April, according to the Calendar of Cashel, as quoted by Colgan.⁶⁰ Marianus O'Gorman has an entry of his festival, likewise, at this date. Again, Cathal Maguire has a similar account, in his Martyrology.⁶¹ On this day, April 25th, the Martyrology of Donegal⁶² records the festival of Maccaille, Bishop. The foregoing relation contains all that is distinctive and known, relating to the venerable man.

ARTICLE III.—ST. MATOC AILITHIR, OR ST. MATOG, PILGRIM. Bearing the burden of years in a spirit of mortification and through duty, the Christian advances to the happy home of the blessed, by making his pilgrimage secure, even though disturbed by many of life's trials. This holy man was specially called a pilgrim, because he appears to have come from Britain to Ireland. On the 25th of April, the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ enters the name Matoc Ailithir. He was the son of Canton, a King of West Britain, or Wales, and he is not differently described elsewhere; we being only obliged to infer the name of his father.² Deichter, daughter to Muireadhach Muinderg, King of Uladh, was his mother, as also the mother of Bishop Sanctan.³ We are informed, that Bishop Sanctain⁴ was a brother to St. Matoc, the latter having come first from Britain into Ireland, and that he settled at Matoc's Island,⁵ in the Lake of Templeport, County Leitrim.⁶ Thither, Bishop Sanctain proceeded from Clonard, and during this journey he composed a hymn, the first line of which, translated into English, reads: "I beseech thee, king." This was composed to save himself from enemies, and that his brother might be induced to allow a visit in his island. It is mentioned, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁷ likewise, that veneration was given on this day to Matog,⁸ Pil-

⁵⁸ This seems to have been a legend, taken from a very early account, and corrected by the more recent commentator, with an observation: "Some mistake here, for Mac-Caille died A.D. 489, and Mochuda of Rathin died in 636."—See "The Calendar of Oengus," in "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i., pp. lxx., lxxvi., and n. (a).

⁵⁹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we read *maccaile eap*.

⁶⁰ See "Trias Thaumaturga," *Secunda Vita S. Brigidæ*, n. 11, p. 525.

⁶¹ See *ibid.*

⁶² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has *macoc ailithir*, at the vii. of the May Kalends.

² See, at the Feast of St. Sanctan, Bishop of Kilnasantan, at the 17th of September.

³ There is a Bishop Sanctan, of Cill-da-les, venerated at the 9th of May, and a St. Sanctan, at the 17th of September.

⁴ See an account of his family and race, at May 9th, the date for his festival.

⁵ In his "Grammatica Celtica," it is stated by Zeuss, that among the Manuscripts of St. Gall, in Switzerland, there is a Codex of Priscian, crowded with marginal glosses, one of which, at p. 194, shows that the scribe was connected with this Inis Madoc.

⁶ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's "Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History." Lect. i., p. 27.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

⁸ Colgan passingly refers to this saint, when treating about a certain Kill-maitoge, presented by a St. Columba, to St. Fintan of Dunbleisige. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," iii. Januarii. Vita S. Fintani, cap. xiii., p. 12.

⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 438, 439.

grim. In the table, appended to that Martyrology, the name Matog is Latinized as Mathæus.⁹

ARTICLE IV.—DEACON MENN, OF CLUAIN ARATHAIR. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 25th of April, we find solely mention made of him as Dechonen, without his other name. Cluana Arathair, however, is added, as the denomination of his place. In the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 620, allusion is made to a church of Cluain-Airthir,² and probably it is identical with the locality previously noticed.³ When St. Patrick⁴ was in the peninsula of Innisowen, county of Donegal, and in the land of Oilild, son of Eugene, he met three deacons, who were the sons of his sister. Then in the territory of Bredach, he built the church of Domnachbile,⁵ now known as Moville. Colgan does not assert, indeed, that the present Menn was one of those deacons; but, he remarks, that the name was unusual among the Irish.⁶ Marianus O'Gorman enters the festival of this Deacon Menn.⁷ The Martyrology of Donegal⁸ registers a certain Deacon, called Menn, of Cluain Arathair, as having been venerated, on this day.

ARTICLE V.—FESTIVAL OF ELITHIR, OF CLUAIN GEISI. The word Elithir, means "a pilgrim." Through all Christian ages, a spirit of pilgrimage succeeded to a spirit of penance. The former is one of the many phases, which the latter occasionally assumes.¹ This denomination may not, perhaps, be a proper name, as Dr. Reeves observes. It occurs, however, as a proper name, at the 7th of January, and at May the 12th. It seems answering to the Hiberno-Italian Pellegrini, whose feast is celebrated, at August 1st. As an entry, Elithir appears, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,² at the 25th April. In the Franciscan copy, he is noticed as Alither Cluain Geisi.³ The name of Elithir,⁴ of Cluain Geise, likewise occurs, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ on this day.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. LUGNA, OR LUGHNA, OF LETER, OR LETTRACH. The name of this saint is entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 25th of April, as Lugna, Lettrach. This denomination is found united with some other word, in various parts of Ireland; so that, without some more particular clue, it must be difficult to identify the exact locality of this saint. It has been conjectured by Colgan,² that the present saint was Lugneus Mocucumin,

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy enters Dechonen Cluain Arathair.

² See Dr. O'Donovan's Edition, vol. i., pp. 244, 245.

³ This has been Anglicized "the Eastern Lawn, or Meadow," by the learned Editor. —See *ibid.*, n. (d), p. 244.

⁴ See his Life, at the 17th of March, vol. iii.

⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. cxxxii., p. 145.

⁶ See *ibid.*, nn. 176, 177, p. 181.

⁷ In a note to the Donegal Martyrology, Dr. Todd says, at *Deacon Menn*: "The most recent hand adds, 'Secundum Mar. Deocum nenn, [Deacon Nenn] .i. ut videtur Nennius.'"

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See Rev. Sylvester Malone's "Church History of Ireland," chap. xv., p. 374, Second Edition.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

³ The Irish equivalent is Alither Cluain Geisi.

⁴ A note by Dr. Todd says, at Elithir: "This word signifies a pilgrim."

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has Lugna Lettrach.

² The reader is referred to what has been already stated, at the 20th of January, when St. Lugna, Priest of Kill-Tarsna, is venerated.

brother to Lugbeus Mocucumin, and that he was a monk of Iona, a disciple to St. Columkille,³ and afterwards appointed an abbot over a monastery, in the Island of Elena.⁴ According to the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ there was veneration paid on this day to Lughna, of Leter. There is a place bearing this name between Ballyhooly and Fermoy, in the county of Cork.⁶

ARTICLE VII.—ST. DIGDE, OR DIGHDE, VIRGIN. This entry appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 25th of April. Nothing more special appears regarding her. However, the name of Dighde, Virgin, is set down, also, in the Martyrology of Donegal,² as being venerated on this day.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. SUIBNE. In the Appendix to the Introduction of the Donegal Martyrology, edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, we find the name of Suibne,¹ entered for the 25th of April. We can find nothing more regarding him.

ARTICLE IX.—ST. COELAN, CRUIMTHIR, OF ECHINIS, LOUGH ORBSEN, OR CORRIB, COUNTY OF GALWAY. [*Sixth Century.*] St. Coelan, called Cruimthir Coelan, in the Acts of St. Endeus,¹ lived on Echinis or Horse Island, on Lough Orbsen, and his feast was held on the 25th of April, according to Roderick O'Flaherty.² While he resided there, St. Endeus paid him a visit, and Coelan, who owned the Island,³ killed an ox, which was accustomed to draw the plough, in order to entertain his guest, with those who accompanied him. All partook of this feast, with an act of thanksgiving, except a laic who was present, and who affected to have a scruple, that by so doing he should violate some law of abstinence.⁴ That spot,⁵ which St. Endeus then left, lies near Aughnanure, where there is a celebrated castle,⁶ on the west of Lough Corrib. Near it is Enagh-Coelan, in the parish of Kilmummin,⁷ and it is now called Annagh Keelaun.⁸ Inisgerraun⁹ adjoins the western margin of the lake. The present holy man flourished about the sixth century.

³ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

⁴ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., p. 491.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

⁶ In the old Tract, called "Forbuis Dromadamhghaire," translated by Mr. Joseph O'Longan, it is called Leitir, n. 10, p. 4, fol.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy enters 2150e. u. for virgin.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See Suibne, at p. xlvi.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ His feast occurs, at the 21st of March. See his Life, at that date, in vol. iii., chap. iii.

² See "A Chorographical Description of West or H.-Iar Connaught," pp. 23, 24, and nn. (d, e, f, g), *ibid.*

³ The old Vita S. Endei, as published by Colgan, says "erat Princeps illius loci,"

&c., cap. xxvi., at xxi. Martii. "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," p. 709.

⁴ A legendary account succeeds: "Quod vir sanctus (Endeus) percipiens, spiritu revelante dixit; Tu qui cum cœteris fratribus cibum in charitate ministratum noluisti sumere, de carnibus equi, quem suraberis manducabis, atque manducando jugulaberis. Quod totum illi evenit, ut vir sanctus prædixit. Aratores vero crastina die ad agrum, ubi arabant venientes unum bovem consimilem primo reperientes sub jugo posuerunt, sed unde bos ille advenerat, nescierunt."

⁵ In the time of O'Flaherty, it was called Inis Gearain, or Garon Island.

⁶ See an illustration of it, with a descriptive and historical article, by the late George Petrie, Esq., in the "Irish Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 1, pp. 1, 2.

⁷ It lies within the barony of Moycullen.

⁸ This denomination is found, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Galway," sheet 54.

⁹ It is not noticed by name, on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

ARTICLE X.—ST. DIOMMÓG, OF CLUAIN CAOIM. In the Table of the Donegal Martyrology,¹ at this date, the festival of a Diommog, of Cluain-Caoim, said to be a patron in the county of Limerick, is found entered. In the body of the Martyrology, it does not appear, at the 25th of April. It may be asked, can the present saint be identified with St. Modiomóg, a bishop and confessor, venerated at Cluain-Caoim-Aradh, in Munster, and whose feast is set down at the 10th of December? We think the affirmative of such conjecture to be sufficiently probable.

ARTICLE XI.—FESTIVAL OF ST. MARK, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, EVANGELIST AND MARTYR. On this day, the Universal Church celebrates the Feast of St. Mark, the great Bishop of Alexandria, and the holy Evangelist.¹ In the Feilire of St. Ængus, he is also recorded, and described, as deserving special commemoration. This we have already noticed.

ARTICLE XII.—ST. OBODIUS, OR AUTBODIUS, AN IRISH HERMIT. This holy man is noticed by the Bollandists,¹ as being a patron of Wancursus, near Atrebatum. Colgan had the Acts of this saint prepared for publication, at the 25th of April.² At this date, John Wilson³ records him, as likewise Ferrarius;⁴ while other Martyrologists refer his commemoration to November 20th,⁵ or 21st, which is said to have been the date for his death.

ARTICLE XIII.—THE DAUGHTERS OF CUANAIN. In the Franciscan copy of the Martyrology of Tallagh, there is an entry of Ingena Cuanain,¹ at 25th of April, and which is rendered into English, "The daughters of Cuanain." We cannot find any further account, which might serve to inform us about their place or period.

ARTICLE XIV.—FEAST OF ST. MANSUET, OR MAUNSEY, BISHOP OF TOUL. According to a Manuscript, preserved at Luxeu, the feast of St. Mansuet's Translation was kept on this date; but, his Natalis has been always observed, on the 3rd of September, his chief festival.¹ Further particulars will be found regarding him, at that day.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 402, 403.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ A very complete account of this Holy Apostle, Evangelist and Martyr, will be found, in the Bollandists' great work "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxv. De Marco Evangelista, Episcopo Alexandrino et Martyre. A previous commentary, in two sections, and ten paragraphs, introduces various ancient documents, relating to this glorious saint. See pp. 344 to 358.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., xxv. Aprilis. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 344.

² See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur ordine Mensium et Die-rum."

³ In his "Martyrologium Anglicanum."

⁴ In "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum."

⁵ At this date, a notice of him occurs, in "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome xiii., xx^e Jour de Novembre, pp. 509, 510.

ARTICLE XIII.—¹ In the Irish characters it is *INGENA CUANAIN*.

ARTICLE XIV.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., xxv. Aprilis. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 343.

Twenty-sixth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. TRUDPERT, OF BRISGAU, IN GERMANY, HERMIT
AND MARTYR.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

AMONG the many distinguished missionaries that left Ireland for the Continent, to spread the light of Faith and of good works, the holy solitary Trudpert has been specially distinguished. He is set down in Colgan's list, among our national saints.¹ We are led to infer, that the Irish hagiologist had his Life ready for issue to the public, and at that time, when Colgan's own death occurred. Henricus Canisius has some notices of him.² To the 26th or 27th³ of April, St. Trudpert's festival has been assigned; and, as will be seen, from various ancient records, his origin has been referred to Ireland. From various sources, the Bollandists have drawn the Acts of St. Trudpert,⁴ but more especially from an old Life,⁵ referred to the thirteenth century,⁶ and these have been published, at the 26th of April.⁷ Notwithstanding the statement therein contained, supported by other distinct authorities, that our saint owed his origin to the Island of Hibernia, and that he was a Scot by race, while descended from a royal family, the editor Father Godefrid Henschen questions these statements, and on very insufficient arguments or conjectures of his own.⁸ The Teutonic form of name does not disprove the

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur ordine Mensium et Dierum."

² In "Antiquæ Lectiones," tomus vi. Salisburgensis Historia.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Martii xxvii. Vita S. Rvperit Episcopi, cap. iv., and n. 6, pp. 757, 761.

⁴ These are preceded by a critical Prologue in six paragraphs, with an Epitome of his Life, taken from the Breviary of Strasburg, the capital of Alsace, and another from the Breviary of Constance. Then follow, Acta Sæculo XIII. sub Wernhero II. Abbate collecta, per monachum monasterii Trudpertini. This latter tract, from an old Manuscript belonging to St. Trudpert's Monastery, is preceded by a Prologue, and it contains two Books. The first of these contained Thirty-three paragraphs, the first eight of which have been suppressed, by Godefrid Henschen; while the Second Book consists of Twenty-three paragraphs, and notes are appended to illustrate their meaning.

⁵ This was sent to them, by the Jesuit Joannes Gamasius, from Aschaffenburg. It belonged to a collection of German Tracts; and, by Gamasius, it had been collated "cum MS. Blaburensi," while on the Frontispiece was noted, that it belonged to the monastic library of St. Trudpert himself.

⁶ The following Latin lines were inscribed in the Manuscript Life:—

"Tempus si poscas, quo scripsimus hæc,
ita noscas:
Millenis decies septem, ter tresque,
ducentis
Annos adjicies in carne Dei venientis:
Abbas Wernherus tunc rexit Martyris
ædem,
Verna Dei verus, sibi qui det in
æthere sedem."

Following this are twenty-two Latin lines, and called an Idyllion, commemorating the Life and Passion of the Martyr, St. Trudpert, each line commencing with a letter of the Alphabet, and proceeding in order to the close. Afterwards, a distich in Latin declares, that Sifridus composed it, A.D. 1570.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. De S. Trudperto Martyre, Eremita in Brisgoia, pp. 424 to 440.

⁸ Admitting St. Trudpert to have been the brother of St. Rupert, Bishop of Worms, and afterwards of Saltzburg, and of St. Erentrude, their sister, one account has it, they were of noble French descent. Again, it is said, that St. Rupert died, A.D. 622, or

probability of its having been naturally substituted, for a previous Irish form; and, it is not just, nor probably correct, to assume, that the compiler of St. Trudpert's Acts was too credulous, or too easily led astray, by a still earlier Irish retailer of fables.⁹ In a supercilious way, yet in perfectly good faith, does the Rev. Dr. Lanigan allude¹⁰ to the present Trudpert,¹¹ whom he will not deem to have been of Irish origin.¹² The compiler of "Les Petits Bollandistes," Mgr. Paul Guérin, has noted the feast of St. Trudpert, Martyr and Solitary, at this date.¹³ In Rev. S. Baring-Gould's¹⁴ work, there is a brief account of this holy Hermit and Martyr. As we have already learned, St. Trudpert was brother to St. Rupert,¹⁵ and to his sister St. Erentrude;¹⁶ that he was from the Island Hibernia,¹⁷ and that he was a Scot or Irishman of regal descent, and by race,¹⁸ are circumstances specially recorded. The ancient Life, written by the Abbot Ergenbald,¹⁹ some ages before it had been recast in better style, evidently connects St. Trudpert's earlier years with Ireland.²⁰ Nor are other independent sources of evidence wanting, to substantiate such an account.²¹

Our saint was born, during the sixth century. As we have already seen,²² the family of this holy man belonged to Ireland; but, it seems a mistake to suppose, that Trudpert lived there, so early as the time of St. Patrick.²³ With his brother St. Rupert, and his sister Erentrude, Trudpert resolved on leaving

628, whereas it is thought, that St. Trudpert came to Brigau, about the year 640, and in whose company St. Rupert could not have been, as he died many years before that time. Besides, it is insisted, the names Rupert, Trudpert, and Erentrude, are evidently German. However, these arguments are more specious than real. In the absence of the suppressed paragraphs, and admitting even that fables may abound in the old Acts, as also variations of chronology; we find a sufficient unanimity of respectable tradition, to warrant the conclusion, that in all probability, St. Trudpert was of Irish origin, and even that his early days were spent in Ireland.

⁹ See *ibid.*, Prologus, num. 6, p. 425.

¹⁰ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xix., sect. vi., p. 162, and n. 65, pp. 163, 164.

¹¹ Dr. Lanigan passes him by with the observation, "whoever he was."

¹² He seems to follow implicitly the lead of Father Godefrid Henschen.

¹³ See tome v., xxvii Jour d'Avril, p. 28.

¹⁴ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 26, p. 351.

¹⁵ See his Life already given, in vol. iii., and at the 27th of March, the day set apart for his festival.

¹⁶ By some writers, she is called his niece, and her feast is generally referred to the 30th of June.

¹⁷ The Breviary of Strasburg has "ex Hibernia insula ortus," and this clause has been altogether omitted by Father Henschen.

¹⁸ The Breviary of Constance states: "Trudpertus genere Scotus regalique," &c. The latter words are purposely suppressed by Henschen.

¹⁹ Father Henschen has been able to throw very little light on this writer; but, on the last margin of lib. i., the following Latin lines were found:—

"Has Ergenbaldus Trudpert, Martyris
almi
Præsul post cineres renovando
restruxerat ædes,
Tactus amore Dei: venerandos scri-
bere Sancti
Actus non piguit, sed et id pro posse
peregit," &c.

²⁰ The following is the "Syllabus Capitulum," which thus notices the suppressed paragraphs of Father Henschen. 1. De situ regni Hiberniæ, et quod eam B. Patricius ad fidem Christi convertit. 2. De Romanis Pontificibus et Imperatoribus. 3. Ubi beatus Trudpertus cum fratre et sorore pro Christo peregrinantur. 4. Ubi relictis omnibus divitiis mundi Hiberniam egressi sunt. 5. Qualiter ad visitanda limina Romam pervenere. 6. Quod redeuntes à Roma divinitus jussi sunt separari. 7. Quod B. Rupertus cum sorore Wormatiam pervenit. 8. Quod vocatus per ducem Theodorum Bawariam cum sorore perrexit, ibique in pace quievit.

²¹ Erkenbald, Abbot of St. Trudpert's Monastery, wrote his Life, before 903, and this was amplified in 1279. See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 26, p. 351.

²² The reader is referred to the Life of St. Rudpert, or Rupert, Bishop of Saltzburgh, at the 27th of March, vol. iii., Article iii., in this work.

²³ See his Life, at the 17th of March.

²⁴ The old writer of his Acts tells us, that

his parents, relations, friends and native country.²⁴ The brother and sister are said to have visited Rome,²⁵ and to have returned from this city in company, until quitting the bounds of Italy, Rupert and Erentrud separated from Trudpert, at a valley designated Prysangia or Brisingia, now known as Brisingau,²⁶ or Bresgaun, situated in the diocese of Constance,²⁷ and within that range, denominated the Black Forest.²⁸ Already the holy pilgrim had a heavenly vision regarding the spot, which was destined for his future abode. It was lonely, and therefore most suited for his desire, to lead a eremitical life. He resolved on asking the proprietor's permission, that he might settle there. That valley, which seemed so delightful to the mind of Trudpert, then belonged to a certain noble lord of Alsace, named Othpert, from whom the royal family of Hapsburg derived their origin.²⁹ The pilgrim's request was acceded to, by Othpert, who sent some of his young nobles, fond of hunting, to act as his guides. But, the direction of heaven, rather than their co-operation, brought him to a place called Numagum, enclosed by wooded hills, and in a valley beside the Neumazen-Bach, in the Münsterthal. This spot lay not far from the ancient town of Staufen, and near to the ruined Castle of Staufenburg.³⁰ Arriving at the place indicated by the Almighty, our saint threw himself on the ground in prayer, and then arising, he desired the young nobles to convey his thanks to Othpert, as he found the grassy secluded glen, with high rocks above, and a dense forest all around, most suited for a hermitage. Here, he laboured to imitate the most perfect saints, whose actions are recorded, under the Old Law and under the New Dispensation. The pious Othpert was pleased to find, that so holy a stranger should have elected to dwell within his territories, and he resolved on paying him a visit.³¹ Then, on examination, he found the pilgrim in no way disposed to remit his austerities, or to desire even a more agreeable place.³² The noble Othbert resolved,

this happened during the time when Phocas killed Mauricius Cæsar, which was on the 27th of November, 602, after the latter had reigned twenty years. See Edward Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. v., chap. xlvii, p. 385, Dr. William Smith's edition. The death of Phocas followed, after a reign of nearly eight years, on the 4th of October, A.D. 610. See *ibid.*, pp. 388, 389.

²⁵ The old writer of his Acts relates, that this happened, in the time of Pope Boniface III., who diverted the Pantheon from being the Temple of all the heathen Divinities, to become the Church of all the Saints, with the permission of the Emperor Phocas. However, in this account, there is a mistake, for Pope St. Gregory the Great died A.D. 606, when Sabianus immediately succeeded, and then Boniface IV., in the year 607. This must have been the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom allusion is really made.

²⁶ Also called Brei-gau, which with the district of Orthenau, formerly constituted a landgraviate, in the south-western part of Suabia, between the Schwartzwald and the Rhine. See "The Popular Encyclopedia; or Conversations Lexicon," &c., vol. i., p. 685.

²⁷ The city of Constance is beautifully situated on the east of a lake so named, and its position is well shown on Alexander Keith Johnstone's "Royal Atlas of Modern

Geography," Map 15, respecting Switzerland and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont.

²⁸ A mountainous and woody district of Germany, and part of the ancient Hyrcinian Forest, extending northwards from the frontiers of Switzerland, and for about 100 miles parallel with the north course of the River Rhine. See R. Brook's "General Gazetteer," &c., p. 91. London, 1854, 12mo.

²⁹ Hieronymus Vignerius and Joannes Jacobus Chiflet have traced the stem of the royal house of Austria, with great genealogical precision.

³⁰ This was the seat of a powerful race, that became extinct in 1602. See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., p. 351.

³¹ An ancient poet, who evidently knew the place, thus describes it:—

"Saxa per et rupes, et qua via nulla,
secutus."

³² According to Gabriel Bucelin, who was master of novices at this monastery of St. Trudpert, in A.D. 1624, Othbert had founded it, over a thousand years before; and, he adds, in "Germania Sacra," "se ex ejus vetustissimis monumentis Agilotphingicæ gentis et Habsburgi Comitum origines et deduciones, multo et magno labore, distinc-

therefore, to bestow on Trudpert all that district of country, reaching from the mountain Samba, where rises the River Numaga,³³ on to Mettenberg, with the valley of the river included and its confluent, as also the hills, hollows and woods, extending far and near;³⁴ these were to become a perpetual inheritance for himself and for his successors, who desired to serve God in the same place.³⁵ He confirmed all those specifications, by a charter.

Here, the pious hermit Trudpert lived, and he began to labour with his own hands, in cutting down trees, in clearing away brushwood, and in practising agricultural works, as if he had been born, not a prince, but a peasant. Like Martha, he never allowed himself rest by day, and like Mary, in prayer and contemplation,³⁶ he spent the night. To aid him in those industrial pursuits, the noble Othpert, not satisfied with granting him a place for his hermitage, and lands to cultivate, would even send six skilled labourers, who were to obey his directions. However, not one of them was before Trudpert, at early morning, and in the field, which he was the last to leave. But, while he took good care to refresh his workmen, his own meals were most frugal. Having cleared a sufficient ambit of ground, he began to erect an oratory,³⁷ which he dedicated to the Apostles, Saints Peter and Paul. In it, he deposited their relics,³⁸ which he had brought from Rome.³⁹ This oratory was consecrated with solemn rites, by Martinus or Marianus,⁴⁰ Bishop of Constance.⁴¹ For some time, the six labourers wrought willingly, at such tasks as were assigned to them; but, at length, they began to idle, to grow contentious, and to disregard the saint's instructions. Mindful neither of his example nor of his exhortations, a spirit of hatred, which led them to plot against his life, arose. Notwithstanding his patience, mildness, and gentleness, in reproving or entreating, living as a lamb among the wolves, two of the labourers were especially contumacious and insolent. Yet, were they daily supported by the labour and food procured for them, by that just superior. Three years of his eremitical life had almost passed away, while he was exercised in every virtue.

The Martyr's crown was destined soon to reward him. One day, while Trudpert lay asleep on the bench, fatigued after his work, the two evil-minded labourers resolved on taking his life. One of them approached with an axe, and struck at the innocent man's head. This very atrocious murder—committed on the 26th of April, and in the year 644⁴²—procured for him the reputation and honour of being a Martyr, as often happened in the early Christian ages, when holy persons underwent an unjust and a violent death.⁴³ A speedy condemnation and punishment awaited the miscreants, who exe-

tissime tamen et clarissime, deduxisse."

³³ Also called Nuwemage.

³⁴ The old Life states, "ex utraque parte montium in integrum atque per totum," &c.

³⁵ The writer of the old Life intimates, that monks belonging to the order of St. Benedict were subsequently in possession of that place.

³⁶ St. Luke x., 38 to 42.

³⁷ Some scribe had marked, on the margin of the Codex containing Trudpert's old Life, "Ex sumptu et consensu Othperti Comitum anno Domini 642." But, this marginal note does not seem belonging to the original context.

³⁸ The old Life has it, that in the shrine these were preserved to the writer's time, and that casket had been brought from Rome by Trudpert; nor was any addition of orna-

ment made to it, for the custodians thought very justly, that gems or gold were inferior to the original object, as possessed by the saint.

³⁹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Vita S. Trudperti Erem. Mart., lib. i., cap. i., sect. 1 to 17, with notes, pp. 427 to 429.

⁴⁰ Also called Marianus. He is said to have been the fourth bishop, who presided over Constance.

⁴¹ According to the Breviary of Constance.

⁴² In the Chronicle of James Kerastith, it is said, "Coronatus vi. Kalendas Maji anno DCXLIV.

⁴³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. De Vita et passione S. Trudperti, lib. i., c. p. ii., sect. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and nn. (a, b, c), pp. 430 to 432.

cuted this unnatural and foul deed ; for, seeking to escape from justice, they fled into the dense forest. For that day and night, they endured great privation, anxiety and fatigue. In the morning, ignorant of the course to be taken, they had wandered back to that very spot, where they had assassinated the innocent Trudpert. Having been recognised by some persons, they were chased through the woods. Meantime, Othpert came to see the remains of the holy servant of God laid out, previous to his interment ; when, four days after Trudpert's death, not alone was the body found fresh and incorrupt, but his benign and angelic features were composed, as if the Martyr were sleeping, while no discolouration, or even pallor, was to be seen over his face.

Occupied with the pious duty of consigning Trudpert's body to the grave, Othpert heard that the robbers had thrice returned towards the hermitage, and that thrice the neighbouring people had given them chase ; therefore, he charged the local guards to assist, and soon the murderers were secured. He ordered them to be brought for examination, before the provincial Count Bobon, or Babo, the son of Otger, and the Landgrave of Alsace.⁴⁴ But, while the guards conducted the prisoners to him, passing over a bridge, or the crossing of a certain river, one of the soldiers placed his spear in a position, to support himself the better, when its point turning towards one of the culprits, the latter rushed against it, and so put an end to his life. The other wretched man was brought before Bobon, who convicted him, and sentenced him to be hung, while he was allowed but a very short time to prepare for death. A stone coffin was made to enclose the holy Trudpert's body, and a great number of the people was present. With religious rites, it was deposited in that oratory, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Afterwards, it became a celebrated place for pilgrimages ; when multitudes of blind, lame, deaf, lepers and other infirm persons flocked thither, to be cured of their diseases.⁴⁵

When some years had rolled over, after this first interment, a pious servant of God saw Trudpert in a vision, and he declared, that water had poured in, so as to create damp within the coffin, which, it was intimated, should be placed on a higher level. The matter being referred for consideration to several priests and religious, while Othpert was still alive, it was resolved to exhume the sarcophagus. A considerable number of the clergy assisted at this ceremony, and on opening the tomb, many years having elapsed since his interment, Trudpert's body was found to be preserved in a very perfect state, and without any signs of decay. The sarcophagus was raised, and new linen having been set around the remains, with religious hymns and ceremonies, Trudpert's tomb was duly replaced. After Othpert's death,⁴⁶ the oratory and grave of our saint were deserted, owing to some troubles raised by his heir ; however, in the time of his grandson, called Rampert, a real effort was made to restore and to ornament that oratory of St. Peter and Paul, which is designated as a Basilica. It is said, that Pope Stephen—perhaps the Third Sovereign Pontiff bearing the name—examined trustworthy witnesses, regarding the manner of Trudpert's death, and the number of miracles, which had been wrought at his tomb. Satisfied with the result of their testimony, we are told, that Sovereign Pontiff inscribed the blessed

⁴⁴ This is asserted, in the chronicle of James Kerastith.

⁴⁵ The old Life of our saint declares, that many of these cures had been attested by writing, while many had been overlooked, through carelessness, and that a fire had caused several of the local memorials to perish. The Abbot Erganbald, of whom mention has been already made, restored the ravages which happened to the sacred structure. See

the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvii. De S. Trudperto Martyre. Prologue num. 5, p. 425.

⁴⁶ The Bollandists quote a distich, prefixed to the Codex of St. Trudpert's Life :—

"Othpertus, Rampertque, Comes Ludfridus ab Hapsburg,
Trudperti sacram fundarunt Martyris
ædem."

man's name on the list of holy Martyrs, and decreed honours to his memory. When the church newly built by Rampert had been finished, the spirit of Trudpert appeared once more to some religious men. Then, they learned, that the place selected for his sepulture was still damp, and that the coffin should be again raised. The diocesan Bishop,⁴⁷ accordingly, convoked a great assembly of clergy, monks and people, who lived near and even distant from the Rhine. In their presence, the Martyr's relics were again exhumed, and covered anew with a shroud. Rampert assisted, and the tomb was raised to a more conspicuous part of the church, while the *Gloria in Excelsis* was chaunted, by the whole congregation,⁴⁸ on the sixth of the May Kalends, and in the year of our Lord 813. When Count Rampert had been gathered to his fathers, the illustrious Count Ludfrid, a worthy scion of the same family, after the lapse of several years, greatly augmented the revenues of that monastery, dedicated to the holy Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, as also to the glorious Martyr Trudpert. A Benedictine community then sung God's praises, both by day and by night. The great fame of the various cures, wrought at St. Trudpert's tomb, caused the presiding Bishop of Constance to translate the relics, in a solemn manner. Very opportune was this occasion deemed for a great crowd of people to assemble, and especially for those labouring under various kinds of infirmities. With the diocesan were two assisting prelates. Only the Bishops, the Canons, the Priests and Religious, were permitted within the church doors; and, clothed in their respective habits, these approached the Martyr's tomb. This solemn Translation of St. Trudpert's remains took place the day after the Festival of the Apostles, Saints Simeon and Jude; consequently, it happened on the 29th of October.⁴⁹

The subsequent history of St. Trudpert's veneration at Brisgau is revealed, in the different instances cited from the old Acts, about his miraculous interposition on behalf of his favoured clients, in high and humble positions; as also, in the various cures, wrought through his intercession, and at his shrine.⁵⁰ These details are not devoid of curious social illustrations, setting forth manners and usages, regarding the ages and localities specified; while exhibiting, also, the great faith of the clergy and people in his merits and power, before the throne of Almighty God, particularly in those parts, where his memory was preserved. The town of Bresgau, the diocese of Constance, and the region of the Black Forest, were specially blessed with his patronage. At the 26th of April, the Martyrology of Usuard,⁵¹ amplified for the church of Alsace,⁵² has his festival.⁵³ In various Breviaries, such as in those belonging to the church of Spiers, of Strasburgh, of Salisbury, and of Constance, prayers, commemorations and lessons for St. Trudpert are set down; while, in the Chronicle of the Bishopric of Con-

⁴⁷ He is said to have been named Wolfleon, the seventeenth Bishop in order of succession at Constance, who was elected A.D. 813, and who died A.D. 831, according to Manlius.

⁴⁸ This ceremony took place, the second year of the reign of King Louis, the son of Charlemagne.

⁴⁹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Vita S. Trudperti Erem. Mart., lib. i., cap. iii., sect. 23 to 33, with notes, pp. 432 to 435. Father Henschen thinks, that the last three sections had not been written by Abbot Ergambald, and that these had been added, at times subsequent to his departure.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. i., ii., and sect. 1 to 23, with notes, pp. 435 to 440.

⁵¹ It has "In Nigra-sylva S. Trudperti Martyris," at vi. of the May Kalends. This copy formerly belonged to M. Nicolaus Scheichius Hagenoius.

⁵² This parchment Manuscript is in the handwriting of Widon Krentzeln, and it was traced in the time of the Emperor Sigismund, the Roman See being vacant, consequently in A.D. 1416.

⁵³ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 26, p. 351.

⁵⁴ This was begun, by Jacobus Manlius, and it has been edited by Joannes Pistorius, in his collection, "Veteres Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores." In the Fourth Appendix, presenting a Catalogue of the Saints belonging to the Diocese of Constance, we find written: "S. Trudpertus, Eremita,

stance,⁵⁴ and in the *Sacrarium Benedictinum* of Gabriel Bucelin, he is venerated as a holy Martyr.⁵⁵ Trudpertus, Martyr, is found mentioned in Henry Fitzsimon's "*Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Ibernix,*" but without dating his festival.⁵⁶ In like manner, he is called a prince, and a glorious martyr, the brother of St. Rudbert, and patron of Frisgangensis,⁵⁷ by Convæus. The old writer of our Saint's Life encourages the people placed under his patronage to venerate St. Trudpert, who so bravely fought the good fight upon earth, and who thus deserved to receive the triumphal crown of heaven.

ARTICLE II.—ST. DIOMMÓG OF CLUAIN CAOIN. One of our old churches has been compared to a sealed book in stone, as being the sole relic materially of some unknown saint. The Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 26th of April, enters the name Modimoc, Cluanacain, as having been venerated. On the



Clonkeehan Old Church, County of Louth.

same authority, the Bollandists notice him.² Many places, called Clonkeen, are known throughout Ireland. Also, within the county and barony of Louth, there is a small parish, called Clonkeehan, consisting of good arable

Martyr, de partibus Scotorum in monasterium Numaga: quod nunc monasterium, suo nomine. S. Trudperti nominatur in Brisgoia." The monastery was called Numaga from the little river that flowed by it, and between the villages of Oberthal and Underthal, that is, the upper and lower valley. at the base of the Hercinian mountains. Some of the older maps show S. Hubrecht, instead of S. Trubrecht.

