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IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

Nº 1

Johannis



RINCIPIO
erat verbum
et verbum erat
apud deum et deus erat
verbum hoc erat in
principio apud deum Omnia per ipsum
facta sunt et sine ipso factum
est nihil quod factum est in ipso
vita erat et vita erat lux ho
minum et lux in tenebris lu
cet et tenebrae eam non comprehende
runt fuit homo missus a deo cui no
men erat Johannes hic venit

Nº 2

Dar q̄ dicha prīcipiū dicit-
Corpꝰ tranſgreſſionis dñi nri ihū xpi fiat deuotum ordinat
animā tuā in meritū ꝑfectū:

Nº 3

Diuino magistrio edoctꝰ diuina institutione
fimus audemus dicere. Credo in deum patrem
omnipotentem et credo in filium xpm eius unicum. cre-do
et in spm scm credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam credo
remissionem peccatorum...

74419

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES,

BY

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, F. S. A.

ULSTER KING OF ARMS OF ALL IRELAND, KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, IN HIS MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN, &c. &c.

PART I.

"Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna. Solum cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cognita."

TACITUS.

"Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam ut veritas relinquatur."

ST. AUGUSTINE.

DUBLIN:

WILLIAM CURRY, JUN. AND CO.

AND HODGES AND M'ARTHUR;

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN, LONDON,

DANIEL LIZARS, EDINBURGH.

1826.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, K. G.

DUKE OF SUSSEX, &c. &c.

SIR,

HAVING, at the suggestion of your Royal Highness, undertaken the task of bringing before the Public an account of a curious Irish relick and MS. which I had the honour to submit to your Royal Highness's inspection, on which occasion you were pleased to express a strong feeling of interest on the subject of *Irish Antiquities*,—I have presumed to claim your Royal Highness's protection for this First Part of "THE IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES."

And have the honour to be,

With great devotion and respect,

Your Royal Highness's

Faithful and obedient humble Servant,

W. BETHAM, ULSTER.

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ERRATA

Page 78, line 1, for *su ogradu*, read *suo gradu*
—— 176, — 8, for *give*, read *gave*.

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the course of those investigations and arrangements, which my official duties have from time to time rendered necessary, I could not fail to observe, how little is known of the true history of Ireland. Notwithstanding the irreparable losses, by fire and other destructive casualties, of many ancient, valuable, and important documents, there still remain many consecutive series of rolls and other evidences sufficient to preserve the chain of history unbroken. I saw in the ancient records ample materials to enable the historian, not only to investigate the public events and elucidate the political machinery of those remote periods which succeeded the invasion of Strongbow, but also to pourtray the true state of the country as to the administration of its laws,

the character of its government, and the degree of advancement it had attained in agriculture, in commerce, and in the arts.

The best Irish History is but a meagre detail of events, chiefly military, gathered from chronicles, and preceding historians, in which errors, mistranslations, and absurdities are recapitulated and perpetuated, leaving the mines and quarries of truth, the original records of the country, and the interesting remains, which demonstrate the accuracy or falsehood of legendary history, almost entirely unexplored. Military events are the misfortunes of a country, although they may produce more immediate, and generally more decisive effects on the fate of a nation, than the gradual and peaceable march of commerce and the arts, yet, to posterity, statistics are much more useful and important, as they exhibit the effects of good or bad government, and the energies and enterprise of the people.

The state of Ireland from Strongbow's conquest to about the end of the reign of Richard II. is generally considered as a continued struggle between the conquerors and conquered, a state of perpetual warfare and anarchy, yet, among the records in Birmingham Tower, are preserved the

rolls of the pleas before the justices itinerant, who held the assizes in most parts of Ireland with the same regularity as they were held in England during that period. The records exhibit striking proofs of the rapid progress made by the first settlers, in the introduction of the laws and customs of England; even, as early as the reign of John, baronial courts were held with great regularity and precision, and the country appears to have been in a state indicating the presence of settled government. The first Edwards drew supplies of men, money, and provisions from Ireland, for their wars in Scotland and France; great quantities of wheat-flour, wheat, bran, barley, oats, *peas*, *malt*, *beer*, *salt beef*, *and salt fish*, were sent to their armies, and even *red wine* was among the supplies sent from Dublin to the king's army in Scotland,* as well as large

* In the account of John le Decer and Thomas Colys, citizens of Dublin, on the great Roll of the Pipe, it appears that they supplied the king's armies in Scotland with the following articles: ...*Flour*, 131 quarters 1 bushel; another parcel...113 crannocks; *Bran*, 115½ quarters; *Wheat*, 1,147 quarters 1 bushel; *Peas*, 8 crannocks; *Malt* flour, 1 crannock and 7 bushels; *Oats*, 501 crannocks 10 pecks; *Red Wine*, 55 hogsheads and 1 pipe; *Beer*, 55 hogsheads; and that they paid for the freight of the same £153 7s. 2d. *Great Roll of the Pipe*, 28 *Edw. I.* A.D.1229—A *crannock* was 16 bushels, or 2 quarters.

sums of money to the wardrobe and treasury of England; great quantities of *wool* were also annually exported to the continent, on which duties were paid. The amount of the *Nova Custuma* duties paid on the exportation of wool from the 16th of April, 1278, to Michaelmas, in the same year, in all parts of Ireland, was, £2194 10s. 6¼d.—and from Michaelmas, in 6th Edward I. to the feast of St. Denis, 9th of October, a period of only ten days, it amounted to £3247 0s. 2½d.* The wine imported to Ireland from the 51st of Henry III. to the 11th of Edward I. 1266 to 1282 in five ports paid for prisage no less a sum than £1798.†

---

* *Great Roll of the Pipe. 7th and 8th Edward I. in Birmingham Tower.*

† The account on the pipe roll of the eleventh year of Edward I. A.D. 1282 is as follows:—

Compotus Theobaldi le Botiller de Prisa Vinorum a festa Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici LI. usque ad idem festum anno regni Regis Edwardi I. undecimo.

For 191	tons of wine,	imported	at Waterford,	382	0	0
... 288	do.	do.	at Drogheda,	576	0	0
... 8	do.	do.	at Dungarvan,	16	0	0
... 70	do.	do.	at Limerick,	140	0	0
... 342	do.	do.	at Dublin,	684	0	0
899				£1,798	0	0

The prisage was one ton before the mast, and one behind. Two pounds on each ton of wine appears to have been paid on the above, in lieu of prisage.

The Parliaments or Legislative Assemblies of Ireland were held with equal regularity, and the ancient constitution of *land baronies* continued there unaltered, when the Barons wars, during the reigns of John and Henry III. had totally changed the constitution of the Upper House of the Legislature of England by the introduction of *personal honours;* it appears by a record that in 1366, it had not then been the law or custom of Ireland to summon any one to Parliament but those who held by baronial service.

WALTERO L'ENFAUNT MILITE DE EXONERANDO.*

REX. Thesaurario et baronibus de Scaccario sue Hibernie salutem. Supplicavit nobis, per petitionem suam justiciario, et aliis de consilio nostro, in terra nostra Hibernie, exhibitam, dilectus et fidelis noster, Walterus L'Enfaunt miles, ut cum ipse tanquam tenens per baroniam, pro eo quod non venit ad Parliamentum nostrum apud Dubliniam ultimo tentum; prout per breve nostrum summonitus fuit, graviter amerciatus extiterit, prout per quandam inquisitionem, inde ad prosecutionem ipsius Walteri, super premissis, coram prefato justiciario nostro captam est compertum; sibi amerciamentum predictum pardonare de gratia nostra dignaremus. Et quia, per prefatum justiciarium nostrum, recordatum et testificatum existit, quod per inquisitionem predictam, ad petitionem et prosecu-

* Rotulus Patens, 51, Edward III.

tionem ipsius Walteri, ut predicitur, captam est; compertum ipsum Walterum per baroniam nullatenus tenere, et non est juris seu consuetudinis in dicta terra nostra, hactenus usitate, quod aliqui, qui per baroniam non tenuerunt, ad parliamenta nostra summonere, seu occasione absencie sue ab eisdem amerciari deberent, de gratia nostra speciali pardonamus eodem Waltero amerciamentum predictum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod demandas quas erga ipsum Walterum, ratione amerciamenti predicti, per summoniciones scaccarii predicti, in dies fieri facias, omnino supersederi, et ipsum inde erga nos totaliter exonerari, et acquietas esse facietis.

Teste, &c. apud Cork, xii. die Junii
Anno quadragesimo.

Per petitionem de Consilio.

In the early Rolls of the Pipe of Edward I. the Nova Custuma are stated to have been granted by the *Magnates of Ireland*, which probably included *the Commons* as well as the Lords. The account on the Roll of the 3d year of that King is headed as follows :—

Compotus Nove Custume Dni. Regis concesse per Magnates Hibernie &c.

There is on the Plea Roll in Birmingham Tower of the 53d of King Henry III. 1268, the most ancient Irish Act of Parliament extant, which fully proves that the Commons had at that time a

very important share in the legislation, it is as follows:—

" Provisum et statutum est de consilio Domini " R. de Ufford Capital. Justic. Hibernie et " aliorum fidelium Domini E.* qui sunt parte " de ejus consilio, *et de consensu omnium magna-* " *tum et totius communitatis Hibernie*, quod una " et eadem mensura cujuslibet generis bladi, " una et eadem lagena, una et eadem pondera, " una et eadem ulna, sint de cetero per totam Hi- " berniam. sicut in civitate London. constituta et " approbata, &c."

By this statute, the legislature of Ireland provided for *a uniformity of weights and measures*, so early as the year 1268; no trifling indication of settled and good government.

Having carefully examined the rolls of the Pleas of the King's Courts, the Pipe Rolls, or public accounts, now among the records of Birmingham Tower, as well as most of the antient miscellaneous records in other places, and many ancient MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin, and made a genealogical and historical abstract of their contents, a task which has occupied me for nearly

* Edward I. was Lord of Ireland for some time before his father's death.

twenty years, and having had the good fortune, by purchase to acquire possession of many valuable MSS. some of which are of the nature of records, as well as having in my official custody the most antient, curious, and interesting records of Ireland, I have been induced to believe that the occasional publication of original documents, or essays on particular portions of Irish history and antiquities, would be acceptable to the public.

I have another, an irresistible motive, the undertaking was suggested to me by a Royal and Illustrious Personage, who, taking a great interest in the antiquities of the United Kingdom, lamented that so little had been done to elucidate the Antiquities of Ireland. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, whose splendid collection of ancient Biblical MSS. is perhaps, the finest in the world, certainly of any in the possession of an individual, having expressed a wish to see the box and MS. which forms the subject of the following essay, I had the honour of laying it before His Royal Highness, who was pleased to say that an account of it *ought to be given to the public*. In obedience to this suggestion, I commence my IRISH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES, with an account of this interesting MS. and the Box in which it has been preserved.

The state of Ireland, at the periods preceding the existence of written testimony, is only to be ascertained from the remains of art which exist upon or may be discovered below its surface. They are silent but interesting and instructive teachers. A people capable of the production of works which exist only in a state of civilization, cannot justly be declared barbarous by the verdict of posterity. The face of Ireland is covered with military earth-works and antient masonry; massive articles of the precious metals, of exquisite workmanship, are frequently discovered by the peasantry in the bogs and elsewhere. I had, a few years since, offered me for sale by a peasant, one of those singular articles described by General Vallancey in the fourth volume of his Collectanea, which weighed thirty-six ounces of pure gold.* Very large and massive fibulæ, and other ornaments of silver, are of frequent occurrence, and instruments of antient brass are every day turned up by the plough and the spade.

The historians of antient Ireland are condemned for the gross absurdities that fill their pages: there is more justice than liberality in the criticism; the early history of every nation is like my

* A kind of double bell.

Lord Peter's coat, so patched and disfigured by modern inventions and exaggerations, that it is as difficult to discover the truth of the one as the texture of the other. It is the business of the historian, and antiquary, coolly and dispassionately to examine those chronicles by the evidence which remain, to give to truth its due weight, and to fiction its just rejection—not unadvisedly to condemn the whole.

That Ireland was well known to the antients is proved by the best authorities. Dionysius, in his Geography, mentions the *two* islands of Britain, one, towards the east, called *Albion*, that towards the West *Ierne*. Ptolemy says the same. Apuleius, in his book *De Mundo*, on the authority, as he says, of Aristotle and Theophrastus, speaks of two British Isles, Albion and *Ierne*. Eratosthenes, librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, 250 years before the Christian era, states the distance of Ireland from Celtica or Gaul. Polybius, Ptolemy, and others, speak of the islands of Britain as the largest in the world, namely Albion and Ibernia; Strabo speaks of Ireland as scarcely habitable from its coldness. Claudius styles it *Glacialis Ierne*, icy Ireland. Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries, describes Ireland as lying to the west of Great Britain; and Catullus calls

Britain (i. e. Ireland), the remotest island. Diodorus Siculus, cotemporary with Cæsar, calls the inhabitants of Irin *Britones*, as being of the same Celtic origin with the Britons: Plutarch speaks in the same manner. In short all the antient authorities agree in considering Ireland one of the *British Islands* colonized by Celtæ. We must therefore conclude that, as the antients always included Ireland among the British Islands, whatever they said respecting those islands, generally, must apply to Ireland as well as Britain.

Ireland is studded with the remains of churches of the early ages of Christianity, some in very perfect preservation. In many, the rude stone covering points out, by its runic inscription, the place where rest the mortal remains of the founder. These are objects of great interest and deserve investigation.

A high degree of civilization above their neighbours has been claimed by the Irish, without fixing the period when it existed; might not that character be justly applicable to Ireland, shortly after the province of Britain was overrun by the Saxons, who were invited over about the year 449? The Irish people who had been instructed

and civilized by the introduction of Christianity from Britain, and the continued intercourse for two or three centuries with that polished Roman province, were free from the effects of the inroads of barbarians, and would be infinitely superior in refinement after that province fell under the debasing and uncivilizing power of the Saxons; although much inferior while it continued a part of the Roman Empire, and consequently would acquire among those barbarians the reputation *of a learned and polished people*, especially as they were indebted to the Irish for instruction.

The contiguity of Ireland would naturally suggest it as an asylum, in his adversity, to the peaceable British scholar. There is every probability, also, that some of the present Irish tribes are of British origin, especially the O'Byrns of the county of Wicklow, whose name imports their origin. —It is in old writings generally spelled O'Bryn or *O'Brenagh* and *Brenagh* which is the Irish word for a *Briton*; they occupied the country opposite the coast of Wales, and possibly emigrated at this period. That Ireland was found to be barbarous at the coming of the English, if true, is no argument against her former civilization; the inroads of the Danes, and other northern barbarians, gave abundant cause for

such an effect, especially as these hordes had proverbially a most implacable hatred to learning. The continuance for one century of the hostile incursions of a savage people, is sufficient to barbarize the most polished nation, by compelling them to abandon the peaceful arts for those of war.

Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. I. p. 9. sec. 4. says "It is universally admitted "that there were Christian congregations in Ire- "land before the mission of Palladius, which took "place in A.D. 431, of which, were there no other "proof, the testimony of Prosper forms sufficient "evidence, for in his chronicle of that year he says "that Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing* in "Christ, that is, as he informs us elsewhere, to the "Scots living in Ireland. *But how, or by whom,* "*the Christian faith was first introduced it is im-* "*possible to determine.*"

Although it may be in these days impossible to produce positive evidence how, and by whom, Christianity was introduced, yet, as it is admitted that Christianity did exist in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, it is certainly desirable to throw as much light upon this most interesting subject as can be obtained by the concentration of such scattered evidences as are extant, and to

draw such inferences and conclusions as the premises, when laid down, will justify.

St. Paul himself, in the Epistle to the Romans, (c. 15. v. 24.) expressly mentions his intention of preaching the Gospel in Spain. Clement who in scripture, is called the fellow labourer of St. Paul, and was Bishop of Rome, in his epistle addressed to the Corinthians, informs us, " That St. " Paul having preached the word both in the east " and in the *west*, acquired the fame of illustrious " faith ; and having taught the whole world right- " eousness, and having come to the boundary of " the west, suffered martyrdom under the gover- " nors."

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the second century, affirms that the apostles propagated Christianity to the *boundaries of the world*, and particularly specifies the Iberians and *Celtic* nations; and as Ireland, unquestionably, was one of the latter, we may reasonably conclude that Irenæus included that country amongst those to whom the gospel was preached by the apostles.

Tertullian also in the second century, in his book *(Adversus Judæos)*, affirms that the regions of Britain *inaccessible to the Roman arms, were subject to the Gospel of Christ.*

Theodoret (in 4th 2d Timothy, v. 16, 17, and p. 1, 16), affirms that St. Paul having been dismissed by Nero, on his appeal, "went into Spain, "and brought the light of his doctrine to other "nations, and to the *islands which lie in the* "*ocean*;" consequently to Britain and Ireland.

Venantius Fortunatus (l. 3 *De Vita Martini)*, points out the British Isles as those alluded to:—

"Transiit (scil. Paul), oceanum, vel qua facit "insulæ portum, quasque *Britannis habet quasque ultima Thule.*"

Nicephorus (lib. i. c. 1.) affirms that "one of "the apostles obtained Lybia by lot, another the "*remotest regions of the ocean and the British* "*Isles.*"

Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem *(Magdeburgh Cent.* 1 l. ii. c. 2.) intimates that St. Paul preached the Gospel to the Spaniards and Britons.

In the Greek records it is affirmed that Aristobulus (mentioned Rom. xvi. v. 10.) was ordained bishop by St. Paul, and sent into Britain. *(Menæis Græc. ad 15m. diem Martii.)* St. Paul mentions Aristobulus in his greetings to Timo-

thy written from Rome. He also mentions Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. The Apostolic Constitutions state (l. vii. c. 47.) that Linus was ordained the first Bishop of Rome by St. Paul; and we learn from Martial, that Claudia, wife of Pudens, mother of Linus, was a Briton; so there are grounds for believing that Britain, and even Ireland, was indebted to St. Paul for the blessings of the gospel.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti:
Macte esto tædis, ô Hymenæe, tuis.
Martial iv. Epig. 13.

Claudia cæruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet!
Ibid. xi. Epig. 54.

Gildas, the British historian, who wrote about A. D. 546, says that the gospel was preached in Britain before the years 62 or 63.

Three British bishops, a presbyter and a deacon attended the Council held at Arles in France, under Constantine the Great, A. D. 314, viz. Eborius Bishop of York, Restitutus Bishop of London, and Adelphius Bishop of Colchester.

That the British church held communion with the orthodox catholic church at the time of the celebrated council of Nice, held in Bythinia, A.D. 325, is manifest from the general epistle sent forth by the emperor Constantine the Great to all the churches of the empire in communion with the Catholic Church, *(Euseb. l.* 3. *de Vita Constant.* c. 18). British bishops also attended the council of Sardica on the confines of Mysia and Thrace, A. D. 347. *(testibus Athan. et Hilar.* and *Socrates,* li. i. c. 6. et li. v. c. 21.*)*

British bishops attended the Arian council held at Ariminum in Italy A.D. 359, but we learn from Facundus Herminianus that they were free from the taint of the Arian heresy.

St. Chrysostom bears express testimony that the British church maintained the doctrines of Christianity handed down from the Apostolic ages, *(Oper. tom.* vi. *Græc. Savilian.* p. 635).

Bede informs us that the form of church government in Ireland was episcopal, and that the Scottish (Irish) hierarchy was identical with that of the British.

The account given of the introduction of Chris-

tianity into Ireland in the Irish annals, is very meagre and unsatisfactory; but it is not inconsistent with the idea that Ireland had a knowledge of Christ long before the mission of St. Patrick.

The great anxiety of the ancient Irish for the preservation of their copies of the Holy Gospels is strikingly evinced by the religious care and veneration with which they enclosed them in cases of the most durable wood; generally yew or oak, which soon acquired a sanctity of character as the depositories of holy writ, and were then placed in boxes of brass or copper, plated with silver richly gilt, embossed with scriptural devices, the effigies of saints and bishops, and ornamented with settings of polished chrystals, amethysts, lapis lazuli, and other gems.

Many of these evidences of early Irish piety still exist in excellent preservation: I have seen four boxes, two of which I possess; another was given to the museum of Trinity College, Dublin, by Mr. Kavanagh, of Borres, in the county of Carlow, in whose family it was handed down from very remote ages. The late General Vallancey gave a very fantastical account of this box, which he called the *Liath Meisicith* and *Liath Fail*, or *stone of destiny;* it contains a few membranes

of vellum, on which are written prayers for the sick, and extracts from the Scriptures.

The fourth box is called the CAAH, and came into the possession of the late Sir Neal O'Donel, Bart. on the death of the last male descendant of the branch of that ancient and princely family which followed the fortunes of King James II. It contains an ancient vellum MS. of part of the New Testament, said to have belonged to St. Columbanus, who was of the O'Donel family. On a future occasion it is my intention to give a more full description of this curious and interesting relick, with plates of the box, of the inscriptions, and, I should be well pleased to be able to add, of the MS. itself.

The CORP NUA, or *Corp naomh*, of the abbey of Tristernagh, mentioned by Sir Henry Piers in the History of Westmeath, published by the late General Vallancey, is, no doubt, a case for a MS. which it probably still contains; the contents, being unknown, it has long, by superstitious ignorance, been looked upon as a *mere relick*, and is supposed to contain the *corp naomh*, or holy body of some saint. As these boxes became injured by time, they were repaired by driving into them long brass pins, which often perforated the MS. to

its great injury; and the aperture, where the book was inserted, being closed up, the real contents became a mystery, and were forgotten, and the most absurd and ridiculous stories promulgated respecting them, by interested individuals, or superstitious votaries.

The Rev. Dr. O'Conor, in his appendix to the first volume of the catalogue of the MSS. in the library of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, gives an elaborate and learned account of an interesting and important MS. Irish Missal, of very ancient date, inclosed in a similar box, discovered in Germany by Mr. Grace: how it came there is not known: but Doctor O'Conor says—"We are inclined to think that it was carried to the Irish monastery of Ratisbon, by some of those Irish who carried donations thither in 1130, from Tirdelhach O'Brien, king of Munster, as stated in the Chronicon Ratisponense, transcribed by Stephanus Vitus, and quoted by Gratianus Lucius, and by Ward." As there is no plate representing the box, or fac-simile of the writing of the MS. it is not easy to form a correct notion of either; descriptions alone afford but a vague and confused idea.

The contents of the MS. consist of a copy of

the Gospel of St. John, and a cursus or ritual of the ancient Irish Church, which he states to be very different from that of Rome, and to contain none of the additions introduced in later ages into the latter ritual. The box which incloses the MS. is set with egg-shaped polished chrystals, and ornamented with a representation of the passion, &c. &c.

It is much to be lamented that this able essay has been printed only for *private circulation.* It diffuses the light of day on a period, hitherto, of almost perfect darkness. His Grace has certainly conferred an important benefit, by printing the catalogue of his inestimable MSS. and by presenting copies thereof to the public libraries; he would have added much to the obligation, if this admirable essay had been published for public sale, with fac-simile plates of the MS. and the box. I cannot resist giving the following long but interesting extract, it so perfectly accords with that part of the ritual contained in my MS. :—

" The Irish church, though united, in articles of
" revealed faith, to the church of Rome, as a centre
" of unity, was in every other respect independent,
" down to the year 1152. The first act of hostility

" to that independence, was committed by the Danes
" of Dublin; who, from deep-rooted national anti-
" pathy to the Irish, refused to acknowledge the
" jurisdiction of Armagh, and therefore promised
" obedience to the see of Canterbury. This na-
" tional quarrel first suggested to the court of
" Rome, the facility of subduing both. But no
" Irishman ever raised his voice in favour of this
" subjugation, before the arrival of St. Malachy
" O'Morgair from Rome, in 1138. A legantine com-
" mission had been granted to Gillibert, of Limerick,
" who wrote a book in 1090, maintaining that every
" missal different from the Roman is schismatical;
" but not one Irish ecclesiastic was found to support
" him in that controversy. Perceiving, therefore,
" that nothing could be effected by such odious
" instruments as the Danes, the legantine commis-
" sion was granted to St. Malachy: but whether he
" was too much of an Irishman—or whether his
" gentle manners disqualified him for the turbulent
" task of altering the discipline of a whole nation;
" though he was honoured with the pall, he resigned
" his commission, and returned to Claravalle—too
" happy to die in that peaceful solitude, and in the
" arms of his excellent friend St. Bernard, A. D.
" 1148. The task of subjugation was reserved for
" Cardinal Paparo, and the Council of Kells, in
" 1152. That some salutary regulations were enact-

" ed in that synod, cannot be denied—but that it " entailed a foreign yoke on Ireland, which has, if " not solely, at least most powerfully contributed to " exclude the Irish from the benefits of full political " and religious liberty to this very day; he who " cannot observe, must be disqualified from judging " of historical events. The advantages gained by " the synod of Kells, were yet found inadequate to " the attainment of entire success; and the people " of Ireland still adhering to their popular institu- " tions, Pope Adrian IV. felt the necessity of issuing " his celebrated bull, which was transmitted to " Henry II. several years before the Anglo-Norman " invasion. The object of Alexander III.'s Bull " was in substance the same—'to enforce the acts " of the synod of Kells by arms, to make Ireland " subject to England, by papal donation, and to " reclaim barbarians to the principles of Christi- " anity.'

" *Other differences between the Roman and Irish Missal.*"

" All those parts of the Roman Missal which " precede the seventh century, are quoted by SS. " Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others of " the fourth, fifth, and sixth, and agree in substance, " and for the most part verbally, with the same parts

" of the Irish; but all the improvements in the Ro-
" man Missal, all festivals and prayers that have
" been added to it since the tenth century, are want-
" ing in the Irish. Thus, for instance, the prayer
" *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ,* which is recited
" when a few drops of water are mixed with the
" wine, is missing in the Irish; the ceremony itself
" is entirely omitted, as of human institution. The
" prayers which immediately follow the offertory in
" the Roman Missal, are also wanted in the Irish;
" so is the *lavabo,* and the prayer, *suspice S. Tri-*
" *nitas,* which follow it: nor are the bread and wine
" offered separately, but simultaneously; and yet
" all these prayers are described in the Roman Mis-
" sal, by Micrologos—and the bread and wine are
" offered separately ever since."

Of the two boxes in my possession one is the subject of consideration in the following pages, the other shall heareafter be described; although the MS. it once contained is now wanting, yet it bears an inscription in the Irish language, to this effect, " *Brian the son of Brian of the sea* " *shore of Moy caused me to be covered, A. Dni.* " *ccccciii. (503) in the month of*———" I was very anxious to have included an account of it in this part of the Antiquarian Researches, but I have not had leisure to give it the consideration

its importance requires, nor was I able to have the plates prepared without deferring the publication of this part too long.

Considering the opinion of the late General Vallancey on the box, presented to the Museum of Trinity College Dublin, by the late Mr. Kavanagh of Burres, as given in the essay published in the fourth volume of his Collectanea to be very erroneous, I requested my learned friend, Mr. Edward O'Reilly, the author of the Irish Dictionary, and the Secretary to the Iberno-Celtic Society, to give me his ideas on that subject, which he has done in the following letter, and agreeing with him in the view he has taken, with his permission, I add it to this attempt to explain the true use of these curious remains of antiquity.

"DEAR SIR,

"As you expressed a wish for my opinion on an article, in the fourth volume of the Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, on what the author of that article has called the "LIATH MEISICITH," I have again read over that little tract, and now sit down to communicate to you such observations and remarks as have occurred to me on reading it.

"The box, of one side of which the learned General has given us a drawing, and which he

has denominated "*Liath Meisicith*," is evidently of the same description as those two very curious and valuable boxes now in your possession; and that in possession of the O'Donell family, a drawing of which you have given in your pedigree of that illustrious tribe. And the "loose sheets of vellum, on which are written extracts of the Gospels and prayers for the sick, in the Latin language and Irish character," which the erudite author informs us were contained in that box, are exactly similar to the book contained in one of your boxes; with this difference only, that your box contains an entire copy of the Gospels, together with prayers for the sick, and the General's box contained only extracts. The learned author further informs his readers that, in the sheets of vellum that he describes, "There are also some drawings in water colours of the apostles, not ill executed." Drawings resembling these are also in the copy of the Gospels contained in one of your boxes. Hence, from the similarity of the boxes and of their contents. I think it may be safely concluded that they were all intended by our Christian predecessors for the same purpose, namely, as cases to preserve the sacred Gospels, and to stand upon the altar during the celebration of mass and other divine offices of the church.

"The learned General further informs us, that he

was "favoured with drawings of several boxes of this kind, fabricated since Christianity, being ornamented with crucifixes," but he adds, "this has no marks of that kind, and appears to be the Druidical LIATH MEISICITH, or LIATH FAIL, in which they pretended to draw down the *Logh*, the essence of spiritual fire, and presence of Aesar (God) whenever they consulted this oracle." Here he seems to think that the absence of a crucifix on the box, is a proof that it was therefore the Liath Meisicith or Liath Fail; and that it was an oracle, in which, when *they* consulted it, *they* pretended to draw down the *Logh*, the essence of spiritual fire and presence of Aesar (God)." We are not told who were the "*they*" that consulted this oracle; but from its being called "The Druidical Liath Meisicith, or Liath Fail," we may conclude that by "*they*" the author meant the Druids.

"I shall not stop to enquire whether or not there were any Druids in Ireland; but I must declare my opinion, that the General was rather hasty in forming his conclusion on this subject. The box itself, nor any of the ornaments with which it is embellished, are sufficient to justify him in giving it the appellation of "Liath Meisicith," which he says is the same as the "Liath Fail."

"Let us inquire what is the Liath Meisicith of of which the learned General says so much? What language is its name derived from? What Irish author ever used the word *Meisicith?* Which of the Irish books ever mention the name? I have no hesitation in saying that the word is not Irish; and as I have with great attention read a great number of Irish MSS., much more, perhaps, than the erudite author had ever consulted, for the purpose of collecting words for a second edition of my Irish dictionary, I am positive that no such word as Meisicith, occurs in any of our ancient books. But the learned General says that "Liath Meisicith" is the same as "Liath Fail," by which he means I suppose, the *Lia Fail*, of which every Irishman, at least, has heard something. Now what was, or what is, for it still exists, the "Lia Fail?" All our Irish historical writers, ancient and modern, tell us that it was a large stone of extraordinary virtues, brought into Ireland by the Tuatha-de-Dannann colony from Loghlinn, which in their invasion of Ireland preceded the Milesian colony from Spain. The *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Invasion, contained in the book of Leacan, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, a copy of which is also in my collection, and the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the original which is now in my possession, and which was compiled by the

O'Clery's, famous antiquaries, who were employed in the compilation of the Annals of the Four Masters, relate from the authority of several very early authors, many curious particulars respecting the Lia Fial. One of these facts is, that from the Lia Fial Ireland received its name of Innis Fail. For this fact, the authority of Cionaoth (Kinay) O'Hartigan is quoted thus:

"Ón cloċ fuil fuṫáḋ mo ḋí ḟáil,
Uaiṫe ṡáiṫeaṁ Inis Fáil:
Eidir dá ṫṡlaiġ tuile tíṁ,
Waġ Fáil uile fóṡ Eiriṁ."

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

From the stone on which my heels are placed,
Ireland is named Innis Fail;
Between two shores of the powerful flood
The plain of Fail extends over Erin."

"Another fact is, that the monarchs of Ireland, from the time of Lughaidh (Loo-ee) Long-hand, of the Tuatha-de-Dannan race, A. M. 2764, to the time of Muirceartagh, (Murkertagh,) the son of Earca, A.D. 513, were all inaugurated on the Lia Fail, which until that period, was kept with great care at Tara, in Meath, the chief seat of the Irish monarchs. But during the reign of Muirceartagh, Fergus, his brother, having established

for himself a kingdom in Alba, or, as it has been since called, Scotland, procured from his brother the loan of the Lia Fail, that on it he might, with the greater solemnity, be inaugurated king over his new possessions. The stone was never returned to Ireland, but remained in Scotland, and each succeeding King of Scotland was crowned thereon, until Edward I. of England invaded that country, A. D. 1296, and carried off with him into his own country the Scottish Regalia, among which was the Lia Fail. From that period to the present day it has remained in England, and ever since the reign of James I., has continued to serve the purpose for which it was so long used in Ireland and Scotland; the Kings of England from his time down to the present sovereign having been crowned on it.

"There was a prophecy relating to this stone, that wherever the Lia Fail should be preserved, there a prince of Scottish, that is Irish race, should reign. Hector Boetius in his History of Scotland, quotes a distich or rann from the old poem alluding to that prophecy thus:

"Cinead fuit, faoi an fine,
Mun bud bréag an fardine,
Mag a bruigid an lia fail,
Digid flaitheas do Gabáil."

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

"The Scotic tribe, a noble race,
If the old prophecy lie not,
Wherever they find the Lia Fail,
Shall enjoy the sovereignty,"

Another extraordinary quality ascribed to this stone was, that when a prince was to be inaugurated upon it, if it was the will of heaven he should reign, the stone emitted a sound; but if on the contrary it was silent, the candidate for the sovereignty was rejected. This extraordinary story, however incredible, is told in the O'Clery's Invasions thus :—

"A Falias táinicc an Lia Fáil ba Teamhra ag Lugaidh. Ar do ghéireadh fo cech rígh no ghabhadh rige éireann o Ámairgin Loga Láimhfada co hÁmairgin Gemne Cirt, acar noch ar géirreartaigh Iafoin fo aoinfiugh ó rin alle. Uaigh ba deamhan rio gab iona tocht innto, acar do airnactatar cumhacta gach iodhoil ind Ámairgin na gemne coimdeatta do thuirmead ó óg Wuigne."

"From Falias came the Lia Fail that was in Tara with Lughaidh. It emitted a sound under every king that took possession of the kingdom of Ireland, from the time of Lughaidh Long-hand

to the birth of Christ, but it never afterwards emitted a sound under any king. For the demon who resided in it became dumb; and every idol lost its power at the time of that illustrious birth, which was born of the Virgin Mary."

"I have been thus prolix in the account of the *Lia Fail*, to shew what it really was, and that you may see that neither the box described by the General, nor the "large Crystal" in "the centre of the lid," could be the Lia Fail, or Liath Fail as he calls it. As for the Liath Meisicith, the ancient Irish never knew any thing about it; and I am convinced the name was never thought of by any writer until it appeared in the "Collec-"tanea de Rebus Hibernicis."

"Having now, as I conceive, satisfactorily shewn that the name imposed on the box by the learned author was of his own creation, and not applicable to the thing itself; I shall endeavour to demonstrate that he has mistaken the uses for which it was intended. He says "the box represents the Roman Thuribulum, in which the incense burnt during the sacrifice. Several drawings of these may be seen in Montfaucon." Now I have often looked into Montfaucon, and I cannot see the least resemblance between the box he treats of or those in your possession, and the Roman Thuri-

bulum, except that they are all of an oblong shape. The Thuribulum was open at top, the box he describes is not, neither are those in your possession, nor the one he alludes to, as mentioned by Sir Henry Piers, in his history of the county Westmeath, nor that in the possession of the O'Donel family, all of which, it is evident, were intended for the same purpose. Now the form of these, and the materials of which some of them are composed, render them unfit for the purpose of burning incense. One of your's is lined with wood, and the one described by Sir Henry Piers is "no more than a small piece of wood shaped somewhat like a bible of the smaller volume, laced about with laces of brass, and on some parts studded over on the one side with pieces of crystal all set in silver, set or chased into the wood and fastened with nails, some brass and some silver; on the other side appears a crucifix of brass." Hence it is, I think, from this and from the form of all the boxes, that the box mentioned by the learned General could never have been used for burning incense; and the figures of the crucifix which appear upon all the boxes, except the one described by the General, prove that they were not of pagan origin, and therefore that those, or any boxes of a similar kind, could not have been used by the Druids, or by any one else for burning incense, or for any other purpose

connected with paganism. But, on the contrary, from the fragments and copies of the Gospel that have been found in such of the boxes as had any thing remaining in them, it is pretty certain that were intended for cases to preserve the copies of the works of the Evangelists, and to stand on the altar as I have already mentioned.

"As for the idea of the Druids drawing down "the *Logh*, the essence, or spiritual fire, by the "Liath Meisicith or Liath Fail," it is so laughable that I am afraid I should render myself ridiculous if I were to give it any serious attention.

"It now remains for me only to take notice of some of the Irish etymologies given by the learned author, from which he derives his "Liath Meisicith." Speaking (at page 14) of the crystal stone in the centre of the box, he says, "this is the *Meisicith*," and to the entire box he gives the title of "Liath Meisicith." At page 16 he applies this latter title to the stone only, thus, "the crystal stone in the centre is named Liath Meisicith, or the magical stone of speculation!!!" and this name he derives from "*Liath*, that is *Lith*, a gem," and "*Meisi*, that is Dealbha Sithbheara, that is Meisi signifies magical representations;" and again, "Meisi a judge, fairies, ghosts, hobgoblins;" and a little further on he tells us that "Cith is a

vision," Now in all this I am of opinion that there is much error blended with some truth. *Lith* certainly signifies a gem, but Liath does not. Meisi signifies a judge, an umpire, and it is also, by our ancient glossographers, explained by the words *Dealbha Sithbheara*, but these words cannot by any means bear the interpretation which the General gives them, in the words, "magical representations." The literal meaning of these words is, as I have given it in my dictionary, fairy, or supernatural appearances, apparitions, spirits.

"The learned author further says that "*Mais* and *Meisi* have both the same signification in Irish, viz. Draoidheacht, that is Druidism." Now this is incorrect; Mais and Meisi have not by any means the same signification, and they cannot by the most ingenious torturer of Irish words, ever be made to carry the signification of Draoidheacht or Druidism. The word *Cith* which the General says signifies "a vision," does not by any means signify a supernatural appearance, a spectre, a phantom; nor have I ever seen in any Irish manuscript the word *Cith* used to signify sight or the faculty of seeing, although I have often met the verb *Chithim*, I see.

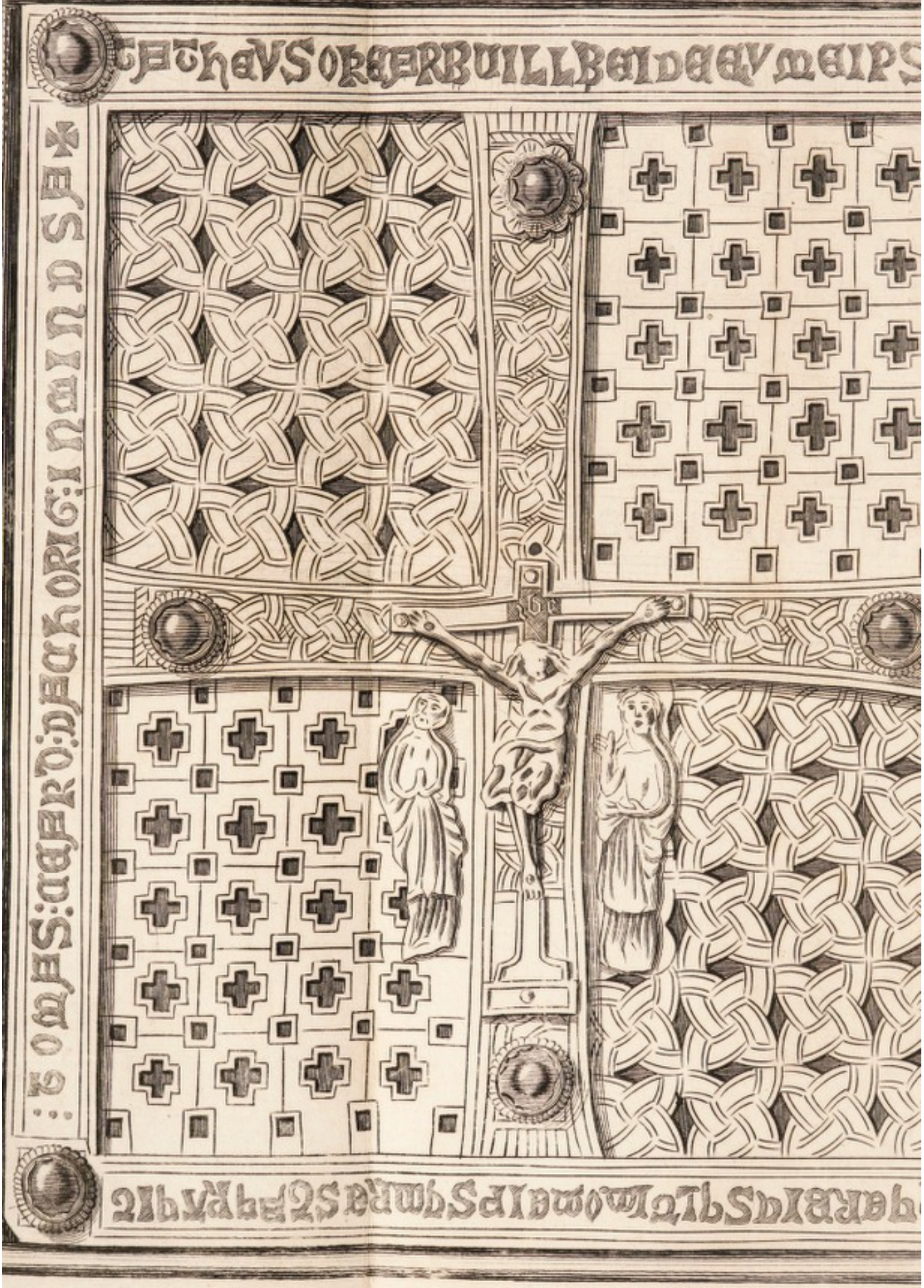
"It would be only a waste of time to pursue this subject further. I shall therefore only add, that

the Hebrew and Chaldaic etymologies which he gives for the word Meisi, besides being far-fetched, have no more to do with the box of which he treats, than they have to do with the ark of the Covenant.

"I am, Dear Sir,
"With great respect,
"Sincerely yours,
"EDWARD O'REILLY."

Harold's-Cross, Dec. 10, 1825.

The object of this work being solely to preserve, and put on record, as it were, *de bene esse*, evidences of the ancient history and antiquities of Ireland, I shall have much satisfaction in admitting the insertion of articles, on these subjects, by others who may also be impressed with the great advantage and importance of remains of antiquity, as the *testes temporum et veritatis*.



DIMMA'S BOX

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

LEABHAR DHIMMA.*

COLGAN, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, published at Louvain in 1645, vol. I. p. 16 & 17, gives a singular account of the miraculous writing of a copy of the Evangelists, by a person named *Dimma*.

He says there were many saints of that name among the antient Irish Christians, particularly two, who both flourished in the early part of the 7th century. One was bishop of Connor, and died about the year 658, as stated by Ware in his list of the bishops of that diocese, the other

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* The Book of Dimma.

was celebrated for his *skill in penmanship*, and was of the district of *Helia*, or *Ely*, in Munster, afterwards called *Ely O'Carroll*, from its being O'Carroll's country. The latter Dimma's conversion was attributed to the miraculous power of St. Cronan, the founder of the abbey of Roscrea, which is situated in the county of Tipperary and in the country of Ely O'Carroll. Cronan died, according to Colgan and Lanigan, about the year 619, or at latest 621, and was buried in his newly founded abbey. In digging a foundation for a new church at Roscrea last summer, the covering stone of his grave was discovered, bearing this simple inscription—

CRONAN.

Colgan states, that both Dimmas were men of eminent learning and of holy lives, and quotes from an old writer of the life of Cronan, the following story:—

The blessed father Cronan requested a certain scribe to make him a copy of the *Four Evangelists*. Now this writer *was called Dimma*, and was unwilling to write for more than one day. Then, says the saint, write until the sun goes down. This the writer promised to do, and the saint placed for him a seat to write in: but by

divine grace and power, St. Cronan caused the rays of the sun to shine forty days and forty nights in that place, and neither was the writer fatigued with continual labour, nor did he feel the want of food, or drink, or sleep, but he thought the forty days and nights were but one day, and in that period the four Evangelists were indeed not so well as correctly written. Dimma having finished the book, felt day and night as before, and also, that eating, and drinking, and sleeping was necessary and agreeable as hitherto; and he was then informed by the religious men who were with St. Cronan, that he had written for the space of forty days and forty nights without darkness, whereupon they returned thanks to the power of Christ.

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* *Acta Sanctorum*—Joh.Colgani,Louvain, 1645.—Tom. I. pp. 16, 17,

" *De Sancto Dimano Episcopo, Connorensi ex diversis.*

" Prænunciatur hic hujus sancti viri litterarum peritia, et vitæ sanctimonia, et utraque etiam subindicari videtur in vitâ S. Cronani Roscreensis, in qua ennarratur, quod Dima scriptor peritus rogatus à Sancto Abbate Cronano, ut sibi librum scriberet Evangeliorum; spatio quadraginta dierum,quos sine noctis interpolatione, sine ulla alimonia, vel defatigatione, tanquam diem unam traduxit, librum, ut vir dei intendebat, totum transcripserit. Mirabile hoc factum meritis S. Cronani, author vitæ ejus tribuit; ego utriusque meritis, cum ambo fuerint virtutibus clari, tribuendum censeo. Ipsius vetusti authoris verba placeat audire exc. 8. Vitæ Cronani.

Such is the notable story told by Colgan, who, with honest simplicity, thought Dimma ought to share the credit of the miracle with Cronan, as both had "*act and part,*" as Paddy would say, in the performance. The legend is not, however, without its use. It enables us to identify the M.S. now under consideration, and to fix the period at which it was written, with almost unerring accuracy. This circumstance is most important; as the Irish written character being nearly the same at the present day as at the earliest period, we have not those striking features which so much assist our judgment in deciding the age of an English or continental M.S.

"Beatus pater Cronanus quendam scriptorem rogavit ut sibi quatuor scriberet Evangelia; ipse jam scriptor *Dimma vocabatur,* et noluit scribere sancto nisi uno die. Et ait ei Sanctus: scribe sine cessatione, usque dum sol tibi occubuerit. Hoc scriptor promisit. Et constituit ei sanctus sedem scribendi; sed gratia S. Cronani divinaque virtute ac potentia radium solis quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus indesinenter in illo loco fecit semper esse, et nec scriptor lassus erat tanto tempore, nec tam continuo labore tædium habuit, nec desiderio cibi vel potus, sive somni gravatus est. Putabat enim tempus quadraginta dierum et noctium unum diem fuisse: et hoc tempore quatuor Evangelia, non tam bonà, quam veraci littera scripsit, et ipso die sensit noctem et esuriem: perhibentesque ei viri religiosi cum S. Cronano, quia ipse scripserat spatio quadraginta dierum et noctium, sine obscuritate, gratias Christi potentiæ egit, et alii qui ibi erant."

Most legends are supposed to have been invented by the ingenuity, or to have proceeded from the dreams of ascetics who imagined they promoted the cause of religion by such absurdities; but this legend of Messrs. Cronan and Dimma, had its origin in the simple fact, that the said Dimma, without the aid of a miracle, wrote a copy of the four Evangelists for the aforesaid Cronan, and the MS. has, *mirabile dictu*, come down in very tolerable preservation to these our days.

He signs his name at the end of the book, "*Dimma mac Nathi*," *Dimma the son of Nathi.* He was a relation of St. Cronan, whose grandfather was also named *Nathi.* Whatever might have been Dimma's anxiety to promote religion, and he appears to have been a pious man, he expected only to do so in the usual way, by increasing the number of the copies of the holy Gospels, and spreading the knowledge of the blessed truths therein contained, for he concludes the whole with two lines of Irish poetry, in which he declares he undertook the labour for "the sanctification of souls, hoping they might acquire thereby the kingdom of heaven."

This MS. has been preserved in a brass box, richly plated with silver, which Thady O'Carroll,

chief of Ely O'Carroll, who lived about the middle of the 12th century, caused to be gilt, and Donald O'Cuanain, afterwards bishop of Killaloe, (by Ware, called O'Kennedy,) repaired about the year 1220, as will more particularly appear in the detailed description hereafter given.

The MS. and box were preserved in the abbey of Roscrea until the dissolution of monasteries, when they came into lay hands, and were at length bought by Henry Monck Mason, Esq., LLD. M.R.I.A. from Dr. Harrison, of Nenagh, in Tipperary, and from Mr. Mason I purchased them.

Mr. Mason exhibited them some years since to the Society of Antiquaries of London, and afterwards, on the 24th of May 1819, laid them before the Royal Irish Academy, with an essay under the following title :—

"*Description of a rich and ancient box containing a latin copy of the Gospels, which was found in a mountain in the county of Tipperary, and is now in the possession of Henry Monck Mason, Esq., LLD. M.R.I.A.*" The essay was read and afterwards published in the transactions of the Academy.

I feel it impossible to acquiesce in this statement although given even by so respectable an individual as Mr. Mason, but conclude that he has been imposed upon in the story of the box and MS. being found in a cave of a mountain; where it is obvious the latter could not have remained a month without decomposition, unless the same miraculous power protected as was said to have created it, I confess I should just as soon believe one as the other.*

Mr. Mason's essay is very short, and enters but little into the subject, he does not even guess at the writer of the MS. or advert to the history of the box, he gives a plate of one side of the latter, and an imperfect copy and translation of its inscription, with a few observations on some passages in the Gospel of St. Mathew, collated with certain copies of the vulgate and with MSS. of the Gospels in Trinity College,

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* There is also a paragraph in Mr. Mason's essay, which requires observation; he calls the beautiful office for the visitation of the sick therein contained, *General Prayers for the Dead.* Mr. Mason is a gentleman deservedly of great black letter reputation, and will no doubt be quoted hereafter as authority; an error of so much importance, committed by such a person, is a serious evil. He did not examine this part of the book with his usual care and attention.

Dublin, enough to excite curiosity but not to satisfy it. It is but just, however, to say, that he professes to do no more than to give a cursory view, and my reason for making these observations is to justify myself in again taking up the subject.

I shall not observe on the MS. as a version of Gospels, or examine whether, as the writer of the life of St. Cronan says, "*veraci littera scripsit*," but merely consider it as an antient Irish MS. in which character it posseses great interest.* It is, perhaps, the only Irish MS. extant, of such remote antiquity, intended as a portable book for

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* Mr. Mason concludes the MS. to have been written in the 9th century from the similarity of its character to the Book of Durham in the British Museum. At that time the *Irish character* had been introduced into England, and was in common use; but as it had been used in Ireland for centuries before, this similarity is not sufficient to shake the evidence I have brought forward in support of its true date. Mr. Mason will, I trust, pardon my giving the following interesting extract from his essay :—

"There is in this book a very extraordinary various reading, on which I think it necessary to enlarge. After the 48th verse of the 27th chapter of St. Mathew, the following is inserted: "alius autem captâ lanceâ pupungit latus ejus, et exivit aqua et sanguis." He next proceeds, "Jesus autem clamans, &c." This reading, which is to be found in four Greek MSS. in the Æthiopian version of the

the service of the priest on his external duties of visiting the sick, &c. The continental copies of the Gospels of those early ages of Christianity, are written in the large uncial character, and are of great bulk; such is the splendid MS. commonly called the book of St. Columb Kill, which Dr. O'Conor, in his essay before alluded to, supposes to have been lost, but I have great pleasure in stating it to be safe in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; before the dissolution of Monasteries, it was in the Abbey of Kells in the county of Meath. It is a magnificent specimen of antient

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New Testament, and in the works of St. Chrysostom, does not occur in the vulgates which Sabbatier has published, or in any of the four Italic texts of Blanchini. Its history is curious as it is related by Wetstein. In the time of Pope Clement V. this additional verse was very generally received, but that pontiff, considering it to contain heretical doctrine, that our Saviour had been wounded before his death, as this text imports, condemned it at the Council of Vienna holden in the year 1311.

"The text rested indeed upon the slightest authority, existing only in four MSS. of the hundreds collated by Mill, Wetstein, and their predecessors, and in the above works alluded to. I find it in several of the most ancient vulgate copies that were written in Ireland, and exist in the College Library, as in A. 1. 5. and A. 4. 6.; it is also in some others. Birch, asserts in his edition of the Gospels, that it is to be found in the Vatican MS. one which is surpassed by none in antiquity, and by few in importance; but I doubt the fact, for, were it the case, it would not have escaped the knowledge and notice of Wetstein, who does not mention it."

writing. Dimma's book has evidently been hastily written; the first four pages are much better and smaller written than the remainder, which bear marks of haste, having been written *without lines*, a singular circumstance in an old MS.; initial words are in the uncial character, as the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, the words, *In principio erat*. It may be asserted with confidence to be the MS. on which the legend is founded.

The box is of brass, and has been frequently repaired; the most antient part is certainly coeval with the MS. On one side the silver plating is engraved with precisely the same ornament as the illumination in the MS. One end is open for the insertion of the book, the silver plating at the other, is divided into four compartments, of which the centre is partly lost, but appears to have been formed of four circles, as are the two compartments on either side of it; on each of these is a lion rampant fairly chased, the outer compartments are parallelograms, the dexter charged with a lion passant, the sinister with a griffin passant. The one side has the remains of a silver plate, engraved with the ornament above alluded to, the other appears to have had an oblong entablature, the upper part of which is gone, but seems to have been charged with lions, the

feet of which are still remaining; at the two ends of the entablature are two shields, like those before described, each charged with a lion rampant. The top* of the box has been most injured, and has been repaired by the late possessor; there is a probability that there were on it some inscriptions, whose loss is to be regretted; part of the old tracery silver-plating still remains, as well as a large oval piece of polished chrystal, shaped like a cuirass, an ornament found on all boxes of this description, and eight settings of lapis lazuli.

The bottom has a representation of the passion, with the two Marys, one on each side the cross, which, with the connecting silver-plates, has been richly gilt; on the rim is the following inscription in Gothic characters:—*(See plate VI.)*

TATHEUS O'KEARBUILL BEIDEEV MEIPSUM DEAURAVIT DOMINUS DOMNALDUS OCUANAIN CONVERBIUS ULTIMO MEIPSUM RESTAURAVIT: TOMAS CEARD DACHORIG IN MINSHA ✠

"Thady O'Carroll Boy† caused me to be gilt—the Lord Donald O'Cuanain, the

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* It is not easy to decide which is the upper side of the box; this term has been adopted to facilitate description.

† Yellow-haired.

coadjutor to the bishop, lastly restored me. Thomas was the artist who decorated this precious relic."

Thady O'Carroll Boy was prince of Ely about the middle of the 12th century; and Donald O'Cuanain was bishop of Killaloe, from the year 1230 to 1260. At the time he repaired the *box* he was only the *Corb,* or Coadjutor*, and consequently must have done it previous to the year 1230, when he became bishop of Killaloe; he is called by Ware *Donald O'Kennedy*.

If any additional evidence was wanting to identify this MS. it is supplied by its always having continued in the custody *where it ought to be found*. Thus, we find it in the 12th century receiving its gilding from Thady O'Carroll, Lord of Ely, and a farther repair from Donald, coadjutor bishop of Ely, i. e. Killaloe, before the year 1230. And even after the dissolution, it continues in the same country, until it came to Mr. Mason *from Nenagh*. Colgan says, in a note on the passage before quoted, that Dimma was of Munster, of the district of Helia.†

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* Converbius.

† *Et utraque etiam subindicari videtur in vita S. Cronani Roscreensis.* c. 4. hanc damus ad 28 Aprilis, & quod de



Allen's Lithog. Dame St.

MATTHEUS.

This MS. is of the small quarto size, is seven inches high, and five and a half broad; it contains seventy-four membranes, of which St. Matthew's Gospel occupies fourteen and a half, St. Mark's eleven and a half, St. Luke's twenty-three and a half, the Office for the Visitation of the Sick two, and the Gospel of St. John twenty-two and a half.

There are effigies of the three first Evangelists, at the beginning of their respective gospels; (see plates I. II. III.) and at the beginning of that of St. John, is the representation of an eagle, the emblem associated with that Evangelist, it is singular in its formation.—(Plate IV.)

At the end of the gospel of St. Matthew is this inscription :—Finit, Oſıoſt do dımma ıodrcıuıb ꝑſıo doın ⁊guꝑ bm ———

Pray for Dimma who wrote this book, and for

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præsenti Dima in ea videatur fieri mentio, ex pluribus fundamentis opinor primo, quia ambo floruerunt eodem tempore, circa anno 620. Secundo etiam in regionibus confinibus Mediæ et Heliæ, adde quod S. Dimanus fuerit ex ipsa Momonia cujus pars est Helia. Tertio, singularis peritiæ & sapientiæ laus quæ adscribitur S. Dimano, affinis est arti bene scribendi, quæ S. Dimano in vita S. Cronani adscribitur.—*Acta Sanct. Tom. I.* 17.

———————— The last word I have not been able to make out.

At the end of the gospel of St. Mark:—Finit, amen, deo gratias ago.—Ogroit do Dimma.—*Pray for Dimma.*

At the end of the gospel of St. Luke:—Finit, amen, deo gratias ago,—Ogroit do Dimman Dissidu diatorchaid hic liber ar do anmu in crichenoib.—Amen.—*Pray for Dimman, of Dissidu, for whom this book was written, and for the soul of the writer.—Amen.*

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* This translation my friend, Mr. Edward O'Reilly, has corrected from the following:—"*Pray for Dimman of Dissidu, who wrote this book, and that his soul may rest in happiness,*" although it now militates against the idea that the book was written for St. Cronan, yet, as there can be no doubt of the writer, it is still sufficient for all historical purposes. Dimma was a scribe of eminence, and wrote many books; the Dimman of Dissidu, for whom this was written, was possibly the bishop of Conor, who flourished at the same time. My object is to elucidate truth, not to establish any particular hypothesis.

marcus

II



MARCUS.



Then follows the office for the Visitation of the Sick, the most valuable part of this most singularly curious and interesting MS.

VISITATIO INFIRMORUM.

"Oremus fratres dominum deum nostrum pro fratre nostro N. quem duri ad præsens malum langoris adulcerat quem eum domini pietas cælestibus dignetur curare medicinis qui dedit animam det etiam salutem. per dominum nostrum.

"Deum vivum omnipotentem cui omnia opera restaurare confirmare facillimum est fratres carissimi pro fratre nostro infirmo suppliciter oremus quo creatura manum sentiat creatoris aut in repuniando aut in recipiendo in nomine suo pius per opus suum recreare dignetur. per dominum nostrum.

"Domine sancte pater universitatis auctor omnipotens æternæ deus cui cuncta vivunt qui vivificas mortuos et vocas ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt. Tuum solitum opus qui es artifex pie exerce in hoc plasmate tuo. per dominum.

"Deum in cujus manu tam alitori viventis quia* vita morientis fratres dilectissimi deprecemur

* Sic originale.

quod corporis hujus infirmatem sanet etiam animæ salutem præstet quod quod per meritum non meretur misericordiæ gratia consequatur orantibus nobis. per dominum.

"Deus qui non vis mortem peccatoris sed quod convertatur etiam vivat huic ad te ex corde converso peccata dimitte et perennis vitæ tribue gratiam. per dominum.

"Deus qui facturam tuam pio semper donares affectu inclina aurem tuam supplicantibus nobis tibi ad famulum tuum. N. adversitate valitudinis corporis laborantem placitori respice. Visita eum in salutare tuo etiam cælestis gratiæ ad medicamentum. per dominum.

"Si in hac vita tantùm, in Christo sperantes sumus: miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Nunc autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiæ dormientium, quoniam quidem per hominem mors: et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur: ita in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.*

"In illo die accesserunt ad eum Sadducei, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem: et interrogaverunt

* Epist. I. Cor. xv. 19.



LUCAS

eum. Respondens autem Jesus ait illis : erratis, nescientes scripturas, neque virtutem dei. In resurrectione enim neque nubent, neque nubentur : sed erunt sicut angeli in cœlo. De resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est, a deo, dicente vobis : Ego sum deus Abraam, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, non deus mortuorum sed viventium. Audientes turbæ admirabantur in doctrinam ejus.*

" Divino magisterio edocti etiam divina institutione firmati audemus dicere. Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem. Credo etiam in Jesum Christum filium ejus. Credo et in spiritum sanctum. Credo (in) vitam post mortem. Credo me resurgere.†

" Ungo te de oleo sanctificato in nomine trinitatis, quod salveris in sæcula sæculorum.

" Concede nobis famulis tuis quod orantes cum fiducia dicere mereamur Pater noster :—

" *Infirmus canit si potest si non persona ejus canit sacerdos.*

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* Matt. xxii. 23—29—33.

† For fac simile of this passage, see plate V. 3.

"Agnosce domine verba quæ præcipisti. Ignosce presumptione quia imperasti ignorantia est nobis non agnoscere meritum contumacie non servare pæceptum quo jubemur dicere pater noster :—

"Libera nos domine ab omni malo et custodia* nos semper in omni bono. Christe Jesu auctor omnium bonorum qui regnas in sæcula.

"Pax et caritas domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper nobiscum.

"*Hic pax datur ei etiam dicis.*

"Pax etiam communicatio sanctorum tuorum Christe Jesu sit semper nobiscum.—*Respondit* Amen.

"*Das ei eucharistiam dicens.*

"Corpus etiam sanguis domini nostri Jesu Christi filii dei vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam.†

"*Post adsumptum ait.*

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* Sic originale.

† For fac simile of this passage, see plate V. 2.

"Agimus deo patri omnipotenti gratias quod terrenæ nos originis atque naturæ sacramenti sui dono in celestem vivificaverit de motatione.

"*Item oratio*—Ostende nobis Domine, miser—

"Converte nos deus salutum* nostrum et firmare præsta salutem nostrorum* qui regnas in sæcula sæculorum.

"*Ait.*—Calicem salutaris vos invocabo :—

"*Ac.*—Fortitudo mea vos in salutem :—

"*Ac.*—Refecti Christi corpore etiam sanguine tibi semper dicamus :—

"*Ac.*—Laudate dominum omnes gentes vos in fin—-—

"*Ac.*—Sacrificate sacrificium justi vos in domino :—

"*Tunc signas etiam dicis pax detur.*

"Benedicat tibi dominus et custodiat te conservat vultum tuum ad te quod det tibi pacem.

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* Sic originale.

"*Respondet.*—Deus tibi gratias agimus per quem ministeria sancta celebramus et a te dona sanctitatis deposcimus qui regnas in sæcula.*

On the last membrane at the end of the gospel of St. John, a part of which is torn and wanting, is, *Finit, Amen,* +*Dimma Macc Nathi,*+ and the following two lines of Irish poetry:—

Ṙcuiṁm dom hilluag mo raethiṙ aleanmain alt cen dichill,
Cum naimmteach nachad acuṙ athab hoṙchith.

"*I now cease from my labor, having continued it with unremitting assiduity for the sanctification of souls, hoping they may dwell in thy kingdom.*"

I am chiefly indebted to my learned and valued friend, Mr. Edward O'Rielly, for the decyphering and translation of the Irish sentences.

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* I have purposely avoided punctuation, except where a point in the MS. denotes the end of a sentence, and in the extracts from St. Matthew, and the Epistle to the Corinthians, which agree verbatim with the Venetian vulgate, published in 1574. I have also collated several chapters of the gospel of St. John, and find them to be very nearly the same as the Venetian.



Wien Litho. 38 Damm 37

VENERABLE BEDE.

In order that we may be able to appreciate the true value of the foregoing most interesting document, it is necessary that we should know some thing more of the history of the church of Ireland in those early times; for the better attainment of this object, I insert the following extracts from the ecclesiastical history of venerable Bede, which contain the substance of every thing that excellent author says respecting Ireland, as well civil as ecclesiastical: his testimony is above suspicion, and entitled to our full credence. His prejudices had a bias against the conclusion, which his testimony compels us to draw.

BOOK I.—CHAP. I.

"And afterwards, when they (i. e. the Britons,) from the south, had in their possession a great part of the island, it chanced that the Picts, a people coming from Scythia, as is said, travelling by sea, in a few long ships, the wind driving them along the coast of Britain, blew them on the north coasts of Ireland, which they found inhabited by Scots, and of whom they besought permission to settle on some part of that island, but

they could not obtain their request. This island, next to Britain, is the largest island of the ocean, and lies westward of Britain. But, although it runneth not so far northward, it is much farther westward than Britain, jutting towards the north parts of Spain, having the main sea between them. The Picts, as I have before said, having arrived with their navy in Ireland, requested permission of the inhabitants to settle therein. The Scots answered that the island was not large enough to contain them both, but we, said they, can give you counsel what is best to be done. We know there is another island, eastward of us, at no great distance, which is visible to us in fine weather; you may go and inhabit it, and if you meet with resistance, we will assist you. Whereupon, they sailed for Britain, and settled themselves in the north parts thereof, the south parts of Britain had been occupied before. The Picts having no wives, requested of the Scots to be allowed to marry their daughters, which the latter agreed to, on the condition, that whenever the matter was doubtful, they should choose their king of the woman's house, rather than the man's, which order the Picts observe to this day, as is well known. *In process of time, after the Britains and Picts, the Scots also settled in Britain among the Picts.* They came from Ireland under Reuda, their general, and by friendship and their

swords, they established themselves in that country. From this general they are called the Dalreudini, for, in their language, ***Daal*** signifies a part.

"Ireland exceeds Britain in breadth, and in salubrity, and serenity of climate, so much that snow rarely remains more than three days on the ground, and no one ever saves hay in the summer, or builds sheds for their cattle in winter. No venomous reptiles are to be seen, or can live there, for often serpents have been brought from Britain, and, as soon as they drew near the land, and breathed the air, they died; nay, all things coming from that land is a remedy for poison: this we have observed, that when certain men have been bitten by serpents, the scraping of books, which had been in Ireland, and having been given to them in water to drink, the swelling of their bodies ceased, and the force of their venom was abated. The land is rich in milk and honey, and is not destitute of vines, and abounds in deer, fish, and fowl. This is properly the country of the Scots, out of which, as we have said, they added the third nation to the Britons and Picts.

"There is a large arm of the sea which, of old time, separated the Britons from the Picts, which from the west runs far into the land, where, at this day, there is a large well fortified city of the

Britons, called Alcluith; on the north side of which, the Scots, as we have said, have settled and made it their country."

BOOK I.—CHAP. XIII.

"In the year of the incarnation, 423, the younger Theodosius, succeeding Honorius, was the forty-fifth emperor after Augustus, and reigned twenty-seven years. In the eigth year of his reign, Palladius was sent to be the first bishop of the Scots, believing in Christ, by Celestine, the Pontiff of the Roman Church."

BOOK II.—CHAP. IV.

"A.D. 605, Lawrence succeeded S. Austin, as bishop (of Canterbury,) who had ordained him before his death thereto. He not only anxiously laboured to support the church, newly erected among the English, but also laboured as a true pastor to the church of the Britons, the old inhabitants of the Britain, and also to the Scots, who inhabited the adjoining island of Ireland. For, when he knew that the life and profession of the Scots, in their aforesaid country, as well as the Britons, to be very unecclesiastical, in many points, especially as they celebrated Easter out of due time; but, as I have before taught, they thought they ought to celebrate and observe the Lord's resurrection from the 14th moon to the

20th, he, with his brethren, the other bishops, wrote to them an exhortatory epistle, beseeching them to observe and keep the unity and peace of the catholic observation, which was used in the church of Christ over the universe. The beginning of the epistle was as follows:—

"*To their beloved lords and brethren, the bishops and abbots of all Scotland, Lawrence, Melitus, and Justus, bishops, the servants of the servants of God.*

"When the see apostolic, as it does to the "whole orb of the universe, sent us to these wes- "tern parts to preach the gospel to pagan nations, "and directed us to enter this isle, which is "called Britain. We held in great reverence the "sanctity both of the Britons and the Scots, as we "believed they walked according to the manner of "the universal church; we now know the Britons "do not, but we thought better of the Scots. We "have since learned from bishop Dagamus, when "he came to this land, and also from Columban, "the abbot, when in France, that the Scots *differ* "*not with the Britons in their conversation,* for "bishop Dagamus, when he came to us, *would not* "*only not eat with us, but would not so much as eat* "*his meat in the house where we were.*"

"Lawrence, and the other bishops, sent letters to the British priests, by worthy messengers, in which he anxiously besought them to adopt and conform to the catholic unity; but how much he succeeded, the present times declare."

BOOK II.—CHAP. XIX.

"A.D. 634, pope Honorius sent letters to the Scots, whom he understood to err in keeping Easter, exhorting them earnestly not to esteem their own small number wiser than all the church of Christ, either antient or modern, of the whole world, who agree in keeping the same Easter, as has been decreed by all the bishops in synods and general councils.

"John, who succeeded Honorius, when he was nominated and elected bishop of Rome, for the correction of said errors, directed letters of great authority and learning, clearly proving that Easter Sunday ought to observed from the 15th moon, to the 21st, as was decreed by the council of Nice. He also warned them of the Pelagian heresy which he understood was springing up among them. The beginning of the epistle was as follows:—

"To the most dear and holy Thomian, Columban, Chronan, Diman, and Baithan, bishops;

and to Chronan, Ernian, Laistran, Scellan, and Segian, presbyters; to Saran, and the rest of the doctors and abbots of the Scots: Hilarus, the arch-presbyter, keeper of the holy apostolic see, John, the deacon, in the name of God elected and chosen bishop of the holy see, John, the chief secretary and keeper of the see apostolic, and John, also a servant of God, and a councillor of the same see. The letters which ye sent to pope Severinus of holy memory, have not been answered, because the pope departed this life before their arrival. We have opened said letters, in this vacancy of the holy see, lest you should remain in ignorance on so great a question, and that it should be undiscussed amongst you. In which letters we have read and observed that certain people of your province, contrary to the right faith, attempt to renew an old heresy, refusing very ignorantly our Easter, in which Christ was offered, our true paschal lamb, to God the Father, intending to celebrate the same with the Jews in the 14th of the moon," &c.

BOOK III.—CHAP. III.

"A.D. 635. Oswald, shortly after he came to the crown, (of Northumberland,) being desirous that his people should be instructed in the truths of the Christian faith, whereof he had great evidence of the truth, by vanquishing

his barbarian enemies. He sent to the chief of the Scots, among whom, in his exile, he had received the sacrament of baptism, as did the soldiers who were with him, requesting them to send him a prelate, by whose preaching and ministry the English, whom he ruled, might be instructed in the gifts, and receive the sacraments of the faith of our Lord. Nor were those things, which he desired, denied or withheld from him. Bishop Aidan, a man of great meekness, godliness, modesty, and piety, having a great zeal for God, although not according to knowledge, for he kept Easter Sunday from the 14th day after the change of the moon, until the 20th, according to the custom of his country, as we have before mentioned: for the north part of Scotland, and the Picts, celebrated Easter in the same manner, thinking they followed the written advice of Anatolius. How justly, those who are skilful in the Christian religion are not ignorant. The Scots, who lived in the south part of Ireland, advised by the apostolic see, had long since learned to celebrate Easter according to universal rule.

"When Aidan arrived, the king appointed him to be bishop of Holy Island, as he desired. This place, by the flowing of the tide, is twice a day made an island, and as often by the receding of the water, made part of the main land.

By the advice of this good bishop, the king being ever ready to follow it, the church of Christ was much enlarged in his dominions: and, whereas, the bishop was unskilful in the English tongue, and the king understanding the Scottish, by reason of his long exile in Ireland, when the bishop preached the faith of Christ, the king interpreted the heavenly word to his generals and subjects, which was a gratifying and pleasing sight. For a long time, many persons came from Ireland into the English provinces of Britain, under the government of king Oswald, with great devotion, to preach the gospel of Christ, and baptizing all who believed. Churches were built in convenient places, and the people gladly assembled together to hear the word of God. Of his great bounty, the king granted lands and possessions for the foundation of religious houses, and old persons, as well as young children, were trained up by the Scots in the observance of regular discipline, for they were, for the most part, monks who came to preach. Aidan was a monk of the island called Hii, which house was, for a long time, the chief of all the religious houses of the northern Scots and Picts, which were subject to it. The island, indeed, belongs to Britain, being separated from it only by a very narrow arm of the sea, but, by free gift of the Picts, who inhabit that part of Britain, it was granted lately to the Scottish monks,

in reward for their virtuous preaching the faith of Christ."

BOOK III.—CHAP. IV.

"A. D. 563. Columba, a distinguished priest and abbot, both by his habit and holy life, came from Ireland to preach the word of God to the Picts who dwelt in the north parts of Britain, that is, to those who were separated by those tremendous mountains from the Picts who dwelt in the more southern parts, who had long before abandoned idolatry, and embraced the true faith, which was preached to them by the reverend and holy bishop Ninia, a Briton, who had been duly and regularly instructed in the true faith at Rome, &c.

"Columba came to Britain in the ninth year of the reign of the potent Brideus, the son of Meilochon, king of the Picts, and by his learning and example, converted that nation to the faith, for which service the aforesaid island was given him to found a monastery. The isle is not large, but about sufficient for the support of five families, according to the English estimation. His successors keep it to this day, and he was buried there, aged seventy-seven years thirty-two after he came to preach in Britain.

"Before he went to Britain, he founded a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great quantity of oaks in the neighbourhood, is called, in the Scottish language, *Dearmach*, that is to say, the *field of oaks*. From both these monasteries many religious houses, both in Britain and Ireland, were founded by his disciples, of all which the monastery in the island is the chief house.

"This island was always governed by an abbot, who is a priest, to whom the whole country, and the bishops themselves were, after a strange and uncommon custom, subject, according to the example of the first doctor, who was not a bishop, but a priest and a monk. Many things are written of his life and actions by his disciples; but we know certainly that he left successors of great continence, distinguished charity, and holy life. In observing the feast of Easter, they trusted to uncertain guides, and it is not surprising, considering that no man sent unto them the decrees for the keeping thereof."

BOOK III.—CHAP. V.

"From this island, therefore, and from this monastery, was Aidan sent to instruct the English in the faith of Christ: at the time that Sigenius was abbot, he accepted the office of bishop," &c.

BOOK III.—CHAP. XVI—XXV.

"Finanus, a holy man from Hy, succeeded Aidan, and was bishop of Northumberland a long time. He built a church on Lindisfarn, *(Holy Island)* for the bishop's see, not of stone, but of oak wood, with thatch, as the Scotch custom was.

