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# ‘Over the storm-swelled sea’: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Migration from Northern Britain to Ireland

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PhD Scottish History  
The University of Edinburgh  
2016

# ‘Over the storm-swelled sea’: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Migration from Northern Britain to Ireland

The thesis examines the evidence for migration from Northern Britain to Ireland associated with the activity of the Church. It has a particular focus on British and Pictish individuals. Making use of a wide range of sources from the early medieval period onwards, detailed case-studies consider individual men and women whose activities can be discerned. They assess how the movements of these individuals contributed towards wider trends in the dynamics of migration between Northern Britain and Ireland from the coming of Christianity until the close of the eighth century. The investigation also charts the manner in which such migration was perceived in later centuries and how these perceptions changed as time progressed. A picture emerges of how the ‘migration narrative’ was developed and engaged with in both Ireland and Scotland. This was to have a significant effect on how the character of the early Church was understood.

## Declaration of Own Work

I declare that the thesis has been composed by myself and that the work is my own.

The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

All quoted sources have been acknowledged.

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Oisín Kingsley Paul Plumb 26/10/2016

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## Acknowledgements

A great many people have helped me throughout the process of research and writing. Without their help and support the thesis could not have come to fruition. Particular thanks go to my supervisors: James Fraser was instrumental in helping me to shape the thesis and provide support in the earlier years of the project and the help and support of William Aird throughout the final year cannot be overstated. Throughout the project Steve Boardman provided many helpful insights into late sources.

My research has benefited greatly with useful conversation and insight from many people. Nick Evans deserves particular credit in this regard as he provided me with help and support on multiple occasions. The original shaping of the work was aided by a number of helpful suggestions by Katherine Forsyth. Simon Taylor, Gilbert Márkus and Victoria Whitworth also provided insightful comments at various points over the last four years. Henry Gough-Cooper's permission for me to make use of his unpublished edition of the Annals of Tigernach was also a great help. The Rev. David Mumford of St Drostan's Episcopal Church, Tarfside provided useful insight into the parish's contemporary commemoration of St Drostan.

Eystein Thanisch provided many useful and insightful suggestions as well as invaluable help with Old Irish translations. Gemma Scott was a great help with her assistance with Latin translations. Ellen McKay was of great assistance making German articles accessible to me.

The support of Lindsay Scott, Michael O'Reilly, Anne Brockington and Billy Mitchell was of great help making sure everything ran smoothly.

The work would not have been possible without the financial support provided by the William R. McFarlane Scholarship, attached to the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies. The receipt of Jeremiah Dalziel Prize in British History provided support in the final year of the project.

My experience as a doctoral candidate was enhanced immeasurably by the opportunity for professional development afforded by tutoring and lecturing. In addition to a number of those mentioned above, I am indebted to Rob Dunbar, Abigail Burnyeat, Christine Lennie and Chrisma Bould for their support in this.

The help and support of family and friends has been wonderful. Though it is impossible to mention everyone, a few family members in particular deserve a mention for their help and support through the past few years: Mum, Dad, Erin, Ninian, Grandma and Grandpa, Aunty Bried and Aunty Florence. The last year wouldn't have been the same without Rachael, who as well as providing copious moral support was roped into proof-reading on more than one occasion. This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Granny and Grandad, and Grandma.

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations for texts used are listed here alongside references to the relevant introductory discussion in the work.

**AB**, *Aberdeen Breviary*, 2.6

**AFM**, *Annals of the Four Masters*, 2.6

**AI**, *Annals of Inisfallen*, 2.2

**AT**, *Annals of Tigernach*, 2.2

**AT3**, *Annals of Tigernach, Third Fragment*, 2.2

**AU**, *Annals of Ulster*, 2.2

**Cal. Drum.** *Calendar of the Drummond Castle Missal*, 2.3

**CS**, *Chronicum Scottorum*, 2.2

**HE**, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Bede, 2.5

**Mart. Tur.** *Turin Martyrology*, 2.3

**MD**, *Martyrology of Donegal*, 2.6

**MG**, *Martyrology of Gorman*, 2.3

**MO**, *Martyrology of Oengus*, 2.3

**MT**, *Martyrology of Tallaght*, 2.3

**Ps-C**, *'Pseudo-Cumméne' Vita Sancti Columbae*, 5.2

**VC**, *Vita Sancti Columbae*, Adomnán. 2.4

## Editorial and Stylistic Conventions

A number of stylistic conventions have been adopted in order to maintain consistency and clarity of presentation:

Where possible, special characters used in printed editions have been conserved by the use of the closest symbol available. A number of uncontroversial editorial expansions have been accepted silently. In other cases they are preserved here as presented in the edited texts, usually indicated through the use of square brackets.

Quotations from primary source materials are italicised. Translations are given in square brackets.

Throughout much of the discussion the spelling of personal names has been standardised for clarity. However, there are occasions where it is not certain that differing forms within the sources relate to the same individual, or where the differing forms found in sources are of some significance. Where this is the case, some variations in spelling may be found within the course of discussion.

Where a cited work refers to a manuscript using a largely superseded cataloguing system only, the more frequently used designation is given first, followed by that used in the cited work in brackets. For example: Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1285 (H. 1, 11)

Cross-references are to chapter and section, with sub-section also given where appropriate.





## 1 Introduction

*Alio in tempore ymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu discriptus de cuiusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris cum pellicio in quo inerat sacco in quodam partis Laginorum fluio submersus cecidit. Qui uidelicet libellus, a natalicio domini usque ad pascalium consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum prespiterum gente Pictum cuius prius iuris erat in eodem non solum sed etiam putrefacto portatur sacco. Quem scilicet saculum idem Iogenanus aperiens suum incorruptum libellum inuenit, et ita nitidum et siccum acsi in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore et numquam in aquas cecidisset*

[At another time a book of hymns for the week, written in the hand of Saint Columba, fell from the shoulders of a boy who had slipped from a bridge, and, with the skin satchel that contained it, was submerged in a certain river of the region of the Lagen. This book remained in the water from the Lord's nativity until the days of Easter were concluded, and after that, found on the river bank by some women who were walking there, it was carried to a certain priest Iógenán, a Pict by race, to whom it formerly belonged; in the same satchel, which was not only sodden, but even rotten. When Iógenán opened the satchel, he found his book undamaged, and as clean and dry as if it had remained all that time in a coffer, and had never fallen into the water].<sup>1</sup>

This anecdote features one of the less extravagant miracles recorded in Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae* or *Life of Saint Columba* (henceforth **VC**). However, what the account lacks in miraculous dramatic flair, it makes up for in rich incidental details of everyday ecclesiastical scholarly life. Amongst the points of interest is the way that the interconnectedness of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland and Northern Britain is illustrated. Iógenán is a Pictish priest, apparently resident in Leinster, who owns a book written in the hand of Columba, himself a migrant from Ireland to Northern Britain. Connections between Ireland and Northern Britain were not new in the seventh century, nor would they dwindle in importance in the course of the next fourteen centuries.

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, rep 2002), pp. 106- 107.

Much of the interest in migration and diaspora studies in both Scotland and Ireland has been focused on the movements of people in the most recent centuries.<sup>2</sup> However, it is frequently acknowledged that the events of these more recent years come in the wake of a tradition of migration stretching back to antiquity. Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin's *Migration in Irish History, 1607- 2007* exemplifies this with its choice of three extracts at the beginning of the book. Before giving an extract from an eleventh-century petition to Mary and a quotation from John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, they quote lines from a seventh-century poem by Beccán mac Luigdech praising Columba:

*Do-ell Éirinn, indell cor,  
Cechaing noib nemed mbled*  
[He turned away from Ireland, he entered a pact, He crossed in ships the  
sanctuary of the whales]<sup>3</sup>

Other contributions to diaspora studies have more thoroughly incorporated early medieval migration into works dealing with migration history. *Exile and Homecoming*, edited by Pamela O'Neill, brings together papers presented at the Fifth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies at the University of Sydney in 2004 and, perhaps aided by the extensive remit of Celtic Studies, covers topics as diverse as the expulsion of

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<sup>2</sup> Examples of 'survey' texts include Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607- 2007* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2013). An extensive bibliography compiled by Rosalyn Trigger for the AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies offers a useful introduction to the field of migration history in both countries. [https://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/content-images/RIISS\\_diaspora\\_bibliography.pdf](https://www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/content-images/RIISS_diaspora_bibliography.pdf) (last accessed 26/8/15).

<sup>3</sup> Extract and translation given in Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607- 2007*, p. v; discussed pp. xvi- xvii, 15- 17 and 285. A discussion, edition and translation of the full poem occurs in Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus (eds. and trans.), *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 134- 143. See also the earlier discussion, edition and translation of the poem in Fergus Kelly (ed. and trans.), 'A Poem in Praise of Columb Cille', *Ériu* 24 (1973), pp. 1-34.

the *Familia Iae* in 717, the nineteenth-century Hebridean diaspora and Cornish identity in Australian children's literature.<sup>4</sup> The support of the present project by the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies at the University of Edinburgh is a further acknowledgement of the significance of early medieval migration to diaspora research.