⁵⁵ See the Prologue of Father Godefrid Henschen, in "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. De S. Trudperto Martyre, Eremita in Brisgoia, sect. 1, 2, pp. 424. 425.

⁵⁶ He refers for authority to Herricus Canisius' "*Antiquæ Lectiones*," tomus vi.

⁵⁷ Doubtless a misprint for Brisgaugensis.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, at this date, we find moomóc Cluain Cain.

land, and beautified by fine sylvan scenery. The old graveyard there has long been disused, and it is now enclosed with a low wall, within which young trees have been planted, so as nearly to obliterate the former graves. Only a portion of one gable remains, to commemorate the existence of a very ancient church.³ In it was a small window, deeply splayed inwards, but now completely overgrown with ivy. The graveyard rises high, over the adjoining road and field. It may be questioned, if the present saint be a different person from the St. Modimog, Bishop and Confessor, of Cluain-Cain-Aradh, in Munster, and who is venerated at the 10th of December.⁴ The festival of Dinmóg, of Cluain-caoin, was celebrated on this day, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁵ In the table added to this work, it is intimated within brackets, that he was patron of a place, which was situated in the county of Limerick.⁶ However, this seems to be a mere conjecture.

ARTICLE III.—ST. CRONAN. There are few actual repetitions in Irish ecclesiastical history, however varied, and sometimes monotonous, may be the recurrence of our brief homonymous notices. A record is found, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 26th of April, regarding St. Cronan. Nothing more is said to reveal his identity. A saint, who is called Cronan, had a festival on this day, as we find entered again, in the Martyrology of Donegal.²

ARTICLE IV.—CONAN. On the 26th of April, the name Conan is set down, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh;¹ nevertheless, it may have been only a repetition, and a misspelling for Cronan. However, on the authority of the Martyrology of Tallagh, the Bollandists, at this date, have the record of "Conanus pulcher."² In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it is said, that when the Irish Apostle was in the west of Ireland, and at a place called Dromat, in Kierragia Artech, he wrought a remarkable miracle, to appease the contention of three brothers. These afterwards presented him with some land, on which he built a church. Over this, he placed a certain Cona, or Conan, who was a worker in metals, and a brother to St. Sacellus, a bishop.³ Among the many saints bearing the same name, Colgan is unable to identify him.⁴ We find mentioned, on this day, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵ that veneration was given to Conan.

ARTICLE V.—THE DAUGHTERS OF CUAN. Quoting the Martyrology of Tallagh, the Bollandists¹ enter Filiæ Cuan, at April 26th. A festival in

¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 408.

² The accompanying illustration, sketched by the writer, in August, 1883, was transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard. See sheet 14, County Louth Maps.

³ See notices of him, at that day.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 402, 403.

ARTICLE III.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find Cronan.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp.

110, 111.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. It does not occur, in the Franciscan copy.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted feasts, p. 408.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, lb. ii., cap. lvi., p. 137.

⁴ See *ibid.*, n. 115, p. 178.

⁵ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE V.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 403.

² In a note, Dr. Todd says at this proper

honour of the Daughters of Cuan² was celebrated on this day, as we find recorded in the Martyrology of Donegal.³ Some doubt appears to have existed, in reference to the exact day for their festival.⁴

ARTICLE VI.—ST. INDREACTACH, ABBOT OF BANGOR. [*Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*] St. Indrechtach, was son to Dobhailen; and, he seems to have been born, some time during the ninth century. He became Abbot of Bangor, where a great religious institute was founded, about the year 559, by St. Comgall,¹ a native of Magheramorne, in the county of Antrim. He was a contemporary of St. Colunkille,² and their respective monasteries bore a great resemblance to each other, both in their discipline—being seminaries of learning—as also receptacles for piety; and, in their economy, they were generally governed by a presbyter abbot, as also attended by a resident bishop. St. Indrechtach died, on the 26th day of April,³ A.D. 901, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. Therein are quoted these following lines, being a translation from the original Irish:—

“One and three hundred fair revolving years from the death of Comhgall of Bennchair,

To the period of the happy death of the great illustrious Innrechtach.”⁴ As this saint is said to have died, about the commencement of the tenth century, we should not feel surprised at the omission of his name, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh, at the vi. of the Kalends of May, or 26th of April;⁵ for, according to Colgan, St. Corpre, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died in 899, is the latest saint, whose name is inserted in that calendar.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. SENAN. Even when we know little regarding the history of a saint, we may fairly assume, that his age and our own have derived some marked spiritual advantages, from the very fact of his existence. What we have gained from those going before us to Heaven, sometimes consciously, and more frequently unconsciously, reflects a brightness on our souls, which may be conceived as referable—at least in part—to remote happy ideas, drawn from some holy exemplar or teacher. It would appear, that St. Senan lived, during the first five centuries after our Island's conversion. His name is entered, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 26th of April; and, this record is thought sufficient, to warrant such an inference. The Bollandists merely notice him, as Senanus.² This day, we find registered, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal,³ that veneration was given to a St. Senan.

name, Cuan; “The more recent hand adds, ‘25 Apr. 1nġena Cuanaġn.’ This seems to suggest, that the ‘Daughters of Cuan,’ here entered, may be the same as the ‘Daughters of Cuanaġn,’ mentioned [in the Mart. Taml.] on the 25th of April.”

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

⁴ This title is resolved into 1nġeana Cuanaġn, in the Ordnance Survey Copy of the Irish Calendar of the Common Place Book F, at p. 41.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ See his Life, at the 10th of May.

² See his Life, at the 9th of June.

³ In the Irish Calendar, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey, and at the vi. of the

Kalends of May, or April 26, we meet no name, corresponding with Innrechtach.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's “Annals of the Four Masters,” vol. i., pp. 560 to 563.

⁵ At this day, however, we find the following entry: “Cuis Bennchair.” See Rev. Dr. Kelly's “Calendar of Irish Saints,” &c., p. xxii.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has Senam.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomos iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 498.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. DOMNALL. According to the Martyrologies of Marianus O’Gorman, and of Donegal, the name of Domnall was venerated on this day. As we have no other indication to distinguish him, it may be doubted, if he be the blind Domhnaldus restored to sight by St. Patrick. Allusion is made to him, as Domnallus by the Bollandists.² Jocelyn tell us, that a certain man, named Domnhaldus, who was blind even from his birth, hearing the saint passing by, placed himself in the way. He trusted, that through St. Patrick, he should receive the light so much desired. But, as darkness was before his steps, and light was withdrawn from his eyes, while running forward, he fell, and when he would have arisen, no one was there who helped him with a hand. Then a certain priest, in company with the saint, when seeing him fall, laughed, and mocked the mischance of the blind man. St. Patrick observing this was offended, and lest any among his disciples should so again presume, he checked the foolishness of the scorner with reproof, and with punishment, saying, “Verily I say unto thee, since in the name of my God, the eyes of this man, which are closed in darkness, shall now be opened, thy eyes, which are open only to evil, shall now be closed.” This he said, and making the sign of the cross, he removed darkness from the blind man, and light went from the priest, who made an evil use of it.³ Strange to say, in the Tripartite Life, this blind man is called Roan, the son of Conchnamha, and Rath Roan was the place, where the miracle took place.⁴ Colgan finds it difficult, however, to determine who was that St. Domnall, the disciple of St. Patrick, and whose feast belongs, perhaps, to the 26th of April. One Domnal was a fosterer of Corbmac, son to Prince Enda, a convert. This Domnal was a disciple of St. Patrick.⁵ A Domnal was bishop of Aleach mor, which place the monks of Clonmacnoise afterwards possessed.⁶ Subsequently, he is called the son of Crimthann.⁷ He is distinguished from two other namesakes, viz., Domnall, son of Colgne, of Tulach-liag, and Domnald, of Cuil-Chonalta.⁸ Again, the Bollandists have remarked,⁹ that Colgan did not doubt, but that St. Daniel, a British bishop,¹⁰ was identical with the St. Domnallus venerated, on this day, or with two other saints bearing a similar name, and noticed in our calendars.

ARTICLE IX.—ST. BECAN, OR BECCAN OF CLONARD, COUNTY OF MEATH. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 26th of April, we find the name written Beccan, Cluana aird. The same authority is quoted by the Bollandists, for their insertion of Becanus Cluanensis.² His death is recorded, at the year 687, in the Annals of the Four Masters,³ Archdall—no doubt through error—states, that he died on the 16th of April.⁴ It is likely to have been a typographical mistake, for the 26th. On this day, the Martyrology

and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 408.

³ See Colgan’s “Trias Thaumaturga,” Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cxxiv., p. 93.

⁴ See *ibid.* Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. lxxxii., lxxxiii., pp. 140, 141.

⁵ See “Trias Thaumaturga,” Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xviii., p. 131.

⁶ Colgan cannot find any bishop besides him, in this See, and he thinks Domnal must have been a chorepiscopus. See *ibid.*, nn. 52, 53, 54, p. 175.

⁷ See *ibid.*, cap. cxxvi., p. 146. There he

is called Bishop of Aileach Airtich.

⁸ See *ibid.*

⁹ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 408.

¹⁰ Venerated at the 1st of December, according to the English Martyrology.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we have entered, at this day, Béccan Cluan.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 408.

³ See Dr. O’Donovan’s Edition, vol. i., pp. 294, 295.

of Donegal⁵ records, that veneration was paid to Becan, of Cluain, a contraction for Clonard.

ARTICLE X.—ST. CAS, OF BENNCHAR, OR BANGOR, COUNTY OF DOWN. We find an entry, in the Martyrology of Tallagh;¹ at this date, regarding Cas of Bennchair. The Bollandists record Cassius Benchorensis, at the 26th of April.² We know not whether he attained any superior position, in this celebrated monastery. The Martyrology of Donegal³ mentions, that Cas, of Bennchar, had a festival on this day. In the Irish Calendar, contained in the Common Place Book F, we have his name also entered.⁴ In that calendar, moreover, compiled by the Rev. William Reeves,⁵ his name occurs.

ARTICLE XI.—FESTIVAL OF ISAAC. In the Franciscan copy of the Tallagh Martyrology, at the vi. of the May Kalends—April 26th—there is entered a festival for Isaac,¹ and he is placed among the Irish Saints.

ARTICLE XII.—FESTIVAL OF ST. CYRIL, MARTYR AT AXIOPOLIS, IN LOWER MYSIA, OR BULGARIA. The Feast of St. Cyril had been observed, in the early Irish Church, as we learn from the "Feilire" of St. Ængus,¹ at the 26th of April. The Bollandists have some brief notices of this holy Martyr, at the same date.² He suffered at Axiopolis, on the banks of the River Danube, in Bulgaria. With this agree the old Epternac Hieronymian Martyrology, and a Manuscript Martyrology, belonging to Rheinaw, near Constance, in Suevia.³ This martyrdom must have occurred, in the earlier ages of Christianity; but, the period is not specified.

Twenty-seventh Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. ASCICUS, BISHOP AND PATRON OF ELPHIN, COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.

[FIFTH CENTURY.]

LITTLE seems to be known regarding this holy man, although he must have been celebrated in his time. The Bollandists¹ have a doubtful notice of St. Asycus—who may have been identical with St. Assanus—for,

¹ See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 520.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we read Caspp benchair.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 408.

³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 110, 111.

⁴ Thus, Cas Beanncharp. See p. 41. It is kept at present, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

⁵ See "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore," Appendix LI., p. 377.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ Thus noted τῆσασ.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy, we find:—

Cyrillus cam cimbrio
Cepair noi iunoi
Do Cypre canaio aille
Cofludag dobul umbi.

Thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—"Cyrillus a fair captive suffered full sharp spear-points: to Christ he sings praise, with a vast host around him."

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvi. De Sa cto Cyrillo, Martyre Axiopoli in Mysia Inferiore, p. 415.

³ See *ibid.*

ARTICLE I.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvii. Among the preter-

both of these holy men have been commemorated, at the 27th of April. Whatever we find recorded about St. Asacus or Ascicus is generally drawn from the various accounts, contained in the Acts of Ireland's great Apostle.⁷ A considerable share of obscurity surrounds the parentage and natal spot of St. Ascicus. He appears to have been a married man, however, and Cipia is thought to have been his wife, at the time of St. Patrick's arrival in Connaught.³ Therefore might we conjecture, he was born early in the fifth century. Both he and Cipia were parents of Bishop Bite.⁴ The Life of St. Patrick by Jocelyn,⁵ and that of the Tripartite,⁶ give the most details we find regarding Ascicus. He appears to have been one of St. Patrick's⁷ earliest disciples, after his arrival in Ireland, and on assuming the Apostleship of that country. He is also regarded, as having worked in brass, and probably, he was a designer of ornament, in connexion with his artistic pursuits.

From a passage found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Dr. Lanigan insinuates,⁸ that Ascicus was placed as a priest at Elphin, by the Irish Apostle, and not many years after the commencement of his mission. While Ussher places the journey of St. Patrick to the western province, in the year 434,⁹ St. Patrick did not set out for Connaught, in Rev. Dr. Lanigan's opinion, before the year 435.¹⁰ Some short time after this date, he is said to have visited the Royal residence of Cruachan, now Croghan, near Elphin. Then, St. Patrick came into the territory of Corca Ochland,¹¹ originally extending from Slieve Baune to Tirellil,¹² in the county of Sligo.¹³ According to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, a Magus, named Ono, or Hono,¹⁴ lived at a mountain, called Bagna, or Badhghna,¹⁵ and now known as Slieve Baune, a mountainous range, in the Barony of Ballintobber North, in the county of Roscommon.¹⁶ A piece of land at this latter place was bestowed by Ono¹⁷ for a church, which St. Patrick then built. From the name of the donor, perhaps Elphin formerly bore the designation of Imleach Ono or Ona. There, St. Patrick

mitted saints, p. 475.

² Some notices of Ascicus occur, in Philip O'Sullivan's *Decades S. Patricii*.

³ The reader is referred to what has been already written, in vol. iii. of this work, Life of St. Patrick, chap. xi.

⁴ This is very clearly asserted, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Part ii., and chap. xxxix., as published by Colgan; although, the latter believes, that Ascicus was only his spiritual father, or master. See "Trias Thaumaturga."

⁵ He is classed among St. Patrick's disciples, in *ibid.*, Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxiii., p. 266.

⁶ See *ibid.* Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix., xl., pp. 134, 135, and nn. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, p. 176.

⁷ See Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cvi., cvii., cviii., pp. 89, 90, with nn. 121, 122, p. 114.

⁸ In his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., p. 340.

⁹ "Patricius relicto charissimo suo Conallo (sic enim Joceinus cap. 35 et 138 eum nominat) ex Medico in Connaciam iter suscepit," &c.—"Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," Index Chronologicus, A.D. ccccxxxiv., p. 517.

¹⁰ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. v., sect. ix., p. 240, and n. 75, pp. 242, 243.

¹¹ This lies between the country belonging to the posterity of Oililda, and the mountain called Baghna, joining the latter on the south side, and the former on the north.

¹² This shows the antiquity of the passage, in St. Patrick's Tripartite Life, for at a very early period, the Clan-Mulrony conquered the race of Oilfoll, and extended their territories to the very limits of Moy Naoi, and deprived the race of Eric the Red of all the rich plain known as Moylurg.

¹³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xxxvii., p. 134.

¹⁴ He had a brother, called Id, or Ida, and they are said to have been sons of Ængus, son of Eric Derg or Eric the Red.

¹⁵ The Abbé Mageoghegan—not knowing where either the mountain Baghna or the country of Tir Oilill was situated—places Corcachlann where he should have placed Airteach, which is historically wrong; for, Airteach was a celebrated territory, in the time of St. Patrick, and it retained its name, down to the reign of James I., as it does even to this day.

¹⁶ See John O'Donovan's "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," n. (h), p. 90.

¹⁷ From him, the place and a family were afterwards known as the Hy-Onach.

¹⁸ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga,"

met with two brothers, who were of noble origin, and who were Druids by profession; the one was named Ida, and the other was called Ono.¹⁸ When this latter saw, that it was the intention of the man of God to erect a church within his territory, he asked what St. Patrick would pay him for the land, which he showed. The holy man answered, that he would repay him, by giving in exchange a celestial country for that terrestrial one. However, Ono, who was the slave of avarice, esteemed this exchange as of small value, and he refused consent to the wishes of God's servant, unless he should first receive gold. In this, the Druid said, that St. Patrick abounded. Whereupon, the holy Apostle declared, that he already expended whatever gold he had hitherto received, on the erection of churches, and in supplying the necessities of the poor; but, he promised, that the Lord, from whom he had received all things, would bestow even greater things upon him, when necessity required it. In a miraculous manner, the gold was procured in a large mass, and from a field where swine had been rooting. In after time, that spot was called Tir Brotha, Latinized "terra massæ."¹⁹ As Ono had thus tempted the Lord, and as he had preferred fleeting gold to eternal riches, St. Patrick said to him, "None of your seed shall ever reign." At this pronouncement, feeling very great compunction and shedding tears, Ono asked pardon for his offence, and promised satisfaction. Then, St. Patrick commiserating his tears said, "There shall not be a king in Connacia, whom your progeny will not assist and promote to the throne."²⁰ To make some atonement for his first refusal, Ono not only returned the purchase-money to St. Patrick, but even gave his own fort or house, his farm and possessions, to build and found a church. This afterwards became the head of an Episcopal See. Its first name was Imleach Ona, but at this day, on account of the church built there by St. Patrick, it is called *Ail finn*. This church obtained that name, because at the place where it was erected, there is a clear fountain. This was produced from the earth, at night, by St. Patrick, and it was called *Fionn*, i.e. "lucid" or "clear," while at its brink was a great stone; for *ail*, in the ancient Irish language, means "a stone," or "a rock." Hence, *Ail-finn* signifies the "stone of the lucid fountain."²¹ Patrick then blessed Ono and his posterity, on account of his penance and liberality. He promised, and, in promising, he had the power of an oracle, foretelling for certain, that from Ono's seed many more men, distinguished in the arts of war and in the sacred pursuits of peace, should be descended.²² That former name of Imleach Ona,²³ which belonged to Elphin²⁴ in pagan times, is still preserved in Emlagh. This is a townland, situated not far from the town.

St. Patrick erected a church or a religious house at Elphin; and, subse-

Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xxxvii., p. 134.

¹⁹ So was it called, when the author of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick wrote. See *ibid.*

²⁰ The author of the Tripartite Life remarks, that experience proved this prophecy to be fulfilled, as the Kin-el-Mac-Earca prevailed in power and strength among the Connacians, but kings are not taken from among them. By his son Aengus, Ono was grandson to the aforesaid Ercus, surnamed Ruber. He was son of Brian, and from him the country of Hy-Onach and the family of the same name took name and origin. Parallel with the two latter sentences, the following observation of Mr. O'Donovan is written on the margin of his letter in the Roscommon collection: "All this is certainly an interpolation." Colgan adds, in a note to the

foregoing passages, that St. Berach—now called St. Barry—was descended from that Ercus, and also the O'Hanly's and O'Branly's, who were formerly noble and powerful families in that tract of country, and for this reason, they are called Kin-el-Mac-Earca, i.e., the race of the sons of Ercus. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., chap. xxxvii., and n. 74, pp. 134, 176.

²¹ It is Latinized, "saxum lucidi fontis," in the Tripartite Life, published by Colgan, pars. ii., cap. xxxviii., p. 134.

²² See Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick, chap. cviii., p. 90.

²³ This name must have been originally, in the opinion of Mr. O'Donovan, that of a Baile Batach, or one thirtieth part of a Triocha head, or Barony, and it must have comprised Elphin, with several of the Carrows

quently, it became the seat of a bishop.²⁵ Over this church, Ascicus was placed, most probably as a priest, at first, and subsequently, he became its Bishop.²⁶ One account has it, that a falsehood had been told by Ascicus, and that it caused his retirement from the See.²⁷ Citing a passage from some ancient author, the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick only states, that St. Patrick placed Ascicus, at Elphin.²⁸ Nothing is recorded, however, to indicate, that he was then its bishop. Ascicus was summoned from Elphin, it is conjectured, to assist in making utensils, for the use of St. Patrick's church at Armagh, and when he had not passed the grade of Priest. Being called in the Tripartite Life, the "faber æris" of St. Patrick, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan supposes, that after the foundation of Armagh, and when St. Patrick had acquired a permanent residence, he had occasion for our saint's services, as a worker in brass. He then infers, that Ascicus was not made a bishop over Elphin, until after he had ceased to work at Armagh. He must necessarily have resided in his diocese, it is argued, to discharge well the episcopal functions. According to some accounts,²⁹ he was consecrated bishop, by St. Patrick, although we cannot find, at what particular time.

Tradition has it, that St. Ascicus was the first Bishop of Elphin, and he is now venerated as the Patron of that diocese. He is thought to have flourished, at a very early period; but, whether his elevation to that See occurred, during the lifetime of St. Patrick,³⁰ or after his death, cannot be distinctly ascertained. The present parish of Elphin is situated in Roscommon barony, and in the county bearing that same name.³¹ Not a vestige of any ancient building can now be traced in Elphin. Even the *Ail finn*, or "stone of the clear fountain," has disappeared; yet, it is curious, that when it was broken, the Ail stood several perches from the present St. Patrick's well at Elphin. This spring is now directly opposite the cathedral. It is enclosed, and it supplies the town with fine water; but, its original purity has suffered considerably from sewers, which pass very close to it under the street. Mr. O'Donovan inclines rather to believe, that this clear fountain, called *Lionn*, and the pillar

and Cartrons. There is no townland at present larger than a quarter of an original Baile Biatach, and the greater number of them are only Lecarrows and Cartrons. If the topographer does not bear this in mind, he will often fall into mistake. See "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Roscommon, collected during the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837-8," vol. ii., p. 41. Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Alfin, August 8th, 1837.

²⁴ The antiquities in the parish of Elphin, besides the cathedral church, and Killoynagher were—1. Cloonroughan, a chapel or cell belonging to friars of the third order of St. Francis. 2. Templemoyle, in the townland of Kilnanooan, which is the ruin of a small chapel, called an abbey in the Name Book of the Irish Ordnance Survey; and 3. Laghtcausk, another ruin of a chapel. See *ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁵ In his time, Colgan remarks, that Alfinn to his day was an Episcopal See of ample extent in Connaught, and that Boetius Egan, belonging to our order of Friars minor of the strict observance, was a man venerable for his merits, and at that day, he was there as bishop. See "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xxxviii., n. 75, p. 176.

²⁶ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. v., sect. ix., pp. 240 to 244, with nn. 75 to 86.

²⁷ Such is the statement contained in the Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cvii., p. 89.

²⁸ See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. v., n. 50, pp. 342, 343.

²⁹ This is stated by Jocelyn. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cvii., p. 89.

³⁰ See his Life, in vol. iii. of this work, and at the 17th of March. "It is however, doubtful whether he was one during the saint's lifetime."—Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. vi., p. 340.

³¹ Elphin parish is bounded on the north, by the parishes of Shankill, Killmacumys, Creeve, Aughrim, Clooncruff, and part of Creeve; on the east, by the parish of Kiltrustan; on the south, by the parishes of Ogulla, Kilcooley, and part of Ogulla; and, on the west, by the parish of Kilcorkey. See Index Map to the Ordnance Survey of the County of Roscommon.

³² All that remains therefore of the *vingna*

stone, called *Ail*, had been long venerated by the gentiles in Ireland, before St. Patrick built his cathedral opposite to them. The *arx* or fort of the noble Druid Ono is also levelled to the ground, although the spot it occupied was remembered in local traditions.³² The castle³³ of Elphin stood where the pound was afterwards built, and its site is shown in Castle-street. The Dominican Abbey stood not far to the north, in the land now called Abbey Cartron.³⁴ In 1683,³⁵ the town of Elphin is stated to have been such another as Roscommon: and, an idle legend is given, to account for the origin of its name,³⁶ said to have been derived from a remarkable stone,³⁷ which has been long since broken and removed. There was a tradition, that if it were displaced, water should issue from that spot it occupied and inundate the town.³⁸

It is suggested,³⁹ our saint could not have been bishop of Elphin, about A.D. 437, according to the Tripartite chronology; but, that an episcopal seminary or a monastic college had been early established here, is an opinion entertained. Over this community, Asciscus is said to have presided,⁴⁰ but when, or for what period, has not been stated. Through the desire of leading a more penitential life, the saint withdrew from his Bishopric, and retired to Sliebhligh mountain, now Slieve-league,⁴¹ in Tir-Boghaine,⁴² which is within the county of Donegal. There he lived on an island,⁴³ called Rathlin O'Birne, for seven years. His monks sought him, for a long time, and they found him, after much trouble, hiding in the mountain glens. Because of the evil sayings circulated, and to which allusion⁴⁴ has been already made, his disciples could not prevail on him to remain in his See. Yet, he went with them into a solitary and desert place, where his death afterwards occurred. The year of his demise, however, has not come down to us. He was buried at Rath-cunga, in Seirthe.⁴⁵ Tyrhugh barony,⁴⁶ in the county of Donegal,⁴⁷ contained Magh-Seiridh, the plain to which allusion has been made.⁴⁸ There, St. Patrick is said to have erected a church.⁴⁹ Its site may still be traced, and where it seems probable,

of Elfin is the well *Fionn*, now called after St. Patrick. See Mr. O'Donovan's Letter, dated Elphin, August 1st, 1837, in "Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Roscommon, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837-8," vol. ii., pp. 2 to 9.

³² The field, lying to the east of it, was called the castle garden, in all leases granted by the Bishops, to the farmers who hold it.

³⁴ After careful enquiry, Mr. O'Donovan found, that there was no evidence to point out the very spot on which it stood. See *ibid.* John O'Donovan's Letter, dated Alfin, August 8th, 1837, vol. ii., pp. 40 to 42.

³⁵ Mr. John Keogh wrote an account of Elphin for this year.

³⁶ According to John Keogh: "The name is said to be drawn from a stone said to be remaining there as a monument which hath the form of the letter *l*, and is reported to have been cast in that place, by the great Irish champion Phuon Mac Coole. Whereupon from *L* and Phuon the place took its denomination Elphuon first and then corruptly Elphin."

³⁷ It stood in the very middle of the town.

³⁸ Roderick O'Flaherty states, that this stone fell in his own time, and that it stood over the well of Elphin.

³⁹ By Rev. Dr. Lanigan.

⁴⁰ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 609.

⁴¹ This is a precipitous mountain, rising over the Atlantic Ocean, in the parish of Glencolumkille. It commands in clear weather a view of Croagh Patrick, on the south-west.

⁴² It is now the barony of Banagh, and it lies in the west of the county of Donegal.

⁴³ The Book of Armagh, in narrating this, calls that island Rochuil. It contains about fifty acres. Although lying adjacent to the parish of Glencolumkille, it has been ecclesiastically placed in the parish of Kilbarron, upwards of twenty miles distant, owing to some old connection of all the religious houses in Kilbarron, where St. Columba founded this church, and near to Bally-hannon.

⁴⁴ According to Jocelyn's *Vita S. Patricii*, cap. cvl., p. 89.

⁴⁵ This is the "Rath-Cunga, in Campo-Sereth," mentioned by Tirechan, in his *Life of St. Patrick*.

⁴⁶ Formerly Tir-Aodha territory.

⁴⁷ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. vii., sect. vi., pp. 340, 341.

⁴⁸ See "The Topographical Poems of John O'Dugain and of Giolla na Naoimh O'Huidhrin," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, p. xxx.

his monks resolved to spend their days with St. Asciscus, so long as he continued in this life. Here, also, there is a conical hill, locally known by the name of Racoon, the apex of which is entrenched like a rath, and it contains an ancient cemetery. This is now used, but only for the interment of unbaptized children. It lies within the townland Ballymagroarty, in the parish of Drumhome.⁵⁰ The king of that country gave to St. Asciscus, and to his monks after his death, the pasture of one hundred cows, with their calves, and also twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering. After their master's death, the monks built a monastery at Rath-Cunga, wherein they served Almighty God, in justice and in sanctity.⁵¹ The church built there was regarded as belonging to St. Patrick, the master and patron of Asciscus.⁵² It lay within the diocese of Raphoe, and within the territory of Tyrconnell.⁵³

The present holy Bishop must have died, before the close of the fifth century, in Dr. Lanigan's opinion; and, he throws out a conjecture, that this saint may have been identical with Assanus, whose feast is assigned to the 27th of April.⁵⁴ His disciples buried St. Assiscus, in Rath-Cunga,⁵⁵ and there, too, his remains were honourably preserved. On this day, also, our saint is honoured, as patron of Elphin diocese, and there his festival is celebrated as a Double of the first-class, with an octave. It is a Duplex Major, for the rest of Ireland. The remains of St. Asciscus were preserved in Rath-Cunga, when the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick had been written. To the Irish Apostle, also, belongs that church, upon which the people of Colum-Cille and of Ard-Sratha⁵⁶ had then encroached. It is somewhat strange, that there is no mention of a festival in honour of St. Asciscus, in the published edition of Tallagh Martyrology, at the 27th of April.⁵⁷ This elicits the observation,⁵⁸ that we can hardly help suspecting, that Assiscus and Thassachus⁵⁹ of Rathcolpa,⁶⁰ now Raholp, county of Down, were one and the same.⁶¹ It is remarked, by Colgan,⁶² that the Natalis of Asciscus cannot be found in the Irish Martyrologies, although the name be thus written in the Acts of St. Patrick. But, he conjectures, that as our saint was a man of great sanctity, his name ought not be omitted from the calendars, and it is most probably found under some different spelling. He supposes, that our saint was identical with that Assanus, whose feast occurs, at the 27th of April, according to Marianus O'Gorman and to the Martyrology of Donegal; or perhaps, he was the Ossin venerated, at the 1st of May, or at the 19th of July. Father Henry

⁴⁹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xl., p. 135.

⁵⁰ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," n. (c), p. 38.

⁵¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. cvii., pp. 89, 90.

⁵² See *ibid.*, Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xl., p. 135.

⁵³ See *ibid.*, n. 79, p. 176.

⁵⁴ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. xiii., p. 418.

⁵⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. xl., p. 135. St. Bite was also buried there, with five other Bishops. See n. 79, p. 176.

⁵⁶ Now a parish church, but formerly, it was a cathedral, at Ardstraw, near Strabane, in the county of Tyrone.

⁵⁷ See Rev. Dr. Kelly's "Calendar of Irish

Saints," &c., p. xxii., where are the names of the four saints, whose festivals are set down at this day, and no one of these names can be resolved into that of St. Asciscus. On the day previous, there is an "Asaoch" or "Isaac," *ibid.*, pp. xxii. 2. It may be asked, if there be any affinity or identity discoverable in it.

⁵⁸ From Rev. Dr. Todd,

⁵⁹ See a notice of him, at the 14th of this month.

⁶⁰ Both were workers in metals for St. Patrick.

⁶¹ See "The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin," &c., Edited by John Clarke Crosthwaite, A.M., and Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Introduction, p. xiii., and n. (p).

⁶² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Sexta S. Patricii, n. 122, p. 114.

⁶³ See Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum

Fitzsimon includes St. Ascius, Bishop, in his Catalogue,⁶³ but he gives not a day for the feast. In the parish of Bandon, there is an old disused graveyard, called Killhassan. A conjecture is offered, that it may have been called after St. Hassan, or Hassa, St. Patrick's artificer. The low wall of an old church, in the centre, measures about 42 feet, by 14, in the clear. The remains are of rude material, and covered with a net-work of brambles. This spot lies three miles west from Bandon.⁶⁴ Further particulars for record we cannot find, to illustrate the acts of the primitive and venerable Bishop, who is special patron of Elphin diocese.

ARTICLE II.—ST. ASSAN, PATRON OF RAHENY CHURCH, COUNTY OF DUBLIN. Several Irish saints are only recollected by name, in various localities, and where, not even the time when they flourished is now known, nor the vestige of an ancient church can be found, and associated with their memory. The Bollandists,² quoting the Martyrologies of Tallagh and of Marianus O'Gorman, notice a feast for St. Assanus, at the 27th of April. This may be the Latinized form for Oissin—a very common Irish name. Whether he be identical or not with Assicus, bishop and patron of Elphin diocese, may be questioned; although Colgan hazards a conjecture to this effect, and the Bollandists have a nearly similar remark.² We learn from Archbishop Alan's³ Register,⁴ that a church at Raheny, which formerly belonged to the Prior and Convent of the Holy Trinity at Dublin, was afterwards exchanged, and that it went under the jurisdiction of St. Mary's Convent, near Dublin.⁵ Yet, we find there no notice of a patron saint, for the church; nor is this much to be wondered at, since the original sacred building at Raheny perished,⁶ when that district passed under the domination of the Northmen rule, in and near Dublin. It must be observed, likewise, that after the Anglo-Norman invasion,⁷ several new religious establishments, in the Diocese of Dublin, displaced more ancient ones. Then, also, new patrons were substituted for the old Irish ones, so as completely to obliterate even the traces of our early Christian history. The townland of Ratheny, no doubt, takes its name from a conspicuous rath,⁸ which has been curtailed of its former dimensions; and, through Raheny passes a stream, anciently called, as we are told, Skillings Glas. Between the Protestant Church and the Railway Station

Hiberniæ, in O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 52.

⁶⁴ The foregoing information was given, in a letter to the author, from Rev. John Lyons, C. C., and headed, Bandon, November 10th, 1882.

ARTICLE II.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxvii. Among the pre-termitted saints, p. 475.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Sexta S. Patricii, n. 122, p. 114.

³ An account of John Alan, or Allen, who ruled as Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, from A. D. 1528 to 1534, will be found in Harris Ware, vol. i., Archbishops of Dublin, pp. 346 to 348. Besides the "Repertorium Viride," he compiled the "Liber Niger seu Registrum Johannis Alani," to which some additions seem to have been made. A further account of these Records will be seen, in the Introduction to this work, sect. vii., nn. 215, 216.

⁴ There is a folio paper Manuscript, in the Royal Irish Academy, which is a copy of Repertorium Viride Johannis Septimi Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis agnomine Alanus. This transcript is traced, it is said, in General Vallancey's handwriting.

⁵ See p. 19, *ibid.*

⁶ We are informed, that Gilcolm was the owner of Ratheny, previously to the Anglo-Norman invasion, and that, probably, he belonged to the Irish family of Mac Gilla Colmac. See Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran's new edition of Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," vol. i., p. 307, n. 15.

⁷ By a grant from the Earl of Strongbow, Vivian De Cursun acquired the lands of Ratheny, and in 1210, John De Coursun, Lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrack, was slain by the sons of Hugh De Lasci and Walter, Lord of Meath. See *ibid.*

⁸ See John D'Alton's "History of Drogheda," &c., vol. i. Introductory Memoir, p. lxxv.

was St. Ossan's well, reputed holy, but it is now covered up in the field; however, an ash tree and a depression there mark its site. The writer of a note, in Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran's edition of Archdall's work,⁹ states, that a Bishop Ossan, connected with the monastery of St. Fintan Munnu, son of Tulcan, was the Patron Saint of Ratheny.¹⁰ He died in the year 683,¹¹ but we have great doubt, that he had been the Ossan associated with Ratheny. In the year 1859, the first movement took place for the erection of a new Catholic Church at Raheny, in the county of Dublin. Since the times of religious persecution commenced, no building to supply a local want, which had been long felt, was in existence. Within a few years, however, a convenient and handsome rural church was erected, to the honour of St. Assan, for that



St. Assan's Catholic Church, Raheny.

suburban village, within the Catholic union of Clontarf Parish.¹² The Protestant church there stands on a rising ground,¹³ and it had been rebuilt in 1722.¹⁴ It was originally dedicated to St. Assan.¹⁵ A local tradition has prevailed, and the origin for which cannot now be traced, that he had been a saint, venerated in the neighbourhood; and, to preserve his memory, it was resolved to place the new Catholic church under his patronage. The Very Rev. Canon Rooney, V.F., and P.P., of Clontarf, aided by the zealous exertions of his worthy curate,¹⁶ erected this neat and picturesque Gothic struc-

⁹ See "Monasticum Hibernicum." vol. i., p. 307, n. 15.