"A. D. 652. A great controversy arose about the keeping of Easter. The bishops of Kent and France asserted that the Scots observed Easter Sunday contrary to the rule of the universal church; and among them Ronan, a Scot by birth, but well instructed in the rules of the church in France and Italy, and therefore a strenuous defender of the true keeping of Easter, who disputing and arguing the matter with Finanus, induced many to embrace the truth, but could not prevail with Finan himself, but rather exasperated him, for he was a hasty petulant man, and thus made him an avowed enemy to the cause of truth.

"A.D. 664. After the death of Finanus, Colman succeeded him in the bishopric, who was also sent from Ireland. In his time, the controversy began to increase, and also about other variances, by which many began to fear and doubt, lest, though bearing the name of Christ, they had run in vain; for Oswin *being educated*

and baptized among the Scots, and well acquainted with their tongue, thought their manner of observance most consistent with the truth; but Alcfrid, the king's son, having been taught by the learned Wilfrid, preferred his opinion *to the traditions of the Scots*. To him the prince gave a monastery of forty families, in a place called Inhrypum, which had been in the possession of the Scots, who chose rather to surrender and give up the possession than change their accustomed observances.

"It was determined to hold a synod to decide the question of Easter, the tonsure, and other ecclesiastical matters, at a monastery called Strenaeshalch. To this synod both the kings, Oswin and Alcfrid, father and son, attended. Colman, and his Scottish clergy, Hilda, the abbess of Strenaeshalch, and her company, with Cedda, the venerable bishop, lately consecrated by the Scots, and king Oswin on one side; king Alcfrid, Agilbert, the bishop, with Agatho and Wilfred, priests, and James and Ronan on the other side.

"King Oswin premised that it behoved those, who served God, to keep one order and rule, and not to vary in celebrating the sacraments, who all looked for one heavenly kingdom, but that the

truth should be searched out, and followed by all: he commanded bishop Colman to declare his opinion first.

"The bishop answered:—*The Easter I have observed, I received from my ancestors, who sent me here to be bishop: all our fathers, virtuous men, beloved of God, are known to have so celebrated Easter, and that it may not seem to be a matter to be despised or reprobated, it is the same which was observed by the blessed St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, and of all the churches founded by him.*"

My object being merely to shew the state of the Scottish or Irish church at this period, I shall not enter into the arguments on either side, further than to state, that Wilfrid appears to have silenced, but not convinced Colman, by asking him if he set up the authority of Columba and the Scottish fathers against that of St. Peter, to whom our Lord said, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,*' *&c.* The king asking Colman if our Lord really said those words to Peter? He ansered in the affirmative; and again being asked, if he could produce any *such special authority to Columba,* answered in the negative. The king then said he would not question the authority of such a porter, lest he should shut the gate against him.

Whereupon Colman, being conquered in argument, gave up his bishopric rather than his principles, and returned home, taking with him his followers. This controversy took place in the year 664, thirty years after the Scots had been bishops in England; Aidan having governed the church seventeen years, Finanus ten, and Colman three years. Colman carried with him the bones of Aidan.

BOOK III—CHAP. XXVII.

"A.D. 664. This year was a great eclipse of the sun on the 3rd day of May, about ten o'clock. There was also a great pestilence, which depopulated first a great part of the south of Britain, reached Northumberland, and destroyed a great many people, and, among the rest, Tuda, the bishop who succeeded Aidan, who was honorably buried in a place called Paegnalaech. This plague extended to Ireland, where there were a great many young English noblemen, and others of a lower class, under Finanus and Colman, the bishops, for the purposes of study, and to live strictly, and some of these became ecclesiastics, and others attended the houses and cells of their teachers, pursuing their studies. *These the Scots entertained liberally and kindly, giving them not only their board and lodging without charge, but books.* Among the noble English were two young

men, esteemed above the rest, Edilhum and Ecgbert; the first was brother to that man, beloved of God, Edelhum, who, in the age following, lived in Ireland *for learning sake*, and returning to his country, was made bishop of Lindisse, (Lincoln.)"

BOOK V.—CHAP. IX.

"This Columba was the first preacher of the faith of Christ to the Picts who dwelt beyond the mountains to the north, and the founder of the monastery of Hy, which was in great reverence among the Scots and Picts. Columba is now called by some *Columcell*, of a combination of the words Cella and Columba."

BOOK V.—CHAP. XVI.

"A.D. 701. At this time a great many of the Scots in Ireland, and also Britons, adopted, by the grace of God, the true observance of Easter taught by the catholic church. Adamnanus, a priest, abbot of Hy, being sent by his prince to Alfred, king of the English, and remaining some time in England, observed the canonical rites and ceremonies of the church, and being sharply admonished by the learned, that he should not presume to live contrary to the universal church, either in keeping the feast of Easter, or in any other decrees, be they what they may,

his country being so small, and the people so few, and seated in furthest corner of the world, he preferred the customs of the English church to those of his own; and when he returned he endeavoured to induce those of the island of Hy to adopt the broad beaten path of truth, but he did not succeed. Whereupon he sailed for Ireland, where he, by preaching and exhortation, prevailed upon many, that were not under the dominion of Hy, to receive the unity of the church. He afterwards, returning to his island, again attempted to prevail on the brethren to adopt this general observation, but could not succeed. He shortly after fell sick and died."

BOOK V.—CHAP. XXI.

"A.D. 610. Naitan, king of the Picts, adopted the Roman observance of Easter.

"A.D. 716. Not long after, the Scottish monks who inhabit the island of Hy, with all the monasteries under their jurisdiction, adopted the canonical observance of Easter, and the right manner of ecclesiastical tonsure."

As Bede declares the British and Irish churches held communion of faith with each other, it is necessary to detail briefly some leading points of the history of the British, in order to understand

rightly that of the Irish church. In the fourth chapter of the first book, A.D. 156, he says that Lucius, king of Britain, wrote to pope Eleutherius, desiring, that by his commandment, he might be made Christian, and that his request was granted, and the Britons embraced the faith, which they kept incorruptly till the time of Diocletian. This, I consider, means that the king, and his people, having embraced the Christian faith, wished for an ecclesiastical establishment by the appointment and consecration of bishops.

From the above period he speaks of the uninterrupted succession of the British church until the Saxon invasion. A. D. 430, book i. chap. 13, he says Celestine sent Palladius to Ireland, *to the Scots believing in Christ.* In the next chapter, in speaking of the Britons, he says that not only did the laymen but the *clergy* give themselves up to all manner of intemperance, &c. &c. and were punished by a plague.

A. D. 596. Augustine was sent over *to the English*, who, A.D. 603, set about to bring the British church into the unity of practice of the church of Rome, but they refused to acknowledge him as their archbishop, or to adopt the Roman ritual: on which Austin prophesied that they should incur severe punishment, which Bede says

was fulfilled by Edelfred, the Saxon king, who "*maximam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit;* slew this perfidious people with great slaughter at Carleon, (St. David's) and then goes on to exult in destruction of the British monks, whose crime was praying against their invaders, adding, "therefore he commanded his soldiers to attack them, and so vanquished *this detestable host*, not, however, without considerable loss. And so was completed the prediction of St. Austin, and this perfidious people suffered death *because they refused and despised wholesome advice and eternal salvation when it was offered.*" It will be seen in the foregoing extracts that Bede asserts the Scots church to be in unity with the British, having the same ritual, and they are equally stigmatized as heretical schismatics.

The following answer of the abbot of Bangor, in Wales, to Augustine, is taken from Spelman's councils, p. 108.

"Responsio Abbatis Bangor ad Augustinum Monachum petentem subjectionem Ecclesæ Romanæ.

"Sit notum et certum vobis, quod sumus nos omnes et singuli obedientes et subditi ecclesiæ dei et papæ Romæ et unicuique Christiano pio

ad amandum unumquemque in su ogradu cum charitate perfecta et ad juvandum unumquemque ex iis et verbo et facto fore filios dei: Et aliam obedientiam quam hanc non scio debitam ei quem vos nominatis papam vel patrem patrum vindicari et postulari: sed obedientiam hanc sumus nos parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano in æternum. Præterea sumus nos sub gubernatione episcopi Caerlegionis super Uscam qui est superintendus sub deo super nobis ad faciendum nos servare viam spiritualem."

St. Patrick is mentioned in the martyrology of Bede as follows:

"Martius — XVI. Kal. Apr. — In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris.—Eodem die obitus S. Gertrudis virginis."

Let us now examine what other evidence is to be had on the subject.

After archbishop Ussher, whose great learning, talents, and research into Irish antiquities, place him above all others, has decided St. Patrick's mission in the affirmative, the subject should be approached with great deference and respect, for so high an authority: but this feeling may carry us too far; no genius, however exalted, or learn-

ing, however profound, is entitled to implicit submission, should preclude investigation, or shut the door against inquiry.

The Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor, whose learning and acquirements certainly render him a first-rate authority, has brought forward new evidence on this subject, in the third letter of Columbanus, p. 48, et seq. He justly condemns references to legends as evidence, and says, "*to quote authorities, in support of a disputed fact, which are not, by both parties, admitted as authentic, is only to demonstrate a lack of logic and a lack of sense.*" He triumphantly disproves the libellous charge of want of candour and misquotation brought against archbishop Ussher, by an incautious and careless writer, and regrets that no Irish pen had done it before. Did not the silence of the admirers of that illustrious prelate rather prove it to be unnecessary ?

Dr. O'Conor gives a copy of the letter written by the archbishop to Camden, which he collated with the original, now among the Cotton MSS. in the British museum. Julius, c. iii. he (Ussher) says, " touching St. Patrick, I gave him (Ryves) good leave to discredit, as much as he list, the pack of miraculous miracles which later writers had fastened on St. Patrick, *but in no wise to*

touch the credit of that worthy man himself, nor to question his succession to Palladius, nor to cast him into lower times, contrary to the consent of all writers that ever make mention of him; and to this end, *I shewed unto him* what I had gathered together to this purpose, in a treatise which I had lately wrote, at the request of Dr. Hampton, late lord archbishop of Armagh. You may easily see what little the testimony, or rather the silence, of so late an author as *Platina* is, may carry, to bear down the constant agreement of all our own writers. *The objection would be far more specious if it were drawn from the silence of Bede.* Yet have I seen in Sir Robert Cotton's library, an ancient fragment, written *before the time of Bede,* wherein St. Patrick is not only mentioned, but made to be as antient in time, as hitherto we have believed him to be. It was found among Mr. Josceline's papers, &c."

Dr. O'Conor says he has carefully perused and examined the Josceline MS. to which Ussher thus refers, and adds, " Ussher certainly *mistakes* in making this MS. so antient. I have examined it minutely, and take upon me to state decisively, that it is not older than *the ninth century.* But yet Ussher's argument holds good if the author wrote before the days of Bede; and that he did, is admitted not only by Spelman, but by Mabillon,

in his excellent work, *De Liturgia Gallicana.*—See Cotton MS. Nero, A. 11, with my MS. work, entitled Bibliotheca Hibernico-Cottoniana, in Stowe library.

"The following extract from the life of St. Columba, written by Cumian, one of his disciples, very soon after the death of his patron, A.D. 596. '*Patricius namque primus Hiberniæ apostolus avum proavumque (Columbæ) Fergusium nempe et Conallum benedixit.*'" Dr. O'Connor gives this as *indisputable and undoubted authority*, because this antient life is expressly referred to by Adamnan, who wrote above half a century before the death of Bede. *It was published imperfectly by Colgan, perfectly by Mabillon.*—Sæc. Benedictinorum.

"Another curious passage relating to St. Patrick, is observable in the Paschal Epistle of the younger Cumian to Segenius, abbot of Hyona, which was written a whole century before Bede wrote his history, and precisely in the year 640. In this learned epistle of one of the most learned fathers of the Irish church, the venerable author objects to the time of celebrating Easter day at Hyona, as repugnant to the *cycle which, says he, our holy pope St. Patrick introduced into Ireland.* I have compared the original MS. in the Cotton

library, Vitel. A. xii. with Ussher's edition in his Sylloge ad. ann. 640, and have found it as accurate, as all Ussher's editions most decidedly are, even in controversial passages which make against himself. Long before Bede's time, St. Patrick is mentioned by Adamnan in the very preface to his life of Columba, which, next to Sulpicius Severius's life of St. Martin of Tours, is one of the most valuable pieces of biography that all the middle ages can boast of.—*Quidam proselytus Brito* S. PATRICII DISCIPULUS.

"There is a fifth very valuable authority for the mission of St. Patrick, &c. There is extant a MS. in the Irish characters, which is above one thousand years old, entitled *Antiphonarium Benchorense*. It was discovered by Cardinal F. Boromeo, in the antient monastery of Bobio, in Italy; from whence it was transferred to the Ambrosian library at Milan, where it now is, number x. litera c. Muratori shewed it to Montfaucon, who, after a minute investigation, pronounced it above one thousand years old, and rejoiced that now, at last, in spite of all objections, the reality of St. Patrick's mission to Ireland was placed beyond the reach of controversy. Muratori relates that it was carried into Italy from Ireland, by *a celebrated Irish monk*, who travelled to Pavia in the time of Charlemagne. Now this MS. the venerable antiquity

of which is attested by the four greatest diplomatists of the last century, by Montfaucon, Mabillon, Muratori, and Reunart, contains a hymn *in honor of St. Patrick, master of the Scots.*—"*Hymnus S. Patricii, magistri Scotorum.*"

"A sixth coeval authority, equally unknown to our writers, which historically proves St. Patrick's mission, is that of an anonymous monk, who was eye witness to the death of St. Gertrude, and wrote her life, published by Mabillon, in the second age of his annals of the Benedictines.

"I have wondered also that our writers have not quoted, on this subject, the following lines written by Alcuin, who was preceptor to Charlemagne, and, next to Bede, the most learned father of the Saxon church.

"'*Patricius, Kieranus, Scotorum gloriæ gentis,*
'*Atque Columbanus, Comgallus, Adamnanus,*
'*Præclari patres.*'"*

"St. Patrick is mentioned also in a Saxon version of the life of our Connaught countryman, the martyr St. Furseus, the original of which I

* See his metrical life of Willebrord, published by Gale, Scriptores post Bedam. Oxon. 1691.

have proved, in my prolegomena to the Irish annals, to have been written in 665."

Dr. O'Conor sums up the whole with the following sentence: "I shall here content myself with observing, that if all these authorities and MSS. in which St. Patrick is expressly mentioned, were destroyed, the laws of just criticism forbid, that, after the lapse of so many ages, and the destruction of so many monasteries and libraries as formerly existed in Ireland, before the Danish invasion, *the silence* alone of such authors as remain, (supposing such silence) should be admitted in evidence to overthrow a national tradition so universal in every part of Ireland, Scotland, and Man, so immemorial, and so incorporated, as that of St. Patrick is, with the traditionary usages, names, anniversaries, monastic ruins, and popular manners *of one hundred millions of Irishmen* who have existed since his time."

I should be well pleased were I able to say the evidence adduced, and the arguments made use of by Dr. O'Conor, had satisfied my mind on this important subject, as it appears to have done his own. I confess I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of my own judgment when I differ from such a man on such a subject; I shall, however, make some remarks, not so much with a view to

refute the positions laid down, as established, by Dr. O'Conor, as for the purpose of supporting what would appear to be the truth, by an examination of the evidence on both sides, and first for the affirmative.

Dr. O'Conor, in some degree, destroys the authority of the fragment mentioned by Ussher, by proving it to be of the ninth century; the admission of Spelman and Mabillon that the author wrote before the time of Bede, is *argument, not evidence.*

The extract from the life of St. Columba, by Cumian, *published by Colgan and Mabillon*, is of no better authority than the hymn of St. Feich, unless an original MS. of greater antiquity than Bede can be produced in support of it.

Of the paschal epistle of the younger Cumian to Segienus, written in 640, speaking of the *cycle* which *St. Patrick introduced into Ireland*, I am not able to collect whether Dr. O'Conor quotes from an original MS. but it appears quite irreconcilable with Colman's declaration in 664, that his Easter, *which was different from the Roman, was received from his ancestors.*

Adamnan's mention of St. Patrick, in his life of

Columba, is of doubtful authority, and looks very like an interpolation; "*S. Patricii discipulus,*" —*three words only* of Ireland's apostle!!

The fifth evidence adduced by Dr. O'Conor, the Bobio MS. *the Antiphonarium Benchorense,* containing the "*hymnus S. Patricii magistri Scotorum,*" is certainly a very interesting document, and well worthy of investigation; but before we give it place and weight, as evidence, we ought to know something more of it; it is hardly fair to demand credence for a document, about which we possess so little information, and that little so unsatisfactory. There is a fac simile plate opposite p. 56 of his work, but he does not tell us what it is of, we are left to conjecture if of the Bobio MS.; it is not of the *hymnus S. Patricii,* nor is a copy given of that document. He tells us that Muratori shewed it to Montfaucon, who pronounced it above one thousand years old, and *rejoiced* that it placed the reality of St. Patrick's mission *beyond the reach of controversy.* I should rejoice on the same account, if it really proved this fact, and if a copy of the hymn had been given, and the MS. itself proved to be worthy to be ranked with unquestionable evidence. Not having access to the work of Muratori, or of Gerbertus, I cannot say how far the Bobio MS. is admissible as evidence, or if admitted, how it

bears on the case. The works above mentioned are not of common occurrence, are not even in the library of Trinity college; when, therefore, Dr. O'Conor brings forward this MS. as evidence, and expects implicit credence and acceptance, we are entitled to have it proved to be worthy of credit: a copy of the hymn itself, and a fac simile not only of the MS. but of that particular part of it which we are to receive in evidence, should have been given. I do not charge Dr. O'Conor with want of candour; I believe him incapable of the slightest attempt to mislead, or to give even colour to an argument, or a quotation, which he does not conscientiously believe it demands; but can we dispense with what just criticism demands, even in his favour, or can we, therefore, attach that weight to this MS. which perhaps it might be entitled to, if we were better acquainted with it, or admit that it proves any thing?

The sixth authority of Dr. O'Conor, the life of St. Gertrude, by an anonymous monk, comes under the description of *authorities not admitted by both parties*, and, therefore, is of no weight.

The lines from Alcuin, if supported by better evidence, might have some weight, but are a feather in opposition to the testimony of Bede.

The life of St. Furseus is liable to the same objection; *we have it not in court*, and therefore cannot judge of the weight of its evidence; we are not even told what it says. Dr. O'Conor says that he has examined the authorities on this subject, critically, in another place. I am not aware that the world have been favoured with his work, except a chosen few, perhaps; I have not had the good fortune ever to see a copy of his Irish Annals.

The tradition of so many ages, so universal in every part of Ireland, Scotland, and Man, so interwoven with the usages, names, and monastic ruins of a *hundred millions of Irishmen*, is very strong, and entitled to great weight, but tradition, unsupported, has never been admitted as evidence; neither will the laws of just criticism admit such tradition before, not only the *silence* of Bede, but what *he says*, and gives of the *sayings of others*, whom he introduces to our acquaintance, especially when he tells us of facts which render the truth of St. Patrick's mission almost impossible. The same kind of arguments would support the once universally received British fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans, as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others, or the history of St. George and the dragon.

Let us now see what conclusions we must draw from Bede's testimony, which *is admitted on both sides.*

It is scarcely to be credited that Bede, who mentions Palladius, the unsuccessful missionary to the Scots, would have been silent with respect to the mission and brilliant exploits of the successful and wonder-working St. Patrick, who had not been dead two hundred years, and whose fame must have been the theme of Scottish eulogy, had they ever heard of his name. Bede says too much about Ireland and her Scottish inhabitants and clergy, to suppose he would not have said more, had he known more; and I cannot conceive it possible that St. Patrick could have deserved such celebrity without his knowledge, and had he heard of him, that he would have passed him over in silence.

Bede next says, that Lawrence, the successor of Augustine, not only laboured as a true pastor to the English, but to the British church, and to that of the Scots, who inhabited the adjacent island of Ireland, *which were both very unecclesiastical in many points*, and therefore wrote letters to the Irish bishops, stating that they "*differ not with the Britons in their con-*
"*versation, for bishop Dagamus, when he came to*

"*us, would not only not eat with us, but would not* "*so much as eat his meat in the house where we* "*were.*" And again, in the year 634, pope Honorius wrote letters to the Scots, exhorting them not to think *their small number wiser than all the churches of Christ.* Another letter was sent by John, the successor to Honorius, on the same subject. In neither of these letters is there any reproach against the Scots for having left the faith and observance said to be established among them by a Roman missionary only one hundred and fifty years before, but they are cautioned not to think themselves wiser than the universal church; no allusion whatever is made to their being indebted to Rome for the faith, or a word said about St. Patrick!

In the first paragraph of book iii. chap. iii. after praising Aidan, he says, that the north part of Scotland, (Ireland) and the Picts, celebrate Easter in the same manner, thinking they followed the advice of Anatolius. The Scots, who lived in the south part of Ireland, *advised by the apostolic see, had long since learned to celebrate Easter according to universal rule.* Here is evidence that the Roman see did *advise the south of Ireland,* and the advice was followed; but *the north,* which was the theatre of the alledged exploits of St. Patrick, had at that time either rejected Palla-

dius, and the other missionaries of Rome, or they *had not been sent to them.* The Northumbrians, and among them Bede, must have been well acquainted with Ireland and its traditions, their king, Oswald, having lived there in exile for many years, was there converted to Christianity, and baptized.

There is a very remarkable passage in which Bede, book iii. chap. iv. see extracts, p. 69, says, "In observing the feast of Easter, they trusted to uncertain *cycles,* and it is not surprising, considering *that no man sent unto them the decrees for the keeping thereof.*" "*In tempore quidem summæ festivitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positis nemo synodalia Paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat; tantum ea quæ in propheticis, evangelicis et apostolicis literis discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. Permansit autem hujusmodi observantia Paschalis apud eos tempore non pauco, hoc est, usque ad annum dominicæ incarnationis* 715, *per annos* 150." Bede speaks here of the island of Hyona, but his observation equally applies to Ireland, and he positively asserts that there was no mission from Rome, but they, the Scots, *diligently observed the precepts to be found in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles.* Where

then was the *cycle* introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick?

A. D. 664. Bede gives a long and very circumstantial account of a synod held at Strenaeshalch, about the Easter controversy, which is given shortly in the extracts, and not necessary to be here repeated. It should, however, be recollected that this took place not two hundred years from the alledged time when St. Patrick was in the zenith of his glorious acts. In that synod, we have an Irish bishop speaking, and what does he say?—Nothing about St. Patrick, not even his name. Had Colman been aware that it was from St. Patrick Ireland received the faith, would he have hesitated to charge the Roman church with variance with its own ordinances? would he not have said, how is it that St. Patrick, a missionary from Rome itself, taught our forefathers this faith, and that not two hundred years since? and, again, the Easter we keep, and the faith we hold, must be the true faith and true Easter, for we have not changed them, and they must have been the faith and Easter of Rome when St. Patrick was sent to preach the gospel to our fathers? Such recent occurrences as the conversion of Ireland by St. Patrick, must have been, in Colman's time, as fresh in the recollection of the Irish Christians, as the usurpation of Cromwell, or the abdication

of James is with us at this day. But what says Colman?—Why, that he received his Easter from his forefathers, and that it was the same as *was observed by St. John, and all the churches established by him*, and *he never mentions St. Patrick*. What conclusion can a rational mind draw from this, but that the decrees of the first general council held at Nice in the year 325, respecting the period when Easter should be observed, had not been heard of in Ireland until Colman's time, consequently that the mission of St. Patrick from Rome in 433, is absolutely negatived; for he would doubtless have introduced the Roman observances and the Roman faith. Bede gives evidence of an uninterrupted succession of bishops in the British church from A. D. 150. In addition to this he says, Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing in Christ*. Is not this an admission of the existence of Christianity in Ireland previous to the period of St. Patrick's mission? Who were those Christians? We are also told that the Irish *pagans* rejected Palladius. Is it not much more probable, that he being sent for the express purpose of bringing the Irish Christians into subjection to the Roman pontiff, and to unity of practice with the church of Rome, the Irish Christians, who were then as much attached to the faith received from their ancestors, as their descendants were in Bede's time, refused to admit

Palladius as their bishop, and expelled him from their shores?

With respect to the appearance of St. Patrick's name in Bede's Martyrology, it is alleged by Cave, that the text of that work, in common use, *is interpolated.* The passage mentioning St. Patrick is not certainly stigmatized by Cave as an interpolation, but any man, who is accustomed to consider the value and weight of evidence, would, if he received it at all, receive with great suspicion, an extract from a work admitted to be interpolated, especially when that proof was not corroborated by other testimony, of an unquestionable character.

A martyrology, like Battle Abbey roll, of all records, holds out the greatest temptation to the interpolator; the forgery is easiest to be committed, and most difficult of detection. In this case, all that was to be done was the insertion of the five words, *In Scotia S. Patricii Confessoris.* If this entry were genuine, would this meagre sentence have been all the notice which would have been taken of Ireland's apostle?

O'CARROLL.

The following brief sketch of this distinguished sept will be found useful to illustrate the history of Dimma's box and MS. as will also an account of the territory of Helia, or Ely, afterwards called Ely O'Carroll.

The family of O'Carroll, according to the Irish antiquaries, are descended from Kean, the third son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster. Tiege, the eldest son of this Kean, was a distinguished warrior, who, by killing in battle his three rivals, procured for Cormac Mac Art, king of Ulster, the monarchy of Ireland. Cormac rewarded him with a grant of land in Connaught, called Lurgny Gallen, and Culavin, he paying to the king of Connaught, and his successors, 150 milch cows in May, 100 beeves, and 100 barrels of mead, or metheglin, at Alhallontide yearly for ever. He had two sons, Conla, and Cormac Galeng, to the latter he gave the lands of Lurgny Gallen, now called the barony of Gallen, in the county of Mayo, and Culavin, which were possessed by his descendants the O'Haras and O'Garas: Conla, the eldest son, possessed the lands afterwards

called Duthec-Eile, i. e. the estate of Eile,* from Eile Ridhearge, of which his descendants were styled *kings*, there being no other title of honor in use in Ireland before the coming of the English.

Cearbhuill, the twelfth, according to some, and the sixteenth, in descent, according to other authorities, from the above Eile, gave name to the sept of the O'Carrolls, i. e. *the descendants of Cearbhuill.* The tenth in descent from him was Tiege, or Tatheus, O'Cearbhuill Boy, king of Eile, who caused the box of Dimma to be gilt, died about the middle of the twelfth century, and was succeeded by his son,

Maolroona O'Carroll, or O'Cearbhuill, king of Eile, was succeeded by his brother,

Donald O'Carroll, who was king of Ely at the coming of the English under Strongbow, and from him are descended the principal houses of this family.

Maolroona O'Carroll, whose daughter, Grace, or Grania, was married to Ulick Burke, Lord of Clanrickard, and was mother of Rickard Sassanagh Burke, the first earl, joined with O'Brien,

* Some authorities derive the name otherwise. See hereafter.

and others, against the English government and gave them much trouble. He died A. D. 1532. His son, Fergonamuin, or Ferdinando, O'Carroll, who succeeded his father as *O'Carroll*, concluded a treaty with Leonard Lord Gray, lord deputy of Ireland, 12th June, 1538, by which he consented for himself and his successors, the O'Carrolls, *capitanei de* Ely O'Carroll, to pay the king 12d. for every carucate of land in Ely O'Carroll, one hundred and twenty marks on the nomination of the chief, and, on general hostings, to supply the chief governor of Ireland with twelve horsemen, and twenty-four foot men, all well equipped for war, with provisions for forty days, at the expense of O'Carroll; that on all journies to those parts, they should supply the lord deputy and suite with provisions for three days; that the lord deputy should be supplied with provisions, by O'Carroll, for eighty galloglasses, for three months every year, and be permitted to make a road, or roads, through Ely O'Carroll at his pleasure. In 1548, Teige caoch O'Carroll, son of Ferdinando, called by Sir James Ware, petty king of Ely, routed the English out of his country, but afterwards submitted, and was created baron of Ely in 1532,* which he did not long enjoy, having been slain by his own sept,

* I have not been able to find the record of this patent.

headed by his kinsman and competitor, Cahir O'Carroll, who was afterwards slain by William Adhar O'Carroll, younger brother of Tiege, who was knighted, 30th March, 1567, and made governor of Ely, and captain of his nation, by Sir Henry Sidney, lord justice of Ireland. Sir William died 28th April, 1579. His natural son, Sir Cahir, or Charles, O'Carroll, was knighted by Sir John Perrott, lord deputy in 1584.

Sir Mulrooney O'Carroll, son of Sir William, was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord deputy of Ireland, at Dublin Castle, St. James's day, 1st March, 1603, being the day of the coronation of king James I.

Roger O'Carroll, son and heir of Sir Mulrooney, was ousted out of his estates by Cromwell, he having attached himself to the king's party, under the Duke of Ormond; but his eldest son and heir, Charles O'Carroll was in great favour with kings Charles II. and James II. who were not able to restore him to his paternal estate; the latter made him grants of large tracts of land on the Monoccasy river in the province of Maryland, in North America, which was divided into three manors, of 20,000 acres each, and called, after the possessions he had lost in Ireland, viz. Ely O'Carroll, and Doughoregan. The third was

called Carrolston. This gentleman was also made attorney-general of the province, and his estates are still in the possession of his grandson, Charles O'Carroll, of Carrolston, Esq. aged 90 years, whose father and himself have been members of the senate of that state. Mary, the daughter of the last mentioned Charles, was married to Richard Caton, Esq. of the state of Maryland, by whom she was mother to her excellency Marianne, the present Marchioness of Wellesley, and three other daughters, Elizabeth, Louisa-Catharine, (Lady Harvey,) and Emily.

Sir James Carroll, who was mayor of Dublin, was knighted by Sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy at Loghroer, the 30th of September, 1609. His father, Thomas O'Carroll, being oppressed by the chief of his family, came to live in Dublin. Sir James Carroll had a grant of the abbey of Baltinglass, and was ancestor to the present high sheriff of the county of Wicklow, Henry Griffiths (Carroll,) of Ballymore, Esq.

Donagh, or Dennis O'Carroll, descended from Donogh O'Carroll, brother to Mulrooney O'Carroll, chief of his name, who died in 1532, was possessed of the estates of Modereeny and Buolybrack, in Tipperary, and was ousted by Cromwell. He married O'Kennedy's daughter, and had thirty

sons, whom he formed into a troop, of horse, and presented to the Duke of Ormond, for the service of king Charles I. On the restoration, John, his son, had a grant of lands at Killury, in the county of Galway, where he married the daughter of O'Crean, by Margaret, the daughter of Lord Athenry. His eldest son, James Carroll, was ancestor to the family of Killury; Daniel, his second son, entered into the military service of the king of Spain, and was made a knight of the order of St. Jago. He was afterwards, through the interest of the Duke of Ormond, made a lieutenant-colonel in the British service, by queen Anne, in which he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, obtained permission to bear the insignia of the order of St. Jago in England, had also the style of Sir Daniel, and was colonel of a regiment of horse. His grandson, John Whitley O'Carroll, was British resident at Saxe Weimar, in 1804.

I find three other O'Carrolls, John, Donagh, and Kedagh, obtained grants of lands in Connaught, from king Charles II. in compensation for their losses in Leinster. From them are descended the families of Springhill, Tirlogh, Ardagh, Carragh, and Dunmore, in the county of Galway; Forthill, in the county of Mayo; and Doraville, in the county of Clare. The other

principal families now existing, are those of Emmell, in the King's County; Thurles, Ballingarry, Nenagh, Littlefield, and Annemead, in Tipperary; Rockfield, in the county of Wicklow; and Coolroe, &c. in the county of Carlow. John Carroll of Stephen's-green, Esq. late M. P. for New Ross, is the representative of this last family. Owen Carroll represented the King's County, in king James's parliament in 1689.

ELY O'CARROLL.

"Ely, or Helia, an extensive district comprehended in the present King's County, and the antient patrimony of the distinguished tribe of the O'Carrolls, from whom, as being lords paramount of the district, it was called *Eile ui Chearbhaill*, (Ely O'Carroll) is generally supposed to derive its name Ely from *Eile Righdhearg*, (Ely red-arm) the eighth in descent from the celebrated Olioll Olum, king of Munster, who, according to the annals of the Four Masters, died A. D. 234, and *Sadhbh*, (Sawv,) daughter of Conn, of the hundred battles, monarch of Ireland. In this opinion concur almost all our antient genealogists, as does also the learned O'Flaherty, in his Ogygia; yet, there is reason to believe that this opinion is not well founded. In an antient vellum MS. in my possession, in the hand writing of Adam

O'Cianan, (O'Keenan), a celebrated Irish antiquary, we are told that the districts of Ely and Owny were so named from *Eli* and *Uaithne*, (Ely and Owny) two daughters of Eochaidh, (Eohy) son of Luchta, king of Munster, one of our antient lawgivers, who flourished about the time of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. The author describes these districts as lying east of the Shannon, stretching from north to south; and he tells us that he copied the article "from the book of his great master, John O'Dugan." This John O'Dugan was the chief poet of the O'Kellys, of Hy Maine, and a famous astronomer, topographer, and historian, who died A. D. 1372. To those who know the works and the reputation of O'Dugan, as an Irish scholar and antiquary, little doubt will be entertained of his credibility, and Adam O'Keenan was a writer of nearly equal celebrity with his master. The authority of these writers, even with those who do not know their real merits, must have the more weight, when we consider that Ely O'Carroll comprehended but a small portion of the antient Ely. We find adjoining to Ely O'Carroll, on the south, the territory of the O'Fogartys, called *Eile ui Fhogartaigh*, (Ely O'Fogarty) now comprised in the modern baronies of Upper Ormond, and Eliogurty, in the county of Tipperary, the latter of which baronies still preserves the antient

name. Again, on the east of Ely O'Carroll, we find *Eile ui Mhordha*, (Ely O'Morha) part of the antient inheritance of the eminent family of the O'Mores, princes of Leix, in the present Queen's County. That the district of Ely was known by that name long before the birth of *Eile Ridhearg*, one of O'Carroll's ancestors, from whom it is supposed, as above mentioned, the name of Ely was derived, is further confirmed by the fact, that our antient historians, when treating of the reign of the monarch, Cormac Mac Art, tell us, that when that prince applied to Teige, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, for assistance against Fergus, black-tooth, the usurper of his throne, Teige was then in great power and authority, "*in the territory of Ely.*" Now *Eile Ridhearg* was the sixth in descent from Teige; therefore, the district in which Teige lived in such power, and which was *then* called Ely, could not be so called from Eile Ridhearg, who did not live for six generations after the time that Teige flourished. As a further proof that O'Dugan and O'Keenan were right, with respect to the origin of the names and the situation of the districts of *Eli* and *Uaithne*, (Ely and Owny) we see the latter name still preserved in the present barony of Owney, in the county of Tipperary, situate as described in O'Keenan's MS. written long before Ireland was divided into baronies.

"But whether the district of Ely derived its name from *Eli*, the daughter of Luchta, king of Munster, or from *Eile Ridhearg*, the prince of that district, and ancestor of the family of the Leinster O'Carrolls, is but of little consequence to that celebrated tribe. It is indisputable that they were, in very early ages, the supreme princes of the entire district; and in more modern times, when sirnames became hereditary, gave their patronimic name to that part of the district which they then possessed, and which, from that circumstance, was called Ely O'Carroll. When they were kings of the entire district, and even since they became lords of Ely O'Carroll only, they had under them several very famous tribes, of which the O'Meaghers, and the O'Delany's were not the least eminent. Of the patriotism, piety, and prowess of the chiefs of the O'Carrolls of Ely, the annals of Ireland teem with abundant proofs."

Such is the account given of the district of Ely, by Edward O'Reilly, whose great learning, and valuable MSS. in the Irish language, eminently qualify him to give us correct information on matters of Irish antiquities, in addition to which, I have only to say, that in 1621, the territory of Ely O'Carroll was then found, by inquisition, to consist of the pasture lands of Ballycrinass,

Rosscullenagh, and Drumcan, extending to the lake of Laghagh, commonly called Laghaghirisallive, and bounded on the west by the lands called Laghengarken, and on the east joining or near Clencrokin, was always called Ely O'Carroll, and had never been measured or surveyed. The mountain land was found to extend from the lake of Laghangerah, to a hole called Polle Dowa, and from thence, in a south easterly direction, to the Slieve Bloom mountains, which are the limits between Ely O'Carroll and upper Ossory, and meet at a village called Garryvoe, or Scully's land.

O'CARROLL'S TREATY WITH HENRY VIII.

"Concordia facta inter Regem et O'Karroll Capitaneum patriæ Ely O'Karroll.

"Hæc Indentura facta XII. die Junii, anno XXXmo Illustrissimi Domini Regis Henrici Octavi, inter potentissimum et metuendissimum dominum nostrum Henricum octavum, ex una parte, et Fergonamuin O'Karroll nunc principalem capitaneum patriæ Ely-O'Karroll, ex altera parte, testatur, concordatum, concessum, et conventum fore inter dictum illustrissimum dominum regem nostrum et prefatum Fergonamuin O'Karoll, per præsentes, et predictus Fergonamuin O'Karoll

concedit, pro se et hæredibus et successoribus suis, O'Karolls, quod ipsi, et eorum quilibet, qui erunt capitanei dictæ patriæ *Ely O'Karroll*, durantibus vitis suis naturalibus, solvant, aut solvi faciant, dicto serenissimo regi nostro, hæredibus, et successoribus suis, Angliæ regibus, duodecim denarios de quâlibet carucatâ terræ infra dictam patriam Ely O'Karoll, et eosdem denarios solvendos esse subthesaurio, aut generali receptori dicti serenissimi regis nostri, infra hanc terram Hiberniæ, vel talibus, quibus ille ordinabit pro receptione ejusdem, ad usum dicti domini nostri potentissimi, heredum et successorum suorum, simul in anno ad festum sancti Petri ad vincula.

"Præterea prefatus Fergonamuin O'Karoll, per presentes, concedit prefato domino regi, pro se, heredibus et successoribus suis O'Karrolls, qui erunt capitanei dictæ patriæ Ely O'Karoll, deputato domino regis pro tempore existente, quam sæpè quotiescunque ipsi, et eorum quilibet, erunt facti, sive nominati, capitanei, aut facti *the O'Karoll*, solvent pro prædictâ suâ nominatione ad eundem dominum regem centum et viginti bonas et legales marcas.

"Præterea idem Fergonamuin O'Karoll per præsentes concedit eidem domino regi, pro se hæredibus et successoribus suis *O'Karolls*, quod

ipsi et eorum quilibet, qui erunt O'Karolis, et capitanei prædictæ patriæ Ely O'Karoll, invenire debent regis deputato, pro tempore existenti, ad omne commune viagium, anglice vocatum *a general hosting*, quod erit constitutum per regis deputatum et concilium, duodecim bonos et legales equestres, et viginti quatuor bonos et legales turbarios, benè ornatos, secundum formam belli, cum victualibus quodraginta dierum, pro dictis equestribus et turbariis, ac ex sumptibus et expensis suis propriis, attenderent et inservirent domino deputato ad ejus mandatum et voluntatem.

" *Insuper*, dictus *O'Karoll* concedit, et admittit pro se, hæredibus et successoribus suis *O'Karolls*, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, pro tempore existente, cum totâ suorum potentiâ, venient ad regis deputatum, pro tempore existente, ad quodlibet viagiam, aut parvum iter, quando ipsi et eorum omnes sic erunt requisiti, post rationabilem monitionem, cum victualibus trium dierum ex eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis.

" Ulterius præfatus *O'Karoll* concedit, pro se, hæredibus et successoribus suis, O'Karolls, dictæ patriæ Ely O'Karoll, quod regis deputatus pro tempore existente habebit victualia in dicta patria Ely-O'Karoll, per collectionem dicti O'Ka-

roll, ibidem pro tempore existente octaginta *sparrorum*, alias dictorum, octaginta *galloglasses*, quolibet anno, per spatium unius quarterii anni annuatim, durante vita eorum cujuslibet.

"ITEM, præterea prædictus Fergonamuin O'Karoll, concedit et admittit per præsentes eidem serenissimo domino regi quod Dominus Leonardus Gray, nunc regis deputatus Hiberniæ, scindet et scindi mandabit aliquam arctam viam, vocatam *a passe*, in dictâ patriâ *Ely O'Karoll*, ad ejus voluntatem.

"PRÆTEREA prædictus *Fergonamuin O'Karoll* concedit eidem domino regi facere viam infra dictam patriam Ely O'Karoll, quam dictus dominus Leonardus Gray cogitabit bonam pro faciliori passagio regis bellicorum ac ceterorum regis bellicorum instrumentorum per totam patriam *Ely O'Karoll*, ex sumptibus et expensis suis propriis.

"In cujus rei testimonium sigillum dicti Fergonamuin O'Karoll præsentibus est appensum. Datum die et anno suprascriptis."



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TOP OF THE CAAH.

THE CAAH.

When I stated, in p. 21, my hope that at some future time I should be enabled to give to the world an account of the interesting O'Donell relique, called "the CAAH," I did not anticipate that my wishes in that respect would have been so speedily gratified: as many reasons, however, concurred to make it highly desirable that a description of that curious piece of antiquity should have a place in this portion of the "Irish Antiquarian Researches," I made an application to its present possessor, Connel O'Donell, Esq. for permission to examine it, and to describe the box and its contents. I cannot sufficiently commend the politeness and liberality with which that gentleman instantly complied with my request, by confiding the box to my care, not only with ample licence to open and examine its contents, but making it his particular request that I should do so, rightly considering that a full description of such a piece of family antiquity, would rather tend to enhance than depreciate its value.

The opening of Pandora's box did not give more evils egress, than a superstitious tradition

had declared would be let loose on the heads of the devoted O'Donells, whenever the contents of the portentous Caah should be developed—when the daring hands of antiquarian curiosity should venture to violate the repose of the holy reliques supposed to be therein contained. Regardless of the injunctions and threats of ignorance, which for more than a century had hermetically sealed it up, under an idea that it contained the bones of St. Columkill himself, and notwithstanding these frightful forebodings, the box was opened and examined in the presence of Sir Capel Molyneux, Mr. O'Donell, and myself, without any extraordinary, or supernatural occurrence, except, indeed, *a heavy shower of hail* which a strong north-west wind drove against the windows of my study.

The contents were found to be a rude wooden box, very much decayed, inclosing a MS. on vellum, a copy of the antient vulgate translation of the Psalms, in Latin, of fifty-eight membranes. It appeared to have been originally stitched together, but the sewing had almost entirely disappeared. On one side was a thin piece of board covered with red leather, very like that with which eastern MSS. are bound. It was so much injured by damp, as to appear

almost a solid mass; by steeping it in cold water I was enabled to separate the membranes from each other, and by pressing each separately between blotting paper, and frequently renewing the operation, at length succeeded in restoring, what was not actually decayed, to a legible state.

The MS. was originally about nine inches long by six wide. It has been most injured at the beginning; all the membranes before the 31st Psalm are gone, and the first few of those which remain are much decayed, but they gradually improve in their condition, and the last thirty have only lost their first and last, or top and bottom lines: the last membrane contains the first thirteen verses of the 106th psalm. From the depth of the wooden box, there is no doubt but it once contained the whole psalter. I have collated several of the psalms with the Venetian vulgate before mentioned, and find them to agree nearly verbatim. It contains the singular passage in the 18th verse of the 103d psalm, (104th in the English Bible) after

"Illic paseres nidificabunt,
Erodi domus dux est eorum."*

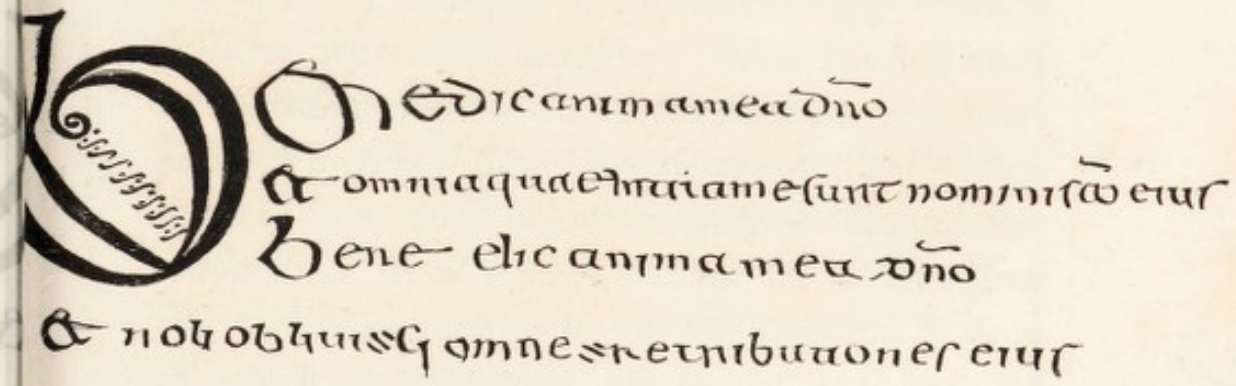
* In the Venetian,—Herodii domus dux est eorum.

Plate VIII. is a fac simile of the writing of the first two verses of the 103d psalm.

I have not been able to find out why it got the name of *Caah*, which is not an Irish word, nor have those learned Irish scholars I have consulted discovered a word from which this name has been formed, unless it is a corruption of the word cay, a box.

The Caah is a brass box, nine inches and a half long, eight broad, and two thick. Plate VII. is an exact representation (except as to size) of the top, which consists of a plate of silver, richly gilt and chased, rivetted to one of brass. It is divided into three compartments, or rather arches, supported and separated by clustered columns. In the centre is a sitting figure of St. Columba, with his hair flowing over his shoulders, holding up his right hand, of which the third and fourth fingers are folded down; in his left he has a book. The arms of the chair, on which he sits, are curiously carved with eagles' heads. In the right compartment is a figure of a bishop in his full pontificals, with his mitre, holding up his right hand, having the third and fourth fingers folded, and grasping a crozier with his left hand. In the

Fac simile of the two first verses of the 103d. Psalm in the Psalter of Columkill.



third compartment is a representation of the passion, with a glory round the head, and, as is usually represented, the two Marys, one on each side of the cross. Over the arms of the cross are engraved two birds, apparently doves; these figures are chased in relief. Over the right arch is a figure (also chased) of an angel throwing up a censer, under which is engraved a figure of a priest, holding something like a basket, and above is a grotesque figure, resembling what is called a wyvern in heraldry. Over the left arch is a similar figure, of an angel with a censer, above which is a figure like a wyvern, but with a human face, and below a griffin. Round the whole box is a chased border of about three quarters of an inch wide, on the top and bottom of which are grotesque figures of wyverns, or cockatrices, and lions; and on the sides, oak leaves and acorns: in each of the corners is a setting of rock chrystal: in the centre, at the top, over that part which I shall call the tabernacle, is a chrystal setting, surrounded by ten gems, a pearl, three small shells, a sapphire, and amethysts, all in the rough. Affixed to the right side of the box, at the top, is a silver censer, suspended to a curious flexible chain. On the censer is an inscription in Gothic characters, but so much defaced as not to be legible.

I am inclined to think the silver plate just described, although very antient, to be more modern than the sides and other parts of the box, to which it is also much inferior in point of workmanship; the brass plate, to which it was rivetted, is perforated with many holes, in regular shapes, as if some ornaments had been originally fastened to it, but which have no use whatever with reference to the present plate. For any more minute particulars of the top, I refer to plate VII.

The bottom of the Caah is of brass, plated with silver, exactly like, to speak heraldically, the third and fourth quarters of Dimma's box, see plate VI. round the rim or outer plate is the following mutilated inscription in the Irish character and language :—

Oṙaiṫ do Cathbaṙṙ ua Domnaiḷ laṙ in deṙnad in cumta oh c———

"*Pray for Cathbarr O'Donell, by whom this cover was made* ———

7 do Ṡiṫṙic mac meic Aoda do ṙigne ———

"*And for Sitric, the grandson of Hugh, who made* ———

——ꝛ tuiʒ do comaɫba cenanꝛa* laꝛ in deɫinaḋ ——

"*Gave to the abbot of Kells, by whom was made* ——

The sides and ends of the box are of brass, and consist of eight pieces, and four connecting plates, joined together like hinges. On the front, in the centre, is affixed a semi-circular piece of silver workmanship divided into four compartments by three pillars ornamented with silver wire, all richly gilt, and which I suppose was intended to represent a shrine, or perhaps the tabernaculum, where the priest deposits the host on the altar. At the bottom is a silver plate, on which is engraved ȷ. ħ. ꝛ. richly gilt. On the right of the tabernaculum are four, and on the left six oblong compartments, divided in pairs, one above the other, and surrounded by silver borders. The centre being richly inlaid with pure gold and chased; the back is also divided into fourteen similar compartments, the ten interior were also richly inlaid with gold and chased; the gold in-laying of two is gone, and, in

* The import of this word is by no means certain. *Kenanus* is Kells.

four others, much injured; the four outer compartments were plated with silver and chased in leaves and flowers. Between each pair of compartments are three silver round headed rivets. The two end plates have been richly enamelled, on which is a silver serpentine pattern, very little of the enamel now remains. At each of the four corners is a hollow pillar, by which the top of the box was fixed to the body with four thick pins, with silver heads, which were so contrived as to be moveable, at pleasure, so as to allow the top to be taken off, in order to get access to the MS. different, in this respect, from all the other boxes. This box has evidently been frequently repaired.

Colonel O'Donell, in 1723, to preserve the box, had a silver case made and placed round it, open at the top and bottom, so as to shew them, but which totally hid the sides. On this case he caused to be engraved the following inscription:—

"JACOBO 3° M. B. REGE EXULANTE, DANIEL O'DONEL, IN XTIANISS° IMP° PRÆFECTUS REI BELLICÆ, HUJUSCE HÆREDITARII SANCTI COLUMBANI PIGNORIS, VULGO CAAH DICTI, TEGMEN ARGENTEUM, VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM, RESTAURAVIT ANNO SALUTIS 1723."

According to the Irish writers, the O'Donell family, of which Columbkill was a member, are descended from Conal Golban, son of Neill of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland. The said Neill having granted the land now called the county of Donegal to his son Conall, it was denominated after him Tyr-Conall, the land of Conall, and his descendants were called Kinel Conall, or the descendants or tribe of Conall, his son,

Fergus Ceannfadda had many sons, among whom was Sedna, ancestor to the O'Donells, hereafter mentioned, and Felim, who by his wife Aethena, daughter of *Dima Mac Nathi*, a prince of the house of Leinster, was the father of Columba, who was born in the year 521. According to some accounts his first name was Crimthan, which was changed to Columba on account of his kind and amiable manners, resembling a dove in disposition. To this name was added Cell, or Kill, as stated by Bede, on account of the number of churches, or cells, he founded, and to distinguish him from other saints of that name.

The life of St. Columba was written by Adamnan, and also by Manus O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, in the year 1520, and by many others. The most valuable, because authentic and unques-

tionable information respecting this truly apostolic character, is to be found in the extracts from Bede.

It is my intention to give only a sketch of so much of the history of St. Columba as is necessary to my purpose, with reference to the subject under consideration.

He founded in Ireland, among many other monasteries, that of *Kenanus*, now called Kells, in the county of Meath, and also the Abbey of *Columbkill*, in the Island of Hy, or Iona, which had been granted to him by the king of the Picts; he was the apostle of the northern Picts, whom he converted to Christianity.

It is mentioned of him by Adamnan, and his other biographers, that he transcribed many books. In the account of St. Columba, Lanigan, in his Irish ecclesiastical history, gives the following statement, ch. xii. p. 14. "This day was on a Saturday; and having expressed his joy at their being a sufficient store of corn for the year, he announced to Diermit, with an injunction of secresy, that said day would be his last in the world, as he was to be called away the night next after it. The saint then ascended a

small eminence and lifting up his hands, blessed the monastery. Thence returning, he sat down in a hut, adjoining and forming part of the monastery, and occupied himself for some time with *copying part of the Psalter*, and having finished a page with part of the 33d Psalm, he stopped and said, " *Let Baithen write the remainder.*" He breathed his last early on the morning of Sunday the 9th of June 597, in the 76th year of his age.

Lanigan, in chap. xxxii. p. 1. (note 40,) says " Columbkill set a glorious example for his followers, with regard to this occupation, (i. e. transcribing books.) We find him a short time before his death copying a *part of the Psalter*. Adamnan makes mention of a book of hymns and other books, transcribed by him. If we are to believe O'Donell he left 300 manuscripts of sacred books, in his own hand writing. Baithen, one of his chief disciples, and his immediate successor in Hy, having written *a copy of the Psalter*, brought it to the saint, telling him, that it was necessary to have it revised by one of the brethren. Columbkill answered, " Why do you " give us this trouble ? for there is no mistake in " the whole of it, except that one vowel, *I*, is want-

ing." This shews, how careful they were in rendering new transcripts correct."

It is very singular that the mother of St. Columbkill should have been the daughter of *Dima mac Nathi.* Lanigan says, chap. XI. § VII. note 173, " Adamnan has" Matrem Aithneam " nomine, cujus pater Latine *filius navis* dici potest, Scotica vero Lingua *Macanava,*" (see the second preface, or the other edition *cap. I.)* This was *only a sirname* for his *real name was Dima.*" Dr. Lanigan forgot that sirnames were not in use in Ireland until the the time of Brien Boiroimhe, five hundred years after the period above mentioned. In other Irish authorities this person is distinctly called *Dima mac Nathi, Dima the son of Nathi.* And had not the dates rendered it impossible, we might have been led to suppose this Dimma the same person who wrote the other book.

Whether this Psalter is that which was begun by St. Columbkill just before his death, and finished by Baithen, or another copy, written entirely by the saint himself, is a question of difficult solution, but that it was written by him there are good grounds to believe.

Colonel Daniel O'Donell in the inscription on

the silver case which he placed round the box in 1723—calls it the "*hereditary pledge of St. Columbanus.*" "*Hereditarii Sancti Columbani pignoris,*" and the Caah has always been handed down in the O'Donell family, as containing the reliques of the saint.

O'DONELL.

A brief sketch of the history of the powerful and princely family of O'Donell, (whose chiefs have preserved and handed down to the present possessor, the *hereditary pledge* of their great and apostolic relative, St. Columbkill) will not, I trust, be considered irrelevant to our subject, especially as it supplies valuable information at many interesting periods of Irish history, and shews the kind of allegiance and service *demanded* from the Irish princes by the kings of England at different times, which will be found to be rather the assistance of an ally, than the service due by a vassal.

Sedna, the son of Fergus Ceanfadda, before mentioned, and uncle to St. Columbkill, was ancestor to the sept of the O'Donells.

Cinnfaeladh, the fourth in descent from him, had three sons, Muldoon, from whom the O'Donells, Muriartach, or Muirchertach, ancestor to the O'Boyles, and Fiamhan, of the O'Doghertys of Innishowen.

Muriertach, the eldest son of Cinnfaeladh, the seventh in descent from Sedna, was father of Dalagh, (from whom the O'Donells are sometimes, in the Irish annals, styled *Siol na Dallagh*, the sept of Daly, or O'Dalys) Enaghaine, his eldest son, was father of Donell, from whom this sept took its sirname; his great grandson, Cathbarr, was chief of the family in the reign of Brien Boiroimhe, was the first who assumed the name of O'Donell, as chief, and his subjects and sept followed his example. Cathbarr O'Donell, son of Giollachrist, son of the aforesaid Cathbarr, was the chief who had the case, now called the Caah, made to preserve the psalter of St. Columba, as appears by the inscription on the bottom given in p. 114. The seventh in descent from him was Donell More, or Donell, the great, king of Tirconnell from 1241 to 1264, a warlike and successful prince. The 7th of July, 1244, he was requested, by letter from Henry III. king of England, to join the lord justice of Ireland, and his forces, which were to proceed to the king's army in Scotland. The letter is as follows:—

"Rex O'Donel, Regi de Tercunnell, salutem. Cum provocante nos injuria Regis Scotiæ, jam nos preparaverimus insurgere in ipsum, pro pluribus transgressionibus quas nobis fecit ulciscendis, nisi ipsas gratis nobis emendare voluerit, de dilectione vestrâ confidentes, quod in hâc expeditione nostrâ, *auxilium vestrum nobis denegare non velitis*. Vobis

mandamus quatenus unà cum justiciario nostro Hiberniæ, et aliis fidelibus nostris Hiberniæ, qui in proximo, ad partes Scotiæ venturi sunt, ad inimicos nostros ibidem gravandos, talem et tam potentem succursum nobis impendere velitis, personaliter veniendo cum ipsis bona gente muniti, quod in necessitate vestrâ ad nos confidentius confugere debeatis. Nosque, pro succursu vestro *ad preces nostras nobis impendendo gratiam quam à nobis petieritis libentiùs vobis teneamus impertiri cum speciali gratiarum actione.* Teste Rege apud Stannford septimo die Julii."*

Similar letters were directed to Phelim O'Conor, *filio quondam Regis*, O'Neill, O'Reilly, O'Cahan, Magennis, Mac Gilmurri, O'Flinn, O'Brien, Mac Carthy, O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, and other Irish chiefs. Here the king promises a *quid pro quo;* if O'Donell assists him in this juncture, he will be the more ready to render him service in return.

Near the end of his days, Donell More resigned the government, and retired to the monastery of Easroe, where he assumed the habit of a friar, and there died.

His grandson, Hugh O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, was summoned 22d March, 1313, as follows:—

"Rex dilecto sibi Eth O'Donnuld, Duci Hibernicorum de

* Close roll in the Tower of London.

Tyrconil, salutem. Quia sumus in proficiscendo versus partes Scotiæ ad rebellionem inimicorum Scotorum et rebellium nostrorum cum dei adjutorio reprimendam; Nos, de strenuitate vestra confidentes, vos rogamus attente quatenus ad nos ad partes prædictas adeo viriliter et potenter quo poteritis personaliter accedatis, vel aliquem nobilem de genere vestro mittatis, prout dilectus et fidelis noster Theobaldus de Verdun, Justiciarius noster Hiberniæ, et dilectus clericus noster Alexander Le Conners, vel unus eorum, vos requirent vel requiret, ex parte nostrâ, cum per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Richardum de Burgo, comitem Ultoniæ, quem capitaneum hominum ad arma partium illarum constituimus, ex parte nostrâ fueritis præmuniti, et hoc *sicut nos ac commodum et honorem nostrum et vestrum diligitis nullatenus omittatis.* Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 22 die Martii."

Similar letters were directed to other Irish chiefs. On the 14th of March, in the following year, another letter was directed to him as follows:—

"Rex dilecto sibi O'Donyl, Duci de Tyrconill, salutem. Quædam negotiâ, nos et statum regni nostri intime contingentia, dilecti et fidelibus nostris Edmundo le Botiller, Justiciario, Richardo de Bedfordiâ, Cancellario, et Magistro Waltero de Islep, Thesaurario, nostris Hiberniæ, injunximus vobis, ex parte nostrâ, ore tenus exponenda, vos rogantes, quatenus eisdem Edmundo, Richardo, et Waltero, vel duobus eorum, in hiis, quæ vobis dicunt, ex parte nostrâ, super negotiis antedictis, fidem velitis credulam adhibere, et circa directionem et expeditionem eorundem, sicut de vestrâ confidimus amicitiâ, opem, et operam apponere efficaces, ita quod vestram benevolentiam possimus in effectu operis experiri, et

quod vobis exinde in vestris augendis profectibus debeamus specialius obligari. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 14° die Martii."

This letter is directed to the *dux* of Tirconnell. By this we should understand, *general*, or *leader*, and *chief*, not duke. In after times, the O'Donells, and the other Irish chiefs, were called, by the kings of England, lords, and *captains of their nation.—Capitanei suæ nationis.*

Tirlogh an Fhiona, (of the wine) became chief of his sept in 1393. He took upon him the habit of friar in the monastery of Easroe, where he died in 1422. He had eighteen sons: Shane, the eldest, having given offence to his father, was banished, and settled in the county of Tipperary, where his descendants still exist.

Niall Garbh, second son of Tirlogh an Fhiona, succeeded his father, as chief, A. D. 1422. During his chieftaincy, he received much opposition from his brother, Neachtan, and was in a state of continued warfare with the English, by whom he was at length made prisoner, and delivered into the hands of the lord justice, Sir Thomas Stanley, A. D. 1434. In 1439, he was carried to the Isle of Man, for the purpose of being ransomed, by his friends, from the English, and, accordingly, one hundred marks were paid

for his freedom, but he died in captivity the same year.

Neachtan, during the captivity of his brother, Niall Garbh, exercised the authority of prince of Tirconnell, and upon his death in 1439, was acknowledged chief. He was killed, A. D. 1452, by Donall and Hugh Roe, the two sons of his brother, Niall Garbh. His death is thus recorded in the annals of the four masters, under the year 1452:—"Neachtan O'Donell, son of Tirlogh an Fhiona, lord of Tirconnell, Kineal Moain, Innishowen, and the adjacent districts, a valiant and powerful protector, the chief dispenser of war and peace to the north, was killed by the sons of his brother, Niall, in the gloom of the night of the feast of St. Brendan, for he had before then banished from Tirconnell those sons of Niall. Neachtan was sixty years old at the time he was killed."

Rory, son of Neachtan, A. D. 1452, by the aid of his partizans, set himself up as chief, in which he was opposed by Donell, son of Niall Garbh.

Donell, son of Niall Garbh, was elected chief of Tirconnell, in the year 1454, in opposition to Rory, son of Neachtan; but shortly after he was treacherously made prisoner in his own house, by

O'Doherty, and confined in the Castle of the Island. When Rory heard of this, he went with a strong force to attack the castle where Donell was confined, with only a few to guard him. Rory burned the gates of the castle, and set the stairs on fire. Donell begged his keepers to take off his irons, they complied with his request, and he ran up to the top of the castle. Rory saw him, and waited only for the flames to abate, that he might enter the castle and put him to death. Donell, seeing Rory below, took a large stone from the battlements, and threw it down, which, striking the top of his helmet, broke his skull, and he instantly died. Donell was afterwards killed by the sons of Neachtan O'Donell, aided by O'Neill and Maguire, on the 18th of May, 1456.

Tirlogh Cairbreach, son of Neachtan, and brother of Rory, became prince of Tirconnell on the death of Donell, 1456. He was deposed in 1461, by Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, brother of the above mentioned Donell.

Hugh Roe became chief, A. D. 1461. He was deposed on Friday, 7th of the calends of June, 1497, in consequence of a disagreement between his sons. His son, Conn, was set up in his place, on the following Tuesday, against his brother,

Hugh Oge. Conn was killed on the 19th of October following, and Hugh Roe again became chief, which honor he held till his death in the castle of Donegall, on Friday, the 5th of the ides July, 1505, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his chieftaincy.

Hugh Oge, son of Hugh, succeeded his father, A. D. 1505. In 1510, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and left his son Manus in charge of his principality. He spent seventeen weeks in London on his passage to Rome, and seventeen weeks more on his return, in the year 1512, on both which occasions he was entertained with great honors and respect by king Henry. In 1513, he led an army into Scotland, to assist the king thereof. After taking a religious habit in the monastery of Donegall, he died on Thursday, 5th July, 1537, and was there interred with great pomp. This Hugh Oge was also called Hugh Duff, or Black Hugh.

Manus O'Donell, son of Hugh Oge, alias Hugh Duff, succeeded his father in 1537. In 1543, he went, accompanied by his brothers, Enaghaine and Donogh, to Dublin, upon the invitation of the lord justice and council, where they were made prisoners; but, upon their submission, and entering into terms of agreement with the

government, they were soon after liberated. In 1555, he was made prisoner by his son, Calvagh, and kept in confinement in the castle of Liffer, until his death, on the 9th of February, 1563. He was buried in the tomb of his ancestors, in the monastery of Donegall. By his first wife he had Calvagh, hereafter mentioned, and two daughters, Rose, wife of Niall Connelaght O'Neill, and Margery, wife of Shane O'Neill, called Shane *a diomas, or the proud*, son of Con Baccagh, earl of Tyrone. Manus had issue, by his second wife, who was daughter of Shane Maguire, lord of Enniskillen, a son, Manus Oge; and by his third wife, Joan, sister of Con Baccagh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, he had Hugh, afterwards Sir Hugh, Calvagh and Manus.

Hugh O'Donell, the eldest son by the third wife, Joan ny Neill, although junior to Calvagh, was the ancestor of by far the most distinguished branch; he was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, 4th April, 1567, at Ballyloghrie, the earl of Clanrickard's house, and became chief of Tirconell on the death of his brother Calvagh, in 1568,* and married Mary,

* See his appointment, or rather confirmation, as chief of his nation, 1574, by the English government, at the end of this article.

or, according to some, *Inghin dubh (Inneen duff,)* daughter of James Macdonald, lord of the isles, by whom he had four sons, Hugh Roe O'Donell, hereafter mentioned; Rory, afterwards created earl of Tirconnell; Manus; and Calvagh, or Caffer O'Donell, of Caffersconce, in the county of Donegall, who was attainted, with his brother Rory, by act of parliament in 1612. This Calvagh married Rose O'Doherty, (who, after his death, became the wife of the celebrated general of the Irish army, Owen O'Neill) by whom he had two sons, Caffer Oge, and Hugh, which last was buried with his mother at Brussels. The daughters of Sir Hugh O'Donell were, Joan, wife of the celebrated Hugh, earl of Tyrone; ———, first wife of O'Rorke, and afterwards of Gerald Nugent, brother of Richard lord Delvin; ———, wife of her cousin, Niall Garbh O'Donell; and ———, wife of Cormac O'Neill, brother of Hugh earl of Tyrone. Sir Hugh O'Donell was always faithful to the English government. On the rebellion of his son, Hugh Roe O'Donell, in 1592, he resigned, or was deposed, from his government, and shortly after died.

As Hugh Roe, otherwise *Red Hugh*, O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell, was one of the most extraordinary men that Ireland, or any other country has produced, I shall not apologize for entering

somewhat at length into his history—it forms that of Ireland during his life; besides the following account is derived from a MS. in the Irish language, written by the historian of the O'Donells, and consequently the *Irish account* of those transactions. Red Hugh was born about the year 1571, and given in fosterage to the O'Dogherty of the day, chief of his tribe, who, in common with the O'Donells, and several other illustrious northern families, was descended from Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland.

In the early infancy of Red Hugh, he displayed considerable signs of genius and independent spirit, which increased with his years. The frame and symmetry of his body was of the finest description; before he attained the age of fifteen, his talents, his spirit, his courage, his literary acquirements, and the beauty of his person, were the admiration of all that knew him, and were the subject of conversation all through Ireland. He had also expressed a decided animosity to the English Government. This report of the young O'Donell was carried to Sir John Perrott, then lord justice of Ireland. Jealousy and fear of the extraordinary qualifications of the presumptive heir of the chief of Tirconnell, were excited to the highest degree; and although his

father, Hugh, the then chief, was at that time friendly to the English, and their ally against the O'Neills, they determined upon getting young Hugh into their hands, by fair or foul means. But, as they saw no chance of securing him by friendly measures, they devised a plan to seize upon him, by a piece of treachery, unworthy of Sir John Perrot, and disgraceful to his government.

To put this design into execution, about Michaelmas, in the year 1587, they fitted out a ship, in which they stowed a quantity of Spanish wines, and other foreign liquors, and directed the captain to sail to any of O'Donell's harbours, where they thought he would be most likely to accomplish their object, and there, under the appearance of Spanish merchants, offer their wines for sale, and endeavour to decoy the young O'Donell on board their vessel, secure his person, and bring him a prisoner to Dublin. In obedience to this command, the vessel put to sea, and made a safe voyage to Lough Swilley, in Tirconnell, where they came to an anchor, a short distance from the land, opposite the castle of Dundonald, near the church of Rathmullin.

Upon the arrival of the ship, the captain sent some of his people on shore, disguised as Spa-

niards, with a quantity of wines, which they exhibited as samples of what they said they had on board to dispose of. The people of the fortress proceeded immediately to traffic; they were received in the most friendly manner, and drank until they became intoxicated. The people of the adjoining district followed the example of those of the fortress, and were similarly treated.

While these things were going on, Hugh Roe, accompanied by several of the young nobles of the country, came on a visit to Mac Sweeny, the lord of the castle. Upon which, the spies instantly returned to their vessel with the intelligence. But, before their departure, Mac Sweeny, anxious to treat, as respectfully as he could, the son of his chief, and his associates, sent to purchase some of the wine from the pretended merchants. They replied, they had no more wine on shore with them, nor did they intend to land any more; but added, if the young gentlemen, who had arrived, would accompany them to their ship, they should receive every respectful attention, and be entertained with wine as long as they chose to remain.

Young O'Donell was desirous to go on board the vessel, and, as Mac Sweeny had not wine to

entertain him, he advised him to do so. This advice was followed, and Red Hugh, and his companions, accompanied by Mac Sweeny, took a boat, and rowed to the ship. The captain, perceiving that young O'Donell was in the company, welcomed them, but would suffer him, Mac Sweeny, and a few others only, to go on board. They were brought down to the cabin, and wines and strong drink placed before them ; and, whilst they cheerfully regaled themselves, their arms were stolen away from them, the hatches shut down, and being, by a number of well-armed men, driven into a corner of the cabin, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. Thus was the design of Sir John Perrott and the English council accomplished. But, though it was lauded by the biographers of the lord justice, as an instance of great wisdom, whereby one, who might be a troublesome enemy to the Queen, was secured and brought under the power of the English government, without any greater expense than a few bottles of wine, it was, eventually, most injurious to the English interest in Ireland, as it was the means of driving them almost completely out of Ulster and the north of Connaught; and the cause of the invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards, in the year 1601.

As soon as the captain had got Red Hugh,

then not exceeding sixteen years of age, in his power, he stood out to sea. The people on the shore, having no boats or vessels, were obliged to remain idle spectators of the treachery practised on their beloved young chief; but before they had completely cleared Lough Swilly, Owen Oge, Mac Sweeny *na ttuagh*, (of the battles axes) sent on board, offering a ransom for O'Donell, and pledges and hostages for his liberation; but the vessel cleared the harbour and proceeded to Dublin, where she arrived in safety.

Upon the arrival of Hugh Roe in Dublin, he was brought before the council, who had been specially summoned for that purpose. Here he underwent a long examination, after which he was committed a close prisoner to a tower in the castle of Dublin, where he was treated with great severity and loaded with irons.

Young O'Donell continued in captivity for the space of three years and three months. Towards the end of the year 1591, he, and some of his fellow-prisoners, before they were locked up in their cells for the night, found means to get off their irons, and, by the aid of a rope, descended from the top of the tower down upon the draw-bridge, and made their escape. They directed their course to the mountains, and had reached a

wood at the foot of the red mountain, Fassaroe, *(Fasach ruadh)* before morning. Beyond this Hugh was unable to proceed. His old worn-out shoes had fallen from his feet, which were dreadfully bruised and lacerated by the rough stones, and the furze and briars of the mountains over which he had travelled in the night. Here his companions, for their own safety, were, reluctantly, compelled to leave him. He had, however, with him a faithful servant who had assisted him and his companions in their escape. This man he sent to a gentleman in that neighbourhood, named Felim O'Toole, who had been a fellow prisoner with him in the castle of Dublin, but who had made his peace with the English government, and procured his liberty. Before his liberation he had professed great friendship for Red Hugh, and they pledged themselves to mutually assist each other whenever they had the power. From this person O'Donell now expected protection, and to claim it he sent his servant to him. Felim O'Toole promised the required assistance; but, upon consulting with his brother, they were of opinion, if they assisted O'Donell, they would bring upon themselves the vengeance of the English Government. They, therefore, agreed that it would be better for them to seize upon him, bring him a prisoner to Dublin, and again give him into the hands of the council. This they executed, and poor

Red Hugh again found himself in the power of his enemies, who again loaded him with chains, and consigned him to a more rigorous imprisonment.

In this confinement he continued another year; but, at Christmas, in 1592, he again found means to make his escape, accompanied by Henry and Arthur, two sons of John, son of Conn *Bacagh* O'Neill, who were his fellow prisoners. In this escape they were assisted by a trusty servant who promised to meet them when they should get out of the castle. By the means of this servant they procured a rope, and with it let themselves down through the funnel of the privy, in the wall of the tower, into the Poddle, which river inclosed the castle on that side. On getting clear of the city, they made towards the mountains, and again reached Fassaroe; but he took care not to entrust himself again in the hands of the O'Tooles. In the darkness of the night, and in the swiftness of their flight, they separated from Henry O'Neill, the elder of the two brothers. Though much grieved at this, they still continued their flight, intending to proceed, if possible, to Gleann Maolughra (Glenn Molaur) the strong hold of Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne, then in arms against the English. At night there was a heavy rain, which changed to snow, driven by a high, piercingly cold, wind. Arthur O'Neill was

heavy and corpulent, and became so fatigued that he was unable to walk—young O'Donell and his servant were, therefore, obliged to carry him as far as they were able. But they soon became tired, and were compelled to stop under the shelter of a projecting rock. From this place they sent the servant to Glenn Molaur to inform Feagh Mac Hugh of their situation. Feagh, upon hearing the servant's report, sent some of his people with clothes and refreshments to their relief; but, upon coming to the place where the servant had left them, they could not find them, they being completely covered up with the snow. Arthur O'Neill was dead, and Red Hugh was much exhausted. At length he recovered a little, and O'Byrne's men carried him with them to Glenn Molaur, where he remained for a considerable time before he was able to mount a horse to proceed to his own country; his feet having been so severely frost-bitten, he lost the use of his two great toes, which he never after recovered.

When he was able to ride, he and his faithful servant, Torlogh *buidhe* (yellow) O'Hogan, were supplied with horses by Feagh Mac Hugh, who also sent a troop of horse to pass them safely across the Liffey; for the English, to prevent their getting to the North, had placed guards at all the bridges and fords of that river,

wherever they could. The fugitives, however, got safely over, and through Meath, to the Boyne, near Drogheda, which river they crossed in a fisherman's boat, as the town was in possession of the English. The fisherman, having ferried them over, returned for their horses, which he brought through Drogheda to where he had left them on the north side of the river. After rewarding the fisherman, they remounted, and coming to Dundalk, passed through the town at full gallop. They then went on to Dungannon, the residence of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tirone, who kindly, but privately, for fear of the English, entertained them for four days and nights. Thence they proceeded to the borders of Lough Erne, to the residence of Hugh Maguire, who was the attached friend of Red Hugh, and his brother by the mother's side. From the mansion of his half-brother, young O'Donell went in a boat to Athseanaigh (now Ballyshannon) in the castle of which, his father, Hugh O'Donell, prince of Tirconnell resided.