Some aspects of early medieval migration have received considerably less scholarly attention than others. The Church in Ireland has had mixed fortunes in this regard. A significant amount of discussion has been undertaken regarding the English-speaking presence in Ireland and its impact on the Irish Church. The travel of Irish speakers within the Church from Northern Britain to Ireland has also received a great deal of attention, particularly when associated with Iona.<sup>5</sup> Much less well discussed has been the presence of Pictish individuals within the Irish Church. With the notable exception of Patrick, and to a lesser extent Uinniau, the impact of British migrants to the Irish Church has also received relatively little attention, although there has been some useful discussion on the migratory context in which Patrick operated in the very earliest days of the Irish Church.<sup>6</sup> The study of Pictish and British migrants is complicated by the manner in which they were treated by subsequent hagiography and historiography. Attempts to construct the narrative of the earliest centuries of Christianity in both Scotland and Ireland were coloured by the very specific roles that began to be carved out for both the Picts and Britons within the development narratives of the Church in both countries. The development of these narratives through time is in and of itself a matter of great interest in understanding the relationship between

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<sup>4</sup> Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *Exile and Homecoming* (Sydney, University of Sydney, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> See 3.2.

<sup>6</sup> Examples include David N. Dumville, 'British Missionary Activity in Ireland', in David N. Dumville (ed.) *St Patrick A.D. 493- 1993* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 133- 145; and Liam De Paor, *St Patrick's World* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1996), pp. 38- 45.

Northern Britain and Ireland. No clear picture of the historical interaction of the early medieval Picts and Britons with the Irish Church can hope to come into focus without an understanding of the shape of the lens through which it is viewed.

The current investigation therefore has two principal aims. The first of these is to study the evidence for ‘historical’ migration from Northern Britain to the Irish Church, in particular that relating to British and Pictish individuals. This will involve analysis of the cases of individual men and women whose actual movements can be in any way discerned as well as the assessment of how the historical activities and travels of these individuals contributed towards wider trends in the dynamics of migration between Northern Britain and Ireland. The second aim of the investigation is to examine the manner in which such ‘historical’ individuals and their movements were perceived in later times and how these perceptions changed through time. In charting the changing perceptions held by later observers of migration within the Early Church, it is hoped that a picture of how the ‘migration narrative’ was developed and engaged with through time in both Ireland and Scotland will emerge.

The word *migration* implies movement resulting in prolonged residence in the traveller’s destination. However, it is not always easy to assess where the boundary lies between migration and less permanent relocation. The manner in which travel was interpreted could greatly differ between sources. An example of this can be seen in the differing treatment of Adomnán’s travel to Ireland by the chronicles and Bede.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the notion of long-term resettlement far from the traveller’s place of origin emerges repeatedly within medieval sources as having a significant impact on the shape of society. This in turn affected the wider networks of travel, communication

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<sup>7</sup> See 3.2.

and interaction between different parts of the British Isles. The main focus of the present study will be on travel resulting, as far as can be discerned, in an extended period of residence in Ireland. However, more temporary movement may make a significant contribution to the context in which migration between two areas occurs. There will therefore be occasions where short-term relocation is of relevance to the discussion. Throughout the work, the term *ecclesiastical migration* will be used to signify migration associated with the Church. In order to avoid artificially restrictive consideration of the dynamics of the Early Church, this term should not be taken to imply only the resettlement of ordained clergy or members of religious orders. As will be seen, the interaction of secular figures with the Church had a significant impact on the character of these dynamics. As a consequence, *ecclesiastical migration* will be considered here to be any migration associated with the activities and business of the Church.

Establishing parameters for the time period to be considered is complicated by the uncertainty surrounding the floruits of many individuals within the sources. As will be seen, the tendency to place lesser-known individuals within the established chronology of the 'big names' of Irish hagiography can complicate attempts to assign individuals to any given time. Nonetheless, logical limits suggest themselves for the focus of the project. The earliest centuries of the first millennium contain their own intriguing questions on the relationship between Northern Britain and Ireland.<sup>8</sup> However, the focus on the Church for the current investigation and the nature of the

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<sup>8</sup> Significant issues include the nature of language change in Ireland and Northern Britain, as well as the relationship between the Irish Cruithne and Dál Riata and their Northern British counterparts. Notable contributions to these discussions include Ewan Campbell, 'Were the Scots Irish?', *Antiquity* 75 (2001), pp. 285- 292; and Alex Woolf, 'Ancient Kindred? Dál Riata and the Cruthin', unpublished paper available <http://st-andrews.academia.edu/AlexWoolf> (last accessed 25/9/14).

available source material relating to the Early Church in Ireland argues for the fifth century as a logical chronological starting point. The apparent fading of a discernible Pictish language and identity and the corresponding rise of ‘Alba’ during the course of the ninth century, bring their own specific problems to the story of the interaction of the peoples of the British Isles best tackled in their own right.<sup>9</sup> The main focus here will therefore be on historical individuals and events pre-dating the close of the eighth century. In charting the development of the manner in which migration of this period was *perceived*, the sources continued to shape the migration narrative well into the modern period. However, the main focus of this aspect of the investigation will be the development of perceptions of early medieval ecclesiastical migration throughout the medieval period and into the early-modern period.

A focus on Pictish and British migrants from Northern Britain presents a problem with regard to the latter. It is not always clear where on the Island of Britain any Briton discernible in the sources may have come from. In particular, this is the case with many figures associated with the earliest centuries of the church in Ireland.<sup>10</sup> As has been discussed, the aim of the thesis is to examine both ‘real’ and ‘perceived’ migration. The developing ‘migration narrative’ of Northern Britain and Ireland was often understood in the context of a Brito-Hibernian relationship that could be traced to Patrick and his contemporaries, even when these early churchmen and women were not necessarily traceable to any given part of the Island of Britain. As will be seen,

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<sup>9</sup> For discussion of this transition and potential factors driving it see Alex Woolf, *From Pictland To Alba 789- 1070* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 312- 350; Dauvit Broun, ‘Alba: Pictish Homeland or Irish Offshoot?’, in O’Neill (ed.), *Exile and Homecoming*, pp. 234- 275; and Dauvit Broun, ‘Scotland Before 1100: Writing Scotland’s Origins’, in Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (eds.), *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation c.1100- 1707* (Dundee, Dundee University Press, 2006), pp. 1- 16.

<sup>10</sup> See 4.1.

some of these individuals came to be seen as being of northern origin within late Scottish sources.<sup>11</sup> However, even where this is not the case, it would be unduly restrictive to exclude the consideration of individuals for whom there are indications of a British origin, but for whom it is not possible to attribute to a more specific region. A comparable approach has been taken by scholars focused on the Britons of the south. Proinsias Mac Cana argues that the relationship between Ireland and Wales was to be best understood in the wake of interactions between Ireland and a more extensive British Britain of earlier centuries.<sup>12</sup>

The greater part of the work is comprised of three principal case studies which are arranged broadly, though not strictly, chronologically. Each is centred on a broad theme, around which several more focused investigations examine more specific issues or individuals. Following these, two further chapters will focus on some of the wider issues arising from the case studies. It is hoped that this structure allows for the examination of issues of interest in sufficient detail, while the wider issues relating to the patterns and trends of real and perceived migration remain in sight at all times.

After the principal sources have been discussed and the migratory context of the project has been considered, the first case study will examine the sources dealing with the earliest phase of Christianity in Ireland. It will look at those who are depicted as being contemporary with Patrick or coming immediately before or after him and who are portrayed as either being of British origin or having significant cultural or family ties to Britain. Keeping the issue of migration as its main focus, it will attempt to grapple with any historical individuals lying behind the extant

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<sup>11</sup> See 8.3.

<sup>12</sup> Proinsias Mac Cana, 'Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages: An Overview', in Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (eds.), *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2007), pp. 17- 45, pp. 17- 18.



evidence. It will also examine the manner in which migration between Britain and Ireland was utilised in later hagiographical depictions of the period. The second case study examines the figure of Uinniau, considering issues surrounding the cults of the various saints said to have been related to him. Two specific outstanding problems of relevance to the theme of migration will be studied in detail: the role of Finnian in the text known as the *Pseudo-Cumméne Vita Sancti Columbae* and the relationship between Monenna, Uinniau and Ninian. These problems will be considered as part of an attempt to discuss what can be discerned of any sixth-century individual or individuals, the wider patterns of sixth-century migration and subsequent historiographical attitudes to the period. A poem from the *Book of Leinster* outlining the deeds of seven ‘brothers’ who travel from Scotland to Ireland will be used as a starting point for the third case study. This will discuss what can be discerned of the lives of various churchmen from the seventh and eighth centuries and their cults. It will be asked what, if anything, can be established of their own lives and the lives of others associated with them. After reviewing the evidence surrounding the men portrayed and various associated individuals, the chapter will consider the possible background of the poem and what it can reveal of the connections between Northern Britain and Ireland in the seventh- and eighth-century Church.

Following the three case studies, there will be a consideration of three seemingly significant geographic links or ‘channels of migration’ that have emerged in the various case studies. The first set of links that will be discussed are those between the Pictish Zone and the Irish-speaking Columban Church. The connections between Ireland and the far-northern Pictish Zone (in particular, Caithness and Orkney) will also be considered in detail, before the investigation turns to the links

between the Northern British zone (from south of the Forth to Galloway) and Ireland. The final chapter will focus the 'perceived' migration of the Early Medieval period and how it may have changed over the course of the Middle Ages and beyond. It will provide an opportunity to revisit and review some of the more problematic features of the evidence that has been discussed throughout the investigation. This chapter will consider what the evidence that has been discussed reveals of the way the migration narrative changed over time, charting the shifting perceptions of the migratory past in both Ireland and Scotland from the Early Medieval period onwards. The consideration of these various themes will involve the utilisation of a wide range of source materials. The following chapter will consider some of the principal sources and their provenance as well as a number of key methodological issues surrounding their use.