¹⁰ "In the 'Neamshencus Leibar Breac' there is a reference to St. Ossan; Beoan and Ossan, *i.e.*, the sons of Athracht at Rath Ossain, and at Rath Athracht, besides Ath Truim to the west."—*Ibid.*

¹¹ See William M. Hennessy's "Chronicum Scotorum," pp. 108, 109.

¹² The accompanying illustration, from a

photograph taken in May, 1883, by Mr. Joseph Dollard, jun., Raheny Park, has been drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

¹³ A churchyard, bordered by several very ancient trees, surrounds it. An ancient rath is opposite.

¹⁴ This a stone inserted in the wall indicates.

¹⁵ See John D'Alton's "History of the

ture.¹⁷ In July, 1864, the new building was dedicated, by the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, and afterwards Cardinal. The Lord Mayor of Dublin for that year,¹⁸ with several distinguished persons, lay and clerical, assisted at the sacred ceremony. The name of Assan occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁹ as having been venerated, on this day. In the Table or Appendix to this Martyrology, the name has been rendered into the Latin equivalent, Aazanus.²⁰ Also, in the Irish Calendar, to be found in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, we meet, at the v. of the May Kalends—April 27th—the simple entry of Assan,²¹ but no place for his patronage is assigned. We have not been able to glean any further relative particulars.

ARTICLE III.—ST. LUGADIUS. Lugadius is called the son of Ercus, in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.¹ He is classed among the disciples of the latter holy man.² He is said to have been one of the disciples and clerics of our national Apostle, according to the Life written by Jocelyn.³ He became bishop over Fordhrum, now Fardrum,⁴ parish of Kilcleagh,⁵ in the county of Westmeath. The Bollandists⁶ notice him, at this date, as if it were his festival.⁷

ARTICLE IV.—FESTIVAL OF ST. FLORENTIN, CONFESSOR. [*Twelfth or Thirteenth Century.*] Already some notices of his holy man are set down, at the 18th of this month, which is regarded as his chief feast day, according to Camerarius, who also marks it at the present date.¹ We find other accounts of him, in the work of Thomas Dempster.² The Bollandists had hopes of procuring some information about him, from the village of Bonnet, in the diocese of Toul, where his relics had been preserved; but, not succeeding to the full extent of their wishes, they preferred placing him in the supplement to their work, for the month of January. While Dempster has it, that his feast was kept at Langres, in Champagne, on the 14th or 16th of January, the Bollandists enter one for the 27th of April.³

ARTICLE V.—ST. ULTAN, SAID TO HAVE BEEN BROTHER OF FURSA. The simple entry, Ultan, appears in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 27th

County of Dublin," pp. 105, 106.

¹⁶ The present Very Rev. Michael J. Canon Brady, P.P., of Ballytore. In a letter from him, and dated from that place, March 12th, the writer has obtained the details here furnished.

¹⁷ Mr. Patrick Byrne was the architect, and Mr. John Martin, of Coolock, was the contractor. The building cost £1,400.

¹⁸ The Right Hon. Peter Paul M'Swiney.

¹⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 354, 355.

²¹ Thus, Appan. See "Common Place Book F," p. 41, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey collection.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. ii., cap. ix., p. 130.

² See *ibid.* Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxi.i., p. 266. There, however,

his feast is assigned to April 17—probably a misprint for 27.

³ See *ibid.* Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xciii., p. 86, and n. 104, p. 113.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. ii., p. 1107, and n. (o).

⁵ It is shown, in the barony of Clonlunan, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Westmeath," sheets 29, 30, 35, 36. Fardrum townland is on sheets 29, 35.

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 475.

⁷ They also remark: "abest a nostro Martyrologii Tamlachtensis egrapho laudatus a Colgano, Annot. 104 ad Jocelinum, ut in illo, vel saltem in Mariani Gormanac Maguir Martyrologiis, hodie descriptus."

ARTICLE IV.—¹ In his work, "De Sanctorum Pietate," lib. iii.

of April. About his time and place, we are uninformed. However, on this day was celebrated a festival, in honour of Ultan, brother of Fursa, as we find recorded, in the Martyrology of Donegal.² At the 1st of May, and at the 31st of October, there are more particular notices of St. Fursey's³ martyred brother St. Ultan.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. LECCAN, BISHOP. To bishops are specially recommended the duty and practice of preaching God's holy word. The scriptural recommendations come with ten-fold force from those, who put the most difficult of them into a daily exercise, and who acquire them by habit. According to the Martyrology of Donegal,¹ veneration was given on this day to Leccan, a Bishop, who faithfully fulfilled his varied duties.

ARTICLE VII.—ST. BAAIN. Veneration was paid to Baain, at this date, as we find recorded, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh.¹ A similar entry is in the Franciscan copy.²

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. FURUDRAIN. A festival, in honour of Furudrain, is set down, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 27th of April. In the Franciscan copy, we have a similar reading.²

ARTICLE IX.—ST. FERGUSA. The name Fergusa, without any further designation, appears in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 27th of April.

ARTICLE X.—FEAST OF ST. TRUDPERT, MARTYR, AND HERMIT, IN BRISGAU, GERMANY. [*Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*] Owing to the occurrence of the Festival of St. Cletus and of St. Marcellinus, Pontiffs, in the Church of Constance, by prescription of the Roman Breviary, the Office of St. Trudpert, with full Lessons from his Life for the Second Nocturn, is recited there, on the 27th of April.¹ His Acts may be seen, at the previous day.

ARTICLE XI.—FESTIVAL OF ALEXANDER, ABBOT OF ROME. In the "Feilire" of St. Ængus,¹ the noble and pious Alexander, Abbot of Rome,

² See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," toms ii., lib. vi., num. 509.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxvii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 474.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy enters *ulcan*, at the v. of the May Kalends.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

³ See his Life, at the 16th of January.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² Thus noted *baain*.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² Thus, it is given, *feruorain*.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy, likewise, has the entry of *fergusa*.

ARTICLE X.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxvi. De S. Trudperto Martyre, Eremita in Brisgoia, Prologus, sect. 2, p. 425.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ In the "Leabhar Breac" version, the following stanza, translated by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., is found:—

himocurper angl
hiscorpaib cracherreo
alexanor uasal
abb romae incperen.

"Angels used to carry him out, though he

has a festival assigned him, at the 27th of April. He is not mentioned, by the Bollandists, at this date; nor elsewhere, do I find him, except in the Franciscan copy of the Tallagh Martyrology.²

ARTICLE XII.—FEAST OF EUSEBIUS, COMPANION OF ST. REGULUS, SCOTLAND. In the Scottish entries of the Kalendar of David Camerarius,¹ at the 27th of April,² there is a notice of St. Eusebius, one of the companions of St. Regulus.³ How far he can be claimed as a Scottish saint does not seem to be very clear.

Twenty-eighth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. CRONAN, ABBOT AND PATRON OF ROSCREA, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

[SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—LIVES OF ST. CRONAN—HIS PARENTAGE, BIRTH AND NATAL PLACE—HE EMBRACES A RELIGIOUS PROFESSION, AND HE PROCEEDS TO CONNAUGHT—MANY DISCIPLES LIVE THERE UNDER HIM—HE BUILDS SEVERAL RELIGIOUS HOUSES, AND THEN TAKES UP HIS ABODE AT LUSMAGH—THE SCRIBE DIMA—VARIOUS MIRACLES WROUGHT BY ST. CRONAN.

THAT impression, which the personal excellence of man makes over man, is often very wonderful; but, the influence of a saint over his fellow mortals is sure to bring many to the practice of a virtuous life. Thousands approach him, in his time, with feelings of deep reverence. These happily experienced on leaving him, that they found religious consolation, which so many seek, and which still greater numbers unfortunately neglect obtaining. A saint's influence lives on, and among our Celtic ancestors, the mementoes of his virtues were recorded. Even when records have perished, tradition preserves the fame of our many local saints.

There is *Vita S. Cronani*¹ still preserved, and among those Manuscripts, belonging to Trinity College, Dublin. Again, in the *Codex Kilkenniensis*,² belonging to Marsh's Library, Dublin, his Life is to be found,³ in that Manuscript, assigned to the thirteenth century. Besides, there is a *Vita S. Cronani*,⁴ in a Manuscript,⁵ belonging to the Library of the Duke of Burgundy, at Bruxelles. Father John Colgan intended to give his Acts, which he had ready

went in dungeons, noble Alexander, Abbot of Rome, the pious one."

² At the vii of the May Kalends, we meet with the entry, *Αλεξανδρι.*

ARTICLE XII.—¹ Thus: "27 Die. Sanctus Eusebius Sancti Reguli socius."

² See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 237.

³ See an account of him, at the 30th of

March.

ARTICLE I.—CHAPTER I.—¹ It is classed, E. 3. 11., and it commences at fol. 55.

² A vellum folio.

³ Under the heading *St. Cronanus*, fol. 89 to 91.

⁴ This is found, in a Salamancan Manuscript.

⁵ Vol. xxii., at fol. 147.

for publication, at this date.⁶ The Bollandists⁷ have presented a *Vita S. Cronani*, in their great collection.⁸ This Life, in the opinion of Father Papebroke,⁹ was written by a monk or cleric, belonging to Roscrea, and some four or five centuries after our saint's death, for the use and edification of the brethren connected with that monastery. The author of this composition is unknown, but he appears to have indulged in exaggerated statements, or somewhat doubtful traditional accounts, concerning the subject of his biography.¹⁰ A previous commentary is added; and, the Acts of St. Cronan are divided into three chapters, comprising eighteen distinct paragraphs, with notes. A more perfect copy was procured, by Father Thomas Sirinus, as the Salamancan Manuscript, used by the Bollandists, was mutilated.¹¹ The Protestant Archbishop Ussher of Armagh quotes a Life of St. Cronan, and he gives some extracts from it;¹² while this seems to have been in no manner different from the Acts, to which allusion has been made, and which are still preserved in Marsh's Library. Bishop Challoner¹³ has inserted a few short notices regarding this saint, and these are chiefly extracted from Ussher. At the 28th of April, we find biographical particulars of St. Cronan, Abbot of Roscrea, in Rev. Alban Butler's,¹⁴ Rev. Dr. Lanigan's,¹⁵ and Rev. S. Baring-Gould's¹⁶ works. A mere notice of him occurs, in "*Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints*."¹⁷

His father, who was called Hodran,¹⁸ belonged to the district of Hely O'Carroll,¹⁹ which was in the eastern part of Munster, and on the western boundary of Leinster, adjoining the territory of Ossory.²⁰ His mother,²¹ named Coemri, was from the Corcobaschin district, in the western part of the present County Clare.²² We are told,²³ that the mother of our saint, the mother of St. Mobai,²⁴ and the mother of St. Mochonna,²⁵ were three sisters.²⁶

⁶ See "*Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur, ordine Mensium et Dierum.*"

⁷ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, Abbate Roscreensi in Hibernia, pp. 579 to 583.

⁸ The Rev. Dr. Lanigan calls it "a respectable and very circumstantial document."—"*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 20, p. 8.

⁹ He is the editor of this Tract.

¹⁰ The two last sections of the Third Chapter were supplied, by Father Thomas Sheeran, of the Irish Franciscan house, at Louvain.

¹¹ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis, num. 10, p. 580.

¹² See "*Antiquitates Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*," cap. xvii., p. 502.

¹³ See "*Britannia Sancta*," part i., p. 258.

¹⁴ See "*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints*," vol., iv., April xxviii.

¹⁵ See "*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., pp. 6 to 10.

¹⁶ See "*Lives of the Saints*," vol. iv., April 28, pp. 361, 362.

¹⁷ See tome v., xxviii^e Jour d'Avril, p. 57.

¹⁸ More probably Odran, a name which was known in that part of the country; and,

indeed, this is a correction made by Archbishop Ussher.

¹⁹ "That district, or at least a part of it, is, as often observed, now comprised in the King's County."—Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 21, p. 9.

²⁰ Thus it is located, in the Life of St. Mochoemoc or Pulcherius, published by Colgan, at the 13th day of March.

²¹ North of the River Shannon.

²² According to the account left us in the Salamancan Manuscript, published by the Bollandists.

²³ We read in the *Vita S. Cronani*: "*Mater S. Cronani et S. Mobai mater, et mater S. Mochonnæ tres germanæ sorores fuerunt.*"—Cap. i., sect. i.

²⁴ His identity has not been discovered.

²⁵ He might have been an Abbot, bearing that name, and who seems to have governed a monastery, somewhere in Leinster. He was living in St. Kevin's time. See Colgan's "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," viii. Martii, De S. Mochonna, Abbate, p. 505. However, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan remarks, "as there were other St. Mochonnas about that period this point must remain undecided."—"*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 22, p. 9.

²⁶ See "*Acta Sanctorum*," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii., p. 580.

²⁷ See the edition of Dr. Whitley Stokes,

With regard to her celebrated son, if we are to credit the conjecture of a Scholiast on the Festilog of St. Ængus,²⁷ he was born at Tuaim Findlocha,²⁸ which place may be rendered Tomfinlough²⁹ However, other accounts seem to be irreconcilable with such a statement;³⁰ for, they have it, that St. Cronan was a native of Ele,³¹ in the province of Munster.³² At first, as we are informed, he was called Mochua. The parents of our saint had three sons. The most renowned among them was Cronan, who from his earliest youth seemed devoted without reserve, to the service of his Creator. Having renounced the pleasures of this world, and having left his parents, Cronan became initiated in the practices of a religious life, under the government of some holy directors. Our saint was joined in his religious profession, as in relationship, with St. Mobai. This latter, and likewise St. Mochonna, was a cousin to St. Cronan.

Having directed his course to the province of Connaught, our saint dwelt there, as we are informed, and near to a place, called Puayd.³³ Nor was it long, until attracted by his fame and sanctity, many placed themselves under his spiritual guidance. It is said, that while in this place, our saint saw a man, who was about to be executed, according to the king's command. Moved with compassion, Cronan entreated the monarch to grant him pardon. This request was refused, and the man was accordingly cast into a lake, called Feas-ruayd.³⁴ Here his body was supposed to lie beneath the water, for a great part of the day; when, at last, in the presence of the king, the drowned man was seen approaching towards the shore. Much astonished, the ruler asked how he had emerged. Then answer was given, that while he was under the water, Cronan seemed to cherish him in his bosom, and afterwards to conduct him safely towards the shore. On hearing this, the king was moved to compassion, and he then gave the man his liberty. Meanwhile, on bended knees, the king acknowledged God's power, manifest through his servant Cronan.³⁵ At another time, and while in the same place, our saint and his disciples were walking near a large cairn,³⁶ or sepulchre, on the roadside. "Father," they said, "if the occupier of this tomb could speak, he would be able to relate many things, unknown to us." The saint replied, it would be an easy matter for God to grant. Saying this, he went to the tomb, and blessing it, Cronan ordered the dead to arise, in the name Christ. A man of large stature immediately arose, and told them, that living the life of a heathen, he had been buried in a certain place in hell. Earnestly he entreated, at the same time, the grace of Christian baptism. Being baptized, he gave thanks to God, and to his saint, and afterwards he slept in the Lord.³⁷

"On the Calendar of Oengus," p. lxxvii. "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i.

²⁸ It is said to have been in North Munster.

²⁹ There is a parish of this name, in the Barony of Lower Bunratty, and its bounds are defined, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Clare," sheets 42, 43, 51.

³⁰ Perhaps, the commentator confounds our saint's place, with that of St. Luchtighern, who is venerated on this same day.

³¹ In *Theatra Geographico Monarchie Britannicæ*, John Speed calls it Haly, a little territory, included within the Rivers Shannon, Brosna and Nore, and which he places within the King's County, and in the Province of Leinster.

³² Ele territory does not appear to have

ever extended beyond the Shannon; nor within it can we find a local denomination of Tuaim Findlocha.

³³ "Prope gurgitem Puayd. Whether the author meant by *gurgitem* a pool, or a gulf, I cannot determine; nor can I find any place in Connaught called Puayd."—Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 23, p. 9.

³⁴ Under such name, it has not been identified; but, it seems more than probable, not to be distinguished from Púayd.

³⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., Aprilis xxviii., Vita S. Cronani, cap. i., num. 2, p. 580.

³⁶ Some of the cairns are evidently sepulchral, and they contain urns, stone chests and bones. See "Popular Cyclopædia; or Conversations Lexicon," vol. i., p. 796.

At another time, St. Cronan and St. Mobay were guests with St. Kieran³⁸ of Clonmacnoise.³⁹ After dinner, taking a portion of his food that remained, Cronan distributed it, according to his custom, among the poor. Mobay left his portion for community use. Hearing this, the abbot said, "There shall be this difference between the places of both saints; that of Cronan shall abound with riches and charity, while that of Mobay shall be otherwise distinguished." Again, when Cronan was alone in the same place, and praying at a certain house, some lepers came to him, but stood without, not wishing to interrupt his devotions. This being known to the saint, he prayed to God for them; while, full of faith, these lepers washed themselves in water, which flowed from the roof of that house, in which Cronan resided; for, at the time, a great shower of rain was falling. Being cured of their leprosy, they gave thanks to God, and to his saint.⁴⁰ Leaving the place of his first settlement, St. Cronan began to build many other houses to God's honour, and to that of His Virgin Mother. Such was his disinterestedness, that not only did he leave houses he already occupied, to those who were in need of them, but even all things they contained, while he set out in quest of a new habitation.⁴¹ He came to a certain place, within the present barony of Garrycastle, and in the King's County. It was called Lusmag,⁴² or Lusmagh,⁴³ which means "a grassy plain." It was situated, in the vicinity of the River Shannon.

While living there, he performed many miracles. One day, being in a neighbouring wood, he saw a deer passing by, and, on being called by the saint, it approached, took an apple from his hand, and became domesticated, until at last it was allowed to return into its native woods.⁴⁴ On one occasion, Cronan asked a certain scribe, named Dima,⁴⁵ to write for him the text of the Gospels. But, the scribe wished to limit this labour to the duration of one day. Cronan then told him, to write without ceasing, until the sun should set. It is said, that for forty days and nights, the sun continued to shed its rays through the windows, and on the writer. During that whole period, Dima felt no necessity for eating, drinking or sleeping; while, he was so little wearied by his continuous labour, as to suppose this time not to have exceeded the limits of a natural day. This copy of the Gospels was not less beautifully than accurately written, by Dima.⁴⁶ When such a miracle was known, many

³⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. i. num. 3, p. 580. It will be a difficult matter to reconcile this narrative with the Catholic doctrine, that *out of hell there is no redemption*. We must only regard it as an absurd popular legend, and current among very ignorant persons.

³⁸ His feast occurs, at the 9th of September.

³⁹ The Rev. S. Baring-Gould remarks, that "he did not remain there long."—"Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 28, p. 361.

⁴⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. i., num. 4, p. 580.

⁴¹ It is said, that Cronan was in many places, and that he built no less than fifty houses. These he left to Anchorets, who were seeking localities for themselves. St. Cronan did so for the pure love of God. See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis, cap. i., num. 5, n. (i), p. 581.

⁴² This is "a parish in the south of the King's County, adjoining the county of Tipperary, and bounded on the west by the River Shannon. This was part of O'Madden's country of Sil-Anamchy, and still belongs to the diocese of Clonfert."—Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 1991, n. (9).

⁴³ This parish is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," sheets 21, 29, 30, 35.

⁴⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. i., num. 5, p. 581.

⁴⁵ Dima is thought to be the scribe, mentioned in the Acts of St. Cronan, who lived A.D. 634, and who was employed to write a copy of the Gospels, afterwards preserved in the Abbey of Roscrea. See James J. Gaskin's "Varieties of Irish History," sect. x., pp. 336, 337.

⁴⁶ See what has been already stated, regarding St. Dima, or Dima Dubh, Bishop of Connor, in his Life, at the 6th of January,

were the praises bestowed on the Almighty, and on his saint.⁴⁷ The place where Cronan dwelt was infested with a multitude of demons. These would not suffer any person to inhabit it, before the arrival of our saint. However, the servant of God put them to flight, so that after his first arrival, they dared not molest him. At the request of a certain deaf man, our saint procured for him the sense of hearing, through devout prayers; and, again, when St. Cronan's monks had not the necessaries of life, on the Easter festival approaching, those asked their Abbot, to procure something for the occasion, through his prayers. The saint promised, that the Lord who was rich in mercy would provide for their wants. Shortly afterwards, the friends of Cronan appeared, and bearing with them a good store of provisions, which lasted until the time of Pentecost. At Lusmagh,⁴⁹ he spent a considerable time.⁵⁰ Our saint asked nine soldiers who were "on the green banks of Shannon," to help him in raising his boat. This was covered by the water of the river. Yet, they refused to oblige him, with one single exception. The chastisement of heaven fell on the recusant eight, who perished on that same day, by the hands of their enemies. He who obeyed the saint's commands was saved, through the interposition of Heaven; and, afterwards, assuming the habit of a monk, he devoted himself to a religious life.⁵¹

CHAPTER II.

ST. CRONAN LEAVES CONNAUGHT AND RETURNS TO HIS OWN TERRITORY OF EILE—HE SETTLES AT LOUGH CRE—MONAHINCHA—RAID OF THE OSSORIANS—ENQUIRY AS TO WHETHER ST. CRONAN HAD BEEN A BISHOP, OR WHETHER HE WAS ONLY A PRIEST.

AFTER the foregoing occurrences, some religious men, requiring a place of habitation, came to St. Cronan. He immediately relinquished his own dwelling, in their favour; and then, he ordered his disciples, not to take anything with them, when removing. However, it was known to the saint, one of them had disobeyed that order; when he was obliged to return, with a sack he had taken, from that place they had left. This disciple was obliged to do penance, for the remainder of his days. Then, St. Cronan directed his course, to his native land of Hely, where he rested near a bog called Lurgan,¹ opposite to or near the territory of Ossory, and on the western boundary of Leinster. However, he built a monastery, near Lough Cre.² Here, we are told, there was a lake.³ Another Life of St. Cronan remarks, that in it there was a small island, in which several most religious monks lived, in after ages.⁴ That island is now approachable, over a morass; and, no doubt, at no very remote period, water surrounded it on every side. The Lough or marsh,⁵ to which allusion is

chap. i.

⁴⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. ii., num. 6, p. 581.

⁴⁸ See *ibid.*

⁴⁹ See "The Parliamentary Gazetteer for Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 711, 712.

⁵⁰ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., p. 7.

⁵¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. ii., n. 8, p. 581.

CHAPTER II.—¹ The reader is referred, to what has been already stated, regarding the Stagnum Lurgan, in the Life of St. Mochæmhog, at the 13th of March, in vol.

iii., of this work, chap. ii. There, the place is identified with Leigh, near Thurles.

² In his Life, it is said, "magnum monasterium ædificavit; et ibi crevit clara civitas, quæ vocatur *Ross-cree*." See Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 28, p. 10.

³ The Bollandist Life has it, "prope stagnum Cre cellam ædificavit."

⁴ This is stated, in the Life of our Saint, as quoted by Ussher, in "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 502.

⁵ "Callem itaque prope Stagnum Cree (in quo est insula modica, in qua est monasterium monachorum semper religiosissimum) ædificavit; quæ Cella Sean-ross no-

made, is thought to be the present bog of Monela;⁶ and, it extends, as already described, on the borders of the Ossorian territory. Some small lakes are still to be found over its present surface. We have been informed, by the people residing near this place, that decayed remnants of old boats have been found buried, in various parts of that bog; while those indications prove, that formerly a great lough covered a very considerable tract of country, the configuration of which shows, that the River Nore at one time expanded here into a large lake. Formerly, there were two remarkable islands on it; the larger one containing an ancient church,⁷ and the smaller one having a chapel.⁸ About these very curious traditions were formerly current.⁹ That place, selected for Cronan's habitation, was not different from Monahincha,¹⁰ as it appears to us. Popular tradition even asserts, that the holy man lived there. The smaller island, at that place, was known as *Insula Viventium*, in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis;¹¹ because it was so salubrious, or rather owing to the merits of the patron saint, it had been supposed, that no person could die in it, let his malady be ever so great. That island, on which the monastery was built, contained about two acres of dry ground. We are informed, that in early times, the *Cælibes*, or *Culdees*, devoutly lived there; and, at a much later period, a prior and community of *Canons Regulars* succeeded them,¹² but these moved their habitation to Corbally,¹³ not far distant, and where are yet to be seen some very interesting ruins, and which have a history, dating back to a period somewhat remote.

minatur." See the old Life of our Saint, as quoted by Ussher, *ibid.*

⁶ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xii., n. 73, p. 203.

⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis has it: "Major ecclesiam habet antiquæ religionis."

⁸ Giraldus adds, "cui pauci cælibes, quos Cælicolas vel Colideos vocant, devote deserviunt."

⁹ See Giraldi Cambrensis' "Opera," vol. v., edited by James F. Dimock, M.A. *Topographia Hibernica*, Dist. ii., cap. iv., pp. 80, 81.

¹⁰ This townland lies within the parish of Corbally, and barony of Ikerrin, being shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," sheets 12, 17, 18.

¹¹ See "Opera" Giraldi Cambrensis, edited by James F. Dimock, M.A., vol. v. "Topographia Hibernica," Dist. ii., cap. iv., p. 81.

¹² See Sir James Ware, "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus, Disquisitiones," cap. xxvi., pp. 206, 207.

¹³ Now a parish, partly in the barony of Ikerrin, and shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," sheets 12, 17, 18; and partly in the Baronies of Ballybrit and Clonlisk, shown on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," sheets 42, 43, 45.

¹⁴ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 672.

¹⁵ See an article, intitled, "Ancient Irish Wonders," by P. W. Joyce, in "Hibernia," vol. ii., No. 2, p. 28.

¹⁶ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 667.

¹⁷ The accompanying illustration, from a drawing transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, shows the arched doorway, with a portion of the interior, and remains of the eastern window. It is engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

¹⁸ By Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," when treating about Roscrea, at p. 672.

¹⁹ Rev. Dr. Lanigan supposes, that being puzzled by the name Loughree, Archdall "guessed at that of Loughkee."—"Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., cap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 25, p. 9.

²⁰ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Writers of Ireland," Book i., p. 21.

²¹ While at Senruys, St. Cronan is said to have wrought many miracles.

²² In "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven, edited by Miss Margaret Stokes, the *Cella Sean-ross* is said to be "properly called *Stagnum Cré*," vol. ii., p. 119.

²³ The old name *Ross Cré* is rendered "the wooded point of *Cré*," while another derivation for it is said to be *Riase Cre*, or the moor, marsh, or fen of *Cre*. See *ibid.*

²⁴ See Harris' Ware, vol. ii., "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. xxxviii., p. 267.

²⁵ Papebroke does not consider him to be the same as *Furseus*, Abbot of Lagny, venerated on the 16th of January.

²⁶ Near Monahincha, a local legend was told the writer, that the whole of the sky about it is frequently most brilliantly illuminated by night. An old man, of near eighty

The great Ballaghmore, or pass between Munster and Leinster, was not far removed from the spot; and, on this public road, several holy pilgrims and others were found to be travelling, even at this early period. That great road, called "the King's highway,"¹⁴ passed on to Roscrea, and the present reconstructed public road deviates hardly at all from the very



Monahincha, County of Tipperary.

ancient one. On the Island of Monahincha yet stand the remains of a very beautiful old edifice, the doorway of which, with its curiously-carved and concentric semi-circular archway, is the admiration of every beholder. It is decidedly very ancient, and it is built in the characteristic Irish style. The beautiful little church-ruin of Monahinsha—formerly known to the Irish-speaking population as Inishnameo, or Inse-nam-beo, "Island of the living people"¹⁵—is about two miles from Roscrea¹⁵ The length of the church-ruin is about forty-four feet, and the width about eighteen. The windows had contrasted arches.¹⁶ The recessed arches of the doorway rest on bases, surmounted by capitals, while the zig-zag orna-

ment¹⁷ runs over them, in very regular form. Masses of ivy mantle over portions of the walls. The materials, used in the construction of this very beautiful old church, were excellent; and, these must have been transported thither, from some distance. It is incorrectly said,¹⁸ that Cronan built his cell, in an island of Loughkee—yet, it is evident, Lough Cree should be substituted; for, Loughkee or Loughkay is in the county of Leitrim, and far from St. Cronan's country.¹⁹ While he lived in or visited the Island of Ross-Cre, it is said, that St. Canice wrote a volume of the Four Evangelists, which was called by the ancients Glass-Kynnick.²⁰ In St. Cronan's time, the place was called Senruys;²¹ but, indeed, it is rather difficult to determine, whether this name be applicable to Monahincha,²² or to Roscrea.²³ We are inclined to believe, that

years in 1872, said he frequently witnessed this apparition.

¹⁷ Allusion is made to an irruption of the Ossorians into Eile, in the Life of St. Mochoemoc, chap. xxix. Probably, it was not different from the present raid.

¹⁸ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. ii., num. 10, 11,

pp. 581, 582,

¹⁹ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome v., xxviii^e Jour d'Avril, p. 57.

²⁰ Bibiana, the widow of Maelrony O'Carroll, furnished the necessary funds. See "De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus, Disquisitiones," cap. xxvi, p. 209.

²¹ It has been since united to the diocese

while St. Cronan lived at both places, and probably had a separate religious house in each locality, the narrative series of his acts in reference to both must have been confused in the mind of that writer, whose text has been published by Papebroke. Harris assigns the foundation of Roscrea monastery, to the sixth century;²⁴ and, it should be a difficult matter to prove he was mistaken; but, to us it appears, that St. Cronan founded Monahincha, before he thought of removing to Roscrea. While living in this place, certain holy men came to St. Cronan seeking hospitality; but, not finding his cell, which was removed from the public road, for the sake of greater retirement, they were obliged to spend a whole night without food or shelter. Hearing this, on the following day, our saint condoled with them, on account of their privations and mistake. Conducting a boy with him to the highway, Cronan said to him, "Return to thy place, while I remain here." His monks entreating him to return towards his home, our saint replied: "I must not go to a desert place, where the poor and strangers cannot find me, but I will remain on the public way." Earnestly desiring his return, the monks requested Fursæus,²⁵ the Bishop, to ask their superior to reside in his proper place. The Bishop replied: "In my opinion, your Abbot shall not change the place he has chosen; for, as the bees on a summer's day fly around their hives, so also, around that place, the gates of Heaven are opened, and a concourse of Angels does not cease continuously to approach it."²⁶ Return therefore to your Abbot, and obey him." They did so, accordingly, and there he built a great monastery. In this, he gained many souls to Christ, and there he wrought many miracles. Afterwards, the people of Ossory made an irruption, among the inhabitants of Hely.²⁷ These fled to St. Cronan, and besought his interposition, in their behalf. Even the monks, belonging to his monastery, feared the advance of their enemies. To comfort them, Cronan said, "My children, fear not, for although it shall seem otherwise to this hostile army, they shall do no injury to us." It is said, that the people of Ossory were deceived into a belief, that they had killed many men, wasted many villages, and returned with *œlât*, into their country; whereas they left the people and country of Hely almost uninjured. There was an exception, however, in the case of one man who was killed, because he refused to approach our saint with his country people. This miracle greatly increased the fame and veneration due to St. Cronan, in all parts of Hibernia.²⁸

Before this time, the monastery of Roscrea does not appear to have been built; however, its first foundation has been attributed to St. Cronan.²⁹ Indeed, Sir James Ware altogether overlooks its early history, when treating about Irish religious establishments; for, he only mentions, that a community of Minorite brothers erected a house, in that place.³⁰ However, in our Irish Annals, there are numerous entries to prove, that not only an abbot and a monastic community, with a school, were very early in existence there, but even Roscrea was the seat of a bishop,³¹ while it is frequently alluded to as the site of a celebrated city. We do not read—from any older record than in a Manuscript Florarius³²—of St. Cronan having been a bishop, although the Bollandist Papebroke was inclined to believe,³³ he was the bishop Cronan, mentioned by St. Adamnan, in his Life of St. Columba;³⁴ however, as already seen, it is much more likely, he was that Cuaranus Sapiens, or Cronan, son of Nethsemon, whose feast occurs, at the 9th of February.³⁵ Feeling the weak-

of Killaloe. See Usher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 502.

²⁹ This is remarked, by Colgan, in his "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Februarii, n. 11, p. 303.

³⁰ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, &c. Præ-

mium, num. 5, p. 579.

³¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Vita S. Columbæ, lib. i., cap. xxxiv., p. 348, and n. 94, p. 379.

³² See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," lib. i., cap. 44, and n. (a), pp. 85, 86.

ness of that conjecture, however, the Bollandist Papebroke lays down as almost certain, that our saint was the priest Cronan of the Third Order;³⁶ and, in fact, it is difficult to suppose, that so celebrated a saint should have been omitted in that catalogue,³⁷ as must have been the case, unless he was one Cronan, who is reckoned among the priests.³⁸ St. Cronan was old enough to be a bishop, before the death of St. Columkille.³⁹ But, there are circumstances which prove, that, if he ever had been a bishop, he was not so until after it.⁴⁰ Cronan is called only a priest, in the Life of St. Molua;⁴¹ and hence, it appears, that if he ever became a bishop, it must have been after the death of Molua, and consequently, several years after that of Columkille. Thus we see, that he could not have been the bishop Cronan, mentioned by Adamnan. Molua's applying to Cronan for the Blessed Eucharist, and taking it with him, was in conformity with the ancient practice of holy persons sending it to each other, in token of communion and of brotherly love.⁴² Thus, so far back as the times of St. Irenæus,⁴³ and even earlier, the Popes used to send it to bishops, even when placed over far distant churches.⁴⁴ Equally improbable is the conjecture of Papebroke,⁴⁵ that a Cronan, mentioned among the Irish bishops and priests to whom a Roman letter had been directed, could have been the Abbot of Roscrea. That Cronan was quite a different person from the present holy man,⁴⁶ nor could Cronan of Roscrea, even if then alive, and whether bishop or priest, have been among those, to whom said letter was directed; whereas, they were all northerners, and he was a southern. Had the Bollandists known the time of Fingen's reign, they would not have imagined, that Cronan could be alive in 640. To this date, however, the "Les Petits Bollandists"⁴⁷ refer St. Cronan's period. The Rev. Dr. Lanigan⁴⁸ was greatly inclined to suppose, that the Cronan, mentioned in the Third Class of Irish Saints,⁴⁹ had been identical with Cronan of Roscrea, were there not some reason to think, this latter had attained to episcopal rank.

CHAPTER III.

ST. CRONAN RECEIVES A VISIT FROM ST. MOCHOEMOC—OTHER COTEMPORARIES—FINGHEN KING OF CASIEL—ST. CRONAN DEPARTS THIS LIFE AT SENRUY OR LOUGH CRE—DATE FOR HIS DEATH UNCERTAIN—MEMORIALS TO HIM—CALENDAR COMMORATIONS—CONCLUSION.

AT a certain time, St. Mochemoc,¹ with others, came on a visit, when the monastic procurator told our saint, that only a small quantity of meal, butter

³⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, &c. Præmium, num. 7, pp. 579. 580.

³⁷ Published by Archbishop Ussher.

³⁸ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 20, p. 8.

³⁹ This, however, has been called in question by Colgan. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Februarii. De S. Cronano qui et Cuaranus, n. 11, p. 303.

⁴⁰ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 20, p. 8.