Upon the arrival of red Hugh in his native country, he was elected chief of his name, by the heads of all the different septs of the O'Donells, the O'Doherty's, O'Boyles, Mac Sweeney's, and others, at the request of old Hugh O'Donell, he being advanced in years, and

having surrendered the government of his principality in favour of his son.

It would far exceed the limits of an essay of this kind to enter into a detailed account of the attacks made on the territory of Tirconnell by the English, at the commencement of Red Hugh's management of the affairs of that country, or of the repulses which he invariably gave them, or the assaults he made upon the English, and their Irish allies, in return. These highly interesting events will be given at large in the "HISTORY OF RED HUGH O'DONELL," now translating by Mr. Edward O'Reilly, for publication. I shall, however, mention some of the most important acts and transactions of Red Hugh's life :—

A. D. 1592. In February, this year, the English, under captains Willis and Convill, having taken possession of the convent of Donegal, and the neighbouring country, and possessed themselves of a castle belonging to O'Boyle; Red Hugh expelled them both, and compelled them to leave all their baggage, &c. behind them.

On the 3d of May this year, he was solemnly inaugurated and proclaimed *the* O'Donell; shortly

after which he led his troops three times into Kinel Owen, (Tir Owen) against Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill, then chief of his tribe, and in favour with the English, who abetted him against Hugh, Earl of Tirone, his kinsman, of whom the English were particularly suspicious. In these excursions O'Donell defeated the O'Neills, and their English auxiliaries, wherever he met them, and carried off great numbers of cattle and other treasures. In the third excursion he burned, on the 18th of July, the town of Strabane, although the castle was then garrisoned by a strong English force, who did not venture out to oppose him.

In the same year the Earl of Tirone brought about a reconciliation between O'Donell and Sir William Fitz-William, who was then Lord Justice, and head of the British Government in Ireland. The Lord Justice went to Dundalk to meet him, as O'Donell declared he would not go farther south, or put himself in the power of the English. After his reconciliation with the Lord Justice, all those of his people who had stood in opposition to him, immediately submitted to his control.

1593. In January, this year, he determined upon again attacking Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill,

to expel him from his principality, and compel him to resign the title of O'Neill to Hugh, Earl of Tirone. In this he was successful. In May, Tirlogh Luineagh renounced his connexion with the English, and consented that Hugh O'Neill should have the title of O'Neill; and, at the same time, he entered into an agreement of peace and concord with Red Hugh. O'Donell being now at peace with Tirlogh Luineagh, reduced the whole province of Ulster to acknowledge his superiority, and to pay him tribute.

He sent the R. C. bishop of Killala, as his ambassador, to the King of Spain, to request his assistance to expel the English from Ireland. At the same time he sent messengers into Scotland to hire mercenaries to assist him in the execution of his designs; and he caused his half brother Hugh Maguire, to make an incursion into the province of Connaught, where he defeated Sir Richard Bingham, the governor of the province; on which occasion a young English nobleman, named William Clifford, and several of the governor's cavalry, were killed. In revenge for this, Sir Richard Bingham, at the command of the Lord Lieutenant, with all the forces of Connaught, joined by those of Leinster, Meath, and Munster, under the command of the Earl O'Neill, and the Marshal of Newry, marched to the East

side of Lough Erne, to destroy Maguire's country. To oppose these, Maguire collected all the forces he could, and, on the 6th of October, as the English attempted to cross the river at the ford of Lambs, a dreadful battle ensued between them, in which Maguire was defeated, with great loss. After which the English plundered the country, and left behind them a strong body of their troops, with Conor Maguire, who was then in contention with the chief, Hugh Maguire.

A. D. 1594. The Lord Justice having collected, in the beginning of this year, a great army, unexpectedly attacked and seized on the castle of Enniskillen, and plundered the country; after which he retired, leaving a strong garrison in the castle. As it was O'Donell who had induced Maguire to attack the English in Connaught, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Lord Justice, he resolved on going to his assistance. He therefore assembled his forces, and, in June, marched to Enniskillen, where he laid siege to the castle, which made a vigorous defence. The siege continued from the beginning of June until the middle of August, and the English sent a great force with intent to relieve the castle, but they durst not approach O'Donell's army. In the mean time, O'Donell received intelligence of the arrival of his Scotch auxiliaries

in Lough Foyle; as it was of importance that he should meet them, he left the principal part of his forces to continue the siege, and, with only one large troop of horse, went to Lough Foyle to meet the Scotch.

The English, being informed of O'Donell's departure, advanced to the relief of the castle of Enniskillen; Maguire hearing of their march, led a strong party of his own and O'Donell's troops to oppose them. The two parties met at a ford, where a desperate battle ensued, in which the English, and such of the Irish as had joined with them, suffered a signal defeat, leaving behind them, to the victors, most of their horses, and all their baggage and provisions. From the great quantity of biscuits taken here from the English, the ford obtained the name of the *ford of biscuits*. Immediately after this battle, the castle was surrendered to the Irish, and the English army dispersed.

O'Donell, having now no enemies in the field to oppose him, dismissed his Scotch auxiliaries in the month of October, with an agreement that they should again come to him in the beginning of the next summer.

A. D. 1595. After the surrender of the

castle of Enniskillen, by the English, in the year 1594, Red Hugh remained quiet until the month of March, 1595. In the mean time, great numbers of the Irish nobility and gentry of the province of Connaught, who had been plundered by the English, resorted to him, begging his assistance to recover their estates, and revenge themselves upon their enemies. He collected all his forces early in spring, and on the 3d of March crossed, with his troops, the river Samer, (Erne) on his way into the province of Connaught ; and on the 5th, at day-break he arrived at Elphin. Here he dispersed parties over the country to drive off the cattle of the English, and of such of the Irish as had adhered to them. These scouring parties returned to him about noon of the same day, with an immense number of cattle ; and, at the first light next morning, he set out with his army and prey on the way to his own country, by a different route.

Sir Richard Bingham, the governor of the province of Connaught, who was then in Roscommon, with a great number of English troops, had notice of the advance of O'Donell, and sent orders to the officers commanding the English garrisons in Sligo, Ballymote,

Newport, the monastery of Boyle, and Cluain-na-Cashel, to meet him immediately with all their forces at the Boyle, where he went himself with the garrison of Roscommon and a strong body of Irish from Croghan. He chose Boyle as the place of assembly, because he thought he might there best intercept O'Donell upon his return. O'Donell, however, disappointed him, for he crossed the Shannon, into Leitrim, at the ford of Kill Trenain, and thus carried off, without interruption, his prey into Tirconnell.

On the 18th of the following month (April) Red Hugh again led his troops into Connaught, for the purpose of plundering his enemies. Upon this occasion he advanced as far as Longford, and also entered Cavan, plundering, and destroying the country on all sides, with fire and sword. From this excursion he triumphantly returned with great quantities of cattle and other treasures.

About the latter end of May, the Lord Justice, Sir William Russell, led a strong army of English into Tirone, against O'Neill, who had been represented to the Council as having joined O'Donell and the Irish. Upon hearing this Red Hugh instantly marched into

Tyrone, and joined his forces with those of O'Neill, upon which the Lord Justice retreated to Dublin.

In the month of June, Ulick Burke, with twelve of his people, surprised the castle of Sligo, took it from the English, and immediately surrendered it to Red Hugh, to whom it was of the greatest importance.

In the middle of August 600 auxiliaries came from Scotland to O'Donell, under the command of Mac Leod, the chief of Ara. These troops he kept for the space of three months, and, with his own host, led them into Connaught, where all the castles occupied by the English were obliged to surrender to his power, and they plundered and destroyed the country on all sides. The governor of the province, Sir Richard Bingham, unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the return of O'Donell to his own country. Finding that he could not effectually oppose the return of Red Hugh, he laid siege to the castle of Sligo, from which he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Shortly after this, O'Donell razed the castle, lest it should be at any other time, seized on by the English. He also razed thirteen other castles, and took hostages

from all those that he suspected might be his enemies. After these exploits he returned home, and stopped to refresh himself and his army, until the month of December.

In these excursions O'Donell received considerable assistance from some of the English tribes inhabiting Connaught, who had joined with the Irish, and were persecuted by the English government. Of these the Burkes were the most numerous, as well as the most powerful. Some of the heads of this tribe were in contention with each other about the chiefry, each claiming the title of Mac William, by which the head of the family was always distinguished. To settle this difference, which was referred to him, O'Donell proceeded into Connaught in the month of December, and assembled the tribes of Tirawly, who always elected the *Mac William*. In this election, Mac Donell, the Galloglach, Mac Maurice, and O'Mailley, supported the claims of William Burke, of Shrule, as the senior of the tribe; but Mac Costello, and Mac Siurdan, contended that Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, son of John, son of Oliver, was most proper to be their chief, for he was always in the country and ready to assist them both night and day, whether his forces

were few or many. The opinions of both parties being laid before O'Donell, he decided in favour of Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, who was thereupon declared the Mac William, and solemnly inaugurated.

Red Hugh spent his Christmas in that part of Connaught, and at that time caused Tiege, son of Tiege the swarthy, son of Owen O'Dowd, to be proclaimed chief of Tir Fiachrach; and gave the title of O'Kelly to Ferdorcha, son of Ceallaghan, son of Donald, son of Hugh. He also gave the title of Mac Dermott, of Moylurg, to Conor, son of Teige, son of Owen; of Mac Donough, of Tir Oliolla, to Maurice, the blind, son of Teige; of Mac Donough of Corann, to Rory, son of Hugh; and of O'Hara Riabhach, to Felim, son of Corcashel. He also fixed O'Rourke and Mac Dermott in their respective patrimonies, they having been expelled by the English; and not to those only, but to every one of the Irish of Connaught who were similarly circumstanced, he rendered the like service.

A. D. 1596. After performing what we have above related, Red Hugh returned to his own country, and on his way crossed the river Sligo on 15th January. In the month of May,

Don Alonzo Copis, an emissary from Philip III. King of Spain, arrived in the harbour of Killibegs, and was conducted across the Bearnos More to Lifford, where O'Donell then was, to whom he was sent by his master the King of Spain, who wished to be fully informed as to the state of Ireland and the feelings of the Irish people. O'Donell received him with becoming honour, and gave him the information he required. He also wrote letters by him to the King of Spain, in behalf of himself and O'Neill, and of the Irish in general, begging that Monarch to send them the aid of men, arms, and military stores, to extricate them from the bondage of their English oppressors, who, not satisfied with stripping them of their patrimonial estates, now wanted to rob them of their religion.

Shortly after the beginning of June, O'Donell received a messenger from Mac William, to inform him that Sir John Norris, queen Elizabeth's general, was assembling a powerful army on the borders of Connaught, with intent to reduce the whole province to subjection. Upon this occasion the English were joined by the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with all their forces; and it was said that there never had been assembled against the

Irish so powerful a force as was then ready to pour into Connaught. Before the arrival of the messenger, O'Donell had his troops assembled, and, upon hearing of the collecting of the English army, he wrote letters to all the chiefs of Connaught, telling them that he would soon march to their assistance, and requesting them to be ready with all their forces, to co-operate with him against their common enemy. He instantly put his troops in motion, and crossing over the rivers Erne and Sligo, and passing to the left the borders of Slieve Gamh, through Lerighne and Gaileng, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sir John Norris, and threatened to plunder and destroy the country, if the people did not deliver him pledges and hostages for their submission.

Upon O'Donell's arrival, he was almost immediately joined by the principal of the Connaught chiefs, with all their forces, and by the Burkes, and some others of the old English who had joined with Mac William. At length the English general, despairing of success, suddenly retreated.

When the council at Dublin saw that the military skill and confidence of the Irish were increasing, and having heard of their treaty with the

king of Spain, and considered on the little probability there was of subduing them by main force, they sent messengers to O'Neill and O'Donell, offering them terms of peace. The messengers sent to negotiate, were Meyler M'Grath, the first protestant archbishop of Cashel, and Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond. These ambassadors proceeded as far north as Dundalk, from which place they sent a messenger to O'Neill and O'Donell, to invite them to meet them in friendly conference, to arrange all matters and to bring about a general pacification, for the mutual benefit of the contending parties. In consequence of this invitation, O'Neill and O'Donell went to Fochart, in the county of Louth, where they were met by the archbishop and the earl, who proposed the terms and conditions of the peace: which were, that the English should retain the possession of the part of Ulster lying between the river Boyne aud Dundalk, which they had been possessed of for a long period, but that they should not have any lands further to the north, except Carrickfergus, Carlingford, and Newry, then in their hands. In return they stipulated that they should be for ever free from any taxation or plunder from the Irish. They also offered to engage, that the English government, should not send any officer as governor over the Irish of Ulster, nor

in any way force rent or taxes from them, except such as their ancestors used to pay, which the Irish should send to Dublin at the usual time of payment; and for the performance of this no pledges or hostages should be required. They further engaged that the Irish of Connaught, who had joined with O'Donell and O'Neill, should share the benefits proposed by the treaty.

When O'Neill and O'Donell heard these proposals, they retired to consult; and agreed that it would be better for them, now that they had arms, and were strong and successful, to fight for their independence and that of their countrymen, who looked upon them as the guardians of their civil and religious liberties. This decision, and the terms proposed by the English, they submitted to the other Irish chiefs who had joined with them, and it was the general opinion, that no reliance could be placed on the English, who, as usual, would take the first opportunity to break through the treaty; and they therefore advised that an end should be put to the negotiation. Some few, however, of the Irish chiefs, were for accepting the proposed terms.

The lord justice and council, finding themselves disappointed in this negotiation, sent the intelli-

gence to the queen and the English council, who mustered an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, and sent them well equipped into Ireland. The governor and president of the province of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, who was particularly odious to the Irish, was removed from that office, and in the month of December, Sir Conyers Clifford was appointed in his stead. This gentleman, by his noble and generous conduct, won several of the Connaught chiefs to join him, and they hired themselves to him as stipendiaries to serve against O'Donell. O'Conor Sligo also came from England, where he was in favour with the queen, to raise his people to aid the governor.

When Red Hugh heard of the defection of the Connaught chiefs, and the arrival of O'Conor Sligo, he marched into Connaught, plundered his enemies of all their cattle, and encamped in Briefne until his forces came to him from every quarter where they had been dispersed.

Anno 1597. When all Red Hugh's troops had assembled in the month of January, he led them through the country, to the centre of Hy Maine, and sent out scouring parties on all sides, who brought to him, to the town of Athenry, a great number of prisoners, and a vast quantity of

cattle and other valuable spoils. Here he was joined by Mac William Burke. The town of Athenry was a place difficult of access, with a strong castle, which he was determined to take. He set fire to all the gates, and raised ladders to the walls, by which his men entered the town on all sides, and although both it and the castle were well defended by the queen's garrison, the Irish entered the castle, and completely destroyed the interior, having first taken thereout immense treasure, and great quantities of brass, iron, armour, arms, clothing, and every thing that could be useful to those who possessed it, and who had been collecting them for a long time previous. After this, they burned and destroyed all the surrounding country, as far as the walls of Galway. Before his return to his own country, he fell in with O'Conor Sligo and a strong army of English and Irish, whom he defeated with great slaughter. He then returned into Tirconnell, and dispersed his troops to refresh themselves after their fatigue. After these severities, several of the Irish chiefs who had joined with the English, renounced their connection with them, and joined with O'Donell.

In the month of April, a ship arrived in the harbour of Killibegs from Spain, with supplies for O'Donell, and having on board confidential persons

to hold a conference with him on the state of Ireland. These he entertained with great honor, and presented them with several valuable horses and hounds. They then returned to their own country, well pleased with their reception.

In the month of June, Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh Burke, who had been appointed the Mac William, by the aid of O'Donell, was expelled from his territories by O'Conor Sligo, and his kinsman, Theobald *na Long* (of the ships) Burke, who was set up as the Mac William: upon which Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, went to Tirconnell to complain to O'Donell, who thereupon collected his troops, and, about the end of June, led them into Connaught, where he reinstated Mac William in his territories notwithstanding the opposition of O'Conor Sligo, and Sir Conyers Clifford. Red Hugh then returned to Tirconnell, leaving his brother Rory with a strong party of infantry in Connaught.

On the departure of O'Donell for Tirconnell, Sir Conyers Clifford collected all the troops he could to support O'Conor, and that party of the Burkes who opposed Red Hugh. To the assistance of Sir Conyers came Ulick, earl of Clanrickard, and his son Richard, baron of Dunkellin, Donogh O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and

Morogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, with all their forces. Being assembled, they proceeded to attack Mac William and Rory O'Donell, who, having intelligence of their movements, collected the cattle of the county, and, though but few in number, compared to the English and their adherents, succeeded in driving them off into Tirconnell, but not without some loss of men.

Thomas Lord Borough, who had come into Ireland in the beginning of June, as lord justice, brought with him a numerous army. He removed Sir John Norris from the command of the army, and having assumed it himself, sent orders to Sir Conyers Clifford to march into Tirconnell with all his forces, to destroy and plunder that district. To aid Sir Conyers in this enterprize came all the chiefs above mentioned, together with Theobald na long Burke, O'Connor Roe, and some other Irish chiefs. The lord justice also sent a great number of his forces to Galway with some cannon, to proceed coastways and meet Sir Conyers at the Samer. (Erne)

When the army had assembled at Boyle, the place of rendezvous, they amounted to twenty-two regiments of infantry and ten regiments of cavalry, armed with coats of mail, and all arms,

ammunition, and other necessaries. They then marched to Sligo and thence to Erne, and crossed that river by a ford, where they were vigorously opposed by O'Donell's troops, and where Morogh, baron of Inchiquin, was killed by a musket ball. Thence they marched to Easroe and placed their head quarters in the monastery of that place. Here they received heavy ordnance from the ships that had come from Galway, and had now cast anchor opposite the island of Samer. They laid close siege to the castle of Ballyshannon, but met an unexpected resistance, and had numbers of their best troops and officers killed or wounded. They came before the castle on Saturday, and on the Thursday following were compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with immense loss, and were closely pursued by O'Donell, and his friends, who were daily coming from all quarters to his assistance. In this retreat the English army were unable to cross the Samer by the same ford, but tried another, seldom attempted, where numbers were killed, and several drowned. The remains of the army after this disastrous expedition, arrived at Athleague on the 15th of August.

Red Hugh, not long after, received intelligence from O'Neill, (the earl of Tyrone,) that the lord justice was on his march with a powerful army to attack him; upon which he again collected his

forces, and marched to the assistance of O'Neill, and joined that chief before the English could reach his territories in Armagh. The two armies met at a ford on the Avonmore, where the earl of Kildare, who was with the lord justice, was killed, and the English army defeated. The lord justice baffled in his intentions, and severely wounded, returned towards Dublin; he was carried in a litter, not being able to ride, and died of his wounds in Newry. In this battle was also killed, the brother-in-law of the lord justice. After the victory, O'Donell led his troops back to his own country in triumph.

Red Hugh remained not long at home, but again marched into Connaught to plunder and destroy the territories of O'Conor Roe, and others of the Connaught chiefs, who had joined with Sir Conyers Clifford, the governor of the province. In this expedition he succeeded, not leaving his enemies a single head of cattle. He then returned to his own country without any attempt of resistance being made by the governor or any of his opponents, after which he spent the winter in pleasantly enjoying the society of his friends.

Anno 1598. In this year O'Donell again joined his forces with O'Neill, in an attack on the fort of Blackwater. This was a remarkably strong

fortress, and the Irish were not able to take it by force; they therefore surrounded it, in order to starve the garisson into a surrender. To relieve the fortress was an object of importance to the English government; they, therefore, despatched marshal Bagnal, with the flower of the English army, to force O'Neill and O'Donell to raise the siege. The two armies met at the ford of *Ath-buidhe*, (the yellow ford) on the Blackwater, where, after a desperate engagement, the English were totally defeated, leaving the marshal, and the chief of their officers, with vast numbers of their common soldiers, killed in the battle. The treasures that fell into the hands of the Irish after this victory were immense. In a few days afterwards the garrison at Armagh surrendered to O'Neill.

The battle of the Yellow Ford was fought on the 10th of August, and the loss of the English, in common soldiers, was two thousand five hundred killed, besides their general and eighteen officers.

After this battle, Red Hugh returned home, but having received intelligence that the Mac Donoghs of Corann had taken the castle of Ballimote, where, for thirteen years before, they had kept a strong garrison, from which they plundered the adjoining

country, he led his army into Connaught, to prevent the English from re-possessing themselves thereof. The ground on which the castle stood belonged to the Mac Donoghs, and Sir Conyers Clifford, after the castle fell into their hands, not being able to obtain possession of it by force, wanted to recover it by treaty. This the journey of Red Hugh into Connaught prevented, and partly by threats, and partly by persuasions, he prevailed on the Mac Donoghs to sell the town and castle to him and his successors for ever, for four hundred pounds in money, and three hundred cows. The town was accordingly delivered up to O'Donell, and he made it his principal residence during the remainder of his life.

O'Donell and O'Neill now entered into a league with some of the people of Munster, under a branch of the Desmond Fitzgeralds, and with some of the people of Leinster, in connection with the sons of Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne.

In September, O'Donell sent an ambassador to Spain, to urge king Philip to send him, and the other Irish princes, ammunition and succours. After this he remained peaceably at home, until the festival of Christmas, when he again assembled his troops, and, at the instigation of Mac William, marched into Connaught and plundered Clan-

rickard. In this incursion, several of the chief followers of the earl of Clanrickard were killed by O'Donell's troops, and others were wounded or made prisoners. O'Donell then carried the spoils triumphantly into Ballimote.

A. D. 1599. Red Hugh having now no district in Connaught which he had not plundered, resolved upon leading his troops into Thomond, to revenge himself upon the Earl of Thomond for joining with the governor of Connaught in his invasion of Tirconnell. He ordered his troops, and those of his allies, to meet him at Ballimote. Having all things in readiness, he marched without delay, and arrived in Thomond on the 17th of February. He then divided his army into separate parties, who spread themselves all over the country, took several of the castles and great houses, amongst which was the castle of Inchiquin, and drove off the cattle of every description, leaving scarcely a single head. The different parties then assembled with their plunder at the place appointed by O'Donell, who led them back without opposition.

From the latter end of February to the month of June, O'Donell remained quietly in Ballimote. About the beginning of June, a

ship, with his messengers, returned from Spain, with arms and necessaries for 2,000 soldiers, which he divided, giving one part to O'Neill, and keeping the other for his own people.

About this time, O'Donell received intelligence that Sir Conyers Clifford, governor of Connaught, was preparing to attack him with a numerous host of English, assisted by O'Conor Sligo, and all his adherents. Upon hearing this, O'Donell sent to his army assembled at Ath Seaneigh, ordering them to come to him to Ballimote without delay, that he might be prepared for the threatened attack, as well as to annoy his enemies.

O'Donell, having heard that O'Conor Sligo was in the castle of Culmine, on the banks of the Avonmore, was resolved to seize him if possible; for this purpose he ordered his cavalry to proceed with haste, and he surrounded the castle on all sides, so that none could either go in or out.

When the Earl of Essex heard to what great straits O'Conor Sligo was reduced, he was much grieved, and sent to Sir Conyers Clifford to meet him in Ferceall, to consult

upon what was best to be done. The governor went to Ferceall, and there staid in consultation with the Lord Justice for two days. The earl gave the governor what troops he could spare, and ordered him to proceed directly to Athlone, and collect all the English forces, and such Irish in the province as would join with them, and march directly to the relief of O'Conor. At the same time he sent orders that the ships in the harbour of Galway, under the command of Theobald na long Burke, should sail with military stores, &c. to Sligo, to assist the governor in relieving O'Conor and the castle of Culmine.

O'Donell, on the other side, pressed the siege closely, and that O'Conor should not escape from the castle, he gave the command of the troops to Niall Garbh O'Donell, with such instructions as he thought proper to carry his designs into effect. He then led that part of his army, not engaged in the siege, with him up the Curlew mountains, in the expectation that the governor, with his English and Irish army, would come that way to attack him. Here he remained with his army for the space of two months, during which time the governor was collecting his troops.

When Red Hugh found that Theobald na long Burke had sailed from Galway, with the ships to relieve O'Conor, he detached a party of his troops to prevent his landing, and sent other parties to guard the passes of the Curlews, to prevent the governor advancing upon him unawares. By this means the army that remained with himself were much reduced.

The governor having at length completed his preparations, boasted that he would on the 15th of August, (the feast of the assumption) force his way through, and destroy the army of O'Donell. Red Hugh prepared for his reception, and, on the evening before the battle, in as artful a speech, probably, as was ever addressed to an army, excited his people to resist to the last, and to resign their lives sooner than let their inveterate enemies triumph. And that they might be the better prepared for death, he advised his people to go to confession, and in the morning to receive the sacrament. This was accordingly done, and mass was scarcely over when they got notice of the approach of the English. The battle commenced, the order and description of which, it is not necessary to give here, and although the English were much more numerous and better prepared than O'Donell, they were defeated with immense loss. Amongst the slain, on the side of the Eng-

lish, was Sir Conyers Clifford, and several officers of distinction. The loss on the side of the Irish was but trifling. All the treasures of the English fell into the hands of the Irish.

When O'Conor was convinced, by the sight of the head of Sir Conyers Clifford, which was sent to him for the purpose, that the governor was killed, and the English army defeated, he sent a messenger to O'Donell, requesting peace on any terms. Theobald na long Burke, in like manner, hearing of the defeat of the English, and of the surrender of O'Conor and of the castle of Culmine, submitted himself to O'Donell upon his own terms. After this battle, Red Hugh laid the country as far as the gates of Galway, under contribution, and the terror of his name extended from Galway to Leim Cuchullen (Loops Head.)

In the year 1600, O'Neill led an army into Munster, in which he was joined by Hugh Maguire, chief of Fermanagh; who, in a battle near Cork, killed Sir Warham St. Leger, president of Munster, with several of his people. Maguire himself received some desperate wounds of which he, shortly after, died. This compelled O'Neill to return with sorrow to Ulster. Shortly after the return of O'Neill, and the Ultonians, the people of

Fermanagh proceeded to elect a chief in the place of Hugh Maguire. Conor Roe Maguire, brother to O'Neill by the mother's side, was supported by him in his claims to the chieftaincy. Cuchonacht oge, son of Cuchonacht Maguire, was the other candidate, and he sought to interest O'Donell on his side. O'Neill sent letters to O'Donell to request him to consent to the appointment of Conor Roe. When the messengers came to O'Donell, and delivered their letters, he made no answer, but went immediately with a troop of horse, and a body of foot, of the choice of his people, with his brother Rory, and Cuchonacht oge to Dungannon, where O'Neill and his people then were, holding a consultation upon the business. Upon his entering the apartment, O'Neill told them what they were about, that it was his wish that Conor Roe should be proclaimed the Maguire, and hoped that O'Donell would give his consent. O'Donell for some time listened to the words of O'Neill, but, at length, declared that he would never consent that Conor Roe should be the Maguire, because he was always an adherent to the English. O'Neill was much grieved at this declaration of Red Hugh, but he knew there was no resisting his determination.

After the breaking up of the council, they were

entertained at a splendid feast by O'Neill, at which he placed O'Donell in the most honorable situation, and Conor Roe Maguire next to him. O'Neill took a cup of wine in his hand, and drank to O'Donell, who, taking another cup from the butler, cast a quick glance through the room, and not seeing Cuchonacht Oge Maguire, he desired that he should be called in. This was done, and when Cuchonacht came in, Red Hugh desired him to sit down by his brother Rory, in the midst of the company. When Cuchonacht was seated, O'Donell took the cup in his hand, and drank to him by the name of Maguire. This was followed by several others, and thus was Cuchonacht declared the Maguire, which none opposed, seeing it was O'Donell's desire. On the next morning O'Donell bid farewell to O'Neill, and he and Maguire and their people returned to their homes.

When the English government saw that O'Donell defeated their armies, and those of their friends, in every quarter, they resolved upon bringing the war into his own country. For this purpose, ships and troops were sent from England, in March, at the request of lord Mountjoy, then lord justice; and a large fleet, with upwards of six thousand men, well armed and equipped, were assembled in the port of Dublin, in April.

These were put under the command of Sir Henry Dockwra, and leaving Dublin, arrived in Lough Foyle on the 10th of May, and landed in Innisowen, in O'Dogherty's territories. They took possession of the fort of Culmore, which was at that time deserted and in decay, but they erected a strong wall round it. Another party went into O'Cathan's (O'Kane's) country, and took possession of Dun-na-long; but the largest party went to Derry, and seized upon the monastery and stone church, round both which they threw up strong ramparts, and walls of clay and stone, and sunk deep ditches around both. Not long afterwards, they broke down the monastery and the stone church, in derision of the saints and the religion of the country.

The English remained a considerable time cooped up in their forts, not daring to stir out of them, for fear of O'Donell, who watched earnestly for an opportunity to bring them to an engagement. At length, Red Hugh, finding that he could not draw the English out of their inclosures, resolved to leave the defence of Innisowen to O'Dogherty, the chief thereof, and to Niall Garbh O'Donell, with a party of his troops, whilst he, with the main body of his army, should make an irruption southwards, to revenge himself on the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, for joining

with the English against him. He therefore sent messengers into Connaught, calling the chiefs of that province to his assistance, with all their forces. His summons was obeyed by all the Connaught chiefs between the rivers Suck and Droobhaois, (Brundroose) and from the west of Tirawley to Brefny O'Reilly. In the month of June he set his troops in motion, and passing through Clanrickard, he plundered the country on all sides, and then continued his progress into Thomond, where he plundered and destroyed the country, except the monasteries and religious houses, which he carefully preserved from injury; and, having collected all the cattle, and other treasure of the district, he returned in triumph back. To each chief who joined him in the expedition, he gave their full proportion of the plunder, so that they all returned home well satisfied.

After this excursion, O'Donell suffered his troops to refresh themselves from July till September. He was then informed that the English in Derry used to send out their horses to graze a small distance from the town, guarded by only a few cavalry. He was determined on seizing them, if possible, and for this purpose he sent a select party of his cavalry, under cover of the night, to lie in ambush between the town and

the horses, when they should come out to graze, and at the same time had another party of the elite of his troops ready to drive off the cattle. Every thing succeeded, the cattle came out, and were driven off by O'Donell's people, after dispersing the guard that attended them. The English in the town, seeing their cattle driven off, sallied out to rescue them; O'Donell expected this, and was watching, with a party of his troops, to succour his drivers. A sharp conflict ensued between the parties, when O'Donell wounded Sir Henry Dockwra, after which the English retired into the town. By this adventure, the English lost upwards of 200 horses. O'Donell waited until the end of October, and then finding that the English did not leave the country, he resolved upon another expedition into Thomond to plunder his enemies.

In pursuance of this design, he collected his troops, and marched southward until he passed the river Sligo, leaving behind him Niall O'Donell. The English had been for a long time, previous to this, endeavouring to persuade this Niall to join with them against Red Hugh, offering him many advantages, the sovereignty or lordship of the country, and immense treasures. He listened to their proposals for a long time, but at length he complied with their wishes, and decla-

red against his lord and chief, and induced his brothers Hugh *buidhe* (yellow) and Conn Oge to join him in his treachery. This was of the greatest importance to the English, who were now worn out and sick with constant night watchings, fear of O'Donell, and the scarcity and bad quality of their provisions. From these difficulties Niall O'Donell relieved them, and he brought 1000 of them to Lifford, nine miles west from Derry, on the same Lough. This had been a noble residence belonging to O'Donell, and was now in decay, the stone castle having been some time before destroyed, and was now only defended by ramparts of earth, and a shallow ditch. The guards of this place, hearing of the approach of the English, and of Niall O'Donell, deserted it, through fear of falling into their hands. Whereupon the English took possession of the fort, and erected strong walls of stone and clay to defend it.

To inform O'Donell of what had happened one of his faithful friends, posted after him. Upon hearing the tidings, Red Hugh was much surprised, and excessively grieved, to think that his cousin and brother should have turned against him, for Niall O'Donell was married to Red Hugh's sister. O'Donell immediately returned to Ulster, and with a few of his troops proceeded to Lifford.

The English being occupied in fortifying the place, had not time to plunder any part of the country, before O'Donell returned; and, when they heard of his return, their fears of him would not permit them to venture out of the fortress. O'Donell encamped about two miles from the fort, and kept so close a guard, that he suffered none to pass in or out, except such as went south-ward, over the river. In this situation, they remained for the space of thirty days, without being able to bring his enemies to battle. At length O'Donell's troops appeared to be in state of disorder and negligence, in their camp, which Niall O'Donell perceiving, he advised the English to attack them. Thereupon O'Donell was attacked, a dreadful conflict ensued, the end of which was, that the English were obliged to retreat to their fortress. In this battle, Manus O'Donell, the brother of Red Hugh was desperately wounded by Niall O'Donell, who was himself also wounded by Rory O'Donell, (afterwards Earl of Tirconnell.) Manus O'Donell was carried to Donegall, where, after suffering great pain for seven days, he died on the 22d October 1600, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors in the monastery of Donegall. On the 7th of December following, his father died of grief and old age, and was buried in the same grave with his son.

Red Hugh remained in his encampment forty days more, watching the English, and about Christmas received an account of the arrival of a Spanish ship, with some supplies for him, in the harbour of Invermore, in west Connaught. His spirits revived at this intelligence, and he instantly dispatched messengers to O'Neill to inform him of the arrival of the vessel, and at the same time sent a messenger with letters to the captain of the ship, to sail round to the harbour of Killibeg, in Tir-Boghaine. Amongst other things, the king of Spain sent to O'Neill and O'Donell £6,000 in money, to assist in paying their auxiliaries, for their services. This money the two chiefs equally divided between them, O'Neill having come to Donegall to meet O'Donell and the Spanish ambassador.

A. D. 1601. In the beginning of January, in this year, the Irish chiefs separated after arranging their affairs with the Spanish ambassador, and O'Donell returned to his troops, which he had left to watch the motions of the English, and of Niall O'Donell, at Lifford.

Whilst thus employed he received secret intelligence, from a friend in Dublin, that his old enemy, O'Conor Sligo, had entered into a private treaty with the English government, and engaged to

treacherously seize upon, and to deliver him into their hands, living or dead. This information gave Red Hugh some uneasiness, as he could not tell the full extent of the conspiracy formed against him. He kept the secret to himself for some time, but at length revealed it to O'Neill, and some others of his friends, to have their opinion what he should do on the occasion. These all give it as their decided opinion, that he should seize on O'Conor Sligo, and hold him as hostage for his safety. This was put in execution, O'Conor was secured, and sent in custody to Lough Esk.

In the month of May, 1601, Ulick earl of Clanrickard, died, and was succeeded by his son Rickard. This young man was encouraged by the English, to make an attack upon the territories under the control of Red Hugh, and, to assist him, the lord justice, Mountjoy, ordered the English garrisons in Limerick, Kilmallock, Eas-Geithinne, Galway, Athlone, and several other places, to join the earl at the monastery of Boyle.

As soon as O'Donell heard of the assembling of these troops, he resolved upon opposing them, before they could enter his territories; and, although he was obliged to leave a strong force behind him, to watch the English and Niall O'Donell, at Lifford, and to defend his own fortresses in the Island of

Lough Esk, Donegall, Ballyshannon, Culmore, and Ballimote, he instantly proceeded with the remainder to meet his enemies. The English had advanced as far as Elphin, before O'Donell could come up with them. Here the two armies encamped opposite each other, and, for several days and nights there was a constant skirmishing between them, in which many were killed on both sides, although there was no general engagement. At length the earl and his party decamped, and retreated leisurely, O'Donell not being sufficiently strong to prevent them. O'Donell then returned to Ulster.

The English and Niall O'Donell, in the mean time, taking advantage of O'Donell's absence in Connaught, marched a strong party to Donegall, took possession of that monastery, and of another small monastery in the neighbourhood. Here they were inclosed by O'Donell, in such a manner, that they could not obtain provisions, and their stock being nearly exhausted, they were obliged to send a messenger to Derry, to request the English would send a ship round to them, with a supply of provisions and arms. This was complied with, the ship arrived, and O'Donell, for want of artillery, could not prevent the necessaries being landed. In this condition the two parties remained until about the latter end of September.

At this time a flash of lightning struck a barrel of gun-powder, in the convent of Donegall, in consequence of which, a dreadful explosion ensued, which destroyed numbers of the English. O'Donell took advantage of the confusion, occasioned by this accident, and attacked the English fortifications, and would have completely destroyed them, had it not been for the succour given them by Niall O'Donell, and the firing of the ordnance from the English ship in the harbour.

In this situation both parties remained until the middle of October, at which time O'Donell received intelligence that a Spanish fleet had arrived in the harbour of Kinsale, with troops and arms, to assist the Irish. The Spanish troops took possession of the fort of Kinsale, and of Rincorran, on the opposite side of the harbour. To oppose this invasion of the Spaniards, all the forces of the English in Munster, Leinster, Meath, and Connaught, together with all the forces of their Irish adherents, were mustered by the lord justice, and led by him into Munster, and there joined to the forces under the lord president of that province. The lord justice placed all these under the command of the lord president, to whom, after a short siege, the Spaniards surrendered the castle of Rincorran, after which the English laid a closer siege to Kinsale.

As to O'Donell, when he had received the intelligence of the arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale, he immediately broke up the siege he had formed against Niall O'Donell, and the English in Donegal, and making little of other considerations, besides, that of going to the assistance of the Spaniards, he sent notice to all, over whom he had influence, to meet him directly with their forces in Ballimote. His friends assembled at the place appointed from all quarters, and on the 2d November, he set out from Ballimote, with his forces, on the way to the relief of his Spanish allies. He proceeded as far as the neighbourhood of Holy-Cross, where he halted for near a month, waiting for the coming up of O'Neill, who was advancing by slow marches. To prevent the further progress of O'Donell, the lord justice ordered the lord president of Munster, Sir George Carew, to advance to meet him with 4,000 armed men. When O'Donell heard from his scouts, that, the lord president had advanced as far as Cashel, he led his army through upper Ormond, and by Limerick, until they arrived in Hy Conal Gabhra, where shortly after, he was joined by several of the Irish chiefs of Munster. He then proceeded to Bandon, where he was joined by O'Neill and his army.

They shortly after pitched their camp near

that of the lord justice, and reduced him to very great straits for want of provisions, but the Irish had abundance of food of the best kind in their camp. Thus all parties spent the Christmas, at which time O'Neill and O'Donell received a letter from the Spanish General, requesting them to attack the English camp, on a certain night then appointed, promising at the same time, that he would attack the camp, in another quarter, with a party of the Spaniards.

Upon this message the Irish chiefs entered into a consultation, in which O'Neill gave his opinion, that they should not attack the English camp, but continue the blockade which they had formed around it, until at length the English should be destroyed by famine, cold, and sickness; and, in the mean time, to let the Spaniards defend themselves, in Kinsale, as they could. O'Donell, on the other hand, was of opinion, that they should comply with the request of the Spanish general, and join with him in attacking the English camp: alleging that it would be a breach of their engagement with the king of Spain, if they were to refuse giving their most active assistance to his troops, which he had sent at their request, and for their relief and protection against their enemies. O'Donell's opinion prevailed, and the attack on the English camp was resolved on.

It happened fortunately for the English cause, that a difference had arisen between O'Donell and O'Neill upon this occasion. Each claimed the honor of leading the proposed attack, and neither would suffer the other to have the sole command, or take precedence. This dispute continued for the greater part of the night in which the attack was to be made, and when they set out, to put their design in execution, each followed his own judgment, and being led astray by their guides, so that they separated in the night, and the sun shone clearly when each party came, unconnected with the other, in view of the English camp.

The lord justice had intelligence of the difference between the Irish chiefs, from some person with whom he had a correspondence in the Irish camp. He was therefore well prepared to receive them, and upon their appearance he opened upon them a tremendous fire, from both ordnance and and small arms. The Irish, not acting in concert, retreated separately, and were pursued by the English a considerable distance, with very great loss.

After this defeat, the English returned in triumph to their camp, and the Irish held a council, in which some of them were for again uniting and

attacking the English camp. Others declared it was their opinion they should separate, and let each do the best they could to defend their respective patrimonies against the English. They continued disputing for three or four days, in which they were on the point of coming to blows. This defeat at Kinsale, happened on the 3d January, 1602.

After this decided and complete defeat, O'Donell considered with himself what would be the best course for him to take, and he concluded upon going directly to Spain, to complain to king Philip, and endeavour to induce him to send a fresh army into Ireland. He embarked in a ship in Castlehaven, on the 6th of January, and arrived on the 14th of the same month at Corunna, in the province of Galicia, in Spain. When he had rested for a few days, after the fatigues of his voyage, he proceeded to Zamora, a city in Castile, where the king then happened to be on a progress round his Kingdom. The king received O'Donell with the greatest affability, and graciously gave ear to his requests, which he promised should be complied with in every particular. He then desired him to return to Corunna, and to wait until every thing should be ready for him to return to Ireland, with the succours he required. O'Donell

did as he was ordered, and remained in Corunna all the next spring and summer, and until the middle of harvest. In the mean time he suffered great uneasiness of mind from the thoughts of the situation in which he had left his friends in Ireland. He therefore resolved upon again waiting on the King of Spain, to urge him to give orders for the immediate dispatch of the promised succours. For this purpose he set out on his journey, and had reached as far Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid, the court of the king of Spain, when it pleased God to visit him with sickness, of which he died on the 10th of September, 1602. His body was removed to Valladolid, with great honor, and was interred in the chapter of the monastery of St. Francis, in that city, with all the state and religious ceremonies usually observed at the funerals of noblemen of the highest rank.

Thus ended the life of Red Hugh O'Donell, the last chief of Tirconnell, who was universally submitted to as THE O'DONELL.

After the death of Hugh Roe, Sir Niell Garbh O'Donell, with a considerable force, invaded Tyrone, plundered the country, and rendered great services to the English crown; after which he was repeatedly summoned to attend the lord

deputy and council, in order that he might make his submission and be appointed chief of Tirconnell; but, by an unaccountable fatuity, he neglected to attend, went to Kilmacrenan, and sent for O'Firgil, the *successor of Columkill*, and was by him inaugurated as O'Donell; which, being done without the consent of the lord lieutenant and council, gave great offence, as they thought he intended to act independent of the king's authority. Rory O'Donell being then in Dublin, and having made his humble submission, was accordingly sent for, and dispatched to Sir Henry Docwra, with orders to arrest Niell Garbh, who, hearing of their intention, fled; but afterwards submitted, and both he and Rory went to England, each claiming to be chief. They entered into recognizance to submit their pretensions to the king's decision, who ordered Rory to be created Earl of Tirconnell, and Sir Niell Garbh to be restored to his estate.

The patent, creating Rory Earl of Tirconnell, and his eldest son baron of Donegal, *in his father's life time*, was dated 29th Sept. 1603.

The king's letter is dated the 4th September, 1603, and as it is a very curious document, and contains the substance of the patent, I have added it to those printed at the end of this memoir.

It grants to the said Rory, " all our territories and countries of Tirconnell, with all the islands, rights, deaneries, advowsons, fishings, duties, and other hereditaments whatsoever, of antient time, justly belonging to the lord thereof," with a reservation of the rents and beeve services, as were formerly paid by his father and ancestors, reserving also the castle of Ballyshannon, and 1000 acres adjoining thereto. With the provisional condition, " that the castles, lands, services, rents and duties, which were in the possession of Sir Neill O'Donell, when he lived under Hugh Roe, late O'Donell, and in amity with him, especially Castle-fynyn, and all the lands, &c. belonging to the same, be reserved to the free disposition of us and our heirs to bestow on the said Sir Neal O'Donell, or such other as may deserve the same," It also ordered, that Rory should renounce all claims for duties and other rights, on Sir Cahir O'Doherty's and O'Conor Sligo's countries, and upon all other subjects residing out of the limits of Tirconnell. It created him earl of Tirconnell, with remainder to the heirs male of his body ; remainder to his brother Caffery O'Donell ; and it also created his, and their eldest sons and heirs male, lord barons of Donegal, during the lives of the earls. It also granted to the earl custodiam of all abbeys, priories and spiritual livings within the country of

Tirconnell till the king should otherwise dispose of them. He afterwards entered into rebellion, and was attainted by act of Parliament, in 1612, together with his brother Calvagh, died at Rome, 28th July, 1617, and was buried in the abbey of St. Francis there. He married Bridget, daughter of Henry, earl of Kildare, (who after his death married secondly Nicholas Barnwall, Lord Viscount Kingsland) by whom he had one only son,

Hugh O'Donell, called the second earl of Tirconnell, who was page to the Infanta Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, daughter of Philip the third, king of Spain, and governess of Flanders. He left an only son,

Niell Garbh O'Donell, commonly called the third earl of Tirconnell, who left an only son,

Manus O'Donell, commonly called the fourth earl of Tirconnell, who married a daughter of —— O'Hara, and had only two daughters, Mary, who became the wife of Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, and ———— who died unmarried. Thus this branch of the family of O'Donell became extinct.

Caffer, or Calvagh, O'Donell, brother to Earl

Rory, and in remainder to the earldom, died at Rome Sept. 17th, 1617, and was buried with his brother. He married Rose O'Dogherty, by whom (who was afterwards married to the celebrated general Owen O'Neill) he had two sons, Caffer Oge, and Hugh, who was buried at Brussels, with his mother. Whether Caffer Oge left descendants or not, I have not been able to learn, but am inclined to think not.

We now return to Calvagh O'Donell, the eldest son of Manus O'Donell, son of Hugh Duffe, who on his father being imprisoned, seized upon the government of Tirconnell, in 1555, and caused himself to be inaugurated as O'Donell. He entered into a treaty with Sir Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, dated 20th Octeber, 1568, in which he is styled Dominus Calvachius O'Donell, and therein acknowledged Queen Elizabeth to be his "*solam et naturalem dominam supremam et* quod in omnibus causis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus sua majestatis est, et esse debet, sola et suprema gubernatrixe in hoc regni." A Copy of this curious document will be found at the end of this article, with several letters of this O'Donell.

He fell dead, of an apoplexy, from his horse, 26th November, 1566, and his brother Hugh be-

came O'Donell, as before stated. His only son was Con O'Donnell, who married the daughter of Tirlogh Luineagh O'Neill, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. Calvagh, slain by of Hugh Roe O'Donell; Caffrey, slain by O'Neill and his rebels; and Niell Garbh: the daughter, was Margaret, wife Hugh mac Mulmore O'Reilly, of Camets, in the county of Cavan. Several letters of this Con will be found at the end.

Sir Neill Garbh O'Donell, the third and only surviving son, was knighted by lord Mountjoy, lord deputy of Ireland, 29th April, 1602. He is mentioned in the preceding pages in the account of Hugh Roe O'Donell, and the part he took in favour of the English government on the death of the said Hugh Roe, in 1603. He was inaugurated as O'Donell, as before stated, but he was compelled afterwards to surrender the dignity to Rory, earl of Tirconnell, and was committed a prisoner to the tower of London, on suspicion of being concerned in O'Dogherty's rebellion, where he remained till his death. He married his cousin, the daughter of Sir Hugh O'Donell, and sister of Hugh Roe O'Donell, and of Rory earl of Tirconnel, by whom he had three sons, Neaghtan, who died without issue; Colonel Manus O'Donell, ancestor to the O'Donells of Newport, in the county of Mayo; and Hugh Boy O'Donell,

ancestor to the O'Donells of Larkfield, in the county of Leitrim. Col Manus was slain at Dongannon, in 1646. His son Roger was of Lifford, in the county of Donegall, and afterwards settled in the county of Mayo, and was father of Col. Manus O'Donell, of Newport in the county of Mayo, whose will was proved at Tuam, in 1737; he was grandfather to Manus O'Donell, Esq. who was a colonel in the Austrian service, and Count of the Holy Roman empire, whose only daughter and heiress, was married to Robert Gage Rookwood, Esq. second son of Sir Thomas Gage, of Hengrave, in Suffolk. Lewis O'Donell, of Newcastle, in the county of Mayo, Esq., brother to Count Manus O'Donell, married Miss Camac, and had issue, Lewis O'Donell, Esq., and other children; Hugh O'Donell, of Newport, in the county of Mayo, Esq. third son of Col. Manus O'Donell, who died in 1737, was the father of the late Sir Neal O'Donell, Baronet, to whom the *Caah* was left, by the last of the French branch of the O'Donells he married Mary, daughter of William Coane, of Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal, Esq. by whom he had four sons, and two daughters; first, Hugh O'Donell, Esq. a colonel in the army, and lieutenant-colonel of the South Mayo Militia, who married Alice, daughter and heir of Massey Hutchinson, of Mount Massey, in the county of Cork, Esq., by whom he had an

only daughter, Alice-Massey, who became the wife of William Clayton, Esq. eldest son of Sir William Clayton, Baronet; second, James Moore O'Donell, Esq. who married Deborah, daughter of Turner Camac, Esq. but had no issue; third, Sir Neale O'Donell, the present Baronet, who married Lady Catharine Annesley, daughter of Richard, first earl Annesley, by whom he has issue, Hugh-James-Moore, and other children; fourth, Connell O'Donell, the present possessor of the *Caah*, who married Mary, daughter of the Rev. George Richey, of Newry, in the county of Down. The daughters were Margaret, wife of Sir Capel Molyneux, of Castle-dillon, in the county of Armagh, Baronet, and Maria, wife of Dodwell Brown, of Rahins, in the county of Mayo, Esq.

The house of Larkfield are descended, as before stated, from Hugh Boy O'Donell, son of Sir Neall Garbh O'Donell, and brother of Col. Manus O'Donell, who was slain at Dungannon, in 1646. He married Mary Maguire, daughter of Lord Enniskillen, by whom he had a son John, who, by Catharine O'Rourke, had two sons, Hugh, who died without issue, and Connell O'Donell, who married Grace, sister of Colonel Manus O'Donell, and daughter of Roger O'Donell, of Lifford, by whom he had three sons—

John, who left an only son Hugh, who died in Germany without issue; Charles, who died also without issue; and Hugh.

This Hugh O'Donell was of Larkfield, in the county of Leitrim, and on the extinction of the male descendants of Rory, Earl of Tirconnell, was commonly, in the North of Ireland, styled EARL O'DONELL.* He was, I believe, a general in the service of the Empress Maria Teresa, a knight of her order, and a count of the Holy Roman Empire. He married twice; first Florinda, daughter of John Hamilton, of Cavan, Esq. and sister of general John Count Hamilton, of the Austrian service, by whom he had two sons and a daughter:—Connell, Count O'Donell, general in the Austrian service, and governor of Transylvania, who died unmarried 1771; and John Count O'Donell, also a general in the Austrian service, whose only son, Charles, Count O'Donell, a major-general in the same service, was killed at Nerisheim, in 1805. Susanna, the only daughter by the first wife, was married to John Edmond Purcell, of Ballymartin, in Kilkenny, Esq. an officer in the same service.—Count Hugh married secondly Margaret, daughter of Hugh Montgomery, of Derrygonnelly, in

* MS. of the late John Lodge, esq. in my possession.

Fermanagh, Esq. by whom he had an only son, Con O'Donell, of Larkfield, who left two sons, Hugh O'Donell, of Grayfield, in Roscommon, and Con O'Donell, of Larkfield, Esq.

Colonel Daniel O'Donell, who followed the fortunes of king James the second to France, and who was possessed of add repaired the *Caah*, was descended from Hugh duffe O'Donell, and brother of Manus O'Donell, chief of his name, who died in 1563.

A branch of the family are settled in Spain, of which are the celebrated general, the Conde de Abispal, and his brothers, who distinguished themselves in the late war.

Another O'Donell was married in Austria, to a princess of Cantucacini, the descendants of the Greek emperors of Constantinople and Trebisonde.

Treaty between Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, and Calvagh O'Donell, chief of Tirconnell.—1564.

Hec Indentura facta vicessimo die mensis Octobris, anno regni serenissime et indictissime principis Elizabeth, Dei gratiâ Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Regina, fidei defensor, etc. octavo, inter honorabilem virum Dominum Henricum Sidney,

ordinis garterii militem, presidentem consilii Wallie, et marchiarum eorundum, deputatum suum in Hibernià generalem, ceterosque de consilio in eodem regno quorum nomina subscribuntur, ex unâ parte, et Dominum Calvachium O'Donnell, ex alterâ parte, testatur: quod predictus Dominus O'Donnell concessit, promisit, et per presentes se obligavit firmiter tenere et perimplere dictæ Domine Regine, et successoribus suis, tenorem et formam articulorum sequentium.

Primum confitetur se magnoperè evinctum esse deo optimo maximo, et serenissime regine, cujus justicia et misericordia, post tantum miseriam et exilium restauravit, cum omnibus suis hereditamentis, castellis, honoribus, et regiminibus, nec parcit intensis sumptibus, nec laboribus, sue majestatis deputati, nec non exercitus istius, quâ quidem racione novit quidem se tam juste et excellentissimæ principi adherere, et appellare debere, et igitur cum omni gratiarum actione promittit pro se, et omnibus suis aliis successoribus, dominis O'Donnells, favores hos remunerare suorum servitiis, sicut fidelium subditorum est, et semper obedientes erunt sue majestatis, et sue majestatis deputato, et omnibus aliis locum predictum tenentibus in hoc regno Hibernie.

Item, confitetur reginam serenissimam suam solam et naturalem dominam supremam, et quod in omnibus causis, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, sua majestas est, et esse debet, sola et suprema gubernatrixe in hoc regno, et quod, ad posse suum, adjuvabit et supportavit auctoritatem predictam, et expellabit et eradicabit omnes hos, qui in Connaliâ contradictores erunt. Et ulterius dictus Dominus O'Donell, pro se et successoribus suis, dat et sursum reddit in manus serenissime regine, omnia servitia et jura regalia in Connalliâ appertinentia corone hujus regni imperialis.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell promittit, pro se et omnibus

aliis dominis Connalie, quod nunquam confederabant, cum aliquibus rebellibus, vel rebello, sue majestatis, vel suorum successorum, nec in amicitiam vel servitium suum accipiant aliquos Scotos, vel ullos alios alienos, sine licentiâ suâ majestatis, vel successorum suorum, vel eorum deputati et consilii in hoc regno; et ulterius, ad posse suum, obediens erit ad mandatum deputati et consilii, et prosequetur pro virili rebellem Johannem O'Neile, et omnes sibi adherentes.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit quod quoties ipse O'Donell, vel successores sui, rogati vel mandati erunt, per literas domini deputati, vel sue majestatis locum tenentis, in hoc regno, veniet in propriâ personâ (si modo validus fuerit, ad omne magnum et generale viagium, in hoc regno, et secum adducat sexaginta equites, centum viginti turbarios, et trecentos Scoticos, vel si non validus erit) mittet saltem principalem generosum de Connaliâ, ad electionem domini deputati, cum totidem equitibus, turbariis, et Scoticis, cum victualibus pro quadraginta diebus.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit, quod, quoties dominus deputatis hujus regni, vel ejusdem regni consillarii, mittent literas suas pro dicto Domino O'Donnell, veniet toties ad omnes locos, et parliamenta, in illis litteris specificata et nominata.

Item, consentit dictus Dominus O'Donell, perimplere omnia decreta publicata, vel publicanda, per dictum dominum deputatum et consilium, inter predictum Dominum O'Donell et fratrem suum, Hugonem Mac Manus O'Donell, vel avunculum suum Hugonem Duffe O'Donell, tam pro divisione hereditamentorum, quam pro aliquâ aliâ causâ vel materiâ.

Item, dictus Dominus O'Donell, pro se et omnibus aliis

Dominis de Connaliâ, in futurum confitetur se tenere patrias, terras, et tenementa, de majestate serenissime regine, solum. Et si imposterum sue majestati placuerit, usus et ritus hujus patriæ commutare et eam reducere, ad ordinem civilem, ad eam gubernandum, per leges suas, sicut in Anglicanis partibus hujus regni, vel si sua majestas honorabit titulo aliquo honoris predictum Dominum O'Donell, vel aliquos alios generosos de Connaliâ, predictus Dominus O'Donell, ad posse suum, adjuvabit et suppeties sue majestati dabit.

Item, predictus Dominus O'Donell, consentit pro se et omnibus aliis Dominis de Connaliâ, quod quando et quotiescumque visum est sue majestati, castra aliqua erigere et componere, vel exercitus in Connaliam mittere, pro defensione suorum subditorum, (sicut jam agitur) predictus Dominus O'Donell, et successores, obedientes erunt et morigeri ad perimplendum pro virili mandata, et voluntatem regiam.

Item, consentit et affirmat quod majestas sua, habebit donacionem omnium episcopatuum, et nominationem omnium episcoporum Connalie, sicut in ceteris partibus hujus regni, ac presentationem omnibus beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quibus majestas sua titulum habet, aut imposterum habere poterit, ac etiam liberam dispositionem omnium terrarum quibus majestas sua investiri poterit.

Item, quoad posse supportabit omnes tenentes regine infra dominationes suas existentes, et eas terras suas, et tenementa et commoditates eorum, tenere et possidere quietos patietur, nec predictos depredabit, nec ab hiis accipiet, *Coine and Livery*, vel aliquos alios usus, impositiones, aut exactiones quascunque, per ipsum aut predecessores suos usitatos, in contrarium non obstante.

Item, bene supportabit et supportari faciet, quoad posse exercitum tam equitum quam peditum, nunc relictum apud Dirry, sub conductione Edwardi Randalf, armigeri, colonelli omnium peditum in Hiberniâ existentium, ac etiam dabit, aut dari faciet, eidem colonello, quamdiu in Connaliâ manebunt, aut prope eum numerum quadraginta marcarum, singulis septimanis, prima autem solucio incipiet primo die Decembris, quo tempore etiam predictus O'Donell dabit, vel dari faciet, pro tribus mensibus numerum quatuor centum et octaginta marcarum, pretii sex solidorum et octo denariorum, sterlingorum, pro unaquaque marca, et pro defectu uniuscujusque marce, dabit aut dari faciet, sex oves, aut quatuor porcos, unius anni etatis et ultra.

Item, dabit, aut dari faciet, eidem colonello, avenas in stramine, sufficientes ad victum centum equorum, viz. pro unoquoque equo, quatuor onera, pro die, et in singulis oneribus viginti quatuor manipulos, aut in loco ejusdem duas mensuras avenarum, nuncupatum *a methor*.

Item, in consideracione gratuitatis et benevolencie sue, renumerande magnos favores, ac copiosa beneficia, pro protectionem, ac magnam clementiam majestatis sue, accepta, contentus est et concedit, dare et solvere in scaccarium majestatis sue Hibernie, pro se et heredibus vel successoribus suis, Dominis O'Donells, in perpetuum, ducentum marcas sterlingas, solvendas annuatim ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Phillppi et Jacobi Apostolorum, per equales porciones, aut in loco ejusdem, ad electionem suam ipsius O'Donell, tres centas marcas, quas dabit, aut dari faciet, ad festa predicta, in villa de Kelles in comitatu Midie.

In cujus rei testimonium predictus Dominus O'Donell, has indenturas manu suâ propriâ subscripsit, et eisdem sigillum

suum posuit, in presentiis, Hugonis Mac Manus O'Donnell, fratris sui, Hugonis Duff O'Donell, avunculi sui, Donaldi Magonnell, Episcopi Rapotensis, O'Doghortie, cognominis sue principalis, Mac Suine Fannaghe, O'Boile, sui cognominis principalis, Mac Suine Bannaghe, Mac Suine Dunne, et ceterorum generosorum Connalie, qui quidem his predictis concessiones suas dederunt et affirmaverunt, apud Ballyshein, die et anno predictis, at fuerunt quoque Johannes O'Ghalloher, Capitaneus de Bondroies, et Hugo O'Donell officiarius Rapotensis.

Pro Constituendo Hugonem Mac Manus O'Donell, Capitaneum Nationis suæ de Tyrconnell.— A. D. 1574.

Pat. 16, Eliz. p. 9, m. 33.

Regina, omnibus ad quos &c. salutem sciatis, quod nos, de verâ obedientiâ *Hugonis Mac-Manus O'Donell,* digne ejusdem promptitudine ad deserviendum nobis, atque ad patriam illam, et nostrorum subditorum fidelium in eâdem patriâ desertium recte, rite, et fideliter gubernandum et tenendum, plurimum confidentes, eundem *Hugonem* capitaneum patriæ de *Tyrconell,* cum pertinentiis, nominamus, ordinamus, constituimus, et confirmamus per præsentes, Habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et occupandum capitaneatum prædictum, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, proficuis, commoditatibus, juribus, et advantagiis quomodolibet de antiquo debitis et usitatis in patriâ prædicta, eidem *Hugoni,* quamdiu vixerit, et in eodem se bene gesserit, ut noster fidelis subditus, ac teneat, perimpleverit, et performaverit, nobis et successoribus nostris tenerem, firmam, et effectum omnium et singulorum illorum articulorum in quâdam indenturâ inde inter predilectum et fidelem nostrum *Henricum Sidney,* præno-

bilis ordinis nostris garterii militem, tunc regni nostri *Hiberniæ* nostrum, deputatum, et concilium, nostrum, et Calvacium, quondam capitaneum prefate patrie de *Terconell,* ex datâ vicesimi die Octobris, Anno Regni nostri octavo, specificatorum, et qui, ex parte ejusdem *Calvacii* essent, sive ferent per indenturam illam performandi et perimplendi; et porro accedat ad Deputatum nostrum regni nostri *Hiberniæ,* ac ad gubernatorem nostrum *Ultonie,* protempore existentes, et ad concilium regni nostri prædicti, quandocunque per mandatum sive literas eorum alicujus habuerit in mandatis ad vos accedero. In cujus &c. teste Reginâ, apud *Gorhamburge,* decimo nono die Julii.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Cotton MSS. Vespasian F. XII—fol. 62.

Indorsed—"To Con. O'Donell, 31 Julii, 1562."

Predilecte salutem.—Negotia tua patris que tui cum regia majestate ita tractavimus, ut finem omnibus secundum desiderum, tuum imposuimus. Patrem tuum, teque regia majestas in suam tutelam accepit, vosque defendere suscepit, omniaque præmissa peremptere decrevit. Hæc tibi brevi scribenda duximus, ea vero per dilectum meum capellanum archedeaconum Midensem tibi fusius declaranda sunt; cui, ut fidem sicut nobis ipsis habeas volumus. Datum ex POHNE et scripta nostra propria manu, 31 July 1562.

Id. lib. fol. 63.

Indorsed—"O'Donell's Letter broughte by Shane's men 25 Augusti 1562."

This letter was in Irish, the following is a translation:

Life and health from O'Donell to his Lord and to his Friends; and let his complaint be with you; according to the custom of the war of Ireland I left my possessions well and Con O'Donell to succeed me. And he took into his hands every thing, which he found in the country. He withholds from me that which O'Neill and I agreed by compact together that I should give. And he has made his own determination (and is resolved to abide by it) to keep it to himself, as is evident to me and to every other man: He will not give me my own share, nor the share of O'Neill, which against my will has for a long time been in the possession of the Connallians. And now, therefore, I beseech you to compel Conn O'Donell, willingly or unwillingly, to permit me to fulfil my part of the agreement which is between us and O'Neill.

I, O'DONELL.

Id. Lib. fol. 64.

Indorsed—" To Con O'Donell 26 Auguste 1562."

After our very harty commendatyons,—we have receyved two lettrs from you, and do perceyve by the report of the Deyne of Armaghe and Archdekon of Methe your good and faythfull meanyng and dysposytyon in the serveyce of the Queene's Majeste, whych we do well allow and thankfully take, and therefore ye maye be assured of all friendship and favor that we maye shewe unto you in all your juste causes. We have wrytten to Shane O'Nele to be with us at Dundalk the ..... of Septembr, at which daye and place we also requyr you not to fayle to be with us; and, for your bettr securyte, to come through Tyrone. We have accordyng to your requeste made in your lettrs to Sir Thomas Cusake, wrytten to Shane O'Nele to ..... ageynst you, and neverthelesse, referr to you to consyder

whether it shall be more suer for you to come that wayes upon his ..... or to come by McGuire's countrye wher you may be assured to passe in safety. We have also wrytten to Shane to prolonge his peace with you, whiche we also praye you to kepe on your parte; and so we byd you hartely well to fare, and assure you we wyll not fayle at your comyng to favor you and your resonabell causes in that we justely maye.

From Athloyn the xxvith of August, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 65.

Indorsed—"25th Augusti 1562—Con O'Donell."

Per Chonacium O'Donaill reverendissimo Domino Deputato S. P. cum subjeccione.

Noverit quidem dominacio discrecioque vestros commissarios puta Decannus Armachannensis ac Archidiaconnus Medensem, ad nostrum aspectum comparuisse, vocantes nos ad concilium celebrandi causa pacem inter nos et Johannem O'Neill, quorum equidem adventum Hilari animo jocundoque vultu accepimus, quibus tanquam viris honestis fidem prestabamus. Ita quidem ut ad vestram presentiam, favente Deo maximo accedemus, si quo die nos vocaveritis si dictus Johannes vestrum conspectum adibit. Alias si ipse Johannes rebellis redderetur ineundo ad concilium, vellimus quidem per vestram veniam licentiari, et scribere ad vestros amicos puta Dominum Maguydhir, et Therencium Luyneach O'Neill, ut nos pro viribus adversus, dictum Johannem comfortarent, et quid horum facere decreveritis vestro jussui obtemperare faciemus, et his literis prelectis cerciorare nos curetis de animo et intencione ipsius Johannis O'Neill, an iturus est ad vestrum concilium, et ad quem diem velletis nos accedere. Item etenim fecimus comissarias vestros scribere ad Hugonem O'Donaill, fratrem nostrum, qui est amicus

dicti Johannis in maleficiis ac damnis nobis committendis, ut ad reginam concilium simul nobiscum iter carperet, et eis responsione adhuc haud inventa, sive transierit, sive non, nos velle vestrum si quid fuerit sine debito exequemur. Rescribetur utique ad nos cum certo responso predictorum celeri cursu. Et sic valete, ex Leffer, in Crastino Assumptionis Beate Marie, Anno Domini 1562, yo^r. humble Servant to commande

Con O'Donnaill.

Id. Lib. fol. 66.

Indorsed—"Con O'Donell 25 Augusti 1562."

"Reverendissimo Domino Deputato Regioque Concilio, cum reverentiâ et honore, harum litterarum cum licuerit tradicione fiat fidelis."

In Deo nomine Amen—Venerabilissimo ac reverendissimo Domino Deputato, nos Conachius O'Donaill, humilissimus servus Regine Majestatis, salutes stellis celi coequales ferventi cordis amore peroptamus. Noverit quidem ille qui nichil ignorat, qualiter in eventum vestro gaudeamus, et quanta damna et pericula et oppressiones in vestrâ absencia paciebamur, pro ut nostra misera et lamentabilis querela in subsequentibus continebit. Talis enim est nostra querimonia contra nephandum ac tyrannum virum Johannem O'Neill, Primo quod antequam vos adjuistis Angliam, et quando nos in vestra comitiva fuimus, homines ipsius Johannis O'Neill puta Niallanus juvenis O'Neill, cum suis satellitibus, spoliarunt nos mille vaccis et marthis, cum multis caballis, quarum restituciones nunquam invenimus, item, etiam graviorem, miseriam, et querelam, nunc habemus quam nunc novissime post eventum ipsius Johannis O'Neill in Hyberniam, nos sua propria temeritate et audacia invadebat, et sex milia vacarum

et caballorum nobis aufferebat, quarum occasione ac defectu multi homines pauperesque perierunt, et plerique quidem morituri sunt, nisi dei clemencia, ac vestro suffragio, nobis succurretur. Credebamus equidem nos tutos et intutela positos ex quo semel dictus Johannes O'Neill adivit presenciam regine, confidentes remedium reginale, ac vestram favorem nobis esse in vicino, et sic frustra spe lactati tanta damna nobis comissa fuerunt, ut predicitur, quanta lingua nostra apto ordine fari nequit. Tanta quidem optabamus munera ipsi Johanni antequam nos depredavit aut omnibus bonis exspoliavit, puta quinque obsides pro fidelitate donec iremus ad concilium regale, et unam bonam villam in patria nostra manucaptam, et censum de Tir Eoghayn nostris parentibus debitum, et multos equos, aliaque munera et largiciones. Sancti Dei timore procul abjecto, ac vestro mandato prorsus contempto, prefatus Johannes O'Neill, depopulator agrorum, ac publice utilitatis vexator, modis quibus diximus, et longe horribilioribus, nos invasit, predictas miserias, erumnas, paupertates, predas, spoliaciones, invasiones, tunsiones hominumque occisiones, nobis committendo. Item post hec obtestamur vestram amicitiam ac dominacionem habere vigiliam ac diligentiam, de liberacione Domini Calvacii Idonnaill, parentis nostri, incarcerati et manucapti apud dictum Johannem O'Neill. Super quibus omnibus querelis, accusacionibus, supplicationibus, vestram veneracionem, clementiam, ac miserecordiam, in Christo Jeshu exhortamur, si semper desideratis habere nos, et parentes nostras, insolitis servicio et subjectione, aut spem firmam solidamque confidentiam quam in vos fixam habemus ad finem debitum deducere, quatenus nobis super restitucione predictorum damnorum providere dignemini, quoniam, ut proverbio volgari canitur, in tempore necessitatis ingentis probatur vera amicicia. Et si majus cupitis citare nos ad concilium vestrum, simul cum Domino Johanne O Neill predicto, et habere pro nobis

integram restitucionem ab ipso, aut dare nobis veniam expectandi in loco nostro et facultatem vestram nobis imponere, per quam possimus acquirere plenariam restitucionem, parati sumus, libenti animo, vestris suasibus obtemperare, ita quidem quod facietis antefatum Johannem O'Neill compescere Hugonem O'Donnaill, nostrum fratrem, qui tanquam alter Hercules, tum potestate et confortamine ipsius Johannis, nobis hostili incursu obesse nobis vereter hec enim necessitates nostre quibus involuimur, atque inundamur celerem expedicionem requirunt, ob quam causam Majestatis intuitu vos obsecramus, ut infra viginti quatuor horas, post noticiam presenciam literarum, ad querelas hasce nostras respondeant, et quod facturi estis quantum ad nos rescribetis cum vestro ac nostro ambasiatoribus. Et sic Valete, 13 Augusti Anno Domini 1562.

Post scripta.—Equidem si dictus Johannes O'Neill misit, aut in posterum mittet ad vos, aliquas querelas aut accusaciones adversus nos, quas falsitatis colore autumamus fore picturatas, cum in vestra adfuerimus apto ordine respondebimus presencia.

Id. Lib. fol. 83.

Indorsed—" O'Donnell, 14 Septembris, 1562."

Addressed—" Honorabili Domino Locumtenenti dentur."

Predilecte salutem. Ante hac scripsi ad vestram amplitudinem, Conoscium O'Doinnaill, vestra si lubeat pace, cogere, coacte aut voluntarie, ut me solveret pro bonis meis, et pro bonis ejusdem Dominium Ineill, possessis aput Conolanenses, sed responsum meum non scripsit vestra D. ideoque sepe et sepissime imploro vestram amplitudinem ut hoc in tempore cogetas dictum Conoscium me solvere a Domino O'Neill, cum nunc vobiscum Conoscius esse, secundum scrip-

tum inter me et Dominum O'Neill, manu mei subscriptam, cum conscensu ejusdem Conoscii, et hoc facietis priusquam Conoscius vestram relinquat presenciam. Maximas debeo agere gratias Domino O'Neill, ut me manucepit pro solucione de me habenda, non obstante, qui juste me invenit secundum bellum et consuetudinem hujus partis regni. Et sic sepe et sepissime peto ut cogetis Conoscium me solvere prius quam vos relinquat, coacte aut voluntarie, et sic valete. Ex villa Domini Ineill, xiiii. Septembris 1562.

ego O'Dom.

Id. Lib. fol. 87.

Fragment, in the hand-writing of Thos. Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex.

Indorsed—"Copy of a Concordatum granted to Con O'Donnell, Oct. 5, 1562."

And, wher Con O'Donnell hathe made declaratyon unto us that he hathe of late suffered dyvers losses, and the countrye that he governeth, in the tyme of his father's imprisonment, is utterly wasted, for that he hathe contynued his faythefull and trewe servyce to the Queene's Majestye, and hathe in consyderatyon thereof made humbell petityon to be reteyned in her Majestye's wages; for his better course in servyce, and shew of her Majestye's favour towards hym, wherby his friends and followers may the more wyllyngly joyne with him, it is by us, the Lord Lieutenant and Councell agreed that the sayd Con shall have the Queene's Majestye's wages of vi^{s}. viii^{d}. by the daye, to begyn the 28 of Septembr last, and to the contynew during her Majestye's pleasure.

Dated at Trymlett this fyfth of Octobr, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 95.

Indorsed—" O'Donnell, 6 Octobris, 1562."

Addressed—" Honorabili Domino meo Domino Locumtenenti dentur."

Predilecto meo Domino salutem, opto felicem summam. Caritas necnon summa necessitas, me movet ut hoc scripto vestram amplitudinem visitarem, cum Conoscius O'Doinnaill jam in presenciarum est m———— est imploro vestram amplitudinem ut eum, voluntare aut coacte, facietis dictum Conoscium solvere et deducere me ad libertatem ex manibus Domini Ineill; et non mittere dicto Conoscio recedere a vestra dominacione, donec concordaverit me, vel finem mee solucioni imponeret. Dicunt quidam quod Conoscius dixit, si haberet septem parentes, et quod ipsi omnes arrestarentur, et quod eorum solucio esset villa de Leffyr, quod illam villam non traderet, ex eorum libertate; hujus autem animi est ipse Conoscius, lucrare sibi omnia bona mea, et villas meas, et non solvere me pro bonis meis. Quare cum Conoscius est illius animi tenacis, et vestri officii interest justiciam inter quascumque in hoc regno ministrare, ex quo justo bello manucaptus eram per Dominum O'Neill, idoneum duxi vobis scribere ut facietis dictum Conoscium me solvere pro bonis, et magnam fiduciam habes, ex vestra amplitudine, quod si in bonis non haberem quantum sufficeret ad meam solucionem, quod vestra amplitudo me solveret pro vestris bonis. Et sic iterum atque iterum rogo vos indilate facietis dictum Conoscium, filium in amicabilem meum, me solvere pro bonis meis, nam si absentaverit se in nullo adherebit vestris monitis, quan-

tum ad meam solucionem responsum super his mihi scribatis. Et sic quam optime valete, ex Daire, Sexto Octobris 1562.

mmrr O'Dom.*

Id. Lib. fol. 98.