## 2 Methodology and Introduction to the Sources

### 2.1 Methodology

An extensive range of sources will be used in order to examine the various themes of the thesis, with a focus on written evidence. Each source has its own set of difficulties and throughout the work attention will be given to the manner in which various texts relate to one other. In many cases, the piecing together of the origins and development of the cult of a particular saint runs in tandem with the investigation of the manner in which their cult was transmitted in the sources. Many issues relating to the composition and transmission of the sources will be investigated in the course of the discussion. However, it will be useful to consider some of the methodological issues relating to their use here, before proceeding to introduce some of the principal texts that will be discussed throughout the investigation. Particularly important issues for consideration at the outset are the manner in which the transmission a source may affect its content and allow it to provide insight into different periods of time, the commemoration of feast days and fairs, the role of genealogies in the development of saints' cults and the development and divergence of name forms.

A great deal of the evidence relating to the early medieval church and those who were active within it comes from sources compiled many centuries after the lifetimes of those that they depict. The annals frequently offer the greatest promise in providing any contemporary insight into historical individuals. However, the process of their compilation and transmission was far from straightforward, as will be discussed presently. Furthermore, there is some level of uncertainty over the point at

which contemporary recording in the annals becomes discernible.<sup>1</sup> Obits from the earliest centuries of Irish Christianity may point more to the deductions of a later compiler than a stable historical date. For example, the distinct obits of Finnian of Moville and Finnian of Clonard, who are argued by several scholars to derive from a single individual, may be occasions where one or both entries are ultimately a later fabrication.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore essential to make use of the chronicles with an understanding of the lengthy processes of development that have left them in their surviving form.<sup>3</sup> Complex processes of composition also affect other texts that may contain content contemporary or nearly contemporary with the events and people depicted in them. Discussion of texts such as *Amra Coluimb Chille* must take into account that not all content in a single work necessarily dates from the same period.<sup>4</sup> However, the later emendation of sources can in itself provide useful insight into historical people and events. Consideration of the processes of compilation can allow texts to shed light on the contemporary concerns of the compiler. As will be discussed below, it is widely held that Adomnán made use of a number of sources in his *Vita Sancti Columbae*, while also adding his own material.<sup>5</sup> James Fraser has described Adomnán's portrayal of a nobleman named Tarain as an example of 'transposing a current scenario into an imaginary past setting', with the tale revealing more about contemporary political events of Adomnán's own time than those of

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<sup>1</sup> See 2.2.

<sup>2</sup> See 5.1.1; David N. Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton, Gael, Ghost?', in Lindsay Proudfoot (ed.), *Down, History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1997), pp. 71- 84, pp. 78- 80.

<sup>3</sup> See 2.2.

<sup>4</sup> See 7.1.

<sup>5</sup> See 2.4; Richard Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba* (London, Penguin, 1995), pp. 53- 65; Thomas J. Heffernan, 'Christian Biography: Foundation to Maturity', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, Brill, 2003), pp. 115- 154, pp. 147- 153; James E. Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumméne Ailbe, and the Picts', *Peritia* 17- 18 (2003- 2004), pp. 183- 198.

Columba's.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, on occasions where Adomnán made use of earlier source material in an anecdote, the content may reflect the contemporary concerns of an earlier writer.<sup>7</sup>

Calendars are a fruitful source of evidence for the development of saints' cults. Although it is rare that any *natalis* provided in a martyrology can be taken to indicate a historical date of death for the figure lying behind a cult, there are various ways in which the information contained within them can prove insightful. Distinct commemorations could emerge on different days, associated with different centres of a cult. On some occasions these may have arisen due to the initial local translation of relics.<sup>8</sup> The emergence of the octave as a day of significance in the commemoration of saints' feasts from the eighth century also resulted in the addition of distinct days in which a saint could be commemorated.<sup>9</sup> Vigils could also be recorded.<sup>10</sup> There are occasions where apparently duplicate entries appear for close but not adjacent days. Rachel Butter argues that this may be a reflection of material being transmitted from different sources by a compiler deliberately choosing inclusivity due to uncertainty over the 'correct' date.<sup>11</sup> The increasing number of commemorations for what had been originally a single cult resulted in the increased possibility of the detachment of the cult surrounding a saint commemorated on a given day from that of others of the

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<sup>6</sup> See 7.1; James Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 5- 6. The contemporary events surrounding the composition of this anecdote are also discussed in Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Personal, Political, Pastoral: The Multiple Agenda of Adomnán's Life of St Columba', in Edward J. Cowan and Douglas Gifford (eds.), *The Polar Twins* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1999), pp. 39- 60, pp. 50- 51.

<sup>7</sup> See 7.2.

<sup>8</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Towards a Methodology in Irish Hagiography', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 146- 159, 155- 156.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies* (Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 2006), pp. xvi and 151.

<sup>11</sup> Rachel Butter, *Cill- names and saints in Argyll: a way towards understanding the early church in Dál Riata?* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2007), p. 19.

same name. Furthermore, the sharing of the same or adjacent feast days by different individuals could reflect an association of their cults with the same place, or the interaction of a lesser known saint with a more famous individual within hagiography.<sup>12</sup> Although the entries in calendars can be laconic, there are many occasions where their evidence can combine with that from genealogies, hagiography and poetry to paint a coherent picture of the development of cults and the shaping of perceptions of the saints who lay behind them. The placement of feast days, their apparent duplication, the sharing of feasts, genealogical information and locational information within the calendars will therefore be considered frequently throughout the thesis. The composite nature of the extant calendars adds a level of complexity to the discussion, but can also prove an asset in tracking the development of traditions surrounding individuals. The composition and compilation of these texts will be discussed presently.<sup>13</sup>

Related to the commemoration of saints in feast days is the evidence of market and fair days. There are occasions where fair days of some interest to the study survived into the late-nineteenth century. Despite this lateness, the frequent coincidence of fairs and markets with known local cult centres suggests that they should not be overlooked as evidence. Nonetheless, they must be used with caution. The celebration of fairs can often mirror an earlier local dedication to a saint. The time of year on which these occurred could at times reflect the commemoration of a feast day. The coincidence of fair days named after different patrons in proximity to

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<sup>12</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Composition of the Irish Section of the Calendar of Saints', *Dinnseanchas* 6 (1975), pp.77- 92, pp. 81 and 83; Ó Riain, 'Towards a Methodology in Irish Hagiography', pp. 155-156; Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints*, p. 151; Butter, *Cill- names and saints in Argyll*, pp. 18- 19.

<sup>13</sup> See 2.3.

one another could also reflect the association of their cults.<sup>14</sup> However, as will be seen, there was ample opportunity for confusion to occur. Local traditions of different saints could become intertwined and result in confusion as to which saint was associated with the fair.<sup>15</sup> It is also possible that seasonal agricultural considerations could result in a fair named for a local patron to be held at a time other than that of their liturgical commemoration. When standing alone then, fair days' principal use as evidence is as an indication of the late local commemoration of a cult. However, where other evidence is available, they can become a useful tool in charting the development of a cult and the perceived associations between different saints locally.

Despite the clear interest of earlier hagiographers in the kindreds of saints, Ó Riain argues that it is only from the eleventh and twelfth centuries that genealogical information going further than two or three generations is brought into hagiography.<sup>16</sup> Such an interest in the ancestry of the saints is manifest in tracts devoted to listing the ancestry of various holy men and women, referred to here as the *genealogies*. The apparent lateness of the material in its final form cautions against its use in establishing the historical kindreds of any of its subjects. John Kelleher argued that the 'one real purpose' of the texts was to hide the 'plebeian' nature of many early churchmen and women and ensure a suitably aristocratic

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<sup>14</sup> See 6.2.4.

<sup>15</sup> See 6.2.3.

<sup>16</sup> For example, **VC Preface II** lists only two generations of Columba's lineage. *Sanctus igitur Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitalibus, patrem habens Fedelmithum filium Ferguso, matrem Aethneam nomine, cuius pater latine filius nauis dici potest, scotica uero lingua mac naue.* [The holy Columba was born of noble parents, having as his father Fedelmith, Fergus's son, and his mother, Ethne by name, whose father may be called in Latin 'son of a ship', and in the Irish tongue *Mac naue*.] Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 6-7; see Pádraig Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1985), p. xvi.



pedigree did not disrupt a 'sacred order' within society and that such manipulation fitted in to a general pattern of 'deliberate obfuscation' affecting many genres of Irish text. Ó Riain disputes the notion that the compilers of the genealogies engaged in any deliberate suppression of 'historical' genealogical information. He has argued that the saints' genealogies were composed in order to 'legitimize the localization, or several localizations which had overtaken the saint's cult' and that the true ancestry of any historical saint lying behind a cult would have already been lost long before the composition of the text. The widespread acceptance of this interpretation has given scholars fuel with which to attempt to chart the spread of a saint's cult through the examination of extant variant genealogies.<sup>17</sup> Though the great bulk, if not all, of the texts' material may be fabrication, it is often well-reasoned fabrication- making use of local dedications and information within hagiography in order to construct, or perhaps in the mind of the compiler 're-construct', plausible lineages. An indication of the diligence of the scholarship of the genealogists is to be found in the inclusion of alternative genealogies for what is intended to be the same saint, demonstrating that inclusivity was opted for where 'certainty' over a saint's origins could not be established to the genealogist's satisfaction.<sup>18</sup> As with a great deal of the materials to be studied in the present work, the genealogies are therefore at their most valuable when considered as the product of the utilisation of evidence and reason to place individuals in a plausible political and social context.