⁴¹ Thus, it is said of St. Molua: "Venit ad S. Cronanum de Ruiscree sedentem tunc in cella Senruis, et postulavit ab eo sacrificium

quod secum portaret; et dedit ei Cronanus. Cui Lugidius ait: Tecum relinquo locum meum, ut eum a persecutoribus defendas."—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, num. 9, p. 580.

⁴² See the Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 26, pp. 9, 10.

⁴³ See Eusebius, "Historia Ecclesiastica," lib. v., cap. 24.

⁴⁴ See Bingham's "Origines Ecclesiasticæ; The Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book xv., chap. iv., sect. 8.

⁴⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, &c. Præmium, num. 8, p. 580.

⁴⁶ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical

and beer remained. But Cronan, trusting in God's bounty, blessed what remained, and he ordered these provisions to be laid before his guests and monks; when they were found sufficient, for the use of one hundred and fifty men. Whilst at table, during the night, one of the lay brothers said, "I find that on this night, matins has not yet been said." Cronan then replied, "Brother, in our guest is Christ received, therefore should we continue our banquet, and be joyful at His coming. But, if you had not thus spoken, God's Angels would have prayed for us, on this night." Having finished their meal, they gave thanks to God.² We are reminded, by Colgan, that Cronan flourished A.D. 625, when he was present at the death of St. Mobian, son to Hua Alto, and, afterwards, he is said to have lived many years.³ A holy man, named Colman, was about to die.⁴ He sent for our saint to visit him, before his departure. But, before St. Cronan's arrival, Colman died. Having arrived, our saint prayed to God for the deceased, who was restored to life. Then, giving thanks to his benefactor, Colman placed himself and his people, under our saint's patronage. Another man, bearing a like name, having been killed by his enemies, was restored to life, by Cronan, in presence of many persons; and, having subsequently lived, for seven whole years, he devoted himself during this time to the service of God.⁵ On another occasion, while our saint and his charioteer passed along a road, their chariot was stopped by a tree, which had fallen across their way. The driver asked, what should be done, and being told to place his head on Cronan's breast, the tree stood upright, nor did it fall for many subsequent years. Nine men, who were looking on by the roadside, afterwards entered St. Cronan's monastery.

Some light is thrown on his period, owing to the following story. Fingen,⁶ King of Munster,⁷ went to the country of Hely, and he encamped at a place called Rathbecain.⁸ Whilst in this place, two of his horses were stolen, by a robber, who came from Meath;⁹ but, supposing this to have been the act of people living in the neighbourhood, that king had resolved on being avenged.¹⁰ Hearing of this intention, St. Cronan obtained an audience from the prince, to dispose him towards clemency, on behalf of those who were innocent. At the same time, having healed a chief servant belonging to that king, the latter, through veneration for our saint, dismissed all thoughts of vengeance against the neighbouring in-

History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xv., n. 91, pp. 413, 414.

⁷ See "Vies des Saints," tome v., xxviii^e. Jour d'Avril, p. 57.

⁸ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., p. 6.

⁹ See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvii., p. 474.

CHAPTER III.—¹ This visitor is thought to have been the St. Mochoemhog, or Pulcherius, Abbot of Liath-More, and whose Life has been given already, in vol. iii. of this work, at the 13th of March.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxvii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. iii., num. 12, p. 582.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Februarii, De S. Cronano qui et Cuaranus, n. 11, p. 303.

⁴ There is an ancient church, called Kilcolman, about six miles north from Roscrea. Perhaps this St. Colman was the patron.

⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis, Vita S. Cronani, cap. iii., num. 13, p. 582.

⁶ He is said to have lived, after the beginning of the seventh century, since his son Mælmachus survived to A.D. 660, according to Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xx. Januarii, Vita S. Fechini.

⁷ Also called Finine, King of Cashel.

⁸ This same place is alluded to, in the Vita S. Abbani, cap. xxi., as published by Colgan, at the 16th of March, in "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ." There, it is Latinized "atrium Becani," and it is placed in the region of Heli. But, Colgan could not determine, from which of the saints, called Becan, it had been named. See p. 616, and n. 27, p. 623.

⁹ "The ancient Meath was contiguous to Ele."—Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 29, p. 10.

¹⁰ This seems like an incident, which is otherwise told in the Life of St. Mochoemoc, a contemporary of Failbe Fland. See cap. xx. in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii, pp. 592, 593.

¹¹ The Life tells us, that these were mira-

habitants. St. Cronan also presented that king with two piebald horses from the Lake of Cre,¹¹ and with this present the potentate was greatly pleased. The saint likewise healed a son of this king, who was both deaf and mute.

At another time, having lost a copy of the Gospels, in the Lake of Cre, it remained immersed in water, for forty days and, as many nights, when it was found to have escaped, without the erasure of a single letter, much to the joy of our saint, who was greatly concerned at its loss. At one time, a golden apple, with two chains attached to it, was found in Clonfert city.¹² The inhabitants of this place, knowing it would be claimed by the King of Cashel,¹³ whose jurisdiction extended there, formed a similar ornament of brass, and it was gilt on the outside. Hearing of this occurrence, the prince sent his officer to Clonfert.¹⁴ He demanded the treasure found, but he received only the brazen ornament. At this time, St. Cronan chanced to be a resident at the king's court. He was then blind, through extreme age. Having, however, taken the ornament in his hand, St. Cronan was moved to cry out: "This, being made of brass, is not the one found in Clonfert city, for the finders have fraudulently substituted gilt brass for gold." The ornament being broken, the truth of Cronan's statement became manifest; when the king again sent his messengers to the inhabitants of Clonfert. They were then compelled to restore his legal tribute. This incident increased the king's regard for our saint, when he went to the city of Cashel. At this time, Cronan was a decrepid old man. On departing from it, the king and the people took leave of him, and treated him with distinguished honour. Shortly afterwards, the saint returned to his monastery, at Roscrea.¹⁵

In the Life of St. Cronan, he is called only Abbot, without the least allusion to his ever having exercised episcopal functions. Whether the Ros-crea—rendered Cre's Wood¹⁶—to which he returned was Monahincha, or the present Roscre, we feel unable to determine. But *ros* has several meanings, besides that of "wood," for, it is used to signify, "a promontory,"¹⁷ "an isthmus," "a plain," "arable land," "a rose," a disease so called, "science," "knowledge," "ingenuity," or "craft."¹⁸ Also *cre* means "earth," "clay," or "dust."¹⁹ Notwithstanding, although sometimes called Bishop of Roscrea,²⁰ it is quite probable, that the place had

culously produced; for, coming up from the lake, and with golden reins on their necks, they went direct to St. Cronan, and quietly stood before him.

¹² This must have been Clonfert Molua, now Kyle, in the Queen's County.

¹³ He seems to have had jurisdiction over Clonfert Molua, at that time; although we read, in the Life of St. Molua, the patron of that place, that he obtained the site for his religious establishment there, from Berach, the King of Leix. For further particulars, the reader is referred to St. Molua's Life, which occurs at the 4th of August, the date for his festival.

¹⁴ Papebrock considers this, to have been Clonfert, in the county of Galway, and lying between Loughs Ree and Dearg, not far from the Shannon river. He also imagines, that the rule of the King of Cashel extended over this part of Connaught, in St. Cronan's age, which is incorrect.

¹⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. iii., num. 14, 15, 16, 17, p. 582.

¹⁶ We are told, that Roscrea, in Tipperary, is thus written in the Book of Leinster. See Dr. P. W. Joyce's "Origin and History of Irish Names of Place," part iv., chap. viii., p. 478.

¹⁷ This description should well apply to the present, and possibly to the past, appearance of Monahincha, even in the time of St. Cronan; for the earth, on which the buildings stood, seems to have projected from the mainland.

¹⁸ See Edward O'Reilly's "Irish-English Dictionary," *sub voce*.

¹⁹ See *ibid*.

²⁰ Treating on the Life of Cronan, Sir James Ware calls him bishop, otherwise abbot of Roscrea. See "De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ," lib. i., cap. xlii., p. 89.

²¹ Rev. Dr. Lanigan suspects, that Ware's motive for giving him that title was, because Roscrea had formerly been an episcopal See, and his thence suppo-ing, that it was such so early as Cronan's time. See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 20, p. 8.

not been erected into a See, until after St. Cronan's death.²¹ During the last century, an interesting mediæval structure was there, which served for purposes of Protestant worship.²² Yet, portions of it remain, and especially the front gable, and entrance door²³ under a projecting half gate, with a niche on either side, and in a style corresponding. A belfry-loop tops the gable. The doorway is surmounted by recessed arches, in the ornate Irish style.²⁴ An image, it is thought of St. Cronan, but much defaced owing to the ravages of time, is near the doorway.²⁵ To the north-west, there is a fine round tower, eight feet, three inches, in diameter, with two steps around it, at the bottom; about fifteen feet from the ground, there is a window, with a regular arch, and at an equal height, there is another window, with a pointed arch.²⁶ We are told, that the round tower stands twenty-three feet to the right of the west gable, belonging to the ancient



St. Cronan's Church, Roscrea, County of Tipperary.

Abbey of Roscrea.²⁷ The roof of that *clogtheach* building has fallen, so that its present height does not exceed eighty feet. It is fifty feet in circumference, and the wall is four feet in diameter. The tower is built of

²² A later Protestant church has since been built within the graveyard, which is still much used for interments.

²³ The accompanying illustration is reproduced from a photograph lately taken, and it has been drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman. It is engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

²⁴ In accordance with the erroneous impressions existing in Archdall's time, and not even yet wholly abandoned by historians and architects, who ought to be better informed, the frontage of the former Roscrea church is said to have been of "Saxon architecture." Now, the Saxons adopted the purely Celtic style from their early Irish apostles in the seventh century, always preserving the similarity of form and fashion then prevailing in Ireland, down to the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. The Normans were the introducers of the fine Gothic churches, that afterwards succeeded, and of which so many magnificent specimens still exist in these countries.

²⁵ Archdall adds, "at a little distance is a cross in a circle, with a crucifix on one side, adjoining to which is a stone carved in various figures, and at each end a mezzo relievo of a saint, both are called, if we mistake not, the shrine of St. Cronan."—"Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 673.

²⁶ Pococke's Journal is quoted, by Archdall, for the foregoing particulars.

²⁷ There are two beautiful woodcut illustrations of the Belfry and West Front of St. Cronan's church, and another West Front View of St. Cronan's church, Roscrea, drawn by George Petrie, and engraved by Swain, in the Earl of Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture," edited by Margaret Stokes, in vol. ii., pp. 6, 8.

²⁸ The doorway is nine feet, nine inches, from the ground, the level of which, however, in one part has been raised two feet higher than it was originally. The aperture is on the east side of the building, and it faces the church. Its dimensions are four feet,

sand-stones, in irregular courses, spirally-shaped, and notched peculiarly, lapping into one another. The stones are of moderate size, and worked roughly to a curve; while, on the interior and below the door,²⁸ there is rough masonry, evidently intended to be filled up to that level. There is another aperture, triangularly headed, on the north-east side, about twenty-five feet above the level of the plinth.²⁹ This was either a doorway or a window.³⁰ On the west side,³¹ there is a quadrangular window,³² and another small one³³ is on the north side. Each of these apertures was placed, so as to light a separate story. On the inside of the wall are projecting stones. Two floors of timber remained in 1840,³⁴



Round Tower, Roscrea, County Tipperary.

while in 1815, the interior of the round tower was inhabited.³⁵ In the year 1131,³⁶ lightning pierced the steeple of Roscrea.³⁷ The age for the erection

three inches, in height, and two feet, one inch, at the base, and two feet, at the springing of the arch. It is round arched, and the arch is formed out of three stones, most of which extend the full thickness of the wall. There are contrivances for double doors in this entrance, and these have been accurately described, in Dr. Petrie's "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland," p. 369.

²⁹ This is on a level with the average surface of the porch, which is close by.

³⁰ It is four feet, eleven inches, high, to the springing of the arch; while, it is five feet, three inches, to the apex of the triangle; it is two feet, one inch, wide, at the base, and one foot, ten inches, at the top of the jambs. This aperture is arched inside; it is four feet, four inches, in height, and three feet, nine inches, in depth. Some curious carvings are to be found, on the inside.

³¹ About thirty-seven feet from the ground.

³² About twenty-seven inches high, by one foot wide, at the base.

³³ It is squared-headed, with inclined jambs.

³⁴ Then it was visited, by Mr. O'Keefe, while engaged on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

³⁵ Such information was given, by the sexton of the church, in 1840.

³⁶ According to the "Chronicum Scotorum."

³⁷ See the Earl of Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture," edited by Margaret Stokes, vol. ii., pp. 6 to 8.

³⁸ The present illustration is from a drawing, which was taken on the spot, by William F. Wakeman; and, afterwards, it was transferred by him to the wood, engraved by Mrs. Millard.

of the round tower is not known, but, it must have a respectable antiquity.³⁸ Beside it is a mill, now in ruins.³⁹

At Senruys, or Lough Cre, it is stated, that St. Cronan departed from this life.⁴⁰ It is possible, that a Lough was near Roscrea,⁴¹ as well as at Monahincha; and, from the context of the Bollandist Life, it would appear, he died at the former place, rather than at the latter. Of both places, however, he may be regarded, as the special founder and patron. When the last days of Cronan approached, he called his people together; and, although weak in body, his mind was yet vigorous. He exhorted them, always to observe peace and unity, as also to remain constant, in those good purposes, which at first animated them. Raising his hand, he afterwards blessed them and their city. Having received the most Holy Sacrament, St. Cronan departed this life, on the 4th of the May Kalends, corresponding with the 28th of April.⁴² The year of our saint's death has not been exactly ascertained; but, it is stated, that he attained a venerable old age, before he was called to bliss. From early youth to that moment, he had always faithfully observed the Divine precepts. We are told, that St. Cronan survived St. Lugid, otherwise called St. Molua; and, following this mere statement, Archdall assigns St. Cronan's death to the beginning of the seventh century.⁴³ In all probability, St. Cronan died, during the reign of King Fingen of Munster, who is mentioned in his Acts. The death of Cronan is recorded, soon after his return to Roscrea from Cashel. Now, Fingen or Finine is stated to have died in 619, or more probably towards 626; since his successor and brother Failbhe Fland⁴⁴ is said to have reigned eight years, and he died A.D. 633,⁴⁵ according to the Irish Annals.⁴⁶ It is stated, by Colgan,⁴⁷ that Cronan was alive in 625. The Bollandists go still further, pretending that he might have lived until after 639. For this statement, they had no authority whatever, except a very unfounded conjecture of their own,⁴⁸ that he might have been that first-named priest Cronan, mentioned with Thomian and others, Bishops, in a letter of the Roman clergy, which has been published by Archbishop Ussher.⁴⁹ About the year 640 is a time assigned for St. Cronan's departure, by the Rev. Alban Butler;⁵⁰ but, it is altogether improbable he lived to that date.

The venerable man Cronan was buried with great honour, in his favourite city of Roscrea. There, we are informed, his relics were preserved for succeeding ages. There, likewise, many miracles were wrought, through his merits and

³⁸ A view of both objects will be seen in Miss Stokes' work.

³⁹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis, Vita S. Cronani, cap. ii., n. 9, p. 581.

⁴⁰ Nothing of the kind appears there at present, more than a mill pond, beside the round tower. See a partial view of it, in "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven, edited by Miss Margaret Stokes, vol. ii., p. 6.

⁴¹ Archdall incorrectly states, that our saint died on the 10th of May. See "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 672. He had no authority whatever, for such an assertion.

⁴² See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xvii., sect. ii., n. 31, p. 10.

⁴³ See an account of these princes, in General Vallancey's "Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis," vol. i. Dissertations on the National Customs, and State Laws of the

Ancient Irish," part ii., chap. i., pp. 441 to 445.

⁴⁴ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xiv., sect. iii., n. 39, pp. 311, 312.

⁴⁵ Hew was younger brother to Finghin. See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 252, 253, and n. (i), *ibid.*

⁴⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum Hibernicæ," ix., Februarii. De S. Cronano qui et Cueranus, n. 11, p. 303.

⁴⁷ Papebroke thinks, that as Cronan must have attained a very old age, at this time, his name should naturally rank first among the priests named. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. De Sancto Cronano, &c. Præmium. num. 8, p. 580.

⁴⁸ See "Veterum Hibernicarum Sylloge." Epist. ix., pp. 22, 23.

⁴⁹ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xxviii.

intercession.⁵¹ In our own time, a beautiful new parochial Gothic church has been erected, by the spirited efforts, both of the priests and people at Roscrea; and, most appropriately has it been dedicated to St. Cronan, the local patron. It has a nave, transept and side aisles. Lusmagh,⁵² near Banagher, in the King's County, is also under our saint's patronage, and there, too, do the people annually commemorate him.⁵³

In the Feilire⁵⁴ of St. Ængus, the festival of St. Cronan occurs, at the 28th of April. On this day, likewise, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,⁵⁵ we read the name Cronan of Ruis Cre. We find mentioned, in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁵⁶ that on this day a festival was celebrated, in honour of Cronan, of Ros-cre. In the anonymous catalogue published by O'Sullivan Beare, Chronanus is set down at the 28th of April.⁵⁷ The Kalendar of Drummond has the festival of St. Chronain, at the very same day.⁵⁸ The Calendar of the Seasons enters his feast, also, at this date.⁵⁹ In various other calendars and records, the memory of this celebrated saint has been preserved, and notices regarding him are inserted, by different writers. The old author of his Acts has declared, that Cronan was distinguished for his merciful disposition; for his patience, modesty and humility; for his fasts and prayers, being a reproach to the tepid; but above all, he excelled in the great precepts of charity.

ARTICLE II.—ST. LUCHTIGHERN, ABBOT OF ENNISTYMON, OR INISTYMON, COUNTY OF CLARE. [Sixth Century.] Little is known regarding this holy man,

⁵¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tom. iii., xxviii. Aprilis. Vita S. Cronani, cap. iii., n. 18, pp. 582, 583.

⁵² Here "he remained a considerable time."—D. P. Conyngham's "Lives of Irish Saints." Within one mile of Banagher, and on the left bank of the Shannon, there is a place called Cill na Milchan, the ruins of which have now disappeared. The Rev. James Madden suspects, it was formerly the site of St. Cronan's monastery. In Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," it is called Cill-mic-Milchan, which he interprets, "the church of the son of Milchu," where an Abbot died, A.D. 883. See vol. i., pp. 534, 535, and n. (a). See, also, this Kilmacleshon noted, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the King's County," sheet 29.

⁵³ Letter from Rev. James Madden to the writer, dated St. Cronan's, Lu-maghl, Banagher, King's County, April 9th, 1884.

⁵⁴ In the "Leabhar Breac" copy is the following stanza:—

CHRISTIFER LA CRONAN
RUIF CHRE COTALAI
MAREIL CENROELA
LUO MOR MILEO MAREPA.

This translated by Whitley Stokes:—"Christopher with Cronan of Roscrea with starkness. On their feast without vain-glory went many soldiers of martyrdom." However it seems there were various readings, substituted for the foregoing stanza, and thus

do we find them recorded, by a scholiast on the "Leabhar Breac":—

CHRISTIFER LACRONAN
LUCHOAIGERN COTALAI
MAREIL CENROELA
LUO MOR MILEO MAREPA.

CHRISTIFER LA CRONAN
DAIG DERG COMBUAIS DALTA
INCEO OIRUARFIRE
LARLUO MILE MAREPA.

The foregoing two stanzas are thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—"Christopher with Cronan, Lughtigern (?) with starkness, on his feast without vain-glory went many soldiers of martyrdom." Also, "Christopher with Cronan, Daig Derg with gift of fosterlings, the yew of gold over lands, with whom went a thousand martyrs."

⁵⁵ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. At this date, in the Franciscan copy, we read, CRONAN RUIF CHRE AGUR PUMMUR MO CHUA OICETUR.

⁵⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

⁵⁷ See "Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50.

⁵⁸ Thus it is given, but there is evidently a misspelling of the name, at iv. Kl. Maii: "Et apud Hiberniam natale sancti confessoris Chonain."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 11, 12.

⁵⁹ See p. 119.

except what we learn of him incidentally, in the lives of other Irish saints. In the Martyrology of Tallagh, at the 28th of April, he is called the son of Cutrita.¹ However, he is called St. Luchtigernus filius Huatriti, by the Bollandists,² at this same date; while they add, he is similarly named by St. Ængus, and by Marianus O'Gorman. Brigh, daughter of Forannan, son to Conall, son to Tochtar, son to Amhalgaidh, sister of Maelaithghin, was his mother, according to the O'Clerys.³ There was a Saint Luctigern, who was the disciple of St. Ruadhan of Lothra, and this most probably was the person.⁴ Under him, St. Luchtigern progressed in studies, and in those virtues requisite for his promotion to the ecclesiastical state.⁵ Colgan alludes to him,⁶ as being mentioned in the Acts of St. Maccrecius.⁷ In the western part of Clare County, and rising near Lake Dulogh, there is a stream, which forms a boundary between the baronies of Ibrickane and Islands, for about two miles; then it runs across the barony of Inchiquin, and afterwards, in a north-westwardly



Ennistymon, County of Clare.

course, it forms a boundary between the latter barony and Corcomroe. It has several tributary streams, and on its northern bank is seated the present town of Ennistymon,⁸ or Innistymon, over a singularly romantic reach of the river so called, where ledges of rocks⁹ obstruct the course, and over a succes-

ARTICLE II.—¹ Thus, "Luchtigern mac Cutrita."—Rev. Dr. Kelly's "Calendar of Irish Saints," p. 22.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the pretermitted saints," p. 546.

³ See Rev. Drs. Todd and Reeves' "Martyrology of Donegal," pp. 112, 113.

⁴ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xiii. Martii. Vita S. Mochoemoci, n. 4, p. 597.

⁵ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. xi., sect. iii., n. 21, p. 89.

⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Januarii, Vita S. Itæ, n. 26, p. 72.

⁷ Chapters xx. and xxi.

⁸ It is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Clare," sheet 15.

⁹ The accompanying illustration of the

sion of these, the waterfalls career¹⁰ through a valley, unrivalled for picturesque and scenic beauty.¹¹ Here the present holy man chose a place for religious retirement and contemplation. St. Luchtigherna is the reputed founder of Inistymon Abbey, in the parish of Kilmanaheen, barony of Corcomroe, and county of Clare. It is Latinized, Inistymensis, or Inistomensis,¹² and it is almost due-east of the signal tower,¹³ rising over the sea-shore, at Lahinch, on Liscannor Bay. Over this house, he exercised the duties of Abbot; and, he was held in the highest repute, owing to his great sanctity. He once made a visit to St. Ita,¹⁴ and to her establishment, at Hy-Conaill Gaura, in the county of Limerick; and, we are told, that on this occasion, he was accompanied thither by St. Lasrean, Abbot of Druimliag.¹⁵ Not knowing this latter person, the nuns suffered him to pass through their gate, without any marked token of respect. For such omission, they were mildly reproved by their holy Abbess, who told them his name, and the great reputation he bore for sanctity. Those Abbots were accompanied by a young man, who had previously advised them not to visit the old woman—meaning Ita. When the visitors approached St. Ita, to receive her blessing, having a miraculous knowledge of what had occurred, she said to the young man, “Why have you come to the old woman, since you have told those holy Abbots, it would profit them little to visit me?” The young man felt deep regret, on account of his thoughtless expression; and, the visitors, having remained for three days with St. Ita, returned to their respective places of residence, having previously received her blessing.¹⁶ As St. Luchtigern was contemporaneous with St. Ita, who died A.D. 570, we might perhaps assume, that he departed before the close of the sixth century. The 28th of April¹⁷ is the festival day of St. Luchtigherna, and probably that of his death. It is entered, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹⁸ that veneration was given, on this day, to Luightighern mac Ua Trato. It is he that dwelt at Tuaim-fionn-locha, in Tratraighe, according to the O’Clerys. This ancient place is now known as Tomfinloe, or Tomfinlough, a parish in the barony of Upper Bunnratty, and county of Clare.¹⁹ The denomination Tuaim Finlocha, signifies “the mound or tumulus of the bright lake.”²⁰ Besides this lake are seen the ruins of an old church. Previous to the middle of the tenth century, the death of a Scannlan, Abbot of Tuaim-Finlocha, is recorded.²¹ Among the various readings to the Feilire of

scene, from a photograph, was drawn on the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

¹⁰ Alluding to the great Niagara Falls, the Most Rev. John Lynch has the following beautiful and suggestive passage: “The water, as it sweeps over the Falls, sinks deeply by its weight and momentum; and after gurgling, seething and foaming, rises again to the surface. One is reminded of that purification which takes place after death, and the troubles and agonies of the poor soul in the process of purification to be cleansed before its rising to enjoy the brightness and glory of God’s sweet countenance.”—Pastoral Letter of his Grace the Archbishop of Toronto “On the Catholic Institutions at Niagara Falls,” p. 3.

¹¹ See “Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland,” vol. iii., pp. 186, 187.

¹² See Colgan’s “Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,” xv. Januarii. Vita S. Itæ, n. 26, p. 72.

¹³ See Dutton’s “Statistical Survey of

the County of Clare,” chap. v., sect. 25, p. 339.

¹⁴ See her Life, at the 15th of January, the day for her feast.

¹⁵ See a notice of him, at the 25th of October.

¹⁶ See Colgan’s “Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,” xv. Januarii, Vita S. Itæ, cap. xxviii., p. 70.

¹⁷ According to Marianus O’Gorman, and the Commentator on St. Ængus.

¹⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

¹⁹ See Lewis’ “Topographical Dictionary of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 636.

²⁰ There are two sketches of Cahirs and Sections at Tomfinlough, among the Irish Ordnance Survey Records, in the Royal Irish Academy.

²¹ See Dr. O’Donovan’s “Annals of the Four Masters,” at A.D. 944, vol. ii., pp. 654, 655, and n. (k), *ibid.*

²² The name in Irish is written *Luchtigherna*, in what may be regarded as a

St. Ængus, in the "Leabhar Breac" copy, at this date, we find the name of Lughtigern introduced,²² as already noticed. In the Martyrology of Tallagh,²³ the name is merely recorded, at the 28th of April, as Lucthigern mac Cutrita.²⁴ A Life of Maccreiche states,²⁵ that it was there—at Tuaim-fionnlocha—Lughtigern was either buried or venerated.²⁶

ARTICLE III.—ST. CORTILLUS, KORTILLUS, OR KORTILLA, ALSO CALLED CORTYLA, KORTILLA, AND RORTILA, BISHOP OF VERDEN, LOWER SAXONY. [*Ninth Century.*] It may here be premised, that about or subsequent to the ninth century, several Scots—whether born in Scotland or in Ireland being sometimes doubtful—were missionaries on the Continent. By Albert Crantz, this holy man is called Rortila¹—perhaps a printer's error for Kortila—and he is said to have been from the English or Scottish nation.² Now, it frequently happened, that Irish-born ecclesiastics went from Ireland, and exercised their ministry in either England or Scotland, before they migrated to more distant countries; so that, as in the present case, where traditions about their origin appear to be lost, and where historic records are sufficiently nebulous, we have taken advantage of doubts, to class some of these holy men, although without clear evidence, among our national saints. It is not an easy matter to discover, if Kortilla—as has been asserted³—were one of the Scots, belonging to the monastery of Amarbaric. In an ancient Manuscript belonging to the church of Verden, he is called Cortyla, and he is enumerated among six holy bishops,⁴ attached to that See. We are told by Dempster⁵ that Kortilla, whom he calls, likewise, Rortila, or Cortyla, was the friend and familiar of Tancon and Patto, and that he dwelt a long time in Germany. He became the sixth bishop of Verden.⁶ Yet, this same Dempster, in his "Menologium Scotorum," makes him the tenth in order there.⁷ Besides his becoming bishop of Verden, he was a martyr for the faith.⁸ He admirably and prudently administered the affairs of that church. To such a position, he is said to have been one of the Scots elevated by Charlemagne—owing to his great faith and extraordinary merits—when the subjugation of the Saxons⁹ had been accomplished. If we are to credit Dempster, St. Cortillus wrote many tracts, all of which have perished, except "Homilias de Sanctis," lib. i. But, indeed, that Scottish writer is not only inconsequent, in his accounts of several

spurious stanza, and probably an alteration of the original text was attempted, for the purpose of perpetuating a knowledge of this saint and of his festival, through the well-known popularity of Ængus' poem.

²² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

²³ The Franciscan copy enters, at this same date Luchthigern mac Cutritcho.

²⁴ Chapter xii.

²⁵ So Rev. Dr. Todd interprets the meaning of that passage.

ARTICLE III.—The Bollandist Papebroke thinks it most likely, that this was the true name for our saint. See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxx., De S. Sviberto Ep. Verdensi, in Saxonia Inferiore, Præmium, num. 7, p. 803.

² Albert Krantzius says, "e gente Anglorum aut Scotorum."—"Metropolis," lib. i., cap. 29, p. 21.

¹ By Dempster, who states, "ex eorum numero, quos sæpe dixi a Scotia ad Amar-

baricensis claustrum vocatos, inde ad regimen episcopale admotus: fortitudinis simul, et pietatis Scoticæ in ea gente trophæa extare, ex Bruschio et aliis."

⁴ So the Bollandists state, and they super-add "quos et Officium S. Sviberti, citatum a nobis in ejus Vita ad xxx. Aprilis, suppressis nominibus sanctos vocat."—"Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 546.

⁵ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," toms ii., lib. x., num. 756, p. 411.

⁶ "Ut Gaspari Bruschio placet."

⁷ Thus, "xxiix. Verdae, Kentillæ episcopi, qui Scotorum decimus eam sedem moderatus, B."—See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendary of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

⁸ See Father Stephen White's "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. iv., p. 44.

⁹ According to Philipp. Belforest, lib. i., Histor. Carolor.

¹⁰ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis

holy persons, but even contradictory, as in the present instance. Elsewhere, Dempster¹⁰ has an account of this same sixth bishop of Verden, as St. Rortilla, and he is set down as writer of "Statuta Ecclesiæ Verdensis," lib. i. With other saints of that church, his relics had been religiously preserved.¹¹ From the cruelty of the Saxons, we are told, he suffered martyrdom,¹² although the day for his veneration has not been prescribed by the Church. In the Scottish Fasti, he is inscribed as a Bishop and Martyr, by Camerarius.¹³ Dempster states, that he flourished under Dungal, King of Scotland, in 826; but, that he could not easily find when he died; yet, in another place, he gives the date for the death of Kortilla, at 829.¹⁴ Elsewhere, Dempster calls¹⁵ him Kentilla, bishop of Verden, and he then tells us, that he sat there in the year 910; for which statements, Dempster refers to the Acts of that church, to Krantz, and to other writers, but, we fear, without the slightest warrant. In the anonymous Catalogue of our National Saints, as published by O'Sullivan Beare,¹⁶ the name of St. Kortillus is given, at the 28th of April. In the English Martyrology, in Arnold Wion,¹⁷ in Ferrarius,¹⁸ and in other Calendars, the festival of St. Cortillus is placed, also, at the 28th day of April.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. SUIBHNE, OF SCÉLLIC, PROBABLY COUNTY OF KERRY.

An entry appears in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 28th of April, concerning Suibne i Scéillic. The same record occurs in the Franciscan copy.² This holy hermit is referred to by Colgan,³ and also by the Bollandists.⁴ It is probable, that Scéillic must be sought for among the three Skelligs⁵ Islands, off the south-west coast of Kerry, and belonging to the parish of Killemlagh, in the barony of Iveragh.⁶ On the Great Skellig, a considerable distance from the shore, are the ruins of a monastic institute. Several stone cells or oratories remain, and they are built of stone, dove-tailed, and without any mortar. They have conical roofs.⁷ The old church or oratory

Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvi., num. 1043, p. 556.

¹¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De S. Svitberto Ep. Verdensi, in Saxoni Inferiore, Præmium, num. 5, p. 803.

¹² For this account, Dempster quotes Albert Krantzius' "Metropolis," lib. i., cap. xxix., who has no such statement there.

¹³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 546.

¹⁴ The work of Albert Krantzius' "Metropolis," lib. ii., cap. xxx., is mendaciously quoted for his death, in 829. Dempster also Suffrid. Petr., lib. i., Orig. Saxon., cap. xv.; but I have not the latter work to examine, for the truth of his statement.

¹⁵ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. x., num. 771, p. 419.

¹⁶ See Historia Catholice Iberniæ Compendium," tomus i., lib. iv., cap. xi., p. 50.

¹⁷ See Lignum Vitæ," lib. ii., cap. lv.

¹⁸ In "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum."

ARTICLE IV.—Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² At this date, we find Suibni i Scéilic.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xi. Januarii, De S. Suibhneo scu Svinneo Abbate Hiensi, n. 1, p. 57. There, he is mentioned, as "Subneus Abbas Schelekensis, 28 April."

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 546.

⁵ However, they are usually distinguished as the Great Skellig Rock and the Little Skellig Rock.

⁶ These Islands are shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kerry," sheet 104.

⁷ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., pp. 556, 557.

⁸ The accompanying illustration has been drawn from Miss Stokes' admirable work, by the writer, and transferred by William F. Wakeman to the wood, engraved by Mrs. Millard.

⁹ See "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven, edited by Margaret Stokes, vol. i., part i., sect. ii. Early Christian Monasteries, pp. 26, 27.

¹⁰ A note by Dr. Todd here says, "The more recent hand adds, 'i. Scéilic micél' [Scéilig Michael, an island off the coast of Kerry] ut videtur."

of Seilig Mhichel,⁸ or Michael's Rock, with a group of surrounding monastic cells, is built on the northern summit of the Great Skellig. This Island, which rises in the Atlantic Ocean, is about twelve miles distant from the westernmost point, and off the coast of Kerry. The Island Rock is dedicated to St.



Scellig Michil Oratory, County of Kerry.

Michael the Archangel, and its steep peak rises over the waves, like the spire of some grand cathedral.⁹ On this day was venerated, Suibhne, of Scellie,¹⁰ according to the Martyrologies of Marianus O'Gorman and of Donegal.¹¹

ARTICLE V.—ST. COIPP, OR COPA, DAUGHTER OF DIOMMA. The Bollandists state,¹ that Copa, the daughter of Dima, is entered in the Martyrology of Tallagh, at the 28th of April; but, neither in the Franciscan copy, nor in that one published by Rev. Dr. Kelly, can we meet with such a record. However, a holy woman, who is called Coipp, daughter of Diomma, was venerated, on this day, as the register in the Martyrology of Donegal² indicates. A Cipia or Copia, the mother of St. Bite, is said to have been veiled by St. Patrick, and to have been left by him, at the church of Elphin.³ It is not certain, however, that she can be identical with this St. Coipp.⁴

¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE v.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the pre-termitted saints, p. 546.

² Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

³ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga,"

Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. ii., cap. xxxix., p. 134, and n. 78, p. 176. See also, p. 270.

⁴ See what has been already said, when treating about the festivals of saints similarly named, at the 18th of January, and at the 24th of this month.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. CAURNAN, OR CAERNAN, OF CLUAIN-EACH. In the Martyrologies of Tallagh,¹ and of Marianus O'Gorman, at the 28th of April, is recorded St. Caurnan of Cluain-each. However, the Bollandists assert,² that a St. Caernanus de Cluain-eich is entered in those Martyrologies. A monastery of Clumet³ is mentioned, in the Acts of St. Fursej, as having been founded by the holy Abbot.⁴ The reader is referred to his Life, which has been given, in a foregoing volume.⁵ There was a Cairnanus, son to Brandubh, son to Melgi; and, he was the companion of St. Columkille, when the latter first set out for Britain.⁶ The reader is referred, to what has been already stated regarding him, at the 31st of January. A saint, who is called Caernan, of Cluain-each, was venerated on this day, as we find it set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁷

ARTICLE VII.—ST. CONCHIND OF CILL-ACHAID. At the 28th of April, the Martyrology of Tallagh¹ registers Conchind of Cill-achaid. This place must probably be identical with Kill Achaidh Conchinn, founded first by St. Abban,² in the district of Corca Duibhne, now Corcaguiney barony, in the county of Kerry. One Coincheann, a daughter of Ceallach Cualann, died, A.D. 738, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters;"³ but, we cannot feel assured, that she may be identified with St. Conchind of Cill-Achaid. A festival is also recorded to her honour, at the 20th of August. It would seem, the present day, or that already mentioned, must have been her Natalis. This holy woman, called also Conchennia, is said to have been the sister of St. Kentigerna, or Centigerna, who has been already noticed, at the 7th day of January.⁴ Her royal parentage is there mentioned.