Indorsed—"To Hewgh O'Donnell, 20 Septembris, 1562."

Dilecte salutem—Cum intelligimus quasdam controversias inter te et Conatium O'Donell esse ortas, quarum decisionem ille lubenter ad nos remittet, rogamus te quatenus a damno illi inferendo omnino abstineas, et ut judicio nostro in omnibus stare velis ita, enim justitia ex utraque parte administrabitur, et interim patria de Tirconnell populique inhabitantes guere† causa remota pacifice et quiete vivere, terraque arare et loca devastata inhabitari, ad magnum illius patrie totiusque regni commodum possint. Et si hoc feceris justiciam, cum favore expectare poteris, si autem a consilio et mandatu nostro erraveris damnum patriotis inferes, et regiam Majestatem ad vindictam provoces nuncius tuus, cum litteris tuis, ad nos venit Dondalke, et quia in regiis negotiis tunc versabamur, illum nos ad Arbrakan sequi jussimus pro responso, ille vero statim ad te sine responso reversus est, vale.—Datum ex Arbrakan xxx Septembris, 1562.

Id. Lib. fol. 70.

Indorsed—"Shane O'Nell, 6 Octobris 1562."

Addressed—"Honorabili Domino Locotinenti deatur."

Humili recommendacione premissa. Scripsit mihi vestro amplitudo ut securitatem darem Conoscio O'Donnaill, ego,

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* *I*, O'Donell † Sic orig'

vestris suacionibus et mandatis, dabo ei securitatem unius mensis, interim quoque mittatis- -homines vestros ad habendum in restitucionem de dicto Conoscio in omnibus per eum prave a me, et a meis ablatis contra mandata reginæ Majestatis et contra prohibicionem vestram ; sciat quoque vestra dominatio quod si illa mendaces essent semipares m. . . in potestate, quod non adherent vestris neque aliquibus mandatis qui pravæ nocerent omnibus, et mihi si possent quod probari bene potest dum non obstante eorum minima potentia contra vestra mandata, et vestræ securitatis tempore sicut possunt, nocent et quod ego quantum ad eos, adhereo vestris mandatis tempore securitatis, eis non nocendo, et si qua dampna comissi contra Conoscium, ipse Conoscius dedit ansam, nam primo plura dampna contra me perpetravit prava, sed villam, fabricatam per me apud Lochfeabhail, nuper datam per Conoscium Scotticis, et occidit filium Capitanei O'Cathan, cum aliis dampnis tempore quo eram in Anglia, tunc autem tempore securitatis vestre, sicut antehac vobis scripseram delicta contra me fecit, nam sui familiarius manuceperunt filiam Domini Idonnaill, et alios dominos generosos interfecerunt, in presencione præfatorum dampnorum et delictorum, feci quidam vindictam contra dictum Conoscium, cum non adhærebat vestris mandatis. Scripsi ad Magydir, et ad filium Ranalldi Flavi, ut mihi restituerent indilate omnia dampna per eos mihi et meis ablata tempore securitatis restituerent, sicut eis in mandatis dedistis mihi restituere per vestras literas. Et si non adherebant vestris monitis indicta restitucione mihi faciends oportet, me perseq . . mea dampna, et debetis capere circa eos vindictam ut promisistis. Jam Capitaneus Maghydhir depredavit meos subditos, qui erant sibi vicini, tempore quo homines mei erant vobiscum in Ardbrecan, ceterum imploramus vestras deminaciones ut festinabitis nuncios meos, et literas meas, ad regiam majestatem ; et meam personam in omnibus que decent ad amicitiam precor ut, vestre persone

comigret ut essemus una caro et unus spiritus, sicut in animo habeo, et favebitis me regine majestati in meis peticionibus, sicut certus sum quod obtinebitis a regia majestate, ea que velitis, ab ea impetrare. Responsum super his cum latore scribati et sic quam optime valete, ex campo meo, aput Daire Duban, sexto Octobris, 1562.

mrr o'nell.

Id. Lib. fol. 76.

Indorsed—" Con O'Donell, 9 Oct. 1562."

Addressed—" Reverendissimo Domino Deputato harum Litterarum, cum reverencia honoreque condigno, fiat tradica."

Superscribed—" Per Chonacium O'Donnayll Ro .. Domino Deputato S. P. cum humili subjeccione."

Literas vestras nunc novissime deputas accepimus, ex quibus clare intelligimus nos observicium nostrum in stipendio regio annali fore acceptos, propter quod maximas grates vestre magnificencie referimus. Conquerimus equidem vestre dominacioni de ineffabilibus damnis nunc nobis comissis, quando in vestro colloquio erramus, per nefandum virum Johannem O'Neill, et Hugonem O'Donnaill, qui nobis tres millia vacarum et capallorum auferebant, ac patriam nostram incendio tradiderunt, in vituperium ac contemptum vestrum, et nostrum irremediabile detrimentum, prout hujus assercionis veritatem ab hominibus ipsius Johannis O'Neill assequebamur. Noluimus enim pandere omnia anxietatis nostre quando in vestro conspectu fuimus, igitur nunc vestram dominacionem exhortamur, ut necessitatem nostram in memoria habeatis, et vestram facultatem adversus ipsum Johannem deduceatis, et si vestri ambasiatores adhuc non repetierunt Hiberniam,

jubemus vobis tardare nostrum nuncium vobiscum, usque ad eventum vestrorum ambasiatorum quo ad usque certiorabitis nos de his que Domina Regina vobis rescripserit; ut breviter quidem alloquimur, omnia nobis possibilia parati sumus ad vestrum jussum explere. Et sic valetote, ex manerio Domini Maguydhir, 9 die Octobris, anno Domini 1562.

Post scripta—Pandimus quod vehementi morbo opus est celeri remedio, igitur finem faustum nostris conatibus imponetis contemptus autem majestatis regie gravatur ex commissione damnorum quorum simus in vestro colloquio, et qui stolidorum schomatibus afficimur igitur &c. Nobis enim asseritur quod ipse Johannes O'Neill facit multos amicos adversus vestram majestatem, ob orientati et occidentali unde præcavere est oportet enim nos elaborare pro aliquo medicamento aliunde acquirendo, nisi celeriter nobis vestrum suffragium succurrentur de digno enim responso horum, omnium nobis rescribetis—et de promissionibus vestris nobis fiendis quod quos vellitis deducere ad finem, si possibile erit.

Yo^{r}. humble sarvant to commaund at all times,

Con O'Donaill.

The King's Letter directing a patent to pass to create Rory O'Donell, Earl of Tirconnell, with a grant of that country.

James Rex. *By the King.*

Right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. We have been credibly informed that Rorie O'Donnell, brother to the archtraitor O'Donnell, lately deceased in Spain, made his humble submission, in Ireland, to our Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and in token of the detestation of his former disloyalties and firm resolution to continue dutiful and loyal

courses hereafter, hath done to us and our crowne, since our lieutenant received him unto our mercy many good and acceptable services, and now lately for true declaration of his loyal heart; the said Rorie hath dutifully presented himself before our royal person, humbly beseeching our princely favour, that we would vouchsafe to grant unto him and his heirs, our territories and countries of Tyrconnell, in Ulster; the which his late brother (though unworthy) and his father and ancestors had for many years past, and have ever in all former rebellion of the O'Neills, lived as loyal subjects to our crowne, till his unhappy brother first stained the reputation of their unspotted name; upon this, and many the like suits, we have resolved to manifest to all our subjects of that our realm; that out of our princely disposition, we desire their dutiful loyalty and obedient hearts than in any degree increase of revenue or profit by their defeccon, where there appeared signs and undoubted expectation of sound loyalty hereafter. And therefore, our pleasure is, and do will and require you, that you cause our lettres patents, under the great seal of that our realm, to be made and passed in due form of law, containing our effectual grant to the said Rorie O'Donell, and the heirs males of his body, with remainders of like estate successively to Caffery O'Donell, brother to the said Rorie, and to his cousin, Donell oge mac Donell O'Donell, of all our teretories and countries of Tireconnell, with all the islands, rights, dainaries, advousons, fishings, duties, and other hereditaments whatsoever, of ancient time, justly belonging to the lord thereof, (excepting to us our heirs and successors, all abbys, priories, and other spiritual living) reserving also to us our heirs and successors, such and the same rent and beeves services, rising out, and duties as the father of Rorie, or any of his ancestors, lords, or possessors of the country, yielded, or ought to have yielded, to our late dear sister the queen, by tenor of any lettres patent or com-

position, with any of his ancestors in the late Queen's time, and recorded in the council book or in any of our courts at Dublin, incerting in the said lettres patent such further reservations, exceptions, and covenants, for the benefit our service as you shall find requisite, and included in any former lettres patent or composition with the lords or chieftains of O'Donnells country; in which our grant, we require you to reserve to us and our heirs, the castle, town, and lands of Balleshenan, and one thousand acres of land thereunto next about the castle adjoining, with the fishings there; and reserving to us during our pleasure, liberty to erect forts which we or our heirs shall think expedient for service of the country; with provisional condition, that the castles, lands, services, rents, and duties, which were in the posession of Sir Neal O'Donell, when he lived under Hugh Roe, late O'Donell, and in amity with him, especially Castlefynen, and all the lands and hereditaments belonging to the same, may be reserved to the free disposition of us and our heirs to bestow upon Sir Neal O'Donell, or such other as may deserve the same, and their heirs: and our pleasure is, that Rorie O'Donell do renounce and relinquish all claims, rights, and duties which he may challenge upon Sir Cahir O'Doghertys country, O'Connor Sligos country, and upon any other subject residing out of the limits of Tyrconnell. And because Rorie O'Donell shall, by this our gracious favour, receive as of our bounty and gift, so large a terretory as a Tireconell, for his inheritance, which may enable him, as our subject, to be in the highest degree of honor; we have thought meet to grace and countenance him with the stile and name of Earl of Tyrconnell, requiring you to grant unto him by lettres patent, the name, stile and honor of Earl of Tyrconell. To have and to hold the same to himself and the heirs males of his body, with remainder of like estate to the said Caffery O'Donell, brother to the said Rorie, and that the eldest sons and heirs

males apparent of the said Rorie and Caffery's bodies, be created lords barons of Donegall, during the lives of the Earls. And our further pleasure is, that the said Rorie shall have a custodiam of all abbeys, priories, and other spiritual livings within the said country of Tyrconell, till we shall be otherwise minded to dispose them, which our princely intention, our pleasure is, shall be effectually accomplished to the said Rorie, for his encouragement to continue in his dutiful loyalty. And these our lettres, notwithstanding any insufficiency of words, or omission necessary to have been inserted herein, for the explaining of our princely favour, shall be as well to you our lieutenant and deputy, now being, or either of you, and to any other deputy or head governor or governors of that our realm, for the time being, and to the chancellor or keeper of our great seal of that Realm likewise for the time being, or to any other officers whom it may appertain sufficient warrant and discharge. Given under our signet at Totenham, the fourth day of September 1603, In the first year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the seven and thirtieth.

To our right trusty wel beloved cousin and counsellor, the Earl of Devonshire, our lieutenant of Ireland, and, in his absence, to our right trusty and welbeloved Sir George Carie, knight, our deputy thear, and to our chancellor of that our kingdom now being, and to any other deputy governor or governors, chancellor or keeper of the great seal of our said realm, that hereafter for the time shall be, and to all other our officers and ministers there to whom it may appertain.

THE MEESHAC.

When this valuable and venerable relick came into my hands, it had all the appearance of having long been in a damp place, or buried in the earth. The rich tracery work of the settings, and the chased silver plating, were not perceptible, from the thick coating which covered its surface. The plates being very thin, it required great care and attention to remove its impurities without injury. On discovering the date of *anno domini ccccciii.*, I could scarcely credit the accuracy of my vision, especially as I had been taught to believe, dating by the Christian era, had not been used at so early a period in this country. After an accurate investigation, I feel perfectly satisfied, the date is genuine; nor does it require any great exertion of faith, if we consider, that Christianity, and consequent civilization had existed in Ireland, for centuries before; the claim of the Irish to such a state, having been clearly established, by unquestionable evidence, these remains, powerfully corroborate that testimony.

The name *Meeshac*, which Vallancey says this box bore, may possibly be a corruption of

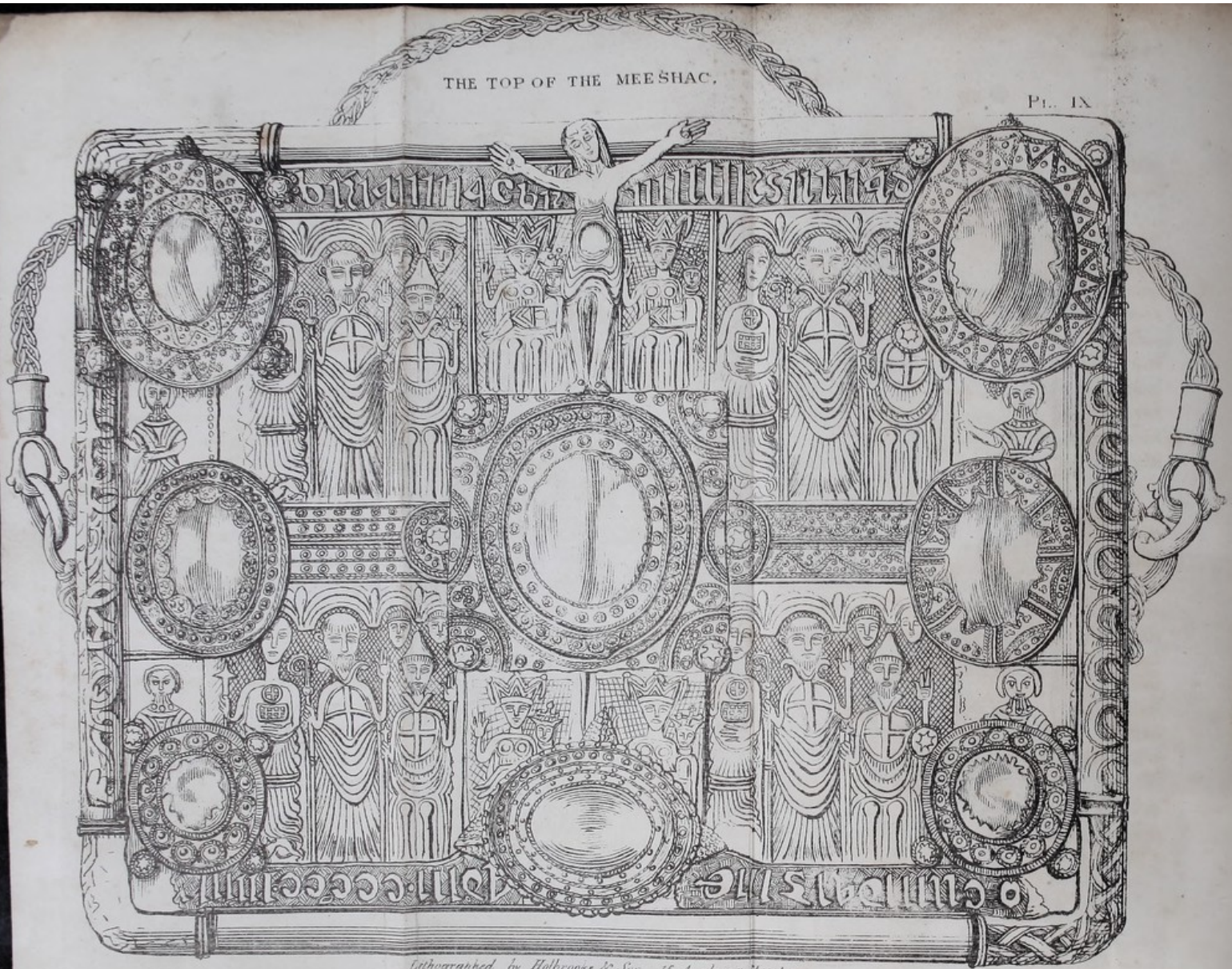
two Irish words, mjon, *a jewel*, and so, *this*; which last being pronounced *sho*, the two together would in familiar speech sound *Mionsho*, and would mean *this jewell*, or *precious jem*, and might, by those who are unacquainted with the Irish language, be taken for and spelled *Meesha*. Mr. O'Reilly, in answer to my queries, says, "I can scarcely venture a conjecture on the word *Meeshac*, which general Vallancey, says, was the name of the box in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Barnard. It certainly is not Irish, although I have no doubt that the true word sounded something like *Meeshac*. It might be derived from the word mjas, *an altar*, compounded with some other word, which may have expressed the use of the box; it was evidently intended to contain copies, or portions, of the scripture, and to stand upon the altar."

Vallancey, in the fourth volume of the Collectanea, No. XIII., page 11, says:—

"Mr. O'Donnell, of the barony of Innishowen, informs me, there was in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Barnard, of Fahan, a precious box, set with stones, called in Irish *Meeshac*, a word supposed to be Hebrew, and to signify a vow. This is ornamented with a crucifix and the twelve apostles, &c."

THE TOP OF THE MEESHAC.

Pl. IX.



Lithographed by Holbrooke & Son 15 Anglesea Street.

Plate IX. is an accurate delineation of the top of the *Meeshac*, somewhat reduced in size.

The twelve figures, which have been mistaken for the apostles, are on four plates of silver, each containing three figures, and are repetitions of each other. The centre is a standing figure representing a bearded bishop or priest, with apparently the tonsure, or a bald head, holding in his hand a crozier, and his left hand held up, as in the benediction; but there is this remarkable difference, that the third and fourth fingers are not bent down, (so as to make the first and second fingers and the thumb represent the trinity,) but the whole palm and hand are exhibited—the thumb is, however, placed on the wrong side of the hand. On his breast is a figure of the cross, apparently part of his vestment, the collar of which stands up on each side of his face; his robe hangs in folds in front over his gown. The head or crook of his crozier appears as if ornamented or set with stones. The figure on the right is of a female, in a flowing robe, treading on a dragon; on her breast is a cross, surrounded with a circle, below which is a figure of an ornamented book, supported by her left hand; in her right hand she holds a staff, on the top of which is a cross. The figure on the left is a priest, in a sitting posture, with a cap on his head, shaped

like a mitre, a cross on his breast, holding in his right hand a staff, with a cross at the top, and his left hand elevated as the centre figure, his legs, from his knees, appear supporting the folds of his garments. Over him are two human faces, one on each side his cap.

At the top, in the middle, is a figure of our Saviour, in brass, plated with silver, as in the crucifixion, but without a cross, fixed by pins through the hands and feet to the box. On each side is a sitting figure of the Virgin, under a canopy, wearing a three-pointed crown, holding the infant Jesus in her lap; on the swaddling clothes is a figure of a triangle, and on his head a three-pointed crown, surmounted with a cross. The right hand of the virgin is elevated, and the left arm surrounds the child.

There are eight settings of polished egg-shaped rock chrystal, the largest in the centre, one at each corner, one on each side, and one at the bottom; each of the corner settings and that in the middle had round it small settings of lapis lazuli, and other stones.

Above and below the two side chrystals are small silver plates, with a figure of a bearded man, his right hand extended, and his left

across him—perhaps they are intended to represent the four Evangelists.

On plates of silver at the top and bottom, engraved in relief, is the following inscription :—

Bꞃıan mac bꞃıan muıꞃ mu͞a do cumdaıg me a° d°nı ccccclıı. mı———

Brian, the son of Brian of the sea-shore of Moy, covered me Anno Domini 503, *in the month of* ———

It reads from the top, and the word do has the d on the upper, and the o on the lower plate.

The box is ten inches long by nine broad, and three inches thick; from each side is a kind of staple, on which is a ring, with a swivel, from which is a brass chain three feet long, which, I suppose, may have been used to suspend the box at the altar, or round the neck of the priest.

The sides of this box are brass plates, and have been inlaid with silver, and enamelled, very similar to the *Caah*. The bottom is also

of brass, gilt, cut into crosses exactly similar to the *Caah* in pattern.

The *Meeshac* was made after the same manner as Dimma's Box: a vacancy was left on one of the sides for the insertion of the MS. it, no doubt, once contained.

It appears that this box, like the *Caah* and *Corp nua*, has been held in such veneration, that it was closed up, and its contents kept a holy secret, under penalty of incurring some severe punishment; for when it came into the hands of those, who had more curiosity than veneration for it as a religious or historical relic, it was very injudiciously and violently opened, much injured, and possibly its contents demolished.

The wooden case, of which these plates are but the external covers, was cut from a solid piece of yew, and hollowed out so as to form a case for a book, open on one side, like that of a folded map; the back of which was not less than an inch and half thick, and harder than any wood I ever saw. The open side had been filled up with a piece of oak, and the whole closed up with a brass plate, like that which covered the other side. Those who at-

tempted to ascertain its contents, unfortunately commenced their operations at the back, and after breaking the brass plate across, they, by chissels, or some instrument of that kind, cut away the box, and broke it to pieces in such a manner, that I found it impossible to restore it. Very long brass pins had been driven in to secure the plates which must have perforated the MS.

The workmanship of the settings is remarkably good, and I think they are more modern than the plates of the figures, which they partly hide; indeed, the plates cover the box, and form a whole without the settings. The same remark is applicable to the Caah, and to Dimma's box.

Under the centre setting, was a small square piece of vellum, on which was a seal of wax, but so flattened, as to obliterate the impression, if ever there were any on it.

I have not been able to ascertain who this Brian the son of Brian was, but the sea-shore of Moy, is the north coast of the county of Mayo, and was the country of the O'Dowds; nor am I able to throw any light on the history of the Meeshac, or the circumstances by which it came into

the hands of Dr. Barnard, late bishop of Limerick. It was sold with his library after his death, and thus came into the hands of the late Mr. Valence, the bookseller, and from him to Mr. Jones, from whom I purchased it.

THE GERALDINE KNIGHTS.

That the reader may form a correct idea of the descent of the Geraldine Knights, I shall first give a brief sketch of the early pedigree of the Fitzgerald family, which spread itself into several main branches, from each of which sprung scions so great and numerous, as to be designated in the antient records, *the nations of the Geraldines.*

The industrious and indefatigable Mr. Lodge, as well as other writers of the Geraldine story, make it a perfect jumble, by attributing the acts of many individuals to one person, or confusing the history of one branch, with that of another. Mr. Lodge was an accurate writer, on those periods of history of which the records were in his own custody in the rolls office ; (of which he made an admirable and well digested abstract, with excellent indexes,) but it does not appear that he ever examined the rolls in Birmingham Tower, (of which also he had the custody) except the patent rolls, and consequently was under the necessity of availing himself of the in-

correct and confused accounts of preceding historians. In the pedigrees, almost without exception, given in his peerage, of the antient Anglo-Hiberno families, of Fitzgerald, Nugent, Dillon, Barry, Birmingham, De Courcy, Butler, St. Laurence, Netterville, Bellew, &c. &c. the early parts are almost altogether erroneous and unintelligible.

These families are striking examples of the truth, that the human race will increase in proportion as the means are possessed for their support. The Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Barrys, Roches, Nagles, Condons, &c., of Munster; the Burkes, Birminghams, Joyces, &c. of Connaught; and the Birminghams, Barnwalls, Plunkets, Harolds, Archbolds, &c. of Leinster, increased in proportion to the extent of territory they respectively possessed; some of them under the Kildares, Desmonds, Ormonds, Mac Williams, Clanrickards, &c. were able to muster thousands of their name, and to take the field with armies, much too powerful for the safety of the English government; to which, during the reign of the Lancastrian kings, they paid but an uncertain and doubtful allegiance, and were often indebted to the inability of the English government to resist them, for being invested with the power of

the king's sword. But to return to the Geraldines.

They are descended from Gerald de Windsor, constable of Pembroke, and governor of South Wales, by Nesta, daughter of Rhys, prince of South Wales, by whom he had three sons, William, ancestor to the lords Gerard, of England, and the earls of Kerry, now Marquess of Landsdown, Maurice Fitzgerald, hereafter mentioned, and David, who was bishop of St. Davids.

Maurice Fitzgerald, the second son, was one of the gallant heroes who accompanied Richard Strongbow, earl of Strigul, to Ireland, in 1168; he died in the year 1177, and was buried in the abbey of Grey Friers, at Wexford. He had five sons, 1 Gerald; 2 Thomas; 3 Alexander; 4 Maurice; 5 Walter; and a daughter, Nesta, who was the wife of Hervy de Montmorency, or de Monte Marisco, constable of Ireland. This Hervey, is called by historians, de Montemarisco, but he signs his name to a grant to the abbey of St. Thomas, the martyr of Dublin, *Herveius de Munmarenci.* He was brother to Jordan de Montmorency, or de Marisco, lord of Huntspil, a branch of the illustrious house of Montemorency, of

France, who settled in England, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Of Alexander, Maurice, and Walter, the three younger sons, nothing further is known. As my object is merely to give a brief sketch of the pedigree, I shall not enter into the detail of family biography.

Gerald Fitz Maurice, the eldest son of Maurice, was lord justiciary of Ireland, and possessed the manors of Cromyth,* Athdare, Athlekagh, Castle Rodberd, Estgrene, and Green, in the county of Limerick. He married Catherine, daughter of Hamo de Valoines, a noble Norman, by whom he had Gerald, who died unmarried, and

Maurice Fitzgerald, founder of the Abbey of Sligo, and lord justice of Ireland. He also founded the monastery of Youghal, in 1231, and acquired all the great wealth and possessions of the family in Leinster, by his marriage with Agnes, daughter and sole heir of William de Valencia, earl of Pembroke, lord of Offaley, Geshil, Maynooth, Rathmore, Ley, Rathmegan, Kilcock, and Rathbride,

* Cromyth, alias Crom Costle, from which the Irish motto of the earls of Kildare of "*Crom a boo*," or *Crom buagh*, i. e. *Victory for the garrison of Crom.*

in right of his wife Joane, daughter and sole heir of Warren, lord Montchensy, by Joan, lady of Offaley, sister and coheir of Anselm Marshall, earl of Pembroke, son of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, by Isabella, daughter and sole heir of Richard de Clare, commonly called Strongbow, by Eva his wife, only daughter and sole heir of Dermot Macmurrogh, king of Leinster.* This Maurice was the first baron of Offaley, of the Fitzgerald family. By Agnes de Valencia, he had several sons. He died in 1257.

Thomas Fitz Maurice, the second lord of Offaley, died 26th March, 1260, leaving

John Fitz Thomas, third lord of Offaley, who was created earl of the county of Kildare, by patent, dated 14 May, 1316, to him and the heirs male of his body; as such heir male, his Grace Augustus-Frederick, Duke of Lein-

* His Grace the Duke of Leinster, therefore, holds his lands in Leinster, as co-parcener of the antient kingdom of Leinster, being one of the coheirs of Dermot Macmurrough, last king of Leinster, and of earl Strongbow. It is very extraordinary that this circumstance should have escaped Mr, Lodge's observation, especially as he put forth the history of this family as a *specimen* of his intended peerage.

ster, is the twenty-second earl of Kildare. From this earl descended most of the respectable families of the Fitzgeralds of Leinster.

The house of Desmond, descended from Thomas, second son of Maurice Fitzgerald, before mentioned, who came to Ireland with Strongbow. This Thomas Fitz Maurice, married Elinor, daughter of Jordan de Marisco, and niece of Hervey de Montemarisco, before mentioned, by whom he had

John Fitz Thomas, founder of the abbey of Tralee, who acquired the lands and lordships of Decies, and Desmond,* by marriage with Margery, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Fitz-Anthony, lord of Decies, and Desmond, and was slain 1260, he was the father of

Maurice Fitz John, second lord of Decies and Desmond, who was slain with his father, in 1260; he married Joan, daughter of John, lord Cogan, by whom he had

Thomas Fitz Maurice, commonly called

* They were confirmed to him by king Henry the third, by patent, dated in 1259, in the 44th year of his reign, in as ample a manner as they had been held by Thomas Fitz Anthony, his father-in-law, from king John.

Nappagh, or the Ape, third lord of Decies and Desmond, who married Margaret, daughter of Walter de Burgo, son of Walter, earl of Ulster. He was summoned to parliament, in 1295, and accounted for 500 marks, the rent of his land in Decies, 18 Edw. I., 1290, and dying before 1299, was succeeded by his son,

Maurice Fitz Thomas, fourth lord of Decies and Desmond, who was created earl of Desmond, and lord of the palatine regalities, of the county of Kerry, by patent, dated 27 August,1329. This Maurice, and John, who was created earl of Kildare, in 1316, because they were both the sons of a Thomas, and consequently in those days were called Fitz Thomas, have been named as brothers, by Mr. Lodge, and others, an error which any one might fall into, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary. The truth is, that Thomas, the great-great-grandfather of the first earl of Desmond, was brother to Gerald the great-grand-father of the first earl of Kildare.

The supporters of the house of Kildare, were originally *two lions*, but, from the odd way of sketching or painting them, have been mistaken *for monkies*, an error which has been perpetuated, and established. It is remark-

able also, that the story of the ape conveying the child to the top of the castle, from which the earls of Kildare *are said to have taken their crest, of a monkey*, was told of *one of the Desmond family*, viz., Thomas *Nappagh, or the ape*, third lord of Desmond. The truth is, that the crest was also originally *a lion passant*, but ignorantly changed to a monkey, from the same cause as the supporters, added to the tradition alluded to, but which was not at all applicable to any one of the Kildare family.

I shall not attempt to give a history, or connected pedigree, of the Geraldine families, which would swell the article to a great length ; but merely a short explanatory account of their anomalous titles or dignities, commonly called the *White Knight*, the *Knight of Kerry*, and the *Knight of Glynn, or the Valley.*

The peculiarity of these titles, their acknowledged antiquity, combined with the elevated situation of the persons who enjoy them, together with their total dissimilitude from any distinguishing appellation of honour existing in England, have frequently excited attention and curiosity in no small degree. In the ob-

scurity which hangs over their origin, they resemble those singular Milesian *cognomina*, or *soubriquets*, which, in a few families, have descended to the present day, as in the instance of *O'Conor Don*, *Mac Dermot Roe*, and and some others, and, in fact, so antient are these Geraldine titles, that their very possessors are actually unacquainted with the nature or origin of their own dignities. The Earl of Kingston is representative of the family of Fitzgibbon, the *White Knight;* John Fitzgerald, Esq. the *Knight of Glynn;* and the Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, the *Knight of Kerry.*

It has been asserted that these Knights were descended from illegitimate children of an earl of Desmond ; and it is found so stated in pedigrees bearing the very respectable name (whether truly or not I cannot say) of Sir George Carew, afterwards Lord Totness, lord president of Munster, and lord deputy of Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth. But this statement must be erroneous, for I find the Knight of Glynn mentioned on the records, before the date of the creation of the earldom in 1329.

According to several antient Irish MSS. in

my possession, and others, which I have consulted, the true history of the descent of these knights is as hereafter stated. I must also add, that the antient records of the kingdom, the patent, plea, and pipe rolls, strongly corroborate the statement of the Irish MSS.

John Fitz Thomas, first lord of Decies and Desmond before-mentioned, married to his second wife, Honora, daughter of Phelim O'Conor Kerry, by whom he had four sons :

1. Gilbert, from whom descended the *White Knight ;*

2. John, ancestor to the *Knight of Glynn ;*

3. Maurice, from whom the *Knight of Kerry* descended ; and

4. Thomas, ancestor to the Fitzgeralds of the island of Kerry.

THE WHITE KNIGHT.

To Gilbert Fitz John, the eldest of these sons, his father gave the manors of Castleton and Mitchelstown, in the county of Cork ; and

other large possessions. His son Maurice was called Fitz Gibbon, *i. e. son of Gilbert*, as were his descendants; by the Irish they were called *Clan Gibbon*, the *tribe of Gibbon*; and by the Hiberno-Normans, *Fitzgibbon*.—This Gilbert was of *fair hair and complexion*, and being knighted, was called the *white knight*, and by the Irish *Ryther a fin*. His eldest male descendants were constantly denominated by that title until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when John Oge Fitzgibbon, the then white knight, who had taken an active part in the rebellion of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, was attainted by Act of Parliament, after his death, by the name of John Fitzgerald, the *White Knight*, or *Johne oge Fitz John, knight, Fitzgibbon*. This attainder was afterwards reversed by royal pardon, 27th Jan. 1560, and his son Edmond Fitzgibbon, *the White Knight*, had a grant of all his father's possessions, by patent, dated 9th Aug. 1590. He had three sons, Maurice, his heir, John and Edmond; the two latter died unmarried.

Maurice Fitzgibbon succeeded his father, and, having married Joan, daughter of James, Lord Dunboyne, had a son Maurice, who succeeded him, but died without issue, and a daughter, Margaret, who inherited the vast

possessions of the family. This lady became the wife of Sir William Fenton, knight, by whom she had two sons; Sir William, who died without issue, and Sir Maurice, whose only son, Sir William, dying without issue, was succeeded in his estates by his aunt Katharine, only daughter of Sir William Fenton, by Margaret Fitzgibbon; she became the wife of Sir John King, knight, afterwards baron Kingston, whose great-grand-daughter was sole heiress of the family, and the wife of Richard Fitzgerald, of Mount Ophaly, in Kildare, Esq. by whom she had one only daughter and heiress, Caroline, who was married to Robert, Earl of Kingston, whose eldest son and heir Robert, Earl of Kingston, is now possessor of this estate, and representative of the family of the White Knights. There are, however, male branches of this antient family still in existence, bearing the name of Fitzgibbon, and others that of Fitzgerald. There was a branch settled at Castle Com, in the county of Cork, from whom is descended the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald, late prime serjeant of Ireland.

KNIGHT OF GLYNN, OR THE VALLEY.

Sir John Fitz John, the second son of the Lord of Decies and Desmond, had a grant

of the castles and manors of Glyncorbery and Beagh, in the county of Limerick. He and his descendants are styled in the antient records *Johannes filius Johannis del Glynn, miles*, and *Thomas fitz Johannis del Glyncorbry, miles;* and this before the creation of the earldom of Desmond. His descendant *Thomas Fitzgerald, knight of the valley, otherwise knight of Glynn*, was attainted for rebellion, by Act of Parliament in the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth; but his grandson, Edmond Fitzgerald, was pardoned and restored to his estates 25th Nov. 1603. The estate and title descended to John Frauncis Fitzgerald, the present *knight of the Glynn.*

KNIGHT OF KERRY.

To Sir Maurice Fitz John, third son of the Lord of Desmond and Decies, by his second wife, Honora O'Conor, his father gave the lordship of Inismore, in the county of Kerry, with other ample possessions. He was styled *the Black Knight*, from his complexion, and the *Knight of Kerry* from his possessions. The former title was seldom used; but his eldest male descendant has invariably borne the title of *Knight of Kerry.* The Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, M. P. for the county of

Kerry, is the undoubted eldest male descendant of this antient family.

It has been generally supposed, that these were titles granted by the earls of Desmond, as palatine earls of the county of Kerry, but this is not possible, for two of them, the White Knight, and the Knight of Glynn, are not *within his palatine jurisdiction;* besides they existed in the reign of king Henry the third, one hundred years before the creation of the earldom in 1329, in the great uncles of the first of earl Desmond.

In those early times all persons, who held by knights' service, a quantity of land, called a *knights fee,* and upwards, were compellable to take knighthood, under penalty of a fine; and there are many entries on the rolls, to shew that it was often imposed *quia nondum miles;* in fact all persons of high rank, took the honour, and a nobleman who was not a knight, was always styled esquire, "John Nugent, esq. *baron of Delvin,* &c. &c." From all these circumstances, and from the frequency of the heads of the noble Geraldines, filling the situation of viceroy, they would naturally keep up, and support the dignity of the branches of their own families; and the heads of the branches

being always *knights*, and themselves being Geraldines, and often of the same sirname, it became necessary for distinction, to designate them by particular appellations, which soon became familiar, and fixed as their sirnames, until their origin was forgotten.

ANTIENT LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

Recognizance of Mac Coghlan, chief of his nation.

Md.—That at Phellepstown the 2 of June 1571, theer came before us Henry Cooley,* senshall of the King's Countie, and Robert Cooley, Esquiere, Justice of the Peace in her heighnes' Countye; Shane Mc. Coghlane, cheffe of his nation, Cair Mc Fin, of Balleboye, and Cormoke boye Mc Coghlen, and their knowledged them selves to owe unto or Sovraing Ladie the Queene, the some of toe hundreth pounds, monie of Ireland, that ys, to wite, one Hundreth Pounds upon Mc Coghlane, and Fyfty pounds upon ether of the others, yf, &c.

The conditione of this Recognisans is sooche, that, yf the above bownden Shane Mc Coghlene do make his personall apparans, and also bring in hes sone Arte, at the next cession, to be holden in Phellepstowne, before the senshall, and other justyces of assice, and not to depr't without lycens. Then this present recognisans to be voyd, and of none effect; or elles to stand in ful strengthe and vertwe.

Shane Mc ⋈ Coghlen's mrke.
Caire mke ⋈ Fynes, mrk.
Cormoke Boye ⋈ Mc Coghlines, mrk.

Signed and deliveryed to her Hyghnes use.

* Paternal Ancestor to His Excellency Richard, Marquess Wellesley, K. G. &c.

The O'Rourkes were a distinguished Irish sept, posses-of the territory of I Brien Brefney, part of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. The writer of the following letter, Brien O'Rourke, was the chief of this family. He gave the English government no small disturbance during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was the O'Rourke mentioned in the memoir of O'Donell, page 150. He submitted and entered into a treaty with Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, in 1578, which is still extant on record. He afterwards joined O'Donell in rebellion, and being taken, was sent prisoner to England, where he was executed in 1591. The Irish chiefs, not understanding the English language, their correspondence with the English was carried on in Latin.

---

*Letter from Brian O'Rorke to the lord president of Connaught.**

Dilectissimo meo amico gubernatore Conacia hæ Literæ traderetur, cum charite non fictu, ubique erit.

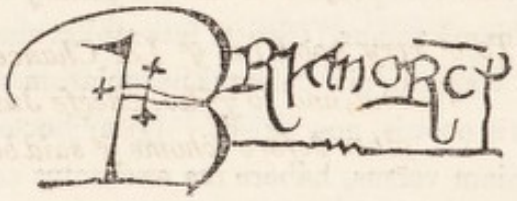
I. H. S.

Salutacione premissa; Accepi literas tuas, charissime amice, xs Aprilis cum summa reverentia qua decet. Scias me iturum esse ad conspectum domini deputati, ultimo die Aprilis, Dupliniam† versus, (Christe favente) et nunc profecturus essem in tuo connatu, nisi defectus pecuniarum nobis contingit, quia in terris nostris, non existit. Igitur hortor te, quando ibis Dupliniam versus, habere me excusatus cum Domino Deputato, sine dilacione, tibi dedam meipsum in eternam pro tuo beneplacito; te transiente Duplineam versus, dic Theobaldo Dillon et Roberto Nugent, manere mecum donec proficiscar ad conspectum vestrum ultimo Aprilis, aliud etiam ostendo tibi

---

* Sir Richard Bingham ancestor to the earl of Lucan. † Dublin.

ex parte amicitiæ mee, ut benefacias Bernardo filio Hugonis filii Fergali I Reel, qui tecum ibit ad conspectum Domini Deputati, in hoc tempore; scire debes quod Henricus diuque obsidebat Bernardum predictum O'Reell injuste, secundum ejus verba. Ideo queso te ut habeas pardonem animæ et corporis Bernardo O'Reell, a Domino deputati sine dilacione. Scias ipsum Bernardum esse amicum meum et coloctanium, et est generosus vir in sua patria. Aliud intellexi erga Capitaneum Mordaunt, in autumno preterito, et per fidem catholicam, pro parte redditus regiæ majestatis, receperunt a me duodecem vaccas illas tunc temporis, et si eos ducerem in patriam meam capitaneo et suis sociis hospicium darem; si Dominus O'Conocobair Slygo, duxit Capitaneum Mordaut in suam patriam, pro suo beneplacito, ac si vis scripturam illius contractus, Hercule reperies, postremo ostendo tibi quod Philippus Sartoris est in thetraca of Rosocamani, ipso cremante domos cum suppellectibus, meis injuste, medius fidius, si esset sub mea potestate traditurus esset tibi sine mora queso te, humiliter, ut mandas tuis servitoribus capere criminosum ubi eum comprehenderet, non plus, sic valeas ex stangno Rereell xmo Aprilis 1585. Tuus amicus fio post hec scripta responsum. Scribe ad me cum Theobaldo Dillon sine dilacione.



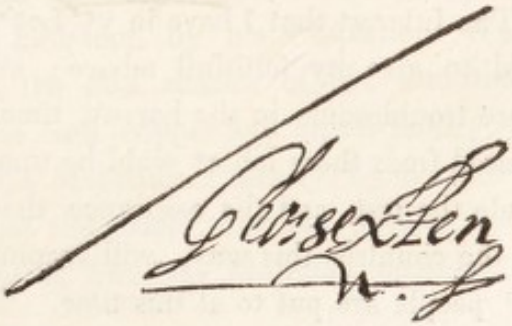
Order of the Lord Depùty Chichester, ancestor to the Marquess of Donegal.



Whereas upon the goinge of ye Barron of Delvyne out of this Castle, we have for some considerations, us then movinge, caused bonds to be taken for the fourthcoming and other conditions, as weare thought meete, upon Mathew and James Ashpoole, and other their sureties; and forasmuch as since that tyme his Majtie. hath received ye said Barron to his gratious favor, and pardoned the ye said parties, we think fitt—the said bonds should be cancelled, and be of noe more force. These are therefore to pray and require yor Lordsps to take notice thereof, and to cancell ye said bonde accordinglie, yat ye parties may receave no prejudice by the same. In doinge whereof yis shall be yor Warrant.

Geven at his Majts Castle of Dublin yis 14th of July, 1609.

To or very good Lo. ye Lo. Chancellor of Ireland, and to ye Lo. cheefe Justice or anie other before whome ye said bondes weare taken.



Sir George Sexton, was Secretary of state.

Letter from the Earl of Leven General of the Scottish army in the north of Ireland.

To the Right honr^ble^
My Lord Viscount Clandeboyes.

My Lord,

As I purpose God willing, on mondaie next, to marche towards the enemie, who is entrenching himself neere Tonregee, to stop o^r^ passage. So least he should shift himself out off my way, and wee have occasion to goe further in the country, I doe wish that all the places wee leave behinde o^r^ hand, may be upon there guarde, and secure themselffs from any inroads, while we are absent. And therefor, because y^r^ Lo^p^ and my Lord Airds are most lyable to this danger, It is my advice, and I have written to my Lord Airds to the same effect, that p^rnt^ ord^r^ be given be you bothe, that all men, that are able to carrye armes come together to to the most fitt places in the ffrontiers, and there continew in armes for y^e^ defence off your country, so long as o^r^ party is abroad; and the souldie^rs^ that stay behinde in there q^rs^ shall have order from me to doe the like, whosoever amongst y^r^ people that refuses to goe out with the rest, let theme answere for it upon there owne perrill.

The Interest that I have in y^r^ Lo^p's^ safetie makes me this bold to give my faithfull advice; and, although it be the more troublesome in the harvest time, yet all that can be spaired from there labor^s^ wold be upon there guarde, to defende the rest, and the assurance that will come to y^e^ rest of the countrie this way, will recompence all the trouble yo^r^ people are put to at this time. They will not have the

like occasion again this season, and that it may prove so it shall be the study and endeavo^{r} off

Yo^{r} Lo$^{p's}$ most affec^{onat}
Frend and Servant,

Carrickfargus, 7 *bris* 17,
1642.

Lewen

Copy of a Debenture for £280, *copper and brass money, issued to Captain Edward Butler, of Bansagh, in Tipperary, by order of King James the Second, now in the possession of Murrough O'Brien Butler, Esq. heir to Captain Edward Butler, of Bansagh.*

Treasury Chamber, the 2d of
March, 1690.

Whereas, it appears by the receit of Francis Rice and Peter Manby, Esqrs. Commissioners of his Majesty's Mint in Lymerick, bearing date the eight day of January, in the yeare of our Ld. one thousand six hundred and ninety, and produced to us; that Captaine Edward Butler paid to them, by way of loane to his Majestie, the summe of two hundred and eighty pounds, of the copper and brasse money, lately made currant in this kingdom, by his Majestie. We doe hereby certify, that the said summe of two hundred and eighty pounds, of the said copper and brasse money, is accordingly paid into his Majesties Treasury, by way of loan, as aforesaid, and that the same remaines due to the said Captain Edward Butler, from his Majestie, pursuant to the

several proclamations formerly issued for encouraging persons to lend the said brass money.

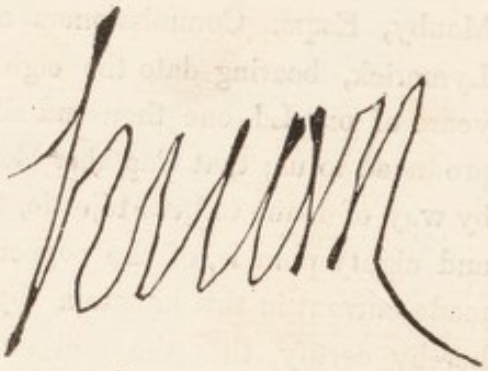
FITZWILLIAM.
RIVERSTONE.
STEPHEN RICE.

THEOBALD BUTLER.

Pass signed by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, general of King James the Second's army, and governor of Limerick at the time of the capitulation.

You are hereby required to permit Major Patrick Allen, with his wife and family, together with there goods, buniart, horses, and arms, to pass out of the gates of this garrison without any lett hindrance or molastacon. In order to his gooinge to his home in Leinster, to enjoy his estate pursuant to the cappittulation and articles made hereine.

Lymbrick, dat. this seventh day of
October. 1691.





2

Engraved by Kirkwood & Son 17 Grafton St. Dublin

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES,

BY

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, F.S.A. L.S.
M.R.I.A. R.A.S. Z.S.

ULSTER KING OF ARMS OF ALL IRELAND, KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF THE LATE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, IN HIS MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN, &c. &c.

PART II.

"Si de veritate scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quam ut veritas relinquatur."

ST. AUGUSTINE.

DUBLIN:
WILLIAM CURRY, JUN. AND CO.
AND HODGES AND M'ARTHUR;
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN, LONDON;
DANIEL LIZARS, EDINBURGH.

1827.

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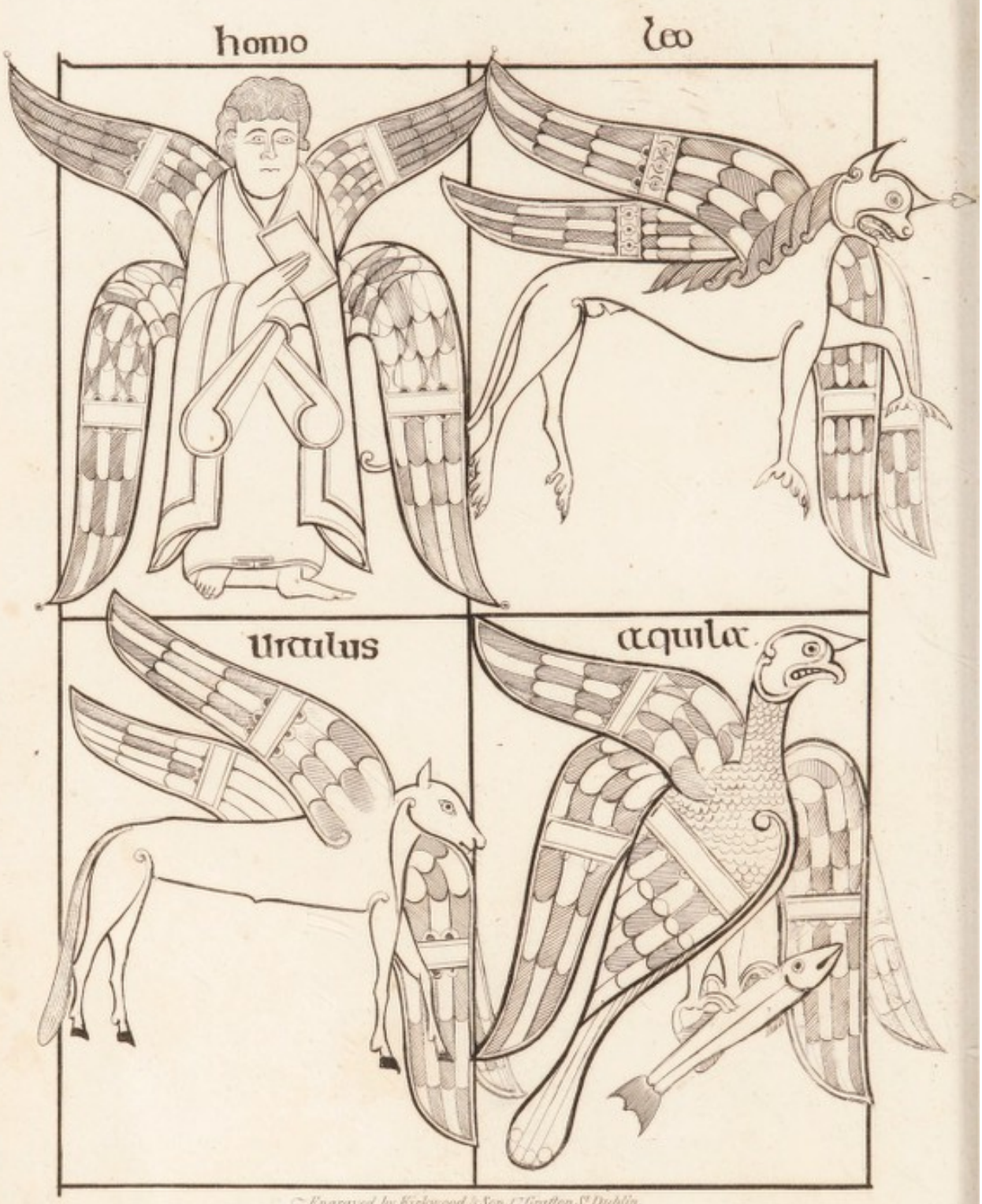
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Engraved by Kirkwood & Son, 1 Grafton St. Dublin.

Emblems of the Evangelists, at the beginning of the Gospel of St. Matthew, in the Book of Armagh.

Published by Wm. Curry, Jr. & Co. Dublin.

IRISH

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE *Psalter of Columbkill*, the *Book of Dimma*, and the *Book of Armagh*, are national muniments, of which all Irishmen may be justly proud, may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, at an age, when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers, their very horn-books.

The *Psalter of Columbkill*, written in the sixth century, is probably the oldest Irish MS. extant. The four gospels of *Dimma*, written

early in the seventh century, is, perhaps, the oldest in the *pure Irish character*.*

The *Book of Armagh*, also written in the seventh century, in the pure Irish character, mixed with the Greek, although of somewhat later date than the others, contains evidence so unequivocal and unquestionable of the history of that early period as to give it a paramount interest and value. The period to which it refers, has hitherto been enveloped in obscurity, rendered more dark by fabricated legends, invented for the express purposes of deception, to make posterity believe they saw the substance, while a shadow was exhibited to their contemplation, to give to *Palladius* the name and character of *Patricius*, and to obliterate the recollection of the latter from the minds and attachment of the grateful and affectionate Irish, by giving his

* From the writing of the *Visitation of the Sick*, in *Dimma's* book, and the entry written *in the presence of Brien Boiroimhe*, in the year 1006, in the book of *Armagh*, being *precisely the same character*, and *differing in toto from that of the remainder of the MSS.* commencing on a spare blank part of the vellum, at the end of the gospel of St. Luke, and continued on an inserted membrane, I consider it to have been written long after the book itself, viz. at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.

name to a phantom, raised at the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century, for *Palladius, or any of his successors, were not called Patrick*, nor had the fraud been contemplated until that period. It was, indeed, a master-stroke of policy. We have now a key which opens the door, and discovers the clue to all the incongruities and contradictions which have perplexed the learned, respecting St. Patrick, by shewing us that the Roman writers called *many men Patrick*, who while living never bore the name. The place of his birth, his relations, his uncle St. Martin, in fact, his almost ubiquity, are accounted for, which so long has been an historical harlequinade. But I am going prematurely into the case, let us return. The book of *Armagh* also, contains evidence of learning, beyond even the most sanguine hopes and expectations of the most patriotic Irishman; it exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek as well as the Latin tongue; and more, in it will be found evidence to convince the most sceptical, that Ireland, in the seventh century, was a cultivated and civilized country, and had been so for centuries; that Christianity had long before enlightened her people, and that not in isolated and individual cases, where its professors shrunk from its avowal, not here and

there in a monastery, on the coast, or in fortified places, surrounded by paganism, and persecution, like an *oasis* in the desart; no, Ireland was then, and long had been, *a Christian nation*, governed by wholesome laws, which protected the lives and properties of its inhabitants, and respected and shielded the stranger.

Hitherto, we have "*looked through a glass darkly;*" we have *heard* of the civilization of antient Scotia, but the medium of legends, traditions, and fabrications, through which it has reached our ears, has been so corrupt, that, if we were even assured of the truth, it was associated with so much falsehood, that we hesitated to receive the palatable, on account of the disgusting vehicle in which it was involved. So much impurity had obscured the pure gold, nay, hid it for ages, that it baffled the most eminent, skilful, and learned historical chemists, to develope its natural beauty and purity.

Notwithstanding the powerful exertions of Ware and Usher, they did not supply us with a rational theory, or any feasible or even satisfactory account of the early history of Ireland.

These learned and able writers rather collected evidence, than drew conclusions, or arranged any thing like a continuous history; they published essays on particular subjects, and printed antient historical tracts, and thus left us but the raw materials.—Usher's Ecclesiastical History, is a work of immense labour and research, but it is only for the learned—to the public, the million, it is a sealed book. It is much to be lamented that this able work has not been translated, as it is calculated to do much good, were it made accessible to all.

It is very singular, that both Ware and Usher saw, and extracted from the Book of Armagh, and yet neither appear to have made themselves acquainted with its most important contents, or looked beyond those passages they thought most proper to publish. Those selected by Usher refer to *Ultan* and *Tirechan* the Bishops; and are to be found in pp. 818, 963, 964, and 1067. De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis, Edit. Dublin, 1639. Sir James Ware published the Confession of St. Patrick, in 1656, in the "*Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*," from this very book; and in his annotations, mentions certain notes and sentences therein, which proves he had

examined it; but it must have been in a very superficial manner, as he says it contained *the entire version of the Scriptures*, while it has but the *New Testament*, and he is altogether silent as to its most valuable historical contents. Sir James, on all difficult points, considers it prudent to leave them to the decision of the reader's judgment, which is certainly modest, but it deprives us of the opinion of an able and judicious antiquary.

I am fully aware of the danger I incur of critical castigation, by the promulgation of opinions and conclusions, now advanced for the first time. I have taken a view altogether novel with respect to the antient church of Ireland, and St. Patrick's mission, and indeed as to the History of Ireland generally. I found it impossible to reconcile *the parts* of the history, they will not form *a whole*, so completely did they contradict and destroy each other's testimony. It appeared impossible to question the fact of St. Patrick's existence, at some time or other, so much is his name mixed up with the traditions of ages; yet, until now, I could discover no *unquestionable evidence of him*, of documents written previous to the 10th or 11th century. The Book of Armagh supplies us with evidence of the

7th, and that of the most satisfactory character, and puts the question at rest as to *his existence.* Hitherto we had almost rejected him as repugnant to testimony above suspicion: *Prosper*, who wrote in the 5th century, is silent; *Bede mentions him not*, if we except the Martyrology, but supplies us with evidence of the existence of Christianity in Ireland, before the alleged and generally received period of his mission, and also a statement from Colman of the pretensions of his countrymen to greater antiquity of Christianity, who likewise sets up the ecclesiastical usages of the *Scots* as more correct than the *Roman;* who is moreover, in some measure, taunted by his adversaries with *presumption*, for considering his corner of the world to be *wiser than the Universal Church.* But it is useless to waste words and arguments, to establish a conceded fact. *Colgan*, and all the other Romish writers, allow the previous existence of Christianity to the mission of *Palladius*, to have been proved by the evidence of *Prosper*, *Bede*, *Ado Viennensis*, *Freculphus Lexoniensis*, *Ingulphus Croylandiensis*, *Hermanus Contractus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, and many others, and mention *Albeus*, *Declan*, *Ibarus*, *and Kiaran*, as four eminent bishops, previous to the mission of

Palladius. Still, most unaccountably do these writers strenuously insist on the *conversion* of the *Scots by their missionary*, in the teeth of their previous admissions, and the lives and actions of *their Patrick*, speak of the *perfect novelty* of Christianity among the *Heathen Scots*. They seem quite blind to the inconsistency and incongruity of their statements with each other.

The truth is, as will be shewn in the following pages, that the first Apostle of Ireland, *Patrick, the Roman Briton*, introduced Christianity into Ireland centuries before the year 430, and *Palladius* was *truly* sent to the *Scots believing in Christ, a nation of Christians*, where a Christian Church had long flourished in apostolic purity; and *Celestine*, on the spread of the Pelagian heresy in the British Islands, sent Palladius on a mission to eradicate that error.

I shall now proceed to a description and history of this venerable relique.

The *Book of Armagh* is a MS. on vellum, of the small quarto size, eight inches high, six inches wide, and about three inches thick. It is fairly written in columns on both sides of the

membranes, in the Irish character, mixed with Greek capitals, and is in fine preservation.—It contains 221 membranes and 442 pages: it is every where perfect, excepting the first membrane, part of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and a few pages which have suffered so much by attrition as to deface the writing.

It has been bound in oak boards, covered with black leather, and was formerly covered either with silver plates, or pins in the figure of a cross surmounted by a saltire surrounded by a border. The stumps of the silver pins still remain, and are very thick and strong—It appears to have had a previous covering of crimson leather, similar to the old Turkey, part of which still remains, and its front was fastened with brass loops—a part of one is still extant.

I wished much to have given a plate of the singular case in which this MS. has been preserved; it is of thick black leather, with raised ornaments of animals and grotesque devices; but I had not time to accomplish it without postponing the publication for another year. It has a very antient brass lock with a hasp, part of which still remains, and had originally eight brazen staples, which passed

through the lid or cover, and appears to have had a bolt or pin pass through them and under the hasp, to fasten by the lock in a manner similar to the small portmanteau or valise of modern times.

Archbishop Usher, in his work, "*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*," pp. 818, 963, 964, and 1067, published 1639, gives extracts from this work, but does not, as far as I have been able to discover, give any history of the book itself.

In 1656, Sir James Ware published a small tract, under the following title:—

"*S. Patricio, qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit, adscripta Opuscula. Quorum aliqua nunc primum, ex antiquis MSS. codicibus in lucem emissa sunt; reliqua recognita; omnia, notis ad rem historicam et antiquariam spectantibus, illustrata. Opera et studio Jacobi Waræi, Eq. Aur. Londoni*, 1656."

In this curious, valuable, and now very rare tract, Sir James gives the Confessio of St. Patrick, from the *Book of Armagh*, but *collated and enlarged* from the Cotton MS. and those in the cathedral of Salisbury. He marks

with inverted commas, the passages from the latter authorities. Dr. O'Conor, has also published this document in his *Prolegomena, Pars I. p. cvii.* without, however, the caution of Sir James Ware's inverted commas. In his annotations on this document, Sir James gives the following observations:—

"The MS. of the church of Armagh, above mentioned, contains besides the Confessio of St. Patrick, *the Holy Bible*, from the version of St. Jerome, and a very antient copy of *Sulpitius Severus*, concerning the life of St. Martin of Tours. It was formerly so highly prized, that the family of *Mac Mayer* held lands from the see of Armagh by the tenure of the safe keeping of this MS. Great veneration for this book was excited in the vulgar mind, by the supposition that it was written by the hand of St. Patrick himself, and certainly, at the end of his confession, these words are added, "*Thus far is the volume which Patrick wrote with his own hand,*" and afterwards, "*On the 17th of March, Patrick was translated to heaven.*" However, from the nature of the character, there is sufficient proof that it is not an autograph, but was transcribed at a much later date."

With deference to so great a scholar and antiquary and to the character of a man I so highly venerate, I cannot avoid saying, the observations of Sir James on this MS. were very superficial, as the reader will find on examining the real catalogue of its contents; the article he extracted, the Confessio, purports to be no more than *a transcript from the real autograph of St. Patrick*, as is evident from the side-notes, which occur of *incertus liber hic*, indicating that the scribe could not be responsible for the true meaning, on account of the difficulty in reading *the original*. The note "*Thus far the volume, &c.*" was evidently copied from the original, and did not pretend to be the autograph itself.

The following description of this MS. from the catalogue of the learned Humphrey Lhwyd, was transmitted to Dr. O'Conor, by the kindness of the Right Hon. Charles Williams Wynne:—

"This MS. beyond all doubt, is very antient, whether it be or be not, partly in the hand-writing of St. Patrick himself, (as is stated at the bottom of page 24.) but appears very likely to me to be of a later

age, and perhaps, it is the text of the gospels which St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachy, reckons among the muniments of the see of Armagh, and relates to have been the text of St. Patrick himself. By Usher and Ware, it is called the *Book of Armagh*, but by *the Irish the Book of the Canons of St. Patrick;* thus called (as I think) from the Canons of the Evangelists, agreeing with one another, begun in page 26. This book was formerly held in great estimation by the antient Irish, so much so, that the family commonly called *Mac Maor*, in English *Mac Mayre*, had their name from the custody of this book. For *Maor* in Irish, is *keeper;* and *Maor-na-Ccanon*, is *keeper of the Canons;* all that family were commonly so called, and they formerly held from the See of Armagh eight townlands in the county of ———, called the lands of *Ballymaire*, by the tenure of the safe keeping of this book; in whose hands it remained during many ages, until *Florence Mac Mayre* went to England in the year 1680. That he should give evidence (which I should doubt the truth of) against Oliver Plunket, D.D. the Roman Catholic prelate of Ireland, who undeservedly, as is believed, was executed. But *Mayre* being deficient of money at his death, this manuscript was left as

a pledge for five pounds; fortunately, it afterwards came to the hands of Arthur Brownlow, Esq. who, with considerable labour, placed the loose leaves in their proper order, and put folios at the top of each page, and other marks in the margin to distinguish the chapters, and had the leaves so arranged in their original binding, (as it now appears) and caused them to be preserved together with a certain bull of the Roman pontiff found with the same. It contains fragments of lives of St. Patrick, written by divers authors, for the most part anonymous. It also contains the confession of St. Patrick, or as I would more correctly say, *his Epistle to the Irish*, then lately converted to the faith. It also contains the epistle from St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, written by way of preface to his version. There are also ten canons which shew the concordance of the gospels with each other, and also short causes or interpretations of each of the gospels, and the New Testament, of the version, I think, of St. Jerome, in which is found the epistle to the Laodiceans, which is mentioned in that of the Colossians. In the first epistle of St. John, the verse is wanting. "*There are three which bear witness in heaven*, &c." There are also explanations of the Hebrew names found in each of the gospels,

together with many arguments of various authors to each gospel, and also, others refering to most of the epistles. At the end is the life of St. Martin of Tours, uncle (as is alledged) of St. Patrick, written by Sulpicius Severus. Note.—That in the gospel of St. Matthew, there are wanting, as I suppose, four folios, that is from the twenty-ninth verse of the fourteenth chapter to the fourth verse of the twenty-first chapter. The Epistles of the apostles are not placed in the order in which they are found at this day."—*O'Conor, Epist. Nuncupatorium* lvi.

Such is the account given by the learned Sir James Ware, and Humphrey Lhwyd, of this curious and valuable MS. which identifies and completes its history.

Lhwyd, however, could not have *critically* examined the book, he was too learned in antient writing, to have given so imperfect a sketch of its contents, which are of so extraordinary a character.

It was written by *Aidus*, bishop of Slepten,* who died about the year 698, and dedicated to *Segenius*, bishop of Armagh and his

* Now *Sletty in the Queen's county.*

successors, with whom it was afterwards deposited.

Its contents are as follows :—

The first membrane is wanting ; from p. 2 to 8, is the life of St. Patrick, very nearly similar to that published by Colgan, as the writing of Probus ; p. 9, first column is an account of some acts and sayings of St. Patrick, by an anonymous author.

The second column commences the life or acts of St. Patrick, collected by *Tirechan*, bishop of *Meath*, as is said, who lived at the end of the seventh century. He commences thus, " *Tirechan, the bishop, wrote this from the mouth and book of Ultan, the bishop, whose pupil, or disciple, he was.*

After which, to folio 19, are a collection of memoranda from various authorities, on the subject of St. Patrick and the *apostolic city of Armagh*, and among them is a memorandum in a more modern hand, stating that that particular paragraph, was written in the presence of *Brien, Emperor of the Scots.**

* This was Brien Boiromhe. See fac simile of this passage plate xi. No. 4.

At page 19, is the recapitulation of *Aidus*, and his account of the authorities he had consulted, and the value he placed upon their evidence, with the "*Book of the Angel*," which contains certain privileges of the city of Armagh, her right to the primacy, &c. &c.

In page 21, is the confession of St. Patrick, at the foot end of which are the following words :—

"Hucusque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima-decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cœlos."

"*Thus far is the volume that Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the* 17*th day of March he was translated to the heavens.*"

Page 25. The letter of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, generally printed before his version of the New Testament, with which however it differs, both as to its language and extent, this letter containing more than is printed in the Vulgate.

Page 26. The first canon in which is pointed out the passages where the four Gospels agree

with each other, and is followed by nine other canons.

Page 29. Commences the short statements of the contents of the gospels, called *Breves Causæ*, which occupy five pages; after membrane 31, commence explanations of the Hebrew names, which occupy the first column of page 32. The second is the *Argumentum Matthei*, or preface to the gospel of St. Matthew, on the back of which are the emblems of the four Evangelists, of which plate X. is a *fac simile*. Then follows, in page 33, the gospel of St. Matthew, which occupies from page 33 to 52. On page 53 is the *Argumentum Marci*, or argument to the gospel of St. Mark, with a short explanation of Hebrew names; on the back of which is the lion of St. Mark.—(See plate X.)

On folio 54, commences the gospel of St. Mark, which ends in folio 67; where commences, at the bottom of the second column, the argument to the gospel of St. Luke, which ends at the bottom of the first column of the succeeding folio 68. The second is occupied by an explanation of the proper names. On the back of this folio is the calf, the emblem of St. Luke.—(See plate X.)

FAC-SIMILES FROM THE BOOK OF ARMAGH

1

2

3

4



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On folio 69, commences the gospel of St. Luke, which ends at folio 89; on the back of which is the argument to the gospel of St. John, and an explanation of proper names.

On the face of folio 90, commences the gospel according to St. John; at the bottom of this page is his emblem, the eagle, (see plate X.) It ends in folio 103. On the back of this page is the autograph of *Florence Maire,* as follows:—"*Liber Florentini Maire, June* 29, 1629," of which see the fac simile in plate XII. No. 3.

On the front of folio 105, is the prologue of St. Hilary, to the epistles of the apostles; and on the back of the same folio is the prologue of *Pelagius to all the epistles;* and about the middle of the first column of the face of folio 106, is the prologue of *Pelagius,* to the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, which occupies the remainder of the face, and the first column of the back. The second column on the back is occupied with observations on certain texts of St. Paul's epistles. On the back of folio 107, is the argument of *Pelagius* to the epistle to the Romans. The epistle commences in p. 108, and ends p. 115, where commences, on the second column, on the face,

with an argument, the first epistle to the Corinthians, which ends on the first column of the face of the 122d folio. On the second column of which commences the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which ends at the bottom of the second page of folio 126; where commences the epistle to the Galatians, which is preceded by an argument of St. Jerome, and also, one by *Pelagius*, and ends at the bottom of the first column of the second page, of folio 129, where commences, with an argument by *Pelagius*, the epistle to the Ephesians, which ends about the middle of the second column of the first page, of folio 132; where commences the epistle to the Philippians, which also has an argument, and ends at the second page of folio 133, at the bottom of which commences the argument of *Pelagius*, to the first epistle to the Thessalonians, which begins in the next page 134, and ends in the second page of folio 135; where commences the argument of *Pelagius* to the second epistle to the Thessalonians, which follows, and ends in the first column of the second page of folio 136; where, with an argument by *Pelagius*, commences the Epistle to the Colossians, which ends at the bottom of the first column of the first page of folio 138; at the top of the second column commences

the *epistle to the Laodiceans*, which has this preface, "*Incipit epistolam ad Laodicenses sed Hirunumus eam negat esse Pauli.*" This epistle occupies part of one column; at the bottom commences the argument of *Pelagius*, to the first epistle to Timothy, which commences at the top of the next page, and ends at the bottom of the first column, of the first page of folio 140; where commences the second epistle to Timothy, which ends near the bottom of the second column of the first page of folio 141; where is the argument of *Pelagius* to the epistle to Titus, which ends in the second column of the first page of folio 142; where commences the epistle to Philemon, with an argument by *Pelagius*, and ends in the next page, where commences the argument to the epistle to the Hebrews, but by whom does not appear. The epistle to the Hebrews occupies from page 143 to 148 inclusive, where is a blank membrane.

Page 150 commences with the epistle of James, without any argument, which ends with folio 151.

Page 152 commences the first epistle of Peter, and ends at folio 153; at page 154 commences the second epistle of Peter, which ends

near the top of the second column of the first page of folio 155, when commences the first epistle of John, which ends in the first page of the 157th folio, where commences the second epistle general of John, which ends in the next page, which also includes the third epistle of John. The epistle of Jude occupies the next folio.

The front of folio 159 is blank—at the back is the argument to the Apocalypse, which commences at folio 160, and ends at folio 170.

The Acts of the Apostles commences at folio 171, which ends at the first page of folio 190.

At page 191 commences the first book of the life of St. Martin of Tours, by Sulpicius. The second book of which commences at the second page of folio 200, and the third at page 214, and ends at the second page of folio 219; where commences the epistle of Sulpicius to the Gauls, and ends in next page; where commences an epistle of Severus to Aurelius, which ends in the folio 221, on which is a very singular prayer.

I have been rather prolix in my description

of the MS., my apology is the *great importance of its identity and genuine character*, on which its sole value depends.

In printing I have followed the arrangements of the articles as they stand in the Book of Armagh, although in chronological precedence, the Confessio of St. Patrick is certainly entitled to the first place, as the most antient document, yet it is placed last. The *Summary of Aidus follows* the *Collections of Tirechan*, and precedes the Confessio, and I conceive his remark on the *doubtful character of the testimony* was intended only to apply to the preceding matter; he certainly had no doubt of the existence of Patrick, although he could not reconcile the conflicting testimony he found respecting him.

To follow the Confession, I have added a translation of the epistle of Patrick to Coroticus, although that document does not appear in the Book of Armagh, because it bears the marks of being the genuine production of the first Patrick; its style is the same, it *quotes from the Septuagint*, and, with Sir James Ware, I think every one who reads it will judge it to be the production of the same pen as the Confessio. It supplies valuable testimony on the

subject under consideration, which is not confined to the description of the antient MS. but is an attempt to elucidate those very interesting periods of Irish history.

The documents themselves, suggest the division for the purposes of discussion, which I shall follow, namely, those which refer to the *first Patrick*, and those which relate *to Palladius and the missionaries from Rome of the 5th century*. There are sôme, however, in which the acts of both are so jumbled together as to render it impossible to separate them. And in order to prevent confusion, I shall, in the remarks hereafter made, apply the name of *Patrick* only to the *apostle of Ireland*, who *first introduced Christianity*, and shall call the missionary of Celestine in 430, and his immediate successors, *Palladius*, or the Roman Patrick.

This is absolutely necessary to the rightly understanding of this intricate subject, which has been hitherto obscured by calling so many individuals by the same name, and attributing to one person, the acts of many living in periods remote from each other; as the antients confused history by attributing the acts of so many heroes to Hercules. I shall now at-

tempt to unravel this intricate skein, by the simple process of allotting to each his own acts, and fixing the real periods at which they flourished; for it is only by patiently arranging, and comparing dates, and evidences, supplied in antient writers, with each other, we can ever arrive at the truth of history.

It will be necessary to my purpose, to introduce also, the evidence of other authorities beside the before-mentioned, to prove the existence of Christianity in Ireland, previous to the fifth century, and to illustrate the periods after the mission of Palladius.

In this attempt, I shall, therefore, first proceed to produce and remark upon the evidence of the existence of a pure Christian church in Ireland, previous to the fifth century, and then on the apostle who first introduced Christianity among the Scots.

We have the existence of Christianity, and even of monastic establishments in Ireland, near a century before 432, clearly proved by the venerable, learned, and indefatigable Dr. O'Conor, in his *Prolegomena*, p. lxxviii. He says, "That the institution of monachism

was introduced into Ireland, almost a *whole century* before the coming of St. Patrick, appears by what is stated of *Cœlestius*, an Irishman, and the fellow-labourer of *Pelagius*, who, as Gennadius writes, dedicated himself *from his youth to a monastery*. (De Script. Illust. c. 44.) This work is proved by Baronius, Norris, and others, to have been written before the year 493. "For it pleased "the Most High, that St. Athanasius, driven "from Egypt by the Arians, promulgated "about the year 336, the monastic life, which "*to this time*, had been considered *disgraceful* "*in the west by the Scots*, Attacotts, and other "barbarians, who laid waste the Roman Em-"pire. Peter, his successor, with the Egyp-"tian monks, the companions of his flight, "brought with them into Europe, the life of "St. Anthony, written by himself, and like-"wise that of Pachomius. The Romans being "at that time annoyed by the barbarians, had "monachism in such estimation, that many, "influenced by his example, meditated soli-"tude, and Pamachius from a senator, be-"came the first western monk in the first "city."