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<sup>17</sup> John V. Kelleher, 'Early Irish History and Pseudo-History', *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963), pp. 113-127, pp. 118- 119; John V. Kelleher, 'The Pre-Norman Irish Genealogies', *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. 16, No. 62 (September 1968), pp. 138- 153, p. 150; Ó Riain, 'Towards a Methodology in Irish Hagiography', p. 157; Edel Bhreathnach, 'The Genealogies of Leinster as a Source for Local Cults', in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2001), pp. 250- 267, p. 250; Butter, *Cill- names and saints in Argyll*, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> See 4.3. Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. xiv.

A factor that greatly affected the development of saints' cults and the shape of the extant evidence for them is the formation of associated variant name-forms from an original. Particularly widespread is the development of 'hypocorisms' - defined by Paul Russel as 'a form of a personal name used in an affectionate context'.<sup>19</sup> There are a number of ways in which these came to be formed in Irish names. Either part of a compound name could become the stem used for a hypocoristic name. A prefix such as *Mo-* [my] or *Do-* [your] was often added to this, resulting in lenition in its first letter. This could be coupled with the suffix *-óc*. Rachel Butter has noted that these are almost exclusively used together and that the only occasions where *mo-* or *do-* occur without a suffix, or *-óc* occurs without *mo-* or *do-* occur in Scotland. Other suffixes such as *-án*, *-ín* or *-ach* were used to form a hypocorism in their own right, with syncope often occurring. Other changes which could produce hypocoristic name-forms included shortening, the doubling of consonants and the changing of a liquid and nasal consonant cluster into a double nasal, with a vowel then added.<sup>20</sup> Some British influence has been argued for some of the processes of creating hypocorisms in Irish, such as the borrowing of *-oc* from British *-awk* and the voicing of consonants.<sup>21</sup>

Once a hypocorism was in use, it was possible for it to eventually become detached from the original name-form, with the original link forgotten. This could result in the separation of the cults of what had been a single individual, commemorated under differing but associate name-forms, when the original

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<sup>19</sup> Paul Russell, 'Patterns of Hypocorism in Early Irish Hagiography', in Carey, Herbert and Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, pp. 237- 249, p. 238.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp. 243- 245; Rachel Butter, *Cill- Names and Saints in Argyll*, pp. 15- 16.

<sup>21</sup> Russell, 'Patterns of Hypocorism in Early Irish Hagiography', pp. 239- 240.

association of the names was forgotten.<sup>22</sup> Once the original hypocoristic nature of a form was forgotten, further hypocorisms to be created from this form, resulting in a number of associated name-forms.<sup>23</sup> As will be discussed later in this study, scholars have not reached a consensus as to whether or not ‘full’ forms a name could be created from hypocoristic forms. The question of whether or not forms such as the Irish *Findbarr* could have been created in an attempt to recover a perceived ‘original’ full name from the British form *Uinniau* has implications for the discussion of whether or not the original form of the name was Irish or British.<sup>24</sup> There were also occasions where one individual was known by multiple linguistically unrelated names. This may only be discernible if a source specifically states alternative names for a single person. It may not always be apparent in the source materials how early in the development of a cult such distinct names came to be associated, and thus whether the variant names reflect different names borne by a single historical individual or the merging of cults of what had been multiple individuals.<sup>25</sup>

The plethora of uncertainties lying behind the various sources emphasise the importance in the careful dissection of the evidence. It is only when a source is considered in the context of other extant evidence, as well as in the context of its own

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<sup>22</sup> Butter, *Cill- Names and Saints in Argyll*, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Ó Riain, ‘Towards a Methodology in Irish Hagiography’, pp. 157- 158; Pádraig Ó Riain, ‘Cainnech alias Colum Cille, Patron of Ossory’, in Pádraig de Brún, Seán Ó Coileáin and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Folia Gadelica: Essays Presented by Former Students to R. A. Breatnach, M.A. M.R.I.A.* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1983), pp. 20 -35; Russell, ‘Patterns of Hypocorism in Early Irish Hagiography’, p. 246.

<sup>24</sup> See 5.1.4; Dumville, ‘St Finnian of Movilla: Briton, Gael, Ghost?’, pp. 74- 75; Pádraig Ó Riain, ‘Finnio and Winniau: A Question of Priority’, in Roland Bielmeier and Reinhard Stempel (eds.), *Indogermanica et Caucasia: Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 407- 414, p.411; Pádraig Ó Riain, ‘Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject’, in John Carey, John T. Koch and Pierre-Yves Lambert (eds.), *Ildánach Ildírech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana* (Andover and Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), pp. 187- 202, pp. 188- 191; Pádraig Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2011), p. 322.

<sup>25</sup> See 8.2; Russell, ‘Patterns of Hypocorism in Early Irish Hagiography’, pp. 240- 241.

development, that a picture can be built of the changing perceptions of a man or woman and their movements, or the historical individuals and their activities lying behind such perceptions. Due to this interplay of sources, it is often the case that the same source may provide evidence for the development of a cult over many years, including at times its origins. The evidence for ‘real’ and ‘perceived’ migration is thus deeply intertwined and will be considered in tandem throughout the study. The various sources to be examined throughout the investigation will now be considered in greater detail.

## 2.2 The Annals

Of the sources to be considered here, the Irish *Annals* or *Chronicles* are perhaps the most complex in their composition.<sup>26</sup> The various surviving texts between them chart an immense span of time, charting events from the time of *Genesis* until the Early-Modern period.<sup>27</sup> The earliest extant manuscript evidence for

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<sup>26</sup> There is some confusion over the precise meanings of both of these terms. Nicholas Evans asserts that ‘Chronicles are sources describing events in chronological order, whereas sets of annals are chronicles which are structured by dividing the text sequentially into years’. This differs slightly from Daniel Mc Carthy’s definitions of each: ‘The essentials of a *chronicle* are a sequence of textual entries embedded within a chronological apparatus which distributes these entries across time in a measured fashion’, ‘some chronicles whose chronological apparatus does register virtually each successive year are designated as *annals* in recognition of their annual character’. David Dumville, cautioning against necessarily distinguishing between the two terms, suggests that at the dawn of the early medieval period ‘we have no reason to think that there was any distinction made between *chronicon* (etc.) and *annals*’. As will be seen, different individual texts of similar format are commonly designated either ‘annals’ or ‘chronicle’ by convention. Despite the differing definitions held by different scholars for both ‘chronicles’ and ‘annals’, both terms are commonly used collectively for the insular texts considered here. See Nicholas Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2010), p. 1, n. 1; Daniel P. Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2008), pp.2-3 and 6- 7; David Dumville, ‘What is a Chronicle?’, in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Driebergen/ Utrecht 16-21 July 1999* (Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, 2002), pp. 1- 27, especially pp. 1- 7; Sarah Foot, ‘Annals and Chronicles in Western Europe’, in Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 346- 367.

<sup>27</sup> Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 7.

any Irish chronicle has been argued to be a hand of 1092 or slightly later responsible for entries up until this date in the text known as the *Annals of Inisfallen* (**AI**), (surviving in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 503).<sup>28</sup> The surviving manuscripts of many key chronicles are significantly later than this however.<sup>29</sup> The various extant chronicles are too numerous to discuss each individually here.<sup>30</sup> However, a survey of those which will be most frequently used in the present work is in order.

**AU:** The *Annals of Ulster* have been described by Charles-Edwards as ‘the best text of the early annals’.<sup>31</sup> It is preserved in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, however one has been argued to be a copy of the other.<sup>32</sup> The earlier of the two is Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1282 (H. I. 8), in which the primary hand is that of Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, who was responsible for the principal material up until the entry for 1489.<sup>33</sup> The annals in this manuscript continue in other hands until 1504 where the surviving manuscript ends incomplete. Gearóid Mac Niocaill argues that it is most likely to have ended in 1510, as he argues Ó Luinín was also the principal scribe of the other surviving sixteenth-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 489, which is a copy of the first manuscript and which he copied until

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<sup>28</sup> R. I. Best and Eóin Mac Neill, *The Annals of Inisfallen: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original Manuscript (Rawlinson B 503) In the Bodleian Library* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1933), pp. 5-9; Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 1, n. 5; Seán Mac Airt, *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1951), pp. vii and xxx.

<sup>29</sup> A comprehensive discussion of the Manuscript witnesses to the surviving annals can be found in Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, pp. 18- 60 and 361- 363.

<sup>30</sup> An overview of the principal surviving chronicles may be found in Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, pp. 6- 17.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1 (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983), p. viii.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p. ix.