ARTICLE VIII.—FESTIVAL OF ST. CHRISTOPHER, MARTYR. In the Leabhar Breac copy of St. Ængus' Feilire, a festival of St. Christopher is commemorated, at the 28th of April. In a *scholion* affixed to this account, he is set down as a martyr,¹ who suffered under Decius, with no less than 10,403 martyrs.² In the genuine Martyrology of Bede, as also in the Martyrologies of St. Raban Maur, and in the Manuscripts at Monte Cassino, at St. Maximin's and at St. Martin's church of Treves, and in Ado's Manuscript copy belonging to the Queen of Sweden, this feast has been recorded. However,

Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we read Caurnan Cluainech.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii. Aprilis xxviii. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 546.

³ Colgan thinks this may have been a misprint for Cluainet or Cluainech, *alias* Cluaineach. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," ix. Februarii. Vita S. Fursei, n. 10, p. 299.

⁴ See his Life, at the 16th of January.

⁵ See "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. i., chap. v., n. 48.

⁶ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., num. 14, p. 488, and p. 501.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy, at this date, enters Conchinn Cill. Achro.

² See his Acts, at the 27th of October.

³ See Dr. O'Donovan's edition, vol. i., pp. 340, 341.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," vii. Januarii, n. 8, p. 22.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ The strange epithet is applied to him of being a concheno, rendered a "doghead," or "wolfhead." See Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art," p. 449.

² An Irish poem is quoted, containing the following eulogy:—

Roboclepech conglaine
 Robe inraiboech curraige
 Rezarim cenoiner tarlaer
 Adainn oile curraier.

Thus translated, by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—
 "He was a cleric with purity: he was a pious Christian: before the call without

in a certain document of the Carthusians, at Bruxelles, it is set down as the Translation of St. Christopher's relics. The Natal day of this holy Martyr is thought to be the 25th of July.³ There is a beautiful allusion⁴ to this holy martyr, who is thought to have carried Christ on his shoulders, over a sea; although the allegorical meaning seems to be, that he carried our Redeemer in his breast, while wading through a sea of temporal tribulation.

Twenty-ninth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. DIOCHU, OR DICHIUS, OF SABHALL, OR SAUL,
COUNTY OF DOWN.

[FIFTH CENTURY.]

IT has been very generally supposed, that the first convert made by the illustrious Apostle of Ireland, after his mission had opened in Ulidia, was Dichu,¹ or Dichus,² or Dichuo,³ sometimes written Diochu, and Dichon,⁴ who lived in that district, comprising the present Barony of Lecale, in the county of Down. The particulars of his conversion have been already alluded to, in the Life of St. Patrick.⁵ His early neophyte, having once embraced the faith, afterwards led a most exemplary life. In the published Martyrology of Tallagh,⁶ however, there is no notice of this pious convert, at the 29th of April; although the Bollandists⁷ refer to that calendar, and at that same date, for the entry Dichus de Sabhall. In Irish ecclesiastical history, he has attained much celebrity, and his story has often been related.⁸ He descended from a distinguished family, who belonged to the northern part of Ireland; and there he appears to have been born, perhaps, about the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth, century. His father is said to have had a very numerous family of sons, whose names have been placed on record. Thus, we are informed, that Trichem, a chief of Uladh, had seven sons, viz., Dichu of Sabhall, or Saul, Laeghaire of Dun, Ailill of Magh-bile, or Merville, Duirthecht of Aedruim, or Mahee Island, Eoghan of Cillecleithi, or Kilclief, Ros of Dundaletghlas, or Downpatrick, and Niall of Cillecleithi, or

reproach over sea his proper name was Christopher."

³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxviii. Among the premitted saints, p. 547.

⁴ In the "Opera" of Vida, tomus ii., Hymnus 26, there is an Epigram, thus referring to him:—

" Christophere, infixum quod cum
usque in corde gerebas,
Pictores Christum dant tibi ferre
humeris," &c.

ARTICLE I.—¹ He is so called, in Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxix., p. 14. Also, in

Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., xxxviii., pp. 71 to 73.

² See *ibid.* Quarta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxiii., p. 39.

³ See *ibid.* Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. iii., cap. lvii., p. 160.

⁴ See *ibid.* Septima Vita S. Patricii, lib. i., cap. xlvii., xlix., li., liii., pp. 124, 125.

⁵ See vol. iii. of this work, at the 17th of March, chap. vii., viii.

⁶ Neither is it in the Franciscan copy.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the premitted saints, p. 611.

⁸ The Fortune of Dichu is related, in Patrick Kennedy's "Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts," at p. 321.

Kilclief.⁹ These were of the race of Fiatach Finn, the ancestor of the Dal Fiatach, a strictly Ultonian tribe. The patrimony of Dichuo seems to have been near the southern shore of Lough Cuan, now Lough Strangford, and where a small river, formerly called the Slaney, enters into the sea. There, he had a swineherd employed, who, on the arrival of St. Patrick and of his companions, gave the alarm to his master. He thought these strangers were to be regarded as thieves or pirates. Jocelyn relates, that when St. Patrick first opened his Irish mission in the north, which is generally thought to have been A.D. 432, a certain man named Dichu, who was powerful of strength, gigantic of stature, and savage of mind,¹⁰ occupied the district in that quarter.¹¹ where the Irish Apostle landed in Ulidia. Dichuo¹² brought dogs to attack the voyagers, but he was unable to succeed in his purpose. As when the prophet sent from Juda to Bethal was opposed by the king sacrificing to idols, and when Jereboam stretched forth his hand against the man of God, the king's hand withered, so that he was not able to again withdraw it, until the prophet interposed in his behalf;¹³ so, it would seem, such a miracle took place, in the case of Dichuo. St. Patrick and his companions are said, by Probus, to have landed, at an island, called Milchon;¹⁴ but, this seems to be a mistake for Mag-Inis, a low-lying island in the district known as Leth-Cathuil, or Lecale.¹⁵ This chieftain brandished his sword intending to destroy the saint. But, the Lord interposed his protecting arm, all Dichu's strength withered, and he entirely stiffened, so that he could move, neither his foot to go forwards, nor his hands to strike. Experiencing such a miracle, suddenly Dichuo changed into another man; and from being proud becoming humble, his fierceness was changed into mildness, from an infidel, he became a believer, with all his household, at the preaching of St. Patrick, and he was baptized in the Christian faith.¹⁶ As his soul was then loosed from the chains of sin, so were his limbs loosed from their heaviness, and all their strength was restored unto them. Thus, he who had been the first and principal opposer of the Faith in Ireland, became its first professor, and even to his latest age, he continued its most devoted follower.

To atone for his former obstinacy, Dichu presented a place, called Sabhal, now Saul,¹⁷ where St. Patrick might erect a church. To this proposal, the great Irish Apostle most willingly assented. Dichu requested it might be erected in a direction, lying north and south.¹⁸ On account of some peculiarity in its position, or use, the name Sabhall, which means "a barn," was probably applied to the original church.¹⁹

⁹ All their churches were within Trichem's territory, as we are told, by Rev. Dr. Reeves, in Note 1, to the "Martyrology of Donegal," at April 29th, p. 114. However, we doubt, if all their places may be converted into churches, with which they had been connected.

¹⁰ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Sexta S. Patricii, cap. xxxii., p. 72.

¹¹ His castle is said to have been where Saul is now built, a village about two miles from Downpatrick.

¹² O'Sullivan Beare, in his Decades on St. Patrick, has an account of Dichuo, lib. i., cap. vii., and lib. iii., cap. i.

¹³ See iii. Kings xiii., 1 to 6.

¹⁴ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quinta Vita S. Patricii, lib. i., cap. xxviii., p. 49.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, n. 30, p. 63.

¹⁶ See Miss Julia Corner's "History of Ireland," p. 16.

¹⁷ The monastic remains there, about the middle of the last century, are very interestingly described, by Walter Harris, in his "Ancient and Present State of the County of Down." chap. i., sect. ii., pp. 39, 40.

¹⁸ Jocelyn confesses his inability to discover the reason for such a request; but, he conjectures, it might have the mystic meaning, that those persons who had been then addicted to the worship of idols might be persuaded from the northern coldness of unbelief, to the meridian fervour of the faith and to the charity of Christ. In the twelfth century, this church was called Sabhall Phadrugh, that is, the Barn of Patrick. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxii., p. 72.

¹⁹ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiasti-

This church of Saul was the first founded, by St. Patrick ; its ground was the first consecrated and offered in Ulster, for a religious purpose ; while its donor Dichu was the first convert known, in that part of Ireland.²⁰ The year 432 is said to have been that for its first ecclesiastical appropriation ;²¹ and, it was probably erected, under the personal supervision of St. Patrick and by his band of missionaries. After the foundation of this first Irish church, St. Patrick went northwards, to visit his former master Milcho, or Miliuc ; but, he failed in effecting a conversion, and afterwards, he came back to the house of Dichu, in the plain of Inish.²² In that beautiful country around, St. Patrick wrought many miracles, and preached the Gospel, while he received many professions of the true Faith from the inhabitants. The monarch of Ireland, King Leoghaire,²³ detained two of Dichu's sons as hostages at that time, and he decreed, that they should be put to death, because their father had given sanctuary and protection to St. Patrick. However, owing to the holy prayers of the Irish Apostle, both of those young nobles obtained their freedom. We have no further account of Dichu, in the various Lives of St. Patrick ; but, it is reasonable to conjecture, that the local dynast passed his days at or near Saul, where it seems probable he died and was buried. In process of time, St. Patrick built there a suitable monastery, to which he introduced monks, who had passed their novitiate under him. For their use, not long afterwards, and through his prayers, St. Patrick produced a fountain out of the earth. Over that monastery of Saul did he appoint his disciple, St. Dunnius, to be Abbot. When the holy Apostle had returned from his mission—most probably in the south of Ireland—he dwelt with Dunnius²⁴ not a few days.²⁵

The feast of St. Patrick's disciple Dichu has been assigned, to the 29th of April, by Father John Colgan.²⁶ At this date, also, he had intended to dilate on Dichu's Acts.²⁷ St. Dicha is set down in Henry Fitzsimon's List of Irish Saints, but the date for his festival is not recorded.²⁸ On the 29th day of April was venerated, Diochu, of Sabhall, as we read in the Martyrology of Donegal.²⁹ It is likely, says the calendarist, that this is the Dichu, son of Trichem, descended from the race of Fiatach Finn, monarch of Erin ; and that it was he, who gave Sabhell, to Patrick ; and that it was on him Patrick bestowed the famous blessing, by which he promised Dichu the kingdom of heaven.³⁰ As if doubting his own identification, the author then adds : there

cal Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dro-more," p. 49, n. (1). Also, Appendix O, pp. 220 to 223, and Appendix LL, p. 377.

²⁰ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Vita Tripartita, or Septima Vita S. Patricii, pars. 1, cap. xlvii., p. 124.

²¹ See Üssher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," Index Chronologicus, A. D. ccccxxxii.

²² It has been Latinized *Insula Campes-tris*, because this district was not an Island strictly so called, but rather a penin-sula, of exceeding great fertility, and washed by the surrounding sea. See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxx., p. 14, and n. 51, p. 19.

²³ According to some accounts, this monarch is said to have embraced Christianity, after the preaching of St. Patrick at Tara ; while others maintain, he apo-statized, after receiving baptism. See Rev. Dr. Thomas Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. i. Preliminary Discourse, p. xx.

²⁴ It is thought by Colgan, that this holy man may have been the Moduinus of Marianus O'Gorman, who places his feast, at the 29th of May.

²⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Sexta Vita S. Patricii, cap. xxxii., p. 72, and n. 33, p. 110.

²⁶ See *ibid.*, Quinta Appendix ad Acta S. Patricii, cap. xxxiii., p. 265.

²⁷ See *ibid.*, Secunda Vita S. Patricii, n. 47, p. 19.

²⁸ See "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Iberniæ."—O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholice Iberniæ Compendium," to-mus i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 53.

²⁹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

³⁰ In the quatrain, which may be found in the Life of Patrick, and as translated into English, it is written :—

"The blessing of God on Dichu,
Who gave me the Sabhall ;
He shall be thereafter
Heavenly, splendid, most famous," &c.

is a Modichu, we are told, descended from the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmedhoin. It may be, that he is identical with this Dichu, as some, say the O'Clerys, understand. This latter opinion, however, seems inadmissible, for that Modichu was brother to St. Baire, ³¹ of Cork, and son of Aimerger, who was ninth in descent from Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmedhain, and who was the founder of a distinguished Connacian family. ³² On the other hand, it may be questionable, if Dichuo has been ranked among the saints of our earliest calendars; although, his conversion and subsequent life, according to nearly all the ancient Lives of St. Patrick, give him a claim on our consideration, as a special benefactor of Christianity in our Island, and as the true and loyal friend of her great Apostle.

ARTICLE II.—ST. CUACH, OR COINGEAN, VIRGIN, OF FIONNMAGH CHURCH, AND SAID TO HAVE BEEN OF KILLEEN CORMAC, COUNTY KILDARE. [*Fifth or Sixth Century.*] The real history of St. Cuach, or St. Coingean, it is now difficult to ascertain. We find recorded, in the Martyrology of Tallagh, ¹ at the 29th of April, Coningen .i. Cuach .i. Ci Finn Maighi. The Bollandists ² have, at this date, Coningenia seu Cuacha in Lagenia. The glossographer to the Calendar of St. Ængus has an alternative conjecture, that Coningen may have been Condingen of the family of Mochuda ³ of Lismore, and belonging to the Decies of Munster, descending from the Coningnig, a tribe to the north of Sliab Cua, whose place was Ard Finain; but, he thinks it truer, that Coningen was a girl, otherwise called Conach, of Cell Finnmaige. ⁴ We are informed, that the maiden Coningen or Cuach was uterine sister to Caemhin, ⁵ of Anatrium in Ossory, and to St. Attracta. ⁶ Her mother was Caemell, daughter to Cenendan or Cen Finnan, son of Cesi, son to Lughair, of the Uí Lugair. By her first husband, Talan, Caemell became mother to the foregoing saints. Her second husband is said to have been Caemlog of the Dalmessincorb, by whom she had Caemghin or Kevin ⁷ of Glendalough, and Naithcheam, ⁸ or Mochoema Mac Uí Lughair, said to have been the Abbot and founder of Terryglass, ⁹ in the county of Tipperary. ¹⁰ Coingean is described more particularly, elsewhere, and she is said to have been a daughter to a King of Leinster. ¹¹ A curious tradition regarding her was, that she had a great nail on her finger, like to a wolf's nail, and this is stated, by the scholiast on the Feilire of St. Ængus. ¹² In a note on the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, her place is described, ¹³ as being in Fionn-maighe, in Uí Feneclais in Fortuatha in Laighen. Cille-Fionn Maigh, or the Church of Fionn-magh, is said to have been in the territory of the Fotharts, or within the immigrants' districts. The Leinster Fothuartha were in the

³¹ Venerated at the 25th of September.

³² See note (I) by Rev. Dr. Reeves, to the "Martyrology of Donegal," at April 29th, p. 114.

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find Coningen .i. Cuach maige.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

³ His Life occurs, at the 14th of May.

⁴ See "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i. The Calendar of Oengus, edited by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., p. lxxvii.

⁵ Venerated at the 3rd of November.

⁶ Her feast occurs, at the 9th of February.

⁷ See his Life, at the 3rd of June.

⁸ His feast belongs to the 1st of May.

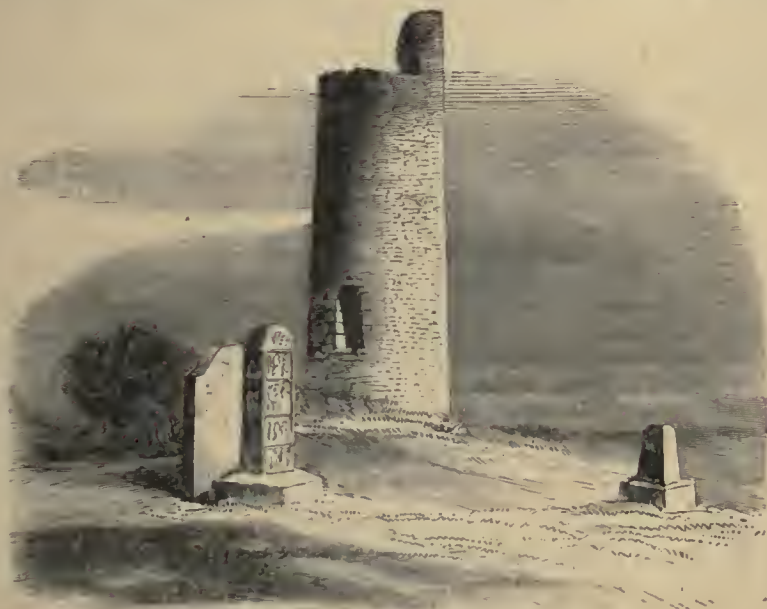
⁹ According to most accounts, St. Columba, the son of Crinthan, whose feast was kept on the 13th of December, was founder of this monastery. See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 676.

¹⁰ See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. viii., n. 2, p. 150.

¹¹ According to the gloss of the Leabhar Breac.

¹² The Leabhar Breac version.

mountainous region of Wicklow, and in the bordering territories. If we are to accept as a historic indication, that tradition which has been recorded in reference to St. Coiningean, she must have lived contemporaneously with St. Mactail, or St. Mactalius, an early Bishop of Kilcullen, who flourished towards the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. He is found classed, among St. Patrick's disciples; however, he must have been very young, when the Irish Apostle died,¹⁴ for Mactail lived until the 11th of June,¹⁵ A.D. 548.¹⁶ and he could not have been bishop in Kilcullen, until after the death of St. Isernius, in 468.¹⁷ Most probably, he did not immediately suc-



Kilcullen Round Tower and Crosses, County of Kildare.

ceed, after that See became vacant.¹⁴ At this place, an ecclesiastical establishment was founded, it is stated, during the lifetime of the illustrious Apostle of Ireland; while, at the present day, a fine round tower,¹⁹ partially destroyed at the top, and some interesting relics of the past,²⁰ are to be seen. These

¹⁴ In a note, Dr. Todd says, at this word, *Coiningean*. The more recent hand inserts "arribe Cuac Cille Donnmaige a nuib feneclair a broptuastuib Lagen. Mar."

¹⁵ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. ii., chap. x., sect. xiii., p. 70, and n. 224, p. 73.

¹⁶ See notices of him, at that date.

¹⁷ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Secunda Vita S. Patricii, nn. 39, 40, p. 19.

¹⁸ According to the "Annales Ultoniensis," which note at this year, "Liseranus Eps. moritur."—Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., p. 5. A mistake occurs, Liseranus is put for

Isernius, as it is rightly found in Codex Clar. 19, and, the learned editor shows this, in n. 7. *Ibid.*

¹⁹ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. i., chap. viii., sect. ii., p. 377.

²⁰ There is an interesting engraving, which represents the shaft of an ancient cross, at Kilcullen, in an unpublished work, "Thirty-six Etchings of Irish Antiquities," No. 6. Of this work, only fifteen copies were printed, in 4to, A.D. 1830.

²¹ In August, 1883, the writer drew a sketch of this round tower, as here represented, with fragments of old crosses in

are placed within the ancient graveyard, and this crowns a beautiful eminence, from which fine views of the adjacent country can be obtained. Coinegean must have flourished, at an early period; since, we are told, she was a pupil or *daltha* to Mac Tail, of Cill Cuillinn. It was on her account, the clergy of Leinster denounced Mac Tail. This appears, from the gloss of *Ænglus*;²¹ and both the original Irish and its English translation have been given, by Dr. Whitley Stokes, in his version of the calendar of Oengus.²² However, it may well be supposed, that the charges preferred against Mactail were unfounded; and, moreover, when his pupil had been instructed in the duties of a religious life, she ruled over a pious community of women. Her church, called Cill Finn Miughi, is said to have been in the vicinity of Killeen Cormac; but, while it is not easy to identify it, among many of the church sites about Narraghmore,²³ the Rev. John Francis Shearman²⁴ thinks it may be the cemetery, now called Kyle, near Blackrath, midway between Killeen Cormac and Narraghmore. According to the *Feilire of Ængus*,²⁵ this virgin was buried in the *Dionnlatha* of Cinel Lugair; by a learned investigator²⁶ of Irish antiquities, it is identified with Killeen Cormac, an old graveyard, in the county of Kildare.²⁷ We are told, that some churches in Leinster formerly bore the name of this saint, and that Kilcoagh, a townland on the side of a hill over Donard, got its name from an old church, now nearly defaced, and dedicated to her.²⁸ It was formerly called "Cell Chuachi."²⁹ She is said,³⁰ also, to have been the patroness of Kilcock, in the present county of Kildare, and to have been not distinguishable from Cuach,³¹ the virgin of Cill Cuaich, in *Cairbre ua Ciardha*.³² According to the *Martyrology of Donegal*,³³ veneration was given, on this day, to Coinegean. Her festival was also celebrated, in Scotland; for, in the *Kalendar of Drummond*, at the 29th of April,³⁴ her *Natalis* is noted. We regret that other *renseignements* are wanting, to give a more reliable account of this pious maiden.

ARTICLE III.—ST. FIACHAN, OR FIACHNA. We have no means left to ascertain the identity of the present holy man, whose name seems to be resolvable into Fiachan, Fiechnan, Fechno, or Fiachna. There appear to be only two saints bearing this name, in the Irish calendar, viz., the present holy man, and one as we have already noticed, as having been venerated, at the 30th of

the foreground. Subsequently it was transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakenan, and it was engraved by Mrs. Millard.

²¹ This reference to the gloss or scholia on *Ængus* is in the original hand, according to the Rev. Dr. Todd's note 6.

²² See "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," *Irish Manuscript Series*, vol. i., p. lxxvii.

²³ This parish is partly in the Baronies of Narragh and Reban West, and shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Kildare," sheet 31; and partly in the Baronies of Narragh and Reban East, shown on sheets 31, 32, 35, 36, *ibid.*

²⁴ See "Loca Patriciana," No. iv., p. 48.

²⁵ In the *Leabhar Breac*, R.I.A.

²⁶ Rev. John Francis Shearman, who was formerly C.C. of Howth, and who is now P.P. of Moone.

²⁷ See an article intitled "Loca Patri-

ciana," No. i., pp. 349, 350, and notes *ibid.* "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland," Fourth Series, vol. ii., No. 14, April, 1873.

²⁸ See Rev. John Francis Shearman's "Loca Patriciana," No. iv., p. 47.

²⁹ This is mentioned in a Concessio made to the Abbey of Glendalough, in 1173, the twentieth year of Henry II.'s reign.

³⁰ By Rev. John Francis Shearman.

³¹ Her feast is already set down, at the 8th of January.

³² See "Loca Patriciana," No. iv., pp. 47, 48, and No. viii., n. 2, p. 150.

³³ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

³⁴ Thus iii. Kl. "Apud Hiberniam natale Sanctorum Confessorum Coningin et Fiachna."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendar of Scottish Saints," p. 12.

March.¹ In the Martyrology of Tallagh,² the name Fiachnae occurs, at the 29th of April, and it is the only entry concerning him.³ It would seem, that in referring to the same calendar, the Bollandists⁴ have entered his name as Fiarchua, at this date. The Rev. Alban Butler⁵ refers to Colgan's Manuscript,⁶ at the 29th of April, for some notices of this saint, of whom we are yet in ignorance. The glossographer to the Feilire of St. Ængus⁷ states, that this Fiachna had been a monk with Mochuda. This, however, is a mere guess. That St. Fiachna is said to have been of the Desies, in Munster. By the most perfect spirit of obedience, Fiachna laid the foundation for the most sublime gifts of prayer and of all other virtues.⁸ There was a monk, belonging to the monastery of the Long Plain, in the Island of Ethica, in Scotland. He came as a penitent from Ireland to St. Columba,⁹ as we find specifically set forth, in the Life of the latter holy Abbot.¹⁰ That Fechno had the denomination *Sapiens* or Wise bestowed upon him, and he seems to have died in the Island of Ethica, soon after he had been placed under the charge of the Abbot Baithen. A conjecture has been offered,¹¹ that Fiachan may not have differed from a certain St. Fachnanus Sapiens, of Ross, or Ros-Alithre,¹² who was blind, in the days of St. Mochoemoc or Pulcherius.¹³ A St. Fiachna had been venerated, at a small church, on the road side, and not far from Bantry, in the county of Cork. Here, tradition states, that he led a very holy life. Some curious legends, connected with this saint, and with his church, are related. Very curious objects of antiquity, and referred by the people of that neighbourhood, to the time of St. Fiachna,¹⁴ are there to be seen. The Martyrologies of Marinus O'Gorman and of Cathal Maguire have a St. Fiechna, at April 29th.¹⁵ On this day, the Martyrology of Donegal¹⁶ mentions, that Fiachan, a monk of Mochuda, had veneration paid him. For this statement, Ængus¹⁷ is cited. Both Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints,"¹⁸ and the "Circle of the Seasons,"¹⁹ register St. Fiachna, confessor, at the 29th of April.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. RUSSEN, ALSO CALLED RUS, RUSSEUS, RUSSENIUS, SON OF RODAN. [*Sixth Century.*] The present holy man is generally supposed to have been a disciple to the illustrious Abbot and founder of Iona. St. Russen, otherwise named Rus, Russeus, Ruthius, and Russeus, is called the

ARTICLE III.—¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x., p. 490.

² Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

³ The Franciscan copy, at this date, enters Fiachne.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

⁵ See "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xxix.

⁶ He quotes, likewise, Engus in Chron.

⁷ The Leabhar Breac copy. See "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i. Calendar of Oengus, edited by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., p. lxxvii.

⁸ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. iv., April xxix.

⁹ See his Life, at the 9th of June.

¹⁰ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Adamnan's or Quarta Vita S. Columbæ, lib. i., cap. xxx., p. 345. Also, O'Donnell's or Quinta Vita S. Columbæ, lib. ii., cap. xliii., p. 417.

¹¹ By Colgan. See *ibid.*, n. 75, p. 378.

¹² He was patron of this place, and he flourished, in the sixth century.

¹³ See his Life, at the 13th of March, in vol. iii.

¹⁴ See Mr. and Mrs. Hall's "Ireland, its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. i., pp. 121.

¹⁵ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Vita S. Columbæ, lib. i., cap. xxx., n. 75, p. 378.

¹⁶ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

¹⁷ A note by Dr. Todd says, at this word *Ængus*, "The words *μαναδ̄ οο μοχουα* are quoted, from the Scholia, on the Feilire of Ængus."

¹⁸ See vol. iv., April xxix.

son of Rodan.¹ His festival is set down at the 9th day of April, by Colgan,² who quotes various Irish Martyrologies for his statement, but, as we have seen, at the 7th of this month, Colgan intended to note the 29th. Hector Boetius,³ Lesley⁴ and Dempster⁵ mention a St. Ruthius. According to the latter writer, much against his father's consent, who lived in Hibernia, he went to Scotland, and in some part of it, as bishop, Rus had charge of souls. The same unreliable author informs us, that Ruthius wrote *Sermones de Sanctis*, lib. i., and *De Vita Monastica*, lib. i. He is said, also, to have attached himself as a disciple to St. Columkille,⁶ and that he was a person, more distinguished for his great piety, than for his nobility of extraction.⁷ We find, that a St. Rus left Ireland, as one of twelve companions, with St. Columba, about the year 563, when the great Cœnobiarch was about to take up his permanent habitation on earth, in the neighbouring country of Scotland.⁸ Among the fellow-voyagers of St. Columba are distinguished Rus and Fethno, two sons of Rodan.⁹ The Martyrologium Anglicanum refers his feast, to the 14th of December, and, it states, that he died about A.D. 588. According to Dempster,¹⁰ however, he flourished in the year 606, and he was venerated on the 27th day of December. The feast of our saint was held, it is said, on the 9th of April, according to the Martyrologies of Tamlacht, of Donegal, of Marian O'Gorman and of Maguire; by these writers he is styled, "Russen of the Islands of the Picts."¹¹ According to Colgan, the year for his death is uncertain. In the edition of the Tallagh Martyrology, published by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, we cannot discover any mention of this saint's name, at the v. of the Ides, or 9th of April; whereas, at the vii. of the Ides, and 7th day of the month, there is a festival entry of "Ruissen Innse Pich."¹² In this same work, the 14th of December is missing; consequently, there are no means for determining, whether a festival had been appointed for our saint, at that day. Nor do we discover, that this deficiency has been supplied in the supplementary catalogue, compiled from the Martyrology of Donegal. Wherefore, at the vi. of the Kalends of January—December 27th—there is no entry of a memorial feast for this saint, in the published Tallagh Martyrology.¹³

ARTICLE V.—ST. LUICRIDH, ABBOT OF CLONMACNOISE, KING'S COUNTY. [*Eighth Century.*] We find no mention of a festival for this saint, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh, at the iii. of the May Kalends, corresponding with the 29th of April;¹ although the Bollandists² quote that calendar, for

¹ See p. 120.

ARTICLE. IV.—¹ According to the Cottonian Codex of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, as quoted by Ussher.

² See "Trias Thaumaturga," Quarta Appendix ad Acta St. Columbæ, cap. ix., p. 487, and cap. x., p. 492.

³ See "Scotiæ Historia," lib. ix., fol. 166.

⁴ See "Historia Scotiæ," lib. iv., p. clii.

⁵ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvi., num. 1036, p. 544.

⁶ See his Life, at the 9th of Junc.

⁷ See Hector Boetius' "Historiæ Scotiæ," lib. ix., fol. clxvii.

⁸ See John Hill Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i., chap. vii., p. 263.

⁹ In the Appendix to the Cottonian copy

of St. Adamnan's work. See Ussher's "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xv., p. 363.

¹⁰ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvi. num. 1036, p. 544.

¹¹ See Colgan's "Trias Thaumaturga," Appendix Quarta ad Acta S. Columbæ, cap. x. De S. Columbæ discipulis, p. 492.

¹² See "Calendar of Irish Saints," &c., pp. xx., xxi.

¹³ In the Irish Calendar, belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey Records, we do not find the name of this saint, at the 9th of April, but at vii. of the Ides of April (April 7th), we see "Ruissen inne pìct."¹—"Common Place Book," F. p. 36. In this copy, we do not find his name occurring, either at the 14th or at the 27th of December.

the feast of St. Luicridius of Kill-Luicridhe, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, at this day. He was born, most probably towards the close of the seventh century. This saint, it is said, was appointed Abbot over Clonmacnoise, the ruins of which yet exist, on the River Shannon's left bank, within the King's County. This great monastery was then in a very flourishing condition. Through reverence for the founder, even the cemetery at this place had always been a favourite place of burial, from St. Kieran's time.³ There are several ancient inscriptions to be seen, in the cemetery of Clonmacnoise, and many of which date back to an exceedingly remote period.⁴ As we learn, that Comman of Ross died in the year 742, as Abbot of Clonmacnoise,⁵ it seems probable, that he was immediately succeeded by St. Luicridh. This latter is said to have died, A.D. 748,⁶ according to the O'Clerys. Over this date, a more recent hand has inserted 752.⁷ Thus, St. Luicridh died, on the 29th of April, A.D. 748, according to the Annals of the Four Masters;⁸ but, according to the Ulster Annals, A.D. 752.⁹ However, as the Ulster Annals relate at this year an eclipse of the sun, which really took place on the 9th of January, at 11 o'clock, a.m., in the year 753; this also may have been the date for our saint's death, if we are to follow the authority of these Annals.¹⁰ We find set down, in the Martyrology of Donegal,¹¹ that veneration was paid on this day, to Luichridh, of Cill Luichridh, Abbot of Cluain-mic-Nois.¹² In a copy of the Irish calendar, once belonging to the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, it is stated, that this saint was from Kill Luicrid. A marginal note in pencil, affixed to the latter word, and in the handwriting of Mr. O'Donovan, puts the query, if this place be identical with Killlury, a village of Clanmaurice barony, in the county of Kerry. There is a Killurane, a parish in the barony of Tulla, and county of Clare—Killure, a parish in the barony of Gaultier, and county of Waterford—Killurin, a parish in the barony of Shelmalier, and county of Wexford¹³—there is also a Killlury, a parish in the barony of Clanmaurice and county of Kerry;¹⁴ yet, it is not ascertained, if any of these places derived its denomination, from the saint venerated on this day.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. BRECAN, BISHOP OF MOVILLE, COUNTY OF DOWN. The name of Brecan appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this day; and, to it, the Bollandists give reference, at the 29th of April.² A festival in honour of Brecan, Bishop of Magh-bile, or Moville,³ was held, on this day, as is recorded in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁴ We know not the years, during which he continued to exercise episcopal rule; nor can we discover the year for his departure from this life. There are notices of a St. Braccan, or Brecan, at the 16th of July.⁶ He is called bishop of Ardraccan, in the county of Meath; but, also, he is called Abbot of Magh-Bile.⁷ The circumstances related of his race and family point him out, as distinct from St. Breacan, or Brecan, the son of Eochaidh Baldearg, prince of Thomond, and

ARTICLE V.—¹ In the Franciscan copy, however, we read *lucpro cillu lucridh*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

³ See his Life, at the 9th of September.

⁴ See Miss Margaret Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language."

⁵ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the

Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 342, 343.

⁶ This is the date, in "Annals of the Four Masters," which do not mention Luicridh, as being distinguished "of Cill Luichridh."

⁷ See a note by Dr. Todd, p. 112. This date accords with the Annals of Ulster.

⁸ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., pp. 350, 351, and n. (o).

⁹ See Dr. O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv., p. 95.

from whom Ardraccan,⁸ in Meath, is said to have taken denomination. His period is referred to the sixth, or very early in the seventh, century.⁹

ARTICLE VII.—ST. DOMAINGEN, BISHOP OF TUAIM MUSCRAIGHE. In the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 29th of April, is found the simple entry, Domangin of Thuaim Muscraidhe.² In the Bollandists' collection,³ referring to the same calendar, they have Domongenus, Episcopus de Tuaim-Muscraig. This place is stated⁴ to be identical with Tomes,⁵ Barony of West Muskerry, in the present county of Cork. The O'Clerys inform us, that he was son of Fionnlugh, brother to Brenainn, son of Fionnlugh, who descended from the race of Ciar, son to Fergus, son of Ros, son to Rudhraige. The celebrated Navigator, St. Brendan,⁶ is said to have been the son of Finlogue, or Finnlog, derived from the same stock. We are told, that he had a brother, a bishop named Domanigen, whose feast was assigned to 29th of April; and, he had a sister, called Briga, or Brigh. This is stated, in St. Brendan's Irish Life,⁷ and it is also said, she was of Enach-duin,⁸ according to the O'Clerys.⁹ Under the head of Tuaim-Muscraighe, Duaid Mac Firbis enters, Domhainghin, or Damhainghin, bishop of Tuaim Muscraighe. He is called, also, the brother of Brenainn, and at April 29th his festival is placed.¹⁰ On this day, the Martyrology of Donegal¹¹ likewise registers a festival, in honour of Domaingen, Bishop, of Tuaim Muscraighe.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. SENAN, CONFESSOR, IN NORTH WALES. [*Seventh Century.*] The Bollandists¹ have short notices of a St. Senan, confessor, at

¹⁰ The "Art de Verifier les Dates," tom. i., p. 66, is referred to, for proof of the sun's eclipse, at this year.