That bishops from the *British islands*, were at the council of Sardis, in 347, ap-

pears from the apology of St. Athanasius against the Arians, and St. Chrisostom about the year 388, has these words concerning the British islands:—

"The *British islands, (i. e. Albion and Ierne)* "situated outside the Mediterranean sea, in the "ocean, have felt the power of the divine "word, for there churches are founded, and "altars erected." And again, in his discourse on the *advantage of reading the Scriptures.* "Whether you bring yourself to the ocean, or "to those *British islands*, or navigate the "Euxine sea, or go to the south-west regions, "you will every where hear all people *dis-* "*cussing philosophically, those things which are* "*found in the Scriptures*, differing in tongues, "but *not in faith.*" Likewise, in his homily on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, "To "whatever church you shall have entered, "whether among Moors or in the *British is-* "*lands*, you will hear John crying out, that it "*is not lawful for you to have thy brother* "Philip's wife."

It would be easy to collect evidence to the the same effect, from the writings of Hilary, Jerome, Theodoretus, and other antient fathers, but I consider quite enough has been cited, to

prove the existence of monachism in the British islands, and consequently in Ireland, as one of them, in the third century.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of two documents of the first importance in the elucidation of the history of Ireland and its antient Church ; in fact, the most *genuine and positive evidences* of the existence of St. Patrick and of the faith he taught. The *Confessio of St. Patrick* and his *Letter to Coroticus*. The first was copied into the Book of Armagh, from the original *in Patrick's own writing*, his *own autograph!*—and is now published from a MS. nearly twelve hundred years old; the last from Sir James Ware's, and Dr. O'Conor's publications, which were accurately collated with antient MSS. In them will be found, no arrogant presumption, no spiritual pride, no pretension to superior sanctity, no maledictions of magi, or rivers, because his followers were drowned in them, no veneration for, or adoration of reliques, no consecrated staffs, *or donations of his teeth for reliques*, which occur so frequently in *the lives*, and also in the collections of Tirechan, referring to Palladius, not to Patrick. In these documents appears the pure apostolic Christian minister, the humble devout missionary, anxi-

ous to promote the salvation of his fellow men, imbued indeed with great zeal, and relating facts, which he attributes to the intervention of a *particular providence*, but which, on examination, are to be accounted for by natural causes. It is not necessary, however, to defend our Saint for believing in a *particular providence*, and the intervention of that superintending power, even in common cases, much less, when the important object was *the conversion of a nation;* nor can there be any imputation against him for credulity or fanaticism, for believing one of the most important truth of Christianity. No—Patrick's writings rescue his character from an unmerited stigma; he lived in a pure age, preached a pure faith, and was worthy to be ranked with those truly pious and exemplary characters, the earliest fathers of the Christian Church, the successors of the apostles. Both documents are eloquent and breathe a truly Christian spirit of humility, of piety, and devotedness to the will of God; and, as Dimma says, such an anxiety for *the sanctification of souls*, and so much *love for truth*, as to convince us of his inflexible integrity, and to fix him in the first place of our affectionate regard. I shall not detract from his merit by abridging the Confessio farther than in reciting from it what may be

considered the symbol of his faith, which I may boldly assert, differs not from the Church of England :—

" From which time I could not be silent, nor, indeed, did God cease to bless me with many acts of kindness, and so great was the favour he thought me worthy, in the land of my captivity, this is my retribution, after my rebuking, punishment, and acknowledgement of God, I should exalt him, and confess his wonderful acts before every nation which is under the whole heaven ; because there is no other God, nor ever was before, nor will be after him, except God, the unbegotten father, without beginning, from whom is every beginning, possessing all things, (as we have said,) and his son Jesus Christ, whom we bear witness, was always spiritually with the father ; inexpressibly begotten before all beginning, through whom visible things were made, he became man, and having overcome death, was received into heaven. And he had given to him all power above every name, as well of the inhabitants of heaven, as of the earth, and of the powers below, that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord and God ; whom we believe, and whose coming we expect, as presently about to be judge of the

living and the dead, who will render to every man according to his actions, and has poured upon us abundantly the gift of his holy spirit, and the pledge of immortality—who makes us, who believe and are obedient, to be the sons of God, and joint heirs of Christ, whom we adore one God in the Trinity of the sacred name,"

This venerable document will be perused with delight by every friend to Ireland and to Christianity, and the name of Patrick will be held in due veneration and respect.

"Its antiquity may be sufficiently proved," says Sir James Ware, "by the circumstance of the passages of Scripture being quoted from the *Septuagint version*, not from the more recent version of St. Jerome, *which was not publickly received in St. Patrick's day.*" It might be questioned whether it proves all Sir James states, who argued upon the supposed period of St. Patrick's existence, *i.e.* 432. But looking with the lights we now possess, it proves much more, the version of Jerome, *was the received version* at the time of Palladius, but Patrick could know nothing of St. Jerome or his version, having existed long before him; and now that a consistent and true history of this early period is brought to light, and we are able

to distinguish between the *real* and the *pseudo Patrick*, the corroboration of such a document as this is of the first importance.

Patrick says, that he is *imperfect in many points*, and seems fully impressed with the importance and Christian duty *of promulgating truth;* and so apprehensive of exceeding the truth, in what he says of himself, that he premises his declarations with the texts of Scripture, which most condemn those who violate verity. "*Thou shalt destroy them who speak lies.*" "*The mouth which lieth shall lose its life.*" "*For every word which man shall utter, for that shall they render an account in the day of judgment.*" And then proceeds to account for his writing this epistle, which he *had hesitated to do before, lest he should fall under censure for presumption.* I must refer the reader to the document itself, which will well repay the trouble of a perusal. The only additional remark I shall make upon it is, that it is the ground-work on which all the fictitious lives have been built and fabricated. He concludes his statement with a declaration of his sincerity and truth, and unlike the pseudo apostles, declares, that he will not recount his labours, for *it would be tedious*, and that after all he was a great debtor to God.

Compare this simple, this beautiful and unvarnished tale, with the lives of Palladius and his followers, and it will clearly appear to an unprejudiced mind, that they could not relate to the same individual.

There is, however, one passage, so much at variance with the sentiments and feelings exhibited in the other parts of the Confessio, as to induce a suspicion of its interpolation, which is that wherein he says, he made a *hundred prayers* in the day, and *as many almost* at night. This savours too much of the feelings and opinions of the seventh century, when the *quantity* and not the *quality* of the prayers began to be considered, and austerity and penance superseded repentance, and the visible and palpable sacrifice of the heathens were substituted, by the grossness and blind ignorance of mankind, for the full and sufficient sacrifice offered once for all.

This paragraph is also particularly at variance with that wherein he says, he will not relate his acts, as it would be tedious and useless, and yet with an unaccountable inconsistency, of which we can scarcely suppose him guilty, he proceeds to relate his making a hundred prayers in a day. It must be a pious

fraud of the transcriber; the same mind which dictated the preceding could never have produced a sentence so full of selfish importance and spiritual pride, and so degrading to his christianity, and so unlike the evident humility of his mind.

The epistle to Coroticus, enables us to form a tolerably correct idea of the *era of St. Patrick.*

Although there can be little doubt, that this epistle, from the internal evidence of its style and language, &c. was the production of the same pen as the Confessio of St. Patrick, yet it is not free from just suspicion of interpolation and corruption. We find the version of the Confessio, derived from the same sources as this epistle, the Cotton and Salisbury MSS. very much added to, and is otherwise erroneous and interpolated, therefore, we may justly have our suspicions of any passages in the letter to Coroticus, which savour of the manufacture of later ages; the document is, however, valuable as historical evidence.

Coroticus is supposed to have been a petty king of Wales, and his name indicates the idea to be correct. *Caradoch* was the

name which the Romans latinized into *Caractacus*, from which Coroticus differs but little. There were many princes of Wales of this name, to one of whom this letter was addressed. He had, it appears, made a predatory excursion to the coast of Ireland, and carried off many Christian converts as prisoners, and sold them to the *heathen Picts and Scots* as slaves. It would appear that Coroticus was a Christian, at least by profession, or the epistle and upbraidings would have been inapplicable.

Patrick, in this also, declares distinctly, that his mission was *from heaven.* "*I declare, I most certainly think I have received what I am from God.*"

The following observations are very remarkable: "With my own hand I have written, and dictated these words to be given and delivered to soldiers that they may be sent to *Coroticus; I do not say to my (fellow) citizens*, nor to the pious Roman citizens, but to the *devils citizens; apostates*, who on account of their evil doings and hostile acts, in the work of death, are the fit companions of the ensanguined apostate Picts and Scots, who have been ever ready to shed the blood of in-

nocent Christians, whom in numbers I have brought to God." In this passage Patrick speaks of his *fellow-citizens* and *Roman citizens*, evidently speaking of Britain as a *Roman province*. The last Roman legion left Britain about the year 404, consequently, these transactions could not refer to the more advanced period of the fifth century, or to the acts of the missionary of Celestine.

He after says, "*I was free born according to the flesh, my father being a Decurio,*" or captain of ten, in a Roman legion; and adds, that he gave up his nobility and all friends to preach the gospel. In the Confessio, he says, his father was *diaconus;* the transcriber probably made an error by placing the latter for the former word *decurio*, from the original, from which he copied, being defaced, or partly obliterated, a case which every one acquainted with old writings knows, is very common. Calphurnius, however, might have been both a *decurion* and a *deacon*, many instances of soldiers becoming clergymen occurred in the primitive church. It also appears by this, that Patrick was a Roman of the Patrician order; he speaks of his nobility and citizenship, another strong evidence of the period of his existence. He also speaks

of the incursions of the Picts and Scots. Again, he says, "It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send pious persons to the Franks and other nations, with money to redeem the baptized captives." This expression is another proof that the period when Patrick wrote, was *before* the foundation of the kingdom of the Franks, under Pharamond in 420, at which time the Franks had established their dominion in Gaul, and the Romans and Gauls no longer sent their messengers to redeem captives from the Franks. It should be observed, that all these occurrences must have taken place before the year 432, and consequently, the writer of the Confessio and the epistle to Coroticus, could not have been sent to Ireland by Celestine in that year. The venerable Bede testifies that, "The Scots *diligently* observed the precepts to be found in the writings of the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles," but they knew nothing of the decrees of the fathers and councils; they were ignorant of any Christianity, but that which was to be found in the sacred volume. The confession of faith of St. Patrick, is in perfect accordance. Colman, the bishop of Lindisfarne, (about the time when Aidus was writing this book of Armagh) told king Oswin, he had received

from his fathers his faith and practice, who were virtuous men, beloved of God; and that it was the same which was observed by the blessed and highly favoured *St. John*, and the churches founded by him; which faith prevented Dagamus, the Scottish bishop, from eating, or even residing in the same house, with those bishops whom he considered as wandering from the truth; this faith also caused Colman and his followers, to give up his bishopric, and their preferment, together with the favour of the royal Oswyn, and all worldly considerations, rather than sacrifice the religious opinions, which they believed to be founded on the rock of scripture authority.

I shall now avail myself of a translation of a fragment of the Brehon Law, by the late learned Irish scholar, Theophilus O'Flanagan, the original of which is amongst the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This translation I have obtained by the kindness of a valued friend, to whom it was given by Mr. O'Flanagan himself. It is a dissertation or comment on the laws, as well as the laws themselves, in question and answer; and is as follows:—

Q. "What are the three fundamental ordi-

nances, from which neither law, nor judgment, nor reason, nor philosophers, can absolve?"

A. "*The holy communion as contained in the holy Scriptures.*

"Tribute, sanctioned by three courses of old law, for preserving the stretch of old memory.

"*The regeneration of life by water, by which freedom from original sin is secured.*"

Mr. O'Flanagan gives the following note on this passage. "Will any one deny this to be "the Protestant religion? The antient Irish "mention but *two sacraments* as necessary, "viz. *the holy communion as contained in the* "*holy Scriptures, and the regeneration of life by* "*water, whereby freedom from original sin is* "*secured: (i. e.) Baptism and the Lord's Sup-* "*per.* These are the two great lessons in- "culcated by the statute, with which is, I "may say, incorporated obedience to law and "government. Blush, England, who would "stigmatize Ireland as the asylum of superstition, bigotry, and barbarism, to which *you* "first gave birth, in the land of saints, wisdom, liberty, and learning."

I cannot help feeling strongly, a participation in the generous burst of indignation of the patriotic and learned Irishman; if England did not first give birth to superstition, and its curses in Ireland, she certainly was the willing instrument to secure their sway. The Roman see never completed its conquest over the Irish church, till it received the aid of the English sword, although by its secret and open agents it had for centuries been sapping its purity.

Let us now proceed to examine and remark upon the life of St. Patrick, the collections of Tirechan, and the other documents contained in the book of Armagh, which refer to (the second Patrick) Palladius and his successors.

I should not have considered *the life of St. Patrick* worthy consideration, if it stood alone, but, occupying a place in the collections of Aidus, and being of such high antiquity as the seventh century, I might perhaps be charged with suppression, if I omitted its insertion, and, although an evident fabrication, still it is important that the public should be in possesion of it.

It is substantially the same as Colgan's 2d,

3d, 4th, and 5th lives; some of its stories are to be found in the collections of Tirechan. This apology is necessary, lest my readers should turn from the detail with something like disgust. As evidence, it is not without interest, and, coupled with the caution of Aidus, very valuable results may be drawn from it.

The *Dicta Sancti Patricii*, or *sayings of St Patrick*, which immediately follow the life, (p. 346,) contain in them strong evidence that the Patrick *of the Roman Church*, was altogether a *different and distinct* personage from the *original apostle* of *Ireland*. They shew clearly that these were sayings of an individual sent by the Roman see, to bring the Irish church under Roman subjection: here we have it in *express terms*:—

"For an age, God be thanked, you (the "missionary clergy) have been calling upon "the churches of the Scots to enter paradise in "*union with the Roman Church, so that, as* "*Christians, they might unite with you in the* "*same service as the Romans.*

"It behoves all the churches which *follow*

" *me* to use that very praiseworthy sentence, " *Curie Lession, Christe Lession,* for all " churches should sing *Cyrie lession, Christe* " *lession, Deo gratias.*"

These sentences could not be the sayings of the first Patrick, for they suppose the churches spoken of, to hold *a different practice* from the individual who speaks, and that *for an age.* This is direct evidence, and scarcely requires comment, shewing a *second Patrick* usurping the name and office of the real apostle.

Bergomas and Sigebertus give us an elucidation of this, and enables us to say who the Patrick was, whose sayings are here set forth to influence the Irish Scots; and in the *Chronicon Belgicum* of Ferreolus Locrius, under the year 590, is the following passage :

" Saint Gregory was the first of the Roman pontiffs, who inscribed himelf " *servus servorum Dei,*" *servant of the servants of God.* He also decreed that no man, *having two wives,* should receive the holy orders of priesthood : whence arose the common adage—

" Holy orders shall not be given to any bigamist.

" Also, that women should not be admitted into the cells of monks, or become godmothers of the same.

" To the fast of forty days, he added the four days prior, beginning from the fourth day.

" He ordained that the mass should commence with a verse of certain psalms.

" Also that *Kyrie eleison* should be said nine times, and Alleluya, and the Offertory, and the Lord's prayer, should be sung after the Communion, and that in the beginning of all canonical hours, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, with glory be to the Father and to the Son, &c. should be said."*

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* Sanctus Gregorius, primus omnium Pontificum Romanorum, se " *Servum Servorum Dei* inscribit; Idem lege cavet ut nullus bigamus sacro Presbyterii ordine iniret unde vulgatum illud.

Ordo sacer non detur ei, si quis bigamus sit.

Item, ne mulieres monachorum cenobia ingrediantur, aut eorundem commatres fiant.

Quadragessimali jejunio, quatuor priores dies, ab feria quarta inchoantes, adjunxit.

Introitum missæ, cum uno alicujus Psalmi articulo ordinavit.

Item ut novies *Kyrie eleison* diceretur, alleluya et offertorium, et oratio dominica, et post communionem caneretur;

Tirechan says his information was derived from the mouth or book of his master Ultan, *bishop of Connor*. By Usher, and Sir James Ware, this Ultan is called bishop of *Meath*, or *Ardbraccan;* but Tirechan distinctly calls him Episcopus Conchuburnenses.* In Ultan's book, he says he found Patrick had four names, *Magonius*, *Succetus*, *Cothirthac*, and *Patrick;* and after mentioning a few facts, which occur in the Confessio, and in his life, he proceeds to recapitulate "*his later miracles*, accomplished *after the second year of Loigaire's reign.*"

This is important: Loigaire became king A. D. 428, and his second year, 430, was the *very year Palladius* was sent by Celestine to the Scots. Here is a reference *to former* acts of Patrick—miracles performed by a Patrick *before the mission of Palladius!!!* The acts mentioned by Tirechan, we are told, are *his later acts*, performed *after* the second year of Loigaire, (i. e.) 430, a palpable and dis-

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atque in principio omnium horarum canonicarum "*Deus in adjutorium meum* intende cum gloria Patri &c. dicatur. *Bergamas Sigebertus.*

* Sirnames were unknown when Tirechan lived, consequently Usher must be in error when he supposes him to be called Conchuburnensis, because he was of the family of the O'Conors, who did then bear that name.

tinct admission and declaration of Tirechan, that there was a former Patrick, who, *before the year* 430, had performed certain acts, or at least those acts had been attributed to him, and that the acts or miracles which he had heard or obtained from Ultan, were his *later acts.* Then follows a further corroboration, for he tells us that Palladius himself, Pope Celestine's legate, or nuncio, was *also called by the name of Patrick, (qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur.)** Thus identifying the commencement of the *later acts* of Patrick, with the exact year of the mission of Palladius, according to Prosper, and proving, what I am convinced was the fact, that the second, or *Roman Patrick,* and *Palladius* were the *same person.*

Can any reason be assigned for this extraordinary fact but one; viz :—That a wise, wily, and politic pope saw the advantage of giving a name to this missionary, which was cherished and venerated by the people to whom he was sent? Patrick was the name of the first apostle of the Scots, of him to whom they were indebted for the first light of the

* Usher de Primordiis p. 899, and Book of Armagh, see Appendix.

Gospel, and that faith to which they were so ardently attached. (page 349.)

"*From the passion of Christ to the death of Patrick, there were* 436 *years.*" This would fix the death of Patrick A. D. 470, *twenty three years* before the period usually admitted, viz. A. D. 493!

"Loigaire reigned two, or five years, *after the death of Patrick*, and his entire reign is computed by us at 33 years."

This would fix the period of Patrick's death A. D. 458, and Loigaire's in 461. These dates, no doubt, referred to *different individuals;* every legate of the Roman see was afterwards *called Patrick;* and when Palladius suffered martyrdom, or was killed by the Scots, for his attempts to overturn their church, another assumed his place.

In this compilation of Tirechan, we shall discover abundant evidence of the existence of a Christian church, *previous to this mission of Palladius;* and that he had to contend against Loigaire and his people, as *a Christian king and nation*, zealous for their faith, not against heathens, barbarians, and magi. We

shall find that Palladius came attended by a numerous staff, and *an army of missionaries*, by all the paraphernalia of the Roman church, that he was opposed as soon as his objects were ascertained, and eventually "*martyrium passus est apud Scotos*," he suffered martyrdom by the hands of the Scots; we shall also find, that many of his *foreign followers* were also slain by the Irish, in attempting to introduce the authority and liturgy of their church, at least this is Tirechan's account.

"Patrick, indeed, came with the Gauls to the islands of *Mac Euchor*, the most eastern of which is still called *Patrick's island*, and with him were a multitude of holy bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists, hostiarii, and readers, as well as their sons, whom he ordained."

These were the various orders of the Roman Church, and exhibit a picture of pomp and circumstance, very different from the humble tone and Christian humility, to be found in the confession of the original apostle of Ireland.

Patrick consecrated bishops, and ordained priests *of the Franks;* this could have been no other than Palladius, the first Patrick having

lived long before the establishment of the dominion of that people in Gaul. All the conflicting testimony about *the family and country of Patrick*, is now accounted for; Palladius, or one of his successors, was probably *the nephew of Martin of Tours*. The first Patrick was a Briton, or rather *a Roman of Britain;* to suppose him a nephew of Martin of Tours, requires *great faith*, even to remove mountains.

He builds his first church at *Sesenan*, and leaves *his son* there as bishop with the two *foreign boys*. And then a story is told, in which Benignus is represented as *the son of an Irishman of Ailbina*, which evidently shews how much fraud and falsehood pervade all these compilations; for afterwards this very Tirechan tells us that *Mathona, the sister of Benignus, was a foreigner*.

There cannot, I think, be a doubt, that Palladius, or the third Patrick, (if he was succeeded by *another Patrick*, which may be a mere invention, to reconcile the conflicting testimony of Prosper, who mentions no missionary but Palladius, and *says nothing* of his successor *Patrick*) made some impression on the Irish church, so far as to gain over

some converts, or at least, induced the adoption of some Roman observances, for Tirechan tells us, (p. 353) that "Hiffertus, of the men of Fiec, was the *first* of the Irish who *burned incense, and carried wax candles; he first took them* home FROM THE HANDS OF PATRICK, and caused the smoke to ascend, into the eyes of the gentile men, and king Loigaire, and his magicians."

It is very clear from this passage, that king Loigaire and his people were *not heathens*, or he would not have been annoyed by the holy smoke, but it was necessary to stigmatize them as gentiles and heathens, because to those Christians, who knew no Christianity but what they found in the scripture, wax candles and incense were an abomination.

Palladius was unremitting in his attempts to bring over Loigaire, knowing well that the example of the prince would have an important influence on the people, but it appears, the king was inexorable, and would not adopt the Roman liturgy, but determined to adhere to the pure faith of his fathers; he, of course, is stigmatized as a *heathen* and *publican*.

Although Loigaire was firm in his determi-

nation, and is declared a heathen, yet it appears Palladius applied to the king for permission to visit the *holy mountain Croagh Egli,* (page 359) and he paid a donation of silver and gold, and also, for *an escort of twelve men* for protection, while on his journey. By this, it would appear, that Loigaire had no very violent desire *to exterminate* these missionaries, or even to meddle with their property, beyond the tribute the laws justified him in demanding. If they possessed gold and silver, and other property, in such abundance, it supposes Loigaire and his people, not to have been the barbarians they wish us to believe them, if they preserved all those tempting effects in perfect security.

This visit to *Croagh Egli,* is a remarkable instance, that on all occasions, the Roman clergy have acted on the policy of using the prejudices and superstitions of nations, by adopting their institutions. This mountain of *Croagh Egli,* now called *Croagh Patrick,* is mentioned by Ptolemy, as *a holy mountain in his day.* The antient *Phenician Irish* held it in great veneration.

There is frequent mention of the foreigners, who were with Palladius; (p. 360) "some

of *his foreigners* were slain by *Feredach*, the son of Neill, whom Patrick cursed," &c. This Feredach was the brother of the king, and it appears either disregarded the curses, or they were not *loud but deep*. Palladius placed an *altar of stone*, (p.364) this custom also was new to the Irish Christians.

Palladius brought with him tradesmen as well as clergymen, (p. 365) Assicus, whom he afterwards made a bishop, was a worker in brass, and made "*altars for Patrick*," and also *cases for books*, and *patina*, or salvers, for the sacrament.

In many places, Tirechan speaks of the *monks of Patrick*, and the *monks of Columbkill*, (page 375,) and the *priests of Patrick*, which shews the distinction made between those monks and priests which followed the Roman ritual of Palladius, and the *antient clergy*. Columbkill, we know *from Bede*, was of the antient church, as was Dagamus, Aidan, and Colman, and the greater part of the Irish people, although the Romish writers think right, to claim them as their own.

The alledged conversation between Patrick and the daughters of Loigaire, is clearly

a fabrication, and shews also what object Palladius had in view, in this missionary invasion of Ireland. (p. 370)

"Do you believe the *unity of the church?*"

Would such a question be put to a heathen, who must be totally ignorant of its meaning?

"*And they accepted the mass (or liturgy) of Patrick.*" (p. 372.) This passage distinctly infers, that the people or priests of *Achad Foboir*, had been Christians, but now consented to *adopt the mass*, in lieu of their ancient formula; it cannot be interpreted that they became Christians, because, had that been the case, no such addition would have been necessary.

It appears from the whole of the testimony of Tirechan, and the others, that this Palladius, or Patrick, travelled through Ireland *in his chariot*, with great consequence, circumstance, and importance, conquering and to conquer. And on his arrival at *Croagh Egli*, his charioteer died, and was buried naked, and that he adopted the custom of the *heathen Scots*, by collecting stones, to make *a cairn* to his memory, and said, "*Let this be so for ever, and let it be visited even to the remotest ages.*" Thus

setting on foot a pilgrimage to the tomb of a man who had no other merit, at least none is mentioned, than being his charioteer. We are then told of his *fasting forty days and nights*, after *the example* of Moses, Helias, and Christ!!!

"Here a tooth of Patrick fell out, and he gave it to Bronus *for a relic.*" (p. 380.) A tooth is still preserved, at Cong, in a splendid case. This was a pretty specimen of the modest and unpresuming minister of the gospel. *He canonizes himself,* and gives his *own tooth* as a relique.

We are again told of his *cursing a magician,* who, of course, was destroyed, and also a river, in which there never afterwards were any fish.

"In that place *a certain bishop came to him.*" This is also evidence of bishops in Ireland, before this second Patrick. He passed seven years in Connaught.

It appears also, that Palladius brought with him all the *armour of the Roman see,* for we are told (p. 383.) that he gave Olcanus

certain *reliques of Peter and Paul and the other apostles.*

"He ordained the boy *Auxilius, the exorcist of Patrick.*" This Auxilius was one of those whom Palladius brought with him from Rome.

There appears the greatest confusion of dates as to Patrick's coming, in (p. 387.) is the following passage :—

"In the thirteenth year of Theodosius, the "Emperor, Patrick, the Bishop, was sent by "Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome, &c."

This would give the date of A. D. 421, for Theodosius became emperor in 408, and consequently the thirteenth of his reign would be 421. Bede says he succeeded Honorius in 423, and that in his eighth year Palladius was sent, which gives 431 ; so says Prosper.

"Palladius the bishop, was first sent, *who is otherwise called Patrick,* who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as the antient saints relate. *Then the second Patrick* was sent *by an angel of God named Victor,* AND BY POPE CELESTINE."

Although I have remarked elsewhere on this passage it may not be amiss to notice here, the extraordinary fact, that *Palladius* was also called *Patrick!!!* and that after his death, *another Patrick* succeeded him, who was probably *second* in command of this army of missionaries, and on the death of Palladius assumed the *Patrician* dignity as *chief of the mission.* This is, indeed, asserted by Dr. Lanigan to be the fact. It is true the angel *Victor* is brought in, as *auxiliary to the pope*, a necessary precaution, as the mission of the *real Patrick*, was from heaven, *in a dream*, in which appeared to him *a man*, named *Victoricius ;* the pretensions of this *third Patrick* would have suffered much, if this incident, so strikingly mentioned in the *Confessio*, had been omitted, nor would the likeness have been *sufficiently strong* to impose upon the most simple ; as it was, Aidus, and the Irish church and people, saw through it, and declared it contrary to their traditions and to the truth.

(P. 394) " Colman the bishop, *offered his church* of *Cluaincain*, in *Achud*, to Patrick the bishop, as a votive offering for ever, and commended him to the holy men, the priests *Medb* and *Sadb.*"

This Colman *was a bishop* of the antient church, who deserted his faith, and went over to Palladius. Here we have *further evidence* of christians, priests, and even bishops, *before the Roman Patrick*, which clearly shews the mission of Palladius to have been to *bring over Christians to Rome, not to convert heathens.* This Colman not only adopted the Romish ritual, but *commended Palladius* to two other priests.

In page 395, is another strong piece of evidence that Palladius found Christians differing with the Roman church :—

" St. Patrick foreseeing through the Holy Spirit that his congregations in Kerry were much dispersed ; that is, bishop *Sachellus*, *Brocidus*, and *Loarnus*, and the priests *Medb* and *Ernas*, he joined them, as well in the unity of eternal peace, *as in one ceremony of faith*, under the sole authority of the successor in his apostolic chair at *Altimacha*." This priest *Medb*, was one of those to whom he had been commended by bishop Colman.

(P. 397) " To Cummin belonged half the profits of the doors of the church of these

inclosures, where they brought their gifts, viz. *three ingots, or ounces, of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar*, three ounces of old gold *of the dishes of their ancestors*, &c. &c.

It will not be denied, that this passage shews a considerable advancement in civilization.

It appears that the spiritual superintendance over this property of Cummin, was in a bishop, called *Colman of the Britons*, possibly the same virtuous bishop mentioned by Bede, who so nobly sacrificed his worldly interests to his respect for, and attachment to truth.

"Some people sinned by falling into contempt of Patrick, so that *Cathbhadh* and *Iserninus were despised by them.*" (p. 399) Here is evidence of the doctrines of the Romans, *being despised;* a few sentences after it appears, that this Iserninus and his monks submitted to Patrick, for his and for their faults. And Patrick gave them to bishop Fiech and to the sons of Cathbhad, who took possession of a *portion of Athfetho.* Here is another instance of Palladius, on the submission of the Scots monks placing a bishop over them.

The account of the consecration of Fiach Finn is curious. Dubhthach is requested to choose a bishop, to be left at Lis Patrick. He answers, I will choose *a man with but one wife*, &c. And when he brought him to Palladius, it is added, that he *baptized him*, and *gave him the degree of a holy bishop*, and he gave him a present of a *bell*, *a mitre*, *a crozier*, *and a cloak* (pallium*,) and left him *seven* of his people. It cannot be supposed this Fiech was baptized and made bishop by the same operation, which seems to be inferred here; but there is no accounting for miracles.

There appears through the whole of this detail, an anxious wish to impress the necessity and duty of *obeying Patrick*, i. e. the *Roman Church*, for Fiech is made to *tell the angel*, that he would not obey even him, the messenger of heaven, if Patrick should not direct him to do so.

The last paragraph of Aidus is very curious in many respects; first, as to this MS.—se-

* This word is applied to *the veil*, as taken by a female, and means nothing more here than a cloak, not *a pall*, as now understood.

condly, as to himself—and lastly, as to the light it throws on the Irish church of the 7th century.

1st. As to the MS. It says, "Aidus sent the collection of instruction (or this Book) to Segenius, then archbishop of Armagh, who desired him to *(change his instruction) alter it.*" The summary, probably, did not go the length Segenius required; but Aidus said, "*he dedicated his instruction, and his people, and his church* TO PATRICK for ever." Aidus left his instruction with Conchad.*

The MS. was thus written and placed in the hands of the bishop of Armagh, and continued, as before stated, in those of his successors; and thus its origin, custody, and history are clearly and satisfactorily accounted for.

With respect to Aidus and the Irish church, in the 7th century, this entry proves the important fact, that he (Aidus) was the first of the Bishops of Slepten who sent in his *adhesion*, to use a Gallicism, to the Church of

* See a fac simile of the original Irish of this passage, plate xii. No. 2.

Rome, and was one of those Irish Bishops mentioned by Bede, who about this time adopted the Roman observances.

THE SUMMARY OF AIDUS.

We now come to a document of paramount importance in this inquiry, compared to which all others, although strong and convincing, are indeed but slight evidence; from them inferences, and strong ones, may be drawn, and fair and just conclusions may be elicited; from them we may justly conclude certain events to have taken place, by way of *vis consequentiæ;* but here we are supplied with *positive evidence,* demonstration, and that of the clearest and most unquestionable character, which cannot be gainsayed. Here we have an *Irish bishop* of the seventh century, shortly before he adopted the formula of the church of Rome entering into an investigation of the pretensions of that church, and the history of St. Patrick, evidently for the purpose of justifying the step he afterwards took; and what does he say? That many people had endeavoured to relate to him what they had heard from their fathers about the story of St. Patrick, as transmitted

to them, *but "on account of the divers opinions and suspicions of most people,* and the *great difficulty of ascertaining the true narrative,* they have never attained in this matter *any certain track or path of history.*"

He farther, after a little flourish of his learning, does not even pretend to have ascertained the true history—for he says, "*If it can be said, that I have brought down the narrative;*" and afterwards concludes most remarkably, by almost declaring his utter disbelief in the corrupted and fictitious history; stating, that he charitably made allowances, but still, with reluctance, selected a few acts which he thought might be true. *His knowledge being small, his authors doubtful, his memory treacherous, and what was the worst of all, the common tradition of the country having failed to support the story.* I shall only observe here on a few of those selected by Aidus, which are a strange mixture of contradictions. The fifth and sixth states, that St. Patrick contemplated *going to visit the apostolic see,* where he wished to learn wisdom, but that he found holy men in Gaul, and *therefore went no further.* The seventh mentions his *mission from an angel* to come and preach the gospel in Ireland, which is followed by two con-

fused paragraphs, about the ordination and death of Palladius, and the ordination of Patrick *by king Amatho, Palladius being dead.*

He speaks of the *fable of Daire* and other matters, which are not necessary to be here recapitulated, or further noticed.

THE BOOK OF THE ANGEL.

This is a strange admixture of the old traditions of the Irish, and the inventions of the seventh century, evidently made up to serve a purpose, but it is replete with important evidence; it declares throughout, that Patrick's commission was *from above*, that he was to be *ranked with Peter and Paul, and the chief* martyrs; that all his authority was derived immediately *from heaven;* that the city of Armagh, was an apostolic city; and that the primate and his successor should preside over all the churches of the Scots, even by *the most exalted authority.* That it was not lawful, *by reason of this authority*, for any prelate, abbot, or other person of the Scots, to appeal from his decision. That in all cases, where any person should commit any offence against the church, the

primate should decide, the other judges being passed by; and if any case should arise too difficult for the judges, *it ought properly to be referred to the primate.*

At the end of this book is the following passage:—

"But if in such a case it cannot be decided by their own wise men, *we* decree that the before mentioned cause shall be transmitted to the apostolic chair, that is, to the chair of authority of the *apostle Peter at the city of Rome.*"

"Those are the persons who have decreed thus, that is, *Auxilius*, *Patrick*, *Secundinus*, and *Benignus*. After the death of Patrick, his disciples collected an account of his works and wrote them down."

Having, I trust, clearly and satisfactorily shewn that Patrick, the genuine apostle of Ireland, flourished long before the fifth century; I shall now endeavour to account for the errors on the subject, which have so long prevailed, by a brief review of the period from the mission of Palladius in 430, to that of Aidus, or the writing of the Book of Armagh,

between the year 661 and 688. For although it appears clear from the life of Patrick, and the collections of Tirechan in the book of Armagh, that the transactions related in them, *if true*, refer not to Patrick, but to Palladius and his successors, yet I am rather inclined to consider them, or the greater part of them, if not absolute fictions, the exaggerations of the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh centuries.

Palladius was sent to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, which had gained an ascendency in the Irish church. At that period the Roman church had not avowed the peculiar doctrines which were adopted in the succeeding ages; nor was it till Boniface assumed the title of universal bishop, that the pretensions of the church of Rome were fully developed. The chief causes of separation between those congregations, which had been established by Palladius, and the antient Scottish church, were the veneration for reliques, the period of keeping Easter, the tonsure, and the variation of church goverment. That these congregations continued to exist in Ireland, separate from the national church is very clear from the two letters of Gregory, published by archbishop Usher in his "*Veterum Epistola-*

rum Hibernicarum Sylloge, Dublin 1632." The first, written A. D. 592, is addressed as follows:—"*Gregory, to all the bishops throughout Ireland.*" In it, he says, he was much rejoiced at the receipt of their letter; but that he should be *more gratified* if he had an *opportunity of rejoicing in their return;* and again, "let the integrity of your faith, *at length, bring back your love for your mother church, which generated you: let not your minds be disunited from the unity of concord &c.*" It appears also that the Scottish church had complained of certain *violations or alterations of the faith* by the Roman church, which induces Gregory, to observe that in the synod, in which the subject of the *Tria Capitula* was treated of, it appeared manifest that *nothing relative to the faith was torn away or even changed.* And he strongly puts forth the doctrine of obedience, saying, "*it does not become us, nor others, who are appointed under the mysteries of the catholic faith, either to say so (i. e. to question the decree of the synod,) or to alledge it in any manner.*" He then talks of having sent them the book written by his predecessor, Pope Pelagius, which he enjoins them to read, and to submit by *laying aside all self-willed defence, to return to our unity;* and tells them that their conduct, if they persist in their opposition,

after reading, will manifest an *unbecoming obstinacy*. Here we have the beginning of those exertions to bring the Scottish church to subjection, alluded to by Bede, and the strongest testimony that that church had not the same faith or observances as the Roman in 592, even that of *the Pope himself;* and it is not a little singular, that Gregory charges them with being over nice, by objecting to the three chapters, *as deviations from the faith.*

The next letter of Gregory, written in the year 601, clearly shews the *difference* between the Scottish *national church*, and that which the missionaries of Rome, had been able to establish in Ireland, by *making the distinction.* It is directed "*to Quirinus and the rest of the* CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN IRELAND," and in it there is no complaint of deviation from the Roman observances, no *invitations to return;* but they are treated as altogether faithful and obedient. That this Quirinus was an Italian is evident from his name, and he was of course a recent missionary.

As the means of obtaining, first a uniformity or conformity of liturgy, and afterwards a spiritual sovereignty over the Irish church; it appears to have been part of the

policy of the Roman missionaries, to fabricate the senseless and absurd fictions attributed to Fiech, Probus, Benignus, the second Patrick, and others; which, in fact, are nothing more than versions of St. Patrick's Confessio, enlarged and corrupted, by different hands, and called *lives*. The Confessio, published by Sir James Ware, and lately by Dr. O'Conor, is an example of this. It contains nearly *twice the matter* found in the Confessio of the Book of Armagh, which Aidus tells us was copied from the saint's own hand-writing; and among other interpolations, the following very remarkable passage:—"*Et una benedicta Scotta, genetiva nobilis pulcherrima adulta erat quam ego baptizavi.*" This evidently was inserted to favour or establish the story of St. Bridget, which is altogether a fiction, as far as the *first Patrick* is concerned. It is also to be observed, that the Book of Armagh is the *only Irish authority;* of the three others, mentioned by Sir James Ware and Dr. O'Conor, one is from the Cotton library, by an anonymous writer, mixed up with the lives of Roman saints; the two others are in the library of the cathedral of Salisbury, and all are of about the same age, namely, the tenth or eleventh centuries.

Compare all these facts with what Bede tells us took place in the seventh and eighth centuries, of the active and unremitting exertions of the Roman church and clergy, *to bring the Scots to uniformity with the universal church*, because they were very unecclesiastical *in many respects;* and also, what Aidus tells us, in his summary, that in his day, (the middle of the seventh century,) the *common tradition* of Ireland was against the written lives of Patrick, which he had collected; and the conclusion must be obvious.

Segene, Segian, or Segenius, to whom Aidus dedicated *his instruction*, &c. succeeded *Thomian* in the see of Armagh, in the year 661, and died in 688. Pope John, in A. D. 634, addressed to Thomian, as head of the Scottish clergy, the letter quoted from venerable Bede, (p. 64) in which this Segian is the last mentioned of the priests, being then a young man. Thomian, or Segene, was the first of the bishops of Armagh who adopted the Romish manner of keeping Easter, and the other peculiarities in which the Scots had hitherto differed. Having gained the primate, eventually the rest of the bishops and clergy were brought over. Pope John, in this letter

charges the Irish clergy with *an old heresy for refusing his Easter*, consequently, to this period, their practice was different from the Roman. Segenius, it appears entered into the Roman cause with zeal, and promoted it with energy, not being very particular as to the means. Aidus tells us, that he wished him to *change his instruction, i. e. to make it more consistent with the new fangled stories, promulgated a short time before, for the purpose of persuading the Scots, that Palladius, or the Roman missionary of* 430, *was the same person as their venerated Patrick.* This Aidus would not, or did not, accede to, but declared it to be inconsistent with the received traditions of his countrymen, and that most people held a *different opinion and suspected the fraud.* Still it appears, bishop Aidus was prevailed on to submit to the authority of the pope, under the name of Patrick. Bede says, pope John warned the Scots of the Pelagian heresy, which he understood was springing up amongst them. In the heads of the books in the version of the New Testament, in the Book of Armagh, written by Aidus, we find the *name of Pelagius* fixed, as the author of the expositions and explanations. These corroborations are very striking and satisfactory, and clearly shew, that the name of Patrick was assumed, and made use

of at this period, *to subvert the church and faith he had established.* Prosper does not mention Patrick, because he never heard of him, nor should we have ever had his name handed down to us, but that it accorded with the policy of the Roman church to adopt him into their calendar, and to claim him as their own; by affixing, near two centuries after his death, that name to their own missionaries. I shall not waste farther argument to prove a fact, which the whole tenor of the existing evidence demonstrates.

COLGAN'S LIVES.

Besides fragments, Colgan published seven lives of St. Patrick, of which the sixth and seventh being of comparatively recent compilation, made up from the others, and spiced higher, to suit them to the taste of the age for which they were written, I shall therefore pass them by without further notice.

Of the others, the first is the hymn or metrical version, attributed to Fiech.

The second is attributed to St. Patrick, ju-

nior, the disciple of the alledged Patrick, and is taken from a MS. in the *monastery of St. Hubert, in Ardvenna.*

The third is attributed to Benignus, also a disciple of the alledged Patrick, and is copied from an antient MS., *at Biburgh, in Bavaria,* and was communicated to Colgan, by Stephen White, a Jesuit, a most zealous investigator of antiquity. Colgan says it agrees with the preceding life, in the first eleven chapters, *but differs much in all the rest.*

The fourth life is attributed to *St. Eleran, the wise,* and is given from a *vellum* MS., of the monastery *Alnensis,* where it appears there were two MS. lives of St. Patricks, from one of which he gave this fourth life, the other agreeing generally with that of the monastery of St. Hubert, called the second life, by Colgan.

The fifth life had the following singular title:—

" B. Patricii primi predicatoris et episcopi *totius Britanniæ,* vita et actus. Authore Probo."

"The life and acts of St. Patrick, the first preacher and bishop of *all Britain. By Probus.*"

Who Probus was, appears a difficulty not to be solved. Some writers say he flourished in the year 260!!! Usher thought he was an Irishman, and others fix him to the seventh century, viz. A. D. 646; but the opinion of Colgan himself is, that he lived in the beginning of the tenth century.

This life agrees in substance, but not in language, with the preceding, with, however, the addition of some few absurdities. He talks of St. Patrick baptizing the people of *Scotia, Britain, England,* and *Normandy!!!* which settles the point of his antiquity, and proves him to have been a clumsy fabricator. As before stated, these lives are all but versions of St. Patrick's Confessio, corrupted and enlarged.

That Palladius, and his followers, succeeded in forming congregations, and founding many churches and monasteries in Ireland, and that the church established by them, continued separate and distinct, is, I think, very clear;

but that Palladius, or any of his immediate successors, never bore the name of Patrick, *while they lived*, is equally so. This name was given them in the beginning of the seventh century, in accordance with the policy of the Roman church, to obliterate, in the Scots, the recollection of their venerated apostle, and to transfer their affections to the Roman church, by giving *his* name to *their* missionary. In this they, eventually, completely succeeded, but it required centuries to accomplish it. Aidus tells us, that in his day, the people did not believe it.

I shall not fatigue the reader by accumulating testimony, or bringing forward more evidence to establish the facts under consideration, as enough, in my humble judgment, has been adduced to satisfy any unprejudiced mind; but there is one more fact to be found in the Annals of the Four Masters, and the other chronicles of Ireland, which is so very remarkable, and so unaccountable, that I cannot pass it by without observation, and with it I shall conclude.—It is, that, at *the request of Patrick*, in the year 438, a committee of three kings, three saints, and three historians, were appointed to *purify* the Irish annals, and to make them conformable to the no-

tions of the Roman Patrick, who was one of the saints. In other words *to corrupt* the records of the country; and, as they had usurped the name of Patrick, to prevent detection, by altering and interpolating those documents which would expose the fraud. The Annals of the Four Masters give it thus in Doctor O'Conor's translation :—

"The year of Christ 438, the tenth year of Loigaire. The histories and laws of Ireland were purified, and copied from written collections, and compiled from the old books of Ireland, into one place, by the desire of St. Patrick. These are the nine wise authors who there did it. Loigaire, that is the king of Ireland, Corccus, and Daire, three kings; Patrick, Benignus and Cairnechus, three saints; Ros, Dubthacus, and Fergus, three historians."

This singular passage, no doubt, refers to the *expurgation* of the histories of Ireland, to make them accord with the declarations of those who wished to impose the *missionary of Celestine* on the Scottish nation as the *real Patrick;* without this *purgation* the object never could have been accomplished. Aidus tells us that, *in his day*, the tradition of the country continued to support the original true

history; it is therefore probable, this spoliation and vitiation of Irish history, was the work of the early part of the seventh century. It is altogether improbable, that Loigaire, who is represented as a heathen to his death, would have joined Palladius in such a work. It is too gross a fabrication for the belief of a rational mind.

I have had the assistance of my friend, Mr. Edward O'Reily, in the translation of the Irish, who declares it to be certainly the oldest dialect of the language he has ever seen. I have given a fac-simile of the passage, a translation of which may be found in page 401, beginning "*Aidus, &c.*" and the original in modern Irish in the appendix. (See plate XII. No. 2.)

In the 48th verse of the 27th chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, this version has the same peculiarity as Dimma's, remarked upon in the note of p. 46, containing the extract from Dr. H. M. Mason's Essay; in which last, however, there is an error of language. The words in Dimma's MS. are "*Alius autem accepta* lancea pupungit latus ejus et exivit*

* Not *capta*.

aqua et sanguis. Jesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum, et ecce velum templi, &c." At this part is this side note "*Hic auctores canunt* ΠΑΤΗΡ ΝΟΣΤΕΡ," which is repeated in the gospel of St. Mark, where the same passage occurs. At the end of the gospel of St. John is the following entry :—

"*Finita sunt Evangelia numero quatuor Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes.*"

Matheus versus habet .....MMDCC.
Marcus .....MDCC.
Lucas .....MMDCCCC.
Johannis .....MMCCC.
Et facit totum ..MMMMMMMMMCCCC."

The total is erroneously calculated, it should be 9600 verses.

The prologues of Pelagius on the epistles of St. Paul, are very interesting documents, they are the production of an individual of whom we know but little, except through the writings of his adversaries, who, although they condemn his opinions, admit him to have been blameless in his life and conversation.—This singular character was the only native of Britain, who made any considerable figure in the early ages of the church, and with

his friend and companion Celestius, an Irish Scot, were the earliest natives of these islands who ventured opinions in opposition to those of the eastern fathers. However erroneous may have been those opinions, they were men of great learning, acute judgment, and piety, and as such, their country may be gratified at having produced them.

It appears probable that they retired to Ireland, after their condemnation, at Rome, in 415, and brought with them the version of St. Jerome, of which this is very similar in its language, though it differs in many important particulars. It is certain the antient Irish church considered him orthodox, or they would not have affixed his expositions to the New Testament. The arrangement of the books is different, and the epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans is inserted, but Pelagius remarks in the argument, that Jerome denies it to be written by Paul.

The disputed seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John, respecting the heavenly witnesses, "*For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one,*" is omitted in this version.

The variation of the Lord's Prayer is also remarkable *ne patiaris*, &c. "*do not suffer us to be led into temptation*," which certainly appears to be more consistent than the common accepted rendering.

There are many other important variations from the vulgate, the discussion of which, even if I thought myself competent to the task, which I do not, would be foreign to my object. I shall, therefore conclude, with expressing a hope, that some learned and acute scholar will undertake the task of collating this valuable and singularly interesting version, which appears to promise, at least, to repay well the labour expended upon it.

I have not considered it necessary to enlarge upon, or to use argument to prove the antiquity of the book of Armagh, it contains evidence, within itself, of its age, which not only renders discussion on the subject unnecessary, but supplies us with sure data, whereby we may form a more accurate judgment of the age of other MSS. In discussing the subject of the introduction of writing into Ireland, which I contemplate hereafter, I trust I shall be able to shew that little dependance is to be placed in the opinions and dicta of Astle, and

other English writers, who have generally treated the pretensions of Ireland, to a state at all above barbarism, with a most unaccountable carelessness, bordering on contempt. They have laid it down as a point not to be questioned, that Ireland *was ever* a barbarous nation, and, therefore, that investigation and inquiry into the subject are not only useless and unnecessary, but that any one venturing the task would deserve the united ridicule and contempt of the learned.

The Irish, while they fondly cherished the object, for the establishment of which this long-continued train of falsehood and deceit was contrived and carried on, have always adhered to the tradition of the learning, civilization, and greatness of their ancestors, but in total ignorance that the cause of their humiliation was the papal power and religion, which, from its first introduction by Palladius, gradually sapped, and eventually destroyed, the religion of the Irish nation, by turning their attention from the substance to a shadow, checking inquiry, and shackling the human intellect.

The following translations I have rendered as literal as I possibly could. It should, how-

ever, be recollected, that the Latin is very obscure, and the meaning of many passages, of necessity, must be guessed from their context and other circumstances. I think, however, there are very few passages in which the meaning has been mistaken; the substance is given, not indeed with elegance of language, but with fidelity; it was considered in the light of *evidence*, and, if the true meaning of a passage was obtained, I was not solicitous about its diction. In page 331, the fifth line from the top, the words *Christi annorum* baffled me. After it was printed, I saw, and wondered how it escaped, that it should have been one word, *Christianorum*, "*of the Christians.*" I do not, however, think it an error of sufficient importance to cancel the page for it.

I beg leave, in this place, to express my grateful acknowledgments to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, through whose kindness and condescension I first became acquainted with the existence of the Book of Armagh, and obtained permission to investigate its contents, and lay them before the public.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

LIFE OF S. PATRICK.

* * * * * * * * * * *

he being placed in slavery in Ireland,* said, that he was visited by frequent visions, saying to him that the time was at hand, when he should come and preach the Gospel to these savage and barbarous nations; that God had sent him to fish there for men, and it was told him, in a vision, that their sons and daughters at the wood of *Foclisia* called for him, &c.

In due time, therefore, accompanied by divine assistance, he set out upon his journey, to accomplish that, for which he was before prepared—to preach the Gospel; and Germanus, moved by the Holy Spirit, sent an elder with him, that is, Segitius, that he might have a companion and witness, because he was not as yet ordained by the holy lord Germanus in the pontifical degree.

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* The first membrane of the MS. having been lost, renders this sentence obscure and imperfect.

For it was true that *Palladius*, archdeacon of Pope *Celestine*, bishop of the city of Rome, who then held the apostolic chair, the forty-fifth from Saint Peter, the apostle, was ordained and sent to this island; placed under the winter's cold, to convert them, but he forbid him to receive oblations,* because no one can receive any land, unless it were given him from heaven. For neither did those rude and savage people readily receive his doctrine, nor did he wish to pass his time in a land, not in his own,† but returning hence, to him who sent him, having begun his passage, the first tide, little of his journey being accomplished, he died in the British dominions.‡

The death of S. *Palladius*, among the Britons, was soon heard of, for his disciples that is, *Augustinus* and *Benedictus*, and the rest, returning, related in *Ebmoria* the circumstance of his death.§

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* To receive grants of land.

† Celestine sends Palladius, and yet *forbids him* to do the work for which he was sent!!

‡ Tirechan, says Palladius, suffered martyrdom *among the Scots.*

§ The *disciples* of Palladius returned to Ireland, and brought the news of his death.

Patrick, and those who were with him, having declined the journey, went to a certain man, an illustrious priest and king, *Amathus*, living in a neighbouring place. Saint Patrick knowing *what events would occur, received there the episcopal degree from Matho*, the *holy king and bishop*,* likewise *Auxilius*, and *Iserninus*, and others, received inferior degrees on the same day on which Patrick was ordained.

Then, having received the blessings, and every thing being accomplished according to custom, Patrick, having sung, as was becoming and proper, a verse of the following psalm: "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of *Melchisedec*," the venerable traveller embarked in a vessel prepared for him, in the name of the holy trinity, and reached Britain.

And, avoiding all circuitous paths, he went forward in the straight way, for no sincere one seeks the Lord in vain, with great expedition, and a prosperous wind, he reached our shores.

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* This ordination of Patrick, by king Amathus, refers to the *first* Patrick. Palladius the Second was ordained by Celestine. *Auxilius* and *Iserninus*, were part of the staff Palladius.

But in the days, in which those things were done, there was in the before-mentioned countries, a certain great fierce and gentile king, emperor of the barbarians, reigning in *Temoria*, who was the chief of the *Scots*, named *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, the origin of almost all the royal race of this island; he had wise men and magicians, and soothsayers, and enchanters, and inventors of every evil art; who could know and foretel every thing before it should happen, after the manner of gentiles and idolaters; amongst whom, two were eminent above the rest,—their names were *Lothroch*, which is *Lochric*, and *Lucamael*, which is *Ronal;* and those two, by their magic art, often prophesied that there would be a certain foreign custom introduced, as the custom of the kingdom, with a certain unknown obnoxious doctrine, from far beyond sea, dictated by a few, and received by many :

To be honored by all,
About to overthrow kingdoms,
About to seduce opposing crowds,
About to destroy all their gods,
And about to rule above all others, by
the powers of its art, for all ages.

They declared that this law should be powerful and persuasive, and should surpass in strength and manner of language, the dictates which had frequently been issued previously

to the coming of Saint Patrick, for two or three years.

But these are short sentences, which, from the idiom of the language, are not easy to decipher.*

He shall prevail by his wooden staff, with a curved perforated head, and enchant from his house, *a wicked thing!* all his family from his table, from the farther part of his house shall answer him—"*let it be done,—let it be done.*"

Which can be very clearly expressed in our words: when all these things are come to pass, our kingdom, which is gentile, shall not stand, that, which is so powerful, shall vanish, for the worship of idols, shall be every where overturned at the coming of Patrick—for the general faith of Christ shall fill all things.

Of these enough has been said, let us return to our subject.

The voyage of the Saint, therefore, being terminated, and the honored ship of the Saint with its foreign wonderful and living treasures was borne, as if to a favorable port, in the

* The prophecy having been written in Irish.

country of the *Coolenni*, to a haven, which is renowned amongst us, and is called *hostium Dei*. It appeared to him, that nothing was better than that, in the first place, he should redeem himself, and from thence proceeding to the left countries, he turned the head of his ship, that he might go to the gentile *Milcoin*, with whom he was formerly in slavery; and, carrying twice the price of his ransom *as well heavenly as earthly*, that he might liberate himself from the slavery of him, whom he had before served in captivity, at the farther part of the island; which is called after his name even to this day.

He then proceeded to *Brega Conalneas*, which is at the extremity of Ulster, even to the farthest strait which is *Brene*. And they went down in the land to the port of *Slain;* he and those who were with him in the ship, and they left the boat, and came after a little into the country to rest there.

And they found living there the swine herds of a certain naturally good man, although a gentile, whose name was *Dichu*, where now is what is called the barn* of Patrick. But

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* Abbey of Saul.

the swine-herd, thinking that they were thieves and robbers, ran off and told it to his lord *Dichu*.

He brought him against them, and being ignorant, he proposed in his heart to slay them, but seeing the face of Saint Patrick, the lord changed his thoughts to good, and Patrick preached the faith to him, and he believed, and the Saint remained there with him a few days. But he wished to go quickly to visit the before-mentioned man *Milcoin*, and carry to him his ransom, as well as to convert him to the faith of Christ. Having left his ship there at *Dicoin*, he began to direct his way to the regions of the Picts,* until he reached the mountain *Mis*, from which mountain, a long time before, when he was there in slavery, with hasty progress he saw the angel *Victoricius* ascend to heaven in his sight, leaving his footstep pressed on the rock of the mountain.

But *Milcoin*, hearing that his slave was come to visit him, to introduce, as if by force, a custom which he did not wish, in the end of his life ; that he should not be subject to his

* Cruidnenorum.

slave, and that he should not rule over him, at the instigation of the devil, he burned himself and his house, which he formerly inhabited, with fire—the king was burned, together with all his substance collected around him.

Saint Patrick standing in the above-mentioned place, at the side of the before-named mountain *Mis*, where formerly the cross appeared for a sign, and met his sight, in that very place, he beheld the funeral pile of the king in flames.

Astonished, therefore, at this spectacle, he remained two or three hours without uttering a word, sighing, groaning, and weeping, and uttering these words: "I know not, God knows, this king, who destroyed himself with fire, would not believe in the end of his life, and would not obey the eternal God; I know not, but God knows, no one of his sons shall reign as king upon the throne of his kingdom from generation to generation, and his seed shall be slaves for ever."

And uttering these words, and fortifying himself with the sign of the cross, he quickly bent his way to the country of the *Ultonians*,

by the same way, and again came to the plain of *Mis* to *Dichu*, and remained there many days going through the whole plain round about, and esteemed and loved them, for the faith began to increase there.

But Easter approached in which was the first passover celebrated to God, in this Egypt of our island—it was celebrated as formerly in *Genesera*. They found that a great council was to be held by the gentiles, to whom God had sent him at the same time, and that they were to celebrate the mysteries of their religion; whereupon it appeared to Saint Patrick who was divinely inspired, that this great solemnity of the Lord, which was, the head of all solemnities, should be celebrated in the very great plain, where was the chief seat of empire of those nations, and of all gentile customs, and of idolatry; that the cause of Christ could not be advanced more than that this unconquerable wedge, should be driven into the head of all idolatry, that it might not any farther have the power to rise against the faith of Christ, and so it was accomplished by the faith of St. Patrick and by his hands.

Having, therefore, pushed down the ship to

the sea; and that good man, *Dichu*, having dismissed them in perfect faith, and peace, leaving the plain of *Iniss* to the right hand, submitting all things to the fulness of their office, which were not unsuitable, they were borne to the left, happily and prosperously to the port of *Colpdi*. And, leaving their vessel there, they proceeded on foot to the beforementioned great plain, until at length, towards evening, they reached *Ferti*, of the men of *Feec*, which, as stories tell, there belonged to *Fodoremus;* that is the servant of *Feccol Ferchertni*, who was one of the nine magicians, the prophets of *Bregg*, and there having pitched his tent, Saint Patrick performed the necessary vows of Easter, and sacrifice of praise to the most high God, with all devotion, in conjunction with his followers, according to the words of the prophet.

It happened in that year, that the gentiles were about celebrating an idolatrous solemnity, accompanied with many incantations, and some magical inventions, and other idolatrous superstitions; their kings being collected, also their satraps, with their chief leaders, and the principal among the people, and magi, and enchanters, and soothsayers, and the inventors of all arts, and gifts, doctors,

as they are called, to *Loigaire*, in *Temoria*, as their Babylon, as formerly to king *Nebochodonossor*, on the same night in which Saint Patrick was celebrating Easter, they were employed in their heathen festival.

There was also a certain custom amongst them—and they were enjoined by an edict, that, whoever, throughout the whole country, far or near, should on that night light a fire, before it was done in the king's house, that is in the Palace of *Temoria*, that soul should be cut off from his people.

Saint Patrick, therefore, celebrating the holy Easter, lighted a divine and blessed fire very bright, which shining, in the night, was seen by almost all the inhabitants of the plain.

Therefore, it happened, that it was seen from *Temoria*, and, when they beheld it, they were all astonished, and the seniors and elders being called to the king, declared that they were ignorant of who had done this; but the magi said, "O king, live for ever! the fire which we see, and which is lighted up this night, before it was lighted in your palace of *Temoria*, unless it should be put out on the same night on which it was lighted, it will never

be extinguished for all eternity; and moreover, all our accustomed fires will be put out, and he, who lighted it, coming to this kingdom, on the night in which the fire takes place, shall overcome you and us all, and shall seduce all the men of your kingdom, and all other kingdoms shall fall to him, and he shall fill all places, and shall rule for all generations."

King *Loigaire*, having heard those predictions, was greatly disturbed, (as was *Herod* formerly) and all the state of *Temoria* with him—and answering, he said, "it shall not be so; but we will now go, that we may see the issue of the affair, and we will take into custody and slay those persons committing such enormities in our kingdom."

Taking with him thrice nine chariots, according to the tradition of the gods, and the two magicians, prepared for conflict, that is to say, *Lucetmail* and *Locru*, in the end of the night, *Loigaire* set out from *Temoria* to *Ferti*, of the men of *Feec*. The faces of the men, and of the horses, were turned, according to what was pointed out to them, to the left.

And, as they went along, the magi said to the king, "Oh! king, you shall not go to the

place in which the fire is, lest, perhaps, you may hereafter adore him who lighted the fire, but you shall remain abroad; but he shall be called to you, that he may adore you, and you shall rule over him, and we will converse with him by turns even in your sight, and O king, you shall prove us." And the king answering, said, "you have counselled well, I will do as you have suggested."

And they came to the appointed place, and descended from their chariots and horses, they did not enter into the circuit of the inflamed place, but stopped near.

And Saint Patrick was called to the king, near the place where the fire was; and the magicians said to their own party:—"Let us not rise up at his approach, for whoever shall rise up at his coming shall believe in him, and afterwards shall adore him; finally, Saint Patrick rising, and perceiving many chariots and their horses, he sung this verse of the psalm, not inapplicably, with his lips and in his heart—"*Some ride in chariots, and some on horses, but we will proceed in the name of our God.*"

And he went towards them and they did

not rise at his approach, but one alone, instigated by God, who would not obey the orders of the magicians, that is *Erce*, the son of *Dego*, (whose reliques are now adored in the city, which is called *Slane*) he rose up, and Patrick blessed him, and he believed in the eternal God.

As they commenced discoursing alternately, the magician, *Locru*, was bold in the presence of the Saint, daring to detract from the *Catholic faith*, with boisterous words, but Saint Patrick glancing at him uttering such expressions, as *Peter* did formerly at *Simon*, with power and great boldness exclaiming to the Lord, he said, "O Lord! who art almighty, and by whose power all things consist, and ye who sent me hither, let this impious wretch who blasphemes thy name, be lifted forth, and let him quickly die." And having said this, the magician was lifted up to the sky, and again cast down and his brains dashed out against a stone, and he died in their sight, and the gentiles feared.

And the king, and his followers, being enraged against Patrick, hereupon desired to kill him, and said, "lay hands on this wretch who is destroying us." Then, Saint Patrick seeing the impious gentiles about rushing

upon him, he rose up and with a clear voice said, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered, and let them who hate him flee before him;" and instantly darkness ensued, and a dreadful commotion, and the impious wretches attacked each other, the one rushing upon the other, and there arose a great earthquake, and they collected their chariots, and drove them with force, and they rushed precipitately themselves in their chariots and their horses through the plain, until at length a few of them escaped, half-dead, to the mountain *Monduirn*, and there were prostrated, of the men of this country, before the king, *by the curse of Patrick*, forty-nine men. The king himself, however, remained, he and his wife and two others of the *Scots*, and greatly feared.

And the queen coming to Patrick, said to him, "O just and powerful man, destroy not the king—for the king will come and bend his knee, and will adore thy Lord." And the king came, impelled by fear, and bent his knee before the Saint, and set himself to worship him whom he was unwilling to honor, and when they separated a little distance, the king stepping forward, called Saint Patrick, with feigned words, wishing to slay

him. But Saint Patrick knowing the thoughts of the wicked king, having blessed his followers, in the name of Jesus Christ, came with eight men and a boy to the king. The king seeing them approach, his eyes failed him, but the gentiles saw those eight persons going like stags with a fawn, as if to the desert, and king *Loigaire* sad, fearful, and disgraced, escaping with a few followers arrived late at *Temoria*.

But on the following day, that is on the day of Easter, as the kings and princes and magicians were with *Loigaire*, (for that was a very great feast day amongst them) while they were eating and drinking wine, in the palace of *Temoria*—some were conversing, and others reflecting on those things which were done, Saint Patrick, with only two (or five) men, proceeded to contend and argue concerning the holy faith in *Temoria*, before all the people, with closed doors, according to that which is written of Christ. He then coming into the supper-room of *Temoria*, no one of them all rose up at his coming except one alone, that is *Dubthach Macculugil*, a very great poet, with whom there was at that time a certain youthful poet, named *Feec*, who afterwards became a celebrated bishop, *whose*

reliques are adored in Sleibti. This *Dubthach* alone, as I have said, of all the people, rose up in honor of Saint Patrick, and the Saint blessed him—and he first believed on that day, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

Saint Patrick, on being seen, was invited by the gentiles to eat, that they might prove him in future transactions, but he, knowing what was about to happen, did not refuse to partake.

Whilst they were all at supper, *Lucetmail*, the magician, who was in the night conflict, as well as in that which took place on that day, was anxious, on account of the death of his associate, to contend against Saint Patrick, and commenced in this manner, whilst some were looking, he poured from his vessel into the cup of Patrick, to see what he would do.

And Saint Patrick, seeing the object of this probation, in presence of all, blessed the cup, and the liquor became like ice, and the vessel being turned, that alone fell out which the magician had put into it, and he again blessed the cup, and the liquor was restored to its natural state, and they all wondered.

And after a little while, the magician said, "Let us perform signs in this very great plain." Patrick, answering, said, "What signs?" And the magician said, "Let us bring down snow upon the earth." And Patrick replied, "I am loath to act contrary to the will of God," but the magician said, "I will bring it down." Then, in presence of them all, he commenced his magical incantations, and brought down snow upon the whole plain of *Ferenn;* and they all saw it, and were astonished. And the Saint said, "Behold! discontinue that which we now see." And he said, "Before this hour to-morrow I cannot discontinue it;" and the Saint said, "You have power to do evil, but not good—it is not so with me;" Then, blessing the whole circuit of the plain, the snow immediately vanished without rain, clouds, or wind. The crowd shouted and wondered in their hearts—and after a little, having invoked the demons, the magician brought down very thick darkness upon the earth. And they all murmured. The Saint said, "Dispel the darkness." But he likewise failed in this; but the Saint praying, blessed it, and suddenly the darkness vanished and the sun shone, and they all shouted, and gave thanks.

All these things were done in sight of the king, between the magician and Patrick, and the king said, "Cast your books into the water, and him whose books shall *pass this trial*, we will adore." Patrick answered, "I will do so." But the magician said, "I will not submit to the trial by water with that man, for his god certainly possesses power over the water."—For he heard of Patrick's baptizing with water, and the king answering said: "Permit the trial to take place by fire." And Patrick said, "I am ready." And the magician unwilling, said, "This man alternately, in each successive year, adores water and fire." And the Saint said, "Not so, but you yourself, with one of my boys, shall go into a separate and closed house, and your vestment shall be on him, and mine on you; and thus, at the same time, the house shall be set on fire." And this counsel was approved, and there was a house built for them, half of which was made of green materials, and the other half was formed of dry; and the magician entered into that part of the house which was green, and one of the boys of Saint Patrick, *Bineus* by name, with the magic vest, was shut up in the other part of the house, which was then set on fire at the outside before the whole crowd, and it

came to pass, while Patrick prayed, that the flame encompassed the magician with his green half of the house, while the part of Saint Patrick remained untouched, the fire did not assail it. But the fortunate *Bineus*, on the contrary, was untouched in his dry half of the house, according to what was said of the three children, "the fire did not touch him, neither was he made sad," and the apartment of the magician was burned without injury to his part of the house, not without the permission of God. The king was greatly indignant against Patrick, on account of the death of his magician, and he almost had rushed upon him, desiring to slay him, but God prevented him, for at the intercession of Patrick, and at his entreaty the wrath of God descended on his head, and the king greatly feared, and his heart was alarmed, and all the state with him.

The elders, therefore, and all his senate, being assembled—king *Loigaire*, said to them, "It is better that I should believe than die;"—and the council being entered into, according to their advice, he believed on that day, and was converted to the everlasting God of Israel. Thereupon many others also believed, and Saint Patrick said to the king, "Be-

cause you have resisted my doctrine, and have been a scandal to me, although the days of your reign may be prolonged, nevertheless, there shall be no king of your seed for ever."

But Saint Patrick, according to the command of the Lord Jesus, baptized those nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and having set out from *Temoria*, he preached, the Lord assisting him, and confirming his sayings, with many miracles.

There was a certain man in the country of the *Ulothori*, in the time of Patrick, *Macuil Macugreccæ*, a man who was very impious, cruel, and tyrannous, like a cyclops—depraved in thought, and also in words—

Malignant in action,
Bitter in spirit,
Angry in disposition,
Abandoned in body,
Cruel in mind,
A gentile in his life,
Void of conscience,

sinking into such a depth of impiety, that on a certain day, in a rough mountainous height, sitting in the place of *Hindruim Mac-*

cuechach, he daily exercised his tyranny, committing the most impious cruelties, and slaying his guests on their journey, with abandoned wickedness.

Seeing Saint Patrick, shining with the clear light of faith, and glittering with the glorious diadem of his heavenly father, unshaken in his doctrine, and confidently walking in a favourable part of the road, he thought to slay him, saying to his attendants—"Behold this seducer and perverter of men comes, whose custom it is to practise deceits, to entrap many men, and to seduce them—let us go, therefore, and tempt him, and let us know if that God has any power in whom he boasts."

And, thus tempting the holy man, they placed one of themselves under a blanket, and feigning him to be dead, in order to prove the Saint by this kind of deception. At the approach of Saint Patrick and his disciples, they were exercising these subtilties and uttering prayers, and practising witchcraft and incantations—the gentiles said to him—"Behold one of us is now sick, approach, therefore, and perform some incantations of your sect over him, if perchance he may be healed."

Saint Patrick knowing all their stratagems and deceits, with constancy and intrepidity, said, "It were no wonder if he had been sick." His companions uncovering the face of him, pretending sickness, saw him dead. The gentiles wondering, and astonished at so great a miracle, said one to another, "Truly, this man is of God, we have done evil in tempting him."

But Saint Patrick, having turned to *Maccuil*, says, "Why did you wish to tempt me?" the cruel tyrant answered, "I am grieved at what I have done, whatever you command me, that I will do, and I now deliver myself into the power of your supreme God, whom you preach." The Saint said, "Believe, therefore, in my God, the Lord Jesus, and confess your sins, and be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And he was converted in that hour, and believed in the eternal God, and moreover, was baptized. And now *Maccuil* added this, saying, "I confess to you, my holy Lord Patrick, that I proposed to slay you; judge, therefore, how much I owe for so great a crime." And Patrick said, "I cannot judge—but God will judge."

"Do you, therefore, depart now, unarmed, to the sea, and pass over quickly [from this country of *Ireland*, taking nothing with you of your substance, except a common small coat, with which you may be able to cover your body, eating nothing and drinking nothing of the produce of this island, having a mark of your sin on your head; and when you reach the sea, bind your feet together with an iron fetter, and cast the key of it into the sea, and embark in a boat, *of one hide*,* without rudder, or oar, and wherever the wind and tide shall carry you, be prepared to remain, and to whatever land providence shall carry you, live there, and obey the divine commands."

And *Maccuil* said, "I will do so, as you have said, but concerning the dead man, what shall we do?" and Patrick said, "He shall live, and shall rise again without pain;" and Patrick called him to life in that hour, and he revived quite sound.

And Maccuil departed thence very speedily to the sea, at the right of the plain of *Inis*, his

* The *cot* or *coracle*, a basket-boat covered with a hide.

confidence being unshaken, he bound himself on the shore, casting the key into the sea, according to what was commanded him, and then he embarked in a little boat, and the north wind arose, and bore him to the south, and cast him on the island of *Evonia*, and he found there two men, very wonderful in faith and doctrine, who first taught the word of God and baptism in *Evonia*.

And the men of this island were converted, by their doctrine to the Catholic faith, whose names are *Conindri* and *Rumili*. But these two seeing a man of the same habit, wondered and pitied him, and lifted him out of the sea, the spiritual fathers received him with joy; he, therefore, after finding himself in a region believing in God, conformed himself soul and body to their guidance, and spent the residue of his life with those two holy bishops, until he was appointed their successor in the bishopric.

This is *Maccuel Dimane*, bishop aud prelate of *Ardd Huimnonii*.

On another occasion Saint Patrick, resting on the Sabbath, by the sea, near a salt-pit, which is toward the northern side of the coun-

try, no great distance from the hill *Bovis*, heard an intemperate sound of the gentiles labouring on the Lord's day, making a rath, and having called them, Patrick forbid them labour on the Lord's day; but they did not attend to the words of the Saint, nay more, laughing, they mocked him; and Saint Patrick said, "*Mudebroth*,* although you have laboured, what you have completed shall not profit you;" on the following night a great wind arising, disturbed the sea, and the tempest destroyed all the labours of the gentiles, according to the words of the Saint.

There was a certain man, rich and honorable in the eastern country, whose name was *Daire*, him Patrick asked to give him some place to exercise their religion.

And the rich man said to the Saint, "What place do you require?" "I ask you," said the Saint, "To give me that high spot of ground which is called *Dorsum Salicis*, and I will construct there a place for the purpose." But he was unwilling to give the Saint that high part, but he gave him another place, in a lower situation, where now is *Fertie* of the

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* *Proud Slave*, or *Slave of Pride*.

martyrs, near *Armagh*, and Saint Patrick dwelt there with his followers.

And after a short time a *horseman* of *Daire's* came, leading a horse, belonging to *Daire*, to feed in a grassy place. *(Christi annorum*)* The bringing down of the horse into his place offended Patrick, and he said, "*Daire* has acted foolishly in sending brutish animals to disturb this holy place which he gave to God."

But the horseman, as if deaf, did not hear him, and as if dumb, not opening his mouth, spoke not, but having let out his horse there, for that night, departed.

On the following day, in the morning, the horseman coming to see the horse, found him dead, and he returned sad, and said to his lord—"Behold! the Christian has slain your horse, for the disturbance of his place offended him." And *Daire* said, "He also, shall be now slain, go and kill him." And as they were going, instantly death seized upon *Daire*—and his wife said—"The Christian is the cause of this, let some one go quickly,

* I cannot see the meaning of this.

and let his blessings be brought to us, and he shall be safe. And let them who went out to kill him be prevented and recalled."

And the two men went out to slay him, who said to the Christian, concealing from him what had happened: "Behold! *Daire* is sick, let something be brought to him from you, if perchance it may have the power to cure him."

But Saint Patrick, knowing what had happened, said, "Certainly." And *he blessed water*, and gave it to them, saying, "Go, sprinkle your horse with this water, and carry him with you;" and they did so, and the horse revived, and they carried him with them—and *Daire* was also restored by the sprinkling of holy water.