1510.<sup>34</sup> Other hands continue this second manuscript with extra entries until 1588.<sup>35</sup> Ó Luinín died in 1528.<sup>36</sup> Both manuscripts have various other hands, whose identities have been discussed by various scholars, sometimes with differing conclusions as to their identities.<sup>37</sup> Several later manuscripts are also extant, however these are all argued by Mc Carthy to ultimately derive from Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1282 (H. 1, 8).<sup>38</sup> An edition and translation was begun by Seán Mac Airt and following his death completed by Gearóid Mac Niocaill. It covers all entries until 1131. Within each year all individual items have been numbered and through much of the work an adjustment of one year has been made from the *anno domini* date given within the text in an attempt to adjust the discrepancy from ‘true dating’ that emerged in the text. In the present discussion, when entries in **AU** are given they refer to this adjusted date, followed by the item number as provided in the edition.<sup>39</sup>

**AT:** The *Annals of Tigernach* are a set of annals surviving in fragments.

Their primary extant witness is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.488, dated to between 1350 and 1370.<sup>40</sup> This contains four fragments which cover the years c. 322 BC- A.D 360, c. 488- 766, 974- 1003 and 1018- 1178.<sup>41</sup> An earlier manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 502, (from either the late eleventh or early twelfth century), contains material which covers the period c. 770 BC- AD 140 and

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Mc Carthy however argues that the principal scribe of the second manuscript is Ruaidhrí Ua Caiside. See Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, p. ix.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> See for example *ibid.*, p. vii- xii; and Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, pp. 34- 37.

<sup>38</sup> Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> A discussion of the adjustments of the date in the edition occurs in Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, p. xi.

<sup>40</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 11.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

overlaps with the first of the fragments in Rawlinson B. 488.<sup>42</sup> There has been disagreement over whether or not this should be considered part of the same text. In his edition of **AT** Stokes referred to this early material as its ‘first fragment’.<sup>43</sup> More recently Mc Carthy has discussed this material as an intrinsic part of **AT**.<sup>44</sup> However, Evans argues that as Rawlinson B. 488 is not likely to be a copy of the earlier text, it would be more appropriate to regard them as two separate texts.<sup>45</sup> Given the date-range of the material in question, the issue has little effect on the present discussion, other than to call into question the system of numbering used by scholars when discussing the fragments. The majority of material of interest to this study occurs in the fragment covering the period c. 488- 766. The main edition used for this material has been Henry Gough-Cooper’s unpublished edition of this fragment.<sup>46</sup> As he himself retains Stokes’s designation of this as the ‘third fragment’, abbreviated to **AT3**, the same practice will be used in the present discussion.<sup>47</sup> As the entries in **AT** do not themselves contain any form of calendar date, entries are listed as presented by Gough-Cooper, with the number before the point signifying the year within the fragment and the number after the point denoting the item number within this year. Unless it is otherwise obvious (for example where a direct comparison is being

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<sup>42</sup> Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 21; Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 11- 12.

<sup>43</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 11- 12; Whitley Stokes, *The Annals of Tigernach*, vol. 1 (Felinfach, Llanerch Publishers, 1993), pp. 4- 49, See in particular his summary of the fragments on p. 4. The modern publication brings together the serialised edition printed in *Review Celtique* 16- 18, between 1895 and 1897. References to Stokes’s edition given here are to the page numbers in the 1993 edition. A revised version of Stokes’s edition, compiled by Donnchadh Ó Corráin is available <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G100002/> (last accessed 2/10/2016); a translation by Gearóid Mac Niocaill is available <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100002A/> (last accessed 2/10/2016).

<sup>44</sup> Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 11- 12.

<sup>46</sup> I am extremely grateful to him for his kind permission to make use of this edition of the text.

<sup>47</sup> Henry Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment* (unpublished edition, 2012), p. 1.

made), the equivalent year in **AU**, as outlined by Gough-Cooper, is provided in brackets for entries earlier than **AT3 Kl. 211**. These are the adjusted **AU** dates as provided by Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill and thus the same as the dates used here when discussing **AU** in its own right. They are presented in the form '(date= AU 546)'. From **AT3 Kl. 211** onwards, Gough-Cooper provides a 'putative A. D. date' in the form '(AT 722)'.<sup>48</sup> This practice is followed in the present work, again in cases where the date would not otherwise be evident from the context.

**CS: *Chronicum Scotorum*** is a text which is argued to be derived from a common source with **AT**.<sup>49</sup> It covers events from before The Flood to AD 722 (with more thorough entries from **CS 428** onwards), 804- 1135 and 1141- 1150.<sup>50</sup> All extant manuscripts (including an apparent nineteenth-century forgery purporting to be written in 1611) have been argued to derive from Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1292 162r- 216v, which was written by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh c. 1640.<sup>51</sup> An edition and translation was published by William Hennessy in 1866.<sup>52</sup> A more recent translation by Gearóid Mac Niocaill is available online, though this does not include the original text.<sup>53</sup> Hennessy's system of ascribing an AD date to entries in the chronicle has met with some criticism and as will be seen, results in dates being presented a number of years away from the equivalent entries in other chronicles.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, they provide a useful system of reference and are used as such in the present discussion.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> William M. Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), pp. 2- 21; Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*; Discussed in Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 26.

<sup>53</sup> See <http://www.ucc.ie/research/celt/published/T100016/index.html> (last accessed 13/7/15).

<sup>54</sup> See examples discussed in 4.2; Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, p. 26.



Comparisons of shared material within several of the extant chronicles has led to various attempts to discern the contents of now lost predecessor works. Of particular interest to the present study is a text known as the *Chronicle of Ireland*. This has been argued to account for much of the shared material between the *Annals of Ulster* and the ‘Clonmacnoise group’ of texts (which includes the *Annals of Tigernach* and *Chronicum Scottorum*) prior to c. 911.<sup>55</sup> The existence of this text has received widespread, though not universal, acceptance.<sup>56</sup> It has also been argued, due to the volume of entries relating to Northern Britain from the beginning of the sixth century to the early eighth century and the phrasing of some of these implying travel to Ireland, that an *Iona Chronicle* contributed a significant amount of material to this *Chronicle of Ireland*, relating to the period prior to c. 740.<sup>57</sup> It has not been universally agreed as to when contemporary recording in the *Iona Chronicle*, becomes discernible. A. P. Smyth argued that this may be traced to as early as c. 550, due to a ‘steep decline’ in the frequency of years devoid of any ‘native’ entries after this date as well as the beginning of the recording of apparently native natural events

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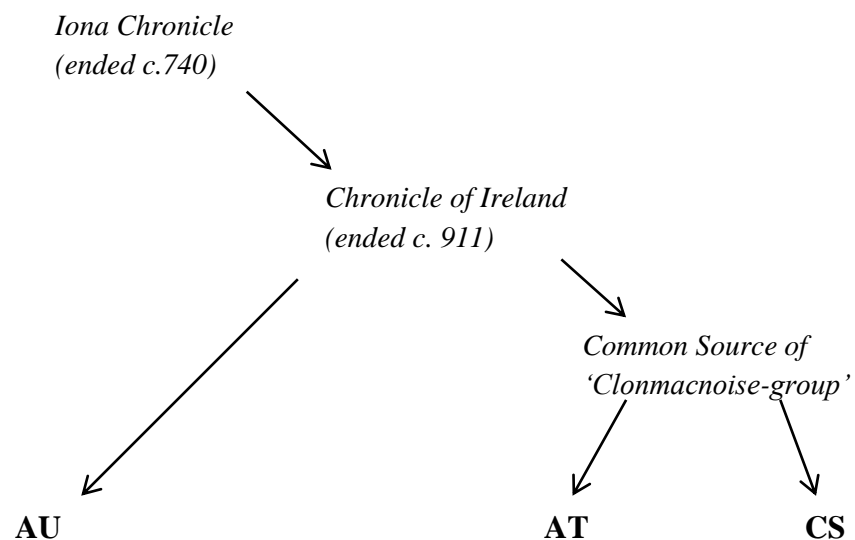
<sup>55</sup> The term *Chronicle of Ireland* was first used by Kathleen Hughes. Discussions of the work, its contents and its relationship with extant chronicles occur in Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London: The Sources of History Limited in association with Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1972), pp. 99- 107; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, pp. 1- 59; Kathryn Grabowski and David Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1984), pp. 53- 55; and Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>56</sup> One alternative scenario, by Gearóid Mac Niocaill, suggests that the Clonmacnoise group is based on a *Clonmacnoise Chronicle* which was itself based on a *Clonard Chronicle* which used the *Iona Chronicle* as a source. In this scenario, AU made use of material from both this *Clonard Chronicle* and an *Armagh Chronicle* which was itself based on the *Iona Chronicle*. See Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin, Medieval Irish History Series 3, 1975), pp. 21- 24; discussed in Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>57</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 2- 3; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 7; A. P. Smyth, ‘The Earliest Irish Annals: Their First Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 72 (1972), pp. 1-48, pp. 33- 41; John Bannerman, ‘Notes on the Scottish Entries in the Early Irish Annals’, in John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1974), pp. 9- 26.

relating to harvests, famines, weather and astronomical events recorded from 536 onwards. Contemporary recording from soon after the foundation of Iona is accepted by Thomas Charles-Edwards.<sup>58</sup> An alternative view was held by Kathleen Hughes, who argued that a number of more frequent and fuller entries from the 670s and 80s, coupled with various precisely dated entries from 686- 740 point to contemporary recording from around the 680s, based on records kept before this point, potentially due to the personal interest of Adomnán, who was abbot from 679 to 704.<sup>59</sup>

A great number of issues relating to the texts and their transmission remain under debate. However, there is some amount of agreement on certain details of the route of transmission for a substantial number of the surviving Early Medieval entries. The following stemma incorporates Evans's summary of the aspects of compilation that are 'accepted by most historians'.<sup>60</sup>



<sup>58</sup> Smyth, 'The Earliest Irish Annals: Their First Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording', pp. 9- 12; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, Vol 1, p. 8 and p. 8, n. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 118.