¹¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

¹² At the iii. of the Calends of May—29th of April—in the Irish Calendar we read: "Λυδρω δ ειλ λυδρω abb c luana mc noiρ ano som 752."—"Common Place Book F," p. 42.

¹³ See Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 157.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 158.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. In the Franciscan copy, we find *braccan ab maigibil*.

² See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

³ See in reference to this saint, Duaid Mac Firbis' remarks, and William M. Hennessy's note 10 in "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. I., part i., pp. 86, 87.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

⁵ See Rev. William Reeves' "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore, Appendix A, p. 152, and Appendix LL, p. 377.

⁶ See Rev. Drs. Todd's and Reeves' "Martyrology of Donegal," at pp. 194, 195,

where there is a notice of St. Breacan, Bishop of Ardbreacan, and Abbot of Magbile.

⁷ Owing to the record of his assumed descent from the race of Eoghan, the son of Niall, he does not seem to have been different from a St. Breacan, venerated at the 6th of December. See *ibid.*, pp. 326, 327.

⁸ Anglicized "Braccan's Height."

⁹ See Rev. Anthony Cogan's "Diocesc of Meath, Ancient and Modern," vol. i., chap. vii., p. 48.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² Also, in the Franciscan copy, we find *Domungin o Thuaim muscraighe*.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

⁴ By William M. Hennessy.

⁵ This denomination does not appear, on the Irish Ordnance Survey Maps. There is a Tomies East, a Tomies West, and a Tomies Wood, in the parish of Aghadoe, in the Barony of Dunkerron North, and described, on the "Ordnance Survey Town-land Maps for the County of Kerry," sheets 65, 66.

⁶ See his Life, at the 16th of May.

⁷ In chap. vi.

⁸ In chap. lxix.

⁹ See the "Martyrology of Donegal," edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 8, 9.

this day.² There were many Irish saints bearing this name; and, although the English Martyrology derives the origin of the present holy man, from an old and a noble British stock, yet it seems likely enough, that the honour of his birth may be referred to Ireland. His feast is noticed by Dean Cressy, as occurring at the 29th of April; and, he is said to have been the assistant and instructor of the holy Virgin and Martyr, St. Winefride, in the perfection of a religious life.³ Short notices of this pious confessor are given, in the work of Rev. S. Baring-Gould.⁴ St. Senan was greatly esteemed for his many virtues, for, at an early age, he had despised the world's vanities; while he led an austere and a solitary life, in the northern part of Wales. This was within a territory, belonging to the father of St. Wenefrid,⁵ and who was called Thevith. The holy woman often paid visits to St. Senan, and she assisted at his funeral obsequies.⁶ Saints Chebeus⁷ and Senan departed this life before St. Winefrid, and they were buried in the same cemetery. After her death, she was interred beside St. Senan, and at the head of St. Winefrid the remains of St. Chebeus lay. That burial ground afterwards became celebrated for the number of pilgrims it attracted, to obtain special and spiritual favours from those saints.⁸ The English writer Alford has assigned the period of St. Senan to the seventh century. After his death, in the country of Danmonia,⁹ or Cornubia,¹⁰ his memory was so greatly venerated, that a town and port were called Senan. The Bollandists think¹¹ the present St. Senan to have been identical with one similarly named, who had been venerated in the parish of Plou-sané, in the diocese of Laon, in Armoric Brittany,¹² at the 6th of March,¹³ and that, from the Welsh, his *cultus* had been extended to that part of France, since the Cambrian and Armoric Britons usually celebrated the memory of the same holy persons.

ARTICLE IX.—ST. GONDIBERT, GUMBERT, OR GUNDIBERT, MARTYR. [*Seventh or Eighth Century.*] While Ferrarius has a festival, and at this day, for St. Gumbert, in Scotia; yet, Father Daniel Papebroke asserts, that it was ignorance of the present holy man's history and place, which caused him to make such an observation. The Bollandists have the Acts² of St. Gondibert, a Frenchman, said by some writers, to have been martyred in Ireland.³

¹⁰ See "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i., pp. 130, 131.

¹¹ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix.

² De Sancto Senano, confessore, in Anglia, p. 620.

³ See "Church History of Brittany," Book xvi., chap. ix., p. 391.

⁴ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 29, p. 364.

⁵ Her feast was kept, on the 3rd of November. The Rev. Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. xi., has an interesting account of St. Wenefride, or Winefride, Virgin and Martyr, at that date.

⁶ See "Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints," tome v., xxix^e Jour d'Avril, p. 67.

⁷ Also called Chebbi, or Cubbi.

⁸ According to the "Vita S. Wenefridæ," written by Rupert, Abbot of Shrewsbury, about the year 1140.

⁹ Now Devon.

¹⁰ At present Cornwall.

¹¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. De Sancto Senano, Confessore in Anglia, p. 620.

¹² According to Albert le Grand.

¹³ See the notice of a St. Senan, at this day, in the previous volume.

ARTICLE IX.—¹ He states, in "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum:" "In Scotia S. Gumberti Martyris."

² These are chiefly from the six old Lessons of a Proper Office, which, however, are said to have been considerably interpolated.

³ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii. De S. Gondeberto Martyre, Avennaci in Territorio Remensi, pp. 620 to 625.

⁴ See "Lives of the Irish Saints," vol. iii.,

He has been noticed, at the 27th of March;⁴ but, many calendarists consider the 29th of April⁵ to have been the Natalis, for this holy man. He is called, likewise, Gumbert, Gundibert, or Gundebert. Under this latter designation, the Rev. S. Baring-Gould has some short notes regarding him, at this same date.⁶ It is supposed, St. Gondebert flourished during the time of King Childeric II.,⁷ who succeeded Sigebert, King of Austrasia. As himself and his wife St. Bertha agreed to lead lives of strict chastity, they had no children. St. Gondibert founded a convent, which he dedicated to St. Peter, at Rheims;⁸ but, according to the former Breviary of that Diocese,⁹ a hall, chapel and an oratory, were dedicated in that city to St. Patrick,¹⁰ and probably St. Gondibert was instrumental in some measure, by his founding or endowing them. If this be so, his connexion with St. Patrick's veneration seems an indication of Gondibert having desired to seek the adopted country of our Patron, and to establish these religious monuments, before he went to Ireland. He erected a convent on his own property at Avesnes, and to this Bertha retired, for greater religious seclusion. One account has it, that St. Guntbert sought a retreat, in some place beside the sea.¹¹ Again, it is stated, that he was with a people, dwelling around the coast of *Alti Salis*,¹² and a monk of St. Remigius has rendered it the coast around Scotia. But, the exact locality cannot be known at present, with any degree of certainty, under that Latinized form of name. However, Father Daniel Papebroke will have it, that the region of the *Altissalii* was among the Frisons,¹³ in the northern parts of Austrasia. Those Frisons were formerly a barbarous people, whose country of Frisia was conterminous with the Northern Ocean.¹⁴ Still, it seems to us, that Father Papebroke does not satisfactorily account for the name Scotia being changed for another, by the old writers, who have alluded to St. Gundibert's place of retreat. Papebroke finds in that district, comprising the diocese of Utrecht, beyond the River Isala,¹⁵ a city named *Altenzêl* or *Oldenzêl*,¹⁶ an ancient settlement of the *Franco Salii*;¹⁷ and, he supposes, as these *Salii* lived near the Saxons, or Frisons, that the word Scotia may have been usurped for

March xxvii., Article xii.

⁵ Ferrarius, in his "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum," and Menard, in his "Martyrologium Benedictinum," are of the number.

⁶ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 29, pp. 364, 365.

⁷ See an account of his reign in L.—P. Anquetil's "Histoire de France." Première Race dite des Mérovingiens, sect. v., p. 54.

⁸ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 29, p. 365.

⁹ It was printed A.D. 1630. In it, at the 29th of April, there is an *Officium Simplex* for St. Gumbert, Martyr, with only one Lesson. This has the approbation of Louis, Cardinal from Lotharingia, then Archbishop of Rheims.

¹⁰ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. De S. Gondeberto, Martyre, Avennaci in Territorio Remensi, Præmium, sect. 13, p. 622.

¹¹ This is the account given, by Flodoardus, in his "Historia Remensis," lib. iv., cap. xlvii.

¹² In the Old Office of St. Gundebert, it is said: "Illo namque tempore gens habitans

circa oras Altissalii, gentili detinebatur in-sania."—Lect. iv. From this account, Papebroke argues, that Ireland could not have been the country to which Gundebert retired, as long before his time, St. Patrick had converted it to the Christian Faith, and that, also, in his age, our Island was a school of virtue and learning for all the surrounding nations.

¹³ Their country lay between the Rivers Rhine and Weser. They are divided into the Major or Oriental Frisons and into the Minor or Occidental Frisons. See Baydrand's "Novum Lexicon Geographicum," tomus i., p. 302.

¹⁴ For a more recent account of them, the reader is referred to Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle," tome iii., pp. 739, 740.

¹⁵ See the "Atlas Classica," No. 32, Germania Antiqua.

¹⁶ Now a town in the Netherlands, and in the province of Overysel. See Alex. Keith Johnstone's "Dictionary of Geography, Descriptive, Physical, Statistical and Historical," &c., p. 964. London, 1850, 8vo.

¹⁷ Papebroke adds: "a quibus Salii etiam hodie tota ad Isalam reginacula, cujus

Frisia or Saxonia.¹⁸ Having left France for Ireland, Gondibert built a monastery there, according to received accounts. It is needless to state, its site has not been, and most probably it cannot be, discovered. However, some marauders having invaded the lands belonging to his monastery, he went forth, entreating them to respect the property of his monks. Instead of regarding this remonstrance, they fell upon him, and during the onset, he was killed.¹⁹ According to Saussay, his death happened in Scotia.²⁰ His relics and those of St. Bertha were preserved, it is stated, in the church or chapel at Avesnes. Whatever we know regarding both saints is chiefly drawn from the chronicler Flodoard, who lived in the tenth century.²¹ This holy Martyr Gondebert was greatly venerated, in the Diocese of Rheims; and, his office occurs in the Breviary of that See. However, the Lections have gone through various amplifications.²² Although several writers, as we have seen, regard St. Gumbert, or Gundibert, as having spent the years of his exile in Ireland, and although for such reason, we have already given place to him, in our collection, at the 27th of March; still, it must be here noticed, we do not consider the evidences sufficiently weighty, to establish that matter beyond question.

ARTICLE X.—ST. ENAN, OF INIS AEGO, OR EGG ISLAND, SCOTLAND. A record is found, in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 29th of April, regarding Enan, Eago.² The Bollandists³ have it, Enanus de insula Ega, quoting the same authority, at this day. The Island of Egg or Eigg,⁴ in Scotland, is rendered Eaga, at the 17th of April, and here Aego, is probably only another spelling, which applies to the same place. It is one of the Hebrides, about eight miles from the nearest Scottish coast, above six miles in length, and varying from a mile to three miles in breadth.⁵ In our Irish calendar, moreover, at the 22nd of December, allusion is made to an Ard Aego;⁶ and, it seems probable, this place does not differ from the Island in question. On this day was venerated, Enan, of Inis Aego,⁷ as we find entered, likewise, in the Martyrology of Donegal.⁸

ARTICLE XI.—REPUTED FESTIVAL OF MARIANUS SCOTUS. [*Eleventh Century.*] Already, at the 30th of January, we have given several notices, regarding this holy man. Cardinal Bellarmine¹ has written his Life. In the

caput Altisalia est, Zallandia, id est, Saliorum regio nuncupatur.”

¹⁸ Papebroke says: “Proxima his etiam finibus Saxonia erat, gentilis adhuc tota etiam ipsa; ut pro alterutro nomine Frisæ aut Saxonia, Scotiæ nomen potuerit obrepisse imperitis.”—“Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. De S. Gondeberto Martyre, Avennaci in Territorio Remensi, Prologus, num. 5, 6, p. 621.

¹⁹ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's “Lives of the Saints,” vol. iv., April 29, p. 365.

²⁰ See his “Martyrologium Gallicanum.”

²¹ See “Histoire Littéraire de la France,” tome vi., Siècle x., p. 289.

²² See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's “Lives of the Saints,” vol. iv., April 29, p. 364.

ARTICLE X.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

¹ In the Franciscan copy, we have Enam ega.

² See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

³ See Bishop Forbes' “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 332.

⁴ See “The Edinburgh Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary,” &c., vol. ii., p. 566. Edinburgh, 1822, 8vo.

⁵ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's “Life of St. Columba,” Additional Notes K, p. 308.

⁶ Dr. Reeves in a note states, that the name Aego occurs in the Donegal calendar at January 12th and at April 10th.

⁷ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ See “Opera,” tomus vii.

“Menologium Scotorum” of Thomas Dempster,² a feast is entered, at this date, for Marianus Scotus, the illustrious historian, who lived at Fulda. According to the same author, he corrected the paschal cycle of Denis the Small, a Roman Abbot, and his remains were brought to the Royal Cross, in Scotland. Besides his celebrated Chronicle, other works have been ascribed to him.³ But, as Brower and other writers of Fulda mention nothing about the veneration of Marianus as a saint, at that place; the Bollandists⁴ just notice Dempster’s remarks, at this date, requiring more certain intelligence regarding Marianus and his reputed festival. He died A.D. 1083, according to Cardinal Bellarmine.⁵

ARTICLE XII.—ST. FAILBHE, OF THE ISLAND. The name of Failbhen-Inis is entered in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 29th of April.² However, the Bollandists, referring to the same authority at this date, enter only Failbeus.³ On the 29th day of April, the Martyrology of Donegal⁴ registers simply Failbhe, as having been venerated. Some Irish insular situation must probably have been the place chosen for his retirement.

ARTICLE XIII.—ST. DONNAN, PRIEST. The name Donnán Sac, a contraction for Sacerdos, appears in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date.² Again, he is entered, by the Bollandists,³ who quote the same record, for this day, as Donanus Sacerdos. In the Martyrology of Donegal⁴ he is set down as Donnán, Priest.

ARTICLE XIV.—MARTYRDOM OF ST. GERMAN. The Feilire of St. Ængus commemorates the Martyrdom of German, a Priest, at the 29th of April.¹ He was probably one of those, who, with Prosdocus, the Deacon, and Valentinus, suffered martyrdom at Alexandria;² but, about their names and places some differences are found, in ancient calendars. At the same

¹ De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,” p. 350.

² At the 29th of April, he writes:—“Fuldæ Mariani monachi et historici clarissimi, qui Dionysii Exigui Abbatis Romani cyclum paschalem correxerit, et reliquias in Scotiam ad Crucem Regalem delatae, B.”—Bishop Forbes’ “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 197.

³ See Bale and Nicholas Harpsfeld in “Historia Ecclesiastica Anglicana.”

⁴ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

⁵ See “Opera,” tomus vii. “De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,” p. 350.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² In the Franciscan copy, we find, failbe in 1m̄p.

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE XIII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr.

Kelly, p. xxii.

² In the Franciscan copy, we read, Donnán sac.

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 611.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 112, 113.

ARTICLE XIV.—¹ This is the stanza in the Leabhar Breac:—

Maṛṣa German crumthir
Cruir bomaṛ aṛachra
Coningen cam uairne
Popoenlith la fiachna.

Thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—“Priest German’s martyrdom, for Christ great was his affliction. Coningen, a fair pillar, on one festival with Fiachna.

² See the Bollandists’ “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxix. De SS. Germano Presbytero, Prosdoco, et Valentino, Martyribus Alexandriae. et forsan alibi, p. 615.

date, in Nicomedia, among other Martyrs, there is one named German; and, for authority, the old Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome is quoted.³ Little now seems to be known, about the Martyr in question.

ARTICLE XV.—ST. MIDDANUS, ABBOT OF HOLYWOOD, SCOTLAND. Among the Scottish entries of David Camerarius,¹ at the 29th of April, there is a festival of this saint. We are told, that a bishop, styled Medanach in the Dunkeld Litany, may probably be a disguised name for Modan, or Mo-ædhan. This seems to resemble an Irish form, although of the saint himself no other tradition remains, except that of places having been called after him in Scotland.² Now, it appears, that a cell and a hermit were at Holywood,³ in Duffries-shire, during a very early age;⁴ but, it is inferred, as Holywood formerly acquired the name Dercongall, or Dair-Congal, in the British and Scoto-Irish languages, that its patron must have borne the latter title.⁵ Still, nothing prevents us from fairly supposing, that the present Middan may have been connected with Holywood, and that he may have been Irish by birth, as most unquestionably, he must have been, by descent. It is thought,⁶ this must have been the St. Medan, of whom we find a trace on the Braes of Angus, at Airlie, and regarding whose memory there are local springs, named Maidie's well, near Ecclesmaldie,⁷ in the Mearns, as also, a fine spring and a knoll, close to the church of Airlie. These are now known, by the name of St. Madden.⁸ St. Maidie's bell was held in great veneration, for a long period,⁹ at Airlie, but within the present century, it was sold as a bit of old iron.¹⁰

ARTICLE XVI.—FEAST OF ST. BRIEUC, FIRST BISHOP AND PATRON OF THE DIOCESE OF BRIEUX, FRANCE. [*Fifth or Sixth Century.*] The Breviary of Laon Diocese, and which is cited by Albertus le Grand, places the festival of St. Brioc, or Brieuc, at the 29th of April.¹ The Acts of this saint will be found written, at the 1st of May.

³ See *ibid.* De SS. Prudenio, Martiale, Sabbatio, Codomano, Basilio, Germano, Filocasto, Budentio, Urbano, et Pagata, Martyribus Nicomedie in Bithynia.

ARTICLE XV.—'He thus writes: "29 Die. Sanctus Middanus Abbas monasterii Sacrum Boscum dicti ordinis Sancti Benedicti in Niddisdalia Scotie provinciæ."—Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," pp. 237, 399.

² See *ibid.*, p. 339.

³ Le Wod, Præmonstratensi, as an abbey and hospital, is said to have been founded in 1141, according to the Harleian Manuscript, 2363, fol. 61. Walter was abbot in 1372. See Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Scoti Monasticon," Supplementary Notes, p. 407.

⁴ See George Chalmers' "Caledonia," &c., vol. liii., chap. ii., sect. viii., p. 149.

⁵ In Keith's "Ca'endar of Scottish Saints," the feast of this St. Congal has been placed, at the 12th of May. However, another account has it, that on the site of a hermit's cell at Haliwode, Dercongall, Lord of Kirconnel, or Devorgilla, wife of John Baliol, founded a cell to Soul's Seat. See

Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Scoti-Monasticon," p. 333.

⁶ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 399.

⁷ Now Inglismaldie.

⁸ See "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. v., p. 355. Also Jervise "Memorials of Angus and Mearns," p. 274.

⁹ In the Cortachy Charters, it is stated, that one Michael David, the tenant and hereditary possessor of this Bell, surrendered it to John Ogilvy, of Lentrethyn, knight, on the 5th of June, 1447. The same Sir John afterwards bestowed the said Bell, with its pertinents, on his spouse, Lady Margaret Ogilvy, Countess of Moray, for her lifetime use. See "Miscellany of the Spalding Club," vol. iv., p. 118.

¹⁰ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 399.

ARTICLE XVI.—¹ He was a disciple of St. Germanus, of Auxerre. See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 291. Others say, he was the disciple of St. Germanus, of Paris.

Thirtieth Day of April.

ARTICLE I.—ST. FORANNAN, BISHOP, AND ABBOT OF WASOR, OR WAULSOR, BELGIUM.

[TENTH CENTURY.]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—VARIOUS ACTS OF ST. FORANNAN—HIS PARENTAGE, BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION—HIS HAPPY DISPOSITIONS AND CALL TO THE MINISTRY—HE IS SAID TO HAVE RULED OVER DONAGHMORE, AND EVEN TO HAVE BEEN PRIMATE AT ARMAGH—FORANNAN RESOLVES TO LEAVE IRELAND—HE EMBARKS WITH TWELVE COMPANIONS.

NOT content with the reign of science and religion, which prevailed in Ireland, the enterprising and adventurous spirit of her sons caused them to undertake literary and intellectual voyages—inspired by faith and the interests of souls—to the continent, where the whole Latin Church received a fresh infusion in the domain of poesy and imagination, so much in accord with their indigenou and euphonious language. With religion, they spread civilization and the reign of virtue. Their scientific and literary crusade brought all branches of human and sacred learning to countries far away; while the Scottish richness of thought and expression laid the foundations of religion and of knowledge broadcast over many countries.¹ Hence, their memory yet survives, in those countries where they laboured.

In our ancient annals and hagiologies, we find several eminent ecclesiastics bearing the name Farannan or Forannan. The Life of this present holy man—the earliest known being based on tradition, and probably on some earlier record²—was composed, by Robert, a monk of Waulsor, in 1030. In the Prologue to this work, he declares, that his materials were derived from the relation of a man greatly advanced in years, but who had an excellent recollection of those wonderful and miraculous “gests” of Forannan, which were placed on record, lest they might otherwise perish. Likewise, it is mentioned, that at the request of his religious chapter, the writer diffidently undertook the task of compilation. Particulars for the Life of this saint are extracted, also, from the “Chronicon Valciodorensis,” which its author declares to have been composed from oral tradition, and from the archives, which were preserved in that celebrated monastery. However, that chronicle is truly said³ to abound with errors;⁴ while the writer—invoking the intercession of Holy Mary—declares,⁵ that his intention was to collect into one Tract various

CHAPTER I.—ARTICLE I.—¹ See Urbain Sinaudet’s “Synchronisme des Littératures depuis leur Origine jusqu’a nos Jours considérées dans leurs Rapports avec les Croyanances, les Mœurs, les Institutions Sociales.” Cinquième Epoque, sect. xii., pp. 284, 285.

² It accords, with the history of St. Maccallan and of St. Cadroe, both of whom were

Irish Abbots, at Waulsor.

³ By D’Achery, in his “Spicilegium,” tomus vii., where this document is printed.

⁴ Molanus and Miræus thought, that the aforesaid Robert was the author of this chronicle; but, in his Præfatio to the volume mentioned already, D’Achery refutes their opinions. See p. 17.

⁵ In his Prologue to the chronicle.

scattered materials for the information of posterity,⁶ and to make known the various privileges and benefactions conferred upon Walsor. Mabillon has several notices regarding this place,⁷ which is so closely connected with the spiritual ministrations of our saint.⁸ The Belgium writers, Molanus⁹ and Miræus,¹⁰ justly claim him, as one of the illustrious and holy men, belonging to their country; while the Benedictines¹¹ assign him to their order. Ferrarius has an account of this holy man,¹² as also Constantine Ghinius.¹³ In like manner, to give a biographical Memoir¹⁴ was the intention of Colgan,¹⁵ who, did not live, however, to publish Forannan's Life. The Bollandists have inserted his Acts, in their great collection.¹⁶ These comprise his Life, by Robert, the Walsor monk,¹⁷ with some preliminary remarks. Afterwards follow other notices, in reference to our saint,¹⁸ and these are taken from the old chronicle of Walsor. Father Daniel Papebroke is the editor. Forannan is noticed, likewise,¹⁹ in Thomas Dempster's work, and—after his manner—Forannan is very presumptuously appropriated, as a Scotsman.²⁰ Adrien Baillet²¹ has a Life of this holy man. Bishop Challenor²² and the Rev. Dr. Lanigan²³ have a few notices respecting this saint, whose festival is marked at the 30th of April. The Petits Bollandistes²⁴ only note the feast of St. Forannan, at this date, and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould²⁵ has some remarks on the same celebrated Abbot of Walsor.

The O'Clerys—or an addition to their work²⁶—will have this saint to be the son of Ronan, adding, and, it seems, that he was of the race of Art Corb, son

⁶ Father Daniel Papebroke considers, that the chronicle had been interpolated; and especially by some continuator; who flourished about the year 1250. Instances of fictitious errors or doubtful statements are afterwards given. See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De Sancto Forannano, Abbate Walsiodori, in Belgio, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Aha Acta, ex pervetusto Chronico Walsiodorensi MS., sect. 4. p. 815.

⁷ See "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xliv., sect. lxvii., p. 472, sect. cxix., p. 485, lib. xlv., sect. xxii., p. 500.

⁸ See *ibid.*, lib. xlvii., sect. xl., p. 599; and tomus iv., lib. xlix., sect. xv., p. 9.

⁹ In the "Natales Sanctorum Belgii," for the month of April, we have short notices of St. Forannan, at the 30th of April, in one paragraph, pp. 80, 81.

¹⁰ See "Fasti Belgici et Burgundici," pp. 213 to 215. Also "Indiculus Sanctorum Belgii," p. xxv.

¹¹ The seventh volume, "Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti," contains a Life of St. Forannan, Abbot, with previous observations, in three paragraphs. That Life itself, with a prologue, is given in twenty-three paragraphs. A fragment from the Chronicle of Walsiodorus is published in twenty-five paragraphs. See pp. 586 to 603.

¹² See "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum," Aprilis xxx., p. 173.

¹³ See "De Natalibus Sanctorum Canonico-rum," p. xxiiix.

¹⁴ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxi. Januarii. De B. Malcallanno Abbate, n. 1, p. 153.

¹⁵ See "Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quæ MS. habentur ordine Mensium et Dierum."

¹⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De Sancto Forannano, Abbate Walsiodori, in Belgio, Ord. S. Benedicti, pp. 807 to 822.

¹⁷ A Prologue precedes this Life, given in three chapters, and in twenty-three paragraphs, illustrated with notes.

¹⁸ These are in three chapters, comprising, with a Prologue, twenty-five paragraphs, illustrated with notes.

¹⁹ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus i., lib. vi., num. 523, pp. 287, 288.

²⁰ After alleging, that the Irish had no Archbishops in Forannan's time, nor for three hundred years later, he adds—it is hardly possible in good faith: "Miror quid hic Hirlandus mendicet, cum omnes ex tabulis Valvidorensibus Scotum asserant." See also, "Menologium Scoticum," in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

²¹ At the 30th of April, we find entered in his "Les Vies des Saints," a Life of St. Forannan, Bishop of Armagh, in Ireland, and Abbot of Wasor, tome i., pp. 398, 399.

²² See Britannia Sancta, part i., pp. 272, 273.

²³ See "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxiii., sect. iv., and notes, pp. 404, 405.

²⁴ See "Les Vies des Saints," tome v., xxx^e Jour d'Avril, p. 86.

²⁵ See "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, pp. 376, 377.

²⁶ By a more recent hand.

to Fiacha Suighdhe.²⁷ The present St. Farannan is thought to have been the son of Ronan, son to Fiach, son of Fintan, son to Maclasrius, son of Cannech, son of Erchon, son to Niebron, son of Bronfinn, son to Eugene, son of Artcorb, son of Fiacha Suighdhe, the founder of the Decies family.²⁸ This might well agree, with what has been stated by Robert, the monk of Walsor, that our saint descended from a noble Scottish ancestry.²⁹ According to the most reasonable supposition, about the earlier part of the tenth century, Forannan was born in Ireland. From his infancy, most happy dispositions seemed to grow; for, relying on God, he prepared to sacrifice the advantages of birth and rank, to secure His love. Forannan's parents took care excellently to provide, at an early age, for the religious and secular education of their son. He profited so well, through the advantages afforded, that the boy soon became distinguished for his progress in study, giving indications of future eminence in merit, as in learning. Advancing in years, Forannan afforded edification to all his companions and acquaintances, by exhibiting all those virtues and acquirements, that could distinguish one who was yet a youth. In loving God, with his whole heart, he learned to give this precept and observance practical effect, by loving his neighbour, only in a secondary degree. Deeply grounded in humility, he despised the advantages of birth and fortune. Cultivating a love of angelic purity, he was accustomed to withstand the assaults of irregular temptation and impure suggestions. He was always ready to forgive and to forget injuries, in imitation of his Divine Master. But, his charity towards the poor and orphans, whom he considered always as the special favourites of Heaven, seemed to know no bounds; and, he looked upon himself, as the self-constituted steward of Christ, in relieving their necessities. The bent of his genius was directed to the acquisition of sacred learning, and chiefly with the view of devoting himself to the instruction of others, in the principles of religion. Aspiring to the ecclesiastical state, it would seem, that he received holy orders, in due course. Having prepared himself, by a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, and by reading the works of various holy Fathers, his labours in the ministry were great, and productive of much fruit. After faithfully discharging all his sacerdotal duties—but whether as a secular or as a regular priest we are not informed in his Life—it has been stated, that he afterwards was appointed Bishop, and his charge was at a place called *Domnach-mor*.³⁰

There were many churches in Ireland bearing such a name, in his time; and, even yet, that topographical denomination is spread in various parts of Ireland. His locality—according to a supposition advanced—lay within the district of *Magh-Feimhin*,³¹ or the Plain of Femhin. That parish of *Domnach-mor*, or *Donaghmore*,³² with which Bishop Farannan was connected, is said to have been situated, in the baronies of *Offa* and *Iffa*, and *Middlethird*, county of *Tipperary*. This is now a parish church, belonging to the diocese of *Lismore*; ³³ and, it is thought, also, to have been the church of that

²⁷ See Rev. Dr. Todd's and Reeves' "Martyrology of Donegal," pp. 114, 115, and n. 4. *Ibid.*

²⁸ See Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xv. Januarii. Appendix ad Acta S. Itæ, cap. ii., p. 73.

²⁹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," toms iii., Aprilis xxx. De S. Forannano, Abbate Walsiodori, in Belgio, Ord. S. Benedicti. Vita S. Forannani, cap. i., num. 2, p. 808.

³⁰ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical

History of Ireland," vol. iii., cap. xxiii., sect. iv., p. 404.

³¹ It was a very ancient territorial denomination, as it is mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.M. 3506; also, at A.D. 571 and 759.

³² It is shown, on the "Ordnance Survey Townland Maps for the County of Tipperary," sheets 70, 77. The townland proper is on the latter sheet.

³³ See Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 654.

monastery, over which St. Farannan presided.³⁴ Such a conclusion, however, does not appear to be very well established. At present, in the place mentioned, certain remains of an ecclesiastical character merit the study of an antiquary. The old church of Donoughmore consists of a nave³⁵ and chancel,³⁶ which for many years have been in ruins. That it was a church³⁷ of some importance may be judged from the care bestowed on its erection, some of its details being of a highly ornate character. The chancel arch is mutilated. It had three orders of arches, springing from an equal number of jamb-shafts on each side; the arch members were enriched with carving, and also the capitals of the pier-shafts. The design of the western doorway was very beautiful, and the ornamentation was chaste, ornate, and effective.³⁸ There are no less than six distinct views of the ancient church of Donoughmore in Moy Femhin, among the Tipperary sketches³⁹ for illustrating the Irish Ordnance Survey Records.⁴⁰ These embrace capitals of the choir arch, window of choir, interior of doorway, a window, and the doorway. From one



Old Church of Donoughmore Magh Femhin, County of Tipperary.

of these,⁴¹ we have introduced an illustration,⁴² which gives a very good idea of the church. This structure we do not think to have been built, in the time of our saint. There is also a very beautiful woodcut illustration⁴³ of what is called St. Farannan's church doorway, at Donoughmore, and which was drawn by George

³⁴ See "The Irish Builder" of June 15th, 1872.

³⁵ The nave is 39 feet 6 inches long, and 23 feet broad, and it is lighted by one window, at the north side, and by two, at the south.

³⁶ The chancel is 12 feet 8 inches long, and 8 feet 6 inches broad, and it is lighted by a small semi-circular-headed window, in the east gable.

³⁷ This old church is situated about four and-a-half miles from Clonmel, on the Thurles road.

³⁸ See "The Irish Builder" of June 15th, 1872.

³⁹ See vol. ii.

⁴⁰ Now preserved, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴¹ Drawn by George V. Du Noyer.

⁴² It has been traced on the wood, by

Petrie, J.L.D. This is introduced with the characteristic mouldings and carvings, as a specimen of the Irish Romanesque, in that invaluable work, so learnedly and artistically edited, by Miss Margaret Stokes.⁴⁴ However, it must be observed, that in our saint's old Life, his church of Domnachmor⁴⁵ is called the Metropolis of all Ireland.⁴⁶

Most probably, from the foregoing designation and description has been derived a notion, that St. Forannan was ruler in the primatial See of Armagh.⁴⁷ There, it is intimated, that he had built, restored, or founded a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, from his own funds;⁴⁸ and, we are told, that with great popular acclaim, he was transferred from it, to a position of still greater dignity. Yet, are we unable to find him among the Prelates of Armagh,⁴⁹ in the history of its See. Therefore do we think, that some misconception and erroneous statements have crept into his Life, by the monk Robert, and that these have been perpetuated, in a conjectural manner, by our later-day historians. The addition to the O'Clerys states,⁵⁰ that Forannan of Domnachmor-Maighe Feimhin, and of Walsor,⁵¹ was primate of Ard-Macha. When giving his Life, as had been intended by Colgan, at the 30th of April,⁵² the latter, calling him an Archbishop,⁵³ had promised to prove his statement, in the notes which were to be added.⁵⁴ However, the tradition was propagated in Belgium, probably because he had been called "Scotorum Episcopus,"⁵⁵ while, Papebroke suggests, that such a rumour might have prevailed, if Forannan had been consecrated Bishop in Armagh, by his Metropolitan, although he had been assigned possibly to some other See.⁵⁶ That dignity of the episcopate he rather dreaded than aspired to, and it appears from the recorded fact, that he enjoyed it, only for a short period. Then he voluntarily resigned such a distinction. After first importuning Heaven to direct his future course of life, Forannan was admonished by an angel, and in a vision, to quit his natal soil, and to seek in far distant lands a location, which was known as the Beautiful Valley.

In compliance with what he deemed the call of Heaven, with twelve devoted companions, he resolved to set out from Ireland, for the scenes of his future labour. He wished to leave the result of his journey altogether under the direction of Divine Providence. Having gone to the sea-shore, according to a popular legend, as the voyagers could not procure a boat, they

William F. Wakeman, and it is engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁴³ It was engraved by Swain.

⁴⁴ See "Notes on Irish Architecture," by Edwin, Third Earl of Dunraven, vol. ii., p. 195.

⁴⁵ It would appear, that the Belgian writer of our saint's Life, had written Dominocinor, as Papebroke states. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Vita S. Forannani, cap. i., n. (b), p. 810.

⁴⁶ The words are: "In civitate, quæ eorum barbarica sermocinatione Domnachmor nuncupatur, quæ est metropolis totius Hiberniæ," &c. By Papebroke, this is rendered, "ecclesia major," meaning "the large church."

⁴⁷ There are various interesting views of modern Armagh in a work, which has rendered the scenic beauties of Ireland familiar to the literary world. See Mr. and Mrs. Hall's "Ireland: its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. ii., pp. 454 to 459.

⁴⁸ It may have had a previous existence; and, perhaps, it had been burned, by the Northmen, during some of those assaults to which Armagh had been exposed, as already stated, in the Life of the Blessed Bryan Boroinha, at the 23rd of this month.

⁴⁹ His name is missing from Colgan's list, "Catalogus Ardinachanorum Primatum."

⁵⁰ See "Martyrology of Donegal," Rev. Drs. Todd's and Reeves' edition, pp. 114, 115.

⁵¹ The recent writer incorrectly states, that this place was in France.

⁵² See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxi. Januarii. De B. Malcallanno Abbate, n. 1, p. 173.