And *Daire* came after this, that he might honour Saint Patrick, carrying with him a wonderful brazen foreign vessel, containing three measures, and *Daire* said to the Saint, "Take this brazen vessel with you;" and Saint Patrick said, "*grassichum.*"* And *Daire* returned home and said, "This is a

* *Grazichum—Gratias agam—Thank you.*

foolish fellow, who said nothing good, except *grassichum.*" Then *Daire* sent again for the wonderful brazen vessel containing three measures, and said to his servants, "Go, carry back to us our brazen vessel." And they departed, and said to Patrick, "We will carry back the brazen vessel." And Saint Patrick again replied, *grassichum*, "carry it off." And they bore it away. And *Daire* questioned his companions, saying, "What did the Christian say, have you not brought back the brazen vessel?" And they answered, "He said, *grassichum.*" And *Daire* answered, "He says *grassichum*, when I give—and *grassichum*, when I take away."—They carried again to him the brazen vessel—and *Daire* came himself and carried the brazen vessel to Patrick, saying to him, "Take your brazen vessel with you, for you are a constant and immoveable man; and moreover, that part of the land, which you formerly requested, I now give you, as much as I have, and dwell there;" that is the city, which is now called *Armagh.* And they both departed, Saint Patrick and *Daire*, that they might consider the wonderful offerings, and the pleasing gift, and to ascend that height of ground. They found a deer, with her little fawn, lying in the place where is now an altar of the church of *Armagh*,

and the associates of Patrick rashly wished to slay the fawn, but the Saint was unwilling, and did not permit it; but the Saint himself, holding the fawn, carried it on his shoulders, and the deer following him, even like a most attached sheep, until at length he let down the fawn in another wood, situated at the northern side of *Armagh*, where those persons skilled in such matters say, that some signs of his virtue remain even to this day.*

There was a certain man, very severe and covetous, living in the plain of *Inis*. Those acquainted with the matter say, that he incurred the scandal of folly and avarice, by one day taking away two of Patrick's draft oxen, after his holy labour in the cultivation of his own field; while the oxen were resting and feeding themselves, he with force and violence, and in the very presence of Patrick himself, took them. Angry with him, Saint Patrick said, with a curse—"*Mudebrod*,† you have acted ill, never shall your field profit you, nor shall it nurture your seed for ever—it shall now become useless." And it so came to pass, for an inundation of the sea, very violent,

* Aidus calls all this *a fable*.

† *Proud Slave*.

coming on the same day, inundated and covered the entire field, and the before fruitful ground, according to the words of his prophecy, was converted into a salt-marsh, from the malice of the inhabitants—and it has remained in that sandy and unfruitful state, from the day on which Saint Patrick cursed it, even to the present day.

[*Here ends the first and begins the second Book.*]

Of the diligence of Patrick in prayer.
Of the dead man speaking to him.
Of the illumination of Sunday night, so that the horses were found.
Of what the angel forbid to do, lest he should be exterminated.
Of the burning bush in which the angel was.
Of the four prayers of Patrick.
Of the day of his death, and of the time of his life, for thirty years.
Of the limits which he placed on the night.
Of the darkness dissipated for twelve nights.
Of the vigils of the first night, which the angels kept near the body of Patrick.
Of the directions of the angel respecting his funeral.
Of the fire breaking forth out of his tomb.
Of the sea arising a second time, that there should not be war for his body.
Of the happy bringing off of the people.

But if any one should faithlessly wish to deny that the night was prolonged to them, and that the night was not perceptible over the whole province, for the short space in which the mourning for Patrick took place—let him hear and diligently consider in what manner the sun-dial of Achaz, was affected in the time of the Prophet Ezekiel, which may demonstrate the truth of what is here recited of Patrick.

HIS DILIGENCE IN PRAYER.

The psalms and hymns, and the revelations of John, and the spiritual canticles in scriptures, he daily sung, whether at home or proceeding on a journey, also with the sign of the cross at every hour of the day and night, crossing himself an hundred times, and at all the crosses which he saw, descending from his chariot for the purpose of prayer, he alighted there. Proceeding also on a certain day, he passed by a cross which was by the way-side, without seeing it: but the charioteer saw it. When they had arrived at the inn whither they proceeded, and when they began to pray before meat, "I say," said the charioteer, "I saw a cross placed near the road by which we came." And Patrick having left the inn,

by the same road by which he came, proceeding to the cross, he prayed, and there he saw a sepulchre, and asked the buried man in his tomb, by what death he had departed, and in what faith faith he had lived; and the dead man answered, "I lived a gentile, and was buried here."

A certain woman, living in another province, had a son who died, who was long separated from her, and was buried in her absence; but, after some days, the mother, grieving for her lost son, by an unforeseen mistake, thinking the tomb of the gentile man to be the grave of her son, placed the cross, not beside him, but near the gentile; and on this account St. Patrick said, he did not see the cross, because it was the place for burial of the gentiles; and greater virtue arose from this, that the dead man should speak, and he who died in the faith of Christ should be known, and accordingly he caused the position of the cross to be altered in testimony of him who died in the true faith.

Patrick would not depart from any place on any Sunday, in honour of the day; but it was his custom, to rest from the evening of the Lord's night even to the morning of Monday,

remaining all night in the plain, heavy with rain, and beaten by the tempest. But when the heavy rain committed devastations over the whole country in the place where the holy bishop was spending the night, he remained dry, as if under a shell, and in a fleece, as *Gideon*. His charioteer once told him that his horses were lost, he bewailed them as if they were his beloved friends—for he sought them through the darkness, not having light to guide him; the piety of the holy father Patrick was excited, and he thus addressed the weeping charioteer:—"God is a ready helper in difficulties and in opportunities, he will afford his assistance, and you shall find the horses for which you are grieved." Whereupon, he elevated and extended his hand, the five fingers whereof exhibiting a luminous appearance, enlightened the objects around, and by the light of his extended hand, the charioteer found the horses which he had lost, and which occasioned his lamentation; but this miracle the charioteer concealed until the death of Patrick.

After so many miracles, which have been written elsewhere, and which the world, with faithful mouth, celebrated, the day of his death

approaching, an angel came to him, and spoke to him concerning it. Therefore, he desired to go to *Armagh*, for he preferred it above all lands. He then commanded, that many men should come to him, and convey him whither he wished to go, and, with his companions, he began to enter on his journey towards *Armagh*, to the wished-for land; but, by the way-side a certain bush was on fire, but was not consumed, as formerly appeared to Moses in a bush. *Victor* was the angel who was often accustomed to visit Patrick, but he sent another angel to forbid Patrick from proceeding whither he desired to go, who said to him, "Wherefore do you set out without the advice of *Victor*—why did *Victor* call you to him, and why did you disobey him?" and, as it was commanded him, he stopped, and asked what he ought to do; the angel answered, and said, "Return to the place from whence you came, that is *Sabul*, and the four prayers which you made, are accomplished for you."

First prayer—That your ordination should take place in *Armagh*.

Second prayer—That whoever should sing a hymn which was composed by you, on the

day of departure from the body, you shall judge it as repentance of his sins.

Third prayer—That the posterity of *Dichon*, who kindly received you, should experience mercy and not perish.

Fourth prayer—That all the Irish on the day of judgment shall be judged by you, as it was said to the apostles, "And sitting on thrones, ye shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel," and as the apostles are to judge Israel, so shall you judge the Scots.

"Return, therefore, as I say to you, and dying you shall enter upon the path of your fathers." Which was accomplished on the sixteenth day of the calends of April, having attained the age of one hundred and twenty, as is celebrated every year over the whole of Ireland, and kept sacred. Because on the day of his death there was no night, and for twelve days in that province in which his obsequies were performed, night did not appear, and did not embrace the earth with dusky wings; nor was the paleness of night great; nor was there obscurity requiring the illumination of the stars.

And the people of *Ulster* said, that even to the end of the whole year in which he departed, never was such darkness at night as then; which is doubtful, whether it ought to be declared, as proceeding from merit in the man. But the hour of his death approaching, he received the sacrament from *Tassach* the bishop, that as the angel *Victor* said to him, he might receive the passport to eternal life.

On the first night of his obsequies, angels kept watch over his body, with all kinds of vigils and psalms. Whatever *men* came to keep vigils on that first night, were overcome by sleep; the *angels* praying and singing psalms, guarded the body.

But when the angels departed into heaven, they sent a most delightful odour as if of honey, and of sweet fragrance, as of wine, so that it filled the place, as is mentioned in the benediction of the blessed patriarch *Jacob*, "Behold! the odour of my son, is like that of a plenteous field, which the Lord has blessed."

But when the angel came to him, he gave him advice as to his burial, "Let two untamed oxen be allowed to proceed wherever they wish, and where they shall rest, let a church

be founded there in honour of your body." And as the angel said, the unsteady steers were chosen, and a cart of steady weight was placed upon their shoulders, on which they carried the sacred body, and in the place which is called *Clocher*, at the east of *Findubrec*, they selected the oxen from among the cattle of *Conail*, and they departed, the son of God guiding them to *Dun leth glaisse*, where Patrick was buried. And he said to him, "Let not the remains of your body be brought back out of the earth, and let a cubit of earth be placed above your body;" which was done according to the command of God, and was manifested in after times, for when the church was building over his body, the men who were digging the foundation, perceived fire to break out from the grave, and retiring, they fled with fear from the flame.

On account of the remains of Saint Patrick at the time of his death, a dire contention and war arose between the descendants of *Niell*, and those of the eastern parts on one side, those who formerly were friends and neighbours, soon became the direst enemies. Even to the strait which is called *Collum Bovis*, blood was shed on account of St. Patrick, and the mercy of God interposed the sea, shaking and swell-

ing with waves, and the hollow summits of the billows broke sometimes against the coast and promontories, and sometimes, with curled surge, rushed through the yellow vallies to the place of contest, as if to restrain the fury of the enraged nations; and thus the fierceness of the sea arose and prevented the battle of the combatants. But afterwards, Patrick being buried, and the tumult of the sea abated, those from the eastern parts, and against them *Ulta* and the descendants of *Neill*, fiercely rush to the combat, and emulously prepared and armed themselves for war, at the place of the holy body, and broke forth as if impelled headlong by a happy deception, thinking that they should find the two oxen and the cart, and also recover the body of the Saint.—In a body, they proceeded, and with great preparation and array, even to the river *Cabcenna*; and the body appeared not unto them, for it was not possible that their peace should be made by such and so holy a body, unless it had been so ordained by the will of God. These signs of the times were shewn, that an innumerable host of souls should be turned from destruction and death, unto salvation, by a happy deception, as the blinded Assyrians of old would have perished but for the holy prophet Elisha, by whom, under divine

providence, they were led into Samaria; and this deception also was made the means of producing concord among the people.

Again the hour of prayer came round; the angel, on every seventh day, was in the habit of coming; and, as a man speaks with a man, Patrick enjoyed along the road the conversation of the angel. He was taken captive in the 13th year of his age, and was in bondage for six years; and thirty times did the angel come to him, and did he enjoy conference with the angel prior to his departure to the *Latins* from *Scotia*. He prayed one hundred times in the day, and one hundred times in the night. Sometimes while tending the swine, he lost them; and the angel, coming to him, pointed out the swine. Sometimes, also, the angel talked much to him; and when he had spoken to him, placing his foot, left its impression on the rock on the mountain *Mis*, he ascended before him, and the print is visible there even to this day. In that place he communed with him thirty times; and the prayers of the faithful in this place would obtain the happiest results.

Finit Amen.

Patrick carried with him to *Sinnin*, 50 bells, 50 vessels, 50 cups, altars, books of the law, and books of the gospel, and left them in new places.

Patrick was baptized in his sixth year—taken captive in his twentieth—served in slavery twelve years—studied forty years—taught sixty-one. His entire age was one hundred and eleven years.

ANONYMOUS NOTICES.

Patrick came from the plain of *Airthice* to *Drammut Cerigi*, and to *Namnu Toisciart*, to *Ailich Esrachtæ;* and had with him eight or nine men, with tablets in their hands, written after the Mosaic manner; whom the Gentiles seeing, exclaimed that, as they had swords in their hands, they would slay the holy men. Wooden weapons were seen with them, but we think the swords were iron. The multitude desired greatly to abuse the holy men, and to shed their blood; but there was a merciful man among them, named *Hercaith*, of

the family of *Nathus*, the father of *Feredachus*; he believed the God of Patrick, and Patrick baptized him, and his son *Feredachus*. And he offered his son to Patrick, and he departed with Patrick for instruction for thirty years, who ordained him in the city of Rome; and gave him the new name of *Sachellus*, and wrote for him a book of Psalms, which I saw, and he procured for him a portion of the reliques of Peter and Paul, Lawrence and Stephen, which are preserved in Machi.*

Cartiacus and *Sachellus*, the clergymen, having ordained bishops and deacons of the church, without the knowledge or authority of Patrick, in the plain of *Asus*, he cursed them; and sending letters to them, they were brought to Armagh, to Patrick, and there did penance. And he told them that they were *not of the great and true church.*

THE SAYINGS OF ST. PATRICK.

I had the fear of God as the guide of my journey through Gaul, Italy, and the islands which are in the Terrene sea.

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* This refers to the 2d Patrick.

For an age, God be thanked, you have been calling upon the churches of the Scots to enter paradise, in union with the Roman church, so that they, as Christians, may unite with you in the same service as the Romans.

It behoves all the church which follow me, at all hours of prayer, to use that very praiseworthy sentence, *Curie lession, Christe lession.* For all churches should sing, *Cyrie lession, Christe lession, deo gratias.*

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

TIRECHAN'S COLLECTIONS CONCERNING ST. PATRICK.

The following written memoranda concerning St. Patrick, were from the mouth or book of Ultan the bishop, by Tirechan, the bishop, his pupil and disciple.

I have found four names given to Patrick, in the book of Ultan, Bishop of Connor.* *Magonius*, which is *renowned; Succetus*, which is *Patrick; Cothirthac*, because he served in *four houses* of the Magi. One of them, whose name was *Miliuc Mac Cuboin*, a magician, bought him and kept him *four* years, and subjected him to every slavery, and to double labour, and made him a swine-herd in the mountains and vallies. At this time, an angel of the Lord, named *Victor*, visited him in his

* Ware erroneously reckons Ultan among the Bishops of Meath.

sleep, at the top of the mountain *Scirte*, near the mountain *Miss*. The communication of the angel was to this effect.—"*Lo! your ship is ready, rise and walk.*" And he left him and ascended into heaven. Patrick rose up and walked, as the angel of the Lord commanded him.

In the 17th year of his age, he was taken, brought over, and sold in Ireland. In the 22d year of his age, or rather of his labours, he was able to escape. In the other years, as he said, in recruiting his labours, he sailed over the waves, and walked over the country parts, and through vallies, and over mountains, through Gaul, and all Italy, and the islands which are in the Terrene sea.

He was in one of those islands, which is called *Aralanensis*, thirty years, as was testified to me by Ultan, the bishop. But of what happened to him, as clearly related in his history, these are his *latest miracles*, which were accomplished *after the second year* of the reign of Logaire, the son of Neill.

From the passion of Christ to the death of Patrick, there were four hundred and thirty-six years.

Loigare reigned two, or five years*, after the death of Patrick. The entire length of his reign is computed by us at thirty-three years.

Patrick, indeed, came with the Gauls to the islands of Mac Euchor, the most eastern of which is still called the *island of Patrick*. With him there were a multitude of holy bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists, hostiarii, and readers, as well as their sons, whom he ordained.

He afterwards went up from the sea to the plain of *Brieg*, at sun-rise, with the blessing of God, and the true sun of wonderful doctrine, the great morning star, he commenced dispelling the dark shades of ignorance in Ireland. The holy bishop arose, and was unremittingly, from time to time, before the altar, in the name of the Lord God the Father, and of the Son, and the Spirit of the holy and merciful Jesus Christ. This is called, in the language of the Scots, *Ochen*.

He came to the valley of *Sesenan*, and built there the first church; and having brought his

* The scribe could not tell whether the numeral was ii, *two*, or u, *five*, they are so similar in the oldest Irish MSS.

son, named *Sesceneus*, with him, as bishop, left him there with two foreign boys. One evening, coming to the gate of *Ailbina*, to a certain good man, he baptized him, and his son, having pleased him. He gave him the name of *Benignus*, because he gathered the feet of Patrick between his hands and breast, and would not remain with his father and mother, but cried, unless he should be permitted to sleep with Patrick.

In the morning, when was about to depart, having finished his blessing on the father of Benignus, Patrick was ascending his chariot, had one foot in it, and the other on the ground, the boy, Benignus, held fast the foot of Patrick in both hands, and cried out, "Suffer me to go with Patrick, my real father;" and Patrick said, "Baptize him, and raise him into the chariot, for he is the heir of my kingdom." This is Benignus the bishop, successor of Patrick in the Church of Macha.

The number of bishops whom he ordained in Ireland, amounted to four hundred and fifty.

The number of priests we cannot say, because he baptized men every day, and read

to them letters and primers; and of the rest he made priests, for they received baptism at a proper and sedate age.

Of the Bishops.

Benignus, Bronus, Sachellus, Cathiacus, Carthacus, Cartenus, Connanus, Fintranus, Siggeus, Œternus, Sencaticus, Olcanus, Iborus, Ordius, Nazarius, Miserneus, Senachus, Secundinus, Gozachus, Camulacus, Auxilius, Victoricus, Bressialus, Feccus, Menathus, Cennannus, Nazarus, Melus, Maceleus, Mactaleus, Culeneus, Asacus, Bitheus, Falertus, Sesceneus, Muirethchus, Temoreris, who built the holy church *Cairce*, which the family *Clonoaviss* held; Daigneus, Justianus, Mac Hii Daimene, Oloanus, Domnallus, and very many others.

Of the Priests.

Anicius, Brocidius, Amirgenus, Lommanus, Catideus, Catus, Catanus, Broscus, Ailbeus, Trianus. The names of the three bishops of *the Franks* consecrated by Patrick, Inæpius, Bernicius, Hernicius.—Sub-deacons, Seman, Semen, Cancen.—Bernicius, the deacon, and Ernicius twelve Franks, with one sister, (or vi. or iii.)—Cassanus, Conlang, Erclung, Brocanus, Roddanus, Brigson, and the other Roddanus, who founded the church; Senem,

grandson to Ailellus, because the monks of Patrick held Gengen and Sannuch.

Of the Deacons.

Ivostus, the deacon who baptized Ceranus, the son of the workman of Patrick.—Corinmanus, the deacon, beloved by Patrick, who was in the great church of Airdlicca.—Olcanus, the monk who was in the great cell of Muaida, was made a priest; we know that two exorcists were with him, and the exorcist *Losca* in the back of *Dairi*.

In the regions of *Tuirtri*, were other exorcists. In the plain of *Liphi*. Of the churches which he founded in the plain of Breg—1st. in *Culmine*.—2d. the church of *Cerne*, in which *Hercus* was buried, who attained a great age.—3d. in the tops of *Aisse*.—4th. in *Bladine*.—5th. in *Collumbœ*, in which he ordained *Eugenius*, the holy bishop.—6th. the church of the son of *Laithphi*.—7th. *Imbrida*, in which was the holy and beloved brother of *Carthasus*—8th. that in *Angelbor*, in which was *Kannanus*, the bishop, whom Patrick ordained at the beginning of Easter.

Hiffertus, of the men of *Feicc*, was the first who *burned incense, and carried wax-candles;*

he first took them home from the hands of Patrick, and caused the holy smoke to ascend into the eyes and nostrils of the gentile-men, and of king Loigaire, and of his magicians; because three brothers opposed him, magicians of the same father—*Cruth, Loch, Lethlanii,* of the family of *Runtir*, who made great opposition against Patrick and *Benignus.* The cloak of the magician was burned round *Benignus*, and reduced to ashes; but the pious youth was preserved safe by the faith of God, in the sight of the king, of the people, and of the magicians; but the cloak of Benignus, the disciple of Patrick, being fixed steady round the magician, he was set on fire in the midst of them, and was consumed. Patrick said, "*In this hour, all the gentile faith in Ireland is consumed.*" And Patrick lifted up his hands to God, about the magician *Loch Letheus*, and said, "*O Lord, cast away from me this dog, who barks at thee to thy face, and let him die,*" and they all saw the magician raised up through the shades of night even to the heavens, but his dead body, glued together, mixed with hail and snow, and ignited sparks, returned to the earth, and fell before the faces of all, and became petrified, and remains a stone in the south-eastern coasts, even to the present day, and I beheld it with my own eyes.

On Sunday, he came to *Taltena*, where *Agon* was king, to *Coirpriticus*, the son of *Neill*, who wished to slay him, and flogged his servants in the river Sele, which act of *Coirpriticus* was told Patrick, who called him an enemy of God, and said to him "*Thy seed shall serve the seed of thy brothers, and there shall not be a king of thy seed for ever, and there shall never be great fish hereafter in the river Sele.*"

Soon after he came to the house of *Conallus*, the son of *Neill*, which stood in the place where at this day, is the church of the great Patrick; and he received him with joy, and was baptized, and Patrick confirmed his throne for ever, and said to him, "*The seed of thy brothers shall serve thy seed for ever, but you and your sons, and your son's sons, ought to deal mercifully unto my sons and successors, who faithfully believe for ever;*" and he ordained that the length of the church of the God of Patrick should be sixty feet, and Patrick said, "*If the church be lessened, thy reign shall not be long, nor firmly established.*"

Easter Sunday being past, he departed to the ford Mola, (Broon) and there founded a church, in which he left three brethren with

one sister; and these are their names *Cathæceus*, *Cathurus*, *Catneus*, and their sister *Catnea;* who milked the wild does, as old people have told me.

And he went again to the city of *Temoria* to *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, because with him he had ratified a league, that he should not be slain while he was king. But he would not believe, though spoken to, for he said, *Neill, my father suffered me not to believe, but ordered, that I should be buried in the tops of Temoria, like men standing up in war, for the gentiles are accustomed to be entombed armed, with their weapons ready, face to face, in which manner they remain among the magicians, even to the day of Erdatha*—that is, to the *day* of the Lord—*Ithe*, son of *Neill*, the son of *Dunlinge* of *Immaiften*, in the plain of *Liphi*, hated him for such harshness as this.

Soon after, he founded the church of *Icarrie Dagri*, and another church *Immruig Thuaithe;* and he wrote letters to *Cerpanus*. And having entered into the royal palace, they did not rise up before him, except *Hercus*, the layman, and he said to him, "*Why have you only arisen to honour my God in my person?*" And Hercus said to him, "*I know not*

why, but by God's power, ignited sparks ascended from your lips to mine." The Saint also said to him, "*If you will be baptized in the Lord, you shall receive what I have power to give you.*" He answered, "*I will receive.*" And they came to the fountain, which is called in the Scottish tongue *Loigles*, but with us *the calf of cities*. And having opened the book and baptized *Hercus*, he heard men behind his back, deriding him for that which he was doing, because they knew not what he did. And he baptized many thousand men on that day. Among their opinions of baptism, he heard the following:—Behold, two noblemen were discoursing behind him, and said one to another, "What thou sayest is true, it was foretold from the circle of the year which has passed by, that you would come hither in those days;" and he said, "Tell me your name, I entreat you, and that of your father and of your country, and of your house and residence." He answering, said, "I am the son of *Amolngid*, the son of *Fechrach*, the son of *Echach*, from the western country, from the plain of *Donmon*, and from the wood of *Fochloth*." And when he heard the name of his father and the wood *Fochloth*, he rejoiced greatly, and said to him, "*Endeus*, the son of *Amolngid, I will go with you if I live, because*

the Lord commanded me that I should go." And Endeus said, "*You shall not go with me, lest we be both slain.*" The Saint then said, "*You shall never arrive at your country, unless I shall go with you, and you shall not have eternal life, because you came here on my account, like Joseph before the children of Israel.*" But Endeus said to Patrick, "Do you baptize my son, because he is of tender age, but I and my brethren cannot believe you, until we come to our own people, lest those people laugh at us." *Conallus* was accordingly baptized, and Patrick gave him his benediction, and held his hand, and gave him to *Cathiacus* the bishop, and he brought him up, and *Cathiacus* taught him, and *Mucneus*, the brother of *Cathiacus*, the bishop, whose remains are in the great church of Patrick, in the wood of *Fochloth*. On this account *Cathiacus* entrusted his island to *Conallus*, and it remains in that family even to the present day, because he was a layman after the death of Saint Cathiacus.

The six sons of *Amolngid* sought a decision of their cause before the face of *Loigaire*, and *Endeus* was one of them; and his son was of tender age, and Patrick was appealed to before them, and investigated their title of heir-

ship. And *Loigaire* and Patrick adjudged, that they should divide the inheritance into seven parts. But *Endeus* said, "I offer my son and my portion of the inheritance to the God of Patrick, and to Patrick himself; and on this account, some say, we are the servants of Patrick, even to the present day.

And they formed a covenant, through the mediation of *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, Patrick and the sons of *Amolngid*, the army of laymen, and saints, with the holy bishops; and they entered upon their journey to the mountain *Egli*.* And Patrick paid the sum the law ordained for an escort of twelve men, in addition to a donation of silver and gold, that he might be protected from any ill-disposed person, who should impede or injure them on their journey across Ireland. Because necessity obliged them to pass through the wood of *Fochloth*, before the beginning of the year, on the second Easter, because of the children exclaiming with great clamour, He heard them in their mothers' womb saying, "*Come, Saint Patrick, save us.*"

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* Croagh Patrick.

He founded a church at the ford *Segi*, another church at *Cinnena Sancta*, on the ford of *Carnoi Imboind*, another on *Coirp Raithe*, and another upon the mound of *Dall Bronig*, because the bishop, the son of Cartin, the maternal uncle of Saint Bridget, possessed it. He founded another in the plain of *Echredd*, another in the plain of *Taideri*, which is called *Cellbile*, in the family of *Scirest*; another in the plain of *Echnach*, in which was *Cassanus* the priest; another in *Singitibus*; another in the plain of *Bili*, near the ford of *Capitis Canis*; another in *Capite Carmelli*, in the plain of *Teloch*, in which Saint Bridget took the veil, at the hands of the son of *Caille*.

In *Huisniuch Midi*, he remained near *the rock of Coithrigi*, where *some of his foreigners* were slain by the son of *Fechach*, the son of *Neill*, whom Patrick cursed, saying, "*There shall not be a king of your line, but you shall serve the seed of your brethren.*" He founded another church in the head of *Airt*, in the regions of *Roide*, in which he placed *an altar of stone*, and another at *Hicuil Corre*. And he came through the river *Ethne* to the two *Tethbrias*; and ordained *Melus* bishop, and founded the church of *Bili*, and ordained

Gosactus, the son of *Milcon Mac Cubooin*, whom he educated in his seven years slavery. And sending *Camulacus*, of the *Commiensium*, to the plain of *Cuini*, and pointed out to him with his finger the situation of the church of *Raithin*, from the summit of *Graneret*.

And he came to the plain of *Rein*, and ordained *Bruscus* priest, and founded for him a church; he thus spoke wonderfully, after his death, to another saint who was in the island of the family of *Cotirbi*, "*You are blest, whilst you have your son, but I am grieved because my death has left me alone in a church in a desart, in a church forsaken and vacated; for the priests do not associate near me at night, and visions arise to my imagination.*"

On the third day, the Saint arose and took a *ring*, an earthen vessel, and a spade, and dug up the mound of the grave, and took away the bones of Saint Bruscus with him, to the island where they still remain.

But Patrick sent *Methbrain* to the hill of *Slecht*, the barbarian neighbour of Patrick, who was speaking wonderful truths by God's assistance. And Patrick came to the channel

of *Sinona*, to the place where his charioteer *Boidmalus*, died and was buried, for which reason it is called *Cail Boidmail*, even to the present day, and it was consecrated by Patrick.

The first book ends in the country of the posterity of *Neill*. The second begins and concludes in the country of *Connacht*.

All which I have written from the beginning of this book, ye know, because they were performed in your country, *except a few things which I have discovered as the fruits of my labour*, from many old people, and from *Ultanus* himself, the bishop of Connor, who brought me up and first informed me. But my heart reflects within me, concerning the love of Patrick, because I see the disturbers, builders, predatory chiefs, and soldiers of Ireland, whom I hate, possessing Patrick's patrimony ; for they took away from him what was his, and they are afraid, if the successor of Patrick should again demand his patrimony, they should be compelled to restore him nearly the whole island—because God gave him

I. The whole island, with its inhabitants, by the angel of the Lord.
II. And he taught them the law of the Lord.
III. And baptized them with the baptism of God.
IV. And pointed out the cross of Christ.
V. And related his resurrection.

But they do not love his family, because it is not lawful to swear against him or upon him. And it is not lawful to raise the club against him, because all the first fruits of the church of Ireland are his; but every thing is sworn by him which is sworn.

Every thing which I have written from the beginning of this book, is in full. But every thing which remains, shall be more concise.

Saint Patrick afterwards came through the channel of the river *Sinne*, through the ford of the two birds, to the plain of *Ai*. Two brothers, *Calerus* and *Capitolanuim*, the magicians of *Loigaire*, the son of *Neill*, who brought up the two daughters of *Loigaire*, *Ethne the fair*, and *Fedelm Nufa*, hearing what had been done, and fearing lest they should imbibe the opinions of the holy man, were

very indignant, and caused the darkness of night and thick obscurity to cover the whole plain of *Ai.* We know not by whose power this happened; but we know that this night was the length of three entire days and nights. And the Saint fasted for three days and three nights, and with one hundred prayers, and constant prostrations, entreated God, the king of kings, and all the magic weight of darkness fled from the plain of *Ai.* And he returned God thanks. And they came through the channel of the river *Sinne,* which is called *Bandea,* to the mount *Gradi,* in which place he ordained the holy *Albeus* a priest, for whom he pointed out a wonderful *stone altar,* in the mountain of the descendants of *Ailellus,* for he was among the descendants of *Ailellus.* And he baptized Saint *Maneus,* whom bishop *Bronus,* the son of *Josus,* the servant of God, and the companion of Patrick, ordained. They came to the plain of *Glais,* and there placed a cell, which is called *the great cell,* and there he left two bearded monks, *Conleng* and *Ercleng.*

He then came to *Assicus* and *Bisius,* and to the magicians who were of the race of *Corcu chon luain Bono* and *Ith,* brothers; one of

whom received Patrick and his saints with joy, and offered him his house.

And he went to *Imbliuch Hornon*, to whom Patrick said, " Thy seed shall be blessed, and from thy seed shall arise priests of the Lord, and chief men, worthy of my compassion, and of being your heirs." And he placed there *Assicus* and *Betheus*, the son of brother *Assicus*, and *Cipia*, the mother of *Betheus*, the bishop.

Assicus, the holy bishop, was brass-worker to Patrick, and made altars and book-cases,* which he made in plates, for the honour of Patrick the bishop, and also the three square plates† well finished, which I saw—that is to say, the plate for the church of Patrick, in Armagh, and another in the church of *Alofind*, and the third in the great church of *Saul*, beyond the altar of Saint *Felart*, the bishop.

Assicus fled to the northern country, to the *stony* mountain, and was seven years in the

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* This alludes to those brazen cases, in which are found the books of Columb-kill, Dimma, and others.

† The patinæ, or sacramental salvers.

island called *Rochuil*, behind the stony mountain, and his monks went to seek him, and found him in a valley of the mountain engaged in the labours of his trade; his monks withdrew him thence, and he died amongst them, in the desart mountains; and they buried him in *Hirraith Chungai Hisertip*.

The king gave to him and to his monks, after his death, hay for one hundred cows, with their calves, and for twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering, because he said, "He would not return to the plain of *Ai*, because they told a falsehood;" his bones are in the plain of *Sered Hirraith Chungi*, with the *monks of Patrick*, but the *monks of Columb Cille*, and of *Aird Stratha*, contended for him.

Patrick then came from the fountain *Alofind addu* to *Mecham*, the grandson of *Ailellus*, and founded in that place a church, which is called *Senella cella Dumiche* to this day, where he left the holy men *Macet*, and *Cetgen*, and *Rodanus*, the priest.

And there came with him a *daughter of a foreigner*, named *Mathona*, sister of *Benignus*, the successor of Patrick, who took the veil by the hands of Patrick and *Rodanus;* she became

a recluse, and departed with them through the mountain of the sons of *Ailellus*, and she founded there a free church in *Hitamnuch*, and was honoured by God and man; and she had great veneration for the reliques of Saint *Rodanus*, and his successors were feasted by her.

After this, they placed bishops in the holy church of *Hitamnuch*, whom the *priests of Patrick*, that is *Bronus* and *Betheus*, ordained. They sought nothing from the family of *Dumiche*, but friendship alone, but they demanded more from the family of *Clono*, because, by force, they kept many of the places which belonged to Patrick, after the death of the last possessors.* And then Saint Patrick came to the fountain, which is called *Clebach*, on the sides of *Crochan*, opposite the rising sun, and they settled themselves near the fountain; and behold the two daughters of king *Loigaire*, *Ethne, the fair*, and *Fedelmnufa*, came in the morning to bathe after the manner of women, and they found the holy bishop *Senodus* with Patrick near the fountain. And they were ignorant whence they might be. Or of what form,

* Refused to comply with the bequests of deceased persons.

Or of what people,
Or of what country.

But they imagined that they were men of *Side*, or of the gods of the earth, or phantoms. The girls said to them, "Who are ye, and whence do you come?" And Patrick said to them, "Were it not better you should confess the true God, than to ask our race?"

The eldest daughter said, "Who is God? and where is God? and where is his dwelling? has your God sons and daughters, gold and silver? does he live for ever? is he handsome? has he many sons? are his daughters beautiful and beloved by the men of this world? is he in heaven or on earth?

In the sea,
In the rivers,
In the mountains,
In the vallies;
Tell us his description,
How he can be seen,
How he is to be respected,
How he is to be found,
Whether in youth or age?

But Saint Patrick answering, filled with the holy spirit, said, "Our God is the God of all

men, the God of heaven and earth, and of the sea, and of rivers; the God of the sun, and of the moon, and of all the stars; the God of the lofty mountains, and of the lower vallies; God is above the heavens, and in heaven, and under heaven; his habitation is above the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and all things which are therein:

He inspires all things,
He enlivens all things,
He overcomes all things,
He supports all things,
He enlightens the sun.

He strengthens the light of night and our knowledge—he made fountains in dry places, and dry islands in the sea, and he placed the stars for the office of greater lights. He has a son, who is coeternal with himself, nor is the son younger than the father, nor the father older than the son, and the holy spirit breathes in them; the father, son, and holy spirit, are inseparable.

"But I wish that ye were united to the heavenly king, as ye are the daughters of an earthly king." And the girls said, "If with one mouth and heart, we are able to believe the heavenly king, teach us most carefully that we may see him face to face, point him out to us;

and we will do as you desire us." And Patrick said, "Do ye believe, that by baptism ye will cast away the sin of your father and mother?" They answer, "We believe." "Do you believe repentance after sin?" "We believe." "Do ye believe the life after death? Do ye believe the resurrection on the day of judgment?" "We do believe." "Do ye believe the unity of the church?" "We believe."

They were then baptized, and he placed a white dress on their heads.

And they requested to see the face of Christ, but the Saint said to them, "Unless ye taste of death, ye cannot see the face of Christ, and unless he receive your sacrifice."

And they answer, "Give us the sacrifice, that we may be able to see his son, our spouse." And they received them for the love of God, and when sleeping in death, they placed them in a little bed, covered with clothes, and they made lamentations.

And he came to the plain of *Caeri*, and they encamped at *Icuil Core*, and he founded a church in that place, and baptized many; and went thence to the plain of *Foinson*, and

he found there two brothers, sons of a man named *Coiliud*, the son of *Luchti*, the son of *Conlaid*, *Lucteus*, and *Dorelaid*, the latter sent his servant to slay Patrick.

But *Lucteus* delivered him, to whom Patrick said, "There shall be bishops and priests of your race, but as to the race of your brother, they shall be cursed, and shall fail in a short time; and he left in that place *Conanus* the priest.

And he departed to the fountain of *Stringille*, in the deserts, and remained there two Sundays, and departed thence to the plain of *Raithin*. He then went to the termination of *Humail Duachud Fobuir*, in which place bishops were ordained. There also, came to him a holy daughter, who took the veil at the hands of Patrick. And he ordained the son of *Senachus*, her father, and gave him a new name, that is *Agnus dei*, and made him a bishop.

And he made prayers to the father, that he should not sin thereafter, and should not be called by his name in that place, and that his own deficiency, arising from old age, should be supplied by the maturity of his

son's, *Oignus* by name, for whom he had written "*the father's primer*," on the day in which Senachus was ordained; because Patrick consecrated the church in that place, near *Mathona*, and he said to them, "There shall be good bishops here and their seed shall be blessed for ever in this church," that is, *Achad Fobuir*, and they accepted *the mass** of Patrick.

Patrick then proceeded to the mountain of *Egli*,† that he might fast there forty days and forty nights, according to the example of *Moses*, and *Helias*, and *Christ*. And his charioteer, *Himuirisce*, died at *Aigli*, that is the plain between the sea and *Aigli*; and they buried the charioteer naked, and collected stones for his tomb and said, "Let this be so for ever, and let it be visited even to the latest ages." And Patrick went to the summits of the mountain to the top of *Crochan Aigli*, and remained there forty days and forty nights, and large flocks of birds beset him, and he could not see the earth, or the sky, or the sea, for all the saints of Ireland being passed by, God said, that he would be present to

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* Missam.

† *Croagh Patrick.*

them, "Go up, O holy men! the mountain which o'er tops, and is higher than all the mountains which lie to the west, to bless the people of Ireland, that Patrick may see the fruit of his labour, because the choir of all the Irish saints, came to him to visit their father." And he founded a church in the plain of *Humail.*

And he came to the regions of *Corcutemore,* to the fountain of *Sini,* where he baptized a thousand men, he also founded three churches in *Toga.*

And he came to the fountain of *Find maige,* which is called *Slan,* because it was indicated to him that the magi honoured this fountain, and made donations to it as gifts to God.

The fountain was square, and there was a square stone in the mouth of it, and the water came over the stone, that is, through the interstices, as of the trace of a king; and the unbelievers said, that a certain dead prophet made himself a study, in the water under the rock, that he might whiten his bones, for he feared to be burned with fire; for they worshipped the fountain like a God, which was unlawful in the eyes of Patrick, because of the

adoration, for he had a zeal for God—even for the living God.

He said, "It is not true, what ye say, that the king of waters is a fountain;" because they gave to him the name *water*, not king—and the magicians and the gentiles of that country, and a great multitude beside, were assembled at the fountain. And Patrick said to them, "Raise up the rock, let us see what is underneath, if there are bones or not, for I say unto you, that the bones of the man are not under; but I think there is some gold and silver, appearing through the joinings of the stones; from your wicked sacrifices," and they could not lift the stone.

And Patrick blessed the stone and his servants, and said to the multitude, "Retire apart for a little, that ye may perceive the power of my God, who dwells in the heavens." And he lifted the stone with expert hands from the mouth of the fountain, and he placed it where it now remains, and they found nothing in the fountain but water only, and they believed the supreme God. And there sat down, beside the stone, a little way off, a certain man named *Cata*, whom Patrick blessed, and he baptized him, and said to him, "Thy

seed shall be blessed for ever." There was a little cell in *Tog*, in the country of *Corcuteimne, belonging to Patrick—Cainnechus* the bishop, *a monk of Patrick's*, founded it.

And Saint Patrick came through the plains into the countries of *Maicc Hercæ Indichuil*, and of *Aurchuil*, and Patrick came to *Indichuil*, to a tomb of great magnitude, and wonderful length, which his followers found, and which greatly astonished them, it extended 120 feet long. And they said, "We do not believe this affair, that the man was of the length." Patrick answered, and said, "If ye will, ye shall see him." And they said, "We would." And he struck with his staff the stone near his head, and marked the tomb with the sign of the cross and said, * * * * * *(defaced in MS.)* * * and the tomb opened, and the huge saint arose quite sound, and said, "It is well, O holy man, thou hast revived me, and in one hour from all my afflictions," * * * * * *(defaced in MS.)* * * "We cannot wish that you should walk as we do, because the people cannot see your face through fear of you, but believe in God of heaven, and receive the baptism of the Lord,

and return not to what you were, and declare to us who you are."

"I am *Macc Maicc Cais maic Glais*, who one hundred years since this day, was a swine-herd of king *Lugirrig Hirotie* in *Galavatine*, *Flan macc maicc Con*, in the kingdom of *Coirpri nioth fer*." He was baptized, and made confession to God, and became again silent, and was replaced in his tomb.

And he came into the white plain, in the country of the posterity of *Maini*, and found there the sign of the cross of Christ, in two new sepulchres; and the Saint said from his chariot, "Who is it that is buried here?" and a voice answered from the sepulchre, "Behold! I am a gentile man." The Saint answered, "Why is the holy cross fixed near you?" And he again replied, "Because the man, who is buried beside me, requested his mother to place the sign of the cross near his tomb; a stupid man, by mistake, placed it beside me." And Patrick leaped down from his chariot, and took hold of the cross, and pulled it from the grave of the gentile, and placed it at the head of the baptized man, and ascended into his chariot, and prayed to God

in silence. When he said, "*Deliver us from evil,*" his charioteer said to him, "Why did you call the unbaptized gentile?" "Because I mourn that the man should be without baptism; it were better to intreat God to bless him with baptism, and to pour the baptismal water upon the tomb of the deceased." And he did not answer him, for I think that he forsook him, because God did not wish to save him.

Let us return to our history. He came to *Pernuadam*, and behold the magicians, of the sons of *Amolngid*, heard that the Saint came into the country, a very great crowd of magicians assembled, with the chief magician, named *Recradus*, who wished to slay Patrick; and he came to them with nine magicians, clad in white garments, with a magical host. And Patrick, and *Endœus*, son of *Amolngid*, and *Conallus*, son of *Endœus*, saw him at a distance whilst Patrick was baptizing a great multitude, and when *Endœus* saw him, he rose and snatched up arms to repel the magicians, for they were distant from them on the other side of the water, a thousnd paces; but Patrick sent *Conallus*, son of *Endœus*, to meet the magicians, that they, knowing him, might not slay them. The illustrious youth stood near the

magician, and behold Saint Patrick stood up, and raised his left hand to the God of heaven, and cursed the magician, and he fell dead in the midst of his magicians, and the crowd was scattered over the whole plain of *Domnon*, and he was burned before the face of all for a sign of vengeance, and all the people saw this miracle. He baptized many on that day, and ordained *Mucneus*, the brother of *Cathacus*, and gave him seven books of the law, which he left after him to *Macc Cerce*, the son of *Maic Dregin*. And he founded a church at the wood of *Fockloth*, in which are the bones of Saint *Mucneus*, the bishop, because God said to him, that he should leave the law and ordain priests and deacons in that region. And he blessed *Amolgid*, the son of *Fergussus*, the brother of *Endæus*, because in his country he had acted virtuously.

And behold a man, came to them, named *Macc Dregin*, with seven sons, gentiles, and required the baptism of God from Patrick, who blessed him and his sons; and chose one of them, whose name was *Macc Ercœ*, and he wrote lessons for him, and blessed him with the benediction of a father. And the father of the youth said, "I shall be grieved if my son should depart with you." And

Patrick said, "It shall not be so, but I will commend him to *Bronus*, the son of *Icnus*, and to *Olcanus*;" he stretched forth his hand, and pointed out to him a place near, in which are his bones, and marked it with his finger, and placed a cross there.

And two girls came to Patrick, and took the veil at his hand, and he blessed for them the place at the wood of *Fochloth*. And behold, Patrick went up to the land, which is called *Foirrgea*, of the sons of *Amolngid*, to divide it among the sons of *Amolngid*, and he built there a church, of moist earth squared, because wood was not at hand.

And they brought to him a sick woman, having an infant in her womb, and he baptized the child in its mother womb, with the water of baptism, *ipsa est aqua communis mulieris*; and they buried her in at the head of the church, and upon the grave is the seat of the Saint, in the church, even to the present day. And he built a certain church at Ross, among the family of *Caitru*, on an island of a bay of the sea.

And he returned to the river *Muiade Denectrige*, in *Bertrigran*, and he erected there a

stone of the shape of the cross of Christ, and said, "Behold! here shall be found water in the latter days, and it shall be inhabited by me." And he founded a church near the mound of *Rigbairt*, and he came to *Muirisc-sain*, to *Bronus*, the son of *Icnus*, and blessed his son, *Macc Rime*, afterwards the bishop, and he wrote *rules* for him and *Muircthaco*, the bishop, who was at the river *Bratho*.

And Patrick and *Bronus*, came to the shore of *Authnili*, into the territories of *Icnus*, and with them *Ercæ*, the son of *Dregin*, at the plain that is *Ros Drenige*, in which place is the cottage of *Bronus*, and sitting there *a tooth of Patrick fell out*, and he gave the tooth to *Bronus* for a relic.*

And he said, behold the sea lays before us, from this place, and ye will return by the river *Slicichæ*† to the wood."

And he departed across the mountain of the sons of *Ailellus*, and he founded churches there, *Taemnach*, and *Ethenach*, and *Cell Angle*, and *Cell Senchuæ*.

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* A tooth is still preserved in a silver and brass case at Cong, in the county of Mayo.

† Sligo.

And he departed to the country of *Calbrigi Tremaige*, and founded a church near *Druimleas*, and baptized many, and erected and founded a church on the plain of *Ailmaige*, that is, *Domnach Ailmaige*, because Patrick remained there three days and three nights.

And he proceeded to the plain of *Aine*, and built a church there, and returned to *Evoi*, and to the plain of *Cetni*.

He cursed the river, which is called *Niger Drobaicum;* because it afforded sport to the anglers, and they refused to give any fish to the Saint. But he blessed another river, which formerly had no fish.

And he cursed other rivers, that is, the river *Oingœ*, and *Saele*, because two of his boys were drowned in them; this was done in commemoration of their virtue.

He also came to the plain of *Sereth*, across the river, between *Esruaid* and the sea, and founded the church of *Hirraith argi;* and he pitched his camp in the plain of *Sereth*. He found there a certain good man, of the race of *Laithron*, and baptized him and his infant son with him, who was called *Hinu*, or *Ineus*, be

cause his father placed him in the church on the hill where he was born, on the road coming down from the mountain with his father; and he baptized the man's son, and wrote him a *primer*, and blessed him with the benediction of a bishop, who afterwards kept Saint *Assicus* with his monks in *Ard Roissen*, that is *Hirrath Congi*, in the plain of *Sereth*, in the time of the kings *Fergussus* and *Fothuid*.

And he founded a church in the plain of *Latrain*, and the great church *Sier Drommo*, which the family of *Dairinise* possessed, in *Doburbur*. He advanced to *Forburnas*, of the sons of *Conill*, in the plain of *Itho*, and having founded there a great church, he departed to the plain of *Fochuir*, and erected a church there. In that place a certain bishop came to him of the race of *Corcutheisne*, from the cell of *Toch*, in the country of *Temenrigi Iceru*, opposite the setting sun, with one sister, *and became a monk of Patrick*, and their place is with the family of *Clono*, and the men of that place lamented.

Patrick passed the *Shannon* three times, and completed seven years in the western quarter, and came from the plain of *Tochuir*, to *Dulo Ocheni*, and founded seven churches there.

And he came to *Ardstrath*, and ordained *Macc Ercœ*, a bishop. He departed to *Ardd Eolorgg*, and *Ailgi*, and *Lee Benndrigi*, and crossed the river *Bandœ*, and he blessed the place in which is the cell of *Cuill Raithin*, in *Eilniu*, in which *there was a bishop*, and he formed other cells in *Eilniu*, and proceeded through the river *Breas*, and stopped in *Duin Sebuirgi*, on the rock, which is called *Patrick's rock* to this day. He ordained there Saint *Olcanus*, a bishop, whom Patrick brought up, and gave him a part of the *reliques of Peter and Paul, and of other apostles*, and the cloth which kept the reliques, and returned to the plain of *Elmi*, and he founded many other churches, which the *Coindiri* possess.

He ascended the mountain of *Miss*, where, when in slavery, he had educated *Gosacht*, the son of *Milcon Maccuboin*, and his two sisters, but taught them secretly, under the injunction of an oath, for fear of the magician. But one night the magician *Miluicc* saw sparks of fire from the mouth of the *foolish Succetus*, ascending to the lips of his son, and the whole body of his son was inflamed, and from the mouth of his son, it communicated to that of his sisters. "Why,"

says he, "O slave! have you done this evil to my son?"

Succetus replied, "Sir, what did you see?" he answered, "The mouth of my son filled with fire, and my son filled the lips of my daughters, and they were all consumed to ashes, and their ashes enlivened many, and the fire issued from their mouths in flakes like the flight of birds, and could not be restrained.

Succetus answered, "Truly, they could not avoid that extraordinary magical appearance, because I put into their mouths the words of my supreme God." And he departed to the mountain *Scirte*, to the place of the rock, on which he saw an angel of God standing, and the print of his foot remains almost to this day. When he was ascending into heaven, with his feet extended from one mountain to another, he said, "Behold! thy ship is prepared, arise and walk." And the Saint came through *Doim*, into the country of *Tuirtri*, to Patrick's hill,* and baptized the sons of *Tuirtri*.

Having left *Macha*, he came to *Maugdorrne*,

* Armagh.

and ordained *Victoricus*, a bishop of *Machia*, and founded there a great church; and he proceeded to *Loigaire* and *Conall*, the sons of *Neill*.

But having completed his rounds, he departed, and built a church for *Justanus*, near to *Bile Tortin*, which belongs to the family of *Ardbreccain*, and built another at *Hitortena*, in the east, where the people of *Othig Cerpani* were always free.

And he proceeded to the territories of the *Leinsterians* to *Druimm Hurchaille*, and built there a house for martyrs, which is so called, it is situated on the great road in a valley, and the rock of Patrick is here by the way side. He departed to the plain of *Lifi*, and formed there a church, and ordained the boy *Auxilius*, *the exorcist of Patrick*, and *Esernina*, and *Mactadeus* in the cell of *Cuilin*. He ordained *Feccus Albus*, at *Slepten*, and baptized the sons of *Dunlinge*, and proceeded through *Belut Gabrain*, and founded the church of *Hirroigniu Martorthige*, and baptized the sons of *Nioth Truich Iternumiæ*, at the rock of *Hicoithrigi Hicassuil*.

These are the three prayers of Patrick, as they were delivered to us by the *Hibernians*, entreating that all should be received on the day of judgment, if we should repent even in the last days of our life.

1. That he should not be shut up in hell.
2. That barbarian nations should never have the rule over us.
3. That no one shall conquer us, that is the *Scots*, before seven years previous to the day of judgment, because seven years before the judgment we shall be destroyed in the sea, this is the third.

The age of Patrick, as is recorded to us, is computed beneath:

In his seventh year he was baptized.
In his tenth year he was captured.
For four years he suffered slavery.
For thirty years he studied.
For seventy two years he taught.
Sum total of his age one hundred and twenty.

In four points Patrick he resembled Moses:
1st. He heard an angel from a bush on fire.

2d. He fasted forty days and forty nights.
3d. Because he accomplished 120 years in this present life
4th. Where his bones are, no one knows.

Two enemies for twelve days contended for the body of Saint Patrick, and they saw not night for that space of time, but the day was perpetual, and on the twelfth day they came to battle, and the two armies saw the body in a couch between them, and ceased from fighting. *Columb cille*, instigated by the spirit of the saint, pointed out a burial place for Patrick, where he lies, that is to say, in *Sabul Patricii*,* that is in the church near the sea, (for the eleventh) where is the passage of the martyrs, that is the haven of the man *Columb cille*, from Britain, and the passage for all the saints of Ireland, on the day of judgment.

In the thirteenth year of *Theothosius* the emperor, Patrick the bishop, was sent by bishop *Celestine*, pope of Rome, for the instruction of the Irish, which *Celestine* was the forty-second bishop of the apostolical see of the city of Rome after Peter.

* The monastery of Saul.

Palladius the bishop, was the first sent, *who is otherwise called Patrick*, and suffered martyrdom among the *Scots*, as the antient saints relate. *Then the second Patrick* was sent by an angel of God, named *Victor*, and by pope *Celestine*, by whose means all Ireland believed, and who baptized almost all the inhabitants.

Saint Patrick ought to be honoured on four accounts by all the monasteries and churches through the whole of Ireland; that is to say,

I. For the solemnity of his dreams; he should be honoured in the middle of spring for three days and three nights with feasting, beside meat as a sacrifice, as if Patrick himself came during his life.

II. His offering should be offered up on the same day.

III. His hymn should be sung for ever.

IV. His Irish psalm should be sung for ever.

Thus, all these four should be held in honour and considered by his monks, for him who founded their church or monastery, and who possess a parish and much ground.

This breviary of the people ends:—

Of the name,
Of the genealogy,
Of the childhood,
Of the captivities,
Of the virtues,
Of the Christian slavery,
Of the writings,
Of the industry,
Of the curses against sinners,
Of the blessings towards the pious,
Of the age of Patrick,

all which he did by the assistance of God, are here brought together, and collected by very learned antients.

Here begin some few things, which were discovered at a later period, and which shall be related in their proper places. They have been collected by the curiosity of his successors, and by diligence and sanctity, which were excited for the honour and praise of God, and for the pleasing memory of Saint Patrick, down to the present day.

But, when Patrick, after his holy voyage had reached Ireland; he left Saint *Lommanus*, in the harbour of *Boindio*, to keep his ship for forty days and forty nights, and then remained another forty days in obedience to Patrick.

Then, according to the command of his master, he went up in his ship even to the ford of *Trim*, against the stream to the gate of the tower of *Fedilmedus*, the son of *Loigaire*, the Lord directing him.

But in the morning *Foirtchean*, the son of *Fedelmedus*, found *Lommanus* reciting the gospel, and admiring it, and his doctrine, immediately believed, and water being convenient in that place, he was baptized by *Lommanus*, in the name of Christ—and remained there with him until his mother came to seek him. She wept in his presence, for she was a Briton; and she believed also, and returned to her house, and related to her husband all that had happened to her and her son. And *Fedelmedus*, wept at the coming of the priest, for his mother was the only daughter of the king of the Britons, one *Scothnoesa*. But, *Fedelmedus* suspected *Lommanus*, inquiring from him in the British language, to ascertain his faith and family. He answered him, "I am *Lommanus*, a Briton, and the Christian foster-child of Patrick, the bishop, who was sent by the Lord, to baptize the people of the Irish, and to convert them to the faith of Christ, who sent me hither according to the will of God." And forthwith *Fedelmedus*

believed, with all his family, and he gave as an offering to him and to Saint Patrick, his possessions together with his property, and with all his offspring. All these he gave as an offering to Patrick and *Lommanus* with *Foirtchern* his son, even to the day of judgment.

But he passed over to *Fedlinoid*, across the river *Boindeo*, and remained in *Cloin Lagen*, and *Lommanus* remained with *Foirtchean* at *Trim*, until Patrick arrived, and built for them a church twenty-two years before the church of *Altimacha* was founded.

The progeny of *Lommanus*, of the Britons, was one son *Gollitus*. The mother of Patrick was related to *Lommanus*, as were the following bishops *Hiforgnidius*, and *Lacnircnius*.

Broccaid, in *Imbluich* of the horses, at *Ciar rige Connact*, *Broccanus Imbrechmig*, among the posterity of *Dorthim Cnugenoc Hicill Dumigluinn* in *Deisciurt Breg*.

The foregoing is all about Patrick's own family, and what relates to his relations, and to his grace and baptism, and doctrine, and concerning the lands, churches, and all the

grants or oblations which he acquired for ever.

But after some time setting out, he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Lommanus*, with his foster-son *Foirtchean*, to his brother *Broccidius*, he and his foster-child went to salute his brother—and he commended his holy church to Saint Patrick and to *Foirtchean*, but *Foirtchean* refused to possess the inheritance of his father; for he offered it to God and Patrick, until *Lommanus* said, "You shall not receive my blessing unless you receive the government of my church." But after the death of his master he held the government for three days, until he came to the ford of *Trim*, and then immediately gave it to *Cathlaidus*, a foreigner.

These are the ecclesiastical offerings of *Fedelmedus*, the son of *Loigaire*, to Saint Patrick, *Lommanus*, and *Foirtchean*, that is, the ford of *Trim*, in the territories of *Loigaire Brieg*, in the country of *Loigaire Mi.li.*

The progeny of *Fedelmedus*:

Foirtchernus, his son, father of

Aod Magnus, father of

Aod Parvus, father of
Donall, father of
Baitan, father of
Ossan, father of
Cummene, father of
Saran.

All these were bishops and chiefmen, who venerated Saint Patrick and his successors, but his plebeian progeny is as under:

Fergus, the son of *Fedelmith*,
Feredach, the son of *Fergus*,
Cronan, the son of *Feredach*,
Saran, the son of *Cronan*,
Failan, the son of *Saran*,
Failnad, the son of *Failan*,
Forfailed, the son of *Failnad*,
Segene, the son of *Forfailed*,
Sochnassach, the son of *Segene*.

St. Patrick, when ascending to heaven, commanded all the fruits of his labour, arising both from baptism and alms, to be brought to the apostolic city, which in the Scottish language is called Ardmacha; I found it thus stated in the books of the Scots. I, that is to say Calvus Perennis, wrote this in the sight of Brian, Em-

peror of the Scots, and what I wrote he confirmed for all kings, with his seal of wax.*

Colman the bishop, offered his church of *Cluaincain*, in *Achud*, to Patrick, as a votive offering for ever, and he commended him to the holy men, the priests *Medb*, and *Sadb*.

The sons of *Tiechrach*, gave the plain in the north, between *Gleori* and *Ferni*, with the slaves therein, as an offering to Patrick for ever.

Likewise, the seven sons of *Doath*, that is, *Cluain*, *Findglais*, and *Insruth*, *Culcais*, *Deruthmar*, *Culcais*, and *Cennlocho*, faithfully made offerings to God and Saint Patrick.

Also, the sons of *Conlaid*, offered as an oblation to God and Saint Patrick for ever, eight *pondera campi*, that is eight heifers of the plain, in their inheritance, that is in *Ca-*

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* This passage is written in a more modern hand than the rest of MS. The *Brian Emperor of the Scots* there mentioned, was *Brian Boiroimhe*, who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, was a week at *Armagh*, in A. D. 1004, and made an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the altar there.

chindlea, *Odibcarnib*, even to the mountain of *Cairnn*.

All these offerings of the kings at *Ciarrichi*, were made to Patrick for ever.

Saint Patrick foreseeing, through the holy spirit, that his congregations in *Kerry*, were much dispersed, that is the bishops *Sachellus*, *Brocidius*, and *Loarnus*, and the priests *Medb* and *Emas*, he joined them by his blessing as well in the unity of eternal peace, *as in one ceremony of faith*, under the authority of his successor in the apostolic chair at *Altimacha*.

Binean, the son of *Lugni*, the *scribe*, a priest, and also an achorite, was son of the daughter of *Lugaithin Netach*, who gave the inheritance he was entitled to, on his mother's side, in which he founded a church consecrated to God, and given as an offering to Patrick.—Saint Patrick marked out for him the site with his staff, and he then first received the *body and blood of Christ*, and afterwards *Binean*, received from him the step, (of consecration) and he blessed him and left him after him in his place.

Patrick coming to the territories of *Cabrigi*,

baptized the son of *Cairthir* and *Caichan*, when he baptized them the sons of *Cairthir* and *Caichan*, offered the fifth part of *Caichan* to God and Patrick, and the king afterwards confirmed the gift. These are the denominations of the fifth part *Coicid, Caichain, Otha glais, Telchæ, Berich, Abraidne, Conricc, Forcuisin, Tuilgos, Disleb, Otha glais, Conacolto, Curreirui,* and *Otha, Crich, Drommoint, Cuglais, Tamlachta, Dublocho, Lagglais, Cugrenlaich, Fotelaront, Timmchell, Nasanto, Casecen, Indacor, Asescumdacor, Ludescert, Lenilafur, Conrici nuocht, Nomomne, Condaircu mor, Condaircumedoin, Condaircu fidas, Condaircumeil, Condruim, Toidached, Laglais, Conrici, Conaclid, Atropert, Flaith,* and *Aithech Insohuile, Itosuch, Iartabuirt, Benthis, Duarb.*

Patrick afterwards erected houses in *Drumdaro*, i. e. *Drumlias*, where he left his holy disciple *Benignus*, with seventeen monks. He also gave the veil to the learned *Lasaringhen*, who survived *Benignus* sixty years.

The following are the rights and privileges of *Fetho-fi*, established two years before the death of the two monks of *Dromlias*, viz.:— That none should inherit in *Dromlias*, but the descendants of *Fetho-fi*, they should be good,

devout, just and moral, and inclined to enter among the monks of *Dromlias*, and diligently inclined to observe the works of the *people of Patrick* there.

Nao and *Nai*, sons of the brother of Patrick, and *Daall*, the son of *Heucair*, whom Patrick left there, gave as an offering *Adopart*, *Teoraleth*, *Indli*, *Treathir*, to Patrick for ever; and *Conderc* the son of *Daall*, offered his son to Patrick.

In the morning *Teoralethindli*, offered three ——— and his son *Mac Rimæ*, and Patrick baptized them, and built a church in their inheritance, and *Coirpre*, with them, offered his kingdom to Patrick.

Erniu goes to *Cummin*, to *Ailigh*, and to *Erniu* of *Tir Gimmall*, and *Maine Buachall*, and *Taimnigh;* with those three monks there went into this country *Culla* and *Bratha*.

Cummin and *Breatan* devoted an eighth part of their property with their lands both wood and plain, their meadows, inclosures, and gardens. To *Cummin*, also belonged half (the profits of) the doors of the church of these inclosures, where gifts were brought, viz.:

three ingots (or ounces) of silver, a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of old gold *of the dishes of their ancestors*, half an ounce for their sons, half an ounce for their sheep, and they paid half an ounce for old vases. The congregation of *Cummin* agreed that *Laghagh*, son of *Maclora*, lord of *Crimthanne*, should have the government, the spiritual superintendance was in *Colman*, of the *Britons*. For a cumal of sacred silver was for the payment of the eighth of their proportion.

Patrick and *Iserninus* were with *Germanus*, in the city of *Olsiodra*, and *Germanus* said to *Iserninus*, that he should go to preach in Ireland, he was ready to obey even to whatever part he might be sent, except to Ireland.

Germanus said to Patrick, "Will you be obedient?" Patrick said, "Let it be as you wish." *Germanus* said, "This shall be between us, and *Iserninus* shall not be able to refuse going to Ireland."

Patrick came to Ireland, but he sent *Iserninus* to another part, but a contrary wind detained him in the *right side* of Ireland.

They went afterwards to convert a people

of little reputation, named the *Criuthrighe, (Picts)* and then proceeded until they arrived at *Temchuile*, where they left one of their holy men. Then to *Rathpalaseigh*, where they left another, and then they proceeded to *Latragh-do-aradh*, in *Ibh May*, where came to him the seven sons of *Cathbhoth*, to whom they preached, and believing they were baptized, and they went with them to settle under the protection of *Enna-Kinsela*. Bishop *Fizel* went with them in a boat apart from the rest. Afterwards Patrick and the seven sons of *Dunlang*, believed in him. They went to *Crimthan*, son of *Enna Kinsela*, and he believed.

Some people sinned by falling into neglect of Patrick, so that *Cathbhadh* and *Iserninus* despised them. The sons of *Cathbhadh* went home, and afterwards they went to meet Patrick and *Crimthan* at Sciath Patrick.

Going from *Gabhain Liffey*, by way of *Fothart*, in this affair of *Enna*, they came into *Leinster; Iserninus* and his monks submitted to Patrick, and craved forgiveness. Patrick gave them to bishop *Fiech*, and to the sons of *Cathbhad*, who took possession of a portion of the fields of *Fothart*.

Patrick went from *Tara* into the territory of *Leinster*, and met with *Dubhthach*, son of *Lughain*, at *Donoghmore*, who had been requested by *Enna Kinsela*, to leave one of his disciples, a Leinster man, a man without reproach, of noble family, and free from blemish, *and a man with but one wife*, as a bishop at Lis Patrick, *Dubhthach* answered, there is but one I can vouch for on all those points, and that man is *Fiach Finn*, the Leinster man, who parted from me in Connaught. Whilst they were speaking *Fiach Finn* approached them.

Dubhthach took *Fiach Finn*, and presented him to Patrick, and solicited him to confer on him the order of a bishop, which he did accordingly, after having baptized him, and set him up as *chief bishop of Leinster*, and he gave him a bell, a mitre, a crozier, and a cloak, (pallium) and he left with him seven of his people.

Muchade of *Inisfail*,
Augustin of Inisbeg,
Teachain,
Dermott,
Naindedh,
Paul and
Fedlimith.

Afterwards he built *Domnagh Fiech*, and remained there until sixty of his people died. An angel then appeared to *Fiech*, and said, "You should go to the west, thy resurrection will be at *Coolmoy*, a place where deer and swine abound, where you should found your churches."

Fiech replied, "I shall obey Patrick, if he commands I shall go, if not, I shall refuse." After Patrick went to *Fiech* and absolved him, and blessed him and his holy companions. *Crimthan* gave that house in *Slievard* to Patrick, who had baptized him.

Saachnall went to visit Patrick in a chariot, and proceeding took him with him, and went accompanied by an angel from *Ruan* to *Manchan*, and stopping there three nights, went to *Fiech*, to establish and consecrate his church, and the angel said, it is given to you, *Fiech*, from Patrick, *as thy infirmities are removed.*

Aidus, bishop of *Sliebhte*, sent his *instructions**

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* *Instruction*, or *information*, or *collections*, evidently meaning this book, which had been written at the dictation of *Aidus*, and continued so many centuries afterwards with the archbishops of *Armagh*.

he had made to *Segenius* at *Armagh*, who desired him to (alter) *change the instructions;* but *Aidus* said, he dedicated his instruction and his people, and his church, to Patrick for ever. *Aidus* left his instruction with *Conchad*, who went to *Ardmagh*, so that *Flan Febla* gave him his church, and he afterwards died.

Here end a few things which have been written in the Scottish language more accurately, not because I could not write in Latin, but because these stories can be understood with difficulty even in their own Scottish tongue, but if they were related through the Latin language, one would not only be doubtful with respect to their translation, but ignorant also, of what he was reading, or what language he was pronouncing, from the abundance of Scottish nàmes having no corresponding signification (in the Latin).

Scripsi hunc ut librum pulsare conetur
Omnis quicumque legerit ut evadere pœna
Ad cælum valeam et ad summi præmia regni
Patricio dominum pulsante habitare perævum.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

SUMMARY OF AIDUS.

MANY people have endeavoured to relate to me, Aidus, what they had learned from their fathers, and from those who were their servants, of the story of St. Patrick, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, *but on account of the diverse opinions and suspicions of most people, and the great difficulty of ascertaining the true narration, they have never attained in this matter any certain track or path of history.* So that, unless I am deceived, (as according to our proverb, boys are brought into the amphitheatre) in this deep and dangerous sea of holy narration, the mountainous waves of the whirlpools of which, impatiently swelling among sharp rocks, situated in seas, as yet unknown to all but our (heavenly) father, *it can scarcely be said that I have brought down the narrative*, tried and used as a child's boat, by the impulse of my oar. Yet, that I may not be said to have deduced a great deal from a little—I shall with reluctance, endeavour to explain, sum-

marily and charitably, in obedience to the command of your sanctity and authority, these few, selected from the many actions of St. Patrick, which I have perceived, *my knowledge being small, my authors doubtful, my memory treacherous, and what is the worst of all, the common tradition of the country being against me.*

Concerning the birth of Saint Patrick, and his first captivity.

Concerning his journeys and sea voyage to the gentiles, and his sufferings among the nations ignorant of God.

Concerning his second capture which he suffered for sixty days from hostile men.

Concerning his reception by his parents when they recognized him.

Concerning his age when going to visit the apostolic see, where he wished to learn wisdom.

Concerning his discovery of holy men in Gaul, and that, therefore, *he went no farther.*

Concerning his age when an angel visited and directed him to come here. (*i. e.* to Ireland.)

Concerning his return from the Gauls, and the ordination and death of *Palladius* shortly after.

Of Patrick's ordination by king *Amathus*, *Palladius*, the priest, being deceased.

Of the gentile king (living) in Temoria, when St. Patrick came bringing baptism.

Of his first journey to this island to ransom himself, before *O'Miliuc* should draw others to the devil.

Of the death of *Miliuc*, and the saying Patrick, concerning his descendants.

Of the counsel of St. Patrick at Hessitum.

Of the celebration of the first Easter.

Of the first oblation made in Easter in this island.

Of the heathen festival in Temoria on the same night on which St. Patrick celebrated Easter.

Of the going of king *Loigaire* from Temoria to Patrick, on the night of Easter.

Of the calling of Patrick to the king, and of the faith of *Eirc*, son of *Dego*, and the death of the magician on that night.

Of the anger of the king and his people with Patrick, and of the punishment of God upon them, and of the transfiguration* of Patrick before the gentiles.

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* Transfinctione.

Of the coming of Patrick on the day of Easter to Temoria, and of the faith of *Dubthach Macculugir*.

Of the conflict of Patrick with the magician in that place, and of his own wonderful virtues.

Of the conversion of *Loigaire*, the king, and afterwards of his whole kingdom, by the word of St. Patrick.

Of the doctrine, and baptism, and miracles of St. Patrick, after the example of Christ.

Of *Mac Cuill*, and his conversion at the sayings of St. Patrick.

Of the fable of *Daire*, and of the horse, and the oblation of Armagh to Patrick.

Of the people labouring on the Lord's day, contrary to the command of Patrick.

Of a fruitful land becoming a salt-marsh, by the word of St. Patrick.

Of the death of *Moneisen*, the Saxon.

Of this, that Saint Patrick saw heaven opened, and the Son of God, and his angels.

Of the conflict of St. Patrick against *Coirthech*, king of Aloas.

These few things concerning the knowledge

of St. Patrick and his virtues, *Muirchu*, the son of *Cumacthenus*, wrote after the dictation of *Aidus*, bishop of the city of Slepten.

The angel, high priest of the Lord, communicated to St. Patrick the bishop, the reverence due to his apostolic chair, and the peculiar honour of his successors, wisely granted to him by God above all the Scots.

BOOK OF THE ANGEL.

The book of the angel begins in this manner:

Therefore, Saint Patrick piously proceeded to baptize, teach, and heal a multitude of both sexes of the inhabitants of the city of Armagh, at the fountain in the eastern part of the city, near *Herente*.

And there before day, he awaited many from all sides or parts, flocking together at the announcement of his preaching the faith—suddenly then sleep seized on him, because he was previously wearied with nocturnal watchings for Christ.

And behold, an angel suddenly appeared to him from heaven, and raised him up from sleep—and St. Patrick said, "I am ready, if I have lately done any thing wrong in the sight of the Most High, to seek pardon from God."

The angel answered, "No—but the highest, the Almighty, sent me to you, first for the preservation of your own soul, and secondly, for the conversion of the Irish to him and the faith, by your means, which you have acquired through the hardest labour, and under the favour of the holy spirit by your preaching, which is very clear and profitable to all nations, since you were most laborious at all times, in many dangers from the gentiles, through cold and heat, hunger and thirst,—walking actively from nation to nation, for the advantage of many. The Lord God, therefore, knows that your present situation, which we see placed on high, is a cell too narrow and contracted for the number which inhabit the countries, and that your house in the suburbs will not suffice for a retreat for all—therefore, a very extensive boundary is appointed by the Lord, to the city of Altimacha, which you have preferred before all the lands of the Irish, that is, from the first part of the mountain

Berbicis, even to the mountain *Miss*—from the mountain *Miss* to *Bri Erigi*, even to the back of *Breg;* surely, if you wish it, it shall be of this magnitude; and the Lord God has given you all the nations of the Scots, after the manner of a parish, and this is your city, which is called in the language of the Scots, Armagh."

Saint Patrick, having prostrated himself before the angel, said, "I give thanks to God, my everlasting Lord, who has graciously thought his servant worthy to receive such great glory."

The holy man also said, "My holy Lord, I foresee that there will be some chosen by thy holy spirit in this island, through the ineffable goodness of thy clemency, to be thy preaching orators, dear to me, as if sprung from my own body; friends, also, and devoted servants of thine, but who will require some particular diocese for themselves, for the purpose of necessary attendance in their churches, or monasteries, after me. Therefore, I ought rightly and justly to send down, so much of my abundance, as a gift in common, bestowed by me, upon the sincerely religious in Ireland—so that both I and they may peacefully enjoy the advantage of the goodness of God, the

divine donation having been granted me for this purpose."

He also says, "whatever Christian men may devoutly wish to offer to me from their lands and oblations, by their own free will, Does not this suffice me?"

Likewise, should I not be content to be an apostolic doctor and chief leader among all nations of the Scots, especially since I retain a peculiar tribute daily committed to me, and even that was given to me from the highest, but correctly, due above other free churches of the provinces of this island; without any doubt, this right will be decreed to the primate of Armagh for ever.

Let there also be a proper reception of the archbishop, the successor to the chair of my city, with his companions to the number of fifty, besides pilgrims, and those who were afflicted with various complaints, and the unsound persons and others, and a fit and proper refreshment for each of that number, as well in the day time as in the night.

But in that city of Altimacha, the religious Christians of both sexes, from their first pro-

fessing, until they receive the sacrament, should dwell separately with their respective orders, that is, virgins, penitents, and those observing the lawful marriage of the church.

And to these three orders it is granted to hear the word, by preaching, in the church of the northern part of the city on Sundays.

But in the eastern part, in the palace of the bishop, both the priests and hermits of the church, and other religious persons, offer up acceptable praises.

We will now speak of the special reverence of Armagh, and of the honour due to the primate of that city.

That city, indeed, was constituted free and the chief by the angel of God, and especially granted to that apostolic man, holy Patrick, the bishop.

He presides, therefore, by this privilege, over all the churches and monasteries of the Scots, even by the highest authority of the most exalted prelate, their founder; who also,

ought to be venerated with the honour of the chief martyrs, Peter and Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and the rest.

By how much, therefore, the more ought his actions to be greatly venerated and honoured by all.