<sup>60</sup> Although Mac Niocail's suggestion, as discussed above, of an alternative scenario to the *Chronicle of Ireland* hypothesis should be noted; Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 2-3.

In addition to the question of when entries became contemporary, the unresolved issues surrounding these texts include the extent to which material appearing in only AU or the *Clonmacnoise-group* may be derived from the *Chronicle of Ireland*, the locations of composition for the various parts of the texts, and the manner in which material from outside Ireland came to be incorporated into the chronicles.<sup>61</sup> It would be impossible to cover all aspects of these various elements in the present investigation. However, a number of specific problems relating to the development and transmission of the texts will be considered as they arise throughout the discussion.

### 2.3 The Martyrologies

The *martyrologies* are of significant interest in the study of both the early medieval Church and later perceptions of it. Though there exist a number of earlier *calendars* recording a small number of feast days over the course of a year, the earliest work that can be described as a *Martyrology*, is known as the *Martyrology of Jerome* or the *Hieronymian Martyrology*.<sup>62</sup> Its attribution to Jerome, who died in 430, is ‘universally recognised as apocryphal’ and in its present form the martyrology is argued to have been written in Gaul in the sixth or seventh century, though there is some debate surrounding whether this built on the contents of an

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<sup>61</sup> Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, pp. 2- 3 and 115- 144; Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, pp. 118- 152 and 168- 197; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, Vol 1, p. 9- 15.

<sup>62</sup> Examples of the earliest calendars include the *Depositum Martyrum/ Depositio Episcoporum* and the *Latin Calendar of Sinai*. See Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627- 827* (Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 3-6; Pádraig Ó Riain, *Anglo Saxon Ireland: the evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght* (Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 1993), pp. 1- 2.

earlier Italian text.<sup>63</sup> The work contains names listed for each calendar year, resulting in a work commemorating several thousand individuals.<sup>64</sup>

The earliest of the extant Irish martyrologies is argued to be the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, dated by Ó Riain to between 828 and 833. However, David Dumville has argued against accepting such a precise date.<sup>65</sup> Each date in the martyrology includes an abbreviated version of saints commemorated in the *Hieronymian Martyrology* as well as lists of insular saints.<sup>66</sup> The earliest witness to **MT** is in Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 3, a fragment from the *Book of Leinster*, written after 1152 by Áed Mac Crimthainn, near Terryglass, Tipperary.<sup>67</sup> Lost folios in this manuscript mean that the entries for 30 January- 11 March, 20 May to 31 July and 1 November to 16 December are missing in it. However, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh produced an abstract version of the insular material in the Martyrology between 1627 and 1636, found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5100-4. This was apparently made from a transcript of the *Book of Leinster* version which was kept in Kildare. Ó Cléirigh's abstract ended part way through the entry for 30 October with an explanation that his source ended at this point. However, the Brussels text is continued by another hand, suggested by Richard Irvine Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor to be that of Colgan, which completes the entries for October and adds those from 17 until 31 December. Dumville argues the latter entries to have been derived

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<sup>63</sup> Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 627- 827, pp. 3 and 13- 14.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 20 (Winter 1990), pp. 21- 38; David N. Dumville, 'Félire Óengusso: Problems of Dating a Monument of Old Irish', *Éigse* 33 (2002), pp. 19- 48, pp. 31- 46.

<sup>66</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated'. Ó Riain refers to these insular entries as 'Irish', however, as will be evident throughout the course of this investigation, several of the entries relate to individuals who may have had other insular origins. For a discussion of a number of apparently Anglo-Saxon figures within the martyrology see Ó Riain, *Anglo Saxon Ireland*.

<sup>67</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated', p. 21; Introduction to Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 3, <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html> (last accessed 19/11/15).

from a different transcript of the *Book of Leinster*.<sup>68</sup> Entries from 1 to 4 September are missing in both the Book of Leinster fragment and the Brussels manuscript.<sup>69</sup> Aside from this, the seventeenth century abstract ensures that only the insular entries from 1 November to 16 December are lacking,<sup>70</sup> Ó Riain has suggested that an ancestor text of **MT** may have been a ‘breviate Northumbrian edition’ of the *Hieronymian Martyrology*. He proposes that that copies of the text may have passed through Lindisfarne and Iona, leaving the latter for Ireland before c. 760- potentially at a similar time to the alleged departure of a copy of the *Iona Chronicle* to Ireland in c. 740.<sup>71</sup> An edition of **MT** by Best and Lawlor was published in 1931.<sup>72</sup> Dumville argues that the earliest extant witness derives from a version of the text that had undergone augmentation into the tenth century, and potentially as late as the production of the *Book of Leinster* text itself.<sup>73</sup>

The *Martyrology of Oengus* is a metrical martyrology which has been argued to have made extensive use of a version of **MT**, potentially as its sole source.<sup>74</sup> As with **MT**, Ó Riain suggests a date of between 828 and 833 and argued that the two works may have had the same author, as was believed by the compiler of the later notes within **MO**.<sup>75</sup> Dumville has again cautioned against such precise dating,

<sup>68</sup> Richard Irvine Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght* (London, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1931), p. xvi; Dumville, ‘Félire Óengusso’, pp. 33- 35; Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, p. 22, n. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Dumville, ‘Félire Óengusso’, p. 33.

<sup>70</sup> Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, pp. 21- 22.

<sup>71</sup> The various layers of composition of **MT** are discussed in Ó Riain, *Anglo Saxon Ireland*. His suggested route of transmission is discussed pp. 20- 22. See also Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 57- 67; A number of aspects of Ó Riain’s scenario, including the early-eighth-century date argued for the composition of the Northumbrian abbreviation of the *Hieronymian Martyrology* have been disputed by Felice Lifshitz. See Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint, 627- 827*, pp. 141- 150.

<sup>72</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*.

<sup>73</sup> Dumville, ‘Félire Óengusso’, pp. 39- 47.

<sup>74</sup> As is discussed above, Dumville argues that the extant version of **MT** has been augmented since the text’s use as a source by **MO**. See *ibid*; Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, p. 22.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 21- 38; Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints*, pp. 110- 111.

arguing for composition between 797 and c. 900.<sup>76</sup> The original text was supplemented with a preface, glosses and notes. Ó Riain argued in 1990 that these additions occurred at the latest by the late twelfth century, as this is when the expanded version was used as a source by both the *Turin Martyrology* and the *Drummond Castle Martyrology*.<sup>77</sup> This date appears to be more firmly fixed in the late twelfth century by his later argument that the notes to **MO** made extensive use of **MG**.<sup>78</sup> The earliest extant manuscript is the early-fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac* and all surviving manuscripts derive from the extended version with preface and notes.<sup>79</sup> Whitley Stokes produced two editions of **MO**, with the manuscripts used differing in each volume.<sup>80</sup>

The *Martyrology of Gorman* survives in a single manuscript written by Ó Cléirigh, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5100-4, the same manuscript as the Ó Cléirigh edition of the insular saints of **MT**.<sup>81</sup> This is was composed by Máel Muire Ó Gormáin between 1166 and 1174.<sup>82</sup> This text took its Irish content ‘almost entirely

<sup>76</sup> Dumville’s *terminus post quem* is the date of death of Donnchad mac Domnaill, who has been identified as the Donnchad whose tomb is referred to in the prologue of **MO**. He argues that a date earlier than 900 may be accepted on linguistic grounds. Dumville, ‘Félire Óengusso’, pp. 23- 25 and 46.

<sup>77</sup> Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, pp. 22- 23. Although in his 1990 article Ó Riain states that he favours the eleventh century as the time of addition of much of the material, his later argument that **MG** was used ‘extensively’ by the commentator of **MO** would seem to argue against a date earlier than the late twelfth century for the notes and glosses coming close to their extant form. See Pádraig Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 115, 2002), pp. 15- 16. Both **Cal. Drum.** and **Mart. Tur.** are edited in this volume. An earlier edition of the former is found in George Hay Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense* (Burntisland, Pitsligo Press, 1882).

<sup>78</sup> Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies*, pp. 15- 16.

<sup>79</sup> Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, p. 23.

<sup>80</sup> Whitley Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus* (Dublin, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscript Series, vol. 1, Part. 1, 1880); and Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.) *Félire Óengusso Céili Dé* (London, Henry Bradshaw 29, 1905). The editions are discussed in Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, p. 23.