⁵³ In the Life of Blessed Malcallan, Abbot, at the 21st of January. See *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵⁴ Dempster has placed Forannan as one having the degree of being the greatest of the Scottish prelates in Scotia. See "Menologium Scoticum," at 30th April, in Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

made a large wooden cross, or probably they built a raft laid on beams, which were disposed cross-wise.⁵⁷ This they cast into the sea, and on it they then stood. Making a sign of the cross, St. Forannan took his place in the middle, assigning three of his fellow-voyagers to stand on each one of the four extremities. He then sang with a loud and clear voice this versicle from the Psalms of David: "Thy way is in the sea, and thy paths in many waters."⁵⁸ In blind obedience to the admonition of St. Forannan, his companions trusted implicitly in the protection of Heaven to guide their course; nor were they deceived, as the Almighty safely brought them to land.⁵⁹

CHAPTER II.

ST. FORANNAN AND HIS TWELVE COMPANIONS PROCEED TO BELGIUM—DESCRIPTION OF WASOR AND HISTORY OF THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS BY COUNT EILBERT—ST. FORANNAN IS HOSPITABLY RECEIVED BY HIM, AND PRESENTED TO THE EMPEROR OTHO I.—HE IS APPOINTED ABBOT OF WASOR.

THE holy pilgrim and his companions directed their course to the present country, known as Belgium. They soon arrived at the River Meuse,¹ where they were destined to find that beautiful valley, which had been revealed in Forannan's vision.² Before the commencement of the tenth century, a celebrated Abbey had been established on its banks, and at a place, known as Wasor;³ while over it, two or three countrymen of Forannan had ruled, before the period of his arrival, namely St. Maccallan,⁴ and St. Cadroë,⁵ perhaps, also, St. Fingen.⁶ It was situated, as often incorrectly stated in the diocese of Liege;⁷ it is however in that of Namur⁸—and between Dinant⁹ and Charlemont,¹⁰ two towns, which were not built, at the time of its foundation.

It has been thought, that Forannan originated the monastery there. However, no just grounds have been produced, to establish such a conclusion.

⁵⁵ This is found, in a Bull of Pope Benedict VII., and it is contained, likewise, in a Chartulary of Wasor.

⁵⁶ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Vita S. Forannani, cap. i., n. (d), p. 810.

⁵⁷ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, p. 377.

⁵⁸ See Psalms lxxvi., 20.

⁵⁹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Vita S. Forannani, cap. i., sect. 4, 5, p. 809.

CHAPTER II.—It is called in the Walloon dialect Mouse, and in the Flemish or Dutch, Maa. It is one of the largest and most picturesque of the Belgium rivers. See Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle," tome iv., pp. 59 to 61.

² This is stated, in the "Chronicon Walciodorensi."

³ Under the year 944, Mabillon commences his account of Wasor and its foundation. See "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlv., sect. lxxvii., p. 472.

⁴ See his Life, already given, at the 21st

of January. Mabillon calls him the first Abbot over Wasor. He resigned this position, however, in favour of his prefect or prior, St. Cadroë, who died, A.D. 975.

⁵ See his Life, at the 6th of March. After his death, Maccallan again succeeded, but he did not long survive, as 978 is the year assigned for his death, by Floduard.

⁶ See his Life, written at the 5th of February.

⁷ There is an interesting description of this city, in J. S. Buckingham's "Belgium, the Rhine, Switzerland, and Holland," vol. i., chap. ix., pp. 171 to 180.

⁸ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, p. 376.

⁹ "Pagus est cum Cœnobio quondam celebri apud Dinantium opp. et Boninas in comit. Namurcen. et Leodieu. Episcopatus confinio."—Ferrarius "Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum," 30 Aprilis, p. 173.

¹⁰ This is a hamlet, in a commanding situation, on the left bank of the Meuse, in the Department of Ardennes. See Fullarton's "Gazetteer of the World," vol. iv., p. 461.

Resting on the authority of the Bollandists, the Rev. Dr. Lanigan will not admit Forannan to have been the founder of Wasor; but, he acknowledges, that some writers were of a contrary opinion.¹¹ There Count Eilbert¹² had commenced the erection, in 944,¹³ of the monastery church at Wasor, or Wassor;¹⁴ and, as was usual, in all such cases, a village soon sprung up around the religious institute. Besides the foregoing, Count Eilbert built a church there, and this was dedicated to St. Patrick.¹⁵ The local denomination was corrupted from the Latin, Vallis-decora, to Valciodorus,¹⁶ in order to suit the Celtic as well as the Belgic idiom.¹⁷ Under the protection of Count Eilbert, the monastery seemed to be specially designed for the habitation of Irish monks.

His religious consort Herswindis—sometimes called Herensindis or Hersindis—had seconded all the efforts of her husband, to promote the erection of monasteries, convents and churches.¹⁸ Eilbert, through his bravery, activity, and skill in war, had become a very powerful chieftain, in this part of the country; and, it is said, to atone for his youthful excesses, he had been a sincere convert, desiring to spend his latter years in works of goodness. After the death of Herswindis, these were mostly undertaken. As she left no children to him, the familiars of Eilbert urged him to marry once more, so that there might be hope of an heir for his large possessions. He took their advice, and he married the widow of a nobleman, by whom she had two sons, namely Godefrid and Arnulf. These became greatly attached to their step-father, who loved them, as if they had been his own children. They were most assiduous in ministering to his wants; for, when afflicted with some malady of the feet, and which prevented him from standing upright, the Count was assisted by them, each offering his shoulder on either side as a support. This they did, also, before the Emperor Otho¹⁹ and his Court. The monarch praised them for

¹¹ Among others is Colgan, who promised to prove, at 30th of April, that Forannan had preceded Maccallin. See "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," xxi. Januarii. De B. Maccallanno, Abbate, p. 152. Again, at Februarii ii., De S. Columbano Abbate, Gandavi sepulto, p. 238.

¹² This nobleman's genealogy is given, in the "Chronicon Valciodorensis." It is supposed, by Papebroke, to have been an interpolation, and to contain anachronisms and romance, the product of some writer or writers, differing from the original compiler.

¹³ This year—said to have been the ninth of the reign of Otho I., afterwards Emperor of Germany—the foundations of the church were laid, and in the course of three years, the whole building was completed, in a very elegant style of workmanship. According to the corrected chronology of Marianus Scottus, the Emperor Otho I. died, A.D. 973, "Non Maii," and he was buried at Mcgedeburg, now Magdeburgh. See "Chronicon," in *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*,¹⁹ tomus v., p. 555.

¹⁴ It is sometimes written Walsor.

¹⁵ According to the "Chronicon Valciodorensis," a cemetery for the monks lay near this church. It is supposed, by Papebroke, that this dedication was at the instance of the first Abbot, St. Maccalan, who lived in the monastery of St. Michael, at Thierasche, and who desired to detach his countrymen, who

were monks there, from the natives of the country, so that the former might have a distinctive settlement at Wasor.

¹⁶ The name is sometimes written Walsidorum or Valsidorum. Father Papebroke considers, however, that the real origin of this name must be referred to the Teutonic.

¹⁷ "Ab ipsis enim Scotis secundum idioma linguæ suæ et nostræ ipsum nomen aliter non potuit aptari, sed sicut dictum est, ipsum Valciodorum, silicet quasi vallem decoram nominaverunt secundum proprietatem utriusque linguæ."—"Chronicon Valciodorensis," in D'Archer's "Spicilegium," tomus vii.

¹⁸ She departed this life, it seems probable, before the arrival of St. Forannan in Belgium. She had a special regard for the monastery of St. Michael at Thierasche, where she appears to have been interred. See Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlix., sect. xlix., p. 473.

¹⁹ This was probably the Emperor Otho II., who had been elected King of Germany in 961, who married Theophania, niece to John Zimiscees, Emperor of the East, in 972, and who was crowned Emperor of Germany, in 967. See Dr. Bisset Hawkins' "Germany; the Spirit of her History, Literature, Social Condition and Economy," &c., chap. i., sect. i., p. 11. The Emperor Otho II. died in 984, according to the "Annales Sancti Maximi Trevirensis," p. 7, in "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus vi., edited by Georgius Heinrichus Pertz.

such dutiful conduct, and on learning their good qualities from the Count, he urged the latter suitably to reward them, as he had no children of his own. Accordingly, Eilbert bestowed on them the castle and town of Florennes,²⁰ reserving carefully all rights and privileges connected with the monastery, at Wasor. The Abbot, Prefect, and Monks of that place, had the favour of residing in the castle at Florennes, and of receiving legal recognizance, and protection, from future proprietors. Other privileges, not less curious than characteristic of the period, are recounted.²¹ That constitution and decree were affirmed and assented to, by Godefrid and Arnulf, on oath; while the Emperor and his palatine Princes ratified them, by royal ordinance and will. Still, Eilbert did not neglect to build seven castles. He resided in one of them, near Florina, or Florennes.²² There, revolving in mind the propriety of making atonement for some evil deeds, and which those castles even suggested, he resolved, as a counterpoise, to erect monasteries—observing also the mystic number of seven—in the work of reparation. One of these had been erected at Tirascia,²³ or Therasche,²⁴ under the patronage of St. Michael the Archangel;²⁵ another was intended for nuns, at a place called Bucculeum, or Bocileis,²⁶ now Bussily, and it was dedicated to St. Peter, while over this presided a mitred Abbess; another basilica was erected, at a place known as Humblieres,²⁷ and this was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; while he built three other monasteries, all of these having been endowed, in a most substantial manner, from Count Eilbert's patrimony.²⁸ On these, too, he conferred various privileges. Wishing their rule to be that of St. Benedict, he also desired, that holy superiors and subjects should dwell in them, for all future time.

One more religious house remained to be built, and this was resolved on as a compensation for the destruction of a church at Rheims,²⁹ while the Count intended it for dedication to the holy Mother of God. That nobleman lived in a remote situation, at Prireriis,³⁰ or Priezzeriis,³¹ which was compassed around

²⁰ This is now the capital of a Canton, in the Province of Namur, Belgium, having an ancient castle, and it is on the right bank of the Yves. See "Gazetteer of the World," vol. v., pp. 376, 377.

²¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Alia Acta S. Forannani, cap. iii., num. 19, 20, 21, pp. 820, 821.

²² Here a Benedictine Monastery was founded, about the year 1010, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, and in the diocese of Liège. See "Gallia Christiana," tomus iii., col. 974.

²³ It lay within the Province of Picardy. See Baydrand's "Novum Lexicon Geographicum," tomus ii., p. 271.

²⁴ Over this, St. Maccallin was placed as first Abbot, during the rule of Rodolph II., Bishop of Laon.

²⁵ See an account of this place, in the Life, of St. Maccallin, or Malcallan, Abbot of St. Michael's monastery of Therasche, at the 21st of January, and also in the Life of St. Cadroe, or Hadroe, Abbot of Wasor, at the 6th of March. This monastery was subject to the See of Laon, and it was intended for monks, belonging to the Order of St. Benedict.

²⁶ The brothers Sammarthan call it Busi-

liacum, and state that the founders were Elbert and Gertrude, "Veromanduorun Comites," under Bartholomew, Bishop of Laon, who issued in its favour a charter of confirmation, A. D. 1113. However, Papebroke suspects the genuineness of this charter, as no such noble personages are to be found noted, in the histories of the Veromandui, or people of Picardy.

²⁷ This was built, under the very walls of Augusta Viromanduorum, now St. Quintin, in Picardy. However, Papebroke suspects, that not Eilbert, but Albert, Count of St. Quintin, was the founder, and he adds, "quod idem forte sentiendum de sequentibus tribus innominatis monasteriis, hoc scilicet eodem tempore, sed ab aliis fuisse condita vel restaurata."

²⁸ See Mabillon's "Annals Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlv., sect. xlix., p. 473.

²⁹ This city has a special importance in the Christian history of France, and it contains a magnificent cathedral, in the ogival style, designed by Robert de Courcy, in 1212. The church of St. Remy is even more ancient. See Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle," tome ii., pp. 705 to 709.

³⁰ So it is written, in the "Chronicon

with woods. Near it was a flourishing town and a church; while, a fortification had been erected there, for the protection of the inhabitants.³² There, also, the Count collected a great number of workmen, and he gave orders, that the woods should be cleared, that the grounds should be improved, and that materials, both of stone and wood, should be fashioned, for that new erection, which was to arise near his own family mansion. No part of the River Meuse is more beautiful, than at Waulsor; for there, limestone crags rise abruptly from the water. Their ledges in spring are gardens of crimson pinks, blue viper-bugloss, and ox-eye daisies. At intervals, the crags fall back, and their woods feather down to the water's edge. A glen leading up to precipices opens immediately opposite to Waulsor. A rill, at the bottom, waters soft and rich meadows. There is to be found the "Vallisdecora" of the Irish hermits, who settled at this spot.³³

When Cadroe had removed to Metz,³⁴ in 954, or 955, he left an Abbot over Wasor, but his name is not known. He is said to have permitted a relaxation of discipline. Accordingly, Forannan was destined to become the fourth abbot there, and under his rule, religious observances were fully established.³⁵ The fame of Forannan's virtues and sanctity had already preceded him. On his approach to Count Eilbert's territories, this nobleman went forth to meet him. Having learned the purpose of his travels, and about that vision whereby he had been directed, Eilbert joyfully assured the holy bishop, that the description of his future settlement, as given by the Angel, presented all the actual features of that country around Wasor. Accordingly, the Count and his people received the messenger of God, with distinguished marks of honour. He was conducted to Eilbert's castle, where, with his companions, Forannan abode for a short period. Anxious to promote the interests of religion in his dominions, the Count brought Forannan to the presence of the King.³⁶ Then, resigning the Abbey and its investiture, he had both conferred on the honoured stranger, by a royal edict,³⁷ and also, by a decree of the Palatine chiefs. The foundation of Wasor was thenceforth placed under regal and imperial protection, while Count Eilbert was constituted patron,³⁸ having the privilege of investiture. Certain prerogatives and revenues were conferred, to render the foundation permanent, as likewise more conducive to effect its objects.³⁹ The Count is said to have left there a curious work of art, which he directed to be preserved carefully, in the church at Wasor.⁴⁰ To the office of

Walsiodorensis," as published by the Bollandists.

³² Papebroke states, it was thus noticed in a more recent Manuscript.

³³ The "Chronicon Walsiodorensis" adds: "usque in præsens tempus monstrant vestigia."

³⁴ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, p. 376.

³⁵ This ancient city, strongly fortified, is at the junction of the Moselle and Seille rivers, and it is the seat of a bishop. See J. R. McCulloch's "Dictionary Geographical, Statistical, and Historical of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World," vol. iii., pp. 330, 331.

³⁶ See Rev. Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," vol. iii., chap. xxiii, sect. iv., p. 404.

³⁷ Doubtless the Emperor Otho I., also called King of Rome and of Germany. He

was surnamed the Great, and he was crowned Emperor by Pope John II., in 962, or 963. See Edward A. Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe," vol. i., chap. vi. sect. 1., pp. 147, 148.

³⁸ To the year 946 is assigned this ratification. See L'Abbé Migne's "Dictionnaire des Abbayes et Monastères," &c., col. 827.

³⁹ This office he exercised, for twenty-three years.

⁴⁰ The Chronicon Walsiodorensis states: "Ipse vero Comes quæ eidem Abbatie ab eodem conferebantur ibidem replicavit, et designatis nonaginta quinque terre mansibus, culturis decem et novem, et præis plurimis, et villis decem cum magnis redditibus et ecclesiis earum, et cum ingenti familia et ea quæ propter difficultatem computandi (quoniam alias pleniter annumerata continebantur) referre distulimus, ostendit, et omnia sub regalibus testamentis assignavit."

⁴¹ It is designated as a "beryllus," or

Abbot Forannan had been advanced, in 969, according to the Chronicle of Wasor, which monastery he is said to have entered that very same year.⁴¹

About this time Deodericus,⁴² a man distinguished for his polite manners, and integrity of character, was Bishop of Metz. He was a relative of Eilbert, and he chanced, on the occasion of a visit, to make allusion to the religious establishment at Wasor. This pious man learned from the Count those circumstances, connected with the arrival of the holy stranger. From a description given, the Bishop expressed a strong desire to see Forannan, and he requested the Count should conduct him to the palace, on the occurrence of his next visit. An interview between the prelates took place, shortly afterwards; and, on their first approach, a contest which proceeded from true humility arose, as each prelate sought the other's blessing, without presuming to impart his own first. The double honour of Forannan, both as Bishop and Abbot, furnished an argument, to which the Irish Saint at length yielded; and, the Bishop of Metz received his blessing, with the sign of the cross, by which it was accompanied. With mutual sentiments of attachment and of religious feeling, they entered upon many useful conferences. Besides, both applied themselves to sacred studies and prayer, while they lived under the same roof, on that and on future occasions.

The expediency of uniting Hasteria village to the monastery of Wasor was discussed, during one of those conferences, and this design was mutually approved. The church of the former place, situated convenient to that of Wasor, had been founded by Adalbero,⁴³ or Adelberone, Bishop of Metz, and had been confirmed by his bequest to St. Glodescinda's monastery,⁴⁴ and to the female community, over which she was formerly Abbess.⁴⁵ This project was revealed to Eilbert, who, on account of the confirmation already made to the nuns, disapproved of a design, which he supposed inconsistent with the principles of strict justice, and with the testamentary dispositions made in their favour. But, his objections were removed, when the Bishop assured him, that measures should be adopted, to satisfy the nuns for the relinquishment of their convent and its possessions, by conferring on them a suitable equivalent in exchange. A petition was presented to the King, and to this effect. Having deliberated some time with his council, on learning the united wishes of Forannan, Deodericus and Eilbert, and understanding their

beryl, a precious stone, having a faint green colour like sea-water. On it was the representation of Susanna's accusation before the wicked judges, as related by the Prophet Daniel (chap. xiii.).

⁴¹ If this date be correct, it seems probable, that the order of narrative is misplaced, in the "Chronicon Valciodorense."

⁴² He is sometimes called Theodericus. See Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlvii., sect. xl., p. 599.

⁴³ This prelate was elected in 928, and he held the bishopric for a long time. He restored the convent of St. Glodescinda, and transferred her remains with great solemnity. See, on this subject, the "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Alia Acta S. Forannani, cap. ii., n. (h), p. 820.

⁴⁴ The feast of this holy virgin and abbess, also called Glossinde or Glossinne, was celebrated on the 25th of July. She flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries. See notices of her, in "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des

Saints," tome ix. xxv^e Jour de Juillet, pp. 31, 32.

⁴⁵ See Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlvii., sect. xl., p. 599.

⁴⁶ The "Chronicon Valciodorense," thus continues: "Sed ne aliqua Valciodorensis Ecclesia motione alicujus hominis vexaretur ob protectionem, advocantiam et defensionem prædictæ Valciodorensis Ecclesiæ, donum superius memoratum conditione retinuit supradicta, et hoc ordine diffinito concessit, quatenus Mettensis Ecclesia Valciodorensi recto tramite incedens, ab omni Ecclesiastico jure illi justitiam faciat, et ne recederet ab eadem justitia cum ea enormiter, sauxit ut si ab eadem Metensi Ecclesia vel ejus Episcopo scrupulus alicujus controversiæ ex eadem Hasteria Valciodorensi Ecclesia xori-retur, ad pristinum Valciodorensis Ecclesia revertetur gradum, et de manu regis prædicti iterum sumeret donum. Istius igitur emancipationis utilitas, et utriusque rei deliberatio, ex dono Valciodorensis Abbatii ex

representations as to the manner, in which the abbey should derive benefit from the arrangement, he assented to their request. Hence, the church of Hasteria was annexed to the abbey of Wasor, and both were conditionally subjected to the protection of imperial authority, and to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Metz. The decree regarding this transfer is dated, in the year 969, and it was promulgated, in the thirty-fourth year of the Emperor Otho I., and during the thirteenth Indiction.⁴⁶

Then certain nuns, living according to rules established by the holy Abbess Goldescinda, had a community, under the direction of a superior named Voda.⁴⁷ She appears to have been called a Deaconess.⁴⁸ Disposing of what was their own property, those religious prepared to leave their home at Hasteria. The nuns removed to the habitation assigned them; and four priests, belonging to the order of St. Benedict, to which saint the abbey of Wasor had been dedicated, were sent to take charge of Hasteria church. With the unanimous consent of all the parties concerned, it was agreed, that this decree should obtain the approval of Benedict VII.,⁴⁹ who then filled St. Peter's chair.⁵⁰ Accordingly, Forannan, with some of his companions, was deputed to proceed to Rome, in order to open this matter before the Sovereign Pontiff, that his sanction might be obtained. The cause for his journey and his character being known, on his arrival at Rome, Forannan was received with marked respect and honour, by the Pope and by Princes of the Church there assembled. On his first interview with Benedict, the Pontiff received an account of the episcopal honour, to which he had been advanced in Ireland, the heavenly admonition he received to abandon his country, and the remarkable fulfilment of providential designs, in placing him over the Benedictine community at Wasor. But, on learning particulars connected with the transfer of Hasteria, and making diligent inquiry regarding the propriety of such proceedings, the Pope was pleased to confirm them, by a special decree. The city of Hasteria, with all its appurtenances, was colated to the Monastery of Wasor, and fortified with a pontifical, as with the imperial, sanction; the immunities of this latter city were guaranteed, against the encroachments of any person whatever, whether laic or cleric, king or bishop. Should any encroachments be attempted, the punishment decreed against offenders was that of perpetual excommunication, reserved for removal only by the Roman Pontiff, after full restitution and condign satisfaction. The privileges of an archbishop were confirmed to Forannan, pastoral care and rule within his Abbey, together with a perpetual protection of the Apostolic See, promised to his place. This decree was transferred to Forannan on his departure, to be held in safe keeping, as a precious legacy. With assurances of love and of esteem on the part of the Pope and of all his Roman acquaintances, Forannan took his leave of the City of Peter,⁵¹ and directed his course northwards, beyond the boundaries of Italy.

Regia manu abstracto, et ex villa Hasteriensi cum omnibus rebus instantibus ac succendentibus, ac omnibus appenditiis suis Valciodorensi Cenobio subjugata decreto Curiarum Principum sub regalibus testamentis auctorisata legitur, et Domini Deoderici, et Beati Forannani, Comitisque Eilberti, et capitalium virorum de curia testimonio confirmatur.—D'Achery's "Spicilegium," at A.D. 969, tomus vii.

⁴⁷ Father Papebroke quotes the brothers Sammarthan for this statement.

⁴⁸ See Mabillon's "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iii., lib. xlvii., sect. xl., p. 599.

⁴⁹ He reigned as Pope, from A.D. 975 to 983. See Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History," p. 208.

⁵⁰ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, p. 377.

⁵¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Alia Acta S. Forannani, cap. ii., sect. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, pp. 818, 819.

CHAPTER III.

ST. FORANNAN AND HIS MONKS SPEND SOME TIME IN THE MONASTERY OF GORZE—THE SAINT'S RULE OVER WASOR—TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF ST. ELOQUIUS—COUNT EILBERT'S PRIVILEGES AND CHARTERS IN FAVOUR OF WASOR—HIS MANNER OF LIVING AND HAPPY DEATH, AT WHICH ST. FORANNAN ATTENDED—DEATH OF ST. FORANNAN—HIS MEMORIALS AND MIRACLES—CONCLUSION.

ON his return home, the Bishop of Metz, whose subject Forannan had now become, counselled him to make a retreat with his companions in the Abbey of Gorze,¹ in the territory of Messiu, and which was then governed by the Holy Abbot John. No doubt, their object was to be trained in the Rule of St. Benedict, which had been there established.² Here, with the most admirable humility, St. Forannan submitted himself to those lessons of perfection taught him; and, he returned, to assume the government over his own Abbey of Wasor. According to some accounts, this happened about 970. While Forannan ruled over that establishment, he seemed never to tire, in adorning the place; and, he had received willing aid from Count Eilbert, in all his efforts to promote religion. At this time, the possession of the relics and shrine of some saint formed an object of eager desire, among the religious of newly-founded monasteries. Wasor was yet without such a treasure, although profiting more perhaps by the examples and government of its living saint. After the institution of well directed applications, however, it was discovered, that the relics of St. Eloquius,³ who accompanied St. Fursey from Ireland to France, could be obtained from the Monastery of Lagny, which he had founded. His tomb had been broken open, during the incursions of the Daues, and the treasures of the church in which it lay had been carried off; but, in consideration of the honours about to be revived, in a translation of the body, it was granted to Wasor, by Rodoardas, then Bishop of Laudun. The relics were brought in great pomp by the Bishop and by the faithful of his diocese; the Count and Countess being in attendance to the church of St. Michael the Archangel, which was founded by these devout persons. The day for the deposition of the remains of St. Eloquius, in the abbey church of Wasor, is celebrated on the III. of the Nones of December, or on its eleventh day.⁴ Many illustrious miracles were wrought, during the removal of the remains to their new shrine. St. Forannan conducted the arrangement of the religious services, and on the day of deposition, a consecration of Wasor church took place. Its great altar was dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Twelve Apostles; on one side, a small altar was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist—whilst on the other, a corresponding altar was dedicated to St. Benedict and to St. Martin. On the following day, at the request of Count Eilbert, Forannan consecrated an altar, in honour of the Most Holy Trinity, and in the domestic chapel of his patron. The solemnity for the translation, deposition, and dedication of Wasor church, was assigned by St. Forannan to be observed there, on the same anniversary day.

After the performance of these religious ceremonies, in conjunction with Eilbert,

CHAPTER III.—¹ This religious house was in Lorraine. It lay about seven miles S.W. from Metz. See "Gazetteer of the World," vol. vi., p. 654.

² The Vita S. Forannani only says, "atque ibidem cum suis in divinis institueretur mandatis."—Cap. i., num. 6.

³ The feast of this saint occurs, on the 3rd of December.

⁴ The French Martyrology indicates this translation, however, at the 8th of October. See "Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome xiv., iii^e Jour de Decembre, p. 26.

St. Forannan made application to all the Christian princes, and obtained from them the sanction of the treaty, or "Tregua Dei,"⁵ whereby all religious pilgrims to Wasor, during the octave of its feast, should enjoy full immunity from all injurious attempts, against their lives or persons, under pain of anathema.⁶ The Count imposed on the people of Florinensis an obligation of bringing from each head of a family one iron rod measuring a cubit, with an obolus, each year, to keep the roof of that monastery in repair. He also bestowed the use of the river fisheries from bank to bank, and extending from a place, known as the Cave, or Hunia, to the Perforated Rock; while he confirmed these gifts to Forannan, and to his successors, for ever. Also, in a most solemn and public manner, Count Eilbert arose in the middle of the church, and after returning thanks to God for all favours bestowed on him, he resigned anew all claims on the abbey; while he invoked the protection of St. Eloquius, to whom the place was dedicated. Many other instances of the Count's protection, in favour of Wasor, are recorded. On the return of Count Eilbert, after his visit to the Emperor Otho I.,⁷ he conceived such a delight for the church at Wasor, that he resolved to make it the place of interment for himself, his friends, and the members of his family. He selected, likewise, the exact position for that vault. It was at the entrance of the choir, and before the high altar, immediately under the tower.⁸ There, he had the earth excavated, and he built two walls, measuring in height two cubits, and in width one and a-half cubit. Thither he had removed, with great honour and religious ceremony, the remains of his father⁹ and mother,¹⁰ as also the bodies of a son, called Berner,¹¹ and of a brother, named Count Boso.¹² Eilbert spent much of his closing life, in religious meditation; and, he attained great proficiency, in spiritual exercises. He read assiduously, so that his eyesight

⁵ In the tenth century, the disorders of Feudalism had reached to such a height, that general anarchy followed the order and good government introduced by the Emperor Charlemagne, throughout central and southern Europe. Ecclesiastical society and discipline suffered greatly, in this disordered condition of affairs: while piety and learning received many rude shocks, owing to the rapine and violence of ignorant, insolent and powerful nobles, who were only nominally the vassals of the superior monarchs. The weak had no rights that the strong were bound to respect; and the absolute will or passions of despotic chiefs, at the head of lawless and armed retainers, brought innumerable evils on the people subjected to their sway. The Church had introduced the Tregua Dei, or Truce of God, as a means to repel or mitigate such disorders. See Rev. Dr. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," vol. ii., Second Period, Epoch i., Part ii., chap. iv., sect. 200, pp. 265, 266. Translation by Rev. F. J. Pabisch and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne. Dublin edition.

⁶ This passage proves, that the Treaty of God or of our Saviour had an earlier existence, than 1032 or 1034, "la plus ancienne à laquelle on puisse rapporter cette institution."—L'Abbé Bergier's "Dictionnaire de Théologie," tome iv., *sub-voce*, Trêve de Dieu ou du Seigneur, p. 592.

⁷ The Emperor Otho I. died A.D. 973, when his son Otho II. began to reign. The latter died "6 Idus. Decembris," A.D. 983. See "Heremanni Aug. Chronicon," pp. 116, 117, "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," tomus v., edited by Georgivs Heinrichvs Pertz.

⁸ From this description, we may infer, that the church, at Wasor, was cruciform, and having a high tower in the centre, which was the prevailing style and plan of the great mediæval cathedrals and churches, afterwards built on the continent, and especially in France and Germany.

⁹ He is said to have been Ebronius.

¹⁰ She is called Zunerita, daughter of Count Wideric and of his wife Eve.

¹¹ It is this to be a correct statement, Berner must have been a natural son of Count Eilbert; but, it is questioned by Father Papebrock, as resting only on a fictitious narrative.

¹² He left many children. He also had a villa, named in Latin Calvus-mons, which he bequeathed for the use of the church at Wasor.

¹³ It is a town of Belgium, on the River Sambre, and in the Province of Hainault. Near it was fought the celebrated battle of Ligny, between the French and the Prussians, on the 16th of June, 1815. See "The Popular Encyclopedia; or Conversations Lexicon," vol. iii., p. 211.

became impaired, while he was prevented from walking, owing to that infirmity, which affected his feet. However, his gates were ever open for the reception of visitors. A great part of his time was devoted to prayer, and thus he prepared piously for his end. One day, he left Wasor, for the purpose of visiting Humblieres, and he arrived at the village of Fleurus.¹³ There, he was seized with a mortal illness, and he could proceed no further. Knowing that the time for his call out of this world was fast approaching, the Count sent to Wasor for St. Forannan. This holy Abbot administered religious consolation, and those sacraments of the Church, which were requisite for the dying. Soon, Count Eilbert passed away to receive in Heaven the reward for his good works in life, and for his pious resignation in death. St. Forannan took care to have his funeral obsequies celebrated, in a manner becoming his rank and merits. He called together the Abbots of religious houses Eilbert had established; a great number of the clergy, monks, and nuns assisted; besides many relatives and persons of rank; together with crowds of men and women, belonging to the humbler people. His loss was greatly felt, and his demise was generally lamented. From Fleurus to the church at Wasor, his corpse was borne; and then, with solemn rites, it was deposited in that tomb, which had been built by himself, and for such a purpose.¹⁴ This religious nobleman is said to have died, on the 28th of March, A.D. 977, and during the third year¹⁵ of the Emperor Otho II.'s reign.¹⁶

If we are to credit Dempster,¹⁷ St. Forannan wrote two works: "Sermones in Passionem," lib. i., and "Pro Monasterio Suo," lib. i. The latter seems to be a pure fiction of the mendacious Dempster. This idea was probably suggested, by the fact of Forannan having obtained privileges and a confirmation for his monastery, from Pope Benedict VII.¹⁸ St. Forannan continued to direct the religious affairs of this abbey, with zeal and prudence; and, under his rule, the spirit of St. Benedict, in a wonderful manner, was revived among the subjects of his order. Owing to his care, in the village of Gruthen, on the boundaries of the diocese of Metz, Forannan secured a house, to which two vineyards were attached; and these were deemed necessary to provide wine for the monastery, at Wasor. One of these vineyards, in after time, was also called Wasor. Desirous to improve the talents committed to his care, the holy Abbot laboured towards his personal sanctification; he repelled all the snares of the evil one, by putting on the armour of justice. His whole thoughts were now directed towards God, and like St. Paul, he earnestly desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ. His charity towards the poor had no bounds, and it was actively exercised. He prayed with great compunction of spirit, and he truly sighed for the company of the Angels. As well before as after his death, great miracles were wrought, owing to his merits before God.

But, the period of our saint's life was already drawing to a close. After a short illness, this light of the sanctuary was extinguished, on the 30th of April, 980, the day of his present commemoration.¹⁹ He died, A.D. 982, if we accept other accounts. Such is the statement of Mabillon,²⁰

¹⁴ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Alia Acta S. Forannani, cap. iii., pp. 820 to 822.

¹⁵ According to Papebroke, this was a calculation, based on the death of his father Otho I., but in reality it should be regarded as the ninth year of his son's reign. See *ibid.*, n. (g), p. 822.

¹⁶ It was in the fifth indiction, and not in the third, as wrongly set down, in the "Chronicon Walsiodorensis."

¹⁷ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum," tomus i., lib. vi., num. 523, pp. 287, 288.

¹⁸ This is even noted, by Dempster.

¹⁹ According to Dempster: "Depositus est anno DCCCXXCI, vel centum annis serius, ut alii scribunt. Colitur xxx. Aprilis." "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum," tomus i., lib. vi., num. 523, p. 288.

²⁰ See "Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti," tomus iv., lib. xlix., num. xv., p. 9.

and it has been very generally followed.²¹ After his death, the remains were placed in a coffin of lead, and this again was put into a marble tomb, built within the church of Wasor. - Over it was an inscription to this effect: "S. Forannane ora pro nobis."²² The place chosen for his deposition was on the left side of the church;²³ while he was interred with public honours and with great solemnity.²⁴ But, as damp had penetrated to the sarcophagus, in which his body was enclosed, a translation of his relics again took place. Numbers of pious pilgrims came to visit it, and a variety of miracles there wrought are recorded. In the sacristy, an arm of the saint was preserved within a separate shrine. A certain visitor to Wasor, and who came from Ireland, declared that some churches were erected to honour him, in the country of his birth; and, even that these were served by choirs of monks and of clerics.²⁵ This statement has been called into question,²⁶ however, because no other corroborative evidence of it has been produced. In the year 1617, his relics were taken up, and placed in a rich urn. To the middle of the last century, these were preserved in it, and they were held in great veneration, by the faithful.²⁷ Among the relics of St. Forannan, preserved in the church at Wasor, is a curious stole, wherewith he is said to have cured the bite of a mad dog.²⁸

His canonical office was recited solemnly at Wasor, where his feast is held; and his name occurs in several Martyrologies, although it is not in the Roman Martyrology. In the year 1526, under such pretext, the reformers of Church Offices at Bursfeld undertook the retrenchment of Forannan's festival. In this attempt, they were zealously resisted, by the religious brethren of Wasor.²⁹ Many miracles attested his sanctity; and, with sanction of the Bishops of Metz and Liege, his invocation, throughout the Low Countries, in France, and among the religious of St. Benedict's order, was authorized. This day the Martyrology of Donegal³⁰ registers his name within brackets, and without further designation, simply as Farannan. In his catalogue³¹ of our national saints, Father Henry Fitzsimon ranks this holy man as Forinanus, Bishop and Abbot. He quotes Molanus³² for the statement. Also, Father Stephen White has a notice of Forannan.³³ In Dempster's "Menologium Scotorum," his feast is entered.³⁴ It is certain, that during his lifetime, and after his death, the scene of this holy bishop's and abbot's ministration had been visited by pious pilgrims, arriving from Ireland. Ordinary mortals esteemed him, as one deserving to rank in holiness above themselves. In Belgium, the country where he spent the last years of his pilgrimage on earth, the pious servant of God was even better known and remembered, than in his native country.

²¹ See, also, "Gallia Christiana Nova," tomus iii., p. 571.