And that we should admire the goodness of God in all things, there is preserved in that holy place the most sacred blood of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, in the sacred cloth, together with the reliques of the saints in the eastern church, where the bodies of the pilgrims rest for a long time with Patrick, and the bodies of those who lived beyond the sea, and of other just men.

Therefore, it is not lawful, by reason of the afore-mentioned authority, that any prelate, abbot, or other person of any of the churches of the Scots, should appeal from the decision of him and his successors, for he has the jurisdiction, if cause should require it, over all the bishops and churches of the Scots.

And that his successors ought to rule over every free church and city, seems to be established according to the episcopal degree, in

all the island of the Scots, and in every place which is called the Lord's, by the clemency of the Almighty, according to the words of the angel, as the special society of holy Patrick the bishop, and the successor of his church of Armagh, because the Lord gave him the whole island as we have before mentioned.

* We ought also to know, that a monk of any church, if he should return to Patrick, ought not to deny his monkish vow, especially if he should devote himself by the consent of the abbot, his superior.

Therefore, he is not to be censured nor excommunicated, whoever shall have come to his church for the sake of the love of Patrick, because he will *judge all the Scots on the great day of awful judgment in the presence of Christ.*

Item—Of the honour of the primate of Armagh, the bishop presiding in the chair, the chief shepherd.

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* The meaning of this seems to be, that a monk leaving his own monastery to transfer himself to Armagh, shall be allowed to do so, but is not thereby released from his vows.

If he, the before-mentioned bishop, shall come in the evening, to the place in which he was to be received, let him be supplied, for one turn, with a refection, worthy his rank, for himself, and also for his followers, to the number of one hundred, with food for them and their beasts of burden, beside the guests and the infirm, and those boys who carry incense during church service, and others, as well lay persons as others.

Likewise he who will not receive the before mentioned prelate with the said hospitality, and open his house to him; let him be compelled to supply, in like manner, seven garments,* and to seven years penance.

Also, whoever shall despise or spoil the holy ensigns of the same *Agii*, that is, those of Patrick, shall pay double the damage.

But, if from the contempt of others, any one shall rescue the church property, let him receive *duas ancellas*, from the consecrated property of the said primate Patrick.

Also, whoever in like manner, through de-

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* Ancellas.

ceit, injury, or wickedness, shall have committed any evil against his family or parish, or shall have despised the before-mentioned emblems; the whole shall be brought to trial before and under the jurisdiction of the same prelate of Armagh, who shall properly decide, the other judges being passed over.

Likewise, if a cause shall have arisen so difficult, and above the capability of the judges, it ought properly to be referred to the chair of the archbishop of the Scots, that is, Patrick, and for the examination of this prelate.

But, if in such a case, it cannot be decided by the wise men, we decree that such a cause before mentioned, shall be transmitted to the apostolic chair, that is, to the chair of authority of the apostle Peter, at the city of Rome.

Those are the persons who have decreed thus—that is, *Auxilius*, *Patrick*, *Secundinus*, and *Benignus*. After the death of St. Patrick, his disciples compiled and wrote his works.

The foundation of his address on each Sunday in Altimacha, at the tomb of the martyrs,

and at his return from them, that is, " O Lord, I have called unto thee even to the end."

Between Saint Patrick, of the Irish, and Bridget and Columba, a friendship of love took place, so great, that they had but one heart and design—by their means much good was accomplished for the cause of Christ.

The holy man, therefore, says to the Christian virgin, " O my Bridget, your parish, in your province shall be considered your kingdom, in the eastern and western part, your authority shall be supported by me."

BOOK OF ARMAGH.

THE CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK,

OR HIS EPISTLE TO THE IRISH.

I, PATRICK, a sinner, the rudest, the least, and the most insignificant of the faithful, had *Calphurnius*, a deacon, for my father, who was the son of *Potitus*, heretofore a priest, the son of *Odissus*, who lived in the village of *Banavem Taberniæ*. For he had a little farm adjacent, where I was captured. I was then almost sixteen years of age; but I knew not God, and was led into captivity by the Irish, with many thousand men, as we deserved, because we estranged ourselves from God, and did not keep his laws, and were disobedient to our pastors, who admonished us with respect to our salvation: and the Lord brought down upon us the anger of his spirit, and dispersed us amongst many nations, even to the extremity of the earth, where my meanness was conspicuous amongst foreigners, and where the Lord discovered to me a sense of my un-

belief; that late I should remember my transgressions, and that I should be converted with my whole heart to the Lord my God, who had respect to my humiliation, and pitied my youth and ignorance, even before I knew him, and before I was wise, or could distinguish between right and wrong, and strengthened me, and cherished me, as a father would a son.

From which time I could not remain silent, nor, indeed, did he cease to bless me with many acts of kindness; and so great was the favor he thought me worthy, in the land of my captivity: for this is my retribution, that, after my rebuking, punishment, and acknowledgement of God, I should exalt him, and confess his wonderful acts before every nation which is under the whole heaven; because there is no other God, nor ever was before, nor will be after him, except God, the unbegotten Father, without beginning, from whom is every beginning, possessing all things (as we have said), and his Son Jesus Christ, whom we bear witness was always with the Father, before the formation of the world, in spirit (or spiritually) with the Father, inexpressibly begotten before all beginning, through whom visible things were made, he became man,

having overcome death, and was received into heaven. And God has given to him all power "above every name, as well of the inhabitants of heaven, as of the earth, and powers below, that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord and God," whom we believe, and whose coming we expect, as presently about to be judge of the living and dead, who will render unto every man according to his actions, and has poured upon us, abundantly, the gift of his Holy Spirit, and, the pledge of immortality; who makes us, who believe, and are obedient, to be the sons of God, and joint-heirs of Christ, whom we believe and adore, one God in the trinity of the sacred name. For he spoke by the prophet, "*Call upon me in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.*" And again, he says, "*It is an honourable thing to reveal and confess the works of God.*"

Although in many points I am imperfect, I wish that my condition (or nature) should be known by my brethren and kindred, that they may be able to digest the desire of my life. I am not ignorant of the testimony of my Lord, who declares in the Psalm, "*Thou shalt destroy those who speak lies;*"—and again, "*The mouth which lieth shall lose its life.*"—

And the same Lord, "*For every idle word which men shall utter, for that shall they render an account in the day of judgment.*" On which account, I ought with fear and trembling to dread this sentence on that day, when no one can withdraw or hide himself—but we are all together to render an account, even of our slightest errors before the judgment-seat of the Lord Christ.

Wherefore, I formerly thought to write, but hesitated until now. For I feared, least I should fall into the censure of men, because I did not learn as others, who being taught in the best manner, therefore rightly, both drank in sacred learning, and never changed their language from childhood, but rather constantly added to its perfection. For my language and speech is translated into a foreign tongue, as can be easily observed from the homeliness of my style of writing; (*ex saliva scripturæ meæ*) like as I was taught and instructed in sermons, because the wise man says, "*by the tongue is distinguished both sense and science, and the doctrine of truth.*" But what avails an excuse, although true, especially with presumption? So far as I, myself, only desire in my old age, to confirm what I before took a survey of, and what I did not consider as

being sins which beset me in my youth.—But if any one will believe me, and if I shall say (what I have before declared) when a young man, nay, almost a beardless boy, I was captured, before I knew what to seek, or what I ought to avoid. From which cause I blush to-day, and greatly dread to expose my ignorance, because I cannot explain with brevity and precision, as the spirit rejoices, and the influenced mind and disposition point out. But if, therefore, it were given to me as even to the rest—nevertheless, I would not be silent on account of the consequences, although, perhaps, it appears to some, that I have in this matter proposed, what I am unable from ignorance and difficulty of language to do justice to. But it is written, "*Lisping tongues shall quickly learn to speak peace.*"—By how much the more ought we to seek for salvation in the gospel of Christ, even to the extremity of the earth. Although not eloquent, but confirmed and very strong, and written in your hearts, "*Not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God.*" And again the Spirit testifies, "*And his dwelling place was formed from on high.*"

From whence I, the first rustic deserter, unlearned indeed, who knew not how to provide

for the time to come, but this I know most surely, because, as I was before humiliated, I was like a stone, which lies in the deep mud, and he who is powerful came, and, in his mercy raised me up, and indeed again delivered me, and fixed me in his place, and from thence I ought boldly to cry out, and to return thanks also to the Lord—for his so great benefits, here and for ever, which the mind of man cannot properly estimate. From which cause do you, great and small, wonder, and ye on the Lord's day, ye who fear God, hear with eloquence, and search diligently; he who aroused me, a fool, from the midst of those who appear to be wise, and skilled in the law, and powerful in language, and in every respect; and even me, hated by this world, he has inspired above the rest—if I would be so—so that with fear and reverence, and without complaint, I should faithfully serve that nation, to whom the love of Christ transferred me, and gave me in my life, if I shall be worthy. Finally, that I should with humility and truth, be serviceable to them. In the measure, therefore, of the faith of the Trinity, it behoves me to point out, without fear of danger, and to make known the gift of God, and his eternal consolation; to unfold every where with confidence the name of God—

that also, after my death I should leave to my Gallic brethren, and to my children, whom I baptized in the Lord—so many thousand men. And I was not worthy, nor such, as that the Lord should grant this to his servant after afflictions and such calamities, after my captivity for many years, that he should give me so great favour amongst that nation, which formerly in my youth I never hoped or expected.

But when I came to Ireland, I was daily employed in feeding cattle, and oftentimes during the day prayed, and the love and fear of God more and more inflamed me, and my faith, and my spirit increased, so that in one day I have made a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly an equal number.* So I also remained in the woods and mountains, and rose up before day to pray, in snow, in frost, in rain, and felt no injury; nor was there any slothfulness in me, as I now perceive, because then the spirit was ardent and warm within me.

And then, indeed, on a certain night, I heard

* This passage looks like an interpolation; it is inconsistent with the spirit of the rest of the confession.

in my sleep, a voice saying to me, "*You fast well—you will quickly go to your country.*" And again, after a very short interval, I heard an answer addressed to me, "*Behold your ship is ready:*" but it was not near, but was, perhaps, two hundred miles off—and I had never been there, nor did I know any of the inhabitants thereof. And after a while, I turned myself to flight, and left a man with whom I had been six years. And I came in the strength of the Lord, who directed my way aright, and feared nothing until I came to the ship; and on the day on which I arrived, the ship was to sail from her place, and I said, that I would sail with them. And the proposal displeased the master of the vessel—and he answered sharply with this reply, "*You shall by no means come with us.*" And when I heard this, I separated myself from them, to go to a cottage, where I had been entertained, and on my way I began to pray, and before I finished my prayer, I heard one of them loudly calling after me, "*Come quickly, for those men call you.*" And forthwith I returned to them, and they began to say to me, "*Come, because we receive you on account of your faith—ratify friendship with us in what manner you wish.*" And therefore I ceased to fly, because of the fear of God; but nevertheless I had hopes from them, that

they would say, that I should come in the faith of Jesus Christ, because they were gentiles.

And on this account I succeeded with them —and after three days we landed, and for twenty eight days we journeyed through a desart, and food failed, and hunger prevailed over them. And the master began to say to me, "*Christian, do you not say your God is great and all-powerful? Why then can you not pray for us, for we are in danger of famishing? for it is difficult for us to see any man.*" For I plainly told them, "*Be ye converted from your religion, to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that he may send you food on your road, even until ye be satisfied, because he has every where abundance.*" And with God's assistance it was so done. Behold a herd of swine appeared in our road before our eyes; and they slew many of them, and remained there two nights well recruited. And their dogs also were satisfied, for many of them had been left on the road half dead. And after these things they gave the greatest thanks to God, and I glorified him before their eyes. They also found wild-honey, and offered me some. And one of them said, "*It is a sacri-*

fice, thank God." From thence I tasted nothing. But on the same night, I was asleep, and Satan strongly tempted me, which I shall remember as long as I shall be in this body. And he fell upon me like a huge rock, but hurt none of my limbs. But how it suggested itself to me in the spirit to call *Helia (I know not.)* Meanwhile I saw the sun rise in the heavens, and while I was exclaiming *Helia*, with all my strength—lo! the splendour of the sun fell upon me, and immediately released me from the oppressive weight. And I believe that I was assisted by my Lord Christ, and that his Spirit called out for me; and I hope that it will be thus in the day of my adversity —as the Lord says in the Gospel, "*It is not you which speak, but the Holy Spirit which speaks in you.*"

After some years, I again suffered captivity: the first night after which I heard a divine communication, "*For two months thou shalt remain with them,*" which so came to pass.— On the sixtieth night the Lord delivered me out of their hands; he also provided for us food, and fire and dry weather on our journey every day; until the tenth day, when we all arrived as I have above mentioned. We per-

formed the journey through the desert in twenty-eight days, and on the night on which we all arrived, we had no food.

And again, after a few years I was among the Britons with my parents, who received me as their son, and intreated me to promise, that I would never again depart from them after the many misfortunes I had suffered. And there indeed, in the midst of the night, I saw a man, as if coming from *Hibernia*, whose name was Victoricius, with innumerable letters, and he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, containing the cry of the Scots, *vox Hyberionacum*. And whilst I was perusing the commencement of the letter, I thought in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluti, which is near the western Sea, and they thus cried out, "*We intreat thee holy youth, to come and walk amongst us.*" And I was very much pricked to the heart, and could read no more; and I then awoke.

God be praised, that after so many years, the Lord performed to them according to their intreaty. And on another night, I know not, God knows, whether in me, or beside me, with words very skillful, which I heard, but

could not understand, unless at the latter part of the discourse he thus spoke, "*He who gave thee life,* (or his spirit) *the same is before thee, who speaks in thee.*" And I then awoke joyfully. And again I perceived him praying in me, and he was as if within my body ; and I heard, that is, over the interior man, and there he strongly prayed with groans. And in the midst of this, I was astonished, and wondered, and reflected who it could be that prayed within me. But at the end of the prayer he thus spoke—it may be the Spirit. And then I rose up and remembered the apostle saying, "*The Spirit assists the weakness of our prayers, for we know not what to ask for as we ought, but the Spirit himself prays for us with groans not to be uttered ;*" which cannot be expressed in words—and again—"*The Lord our intercessor prays for us.*"

I saw in a vision of the night : it was written over against my face without honour. And during these transactions I heard a communication saying to me, "*Male audivimus faciem designati nudato nomine ;*" nor did he thus express it—"*You have badly seen,*" but "*We have badly seen.*" As if he had there joined himself—as if he had said, "*He who touches you is as one who touches the pupil of*

my eye." I therefore give thanks to him who has comforted me under all circumstances, that he would not hinder me from taking the journey on which I had resolved, and concerning that my work which I had had learned from my Lord Christ. But from this I the more perceived my courage not small, and my fidelity was proved before God and man.—From which I boldly say, my conscience does not blame me here even for the future.

I call God to witness, that I have not lied in the statements which I have related to you.

It were tedious to recount all my labours singly, or in parts. I shall briefly state that God often rescued me from slavery, and treat of the twelve dangers by which my life was in jeopardy, besides many snares, and occurrences, which I cannot express in words, nor shall I do injury to my readers—but I have a Creator who knew all things, even before they were done.

Because I am very greatly debtor to God who gave me so much favour—that many people were born again to God through me, and that the clergy every where should be ordained for this people, lately coming to the

belief (or faith)—because the Lord took them (or me) from the extremity of the earth, as he formerly promised through the prophets—"*As our fathers falsely prepared idols, and there is no use in them—nations shall come to thee from the ends of the earth.*"

And again, "*I have placed thee for a light to the nations, that thou mayest be for salvation to the ends of the earth;*" and there I will await his promise, who never deceived, as he promises in the gospel—"*They shall come from the East and from the West, and from the North and from the South, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.*" So we trust, believers will come from all parts of the world.

It therefore behoves us to fish well and diligently, as the Lord advises and teaches, saying, "*Follow me, and I will make you become fishers of men.*" And again, "*Lo! I send forth fishers, and many hunters, saith the Lord, &c.*"—from which cause it very much behoves us to spread our net, so that a numerous multitude and crowd should be taken for the Lord, and that there should every where be clergy, who should baptize and exhort the poor and needy, as the Lord in the gospel

enjoins, and teaches, saying, "*Proceeding now, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even to the end of the world.*" And again, "*Going, therefore, into all the world, preach the gospel to every creature—he who shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved; but he who will not believe shall be damned.*" Whence is it that in Ireland, those who never had the knowledge of a God, but worshipped even filthy idols; how have they lately become the Lord's people, and are called the sons of God? The sons and daughters of the *Scots*, seems to be monks and virgins of Christ.*

Behold, I call God to witness against my life—that I have not lied, neither had I any occasion to do so to you—nor do I expect honour from any of you. For that honour is sufficient for me, which he promised who does not lie. But I see that I am now in this present time exalted beyond measure by the Lord—and I was not worthy, nor such as that he shouldaccomplish this for me, whilst I know that poverty and misfortune are much better for me than riches and pleasures; for

* This last sentence evidently interpolated.

even the Lord Christ for our sakes became poor.

But I should be wretched and unhappy, even to wish for wealth; now I have it not, nor do I judge myself because I daily contemn the risk of either massacre, or to be intrapped, or to be reduced to slavery, or the want of any thing. But I pray for those who believe and fear God; whoever shall be worthy to read or receive this writing, which Patrick the sinner wrote in Ireland; that no one should ever say that it is my ignorance, if I have pointed out any thing weak. But you think, and it is verily believed, that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession, before I shall die."

This is so much of the volume which was written by the hand of Patrick himself. On the 17th day of March, Patrick was translated to heaven.

THE EPISTLE

OF

SAINT PATRICK TO COROTICUS.*

I, Patrick, a rude and unlearned sinner, having been appointed a bishop in Ireland, declare most confidently, (or certainly) that I have received that mission from God, who is my witness, that dwelling among barbarians a Christian and an exile, urged by my love and zeal for God, and the truth of Christ; I wished, although rudely, and in an unpolished manner, to declare these things from my mouth. For the love of my neighbours, and my children in the Lord, roused me and compelled me to give up my country and parents, and even my life also, if I should be thought worthy. I vowed to God to teach the truth to the nations. I have written with my own hand these words to Coroticus, to be delivered to him by the soldiers. Although I am despised by those to whom I have written,

* This is translated from Sir James Ware, who collated his copy with the Cotton and Salisbury MSS.

I do not say to my fellow-citizens, nor to the pious (or holy) Roman citizens, but to the citizens of devils; apostates, who, on account of their evil works, and hostile acts, in the works of death, are fit companions of the the apostate *Scots* and *Picts*, sanguinary men, who have been ever ready to shed the blood of the innocent Christians, whom in numbers I brought to God, and confirmed to Christ, on on the following day, on which the unction of the neophyte, in a white garment, burned before them, they were by them cruelly slaughtered and butchered with the sword. —And they mocked my messenger when I wrote them a letter by a holy priest, whom I have taught from infancy, with some clergy, that they should grant us some part of the booty of the baptized captives they had taken; therefore, I know not whom I should rather grieve for, whether those who were slain, those they took captive, or those whom the devil grievously ensnared into the everlasting pains of hell, where they shall remain—because he who caused their sin is a slave, and is called the son of the devil.

Wherefore, let every man, who fears God know, that they are estranged from me, and from my Lord Christ, on whose mission I am

now employed, who are patricides, ravenous wolves, "Devouring the Lord's people, like bread," as he says: "The ungodly have broken thy law, O Lord!" wherefore, in the latter times Ireland has been benignly and kindly planted and instructed, under the favour of God. I do not usurp any thing—I have a part with those whom he has called and pre-ordained to preach his gospel, under no small persecutions, even to the farthest limits of the earth. Although the enemy has acted inviduously toward me, through the tyranny of *Coroticus*, who fears not God, (nor his priests, whom he has chosen, and to them he has committed the superlative, divine, sublime power, "that whomsoever they should bind on earth, should be bound in heaven.")* Whence, therefore, (I beseech you) let none of you who are saints and humble in heart, suffer yourselves to be flattered by such persons, nor take meat or drink with them, nor receive alms from them, until they atone to God for the tears which they have cruelly caused to be shed by us, and shall liberate the servants of God, and the baptized handmaidens of Christ, for whom he died and was crucified—"*The Most Highest rejects the of-*

* This is evidently an interpolated sentence.

ferings of the unjust, who offers a sacrifice from the substance of the poor, like one who offers his son as a victim in the sight of his father." "*Riches,*" says he, "*which the unjust man shall collect, shall be ejected from his belly; the angel of death drags him off. He shall be punished with the anger of dragons, and the tongue of the snake shall destroy him.*" Inextinguishable fire also shall eat him up. And, therefore, "*Woe to them who fill themselves with things which are not their own*"—or, "*What avails it a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?*"

It were a long task to discuss, or wind through each circumstance, to bring down testimonies from the whole law against such cupidity. Avarice is a mortal crime, "*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods.*" "*Thou shalt do no murder.*" A homicide cannot be with Christ—"*He who hates his brother, is a murderer;*" or, "*He who does not love his brother, remaineth in death.*" How much the more guilty is he who defiled his hands in the blood of the sons of God, whom he has lately acquired in the uttermost parts of the earth, through our humble exhortations.

Whether did I come to Ireland without

God, or according to flesh? Who compelled me; bound by the spirit, that I should leave all my kindred? Whether do I exercise pious mercy towards that nation which formerly took me captive, and destroyed the servants and maids of the house of my father? I was of the patrician order (*ingenuus*) according to the flesh, my father being a *Decurion* (or captain of ten). For I gave up my nobility; I do not blush for it, nor am I grieved, for I did so for the advantage of others. Finally, I am a servant in Christ Jesus, our Lord; although my own do not acknowledge me. "*A prophet has no honour in his own country.*" We are not of the same fold, nor have we one God and Father; as he says, "*He who is not with me, is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.*" Is it not said, "*One man destroys, another builds up.*" I seek not for myself—nor my own advantage; but for God; indeed, I have in my heart solicitude, to be one of the hunters or fishermen, whom God revealed should appear in the latter days. I am envied; what shall I do, O Lord? I am greatly despised. Behold, thy sheep are torn and destroyed by these robbers, at the instigation of *Coroticus*, who has with hostile mind (the betrayer of Christians is far from the

love of God) delivered them into the hands of the *Scots* and *Picts*. The ravening wolves have destroyed the flock of the Lord, which was successfully increasing in Ireland by the greatest diligence; the sons of the *Scots* and the daughters of the kings, who were monks and virgins of Christ—I cannot enumerate them. Wherefore, "*The oppression of the just is not pleasing to God, and who respects the estate of the lowest.*"

Which of the saints would not feel horror at the idea of associating with, or joining in the banquets of such wretches as these? From the spoils of the dead Christians they have filled their houses; they live on rapine. The wretched creatures know not the mischief, they extend the deadly poison to their friends and children; as *Eve* understood not, that she delivered a deadly offering to her husband; so are all they who act badly, they make death an everlasting punishment.

It is the custom of the *Roman* and *Gallic* Christians to send pious persons to the *Franks*, and other nations, with many thousand shillings for the redemption of baptized captives. You have so often slain them, and sold them to a foreign nation which knows not God; you

deliver up the members of Christ, as if to the wolves. What kind of hope have you in God ? or who agrees with you ? Or who applies to you the words of flattery ? God will judge, for it is written ; "*Not only those committing evil, but those who consent to it also shall be condemned.*" I know not what I should say, or speak more concerning the deceased of the sons God, whom the sword has cruelly exterminated ; for it is written, "*Weep with those that weep ;*" and again, "*If one member grieve, let all the members grieve with it.*"

Wherefore the church deplores and mourns her sons and daughters, whom the sword has not yet slain, but are carried off and transported to a distant country, where sin is manifestly grievous, and shamelessly abounds.—There the free-born Christians are sold, and reduced to slavery, among the most unworthy, the most abandoned, and apostate *Picts*.—Therefore with sadness and grief will I exclaim.—O most excellent and loving brethren, and sons whom I have begotten in Christ, I cannot mention what I can do for you ! I am not worthy to assist you with God's assistance nor with that of man. The iniquity of the unjust has prevailed against us. We are become like foreigners—perhaps they do not

believe "*We partake of one baptism with them,*" or, "*that we have one God and Father :*" it is an indignity to them that we are born in Ireland, as he says, "*Have ye not one God ?*" "*Why do ye forsake each one his neighbour ?*" I therefore grieve for ye, I lament for ye, Oh ! most dear to me. But again I rejoice within myself, that I have not laboured in vain, or that my journey has not been unavailing, and that it has laid hold of a crime so horrible, and unutterable. Thanks to God, ye who believed and are baptized, have withdrawn from the things of the world, ye are beginning (I perceive) to journey towards paradise, "*Where there shall be neither night, nor grief, nor death any more.* But *ye shall exult like young bulls unbound from chains, and shall trample on the unjust, and they shall be like dust beneath your feet.*" Ye shall reign then with the apostles and prophets, and martyrs, and shall receive the everlasting kingdom: as he testifies, "*They shall come*" (says he) "*from the east, and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven :*" but cruel men, and magicians, and homicides, liars, and perjurers, shall have their part in the lake of eternal fire ; not without justice does the apostle say, "*Where the just man will with difficulty be saved, where shall the sinner,*

and impious transgressor of the law, betake himself ?" Wherefore in what place shall *Coroticus* with his most abandoned rebels against Christ, see themselves, when rewards are distributed (amongst weak women who have been baptized) on account of this wretched temporal kingdom, shall it not pass away in a moment like a cloud, or smoke which is dispersed by the wind ? So guilty sinners shall perish before the face of the Lord ; but the just shall feast in great constancy with Christ, they shall judge the nations, and rule over unjust kings, for ever, and ever—Amen.

I testify before God and his angels, that it shall be so, as he intimated to my ignorance ; these are not my words, but those of God and the apostles, and of the prophets (which I have transcribed from the Latin) who never lied. *" He who will believe and is baptized, shall be saved, but he who will not believe, shall be condemned."* God here spoke. I earnestly beseech you, whichever of you be a servant of God, that he be ready to be a bearer of this letter, that he be drawn away by nobody, but that rather he should read it in the presence of all the people, and before *Coroticus* himself. But if God inspires them, so that at length, they may repent and turn to God, and those

homicides, though late, may repent them of their sins, which they have so impiously committed against the Lord's brethren, and that they may liberate the baptized captive women, whom they formerly took, so that they may deserve from God to live, and that they may be made whole here and for ever. The peace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, remain with you.—*Amen.*

APPENDIX.

LIBER ARDMACHÆ.

The Latin is given verbatim, and without points, as in the original.

VITA S. PATRICII.

* * * * * * * * *

sibi in Hibernica servitute posito antequam essent dixerat eum crebris visionibus visitavit dicens ei adesse tempus ut veniret et evangelico rete nationes feras et barbaras ad quas docendas miserat illum Deus ut piscaret ibique ei dictum est in visione vocant et filii et filiæ silvæ Foclisiæ &c.

Oportuno ergo tempore imperante comitante divino auxilio cœptum ingreditur itur ad opus in quod ollim preparatus fuerat utique evanguelii et missit Germanus seniorem cum illo hoc est Segitium presbyterum ut testem comitem haberet quia nec adhuc a sancto domino Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est.

Certe enim erit quod Paladius Archdiaconus Papæ Celestinæ urbis Romæ Episcopi qui tunc tenebat sedem apostolicum quadragensimus quintus a Sancto Petro apostolo ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insolam sub brumali rigore positam convertendum sed prohibuit illum quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de cœlo nam neque hii feri et inmites homines facile reciperunt doctrinam ejus neque et ipse voluit transegere tempus in terrâ non suâ. Sed reversus ad eum qui missit illum revertere vero eo hinc et in primo mari transito cœpto qui erat parum itinere in Britonum finibus vita factus.

Audita itaque morte Sancti Palladii in Britannis quia discipuli Palladii id est Augustinus et Benedictus et ceteri redeuntes retulerant in Ebmoria de morte ejus.

Patricius et qui cum eo erant declinaverunt iter ad quendam mirabilem hominem summum episcopum Amatho rege nomine in propinquo loco habitantem ibique Sanctus Patricius sciens quæ eventura erant ibi episcopalem gradum ab Matho rege sancto episcopo accepit etiam Auxilius Iserninusque et ceteri inferioris gradus eodem die quo Sanctus Patricius ordinatus est.

Tum acceptis benedictionibus perfectis omnibus secundum morem cantato etiam Patricio quasi specialiter et convenienter hoc psalmistæ vorsu. Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisidec.

Venerabilis viator paratum navim in nomine sanctæ trinitatis ascendit et pervenit Britannias.

Et omissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus præter commone viæ officium nemo enim dissidiæ quærit dominum cum omni velocitate flatu que prospero mare nostrum contendit.

In illis autem diebus quibus hæc gestarunt in prædictis regionibus fuit rex quidam magnus ferox gentilisque imperator barbarorum regnans in Temoria qui erat caput Scotorum Loigaire nomine filius Neill origo stirpis regiæ hujus pene insolæ hic autem scivos et magos et aurispices et incantatores et omnis malæ artis inventores habuerat qui poterant omnia scire et providere ex more gentilitatis et idolatrie antequam essent equibus hii duo præ ceteris præferebantur quorum nomina hæc sunt Lothroch qui etiam Lochrii et Lucamael qui et Ronal et hii duo ex sua arte magica crebriis prophetabant morem quendam exterum futurum in modum regni cum ignota quadam doctrina molesta lonquinquo trans maria advectum a paucis dictatum a multis susceptum :

ab omnibusque	honoratum
regna	subversurum
resistantes turbas	seducturum
omnes eorum deos	distructurum

et in ceteris omnibus illorum artis opibus in secula regnaturum.

Portantem quoque suadentemque hanc morem signaverunt et prophe-

taverunt hiis verbis quasi in modum crebro ab hiisdem dictis maxime in antecedentibus adventum Patriciique duobus aut tribus annis.

Hæc autem sunt versiculi verba pro linguæ idiomo non tam manifesta est adveniet.

Lasciciput cum suo ligno curvi capite ex sua domu capite perforato incantabit nefas a sua mensa ex anteriore parte domus suæ respondebit ei sua familia tota fiat fiat quod nostris verbis potest manifestius exprimi. Quando hæc omnia fiant regnum nostrum quod est gentile non stabit quod sic potest ea evenerat eversis enim in adventu Patricii idulorum culturis fides Christi catholica nam replevit omnia.

De his ista sufficiant redeamus ad propositum.

Consummato igitur navigio sancto præfectoque honorata navis sancti cum transmarinis mirabilibus spiritalibus quæ tessauris quasi in opportunum portem in regiones *Coolennorum* in portum apud nos clarum qui vocatur hostium *Dee* dilata est ubi vissum est ei nihil perfectius esse quam ut semetipsum primitus redemeret et inde appetens sinistrales fines ad illum hominem gentilem *Milcoin* apud quem quondam in captivitate fuerat portansque geminum servitutis pretium terrenum utique et cœleste ut de captivitate liberaret illum cui ante captivus servierat ad anteriorem inselam quam ejus nomine usque hodie nominatur prurim navis convertit.

Tum deinde *Brega Conalneas* quæ fines necnon et fines *Ulathorum* in *Levo* dimittens ad extremum fretum quod est *Brene* se immisset et discenderunt in terram ad hostium *Slain* ille et qui cum eo erant in navi et absconderunt naviculum et venierunt aliquantulum in regionem ut requiescerent ibi. Et invenit eos porcinarios cujusdam viri naturâ boni licet gentilis cui nomen erat *Dichu* habitans ibi ubi nunc est *orreum* Patricii nomine cognominatum.

Porcinarius autem putans eos fures ac latrones exivit et indicavit domino suo *Dudichoin*.

Et induxit illum super eos ignorantibus illis qui corde proposuerat occidere eos sed videns faciem Sancti Patricii convertit dominus ad bonum cogitationes ejus et prædicavit Patricius fidem ille et ibi credidit Patricio et requiescit ibi sanctus apud illum non multis diebus sed volens cito ire ut visitaret prædictum hominem *Milconi* et portaret ei pretium

suum et vel sicut converteret ad Christi fidem relicta ibi navis apud *Dicoin* cœpit per terras diregere viam in regiones *Cruidnenorum* donec pervenit ad montem *Mis* de quo monte multo ante tempore quo ibi captivus erat servierat presso vestigio in petra alteri montis expedito gradu vidit anguelum *Victoricum* in conspectu ejus ascendisse in cœlum.

Audiens autem *Miliuc* servum suum iterum ad visitandum eum ut morem quam nolebat in fine vitæ faceret quasi per vim ne servo subjectus fieret et ille sibi dominaret instinctu diabuli sponte se igni tradidit et in domu in qua prius habitaverat rex congregato ad se omni instrumento substantiæ suæ incensus est.

Stans autem Sanctus Patricius in prædicto loco a latere dextero montis *Mis* ubi primum illam regionem in qua servivit cum tali gratia adveniens vidit ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum advissum primum illius regionis illico sub oculis rogum regis in incensum intuitus.

Stupefactus igitur ad hoc opus duabus aut tribus fere horis nullum verbum proferens suspirans et gemens lacrimansque atque hæc verba *promens* ait nescio Deus scit hic homo rex qui seipsum igni tradidit ne crederet in fine vitæ suæ et ne serviret Deo æterno nescio Deus scit nemo de filiis ejus sedebit rex super sedem regni ejus a generatione in generationem insuper et semen ejus serviet in sempiternum.

Et his dictis orans et armans se signo crucis convertit cito iter suum ad regiones *Ulothorum* per eadem vestigia quibus venerat et rursum pervenit in campum *Inis* ad *Dichoin* ibique mansit diebus multis et circum ut totum campum et elegit et amavit et cœpit fides crescere ibi.

Ad propinquavit autem Pasca in diebus illis quod Pasca primum Deo in nostra Ægipto hujus insolæ vel ut quondam in *Genesseon* celebratum est et invenierunt consilium ubi hoc primum Pasca in gentibus ad quas missit illum Deus celebrarent multis quæ super hac re consiliis jectis postremo inspirato divinitus Sancto Patricio vissum est hanc magnam Domini resollempnitatem quasi caput omnium sollempnitatum in campo maximo ubi erat regnum maximum nationum harum quod erat omnis gentilitatis et idolatriæ ne possit ulterius liberari uti hic invictus cuneus in caput totius idolatriæ re possit ulterius adversus Christi fidem insurgere sub malleo fortis operis cum fide juncti Sancti Patricii et suorum manibus spiritalibus primus inlideretur et sic factum est.

Elevata igitur navis ad mare et demisso in fide plena et pace bono illo viro *Dichu* migrantes de campo *Iniss* dextrâque manu demittentes omnia ad plenitudinem ministerii quæ erant ante non incongrue leva in portum hostii *Colpdi* benè et prosperè delati sunt.

Relictaque ibi navi pedestri itinere venierunt in prædictum maximum campum donec postremo ad vesperum pervenierunt ad *Ferti* virorum *Feec* quæ ut fabulæ ferunt *Fodorem* viri hoc est servi *Feccol Ferchertni* qui fuerat unus enovim magis prophetis *Bregg*. Fixoque ibi tentorio debeta Pascæ vota sacrificiumque laudis cum omni devotione Sanctus Patricius cum suis Deo altissimo secundum prophetæ vocem rededit.

Contigit vero in illo anno idolatriæ sollempnitatem quam gentiles in cantationibus multis et magicis inventionibus nonnullis aliis idolatriæ superstitionibus congregatis etiam regibus satrapis ducibus principibus et optimatibus populi insuper et magis in cantatoribus auruspicibus et omnis artis omnisque doni inventoribus doctoribus ut vocatis ad *Loigairum* vel ut quondam ad *Nebochdonossor* regem in Temoria istorum *Babylonæ* exercere consuerant eadem nocte qua Sanctus Patricius Pasca illi illam adorarent exercerentque festivitatem gentilem.

Erat quoque quidam mos apud illas per edictum omnibus intimatus ut quicunque in cunctis regionibus sive procul sive juxta in illa nocte incendisset ignem antequam in domu regia id est in palatio *Temoriæ* succenderetur periret anima ejus de populo suo.

Sanctus ergo Patricius Sanctam Pasca celebrans incendit divinum ignem valdè lucidum et benedictum qui in nocte refulgens a cunctis pene plani campi habitantibus vissus est.

Accidit ergo ut a *Temoria* videretur vissoque eo conspexerunt omnes et mirati sunt convocatus qui senioribus majoribus natu regi nesciisse illum qui hoc feceret magi responderunt rex in æternum vive. Hic ignis quem videmus quique in hac nocte accensus est antequam succenderetur in domu sua id est in palatio *Temoriæ* nisi distinctus fuerit in nocte hac qua accensus est numquam extinguitur in æternum insuper et omnes ignes nostræ consuitudinis super graditur et ille qui incendit et regnum super veniens a quo incensus nocte in hac superabit nos omnes et te et omnes homines regni tui seducet et cadent ei omnia regna et ipsum implebit omnia et regnabit in sæcula sæculorum.

His ergo auditis turbatus est rex *Loigaire* valde ut ollim *Erodis* et omnis civitas *Temoria* cum eo et respondens dixit non sic erit sed nunc nos ibimus ut videamus exitum rei et retinebimus et occidemus facientes tantum nefas in nostrum regnum.

Junctis ter novam curribus secundum deorum traditionem et assumptis his duobis magis et conflictionem per omnibus optimis id est *Lucetmail* et *Lochru* in fine noctis illius perrexit *Loigaire* de *Temoria* ad *Ferti* virorum *Feec* hominum et equorum facies secundum congruum illis sensum ad levam vertentes.

Euntibus autem illis dixerunt magi regi rex nec tu ibis ad locum in quo ignis est ne forte tu postea adoraveris illum qui incendit sed eris foris juxta et vocabitur ad te ille ut te adoraverit et tu ipse dominatus fueris et sermocinabimur ad invicem nos et ille in conspectu tuo rex et probabis nos sic et respondens rex ait bonum consilium invenistis sic faciam ut locuti fuistis.

Et pervenierunt ad præfinitum locum. Discendentibusque illis de curribus suis et equis non intraverunt in circuitum loci incensi sed sederunt juxta.

Et vocatus est Sanctus Patricius ad regem juxta extra locum incensi dixeruntque magi ad suos nec surgemus nos in adventu istius nam quicunque surrexerit ad adventum istius credet ei postea et adorabit eum. Surgens denique Sanctus Patricius et videns multos currus et equos eorum hunc que Psalmistæ versiculum non incongrue in labiis et in corde decantans. Hii in curribus et hii in equis nos autem in nomine Dei nostri ambulabimus. * * * * ad illos illi non surrexerunt in adventu ejus sed unus tamen a Domino adjutus qui noluit obedire dictis magorum hoc est *Ercè* filius *Dego* cujus nunc reliquiæ adorantur in illa civitate que vocatur *Slane*. Surrexit et benedixit eum Patricius et credidit Deo æterno.

Incipientibusque illis sermocinari ad invicem alter magus nomine *Locru* procax erit in conspectu Sancti audens detrachere fidei Catholicæ tumulentis verbis. Hunc autem intuens turvo oculo talia promentem Sanctus Patricius ut quondam *Petrus* de *Simone* cum quadam potentia et magno clamore confidenter ad Dominum dixit Domine qui omnia potes et in tua potestate consistunt quique me missisti huc hic impius qui blasphemat nomen tuum elevatur nunc foras et cito moriatur. Et his dictis elevatus est

in æthera magus et iterum dimissus foras desuper verso ad lapidem cerebro comminutus et mortuus fuerat coram eis et timuerunt gentiles.

Iratusque cum suis rex Patricio super hoc voluit eum occidere et dixit injecite manus in istum perdentem nos. Tunc videns gentiles impios inruituros in eum Sanctus Patricius surrexit claraque voce dixit Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimice ejus et fugant qui oderunt eum à facie ejus et statim inruerunt tenebræ et commotio quædam horribilis et expugnaverunt impii semetipsos alter adversus alterum insurgens et terræ motus magnus factus est et collocavit axes curruum eorum et agebat eos cum vi et præcipitaverunt se currus et equi per planitiem campi donec ad extremum pauci ex eis semivivi evaserunt ad montem *Monduirn* et prostrati sunt ab hac plaga coram rege ex suis sermonibus ad maledictum Patricii septem septies viri donec ipse remanserat tamen hominibus ipse et uxor ejus et alii ex *Scotis* duo et timuerunt valde.

Veniensque regina ad Patricium dixit ei homo juste et potens ne perdas regem veniens enim rex genua flectet et adorabit Dominum tuum et venit rex timore coactus et flexit genua coram Sancto et finxit se adorare quem nolebat et postquam separaverunt ad invicem paululum gradiens vocavit rex Sanctum Patricium simulato verbo volens interficere eum quomodo sciens autem Patricius cogitationes regis pessimi benedictis in nomine Jesu Christi sociis suis octo viris cum puero venit ad regem enumerat eos rex venientes statimque nusquam comparuerunt ab oculis regis sed viderunt gentiles octo tam cervos cum hynulo euntes quasi ad dissertum et Rex *Loigaire* mestus timidus et ignominiosis cum paucis evadentibus ad *Temoriam* versus est de luculo.

Sequenti vero die hoc est in die Pascæ recumbentibus regibus et principibus et magis apud *Loigaire* festus enim dies maximus apud eos erat manducantibus illis et bibentibus vinum in palatio *Temoriæ* sermocinantibusque et aliis et aliis cogitantibus de his qua facta fuerant Sanctus Patricius quinque tantum viris ut contenderet et verbum faceret de fide Sancta in *Temoria* coram omnibus nationibus hostiis claussis secundum id quod de Christi legitur venit adveniente ergo eo in cœnacolum *Temoriæ* nemo de omnibus ad adventum ejus surrexit præter unum tantum id est *Dubthoch Macculigil* poetam optimum apud quem tunc temporis ibi erat quidam adolescens poeta nomine *Feec* qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit cujus reliquiæ adorantur in *Sleibti*. Hic ut dixi *Dubthach* solus ex gentibus in honorem Sancti Patricii surrexit et benedixit ei Sanctus. Crediditque primus in illa die deo et repputatum est ei ad justiciam.

Visso itaque Patricio vocatus est agentibus ad vescendum ut probarent eum inventuris rebus ille autem sciens quæ ventura essent non reffellet vesci.

Cœnantibus autem omnibus ille magus *Lucetmail* qui fuerat in nocterna conflictione etiam in illa die solicitus est extincto consocio suo confligere adversus Sanctum Patricium et ut initium causæ haberet intuentibus aliis immissit aliquid ex vasse suo in poculum Patricii ut probaret quid faceret.

Videnque Sanctus Patricius hoc probationis genus videntibus cunctis benedixit poculum suum et versus est liquor in modum gelu et converso vasse cecidit gutta illa tantum quam immisserat magus et iterum benedixit poculum conversus est liquor in naturam et mirati sunt omnes.

Et post paululum ait magus faciamus signa super hunc campum maximum in hoc campo maximo respondensque Patricius ait quæ et dixit magus inducamus nivem super terram et ait pater nolo contraria voluntati deo inducere et dixit magus ego inducam videntibus cunctis tunc incantationes magicus exorsus induxit nivem super totam campum pertinguentem *Ferenn* et viderunt omnes et mirati sunt. Et ait Sanctus ecce videmus hoc depone nunc et dixit ante istam horam cras non possum deponere et ait sanctus potes malum et non bonum facere non sic ego tunc benedicens per totum circuitum campum dicto citius absque ulla pluia aut nebulis aut vento evanuit nix. Exclamaverunt turbæ et mirati sunt corde. Et paulo post invocatis demonibus induxit magus densissimas tenebras super terram in signum et mormuraverunt omnes et ait Sanctus expelli tenebras at ille similiter non poterat. Sanctus autem orans benedixit et reppente expulsæ sunt tenebræ et refulget sol et exclamaverunt omnes et gratias egerunt. His autem omnibus in conspectu regis inter magum Patriciumque ait Rex ad illos libros vestros in aquam mittite et illum cujus libri in lessi evasserunt adorabimus. Respondit Patricius faciam ego et dixit magus nolo ego ad judiciam aquæ venire cum isto aquam enim deum habet certe audivit baptisma per aquam a Patricio datum et respondens rex ait permitte per ignem et ait Patricius prumptus sum et magus nolens dixit hic homo versa vice in alternos annos nunc aquam nunc ignem deum veneratur et ait Sanctus non sic sed tu ipse ibis et unus ex meis pueris ibi tecum in separatam et conclaussam domum et meum erga te et tuum erga me erit vestimentum et sic simul incendemini et hoc consilium insedit et ædificata est eis domus cujus dimidium ex materia viridi et alterum dimidium ex arida facta est et missus est magus

in illam domum in partem ejus viridam et unus ex pueris Sancti Patricii *Bineus* nomine cum veste magica in partem domus conclussa itaque extrinsecus domus coram omni turba incensa est et factum est in illa hora orante Patricio ut consumeret flamma ignis magum cum dimidia domu viridi permanente casula Sancti Patricii tam intacta quia ignis non tetigit. Felix autem *Beninius* e contrario cum dimidia domu arida secundum quod de tribus pueris dictum est non tetigit eum ignis neque contristatus est nec quicquam molesti intulit casula tam magi quam erga eum fuerat non sine Dei natu exusta et iratus est valde rex adversus Patricium de morte magi sui et inruit pœnæ in eum nolens occidere sed prohibuit illum Deus. Ad precem enim Patricii et ad vocem ejus descendit ira Dei in verticem suum et timuit rex vehementer, et commotum est cor ejus et omnis civitas cum eo.

Congregatis igitur senioribus et omni senatu suo dixit eis rex *Loigaire* melius est credere me quam mori initoque consilio ex suorum præcepto credidit in illa die et convertitur ad dominum Deum Hisrael æternum et ibi crediderunt multi alii et ait Sanctus Patricius ad regem quia resististi doctrinæ meæ et fuisti scandalum mihi licet prolonguentur dieis regni tui nullus tamen erit ex semine tuo rex in æternum.

Sanctus autem Patricius secundum præceptum domini Jesu gentis baptizansque eas in nomine patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti et profectus a *Temoria* prædicavit Domino cooperante domino et sermonum confirmante sequentibus signis.

Erat quidam homo in regionibus *Ulothorum* Patricii tempore *Maccuil Macugreccæ* et erat hic homo valde impius sævus tyrannus ut cyclops nominaretur cogitantioribus.

pravus	verbis	In tantum
verbis	intemperatus	vergens im-
factis	malignus	pietatis in
spiritu	amarus	profundum
anima	iracondus	ita ut die
corpore	sceleratus	quadam
mente	crudelis	in montosso
vita	gentilis	aspero alto
conscientia	inanis	quæ sedens

loco *Hindruim Maccuechach* ubi ille tyrranidem cotidie exercebat *Diberca*

signa sumens nequissima crudelitatis et transeuntes hospites crudeli scelere interficiens.

Sanctum quoque Patricium claro fidei lumine rudiantem et miro quondam cœlestis patriæ gloriæ diadematæ fulgentem videns eum in concussa doctrinæ fiducia per congruum viæ iter ambulantem interficere cogitaret dicens satilitibus suis ecce seductor ille et perversor hominum venit cui mos facere præstigias ut decipiat homines multosque seducat eamus ergo et temptemus eum et sciemus si habet potentiam aliquam ille Deus in quo se glorietur.

Temptaveruntque virum sanctum in hoc mundo temptaverunt et posuerunt unum ex semetipsis sanum in medio eorum sub sago jacentem infirmitatemque mortis simulantem ut probarent sanctum in hujusque modi fallacere sanctum seductorem virtutis præstrigias et orationes veneficia vel incantationes nominantes adveniente Sancto Patricio cum discipulis suis gentiles dixerunt ei ecce unus ex nobis nunc infirmitatus est accede itaque et canta super eum aliquas incantationes sectæ tuæ si forte sanari posset.

Sanctus Patricius sciens omnes dolas et fallacias eorum constanter et intripide ait nec mirum si infirmus fuisset et revelantes socii ejus faciem in simulantis infirmitatem viderunt eum jam mortuum at illi obstupescentes ammirantesque tale miraculum dixerunt intra se gentes vere hic homo Dei est malefecimus temptantes eum.

Sanctus vero Patricius conversus ad *Maccuil* ait quare temptare me voluiste responditque ille tyrannus crudelis ait pœniteat me facta hujus et quodcumque perciperis missi faciam et trado me nunc in potentiam Dei tui excelsi quem prædicas. Et ait Sanctus crede ergo in Deo meo Domino Jesu et confitere peccata tua et baptizare in nomine Patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et conversus in illa hora credidit Deo æterno baptizatusque est insuper et nunc addidit *Maccuil* dicens confiteor tibi Sancte domine mi Patrici quia proposui te interficere judica ergo quantum debuerit pro tanto ac tali crimine et ait Patricius non possum judicare sed deus judicabit.

Tu tunc egredire nunc inermis ad mare et transi velociter de regione hac hibernensi nihil tollens tecum de tua substantia præter vile et parvum indumentum quo possit corpus tuum contegi nihil gustans nihilque bibens de fructu insolæ hujus habens insigne peccati tui in capite tuo et post-

quam pervenias ad mare conliga pedes tuos conpede ferreo et projece clavim ejus in mari et mitte te in navim unius pellis absque gubernaculo et absque remo et quocumque te duxerit ventus et mare esto paratus et terram in quamcunque deferat te divina providentia inhabita et exerce tibi divina mandata.

Dixitque *Maccuil* sic faciam ut dixisti divino autem mortuo quid faciemus et ait Patricius vivet et exsurget sine dolore et suscitavit eum Patricius in illa hora et revixit sanus.

Et migravit inde *Maccuil* tam cito ad mare dexterum campi *Inis* habetur fiduciæ inconcussa fidei collegiantque se in litore jeciens clavim in mare secundum quod præceptum est ei et ascendit mare in navicula et inspiravit illi ventus Aquilo et sustulit eum ad meridiem jecit qui eum in insolam *Evoniam* nomine invenitque ibi duos viros valde mirabilis in fide et doctrina fulgentes qui primi docuerunt verbum Dei et baptismum in *Evonia*.

Et conversi sunt homines insolæ in doctrina eorum ad fidem catholicam quorum nomina sunt *Conindri* et *Rumili*. Hii vero videntes virum unius habitus mirati sunt et miserti sunt illius elivaverunt qui de mari suscipientes cum gaudio ille igitur ubi inventi sunt spiritales patres in regione a Deo sibi credita ad regulam eorum corpus et animum exercuit et totum vitæ tempus exegit apud istos duos sanctos episcopos usque dum successor eorum in episcopatu effectus est.

Hic est *Maccuel Dimane* episcopus et antistes *Arddæ Huimnonii*.

Alia vero vice Sanctus requiescens Patricius in die dominica supra mare juxta salseginem quod est ad aquilonalem plagam a collo *Bovis* distans non magno vice spatio audivit sonum intemperatum gentilium in die dominica laborantium facientium *rathi* vocatisque illis prohibuit eos Patricius ne laborarent in dominico die at illi non consentiebant verbis Sancti quin immo inridentes deludebant eum et ait Sanctus Patricius *Mudebroth* quamvis laboraveritis nec tunc proficiat quod tunc completum est in sequenti enim nocte ventus magnus adveniens turbavit mare et omnia opera gentilium destruxit tempestas juxta verbum Sancti.

Fuit quidam homo dives et honorabilis in regionibus orientalium cui nomen erat *Daire* hunc autem rogavit Patricius ut aliquam locum ad exercendum religionem daret ei.

Dixitque dives ad sanctum quam locum petis peto inquit sanctus ut illum altitudinem terræ quæ nominatur *Dorsum Salicis* dones mihi et construam ibi locum. At ille noluit sancto terram illam dare altam sed dedit illi locum alium in inferiori terra ubi nunc est *Fertæ Martyrum* juxta *Arddmache* et habitavit ibi Sanctus Patricius cum suis.

Post vero aliquid tempus venit eques *Dairi* ducens equum suum miraculum ut pasceret in herbosso loco Christianorum et offendit Patricium talis dilatio equi in locum suum et ait. Stulte fecit *Daire* bruta mittens animalia turbare locum sanctum quam dedit deo. At vero eques tamquam sordus non audiebat et si mutus non aperiens os suum nihil loquebatur sed dimisso ibi equo nocte illa exibit.

Crastino autem die mane veniens eques vissitare equum suum invenit eum jam mortuum domique reversus tristis ait ad dominum suum ecce christianus ille occidit equum tuum offendit enim illum turbatio loci sui et dixit *Daire* occidatur et ille nunc ite et interficite eum. Euntibus autem illis foras dictu citius inruit mors super *Daire*. Et ait uxor ejus causa christiani est hæc. Eat quis cito et portentur nobis beneficia ejus et salvus erit et prohibenter et revocentur qui exierunt occidere eum.

Exieruntque duo viri occidere eum ad christianum qui dixerunt ei celantes quod factum est et ecce infirmitatus est *Daire* portetur illi aliquid a te si forte sanari possit.

Sanctus autem Patricius sciens quam facta sunt dixit nimirum benedixitque aquam et dedit eis dictus ite aspergite equum vestrum ex aqua ista et portatæ illum vobiscum et fecerunt sic et revixit equus et portaverunt secum sanatusque est *Daire* asparsione aquæ sanctæ.

Et venit *Daire* post hæc ut honoraret Sanctum Patricium portans secum eneum mirabilem transmarinum metricas ternas capientem dixitque *Daire* ad sanctum ecce his eneus sit tecum et ait Sanctus Patricius *Gratzacham* reversusque *Daire* ad domum suam dixit stultus homo est qui nihil boni dixit præter *Gratzacham* tum pro eneo miribali metritarum trium additque *Daire* dicens servis suis ite reportate nobis eneum nostrum exierunt et dixerunt Patricio portabimus eneum nihilominus et illa vice Sanctus Patricius dixit *Gratzacham* portate et portraverunt. Interrogavitque *Daire* socios suos dicens quid dixit Christianus quando reportasti æneum. At ille responderunt *Gratzachum* dixit et ille *Daire* respondens

dixit *Gratzacham* in dato in ablato ejus dictum tam bonum est cum *Gratzacham* illis portabitur illi rursum æneas suus et venit *Daire* insemet illa vice et portavit æneam ad Patricium dicens ei fiat tecum æneus tuus. Constans enim et in commotabilis homo es insuper et partem illam agri quam ollim petisti do tibi nunc quantum habeo et inhabita ibi et illa est civitas quæ nunc *Arddmachæ* nominatur et exierunt ambo Sanctus Patricius et *Daire* ut considerarent mirabiles oblationes et beneplacitum munus et ascenderent illam altitudinem terræ invenieruntque cervam cum vitulo suo parvo jaciente in loco in quo nunc altare est sinistralis ecclesiæ in *Arddmachæ* et voluerunt comites Patricii temere vitulum et occidere sed noluit sanctus neque permissit quin potius ipsemet sanctus tenuit vitulum portans eum in humeris suis et secuta illum cerva velut amantissimaque ovis usque dum dimisserat vitulum in altero saltu situm ad aquilonalem plagam *Arddmachæ* ubi usque hodie signa quædam virtutis esse manentia periti dicunt.

Virum aliquem valde durum et tam avarum in campo *Inis* habitantem iterum stultitie avaritiæque inacurisse crimen periti ferunt ut duo boves carrarum Patricii vehentes alio die. Post sanctum laborem in pastu agili sui requiescentibus pascentibusque se bobus violenter in constanter presente Sancto Patricio van: ille homo per vim coegit. Cui irascens Sanctus Patricius cum maladictione dixit *Mudebrod* malefecisti nusquam proficiat vel ager hic tuus neque semiti tuo in æternum. Jam inutilis erit et factum est sic inundatio et enim maris tam habunda eodem veniens die circumluit et operuit totam agrum et posito est juxta profetæ verbum terra fructifera in salsuginem a malitia inhabitantis in ea arenossa ergo et infructuossa hæc a die qua maledixit eam Sanctus Patricius usque in hodiernam diem.

Finit primus incipit secundus liber.

De Patricii diligentia orationis.
De mortuo ad se loquente.
De inluminatio dominica nocte ut equi inventi sunt.
De eo quod angelus eum prohibuit ne in nichil moriretur.
De rubo ardente in qua erat angelus.
De quatuor Patricii petitionibus.

De die mortis ejus et de tempore vitæ triginta annorum.
De termino contra noctem possito.
De caligine duodecem noctium abstersa.
De vigilis primæ noctis juxta corpus Patricii quas angeli fecerunt.
De consilio sepulturæ ejus ab angelo.
De sepulcro igne de sepulchro ejus erumpente.
De fretto rursum surgente ut non bellum de corpore fieret.
De felici seductione populorum si quis autem terminum contra noctem et noctem non vissum esse in tota provincia brevi tempore in quo luctus Patricii peractus est abnegare infideliter voluit audiat et diligenter attendat qualiter *Ezechiæ* languente in horalogiæ *Achaz* demonstrato sanitatis judicio.

DILIGENTIA ORATIONIS.

Omnes psalmos et ymuos et apocalipsin Johannis et omnia kantica spiritualia scripturarum cotidie decantans sive manens aut in itinere pergens tropeo etiam crucis in omni horæ dies noctisque centies se signans et ad omnis cruces quascumque vidisset orationis gratia de curru descendens declinabit inde etiam in die quadam ingrediens crucem quæ erat juxta viam sitam non videns prætergressus est. Hanc tunc auriga videt et illi dixit cum ad hospitium quoddam quo tenderat pervenissent et orare ante prandium cœpissent dixit inquam auriga vidi crucem juxta viam per quam venimus positam. At ille Patricius dimisso hospitio per viam quam venerat ad crucem pergens oravit et sepulchrum ibi viderat et mortuum in illo busto sepultum interrogavit qui morte abierat et sub fide vixerat respondit mortuus gentilis vixi et hic sepultus fui.

Quædam etiam mulier in alia provincia degens mortuum filium qui se longui separatus erat habuit ex illa absente sepultus est at post aliquot dies lugens mater omissum filium plunxit et indecreto errore sepulchrum gentilis hominis sui filii bustum esse putans crucem non juxta gentilem posuit et ob hanc causam ut Patricius dixit crucem non viderat quia sepulturæ gentilis locis fuit et virtus major inde surrexerat ut mortuus loqueretur et qui sub fide defunctus erat Christi scieretur et juxta illum alme crucis fieret meritum signo in vero termino posito.

Consuetudo autem illi erat ut a vespera dominice noctis usque ad mane secundæ feriæ Patricius non ambularit inde in quadam dominica die honore sacri temporis in campo pernoctans gravis pluia cum tempestate accelerat. Sed cum gravis pluia in tota patria populata est in loco uti Sanctus epis-

copus pernoctabat siccitus erat sicut in conca et in vellere *Gedeon* accederat auriga memorat equos amissos quasi amicos caros planguit quia illos quærere tenebris arcentibus vissum non poterat inde pietas Patricii patris pii mota est et flebili auriga dixit.

Deus in angustis in opportunitatibus adjutor prumptus adjutorium prestabit et equos quos ploras invenies ex hinc manum spolians manica extensam. Jugulavit elevavit et quinque digiti sibi luminaria ita proxima quoque in luxerat et per lucem extensæ manus equos quos commisserat auriga solito gemitu invenit sed hoc mlraculum auriga comes usque ad Patricii obitum absconderet.

Post vero miracula tanta quæ alibi scripta sunt et quæ oræ fideli mundus celebrat ad propinquante die mortis ejus venit ad eum angelus et dixit illi de morte sua ideo ad *Ardmacha* missit qui præ omnibus terris delexit ideo mandavit ut venirent ad eum viri multi ad eundem deducendam quo voluit inde cum comitibus suis iter corpore cœpit *Ardmachi* voluntarie tellurem cupitam satis sed juxta viam rubus quædam arserat et non comburetur sicut antea Moses pervenerat in rubo Victor erat angelus qui Patricium sæpe visitare solebat et Victor alterum anguelum ad Patricium prohibendum ne pergat quo pergere cupit missit et dixit illi quare proficisceris sine Victoris consilio quamobrem Victor te vocat et ad eum declina et ut ei jussum est declinavit et quid facere deberet interrogavit et respondit angelus dixerat revertere ad locum unde venis hoc est *Sabul* et datæ sunt quatuor petitiones tibi quas petis ei.

Prima petitio ut in *Arddmachæ* fiat ordinatio tua.

Secunda petitio ut quicumque ymnum qui de te compositus est in die exitus de corpore cantaverit tu judicabis penitentiam ejus de suis peccatis.

Tertia petitio ut nepotes *Dichon* qui te *Benigne* susciperunt misere-cordiam mereantur et non pereant.

Quarta petitio ut Hibernenses omnes in dii judicii a te judicenter sicut dicitur ad apostolos. Et vos sedentes judicabitis duodecim tribubus Israel ut eos quibus apostolis fuerunt judices fuistis.

Revertere igitur sicut tibi dico et morieus ingrederis viam patrum tuorum quod in die XVI calendis Aprilis peractus totius ejus vitæ annis

cxx. et provenerat sicut omnibus totius Hiberniæ annis celebratur et contra noctem terminum pones quia in illa die mortis ejus nox non erat et per duodecimas dies in illa provincia in qua mortis ejus exequiæ peractæ sunt nox non irruit et fuscis tellurem non amplexerat alis et pallor non tantus erat noctis et astri fortis non induxerat bosferus umbras. Et plebs *Ulod* dixerunt quod usque in finem anni totius in quo abierat nunquam noctium tales tenebræ erant quales antea fuerant. Quod ad tanti viri meritum declarandum esse dubium est vi. Ad propinquante autem hora obitus sui sacrificium ab episcopo *Tassach* sicut illi *Victor* anguelus dixit ad viaticum beate vitæ accipiat.

In prima nocte exequiarum ejus angueli vigilias salmi corporis fecerunt in vigiliarum et psalmorum moribus omnibus quicumque ad vigilias in illa prima nocte veniebant dormientibus homines orantes et psalmos cantantes corpus custodierunt.

Postquam autem in cœlum profecti sunt angueli odorem suavissimum quasi mellis et fragrantiam dulcidinis quasi vini dimisserunt ut impleretur quod in benedictione beatæ patriarchæ *Jacob* dictum est. Ecce odor filii mei tamque odor agri pleni quam benedixit Dominus viii.

Quando autem anguelus ad eum venit consilium sepulturæ dedit illi eleganter duas boves indomiti et pergant quocumque voluerint et ubi cumque requiescunt ecclesiæ in honorem corpusculi tui edificetur et sicut anguelus dixit instabiles electi sunt juvenci et stabili plaustrum gestamine humeris impositum esse sancto corpore vechunt et a loco qui *Clocher* vocatur ab oriente *Findubrec* de pecoribus *Conail* electio clarificavit boves et exierunt dei natu regente ad *Dun leth glaisse* ubi sepultus est Patricius et dixit ei ne reliquiæ a terra reducuntur corporis tui et cubitus de terra super corpore fiat quod jussu dei factum in novissimis demonstratum est temporibus quia quando ecclesia super corpore facta est fodientes humum antropi ignem a sepulcro inrumpere viderunt et recedentes flammi geram timuerunt flamme ignem.

De reliquis Sancti Patricii in tempore obitus sui dira contensio ad bellum usque pervenieus inter nepotes *Niell* et orientales ex una parte inter aliquando propinquales et propinquos nunc inter dirissimos hostes irarum intrat certamen secundum fretum quoddam quod *Collum Bovis* vocatur merito Patricii sanguis effunderetur et misericordiæ dei altis crispantibus quæ intumescebant fluctibus et undarum vertices concave rumpebant æra et dorsa in fluctibus tremula aliquam crispanti rissu et

aliquando flavis vallibus in certamine ruebat quasi ad cohibendam animositatem gentium dirare tales enim populi sunt surrexit freti feritas et plebem pugnari prohibuit. Postea autem sepulto Patricio et freti tumore sepulto orientales et contra *Ulta* nepotes *Neill* acriter ad certamen ruunt et certatim preparati et armati ad bellum ad locum beati corporis prorumperat sicut felici seducti sunt fallacia putantes se duos boves et plaustrum invenire et corpus sanctum rupere æstimabunt et cum corpore et tali preparata et armatura usque ad *fluvium Cabcenna* pervenierunt et corpus tunc illis non comparuit impossibile enim ut de tanto ac de beato corpore pax fieret nisi dei natu taliter videretur vissio ad temporum distensa ne quod animarum salus innumerabilium in exitum et mortem ut testetur felici fallacia ostensum est sicut *Siri* antea excæcati ne sanctam profetam *Heleseum* occiderent ad *Heleseum* divina provisione ad *Samariam* usque ducti sunt hæc etiam seductio ad concordiam populorum facta est.

Iterum recurrit oratio anguelus in omni septima die septimane semper venire consuerat et sicut homo cum homine loquitur iter conloquio angueli fruebatur Patricius etiam in XIII anno etatis captus et VI annos serviunt et per XXX vices conductionem anguelus ad eum venerat et consiliis atque conloquiis fruebatur anguelicis antequam de *Scotia* ad *Latinos* pergeret centies in die et centies in nocte orabat aliquando sues custodiens perdidit eas et anguelus veniens ad eum sues indicavit illi aliquando etiam anguelus illi loquens multa illi dixit et postquam illi locutus est pedem super petram ponens *Inscirit* in montem *Mis* coram se ascendit vestigia pedes angueli in petra huc usque manentia cernuntur et in illo loco XXX vicibus ad eum locutus est et illi locus et ibi fidelium preces fructum felicissimum obtinerit.

FINIT AMEN.

Portavit Patricius per *Sinim* secum L clocos L patinos L calices altaria libros legis evangelii libros et reliquit illos in locis novis.

Patricius VI anno baptizatus est XX captus est XII servivit XL legit LXI docuit tota vero etas ejus CXI.

Hæc Constans in Gallis invenit.

Patricius venit de campo *Arthicc* ad *Drammut Cerigi* et ad *Namniu Toisciart* ad *Ailich Esrachtae* et viderunt illum cum viris VIII. aut IX. cum

tabulis in manibus scriptis more Moysaico exclamaverunt gentiles super illos ut sanctos occiderent et dixerunt gladios in manibus habent ad occidendos homines videntur lignei in die apud illos sed ferreos gladios estimamus ad effundendum sanguinem voluit multitudo nimia malefacere in sanctos sed fuit vir misericors apud illos *Hercaith* nomine de genere *Nothi* pater *Feredachi* credidit deo Patricii et babtizabat illum Patricius et Feredachum filium ejus et immolavit filium Patricio et exivit cum Patricio ad legendum xxx annos et ordinavit illum in urbe Roma et dedit illi nomen novum Sachellum et scripsit illi librum psalmorum quam vidi et portavit ab illo partem de reliquiis Petri et Pauli Laurentii et Stefani quæ sunt in *Machi*. *Caetiacus* itaque et *Sachellus* ordinabant episcopis presbyteri diaconos clericos sine consilio Patricii in campo Asi et accursavit illos Patricius et mittens epistolas illis exierunt ad penitentiam ducti Arddmachæ ad Patricium et fecerunt pænitentiam monachorum ii pueri Patricii prumpti et dixit eis non magnæ erunt ecclesiæ veræ.

DICTA PATRICII.

Timorem dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno. De sæculo requissistis ad Parradissum deo gratias æcclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum, ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis ut decantetur vobiscum. Opportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie Lession Christe Lession* omnis ecclesiis quæ sequitur me cantet *Cyrie lession Christe lession* deo gratias.

TIRECHANI ANNOTATIONES.

Tirechan Episcopus hæc scripsit ex ore vel libro Ultani episcopis cujus ipse alumnus vel discipulus fuit.

Inveni quatuor nomina in libro scripta Patricio apud Ultanum episcopum Conchuburnensium Sanctus *Magonus* qui est *clarus*, *Succetus* qui est *Patricius Cothirthiac* quia servivit iiii domibus magorum et empsit illum unus ex eis cui nomen erat *Miliuc mac Cuboin* magus et servivit illi vii annis omni servitute ac duplici labore et porcarium possuit eum in montanis convallibus. Deinde autem visitavit illum anguelus domini in somniis incacuminibus montis *Scirte* juxta montem *Miss*. Finita autem angueli sententia ecce navis tua parata surge et ambula et secessit ab illo in cœlum surrexit et ambulavit et ut dixit illi anguelus domini Victor nomine in xvii. ætatis suæ anno captus ductus venditus est in Hiberniam.

In xxii anno ætatis laboris magis relinquere potuit vii aliis annis ambulavit et navigavit in fluctibus et in campistribus locis et in convallibus montanis per Gallias atque Italiam totam atque in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum. Erat autem in una ex insolis quæ dicitur Aralanensis annis xxx mihi testante Ultano episcopo. Omnia autem quæ evenerunt invenietis in plana illius historia scripta. Hæc sunt novissima illius mirabilia in ii regui anno Logairi mac Neill finita atque feliciter facta.

A passione autem Christi colleguntur anni ccccxxxvi usque ad mortem Patricii.

Duobus autem vel v annis regnavit Loigaire post mortem Patricii.

Omnis autem regni illius tempus xxxiii ut putamus.

Venit vero Patricius cum Gallis ad insolas mac Euchor et insola orientali quæ dicitur insola Patricii et secum fuit multitudo episcoporum *sanctorum* et presbyterorum et diaconorum ac exorcistarum hostiariorum lectorumque nec non filiorum quos ordinavit.

Ascendit autem de mari ad campum *Breg* sole orto cum benedictione dei cum vero sole mire doctrine densas tenebras ignorantie inluminans ad Hiberniam ingens Lucifer sanctus episcopus oritur et antifana assiduo erat ei de fine ad finem in nomine domini dei patris et filii atque spiritu sancti Jesu Christi benigni hoc autem dicitur in Scotica lingua *Ochen*.

Primo vero venit ad vallem *Sescnani* et edificavit ibi ecclesiam primam et portavit filium *Sescenenm* nomine Episcopum secum et reliquit ibi ii pueros peregrinos. Vespere vero venit ad hostium *Ailbine* ad quendam virum bonum et babtizavit illum et invenit cum illo filium placitum sibi et dedit illi nomen Benignum quia collegebat pedes Patricii inter manus suas et pectus et noluit dormire apud patrem et matrem sed flevit nisi cum Patricio dormiret. Mane autem facto cum surgeret completa benedictione super patrem Benigni Patricius currum conscendit et pedes illius diverso alter in curru et alterum super terram erat et Benignus puer pedem Patricii tenuit duobus manibus strictis et clamavit sinite te me apud Patricium patrem proprium mihi et dixit Patricius baptizate eum et elevate eum in currum quia heres regni mei est. Ipse est Benignus episcopus successor Patricii in ecclesiæ Machæ.

De episcoporum numero quos ordinavit in Hibernia ccccl.

De præsbyteris non possumus coordinare quia babtizabat cotidie homines et illis litteras legebat ac abgatorias et de aliis episcopos ac presbyteros faciebat quia in etate propria baptismum acciperunt sobria.

DE EPISCOPIS.

Benignus.
Bronus.
Sachellus.
Cethiacus.
Carthacus.
Cartenus.
Connanus.
Fintranus.
Siggeus.
Œternus.
Sencaticus.
Olcanus.
Iborus.
Ordius.
Nazarius.
Miserneus.
Senachus.
Secundinus.
Gosachus.
Camulacus.
Auxilius.
Victoricus.
Bressialius.
Feccus.
Menathus.
Cennannus.
Nazarus.
Melus.
Maceleus.
Mactaleus.
Culeneus.
Asacus.
Bitheus.
Falertus.
Sescneus.
Muirehthchus.
Temoreris qui fundavit ecclesiam sanctam *Cairce* quia tenuit familia *Clonoaviss*.
Daigneus.
Justianus Mac Hii Daimeni.
Oloacnus.
Domnallus et alii quam plurimi.

DE PRESBYTERIS.

Anicius.
Brocidius.
Amergenus.
Lommanus.
Catideus.
Catus.
Catanus.
Broscus.
Ailbeus.
Trianus.

DE NOMINIBUS EPISCOPORUM FRANCORUM PATRICII EPISCOPI TRES.

Inæpius. Bernicius. Hernicius.

DE SUBDIACONIS.

Seman.
Semen.
Cancen.
Bernicius diaconus et Ernicius Franci viri xii. cum sorore una aut vi. vel. iii.
Cassanus.
Conlung.
Erclung.
Brocanus.
Roddanus.
Brigson.
et alter Roddanus qui fundavit ecclesiam Senem nepotem Alello quam tenuerunt monachi Patricii Gengen et Sannuch.

DE DIACONIS.

Diaconus Ivostus qui baptizavit Ceranum filium artificis ex liberis Patricii.
Diaconus Coimmanus Carus Patricio qui fuit in æcclesia magna Ardlicce.
Olcanus monachus qui fuit in cellola magna *Muaide* prespiteri ii. exorcistas scimus apud illum exorcista *Losca* in dorso *Dairi*.

In regionibus *Tuirtri* exorcistæ alii in campo *Liphi*. De æcclesiis quas fundavit in campo *Breg* primum in Culmine ii æcclesiæ *Cerne* in qua sepultus est *Hercus* qui portavit mortalitatem magnam iii in cacuminibus *Aisse* iiii in *Blaitiniu* v in *Collumbas* in qua ordinavit *Eugenium* Sanctum Episcopum vi æcclesiæ filio *Laithphi* vii *Imbridam* in qua fuit sanctus dulcis frater *Carthaci* viii super *Angelbor* in qua *Kannanus* episcopus quem ordinavit Patricius in primo Pascha *Hifferti* virorum *Feicc* qui portavit secum ignem primum benedictum ac ceriales lucernas primus Patricii de manibus portavit domi ut ascenderet fumum benedictum in oculos ac nares hominum gentilium et regis *Loigairi* et magorum illius quia contraverunt illi tres magi fratres ex uno viro nominibus et genere *Cruth Loch Lethlanii* de genere *Runtir* qui fecerunt conflictionem magnam contra Patricium et Benignum cassula autem magi inflammata est circa Benignum et in cinerem finita erat. Sanctus quoque filius sanus effectus est

firma fide dei in conspectu regis et hominum et magorum cassula autem Benigni filii Patricii infixa est circa magum et inflammatus est magus in medio ac consumptus est et dixit Patricius in hac hora consumpta est gentilitas Hiberniæ tota et elevavit Patricius manus suas deo circa magum *Loch Letheum* et dixit Domine mi jece a me canem qui oblatrat faciem tuam et me eat in mortem et intenderunt omnes magum elevatum per tenebras nocturnales pœneusque ad cœlum sed reversus cadaver illius conglutinatum grandinibus et nivibus commixtum scintillis igneis in terram ante faciem omnium cecidit et est lapis illius in oris australibus orientalibusque usque in presentem diem et conspexi illum oculis meis.