<sup>81</sup> Ó Riain, ‘The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated’, p. 21, n.2 and 22, n. 6.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

and, as far as can be judged faithfully' from a copy of **MT**.<sup>83</sup> **MG** can therefore provide useful clues when attempting to discern possible late alterations in the surviving witnesses of **MT**. Stokes produced an introduction and translation in 1895.<sup>84</sup>

A summary of the transmission of the insular material in the various calendars that have been discussed, as has been argued by Ó Riain and discussed here, may now prove useful. In the late eighth century **MT** was composed. This was used shortly after this by the compiler of **MO**. In the late twelfth century **MT** was used to compose the insular content of **MG**. Shortly after this, **MG** was used in the composition of extensive notes and glosses added to **MO**. This adapted version of **MO** was then used as a source for both **Cal. Drum.** and **Mart. Tur.**, still in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.<sup>85</sup> An adjusted version of Ó Riain's stemma may prove useful.<sup>86</sup>

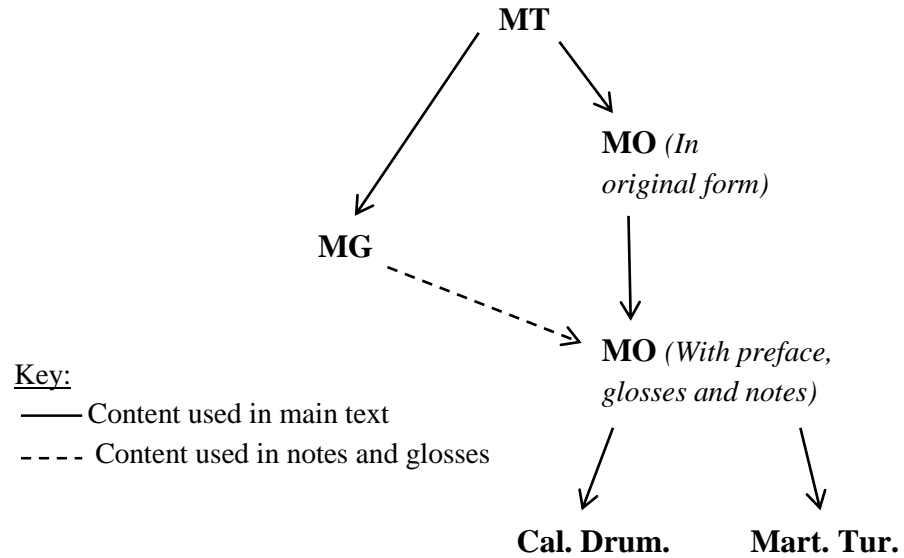
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<sup>83</sup> This is argued by Ó Riain to have been an independent copy from that which survives in the Book of Leinster and thus also from Ó Cléirigh's abstract of the insular material. See *ibid*, p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman* (London, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1895)

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of the date ranges of **Cal. Drum.** and **Mart. Tur.** see Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies*, pp. 10- 24 and 128- 130.

<sup>86</sup> The stemma provided here is based on Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated', p. 23. It takes additional information from Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies*, pp. 15- 16. Abbreviations have been adjusted for consistency.



## 2.4 Hagiography

Hagiography is indispensable in the investigation of ecclesiastical migration within the early medieval period and the manner in which it was perceived in later ages. Richard Sharpe has estimated that ‘upwards of one hundred’ medieval *vitae* (lives) survive in Latin, dealing with around sixty Irish saints. He argues that around fifty lives survive in Irish from the sixteenth century or earlier, dealing with around forty individuals. Sharpe also considers that to this corpus should be added ‘nearly one hundred and twenty short tracts and anecdotes; various martyrologies, with further anecdotes in the scholia; and a considerable tradition of genealogies and saint-lists’.<sup>87</sup> Many of the extant Latin lives are found in three thirteenth and fourteenth-century compilations, known since the seventeenth century as *Codex Kilkenniensis*, *Codex Insulensis* and *Codex Salmanticensis*.<sup>88</sup> The latter, argued to

<sup>87</sup> Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 5-7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.



date from the fourteenth century, contains a number lives of particular interest to this study.<sup>89</sup>

The earliest extant manuscript for any *vita* of an Irish saint is the *Schaffhausen Codex*, written by Dorbbéne, who has been identified as the eventual abbot of Iona who died in 713.<sup>90</sup> This is an edition of Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, a text argued to have been completed c. 700.<sup>91</sup> Much of the content of this text, as well as its composition and other texts that derive from it are of considerable interest in the study of Early Medieval migration from Northern Britain to Ireland within the Church.<sup>92</sup> The principal edition used in this investigation is that of Alan and Marjorie Anderson.<sup>93</sup>

Hagiographers such as Adomnán were aware of the place of their work within the wider Christian hagiographical tradition. VC itself has been shown to demonstrate the influence of continental texts on its structure, language and content. The principal non-insular influences on the work are argued to be the late fourth-century *Life of Saint Martin* by Sulpicius Severus and the Latin version of the *Life of Saint Anthony*, translated by Evagrius from a Greek original by Athanasius.<sup>94</sup> Sharpe has argued

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<sup>89</sup> See 4.2, 4.3, 4.4.5, 5.1.2 and 6.9. For a discussion of the date of this text see W. W. Heist, *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Olim Salmanticensi Nunc Bruxellensi* (Bruxelles, Société Des Bollandistes, 1965), p. xxi.

<sup>90</sup> Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, pp. 10- 11; Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba*, p. 88; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*, p. 58.

<sup>91</sup> Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, pp. 10- 11; Clancy, 'Personal, Political, Pastoral', pp. 40 and 51.

<sup>92</sup> A text of particular interest which derives from Adomnán's work is the '*Pseudo-Cumméne*' *Vita Sancti Columbae*. See 5.2.

<sup>93</sup> There are two editions of this work. The most recent is the most accessible. However, the earlier edition contains more extensive discussion within its introduction. In the present project this disparity is particularly notable with regard to the earlier publication's discussion of the *Pseudo- Cumméne Vita Columbae*. See

A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1961); Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. The extensive introduction and notes in Sharpe's translation is also particularly useful; Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba*.

<sup>94</sup> Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba*, pp. 57- 59.

however, that in the mid-sixth century, the earliest days of hagiography in the Irish speaking world, a distinction may be made between continental practice of disciples writing lives about their masters and the Irish practice of writing about saints of an often more remote past.<sup>95</sup> Comparison can be made with Sulpicius's *Life of Saint Martin* itself, which was written in the lifetime of Martin, reflecting an already existing cult that saw secondary relics collected from the bishop including the straw he slept on and threads from his clothes.<sup>96</sup> It has been suggested that the work by Cumminé find,<sup>97</sup> eventually the seventh Abbot of Iona, *Liber de Uirtutibus Sancti Columbae* (known from the excerpt added to **VC III, 5** in the *Schaffhausen Manuscript* to have been used as a source by Adomnán), was written during the abbacy of his predecessor Ségeine between 637 and 652.<sup>98</sup> However, even if this was compiled using first-hand accounts of Columba, the work remains a generation removed from his death. A closer to contemporary reference to Columba has often been argued to be the *Amra Coluimb Chille*. This is often assigned to the period shortly following Columba's death.<sup>99</sup> However, as will be discussed, this early date for the text in its extant form has been questioned in recent years.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>96</sup> Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> Dumville argues that the correct name forms for the Abbot are *Cumminé find* or *Cummeneus albus*, rejecting the form *Cumméne Ailbe* frequently used within modern scholarship. David N. Dumville, 'Two Troublesome Abbots', *Celtica* 21 (1990), pp. 146-152, pp. 146-149.

<sup>98</sup> For discussion of this text and its relationship with Adomnán's work see Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba*, pp. 245-247 and 357-359; Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumminé Ailbe, and the Picts'; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>99</sup> For example, Sharpe, *Life of Saint Columba*, p. 31; and Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumminé Ailbe, and the Picts', p. 184.

<sup>100</sup> See 7.1. See also Jacopo Bisagni 'The Language and Date of Amrae Coluimb Chille', in Stefan Zimmer (ed.), *Kelten am Rhein: Akten des dreizehnten Internationalen Keltologiekongresses, Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Celtic Studies* (Mainz, Philipp Von Zabern, 2009) pp. 1-11.

Another manuscript of particular interest to the present project is the *Book of Armagh* (Dublin, Trinity College Library, 52).<sup>101</sup> At least part of the manuscript is the work of Ferdomnach, who died in 845, though there remains dispute over whether or not other scribes had a major influence on the text.<sup>102</sup> Its three main sections began life as separate books. These are the various texts relating to Patrick that are of interest to the present study, alongside a New Testament and Sulpicius Severus's works on Martin.<sup>103</sup> Bieler argues that at least part of this manuscript can be precisely dated to 807, due to the colophon at the end of the Gospel of Mathew which indicates that it was written during Torbach's brief time as Abbot, which took place entirely within this year.<sup>104</sup> The Patrician texts within the manuscript include *Muirchu's Vita S. Patricii* (here referred to as *Muirchu*), argued to be of a similar date to VC.<sup>105</sup> Following this are a collection of anecdotes of the life of Patrick attributed to *Tírechán*. Sharpe argues these to date from earlier than Muirchu's work at a time shortly after the plague of 664- 668.<sup>106</sup> To this work is appended a number of additional anecdotes known as the *Additamenta*. These are suggested by Bieler to have come into their present form in the second half of the eighth century and, as will be seen, contain material of some interest to the present study.<sup>107</sup> Following this occur a number of 'catchwords' known as the *Notulae*, argued to date between the second half of the

<sup>101</sup> Richard Sharpe, 'Palaeographical Considerations in the study of the Patrician Documents in the Book of Armagh', *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), pp. 3- 28, p. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Bieler asserts that the work had a single scribe. Sharpe argues that multiple scribes are detectable. See Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979), p. 2, n. 3; and Sharpe, 'Palaeographical Considerations in the study of the Patrician Documents in the Book of Armagh', pp. 3- 28, especially pp. 8- 17.