²² Meaning, "Saint Forannan, pray for us." See Molanus; "De Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii."

²³ So states his Life, by Robert, the Monk of Wasor, "de tumulatio sacra, seorsum in læva monasterii fuit facta," &c., cap. ii., num. 9. See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., xxx. Aprilis, p. 811.

²⁴ See Molanus, "In Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii."

²⁵ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Vita S. Forannani Ab. Walciodor. auctore Roberto Monacho Walciodorensi, cap. ii., iii., pp. 811 to 814.

²⁶ By Papebroke. See *Ibid.*, n. (c), p. 814.

²⁷ See Bishop Challoner's "Britannia

Sancta," Part i., p. 273.

²⁸ See Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," vol. iv., April 30, p. 377.

²⁹ See Molanus, "De Natalibus Sanctorum Belgii."

³⁰ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

³¹ See "Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Hiberniæ."

³² In Vita S. Eloquii.

³³ See "Apologia pro Hibernia," cap. v., p. 42. Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition.

³⁴ xxx. "Valuidori depositio Forannani abbatis, qui episcopali titulo ad convertendas gentes ornatus cum in Scotia Archiepiscopatum gessisset, M.L. hoc est; cum Scotorum Antistitum maximus fuisset, cumulatam gloria excessit. Gh. S." See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 197.

ARTICLE II.—*ST. CIARAN, OF CLUAIN-SOSTA, OR CLONSOST, KING'S COUNTY.* The Martyrology of Tallagh¹ records his name and place, at the 30th of April. The locality is written *Cluana Sasta*,² in the edition by Rev. Dr. Kelly. The Bollandists³ refer to that same authority, and at this date, for Kieranus of Cluain-Sosta. This place is said to have been situated, in Leix;⁴ but, it does not form a part of the present Queen's County. We are of opinion, however, that the residence of this saint must be identified with Clonsast, or Cloncast, also called Clonbollogue, a parish, in the barony of Coolestown, and in the present King's County. It seems rather to have been within the ancient territory of *Ui Failghe*, which was called after Ros of the Rings.⁵ A ruined and a very ancient church is found there, while the site is now seldom frequented. It lies within the present townland of Clonsast, in that parish, bearing a like name. The parish is most commonly called Clonbulloge,⁶ and, it is skirted by a large extent of bog. The old church occupies a slight



Clonsast Old Church, King's County.

elevation; but, it is surrounded nearly altogether by moory meadow and pasture land, with some reclaimed tillage soil.⁷ The cemetery around it is at present quite disused for interments, nor have the people near any tradition regarding its former venerable associations. The existing ruined gables and

ARTICLE II.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² This also agrees with the Franciscan copy, which has *Ciaran Cluan farta*.

³ See "*Aeta Sanctorum*," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 722.

⁴ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's "*Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient*

Irish History," Lect. i., p. 21.

⁵ He was the common ancestor, from whom were derived O'Conchobhair Failghe, O'Conor Faly, O'Diomasaigh Clann Maci-liaghra, or O'Dempsey of Clanmalier, and O'Duinn or O'Dunne of Iregan. After the establishment of surnames, these were its most distinguished families. See *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, or the "*Book of Rights*,"

side walls show, that they had been built with large and finely-dressed blocks of limestone; while they are now mantled over with ivy. Some few scattered trees, with hawthorn bushes, grow within the enclosure. We read, in the Martyrology of Donegal⁸, that on this day, a festival was celebrated in honour of Ciaran, of Cluain-Sosta. The *Leabhar Chluana Sost*, or Book of Clonsost, is still one of the missing "books of Erin."⁹ This is said to have been written, by St. Berchán¹⁰, patron of the place; and, he flourished so early as the sixth century. It contained a Life of Alexander the Great.¹¹

ARTICLE III.—ST. MICHOMER, OR MICHOMORES, CONFESSOR, OF TORNODOR, IN GALLIC CAMPANIA. [*Fifth Century.*] The Bollandists¹ furnish notices of St. Michomer, at the 30th day of April; and, this holy man is called a confessor from Ireland. Their disquisition is written in ten paragraphs, by Father Daniel Papebroke; however, he not only seeks to invalidate the ancient traditions, by unwarrantable and misplaced conjectures, but even the records of olden times, which state, that Michomer or Michomores was a native of Hibernia.² A Manuscript belonging to Auxerre has such a statement, and it relates, moreover, that he was of royal or noble birth, having first seen the light, about the year 410. He seems to have been brought up as a pagan, until the year 431, when he became a disciple of St. Germanus,³ Bishop of Auxerre, who instructed him in the principles of the Christian faith, and at a time, when in company with St. Lupus,⁴ Bishop of Troyes, he had been sent to evangelize the Britons, among whom Pelagianism had begun to spread.⁵ In the year 432, St. Michomeres, with St. Germanus,⁶ went to France.

edited by John O'Donovan, n. (b), p. 193.

⁶ See "Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland," vol. i., p. 462.

⁷ The accompanying illustration was drawn by the writer on the spot, in August, 1883, it has been transferred to the wood, by William F. Wakeman, and it has been engraved, by Mrs. Millard.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

⁹ See Professor O'Curry's "Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," Lect. i., p. 21.

¹⁰ His feast occurs, at the 4th of December.

¹¹ This was copied into the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighra*, commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*, now preserved, in the Royal Irish Academy. See *ibid.*, Lect. xvi. pp. 352, 353.

ARTICLE III.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De Sancto Michomere, Tornodori in Campania Gallicana, pp. 775 to 777.

² Papebroke conceives, that for Hibernia—which he imagines to have been an error of Eric, the biographer of St. Germanus, or of his copyist—Nivernia should have been used; while Averni or Arverni may have been substituted for Hiberni, Iverni, or Iberni, in certain cases. Thus, he conjectures, that Michomer had been born in Nivernia, near the diocese of Auxerre, of Franc or of Saxon parents; and, again, if this be not allowed, the word Britannia

might be substituted, for Hibernia, as the country of his birth. Again, it is supposed, that the name of Michomer or Michomores could not have been Irish, nor could he have followed Germanus, as a disciple, from Ireland, which Eric states. Indeed, no solid objection to Michomer's birth has been raised, in the over criticism of Papebroke. It may well be allowed, that even before Christianity had been generally introduced, by St. Patrick, among the Irish, many of these had visited the continent, and had become Christians. Even Irish names had often been corrupted there, especially when converted into Latinized forms, as was also the case, where Cæsar transforms the Celtic and Gallic denominations into the Latin of his celebrated commentaries.

³ His feast occurs, at the 26th of July. His Life was originally written, by Eric, a monk of Auxerre, who flourished in the ninth century; and, in it, allusions are made to our saint, as "unus discipulorum ejus, qui sanctum virum de Hibernia fuerat prosecutus, cui Michomeri vocabulum fuit," &c.

⁴ His feast is held, on the 24th of July.

⁵ See Rev. John Lingard's "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," chap. i., p. 19.

⁶ A very critical account of this celebrated saint and of his writings will be found, in the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," by the Benedictines. See tome ii., Siècle v., sect. i., ii., pp. 256 to 261.

Here, he is thought to have spent some years, with his celebrated master, while serving at the cathedral church of Auxerre, or in a seminary attached to it. Even, it is said, he returned with St. Germanus to Britain, when the latter visited it a second time, in the year 443.⁷ Having undertaken a journey, for the transaction of some important ecclesiastical affairs—one account has it, that he was on the way to assist at a council held in Besançon⁸—St. Germanus was accompanied by Mochomer. They arrived at a fortified place, called Tharnor,⁹ more correctly Tonnerre.¹⁰ There his disciple fell sick, and he could not proceed further on his journey. There, too, according to the account of Eric, he did not long survive; and, he was buried on the declivity of a hill, through the pious attentions of the faithful. The Manuscript of Auxerre conveys another impression, that he remained ill while St. Germanus prosecuted his journey, and that he did not depart this life, until after the council had been held at Besançon,¹¹ in the year 444.¹² Selecting the place for his habitation, Michomer appears to have led the life of a recluse at Tornodor, a town of Champagne,¹³ near Burgundy,¹⁴ in the diocese of Langres.¹⁵ There, St. Michomer probably had a chapel or an oratory; at least, one existed, which had been dedicated to him, in after time, and it was situated outside of the fortress. His departure from this life has been assigned, to the year 446; and, he is said to have been buried by St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes,¹⁶ the ancient capital of Champagne.¹⁷ St. Germanus, it is thought, had some divine admonition, regarding his disciple's death; when, after some time, he returned from Besançon, by way of Tharnor. Here, seeking the tomb of his disciple, he ordered the covering to be raised, and he called Michomer by name. Once more, the latter came to life, and he was asked by Germanus, if he wished to engage again in missionary labours; but, Michomer declared, if it should not be a cause of regret for his master, and if it were not necessary for the service of Christ, that he should continue in the world, he desired rather to be dissolved, and to be with him in heaven. The holy bishop assenting to his wishes, Michomer reclined his head, and went to his final rest, all who were present being in great admiration: Then, in honour of the holy pilgrim, an oratory was built over his remains; and, in ages long subsequent, these relics were visited by crowds of the faithful, who received various benefits, through his intercession. About the year 1231, N., Count of Tornodor, built or rebuilt the chapel over St. Michomer's tomb;

⁷ This is stated, in the Auxerre Manuscript.

⁸ In the time of the Emperor Nero, A.D. 69, the city of Besançon was besieged, by the Roman General Rufus. See *Le Sieur F. de Mezeray's "Histoire de France,"* &c., tome i., liv. ii., sect. v., p. 63.

⁹ Thus it is called, in Eric's "Vita S. Germani."

¹⁰ The "Oppidum Tornodorum," or "Thernadorum," lay in Celtic Gaul, and within the Duchy of Burgundy. See *Bavdrand's "Novum Lexicon Geographicum,"* tomos ii., p. 275.

¹¹ An interesting description and view of this city will be found in *Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle,"* tome ii., pp. 376 to 380.

¹² In it, Celidonius, a bishop, was deposed. See *Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History,"* p. 218.

¹³ This was one of the parts of Gaul,

which remained longest in the possession of the Roman Emperors. Its history is well set forth, in *Beaugier's "Mémoires Historiques de la Province de Champagne,"* and in *Bérait's "Histoire de Comtes de Champagne et de Brie,"* Paris, 1839.

¹⁴ Also called Bourgogne. In ancient times, this country was chiefly inhabited by the *Ædui*, a powerful Celtic tribe, whose capital was *Ébracte*, the modern Autun. See *Charles Knight's "English Cyclopædia,"* Geography, vol. ii., col. 76.

¹⁵ See *Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle,"* tome ii., pp. 698 to 700, for a description of this city, and for a map of its immediate surroundings.

¹⁶ A view of this city will be found in *A. Hugo's "France Pittoresque,"* &c., tome i., p. 191.

¹⁷ See an interesting account of this place in *Elisée Reclus' "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle,"* tome ii., pp. 698, 699.

but, although it formerly bore his name, afterwards, it was called the chapel of St. Loup le Reclus.¹⁸ Formerly, a stone statue of our saint had been placed on the top of that oratory, and it represented him, holding a traveller's staff in his hand, with a large and peculiarly-shaped head-gear, while at the base was this inscription: "Vocor Micomeris, convocans ad Reclusium Dei oratores, anno Domini MDXI."¹⁹ A parchment Manuscript Missal has a special Missa de Beato Michomere,²⁰ in which there is a remarkable Benediction for wine to be used for sick persons, and in which the intercession of Micomir, confessor, from Hibernia,²¹ is invoked. A large tomb, elevated two or three feet over the ground, was formerly seen in the middle of that chapel, and near the altar; but, owing to practices savouring of superstition, it is said to have been demolished in 1628, when the remains of St. Michomer are thought to have been disturbed, without a capability of these being now identified.

ARTICLE IV.—ST. RONAN, OF LIATH ROS, PROBABLY IN THE COUNTY OF LOUTH. This holy man must have lived, at a remote period, for he has an early commemoration, in our calendars. So far as we can learn, from the "Feilire" of St. Ængus,¹ at this date, he was known as Ronan the gray, and his place was called Ross Uainni. The commentator on this Tract in the "Leabhar Breac" seems to be doubtful, regarding the site of that habitation; for, he offers a conjecture, that it was at Senbuaile, in Conaill Muirthemne, Ronan lived, or, as he adds, in another place. Then Ronan of Liath-ross, or Lethross, is said to be one name, while, it is thought, he had been a missionary out of Ireland. The territory of Conaille-Muirthemhne is also called Magh-Muirthemhne,² and Machaire-Oirghiall. It is a level plain, extending from the River Boyne to the mountains of Cuailgne, or Carlingford, and it is situated in the present county of Louth.³ Dundalk, Louth, Druimiskin and Monasterboice are mentioned, as having been within this level district of country.⁴ The name Ronan, of Liath Ross, is found in the published Martyrology of Tallagh,⁵ at the 30th of April; and, with this corresponds the Franciscan copy.⁶ In like manner, and from the same authority, the Bollandists⁷ merely record Ronanus de Liathros, in Conallia Murthemnensi. On this day, likewise, the Martyrology of Donegal⁸ mentions, that venera-

¹⁸ Papebroke, in noticing this chapel, states: "*nunc a S. Lupo dictum: quod multis ante seculis titulum S. Michomeris prætulisse, præter constantem majorum traditionem; chartæ tabularii Molisensis docent: in quibus Guilielmus Comes Tornodorensis dedisse insuper scribitur Domino Roberto Abbati Molisensis Capellam S. Michomeris, quæ est extra castrum.*"—"Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De Sancto Michomere Tornodori in Campania Gallicana, num. 1, p. 775.

¹⁹ Such is the account given by Robert Luyt, a canon of Tornodor, in a little French book, which was published, A. D. 1656.

²⁰ In the Collect of his Mass, this prayer is found: "Deus qui B. Michomerem ex Hibernia ad hunc clivum rupis venire fecisti, concede propitiis, ut per ejus adventum ad electorum tuorum pervenire mereamur consortium."

²¹ The words are: "Micomiris confes-

soris ab Hibernia, Aquilonica et remota regione," &c.

ARTICLE IV.—¹ See "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i., part i. On the Calendar of Oengus, by Whitley Stokes, LL.D., p. lxxvii.

² See Ussher's "Primordia," pp. 627, 705, 827, 902.

³ See the Annals of Tighernach," at A. D. 1002, where these people are called the followers of Conall. Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., p. 270.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," vol. i., n. (u), p. 10.

⁵ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

⁶ There entered, Ronam Liath Roip.

⁷ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 722.

⁸ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves. See

tion was given to Ronan, of Liathros, in Conaille Muirtheimhne, in Uladh. He was even commemorated, in Scotland; for, at the 30th of April, the Kalendar of Drummond, has an entry of his festival.⁹

ARTICLE V.—ST. LUITH, VIRGIN, OF DRUIM-DAIRBHREACH. The chaste spouse of Christ is a living evidence of those higher and nobler feelings, after which Christian beings aspire, in many casual instances; but, it is only the few who carry out in continuous and unwearied action the Divine counsels of perfect purity and of real goodness. An entry appears, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at the 30th of April, which describes a holy female as Luta, virgin, of Dromadairbreach. This place means in English “Oak-hill;” but, it has not been identified. However, it is mentioned, in the Annals of the Four Masters,² at the year 1062, and, in such a manner as to indicate, that it must have been situated within the territory of Leinster, as then recognised. The Bollandists³ quote the Tallagh Martyrology, at this date, for the festival of the virgin Luta of Droma-airbreach. The name of Luith, virgin, of Druim-dairbhreach, also occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal,⁴ as having had veneration paid her, on this day.

ARTICLE VI.—ST. FAILCHON, OR FAELCHU, BISHOP. This name Failchon Bishop, appears in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ at this date. With this notice corresponds an entry in the Franciscan copy.² Following such statement, the Bollandists³ also enter Foelchus, Bishop, at the 30th of April. The place, with which he was connected, does not seem to be known. Again, the festival of Faelchu, Bishop, was celebrated on this day, according to the Martyrology of Donegal.⁴

ARTICLE VII.—THE FAMILY OF EAGO, OR ISLAND OF EGG, SCOTLAND, ACCORDING TO SOME ACCOUNTS. The present seems to have been entered, as a doubtful festival. It may have crept in as an error of position, reference having been made to this place, at the previous day. At this date, we find inserted, however, in the Martyrology of Tallagh,¹ “Familia Eago, ut quidam dicunt,” which signifies, that a feast had been assigned to the religious family—probably those martyrs² during St. Donnan’s administration of Egg monastery—by certain writers.³ Before his arrival there, a settlement of the Gall-

Appendix to the Introduction, p. xlvi., and pp. 114, 115.

⁹ Thus is the matter mentioned, at ii. Kl. “Hoc quoque die apud Hiberniam Natale Sancti Confessoris Ronani celebratur.”—Bishop Forbes’ “Kalendars of Scottish Saints,” p. 12.

ARTICLE V.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii. The Franciscan copy has *Luta uirgō Drom dairbreach*, at this date.

² See Dr. O’Donovan’s Edition, vol. ii., pp. 882, 883, and n. (c), *ibid.*

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 722.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp.

114, 115.

ARTICLE VI.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² Thus entered *Failchon Ep̄i*.

³ See “Acta Sanctorum,” tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 722.

⁴ Edited by Drs. Todd and Reeves, pp. 114, 115.

ARTICLE VII.—¹ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxii.

² See an account of them already given, at the 17th of April.

³ The Franciscan copy of the Tallagh Martyrology thus notices, at the 30th of April, *familia ega ut alii dicunt*.

gaedhil was in the place ; and, by this term, it seems to us, are we to understand settlers of the Irish nation.⁴ This name was originally borne by the Gallwegians, and in its territorial sense it is still used as synonymous with Galloway,⁵ whose kings or chiefs are often called Ri Gallgaidhel.⁶ The Island of Egg, or Eig, is the most easterly of that group of islands lying between the promontory of Ardnamurchan⁷ and the Island of Skye.⁸ It faces that wild and rugged district on the mainland, extending from Ardnamurchan to Glenelg. It is still known by the denomination of Garbheriochan, or "rough bounds." Early in the seventh century, St. Donnan went with his Muintir, or "monastic family," to the Gallgaedalu, or Western Isles of Scotland.⁹ At that time, the Christian religion appears hardly to have penetrated the western districts north of Ardnamurchan ; but, the people seem to have been favourable to the little Christian colony established in the Island of Egg, by St. Donnan. It is thought to have been reserved, as a pasturage for sheep, by the inhabitants of that district. However, the rule had passed into the hands of a queen, who was still a pagan. Moved by hatred to the monks, she engaged pirates to destroy them. While offering the Holy Eucharist, these miscreants burnt the wooden church, in which they were assembled.¹⁰ However, the fifty-two¹¹—or according to other authorities fifty-four¹²—martyrs obtained a short respite, until Mass had ended, when they were all slain,¹³ on the 17th of April, A.D. 617.¹⁴ The gloss on the Martyrology of Tallagh, already given in detail, at that day of this month, contains their various names, and the tale of their martyrdom. Marianus O'Gorman has their commemoration entered, in his calendar ;¹⁵ while the celebrity of these sufferers for the Faith has been preserved, in the early Scottish church.

⁴ However, Dr. John O'Donovan considers the Gall-Gaoidhil to be the Dano-Gaels of the Hebrides. See "Annals of the Four Masters," at A.D. 1154, vol. ii., n. (u), pp. 1112, 1113.

⁵ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland : a History of Ancient Alban," vol. i., Book i., chap. vii., p. 345.

⁶ In *Annales Ultonienes*, at A.D. 1199. See Rev. Dr. O'Connor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," tomus iv.

⁷ This is a bold and broad promontory at the extreme north-west of the mainland of Argyleshire. It is the most westerly ground of the mainland of Scotland. From the time of Somerlid the Great, and until the reign of James VI., it constituted the political division between the Northern and the Southern Hebrides. See "Imperial Gazetteer of Scotland," vol. i., p. 70.

⁸ An interesting account, regarding the social condition of this Island, will be found, in Mackenzie's "Isle of Skye in 1882-3," &c. Inverness, 1883, cr. 8vo.

⁹ It would seem, that St. Columkille had warned St. Donnan and his companions, that they should suffer "red martyrdom ;" and probably, because they took little notice of this warning, he refused to become their spiritual director.

¹⁰ See William F. Skene's "Celtic Scotland : a History of Ancient Alban," vol. ii., Book ii., chap. iv., pp. 152, 153.

¹¹ According to the commentator, on

Marianus O'Gorman, in whose account the exact number is not given.

¹² The commentator on the calendar of St. Aengus has "Donnan ega .i. ega ainm oilein fil in alpain 7 isaunside ata donnan *no* icattail et ibi donnan sanctus cum sua familia obiit .i. lii." It is thus translated into English by Dr. Whitley Stokes : "Donnan of Ega' *i.e.* Ega the name of an Island which is in Scotland, and there Donnan is, or in Caitliness. And there Saint Donnán died with his family, *i.e.* 54 (in number)."—"Calendar of Oengus," p. lxxiv., and p. lxxv., "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i.

¹³ The glossographer on the calendar of St. Oengus thus relates the dialogue, between the queen and those engaged to murder the monks : "Let them be all slain," quoth she. "That is not pious," said every one. Then people go to kill them. The cleric was then at Mass. "Give truce to us till the Mass ends," saith Donnán. "It shall be given," say they, and thereafter all that were there were killed.

¹⁴ See Rev. Dr. Reeves' Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba." Additional Notes, K, p. 307. There, it is calculated, that the day fell on Sunday.

¹⁵ As if to distinguish the superior of this Hebridean community, he is styled, "Donnan moir ra manat," "Donnan the Great, with his monks," by this Martyrologist.

ARTICLE VIII.—ST. SUITBERT, BISHOP OF VERDEN, LOWER SAXONY. It seems a disputed topic, as to whether or not the present holy prelate had been connected with Ireland,¹ where his education may have been received, as was the case with his namesake St. Suitbert, or Suibert,² Bishop, and Apostle of the Frisons and of the Boructuarians. St. Suibertus, the first bishop of Verden, is made by Dempster³ a Scot—of course belonging to his own nation. At the 30th of April, the Bollandists devote fifteen paragraphs to elucidate his Acts.⁴ This dissertation has been written, by Father Daniel Papebroke. With the elder St. Suitbert, the present holy man has often been confounded.⁵ The prelate of whom we treat was born in the eighth century.⁶ He was an Englishman by birth,⁷ and we are told, by Dempster,⁸ that Sigebertus was the father of St. Suitbert.⁹ He became a monk by profession. It is doubtful, whether his place of education and religious retreat had been in England or Ireland.¹⁰ According to one account,¹¹ St. Suitbert was companion of St. Boniface,¹² when this latter Apostle left England,¹³ to prosecute his missionary career in Germany. This happened, in the earlier part of the eighth century, and about the year 716.¹⁴ However, according to the most correct calculation, it seems most probable, the present St. Suitbert was hardly born, or, at least, he must have been quite a child, at that time. When the Saxons¹⁵ were subdued,¹⁶ Charlemagne,¹⁷ who had founded churches, monasteries and convents in their country, also established bishoprics. Among these latter were Osnabrück,¹⁸ Münster, Paderborn,¹⁹ Minden, Bremen, Ver-

ARTICLE VIII.—¹ In his work, "Metropolis seu Historia Ecclesiastica Saxonie," Albert Crantz states, that Waltherus was the first bi-hop of the Saxon nation, in the See of Verden. He adds: "Nam prædecessores ferè omnes Scotici aut Anglicani generis fuère, quod tituli testantur Abbatium, a quibus sunt translati, et ipsa vocabula, et nomina virorum judicio sunt, quod non nostræ fuerint gentis."—Lib. ii., cap. xxx. See also what Colgan says, in "Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ," Februarii xvi. De S. Tanchone Episcop. Verden, pp. 348, 349, with notes.

² His Life has been given already, in vol. iii. of this work, at March 1, Article ii.

³ See *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

⁴ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. De S. Sviberto Ep. Verdensi in Saxonia Inferiori, pp. 802 to 805.

⁵ See L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome xi., lib. liv., p. 258.

⁶ Dempster appears to have confounded the present St. Suitbert, with the saint so named, and who is venerated, at the 1st of March. See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

⁷ The exact place of his birth does not appear to be known.

⁸ He adds for authority, "ut Marcellinus apud Surium auctor."

⁹ Moreover, Dempster writes: "Henricus Sinclarus putat Sigebertum non ortu Scotum, sed exulem in Scotia hæsisse, ibique ex Scota uxore Suitbertum genuisse."

¹⁰ Colgan thinks, that all the early missionaries of Saxony engaged by Charlemagne to preach the Gospel there came from Ireland, even although it be admitted, that some of these belonged by birth to the English nation.

¹¹ See Wernerus Rolevinck, "De Situ et Moribus Westphalorum," lib. ii., cap. viii.

¹² His feast occurs, at the 5th of June. He suffered martyrdom, among the Frisons, A.D. 755. See Mabillon's "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iv., p. 90.

¹³ Lately has appeared, in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," Third Series, vol. v., a very interesting communication, from Most Rev. Patrick F. Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, "Was St. Boniface an Irishman?" See No. 3, pp. 181 to 190.

¹⁴ See Rev. Alban Butler's "Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints," vol. vi., June v.

¹⁵ An account of these people will be found in vol. ii. of this work, when treating about St. Erlulph, Bishop of Verden and Martyr in Saxony, at February 2nd, Article iii.

¹⁶ They were not completely conquered until A.D. 785. Charlemagne had waged war with them for thirty years. See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome ix., liv. xliv., sect. xx., p. 453.

¹⁷ A Life of this celebrated Emperor, by B. Hauréau, will be found in M. Le Dr. Hoefler's "Nouvelle Biographie Universelle," &c., tome ix., cols. 745 to 766.

¹⁸ In the "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores," tomus ii., will be found, Erdwini Erdmanni "Chronicon Episcoporum Osnaburgensis."

den and Halberstadt,²⁰ and he desired that these should be governed by worthy bishops.²¹ Those Sees were the separate centres, whence Christianity and civilization spread in expanding circles.²² According to Dempster,²³ not only St. Suitbert, the first bishop of Verden, but all the other eight succeeding bishops were Scots, and were translated from the monastery of Amarbaricense to that See. The erection of Verden into an episcopal See has been assigned to A.D. 785.²⁴ We are informed, by Thomas Dempster, that Charlemagne, having a special affection for the Scots, on account of their fidelity, zeal, and bravery, manifested towards him during his Spanish war, advanced them to positions of dignity, after the Saxons had been subdued.²⁵ Hearing that the illustrious Emperor Charlemagne, after long continued efforts,²⁶ had effected the conquest of the pagan Saxons,²⁷ and had desired, moreover, their conversion to the Christian faith; Swibert, filled with missionary zeal, left his own country, to preach among that people. It was already known, that the Emperor was a great protector of learned and religious men.²⁸ Especially did he favour the Scots, who came to him in great numbers, and who readily enlisted in his service.²⁹ So pleased was Charlemagne with his labours and virtues, that after the selection of Verden as a bishopric, he had Swibert consecrated, and set over that See.³⁰ As generally supposed, the year for this promotion was 786.³¹ If we are to believe Dempster,³² St. Suitbert wrote "Ad fratres Amarbaricenses," lib. i., "Ad Ecclesiam Verdensem," lib. i., and "Canones Sacros," lib. i.; but, whence this statement had been drawn—it seems simply an invention of his own—the reader of his work receives no enlightenment. St. Swidbert, styled the younger—to distinguish him from the earlier St. Swidbert, Apostle of the Frisons and of the Borutuariana³³—is stated to have been appointed as the first bishop of Verden, in Westphalia. Having a dear regard for the salvation of souls he desired to gain for Christ, the holy bishop laboured much in his province, and soon a plentiful harvest was

¹⁹ The history of this See has been treated of in Geifer's work, on the origin of Paderborn See, printed A.D. 1860.

²⁰ This was probably transferred from Heiligenstadt, also known as Osterwick.

²¹ See Rev. John Alzog's "Manual of Universal Church History," translated into English, by Rev. F. J. Pabisch and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, vol. ii., Second Period, Epoch i., Part i., chap. i., sect. 160, p. 90. Dublin edition.

²² See Dean Henry Hart Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," vol. ii., Book v., chap. i., p. 222.

²³ See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

²⁴ See L'Abbé Rohrbacher's "Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique," tome xi., liv. liv., p. 258.

²⁵ For this statement, Dempster quotes Philip Belforest, Hist. Carolor, lib. i., a work not accessible to the writer.

²⁶ See "Œuvres Complètes" de Bossuet, Evêque de Meaux, tome x. "Abrégé de l'Histoire de France," liv. ii., cols. 1193, 1194. L'Abbé Migne's edition.

²⁷ See an account of this war in Eginhard or Einhard, who wrote "Vita Karoli Magni." See sect. 7, 8, pp. 446, 447, in

the "Monumenta Germaniæ Historica," edited by Georgius Henricus Pertz, tomus ii.

²⁸ The Monk of St. Gall who wrote "De Gestis Karoli Imperatoris," in Two Books, has a curious account of two Scots from Hibernia, who visited Gaul, in company with some British merchants. These were Clement and Albin; the former was kept in Gaul to teach, and the latter was sent to Italy. See *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. i., p. 731.

²⁹ "Ut est, sub Carolo Magno nulli Angli, Scoti plurimi militarunt; et octo sequentes loci antistites Scoti; ut hic Anglus videri non possit."—"Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

³⁰ See L'Abbé Fleury's "Histoire Ecclesiastique," tome ix., liv. xliv., sect. xx., p. 454.

³¹ See *ibid.*

³² See "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum," tomus ii., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

³³ Regarding these progenitors of the Prussians, we are told, that in modern times, they were known "sous le nom de duché de Berg et de comté de le Mark."—"Les Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints," tome iii., Premier Jour de Mars, p. 93.

gleaned. Numbers were converted from idolatry to the true faith. Their prelate by example, even more than by his preaching, pointed the way to heaven. During the reign of Charlemagne, Suitbert ruled over this See. He is said to have wrought many miracles.³⁴ Little of detail regarding this holy man is given, in the early annals of Saxony.³⁵ He flourished in 788, according to Thomas Dempster.³⁶ Even after the death of St. Suitbert—the reliable year for which we do not find on record—many great miracles were wrought through his intercession. The remains of St. Suitbert, with the relics of Saints Tancho,³⁷ Patto,³⁸ Cerilon, Cortyla, Nortrila, Erlulph Martyr,³⁹ and Harruch, were found⁴⁰ in the same tomb, and under the floor of an old cathedral, at Verden.⁴¹ In the year 1630, Francis William, Bishop of Verden, had these collected, and placed in a new tomb, which was situated, at the back of the high altar, with that Bishop's seal attached. Afterwards, to avoid the fury of the Swedes, who made an irruption into that part of the country, the Bishop Francis William brought those relics with him to Ratisbon, in 1659, and there he kept them in the episcopal palace, which belonged to him. The feast of St. Suitbert, of Verden, is mentioned, in the Martyrologies, at the 30th of April; and, this is the date given for it, in the *Officia Propria*⁴² of Osnaburgh diocese, when under a semi-double rite⁴³ St. Suitbert was commemorated, and even allusion is made to the finding and transfer of his relics. This is all, which seems to be known, regarding this holy missionary and bishop.

ARTICLE IX.—FEAST OF QUIRINUS' CROSS. Such was the description of a festival celebrated in Ireland, although it had more special reference to Rome, as we learn from the "Feilire" of St. Ængus,¹ at the 30th of April. Several ancient calendars call St. Quirinus a bishop, and he is classed among the Martyrs. His period does not seem to be known; but, it was probably in the earlier ages of the Christian church. His remains were deposited, in the Roman cemetery of St. Prætextatus.²

ARTICLE X.—FEAST OF ST. EUSTASIUS, OR EUSTACE, ABBOT OF LUXEU, FRANCE. [*Sixth and Seventh Centuries.*] At the 29th of March, the Life of

³⁴ See Albert Crantz, in "Metropolis, seu Historia Ecclesiastica Saxonie," lib. i., cap. vi.

³⁵ This is stated, by Crantz, who wrote about the end of the fifteenth century, but he does not quote those Annals to which he alludes. See *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. xxi.

³⁶ "Florebat anno DCCCLXXXVIII. Ad ad Gasparem Bruschiium Centur. Monasterior. Germanicor. Albert. Crantz, lib. II., Metrop. cap. xxx. Suffrid. Peir. lib. I. de Origine Frisior. cap. xv."—"Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Sclorum," tomus II., lib. xvii., num. 1036, p. 576.

³⁷ His festival occurs, at the 16th of February.

³⁸ His feast was held, on the 30th of March.

³⁹ He is venerated, at the 2nd of February. At this date, his Life will be found, in vol. II., Article III., of this work.

⁴⁰ Besides, the *debris* of mitres, sandals, and other episcopal ornaments were discovered.

⁴¹ A very ancient Book, belonging to this church, is the authority for the foregoing statement.

⁴² This collection was printed, A. D., 1622.

⁴³ The Fourth Lesson in it is taken from the work of Crantz.

ARTICLE IX.—'In the "Leabhar Breac" copy we read :

Ἐορκοῦσται κληρὸν ἡαπρη ἰλ
Ολιϋλεῖν σοσφουῖ
Ροναν ἑαχ ρουϋϋ ἡαουῖ
ἱϋϋαυῖν εϋοχ Οἷουῖ.

This stanza is thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—"They end April's clergy, and it is industriously I recount them, Ronan (the) gray of Ross Uainni, in Rome Quirinus' cross."

² See the Bollandists' account of this holy man, in "Acta Sanctorum," tomus III., Aprilis xxx. De S. Qvirino Episcopo et Martyre in coemeterio Romano Prætextati Depositio, p. 750.

this distinguished saint has been given ; but, on the 30th of April, the Translation of his remains was celebrated,¹ according to a Manuscript Martyrology of St. Anatolius,² at Salins, in France.

ARTICLE XI.—FEAST OF ST. MACCALLIN, OR MALCALLAN, ABBOT OF ST. MICHAEL'S MONASTERY AT THERASCHE, AND ABBOT OF WASOR, IN BELGIUM. [*Tenth Century.*] Already, at the 21st of January, we have treated about this holy Abbot, and allusions are made to him, in the Life of St. Forannan ;¹ but, in the additions to Molanus,² by Arnold Raissius, a festival has been assigned to him, at the 30th of April. He is regarded, as having been the third Abbot, over Wasor.³

ARTICLE XII.—FEAST OF ST. BRIEUC, FIRST BISHOP AND PATRON OF THE DIOCESE OF BRIEUX. We are told, by the Bollandists,¹ that Saussay has placed St. Brieuc's festival, at the 30th of April. Bishop Challoner has some notices regarding this saint, at the present day.² His festival day, at St. Pol de Laon, was April 28th or 29th.³ At the 30th of April, St. Brioc's feast was commemorated, in Scotland.⁴ However, the Acts of this saint, which follow, are placed more appropriately, at the 1st of May, which is usually regarded as the chief festival in his honour.

ARTICLE X.—¹ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 721.

² See his Life, already written, in vol. ii., February iii., Article i., of the present work.

ARTICLE XI.—¹ His Life has been given already, at the present day.

² In "Natales Sanctorum Belgii."

³ See the Bollandists' "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pre-

mitted saints, p. 721.

ARTICLE XII.—¹ See "Acta Sanctorum," tomus iii., Aprilis xxx. Among the pretermitted saints, p. 722.

² See "Britannia Sancta," part i., p. 272.

³ See some remarks concerning him, in Smith and Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," vol. i., p. 338.

⁴ See Bishop Forbes' "Kalendars of Scottish Saints," p. 291.





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