Prima feria venit ad *Taltenam* ubi fit *Agon* regale ad *Coirpriticum* filium *Neill* qui voluit eum occidere et flagellavit servos ejus in flumine *Sele* ut indicarent Patricium *Coirpritico* quapropter appellabat illum patrem inimicum dei et dixit ei semen tuum serviet seminibus fratrum et non erit de semine tuo rex in æternum et non erunt pisces magni in flumine *Sele* semper.

Deinde autem venit ad Conallum filium Neill ad domum illius qui fundavit in loco in quo est hodie ecclesia Patricii magna et suscepit eum cum gaudio magno et baptizavit illum et firmavit solium ejus in æternum et dixit illi semen fratrum tuorum tuo semini serviet in æternum. Et tu missericordiam debes facere heredibus meis post me in sæculum et filii tui et filiorum tuorum filiis meis credulis legitimum sempiternum pensabatque æcclesiam deo Patricii pedibus ejus lx pedum et dixit Patricius si diminuatur ecclesia ista non erit longum regnum tibi et firmum.

Pasca quoque claussa finita prima feria exiit ad vadum *Molæ Broon* et ibi ecclesiam fundavit in qua reliquit iii fratres cum una sorore et hæc sunt nomina illorum *Cathaceus Cathurus Catneus* et soror illorum *Catnea* quæ emulgebat lac ab dammulis feris ut senes mihi indicaverunt.

Perrexitque ad civitatem Temro ad Loigarium filium Neill iterum quia apud illum fœdus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius sed non potuit credere dictus nam Neill pater meus non sinivit mihi credere sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello quia utuntur gentiles in sepulcris armati prumptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud magos id est in diei diem domini. Ego filius Neill et filius *Dunlinge Immaiften* in campo Liphi produritate odivi ut est hoc.

Porro fundavit æcclesiam *Icarric Dagri* et alteram ecclesiam *Immruig Thuaithe* et scripsit elimenta Cerpano et intravit in domum regiam et non surrexerunt ante se nisi unus tantum hoc est *Hercus* sacrilegus et dixit illi. Cur tu solus surrexisti in honorem dei mei in me. Et dixit ei Hercus nescio quid video scintillas igneas de labiis tuis ascendere in labia mea. Sanctus quoque dixit si *baptizaris* domini accipies quod me cum est respondit accipiam et venierunt ad fontem *Loigles* in Scotica nobiscum vitulus civitatum. Cumque aperuisset librum atque baptizasset virum *Hercum* audivit viros post tergum suum se inridentes ad invicem de rei illius consideratione quia nescierunt quid fecerat et baptizavit tot milia hominum in die illa et intercæteras baptismatis sententias audivit. Ecce ii namque viri nobiles confabulabantur post tergum sibi et dixit alter alteri verum est quod dixisti a circulo anni quæ præteriit ut venisses huc in illis diebus.

Dic mihi nomen tuum quæso et patris tui et agri tui et campi tui et ubi est domus tua. Respondens filius *Amolngid* sum ego filius *Fechrach* filii *Echach* ab occidentalibus plagis de campo *Donmon* et de silva *Fochloth*. Cumque audiisset patris nomen silvæ *Fochlothi* gavissus est valde et dixit Endeo *Amolngid* filio et ego tecum exibo si vivus fuero quia dixit mihi dominus exire et dixit Endeus non exibis mecum ne occidamur ad invicem Sanctus quoque dixit verum tamen nam quod vivus ad tuam regionem pervenies et tu nisi venero tecum et vitam æternam non habebis quia propter me venisti huc quasi Joseph ante filios Israel. Endeus autem dixit Patricio tu filio meo baptismum da quia tener est ego autem et fratres mei non possumus tibi credere usque dum ad nostrum plebem pervenerimus ne inrideant nos. *Conallus* autem babtizatus est et dedit Patricius benedictionem super illum et tenuit manum illius et dedit *Cethaco* episcopo et nutrivit illum et docuit eum *Cethiacus* et *Mucneus* frater *Cethiaci* episcopi cujus sunt reliquiæ in æcclesia magna Patricii in silva *Fochlithi* propter hoc mandavit Conallo insolam suum *Cethiacus* et generis illius est usque in presentem diem quia laicus fuit post mortem *Cethichi* sancti.

Venierunt autem filii *Amolngid* sex ad judicandum ante faciem *Loigarii* et *Endeus* contra eos unus et filius ejus tener et Patricius ante illos et interrogaverunt vestigaverunt causam hereditatis illorum et judicavit illis *Loigaire* et Patricius ut dividerent inter se hereditatem in septem partes et dixit *Endeus* filium meum et partem hereditatis meæ ego immolo deo Patricii et Patricio per hoc dicunt alii quia servi sumus Patricii usque in presentem diem fœdus pepigerunt per manus *Loigairi* filii *Neill* Patricius et filii *Amolngid* cum exercitu laicorum episcopis sanctorum et inierunt

iter facere ad montem *Egle* et extendit Patricius etiam pretium duodecem armatorum hominum ut inscriptione sua adfirmat de argento et auro ut nullum malorum hominum impediret eos in via recta transeuntes totam Hiberniam. Quia necessitas poscit illos ut pervenirent silvam *Fochlithi* ante caput anni pasca secunda causa filiorum clamantium clamore magno noces audivit in utero matrum suarum dicentium veni Sancte Patrici salvos nos facere.

Plantavit æcclesiam super vadum *Segi* alteram æcclesiam *Cinnena Sancta* super vadum *Carnoi Imboind* et altera super *Coirp Raithe* et altera super fossam *Dall Bronig* quam tenuit episcopus filius *Cartin* avunculus *Brigitæ* Sanctæ. Fundavitque alteram in campo *Echredd* alteram in campo *Taidcni* quæ dicitur *Cellbile* apud familiam *Scirest* alteram in campo *Echnach* in qua fuit *Cassanus* presbyter alteram in *Singitibus*. Alteram in campo *Bili* juxta vadum *Capitis Canis* alteram in *capite Carmelli* in campo *Teloch* in qua Sancta Brigita pallium cepit sub manibus filii *Caille*. In *Huisniuch Midi* mansit juxta *Petram Coithrigi* sed occisi sunt circa se alii perigrini a filio *Fechach* filii *Neill* cui maledixit dicens non erit de stirpe tua rex sed servies semini fratrum tuorum. Et alteram ecclesiam in capite *Airt* in regionibus *Roide* in qua posuit altare lapideum et alterum *Hicuil Corre* et venit per flumen *Ethne* in ii *Tethbias* et ordinavit *Melum* episcopum et ecclesiam *Bili* fundavit et ordinavit *Gosactum* filium *Milcon mac Cubooin* quem nutrivit in servitute septem annorum et mittens *Camulacum* Commiensium in campum *Cuini* et digito illi indicavit locum de cacumine *Graneret* id est ecclesiam *Raithin*.

Et venit in campum *Rein* et ordinavit *Bruscum* presbyterum et ecclesiam illi fundavit qui dixit mirabile post mortem ejus altero sancto qui fuit in insola generis *Cotirbi* benedictus est triduum filium tuum habes ego autem tedebit me mors mea quia solus sum in æcclesia in deserto in æcclesia relicta ac vacua et non offerant juxta me sacerdotes in noctibus somnium faciens est tertio die surrexit sanctus et arripuit anulum et trullam ferrumque et sepulcri fossam fodivit et portavit ossa *Brusci* sancti secum ad insolam in qua sunt et restiant.

Mittens autem Patricius *Methbrain* ad fossam *Slecht* barbarum Patricii propinquum qui dicebat mirabilia in deo vera. Venitque Patricius ad alveum *Sinone* ad locum in quo mortuus fuit auriga illius *Boidmalus* et sepultus ibi in quo dicitur *Cail Boidmail* usque in hanc diem et immolatus erat Patricio.

Finit liber primus in regionibus nepotum *Neill* peractus. Incipit secundus in regionibus *Connacht* peractus.

Omnia quæ scripsi a principio libri hujus scitis quia in vestris regionibus gesta sunt nisi de eis pauca quæ inveni inutilitatem laboris mei a senioribus multis ac ab illo *Ultano* episcopo *Conchubernensi* qui nutrivit me retulit sermo. Cor autem meum cogitat in me. De Patricii dilectione quia video dissertores et archiclocos et milites Hiberniæ quod odio habent paruchiam Patricii quia substraxerunt ab eo quod ipsius erat timent quæ quam si quæreret heres Patricii paruchiam illius potest pene totam insolam sibi reddere in paruchiam quam deus dedit illi.

I. Totam insolam cum hominibus per anguelum Domini.
II. Et legem domini docuit illis.

III. Et babtismo dei babtizavit illos.
IV. Et crucem Christi indicavit.
V. Et resurrectionem ejus nuntiavit sed familiam ejus non diligunt quia non licet jurare contra eum et super eum et de eo.
VI. Et non lignum licet contra eum mitti quia ipsius sunt omnia primitiæ æcclesiæ Hiberniæ sed juratur a se omne quod juratur.

Omnia autem quæ scripsi ab initio libri hujus simplicia sunt. Omne autem quod restat strictius erit.

Venit ergo Patricius sanctus per alveum fluminis *Sinne* per vadum duorum avium in campum *Ai*. Audientes autem magi *Loigairi* filii *Neill* omnia qua facta fuerunt *Calvus* et *Capito'anium* ii fratres qui nutrierant duas filias *Loigairi Ethne Alba Fedelm Nufa* timentes ne mores sancti viri acciperent indignati sunt valde tenebrasque nocturnales ac densas inaurinas super totum campum *Ai* fecerunt nescimus cujus potestatis hoc fuit sed scimus quod nox longua trium dierum totum et noctium erat. Arripuitque sanctus jejunium tribus diebus et tribus noctibus cum centenis oraculis flectenisque assiduis deum regem regum rogabat et discessit omnis gravitudo magica tenebrarum a campo *Ai* et dixit deo gratias et venierunt per alveum fluminis *Sinnæ* quæ dicitur *Bandea* ad tumulum *Gradi* in quo loco ordinavit *Albeum* sanctum prespiterum cui indicavit altare mi-

rabile lapideum in monte nepotum *Ailello* quia inter nepotes *Ailello* erat et babtizavit *Maneum* sanctum quem ordinavit episcopus *Bronus* filius *Icsi* servus dei socius Patricii. Venierunt ad campum *Glais* et in illo posuit cellolam magnam quæ sic vocatur cellula magna et in illa reliquit duos barbaros *Conleng* et *Ercleng* barbaros monachos sibi.

Deinde venit ad *Assicum* et *Bitium* et ad magos qui fuerunt de genere *Corcichon Luain Cone* et *Ith*, fratres alter suscepit Patricium et sanctos ejus cum gaudio et immolavit sibi domum suum.

Et exiit ad *Imbliuch Hornon* quod dixit illi Patricius Semen tuum erit benedictum et de tuo semine erunt sacerdotes domini et principes digni in mea elimosina et tua hereditate et posuit ibi *Assicum* et *Betheum* filium fratres *Assici* et *Cipiam* matrem *Bethei* episcopi.

Asicus sanctus episcopus faber æreus erat Patricio et faciebat altaria bibliothecas quas faciebat in patinos sancti nostri pro honore Patricii episcopi et de illis tres patinos quadratos vidi id est patinum in æcclesia Patricii in *Arddmacha* et alterum in æcclesia *Alofind* et tertium in æcclesia magna *Sacoli* super altare *Felarti* sancti episcopi.

Asicus iste fecit profugam in aquilonem regionis ad montem lapidis et fuit septem annis in insolam quæ vocatur *Rochuil* retro montem lapidum et quærebant illum monachi sui et invenierunt eum in convallibus suis montanis juxta laborem artificiorum et abstraxerunt eum monachi ejus et mortuus erat apud illos in disertis montibus et sepelierunt eum *Hirraith Chungai Hisertib* et dedit rex illi et monachis suis post mortem fœnum centum vaccarium cum vitulis suis et bovum xx. immolatio æterna quia dixit quod non revertetur in campum *Ai* quia mendaciam ab illo dixerunt et sunt ossa ejus in campo *Sered Hirraith Chungi* monachus Patricii sed contenderunt eum familiæ *Columbæ Cille* et familia *Airdd Stratha*.

Patricius vero venit de fonte *Alofind addu Mecham* nepotem *Ailello* et fundavit in illo loco æcclesiam quæ sic vocatur *Senella cella Dumiche* usque hanc diem in quo reliquit viros sanctos *Macet* et *Cetgen* et *Rodanum* prespiterum.

Et venit apud se filia felix imperigrini nationem nomine *Mathona* soror Benigni successoris Patricii quæ tenuit pallium apud Patricium et *Rodanum* monacha fuit illis et exiit per montem filiorum *Ailello* et plantavit æcclesiam liberam *Hitamnuch* et honorata fuerat a deo et hominibus et

ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias sancti *Rodanni* et successores illius epulabantur ad invicem.

Posthac autem posuerunt episcopos juxta sanctam ecclesiam *Hitamnuch* quos ordinaverunt episcopi Patricii id est *Bronus* et *Beitheus* non quærebant aliquid a familia *Dumiche* nisi amicitiam tantummodo sed quærit familia *Clono* quia per vim tenuit locibus Patricii multos post mortalitates novissimas deinde autem venit sanctus Patricius ad fontem quæ dicitur *Clebach* in lateribus *Crochan* contra ortum solis ante ortum solis et sederunt juxta fontem et ecce duæ filiæ regis *Loigairi Ethne Alba* et *Fedelm Nufa* ad fontem more mulierum ad lavandum mane venerunt. Et Senodum sanctum episcopum cum Patricio juxta fontem invenierunt.

Et quocumque essent
aut quacumque forma
aut quacumque plebe
aut quacumque regione non cognoverunt
Sed illos viros *Side*
aut deorum terrenorum
aut fantassiam estimaverunt
et dixerunt filiæ illis.

Ubi vos sitis et unde venistis? Et dixit Patricius ad illas, Melior erat vos deo vero non confiteri quam de genere non interrogare?

Dixit filia prima. Quis est Deus? Et ubi est Deus? Et cujus est Deus? Et ubi habitaculum ejus? Si habet filios et filias aurum et argentum deus vester si vivus semper? Si pulcher? Si filium ejus nutrierunt multi? Si filiæ ejus caræ et pulchræ sunt hominibus mundi in cœlo an in terra est?

In æquore
in fluminibus
in montanis
in convallibus
Dic nobis notitiam ejus
quomodo videbitur
quomodo delegitur
quomodo invenitur
si in juventute
si in senectute
invenitur.

Respondens autem Sanctus Patricius spiritu sancto plenus dixit.

Deus noster deus omnium hominum deus cœli ac terræ maris et fluminium deus solis ac lunæ omnium siderum deus montium sublimium vallium-que humilium Deus super cœlo et in cœlo et sub cœlo habet habitaculum erga cœlum et terram et mare et omnia quæ sunt in eis.

Inspirat omnia superat omnia
vivificat omnia sufultat omnia.

Solis lumen iluminat lumen noctis et notitias valat et fontes fecit in arrida terra et insolas in mari siccas et stellas in ministerium majorum luminum posuit. Filium habet coæternum sibi consimilem sibi nec junior filius patri nec pater filio senior et spiritus sanctus inflat in eis ne separatim pater et filius et spiritus sanctus.

Ego vero volo vos regi cœlesti conjunguere dum filiæ regis terreni sitis credere et dixerunt filiæ si ex uno ore unoque corde quomodo credere possimus cœlesti regi doce nos diligentissime ut videamus illum facie ad faciem indica nobis et quomodo dixeris nobis faciamus. Et dixit Patricius si creditis per babtismum patris et matris jecere peccatum? Respondent credimus si pœnitentiam creditis post peccatum? Credimus si creditis vitam post mortem? Si creditis resurrectionem in die judicii? Credimus.

Si creditis unitatem æcclesiæ? Credimus.

Et babtizatæ sunt et candida veste in capitibus eorum. Et postulaverunt videre faciem Christi et dixit eis sanctus nisi mortem gustaveritis non potestis videre faciem Christi et nisi sacrificium accipiet.

Et respondent da nobis sacrificium ut possimus filium nostrum sponsum videre et acciperunt ea charitiam dei et dormientium in morte et posuerunt illos in lectulo uno vestimentis cooperitis et fecerunt ululatum.

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[*Here two pages in the MS. so much defaced as to be illegible.*]

Et venit in campum *Caeri* et castra metati sunt *Icuil Core* et plantavit æcclesiam in illo loco et babtizavit illos multos et exinde exiit ad campum *Foinisen* et invenit in illo loco duos fratres filios viri nominati *Coiliud* filius *Luchti* filii *Conlaid* et *Derclaid* qui mittebat servum suum ut occideret Patricium.

Lucteus autem liberavit eum cui dixit Patricius erunt episcopi et prespiteri de genere tuo. Generis autem fratris tui erit maledictum et deficient in brevi. Et reliquit in illo loco *Conanum* prespiterum.

Et exiit ad fontem *Stringille* in disertis et fuit super ipse duobus dominicis et exiit ad campum *Raithin* et exiit ad finem *Hiimail Duachud Fobuir* in quo fiunt episcopi et venit ad illum sancta filia quæ pallium tenuit apud Patricium et ordinavit filium patres illius *Senachus* et dedit nomen novam illi id est *Agnus Dei* episcopus fecit illum.

Et ipse postulavit tres postulationes a Patricio ut non peccaret sub gradu et non vocaretur nomen ejus super locum et deesset de illius ætate super ætatem filii sui veniret. *Oingis* nomine cui scripsit Patricius abgitorium in die qua ordinatus erat *Senachus* quia Patricius ordinavit æcclesiam in illo loco apud filiam *Mathonam* nomine et dixit illis erunt episcopi boni hic et de semine illorum erunt benedicti in secula in cathedra hac ipsa est *Achad Fobuir et missam Patricii acciperunt.*

Et perexit Patricius ad montem *Egli* ut jejunaret in illo xl dibus et xl noctibus. *Moysaicam* tenens disciplinam et *Heliacum* et Christianam et defunctus est auriga illius *Himuirisce Aigli* hoc est campum inter mare et *Aigleum* et sepeliunt illum aurigam totum calvum et congregavit lapides erga sepulcrum et dixit sit sic in æternum et visitabitur a me in novissimis diebus. Et exiit Patricius ad cacumina montis super *Crochan Aigli* et mansit ibi xl diebus et xl noctibus et graves aves fuerunt erga illum et non poterat videre faciem cœli et terra et maris quia Hiberniæ sanctis omnibus preteritis presentatis futurus deus dixit.

Ascendite O Sancti super montem qui inminet et altior omnibus montibus qui sunt ad occidentem solis ad benedicendos Hibernia populos ut videret Patricius fructum sui laboris quia eorus sanctorum omnium Hibernensium ad eum venit ad patrem eorum visitandum et plantavit æcclesiam in campo *Humail.*

Et venit in regiones *Corcutemne* ad fontem *Sini* in quo babtizavit milia hominum multa fundavit æcclesias iii *Toga.*

Et venit ad fontem *Findmaige* qui dicitur *Slan* quia indicatam illi quod honorabant magi fontem et immolaverunt dona ad illum in donum dii.

Fons vero quadratus fuit et petra quadrata erat in ore fontis et veniebat aqua super (erga) petram id est perglutinationes quasi vestigium regale et dixerunt increduli quod quidam profeta mortuus fecit bibliothecam sibi in aqua sub petra ut dealbaret ossa sua semper quia tenuit ignis

exustem quia adorabant fontem in modum dii. Et inlicitum est Patricio causa adorationis et ipse zelum dei habuit de deo vivo.

Dixit non verum quod dicitis quod rex aquarum fons erat quia dederunt illi nomen aquarum rex et congregati sunt magi et gentiles regionis illius et multitudo multa nimis ad fontem. Et Patricius ait illis elevate petram videamus quid sub est si ossa an non quia dico vobis sub ea ossa hominis non sunt sed puto aliquid de auro et argento perglutinationem petrarum minime de vestris reprobis immolationibus et non potuerunt immolare petram elevare.

Et benedixit Patricius et servi ejus petram et dixit Patricius multitudini procul recedite paulisper ut videatis virtutem dei mei qui in cœlis habitat et expectis manibus elevavit petram ex ore fontis et ponebat illam e regione super ora fontis et est semper et nihil invenierunt in fonte nisi aquam tantum et crediderunt deo summo et sedit juxta lapidem procul quam infixit vir quidam cui benedixit Patricius *Caeta* seu *Cata* nomine et babtizabat illum et dixit illi. Erit semen tuum benedictum in sæcula *Cellula Tog* in regionibus *Corcutemne* Patricii fuit *Cainnechus* episcopus monachus Patricii fundavit eam.

Et venit Sanctus Patricius per campos in regionibus *Maicc Hercæ Indichuil* et *Aurchuil*. Et venit Patricius *Indichuil* ad sepulchrum magnum magnitudinis miræ ingentemque longitudine quod invenit familia illius et magno stupore mirabantur pedes truxisse cxx et dixit non credimus hoc negotium quod erat homo longitudinis hujus et respondit Patricius et dixit. Si volueritis videbitis eum et dixerunt volumus et percussit baculo suo lapidem juxta caput ejus et signavit sepulchrum signaculo crucis et dixit.

Agnon sepulchrum et aperuit et vir sanctus surrexit magnus sanus et dixit bene sit

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[*MS. defaced.*]

non possimus ut nobiscum tu ambulatis quia non possunt homines videre faciem tuam — timore tuo sed crede deo cœli et babtismum domini accipe et non reverteris in locum in quo fiebas et indica nobis cujus es.

Ego sum *Macc maicc Cais maic glais* qui fui subulcus *Rig Lugir rig*

Hirotie jugulavit me Flan macc maicc con in regno *Coirpri nioth fer* anno cujusque hodie et babtizatus est confessionem dei fecit et resticuit et positus est iterum in sepulcro suo.

Et venit in album campum in regionibus nepotum *Maini* et invenit in illo signaculum crucis Christi in ii sepulcra nova et de curru suo sanctus dixit quis est qui sepultus hic ? et respondet vox de sepulcro ecce sum homo gentilis. Respondit sanctus. Cur juxta te crux sancta infixa est ? Et iterum respondit quia vir qui sepultus est juxta latus meum rogavit mater ejus ut signum crucis poneretur juxta sepulcrum filii sui. Vir fatuus et insensatus posuit juxta me et exilitur Patricius de curru suo et tenuit crucem et evellabat de gentili tumulo et posuit super faciem babtizati et ascendit super currum et oravit deum taciter. Cum dixisset libera nos a malo dixit illi auriga illius quid auriga illius inquit. Cur appellasti gentilem non babtizatum virum ?

Redeamus ad historiam nostram. Quia ingemesco virum sine babtismo melior erat apud deum illum benedicere vice babtismatis et effundere aquam baptismi super sepulcrum mortui et non respondit illi puto enim ideo eum reliquitur quia deus eum salvere noluit.

Per *Muadam* vero venit et ecce audierunt magi filiorum *Amolngid* quod sanctus vir venisset super eos in suas regiones proprias congregata est multitudo nimis magorum ad primum magum *Recradum* nomine qui voluit sanctum occidere Patricium. Et venit ad illos cum viiii magis induti vestibus albis cum hoste magico et viderunt illum procul Patricius et *Endeus* filius *Amolngid* et *Conallus Endi* filius quando babtizavit Patricius multitudinem nimium. Cumque vidisset *Endeus* surrexit arripuit arma ut magos repelleret quia ab illis erant magi transriolum aque nimium quasi milia passuum.

Missit autem Patricius *Conallum* filium *Endi* in obviam magis ut cognovisserent illum ne alium occiderent et stetit juxta magum filius insignum et ecce vir sanctus surrexit Patricius et elevavit manum sinistram deo cœli et maledixit magum et cecidit mortuus in medio magorum ejus et dispersus est vulgus in totum campum *Domnon* et exustus est ante faciem omnium in vindictæ signum. Cum viderunt omnes homines hoc miraculum et babtizavit multos in illa die et ordinavit *Mucneum* sanctum fratrem *Cethachi* et dedit illi libros legis vii quos reliquit post se *Macc Cerce* filio *Maic Dregin*. Et fundavit ecclesiam super silvam *Fochliith* in qua sunt ossa sanctus *Mucnoi* episcopi quia deus dixit illi ut legem relinquerent et

episcopis ordinaret ibi et prespyteris et diaconis in illa regione et benedixit *Amolngid* filium *Fergussum* fratrem *Endi* quia in agro ipsius virtutem fecit.

Et ecce quidam vir venit ad illos nomine *Macc Dregin* cum filiis VII. gentilibus et postulavit babtismum dei a Patricio et benedixit illum cum filiis et eligit unum filium ex ipsis cui nomen erat *Macc Ercæ* et scripsit elementa et benedixit eum benedictione patris. Et dixit pater filii teduit me si tecum exierit filius meus. Et ait Patricius non erit ita sed illum *Brono* filio *Icni* commendabo et *Olcano*. Extendit manum et indicavit ei locum in quo sunt ossa ejus procul et digito suo signavit locum et crucem posuit ibi. Et ecce ii filiæ venierunt ad Patricium et acciperunt pallium de manu ejus et benedixit illis locum super sylvam *Fochlethi*. Et ecce Patricius perrexit ad agrum quod dicitur *Foirrgea* filiorum *Amolngid* ad dividendum inter filios *Amolngid* et fecit ibi æcclesiam terrenam de humo quadratam quia non prope erat sylva.

Et portaverunt ad illum mulierem infirmam habentem in utero infantem et babtitzavit filium in utero matris aqua babtismi filii *ipsa est aqua commonis muleris* et sepelierunt eam in cacuminibus æcclesiæ desuper et est sedes ipsi sancti juxta æcclesiam usque in presentem diem et edificavit æcclesiam quandam apud familiam in sinu maris id est *Ros* filiorum *Caitni*.

Et reversus est ad flumen *Muiade Denectrige* in *Bertrigian* et elvavit ibi lapidem in signaculum crucis Christi et dixit ecce hic invenietur aqua in novissimus diebus et babitabitur ame et fundavit ecclesiam juxta fossam *Rigbairt* et venit in *Muiriscsain* apud *Bronum* filium *Icni* et benedixit filium qui est *Macc Rime* episcopus et scripserunt elementa illi et *Muirethacho* episcopus qui fuit super flumen *Bratho*.

Et venierunt trans litus *Authnili* in fines *Irei* Patricius et Bronus et cum illis filius *Ercæ* filii *Dregin* ad campum id est *Ros Dregnige* in quo loco est cassulus *Broni* et sedens ibi cecidit Patricii dens et dedit dentem *Brono* suo in relquias.

Et dixit ecce mare jeciet nos de hoc loco innovissimis temporibus et exibitis ad flumen *Slicichæ* ad sylvam.

Et exiit trans montem filierum *Ailello* et fundavit æcclesiam ibi *Tamnach* et *Ehenach* et *Cell Angli* et *Cell Senchuæ*.

Et exiit ad regiones *Callrigi Tremaige* et fecit æcclesiam juxta *Druimleas* et babtitzavit multos et erexit ad campum *Ailmaige* et fundavit æcclesiam ibi id est *Domnach Ailmaige* quia Patricius illic mansit tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.

Et perrexit ad campum *Aine* et posuit æcclesiam ibi et versus est *Evoi* et in campum *Cetni* et maledixit flumen quod dicitur *Niger Drobaicum* autem benedixit in quo tenentur magni pisces sub piscium gen * * * effectum est Flumen Drobiasco non habuit ante pisces sed postea piscatoribus fructum dat quia postulavit et nihil illi piscium dabant sancto.

Et maledixit aliis fluninibus id est flumini *Oingæ* et *Sæli* quia dimersi sunt ii pueri de pueris Patricii in *Sæli* quapropter hoc factum in commemorationem virtutis.

Etiam intravit in campum *Sereth* trans amnem inter *Esruaid* et mare et fundavit ecclesiam *Hirraith Argi* et castra metatus est in campo *Sereth* et invenit quendam virum bonum de genere *Laithron* et babtitzavit eum et filium tenerum cum eo qui dicebatur *Hinu* vel *Ineus* quia posuit illum pater in fana super collum ejus quia natus est in via cum patre de monte veniens et babtitzavit Patricius filium et scripsit illi abgatorium et benedixit eum benedictione episcopi qui postea retenuit *Assicum* sanctum cum monachis suis in *Ard Roissen* id est *Hirrath Congi* in Campo *Sereth* in tempore regum *Fergusso* et *Fothuid* et fundavit ecclesiam in campo *Latrain* et ecclesiam magnam *Sier Drommo* quam tenuit familia *Dairinse* in *Doburbur* et porrexit Forburnas filiorum Conill in campo *Itho* et fundavit ibi æcclesiam magnam et exiit ad campum *Tochuir* et fecit æcclesiam ibi et in quo loco quidam episcopus venit de genere Corcutheimne ad eum de cellola *Toch* in regionibus *Temenrigi Icerr̄* contra solis occasum episcopus cum sorore una monachi Patricii et est locus eorum cum familia *Clono* et ingemescant viri loci illius.

Pervenit Patricius per *Sinonam* tribus vicibus et septem annos complevit in occidentali plaga et de campo *Tochuir* venit *Indulo Ocheni* et fecit septem ecclesias ibi. Et venit in *Ardd Stratho* et *Macc Ercæ* episcopum ordinavit et exiit in *Ardd Eolergg* et *Ailgi* et *Lee Bendrigi* et perrexit trans flumen *Bandæ* et benedixit locum in quo est cellola *Cuile Raithin* in *Eilniu* in quo fuit episcopus et fecit alias cellas multas in *Eilniu*. Et per *Buas* fluvium foramen pertulit et in *Duin Sebuirgi* sedit super petram quam petra Patricii usque nunc et ordinavit ibi Olcanum sanctum episcopum quem nutrivit Patricius et dedit illi partem de

reliquiis Petri et Pauli et aliorum et velum quod custodivit reliquias et reversus est in campum *Elni* et fecit reliquas multas ecclesias quas *Coindiri* habent.

Ascendit autem ad montem *Miss Boonrig* quia nutrivit ibi filium *Milcon Maccubuain Gosacht* nomine et filias duas eidem viri quando erat in servitute IIII annorum et docuit illos in taciturnitate cum juramento pro timore magi sed alia nocte vidit magus *Miliucc* scintillas de ore *Succeti* fatui ignitas ascendentes in labia filii sui et inflammatum est totum corpus filii sui et de ore filii sui in ora sororum ejus. Cur inquit o serve malum fecisti filio meo in nocte quæ præteriit.

Respondit *Succetus* domine mi quid vidisti os filii mei replisti igne et filius meus labia filiorum replevit et consumpti sunt omnes in cinerem et cinis eorum vivificavit multos et quasi aves volaverunt tecum et evomerunt in talia sua frustra. Respondit *Succetus* frustra vere evomerunt id demum magicam quia dedi in ora eorum verba dei mei excelsi. Et exiit ad montem *Scirte* ad locum petræ super quam vidit anguelum domini stantem et vestigium pedis illius usque nunc pene adest. Cum ascendisset in cælum pedibus extensis de monte ad montem dixitque. Ecce navis tua parata est surge et ambula. Venit vero sanctus per *Doim* in regionis *Tuirtri* ad *Collunt* Patricii et babtitzavit filios *Tuirtri*.

Relicta Machia venit in *Maugdorru* et ordinavit *Victoricum Machinensem* Episcopum et ecclesiam ibi magnam fundavit et perrexit ad *Loigairum* et Conallum filios *Neill*.

Finito autem circulo exiit et fecit æcclesiam *Justano* prius juxta *Bile Tortin* quæ est apud familiam *Arddbreccain* et fecit alteram *Hitortena* orientali in qua gens *Othig Cirpani* sed libera semper.

Et perrexit ad fines *Laginensium* ad *Druimen Hurchaille* et posuit ibi domum *Martyrium* quæ sic vocatur quæ sita est super viam magnam in valle et est hic petra Patricii in via. Exiit ad campum *Lifi* et posuit ibi æcclesiam et ordinavit Auxilium puerum Patricii exorcistam et *Esserninum* et *Mactadeum* in cellola *Cuilin*. Ordinavit *Feccum* album *Isleibti* et babtizabat filios *Dunlinge* et erexit se per *Belut Gabrain* et fundavit æcclesiam *Hirroigniu Martorthige* et babtizabat filios *Nioth Fruich Iternumæ* super petram *Hicoithrigi Hicaissiul*.

Hæ sunt tres petitiones Patricii ut nobis traditæ sunt Hibernensibus rogans ut suscipiatur unusquisque nostram pœnitentiam agens licet in extremo vitæ suæ judicii die.

Ut non claudetur in inferno hoc est prima.

Secunda ne barbares gentes dominentur nobis in semper eternum.

Tertia. Ut ne super vixerit aliquis nostrum id est Hibernensium ante septem annos ante diem judicii quia vii annos ante judicium delebuntur æquore hoc est tertia.

Ætas Patricii ut nobis traditum est subputatur.

vii anno babtizatus est	xxx an legit
x anno captus	xxii ann. docuit
iiii annis servivit	Ætas ejus tota cxx.

AN UT MOISES.

In iiii rebus similis fuit Moisi Patricius.

I. Primo. Anguelum de rubo audivit.
II. xl diebus et xl noctibus jejunavit.
III. Quia annos cxx peregit in vita presenti.
IV. Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.

Duo hostes xii diebus corpore Sancti Patricii contenderunt et noctem inter se xii diebus non viderunt sed diem semper et in xii die ad prelium venerunt et corpus ingrabato ii hostes viderunt apud se et non pugnaverunt *Colambcille* spiritu sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii ubi est confirmat id est in *Sabul* Patricii id est in ecclesiam juxta mare pro undecima ubi est conductio martirum id est ostium *Columbcille*, de Britannia et conductio omnium sanctorum de Hibernia in die judicii.

XIII. anno Theothosii Imperatoris a Celestino episcopo Papa Romæ Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scotorum mittitur qui Celestinus xlii episcopus a Petro apostolo in urbe Romæ.

Palladius episcopus primo mittitur qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur qui martyrium passus est apud Scotos ut tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ab angueli dei Victor nomine et Celestino papæ mittitur cui Hibernia tota credidit qui eam pene totam babtizavit.

Patricius sanctus episcopus honorem quaterna et omnibus monasteriis et ecclesiis per totam Hiberniam debet habere id est.

I. Solemnitate dormitationis ejus honorari in medio veris autem iii dies et iii noctes omni bono cibo præter carnem quasi Patricius venisset in vita in hostium.
II. Offertorium ejus proprium in eodem die immolari.
III. Ymnum ejus per totum tempus cantare.
IV. Canticum ejus Scotticum semper canere.

Sic omnis quatuor ista habere debet et peddi a monachis suis sibi qui æcclesiam fundavit vel monasterium et qui habet paruchiam et regiones multas quatuor predicta habere debet in honore.

Finit hoc breviarum gentis.

Nominis	documenti
genelogie	industriæ
pueritie	maledicti in peccatores
captivitatum	benedictiones in pios
virtutum	ætatis quæ omnia in
Christiane ser-	deo gesta ab antiquis
vitutis	scitissimus adunata at-
	que collecta sunt.

Incipiunt alia pauca serotinis temporibus inventa suisque locis narranda. Curiossitate heredum diligentiaque sanctitatis quæ in honorem et laudem domini atque in amabilem Patricii memoriam usque in hodiernum diem congregantur. Quando autem Patricius cum sua sancta navigatione ad Hiberniam pervenit Sanctum *Lommanum* in hostio *Boindio* navim custodire reliquit xl diebus et xl noctibus ac deinde alium quadragessimum post oboedentiam Patricio mansit deinde secundum imperium sui magistri in sua navi contrario flumine usque ad vadum *Truim* in hostio *Arcis Fedelmedo* filii *Loigairi* domino gubernante pervenit.

Mane autem facto *Foirtchernn* filius *Fedelmtheo* invenit evangelium recitantem et ammiratus ævangelium et doctrinam ejus confestim credidit et aperto fonte in illo loco a *Lommano* in Christo babtizatus est. Et mansit cum illo donec mater ejus quærere eum pervenit et lucta facta est in conspectu ejus quia Britonissa erat. At ille similiter credidit et iterum reversa est in domum suam et nuntiavit marito suo omnia quæ accederant illi et filio suo ac vero *Fedelmedius* luctificabitur in adventu clerici quia de Brittonibus matrem habuit unam filiam regis Brittonum *Scothnoesa* lutavit autem *Fedelmidius Lommanum* lingua Britannica interrogans eum secundum ordinem de fide et genere. Respondit ei ego sum *Lommanus* Britto Christianus alumpnus Patricii episcopi qui missus est a domino babtizare populos Hibernensium et convertere ad fidem Christi qui me missit huc secundum voluntatem dei statimque credidit *Fedelmidius* cum omni familia sua et immolavit illi et Sancta Patricio regionem suam cum possessione sua et cum omnibus substantiis suis et cum omni progenie sua. Hæc omnia immolavit Patricio et *Lommano Foirtcherno* filio suo usque in diem judicii.

Migravit autem *Fedlimid* trans amnem *Boindeo* et mansit in *Cloin Lagen* et mansit *Lomman* cum *Foirtcherno* in vado *Truimm* usque dum pervenit Patricius ad illos et edificavit æcclesiam cum illis xxii anno ante quam fundata etiam æcclesiam *Altimachæ*.

Progenies autem *Lommani* de Britonnibus unum filium gellit. Germana autem Patricii mater ejus germani autem *Lommani* hii sunt episcopi manis *Hiforgnidiu Lacumniu*.

Broccaid in *Imbluich* equorum apud *Ciarrige Connact Broccanus Imbrechmig* apud nepotes *Dorthim Mugenoc Hicill Dumi Gluinn in deisciurt Breg*.

Hæc autem progenies Patricii propria est consanguinitate, et gratia fide et babtismate et doctrina et omnia quæ adapta sunt de cætera de regionibus æcclesiis et omnibus oblationibus propriis Sancto Patricio in sempiternum obtulerunt.

Post aliquantum autem tempus adpropinquante *Lommani* exitu perrexit cum alumpno suo *Foirtcherno* ad fratrem suum *Broccidium* fratrum salutandum perrexerunt autem ipse et alumpnus ejus *Foirtchernn* Commendavitque sanctam ecclesiam suam Sancto Patricio et *Foirtcherno* sed recussavit *Foirtchernn* tenere hereditatem patris suæ quia obtulit deo et

Patricio nisi *Lommanus* dixit non accipies benedictionem meam nisi acciperis principatum æcclesiæ meæ tenuit autem post obitum magistri sui principatum tribus diebus usque dum pervenit ad vadum *Truimm* ac deinde statim *Cathlaido Peregrino* distribuit suam æcclesiam. Hæ sunt autem oblationes *Fedelmedo* filii *Loigairi* Sancto Patricio et *Lommano* et *Foirtcherno* id est vadum *Truim* in finibus *Loigairi Breg* igitur in finibus *Loigari Medi*.

Hæc autem æcclesiastica	*Conall*
Progenies *Fedelmtheo*	*Baitan*
Foirtchernus	*Ossan*
Aod magnus	*Cummene*
Aod parvus	*Saran*

Hii omnes episcopi fuerunt et principes venerantes Sanctum Patricium et successores ejus plebilis autem progenies ejus hæc est.

Fergus filius *Fedelmtheo*	*Failnad* filius *Failain*
Feredach filius *Fergosso*	*Forfailed* filius *Failgnaith*
Cronan filius *Foredig*	*Segene* filius *Forfailto*
Sorran filius *Cronain*	*Sochnassach* filius *Segeni*.
Failan filius *Sarain*	

Sanctus Patrius iens ad cœlum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam babtismatam causarum quam elemosinarum deferendum esse apostolicæ urbi quæ Scotice nominatur *Arddmacha*. Sic reperi in bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi id est *Calvus Perennis* in conspectu *Briani* imperatoris Scotorum et quod scripsi finituit pro omnibus regibus *Mac Eriæ*.*

Colmanus episcopus æcclesiam suam id est *Cluincain* in *Achud* Patricio episcopo de votiva immolatione in sempiternum obtulit et ipse eum commendavit sanctis viris id est prespitero *Medb* et prespitero *Sadb*.

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* This passage is in a more modern character than the text of the MS. The last two words I thought at first were *forma Ceriæ*; but, by means of a magnifying glass, I now have no doubt but that the above is correct.

Item campum aquilonis inter *Gleoir* et *Ferni* cum servis in eo sibi famulantibus filii *Fiechrach* Patricio in sempiternum ymmolaverunt.

Item vii filii *Doath Cluain Findglais* et *Imsruth Cul Cais* et *Deruth Mar Culecais* et *Cenn locho* deo et Sancto Patricio fideliter obtulerunt.

Filii item *Conlaid* viii campi pondera id est vaccas campi viii in hereditate sua id est *Cachindlea Odibcarnib* usque ad montem *Cairnn* deo et Patricio in sempiterna sæcula obtulerunt.

Has omnes oblationes *Ciarrichi* super in eorum reges Patricio per æterna sæcula obtulerunt.

Sanctus Patricius familiam suam in regione *Ciarrichi* per spiritum sanctum prævidens eum esse undique *Cassatam* id est episcopum *Sachellum* et *Brocidium* et *Loarnum* et prespiterum *Medb* et *Ernas* cum in unitatem pacis æternæ cum uno fidei ritu sub potestate unius hæredis suæ apostolicæ cathedræ *Altimachæ* sub benedictione sua unanimiter conjunxit.

Binean filius *Lugni* scriba atque sacerdos necnon anchorita filius filiæ *Lugaith in netach* fuit qui dedit deus progenies matris suæ hereditatem in qua fundavit æcclesiam deo consecratam Patricioque immolatam et Sanctus Patricius signavit locum sibi suo baculo et ipse primus corpus et sanguinem Christi obtulit post quod gradum accessit *Bineanus* ab eo et benedixit illum et reliquit post se in suo loco.

Veniens Patricius in finem *Calrigi* babtizavit filium *Cairthin* et *Caichanum* et postquam babtitzavit obtulerunt filius *Cairthir* et *Caichan* quintam partem *Caichain* deo et Patricio et liberavit rex deo et Patricio. Hæ sunt fines quintæ partes i. e. *Coicid Caichain Otha glais Telchæ Berich Abraidne Conrici Forcuisin Tuelgos Disleb Otha glais Conacolto Curreirui* et *Otha Criche Drommonit Cuglais Tamlachtæ Dublocho Lagglais Cugrenlaich Fotelareut Timmchell Nasanto Cosescen Indacor Asescum dacor Ladescert Lenilafer Conricinucht Nomomne Condairiumor Condairiu Medoin Condairiu* fidas *Condairiu Mail Condruim Toidached Laglais Conrici Conaclid Atropert Flaith* et *Aithech inso huile Hosuch Lartabuirt Baithis Duarb.*

Conggáb Patricc Jarnaid frit indiurnn dano .i. diurn har facab Patricc adaltae .n. 7 benigur áainm agus fortigne xuii anglí gabair caille la Patricc larrar ingen an folmide dícenul caícaiñ baiade and tarerg .iii. benigin dufídter bliadne.

Irrg inro coibre fétó fio 7 aedoét dibliadin remdar daú dumaidéib diommo liaf 7 dumaidib callugi it croícaingel 7 altoir diommo liaf nad confil fingécar foirdiuginn lear act cenel fégo fio mabeit noc bégmaid dub ber craibdéc ber écbrec dingélaind maindé ducceran dlig in tan dimmitin diommo ⁊ diamaidéib Mainégtar dubber dicrud dimmitin Patricc inte.

Nao et *Nai* filii fratris Patricii et *Daall* filius *Hencair* quos reliquit ibi Patricius *Adopart Teoraleth Indli Treathir* Patricio in sempiternum et obtulit Patricio filium suum *Conderc* filius *Daal*.

Maru obtulit *Teoralethindli Triathir* et obtulit Patricio filium *Mac Rimæ* et babtitzavit eos Patricius et ædificavit æcclesiam in hereditate eorum et regnum offerebat cum eis *Coirpri* Patricio.

Imraind epscipe do cummi 7 do alic 7 do epscop tír gaimmae 7 inse buaidaele 7 taimnic Imraindrat ind ua .ui. caillecaro iñatriero dú Patricc cullae .iii. briatro.

Dirrogel cummen agus brégtan ocier naid Conaresalb ter fio 7 maig 7 lenu conallur 7 allubgort. Ogdaer dí tuidmi lét indoirrid in doim indumu conricatar arén fris .i. .iii. uigai airgait 7 crann airgit agus mise .iii. huigae condroc óen renmerb renairrotb log leit uigae dimucaib 7 log leit uigae dícairrb 7 dillat leit uigae renmerrb ingo hise direc dinol digein cummen cétaig itae frielatad ni maile odre digenne crégnigne arec .n. doi itae intecrin fricolinn, nambrégtan géuml .n. airggit lid in cumalrn durongog ocin adid.

Patricius et *Iserninus* cum Germano fuerunt in *Olsiodra* civitate. Germanus vero *Isernino* dixit ut prædicare in Hiberniam veniret atque prumptus fuit obædire etiam in quamcumque partem mittetur nisi in Hiberniam Germanus dixit Patricio et tu an obœdiens eris.

Patricius dixit fiat sicut vis Germanus dixit hoc inter nos erit et non potuerit *Iserninus* in Hibernia nec transire.

Patricius venit in Hiberniam *Isernini* vero missus est in aliam regionem sed ventus contrarius detulit eum in dextram partem Hiberniæ.

Dutꝫt iairi dıaċeñadiċ aicme becc ielu cóc ruge áainnin Dullꝛd dirꝛdu conconꝝab toicꝛle facab nóib dia mmtir aid lud iairꝛdu conconꝝab riaiṫ foalaicíċ facib noib .ri. aile irꝛdu Dullꝛd dirꝛdu dú latiuċ daairad indib maiꝝb.

Dullotair cuci irꝛdu ferċtmaicc catboṫ prid-ċir duaib 7 crediderunt et baptizalesant 7 lꝛd leo fader diammeñut furocꝫt eidae ceñralaċ fubiṫin cheitine riacaċ lꝛd epscop fiṫ leo folloꝝir caċ alꝫṫ odib riaṁc Patricc ierꝛdu et credederunt sibi ad filii. Dunlinꝫe lꝛd iairꝛdu cu crimṫam Ahe nendi ceñreliċ 7 ipse credidit. Uccriaiṫ biliċ ailiꝝ riatric Iarnubaiterd airatairced maccu catbad et Iseririsnum, leo 7 ad cotedae iñiꝫe.

Dullotair maicc catbad diammen nut Ieriri irde attaa fénafoirfid Conculatatair doċum Patricc et chꝫmṫiñ mendi ucci patric,

Ad opum Crimthann im endiodiṫ im dul biꝫrien foṫꝫt oꝫabꝛr lir lur conricur rꝛde laiꝫen cleċtid irreimnur du Patricc fonamanéi 7 daindoodiṫ 7 dubbeir patricc duepscop fiṫ et dabeirꝛde dumaccaib catbaṫ 7 conꝫaib leathu aṫfiṫot.

Dullꝛd Patricc oṫemꝛr hicriċ Laiꝫen conriancatair 7 dubṫaċ maccaluꝫir uccdomnuċ mair chiaṫair la enni cenreliċ A lirr Patricc dubṫaċ imdainnae .ri. epscꝛp dia tescipli diaiꝫnib idoñ fer foer focemꝛl cenoi cenainm naidirru becc naidirromair bedaromnae.

Toiscinim fer óinꝫṫċe dunairucṫae acrdeintꝛrdu Furꝫairdubṫaċ ni fṫoiria dimmꝛrdir act fiacc find diaiꝫnib ducoodo huaimre hirire coñaċt Am linnindiaitre conacatair fiacc find cuccu Arberr dubṫaċ fri patricc tair dumber riatra air fumiere infer dumnim diḋnaad duabeṙiad tairmuċeñ airirmair aꝫoire irdirindi furriaiṫ fiacc find dubṫaċ 7 berrur Patricc 7

baitrium Dubbeirt giad .ri. epscoip foiri comde epscop inisi citamuoiritheo lalaigniu 7 dub beirt Patricc Cumtaċ duscaċ ideo cloce 7 meiritri 7 baċall 7 pooiiie et facab moiriereir lair diamnitri .i. muċatóce mire fáil.

Augustin inreo bicae tócáin diarmit naimdid pool fidelmid.

Congab iarsndiu indomnuċ feicc et bai aid contoiċátq tuiscid fein Diamnitri lair aid tisin dullit intaingel cuci aid arbeirt fiur ir fiadaib aniáir ata tereirge hicél maige airmitheriri intoicc airmbadaid fuirimtir Appiaintech poirt hiernisti jéeirt 4 imbadaid fuiriumtir aidcliu arbeirt fiacc fuirinaingel naidbuigad Coistiged patricc todo muntalic lair 7 diaċoiriocrad 7 Combed huád iuggabad alocc dullid iarsndiu patricc cuscacc 7 duimid alocc ler 7 cutrocq 7 foirinn aforius .i. aid agus a doiart crimtaiñ impoirtin du patricc airba patric dibeirt baitir duċuimtuin 7 irleb—adrian act Crimtaiñ.

Lid rochall Jairtain duċuin fagad patricc imċairpat boie lair di rindusoid patricc imcairpat curoċhall cenairt .i. aid act aingil dut fidedq foidiur rochall oinan .in. aitgi aid lir cu maiċaiñ 7 aiñ .in. aitgi lasnde foistisiride cuscacc dlomir fiacc doib jairin ité imelotq imnuaidocliu fuirii conepuirt intaingel irdustin tucad ó Patricc ó nuistin dulobin.

Epscop aed bói irléibti lidudqd maċae biirt etoct curegéne duairdmaċeq dubbeirt regene oiteirioċ aidaċt duáid 7 adopairt aéd aidaċt 7 Aċenél 7 a ocliu du pátricc cub briáṫ fácab aed aidaċt la conċad.

Lid conċad duairmaċae contubairt flaid feblae aċeill dóo 7 gabri ca derini abbaiṫ.

Finiunt hæc pauca per Scotticam inperfecto scripta non quod ego non potuissem Romana condere lingua sed quod vix in sua Scotia hæ fabulæ agnosci possunt sin autem alias per Latinam degestæ fuissent non tam incertus fuisset aliquis in eis quam imperitus quid legisset aut quam linguam sonasset per habundantiam Scotaicorum nominum non habentium qualitatem.

Scripsi hunc ut potui librum pulsare conetur
Omnis quicumque legerit ut evadere pœna
Ad cœlum valeam et ad summi præmia regni
Patricio dominum pulsante habitare per ævum.

ANNOTATIONES AIDI.

Quam quidem mi domine *Aido* multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem utique istam secundum quod patres eorum et qui ministri ab initio fuerunt sermones tradiderunt illis sed propter difficillimum narrationis opus diversasque opiniones et plurimorum plurimas suspiciones numquam ad unum certumque historiæ tramitem pervenerunt ideo ni faller juxta hoc nostrorum proberbium ut deducuntur pueri in ambiteathrum in hoc periculosum et profundum narrationis Sanctæ Pylagus turgentibus proterve gurgitum aggeribus inter acutisimos *Carubdes* per ignota æquora in sitos a nullis ad huc lintribus excepto tantum uno patris mei cognito si expectum atque occupatum ingeni olim ei puerilem remi cymbam deduxi sed ne magnum de parvo videar finguere pauca hæc de multis Sancti Patricii gestis parva peritia incertis auctoribus memoria labili attrito sensii vili sermone sed affectu pissimo caritatis etiam sanctitatis tuæ et auctoritatis imperio oboedens carptim gravatimque explicare aggrediar.

De ortu Patricii et ejus prima captivitate.
De navigio ejus cum gentibus et vexatione diserti cibo sibi gentilibus divinitus de lato.
De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab inimicis pretulerat.
De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnoverunt eum.
De etate ejus quando iens videre sedem apostolicam voluit discere sapientiam.
De inventione sancti generis in Galliis et ideo non exivit ultra.
De ætate ejus quando visitavit eum anguelus ut veniret adhuc.
De reversione ejus de Gallis et ordinatione Palladii et mox morte ejus.
De ordinatione ejus ab *Amatho* rege episcopo defuncto *Palladio.*
De rege gentili habito in *Temoeria* quando venerat Sanctus Patricius babtismum portans.
De primo ejus itinere in hac insola ut seipsum redemeret *O Miliucc* priusquam alios a demonio traheret.
De morte *Milcon* et verbo Patricii de semine ejus.
De consilio Sancti Patricii ubi *Hessitum* est.
De celebratione primæ Pascæ.

De oblatione primâ Pasca in hac insola facta.

De festivitate gentili in *Temoria* eadem nocte qua Sanctus Patricius Pasca adoravit.

De gressu regis *Loigarii* de *Temoria* ac Patricium in nocte Pascæ.

De vocatione Patricii ad regem et fide *Eirc* filii *Dego* morte magi in illa nocte.

De ira regis et suorum ad Patricium et plaga dei super eos et transfinctione Patricii coram gentilibus.

De adventu Patricii in die Pascæ ad *Temoriam* et fide *Dubthach Moccu-lugir*.

De conflictu Patricii adversus magum in illa et mirabilibus virtutibus.

De conversione *Loigari* regis et conversio et de verbo Patricii de regno ejus post se.

De doctrina et babtismate signisque sancti Patricii secundum exemplum Christi.

De *Macc Cuill* et conversione ejus ad verbum Patricii.

De morte *Moneisen*.

De fabula Dairi et equo et oblatione *Arddmachæ* ad Patricium.

De gentibus laborantibus die dominica trans preceptum Patricii.

De fructifera terra in salsuginem versa ad verbum Patricii.

De morte *MoneisenSaxonisse*.

De eo quod Sanctus Patricius vidit cœlum apertum et filium dei et anguelos ejus.

De conflictu Sancti Patricii adversum *Coirthech* regem *Aloo*.

Hæc pauca Sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus *Muirchu Maccumachtheni* dictante *Aiduo Sleptiensis* civitatis Episcopo conscripsit.

Patricio Sancto episcopo summus domini sacerdos anguelus debitam reverentiam cathedræ suæ apostolicæ honoremque propriam sue heredis ab omnibus Scotis traditam sapienter a deo sibi dictavit.

LIBER ANGUELI INCIPIT.

Quodam itaque Sanctus Patricius de *Altimachæ* urbe ad multitudines utriusque sexus humani generis babtizandas docendas atque sanandas juxta fontem in orientali predictæ urbis parte prope *Hereutem* pie perrexit.

Et ibi ante lucem multas undique ad noticiam fidei confluentes expectavit subito ergo eum sopor prostravit eo quod prius pro *Christo* vigiliis nocturni fessus fuisset.

Et ecce tam cito venit anguelus ad eum de cælo et excitavit eum leviter de sompno et dixit Sanctus Patricius ego adsum numquid inique gessi nuper in conspectu altissimi si accidit veniam peto a deo.

Respondit angelus non sed missit me summus omnipotens ad te primus ad animi tui conservationem post conversionem Hibernensium per te ad se in fidem quos ei adquessisti per durissimum laborem et per tuam valde predictionem gratia spiritu sancti lucidissimam universis gentibus fructuossam cum esses semper laboriosus multis temporibus in multis periculis a gentilibus per frigus et æstatem essuriens et sitiens de ambulans impigei quotidie de gente in gentem ad utilitatem multarum gentium scit ergo Dominus deus tuum presentem locum quem presto videmus in alto posi tum cum parva cellula angustum ab aliquibus quoque regiones habitatoribus coartatum et suburbana ejus non sufficient cunctis ad refugium idcirco constituitur terminus a domino vastissimus urbi *Altimachæ* quam dilexisti præ omnibus Hibernensium telluribus id est a pinna montis *Berbicis* usque ad montem *Miss* a monte *Miss* usque ad *Brierigi* a *Brierigi* usque ad dorsos *Breg* certe si volueris erit hujus magnitudinis Ac deinde donavit tibi dominus deus universas Scotorum gentis in modum paruchiæ et huic urbi tuæ quæ cognominatur Scotorum lingua *Arddmachæ*.

Dixit Sanctus Patricius prostrata facie deorsum in conspectu angueli. Gratias ago deo meo domino sempiterno qui dignatus est tantam gloriam donare clementia famulo suo.

Item sanctus dixit quosdam tamen electos sancte domine mi per spiritum sanctum prevideo in hac insola per ineffabilem tuæ clementiæ pietatem et per predicationis tuæ laborem *orateros* mihi caros quasi proprios corporis mei editos tibi quoque amicos devote servitores qui autem videntur indegere aliquid sibi proprie diocessis ad utilitatem necessariæ famulationis æcclesiis seu monasteriis suis post me idcirco perfecte et juste debeo adeo habundantiæ donationem mihi certe deditam dimittere commoniter perfectis Hiberniæ religiosis ut et ego et ipsi divitiis bonitatis dei pacifice perfruemur hoc universa a mihi concessa caussa divinæ caritatis.

Item ait nonne ergo mihi sufficit quicquid devote noverunt ac volue-

runt Christiani homines offerre de regionibus atque oblationibus suis per arbitrium suæ libertatis.

Item nonne utique contentus sum esse apostolicus doctor et dux principalis omnibus Hiberionacum gentibus presertim cum peculiare censum retineo recte reddendum et a summo mihi etiam illud est donatum vere decenter debitum super liberas provinciarum hujus insolæ *provincias* et universis cynubitanum similiter monasteriis sine ulla dubitatione jus decretum erit rectori *Arddmachæ* inperpetuum.

Receptio archiepiscopi hæredis cathedræ meæ urbis cum comitibus suis numero 50 exceptis peregrinis et infirmis doloribus variis atque in probis et ceteris sit digna refectio aptaque unicuique eodem numero tam digne in die quam certe similiter in nocte.

In ista vero urbe *Altimachæ* homines Christiani utriusque sexus religiossi ab initio fidei hucusque penem seperabiliter commorari videntur cui vero predictæ tres ordines adherent virgines et pænitentes in matrimonio legitimo ecclesiæ servientes.

Et his tribus ordinibus audire verbum predictionis in æcclesia aquilonalis plagæ conceditur semper diebus dominicis.

In australi vero bassilica episcopi et presbiteri et anchoritæ æcclesiæ et cæteri religiossi laudes sapidas offerunt.

De speciali reverentia *Arddmachæ* et honore præsulis ejusdem urbis dicamus.

Ista quippe civitas summa et libera a deo est constituta et ab anguelo dei et ab apostolico viro Sancto Patricio episcopo specialiter dedicata.

Præest ergo quodam privilegio omnibus ecclesiis ac monasteriis cunctorum Hibernensium vel supera auctoritate summi pontificis illius fundatoris.

Nibilhominus venerari debet honore summorum martyrium Petri et Pauli Stefani Lawrendi et cæterorum.

Quanto magis quoque valde veneranda atque diligenter ab omnibus veneranda honoranda.

Pro sancta ammiratione nobis beneficii per omnibus inerrabilis quod in ea secritia constitutione exstat sacratissimus sanguis Jesu Christi redemptoris humani generis in sacro lintiamine simul cum sanctorum reliquiis in æcclesia australi ubi requiescunt corpora sanctorum peregrinorum de longue cum Patricio transmarinorum cæterorumque justorum.

Idcirco non licet causa predictæ auctoritatis ejus illam mittere consortem ab ulla æcclesia Scotorum neque ab ullo præsule vel abbate contra hæredem illius sed a se recte supra juratur supra omnes ecclesias et illarum antistites si vera necessitas poposcerit.

Item omnis æcclesiæ libera et civitas ab episcopali gradu videtur esse fundata in tota Scotorum insola et omnis ubique locus qui dominicus appelatur juxta clementiam almipotentis domini sancti doctoris et juxta verbum angueli in speciali societate Patricii pontificis atque hæredis cathedræ ejus *Aird Machæ* esse debuerat quia donavit illi deus totam insolam ut supradiximus.

Item scire debemus omnis monachus uniuscumque ecclesiæ si ad Patricium reverterit non denegat proprium monachi votum maxime si ex consensu abbatis sui prioris devoverit.

Itaque non vituperandus neque excommunicandus quicumque ad æcclesiam ejus perrexerit caussa amoris illius quia ipse judicabit omnes Hibernenses in die magno terribilis judicii in presentia Christi.

Item de honore præsulis *Airddmachæ* episcopi presidentes cathedram pastoris prefecti.

Si ipse predictus pontifex ad vesperum pervenerit loco quo receptus fuerit prebeatur ei uniali vice refectionis dignæ consulatione predictorum hospitum numero c. cum pabulis suis illorum jumentis præter hospites et infirmos et eos qui jectant infantes super æcclesiam et cæteros seu reprobos et alios.

Item qui non receperit predictum præsulem in hospitium eundem et recluserit suam habitationem contra illum vii ancellas suas vii annos pœnitentiæ similiter reddere cogatur.

Item quicumque contempserit aut molaverit insignia consecrata ejusdem agii id est Patricii duplicia solvet.

Si vero de contemptu aliorum insignium reddita fuerit duas ancellas de consecratis summi predicti doctoris Patricii redditur.

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quod quæ opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perficerit aut predicta ejus insignia dispexerit ad libertatem examinis ejusdem *Airddmacha* præsulis recte judicantis perveniet causa totius negotionis cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermissis.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium id est Patricii atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referrenda

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit talis causa prædicta negotionis ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam id est ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis finem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt id est *Auxilius Patricius Secundinus Benignus* post vero exitum Patricii Sancti alumpni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

Fundamentum orationis in unaquaque die dominica in *Altomachæ* ad sargifagum martyrum ad eundem ab eoque revertendum id est *Domine clamavi ad te usque finem.*

Ut quid deus repulisti in finem et beati immaculati usque in finem benedictionis et xii Psalmi graduum. Finit.

Inter Sanctum Patricium Hibernensium Brigitamque Columpnas amicitia caritatis merat tanta ut unum cor consiliumque haberent unum Christus per illum illamque virtutis multis peregit.

Vir ergo Sanctus Christianæ Virgini ait.

O mea *Brigita* paruchia tua in provincia tua apud reputabitur monarchiam tuam in parte autem orientali et occidentali dominatu in mea erit.

SANCTI PATRICII CONFESSIO,

SIVE

EPISTOLA AD HIBERNOS.

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI.

Ego Patricius peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilis sum apud plurimos patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri filii Odissi qui fuit in Vico Bannavenn Taberniæ. Villulam enim prope habuit ubi ego capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere xvi. Deum verum ignorabam, et Hiberione in Captivitate adductus sum, cum tot millia hominum secundum merita nostra quia a Deo recessimus et præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non obedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suæ et dispersit nos in gentibus multis etiam usque ad ultimum terræ ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meæ ut sero rememorarem delicta mea ut confirfirmarem toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum qui respexit humilitatem meam et misertus est adolescentiæ et ignorantiæ meæ et custodivit me antequam scirem eum et antequam saperem vel distinguerem vel bonum et malum et munivit me et consolatus est mei ut pater filium.

Unde autem tacere non possum neque expedit quidem tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi dignatus in terra captivitatis meæ quia hæc est retributio mea nostra ut post correptionem vel agnitionem Dei exaltare et confiteri mirabilia ejus coram omni natione quæ est sub omni cœlo quia non est alius Deus nec unquam fuit nec ante nec erit post hunc præter Deum Patrem ingenitum sine principio a quo est omne principium omnia tenentem (ut diximus) et ejus filium Jesum Christum qui cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur ante originem seculi spiritualiter apud Patrem inarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium et per ipsum

facta sunt visibilia hominem factum morte devicta in cœlis. Et dedit illi omnem potestatem *super omne nomen, cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei, quia Dominus* et Deus *est Jesus Christus* quem credimus et expectamus adventum mox futurum Judex vivorum atque mortuorum qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua et effudit in nobis abunde Spiritum Sanctum donum et pignus immortalitatis qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei et cohæredes Christi quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis. Ipse enim dixit per Prophetam—*Invoca me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis me.* Et iterum inquit, *Opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est.* Tamenetsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratribus et cognotatis meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perficere votum animæ meæ. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei qui in Psalmo testatur *Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium* et iterum inquit *Os quod mentitur occidit animam.* Et idem Dominus *Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die judicii.* Unde autem vehementer cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam peccatorum minimorum ante tribunal Christi Domini.

Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere sed et usque nunc hæsitavi. Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum. Quia non dedici sicut et cæteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt * et sermones illorum ex infantia nunquam motarunt sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt. Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva† Scripturæ meæ, qualiter sum ego in Sermonibus instructus atque eruditus quia inquit Sapiens *per linguam dinoscitur et sensus et scientia et doctrina veritatis.* Sed quid prodest excusatio juxta veritatem præsertim cum præsumptione? quatinus modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea, quod in juventute non comparavi quod obstiterunt ut confirmarem quod ante perlegeram. Sed si quis me credidit? Et si dixero(quod ante præfatus sum)adolescens immo pene puer imberbis capturam dedi antequam scirem quid peterem vel quid adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ergo hodie erubesco et vehementer protimeo denudare imperitiam meam quia non possum de decritis‡ brevitate sermone explicare nequeo. Sicut enim Spiritus gestit et animus et sensus monstrat affectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset sicut et cæteris veruntamen non silerem propter retributionem. Etsi forte videtur apud

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* Incertus liber hic. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

aliquantos me in hoc proponere cum mea inscientia et tardiori lingua. Sed scriptum est *Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem:* quanto magis nos adpetere debemus qui sumus nos *Epistola Christi* in salutem usque ad ultimum terræ: etsi non diserta sed ratum et fortissimum scriptum in cordibus vestris *non atramento sed Spiritu Dei vivi.* Et iterum testatur *Et rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est.*

Unde ego primus rusticus perfuga indoctus scilicet qui nescio in posterum providere: sed illud prescio certissime quia utique priusquam humiliarer ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo et veniens qui potens est et in sua misericordia sustulit me et quidem scilicet sursum adlevavit et collocavit me in sua parte et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis ejus hic et in æternum quæ mens hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem admiramini magni et pusilli et vos dominicati qui timetis Deum Rhetorici auditi et scrutamini quis me stultum excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur esse sapientes et leges periti et potentes in sermone et in omni re et me quidem detestabiles hujus mundi de cæteris inspiravit si talis essem. Dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia et sine querela fideliter genti ad quam charitas Christi transtulit et donavit me in vita mea si vivus fuero denique ut cum humilitate et veraciter deservirem illis.

In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere sine reprehensione perculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem æternam sine timore fidutialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere ut etiam post obitum meum* ex a Gallias relinquere fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizavi tot milia hominum. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus servulo suo concederet post ærumnas et tantas moles post captivitatem post annos multos in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret quod ego aliquando in juventute mea nunquam speravi neque cogitavi.

Sed postquam *Hiberione* deveneram quotidie itaque pecora pascebam et frequens in die orabam magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius et fides augebatur et spiritus augebatur ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem per gelu per pluviam et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me sicut modo video quia tunc in Spiritus me fervebat.

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* Incertus liber.

Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte in somno audivi vocem dicentem sibi mihi Bene jejunas cito jejunans iturus ad patriam tuam. Et iterum post paululum tempus audivi responsum dicentem mihi ecce navis tua parata est et non erat prope sed forte habebat ducenta milia passus et ibi nunquam fueram nec ibi notum quenquam de hominibus habebam. Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam et intermissi hominem cum fueram sex annis. Et veni in virtute Domini qui viam meam ad bonum dirigebat et nihil metuebam donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa die qua perveni profecta est navis de loco suo et locutus sum ut abirem unde navigarem cum illis. Et gubernatori displicuit illi et acriter cum interrogatione respondit—Nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes ire.—Et cum hæc audissem separavi me ab illis ut venirem ad tegoriolum ubi hospitabam et in itinere cœpi orare et antequam orationem consummarem audivi unum ex illis et fortiter exclamabat post me Veni cito quia vocant te homines isti et statim ad illos reversus sum et cœperunt mihi dicere veni quia ex fide recipimus te fac nobiscum amicitiam quomodo volueris. Et in illa die itaque repuli fugere mammellas eorum propter timorem Dei. Sed veruntamen ab illis speravi Venire in fidem Jesu Christi, quia Gentes erant.

Et ob hoc obtinui cum illis et post triduum terram cepimus et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et fames invaluit super eos. Et alio die cœpit gubernator mihi dicere Quid Christiane tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est Quare ergo pro nobis orare non potes quia nosci fame periclitamur? difficile enim unquam ut aliquem hominem videamus. Ego enim evidenter dixi illis convertimini ex fide ad Dominum Deum meum cui nihil est impossibile ut cibum mittat vobis in viam vestram usque dum satiamini quia ubique habundat illi. Et adjuvante Deo, ita factum est ecce grex porcorum in via ante oculos nostros apparuit et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi duas noctes manserunt et bene refecti et canes eorum repleti sunt quia multi ex illis secus viam semivivi relicti sunt. Et post hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum. Etiam mel silvestre invenerunt et mihi partem obtulerunt. Et unus ex illis dixit immolatitium est Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero eram dormiens et fortiter temptavit me Satanas quod memor ero quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cecidit super me veluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum prævalens. Sed unde mihi venit in spiritum ut *Heliam* vocarem et inter hoc vidi in cœlum Solem oriri et dum clamarem *Heliam* viribus meis ecce splendor Solis illius decidit super me et statim discussit a me gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo clamabat pro me et spero quod

sic erit in die pressuræ meæ sicut in Evangelio inquit Dominus *Non vos estis.**

Multos adhuc capturam dedi ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis responsum autem divinum audivi duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis quod ita factum est. Nocte illa sexagensima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum. Etiam in itinere prævidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem quotidie donec decimo die pervenimus omnis sicut superius insinuavi viginti et octo desertum iter facimus et ea nocte qua pervenimus omnis de cibo vero nihil habuimus.

Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis qui me ut filium susceperunt et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo ego (post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli) nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet in sinu noctis virum venientem quasi de *Hiberione* cui nomen *Victoricus* cum epistolis innumerabilibus vidi et dedit mihi unam ex his et legi principium epistolæ continentem *Vox Hiberionacum*. Et dum recitabam princip um epistolæ putabam enim ipse inimente audire vocem ipsorum qui erant juxta sylvam *Focluti* quæ est prope mare occidentale. Et fic exclamaverunt Rogamus te sancte puer ut venias et adhuc ambulas inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde et valde amplius non potui legere et sic expertus sum. Deo gratias quia post annos plurimos annos præstitit illis Dominus secundem clamorem illorum. Et alia nocte nescio Deus scit utrum in me an juxta me verbis peritissime quos ego audivi et non potui intelligere nisi ad postremum orationis sic efficiatus est *qui dedit animam suam pro te ipse est qui loquitur in te.* Et sic expectus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum vidi in me ipsum orantem et erat quasi intra corpus meum et audivi hoc est super interiorem hominem et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam et admirabam et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat. Sed ad postremum orationis, sic efficiatus est ut sit episcopus. Et sic expertus sum et recordatus sum Apostolo dicente *Spiritus adjuvat infirmitates* orationis nostræ. *Nam quod oremus sicut oportet nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*, quæ verbis exprimi non possunt. Et iterum *Dominus advocatus noster postulat pro nobis.*

Vidi in visu noctis scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore. Et inter hæc audivi responsum dicentem mihi male audivimus faciem de

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* Incertus liber.

signati nudato nomine nec sic prædixit male vidisti sed male vidimus quasi sibi se junxisset sicut dixit *Qui vos tanguit quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi mei.* Idcirco gratias ago ei qui me in omnibus confortavit ut non me impediret a profectione qua statueram et de mea quoque opera quod a Christo domino meo dedideram. Sed magis ex eo sensi virtutem non parvam et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem audenter dico non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum.

Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meam vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter pissimus Deus de servitute sæpe liberavit et de periculis duodecim qua periclitata est anima mea præter insidias multas et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo nec injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed dum auctorem qui novit omnia etiam antequam fiant. Quia valde debitor sum Deo qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur. Et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem quia sumpsit Dominus ab Extremis Terræ, sicut olim promiserat per Prophetas suos. *Sicut falso comparaverunt patres nostri idola et non est utilitas gentes veniunt ad te.* Et iterum *Possui te lumen in Gentibus ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terræ.* Et ibi volo expectare promissum ipsius qui utique nunquam fallit sicut in Evangelio pollicetnr. *Venient ab oriente et occidente* ab *austro et ab aquilone et recumbent cum* Abraham *et* Isaac *et* Jacob sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes.

Idcirco itaque oportet bene et diligenter piscare sicut Dominus præmonet et docet dicens *Venite post me et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum.* Et iterum *mitto piscatores et venatores multos dicit Dominus,* &c. Unde autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere ita ut multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur ut ubique essent Clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarent populum indigentem et desiderantem sicut Dominus in Evangelio ammonet et docet dicens *Euntes ergo nunc docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti usque ad terminum seculi.* Et iterum *Euntes ergo in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur.*

Unde autem *Hiberione* qui nunquam notitiam habuerunt nisi idula et immunda usque semper coluerunt quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur ? Filii *Scottorum* et filiæ Regulorum Monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur.

Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam quia non mentiór neque ut sit occasio vobis neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo vestro. Sufficit enim honor qui non mentitur. Sed video jam in præsenti seculo me supra modum exaltatus sum a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi præstaret cum scio melius convenit paupertas et calamitas quam divitiæ et deliciæ. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis.

Ego vero miser et infelix et si opes voluero jam non habeo neque meipsum judico quia quotidie spero aut internecionem aut circumveniri aut redigi in servitutem sive occasio cujuslibet.

Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum quicunque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator (indoctus scilicet) *Hiberione* conscripsit ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorantia si aliquid pusillum ego vel demonstraverim secundum. Sed arbitramini et verissime credatur quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est *Confessio mea* antequam moriar.

Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cœlos.

ERRATIC
PAGINATION