<sup>103</sup> Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 2- 3.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>105</sup> Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 12.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>107</sup> See in particular 4.4. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 49.

eighth century and 808.<sup>108</sup> Also included in the Patrician section of the *Book of Armagh* is a text known as *Liber Angeli*, on the rights of the Church of Armagh and an abridgement of Patrick's *Confessio*.<sup>109</sup> These texts (with the exception of the abridgement of the *Confessio*) have been edited by Bieler.<sup>110</sup> A further Patrician text of some interest in the present study is the *Tripartite Life*, an Irish text that has been argued by Sharpe to be likely to date from the tenth century.<sup>111</sup> As will be seen, this text shares much content with various parts of the *Book of Armagh*.<sup>112</sup> However, it is not agreed whether or not this is a direct ancestor text of it.<sup>113</sup> An edition of the text was produced by Kathleen Mulchrone in 1939. This followed an earlier edition and translation by Whitley Stokes published in 1887.<sup>114</sup>

## 2.5 Other Medieval Texts

Various other genres of text make frequent and significant contributions to the discussion. A large number of manuscripts feature genealogies of the saints.<sup>115</sup> The earliest extant version (though in this case surviving only in fragmentary form) is in the second part of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502, 51r, a 1- 52r, i 56. This is argued by Ó Riain to be identifiable as the book referred to in a number of

<sup>108</sup> The *Notulae* and their purpose are discussed in *ibid*, pp. 49- 52.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52; John Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis and co, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913), p. xvii.

<sup>110</sup> Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*.

<sup>111</sup> Sharpe argues this on linguistic grounds. See Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 20 and p. 20, n. 72.

<sup>112</sup> See 4.4.

<sup>113</sup> For a discussion on the issue see Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 55.

<sup>114</sup> Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin, London, Royal Irish Academy, 1939); Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1887), Parts I and II. The second volume of Mulchrone's edition (featuring translation and indices) was never published. <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000028512> (last accessed 21/7/15).

<sup>115</sup> Discussed in Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. xiii- liv; a table summarising the presence of each of each entry within eleven witnesses is found in pp. lv- lxxviii.

sources as *Leabhar Glinne Dá Locha* or the *Book of Glendalough*.<sup>116</sup> The manuscript is argued by Ó Riain to date from c.1130. He suggests that the content of this text points to an origin at Kells after 938, (the date of death Dubthach- the last listed successor of Columba). He suggests that since this text may share a common source with a number of other extant versions it is possible that a genealogical ancestor text was in existence in the early tenth century, however he believes that there is a reasonable chance that it may be of a later date than this.<sup>117</sup>

A distinct but associated version of the *genealogies* is to be found in *The Book of Leinster* (Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1339 (H 2 18)). Work on this manuscript is argued to have commenced c. 1152. Its principal scribe was Áed mac Crimthainn, who was abbot of Terryglass, Tipperary and whose hand was responsible for the *genealogies*.<sup>118</sup> Though this manuscript used Rawlinson B 502 as its main source, the entries are arranged differently. Ó Riain has argued that Áed himself composed this version of the text.<sup>119</sup> Ó Riain's edition of the *genealogies* is based primarily on this manuscript.<sup>120</sup> In addition to the genealogical lists, at points the texts provide additional material such as poems associated with its subjects. Of particular relevance to this study is a poem dealing with seven 'brothers' who are

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<sup>116</sup> Ó Riain points to similarities in content, phrasing and orthography between a number of manuscripts which state *The Book of Glendalough* to have been among their sources, and the content of the second part of Rawlinson B 502. However, this identification has not been met with unanimous acceptance. Caoimhín Breatnach has argued that *The Book of Glendalough* was a separate text, related to Rawlinson B 502. See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502', *Éigse* 18 (1980- 1981), pp.161- 176; Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Rawlinson B 502, Leabar Glinne Dá Locha and Saltair na Rann', *Éigse* 30 (1997), pp. 109- 132; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Rawlinson B 502 alias Leabar Glinne Dá Locha: a Restatement of the Case', *Zeitschrift Für Celtische Philologie* 51 (1999), pp. 130- 147; Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Manuscript Sources and Methodology: Rawlinson B 502 and Leabar Glinne Dá Locha', *Celtica* 24 (2003), pp. 40- 54; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough: a Continuing Investigation', *Zeitschrift Für Celtische Philologie* 56 (2008), pp. 71- 88.

<sup>117</sup> Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. xvii- xviii and xxvii.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xviii – xix.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>120</sup> For a discussion of the contents of the edition, including content taken from other manuscripts, see *Ibid*, p. xviii.

portrayed as having travelled to Ireland, apparently from Northern Britain. This tract, here named *Seven Brothers*, will be discussed in some detail within this study.<sup>121</sup>

Another text of interest to the study is the *Cáin Adamnáin* [Law of Adomnán] or *Lex Innocentium* [Law of the Innocents]. The law was promulgated by Adomnán in Birr, Offaly in 697.<sup>122</sup> The giving of this law is recorded in **AU 697.3**:

*Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit 7 dedit Legem Inocentium populis*  
[Adamnán proceeded to Ireland and gave the Lex Innocentium to the people].<sup>123</sup>

The text survives in two manuscripts: One is found within eleven sheets (fo. 31-52) within Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 512 which Kuno Meyer argued to have been originally ‘a separate layer’ of the manuscript from the fifteenth century. The second is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 2324-40 (pp. 76a- 85b). This was written in 1627 by Michael Ó Cléirigh using an exemplar which had been written by Cú-mumhan mac Tuathail í Cléirig, his cousin. Meyer argued that both extant manuscripts ultimately derive from the now lost *Old Book of Raphoe*, for which he favoured a ninth-century date on linguistic grounds.<sup>124</sup> More recently, Gilbert Márkus has suggested a tenth-century date for the compilation of the text in its extant form.<sup>125</sup> Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha argues for a late tenth or early eleventh century date for the text’s Middle Irish prefatory material, which includes accounts of

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<sup>121</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>122</sup> A discussion of the background to the promulgation of the law and the reasons that this location was chosen occurs in Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘Birr and the Law of the Innocents’, in Thomas O’Loughlin (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 697* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2001), pp. 13- 32.

<sup>123</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 156-157.

<sup>124</sup> Kuno Meyer, *Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. vii- viii.

<sup>125</sup> Gilbert Márkus, *Adomnán’s ‘Law of the Innocents’, Cáin Adomnáin* (Kilmartin, Kilmartin House Trust, 2008), p. 4.

Adomnán being told to enact the law and putting the law into force.<sup>126</sup> The law itself, which prohibits violence against women, children and clerics, comes at the end of the surviving text and has been argued to be primarily original content.<sup>127</sup> Within the preface lies a list of names of secular and religious leaders said to have been ‘guarantors’ who pledged to uphold the law:

*Tocuitchetar tra huli laechaib 7 clēirchibh ōgh cāna Adomnān do comalnad  
co brādh*  
[All then, both laymen and clerics, have sworn to fulfil the whole law of  
Adamnan till Doom].<sup>128</sup>

Despite the fact that many of the titles given to the 91 men listed can be demonstrated to be anachronistic, Ní Dhonnchadha has argued that the names themselves can be shown to reflect a plausible contemporary list of guarantors. She asserts that 58 men on the list can be shown to have been alive in 697, with circumstantial evidence for another twelve. She argues that, once anachronistic titles are removed, none can be shown to have died before this date. Furthermore, she argues that the pattern of the known obits of these men after 697 fits well with a supposition that a plausible gathering of ecclesiastical and secular leaders would be ‘made up of mature and elderly men with a small admixture of younger men.’<sup>129</sup> The *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin* thus provides a potentially invaluable source in any investigation of movement within the British Isles. However, its use must be

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<sup>126</sup> Separate conflicting passages respectively assert that he was told to enact the law by his mother and an angel. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘Birr and the Law of the Innocents’, in Thomas O’Loughlin (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 697: Essays in Commemoration of the Law of the Innocents* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2001), pp. 13- 32, p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> Márkus, *Adomnán’s ‘Law of the Innocents’*, p. 6.

<sup>128</sup> Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Cáin Adamnáin*, pp. 20- 21.

<sup>129</sup> Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin’, *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 178- 215.

coupled with an element of caution, both given the lateness of its extant form and also a level of uncertainty over whether being a ‘guarantor’ necessarily implied travel to the convention itself. Where a number is given alongside a name here, it refers to those provided by Ní Dhonnchadha. Both Márkus and Ní Dhonnchadha have produced translations of the text, the latter excluding the late preface.<sup>130</sup>

The *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* [Ecclesiastical History of the English People] (henceforth **HE**), written by the monk Bede at Jarrow and completed in 731, contains a number of areas of interest for the present investigation.<sup>131</sup> The suggestion that he may have had access to Pictish source material adds interest to his assertions on the relationship between the Picts and the Church in other parts of the British Isles.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, Bede’s material on Whithorn and Nynia is of great interest in the consideration of the development of his cult, as well as the cults of other potentially related individuals.<sup>133</sup> A great many manuscripts containing the work survive. The edition used here, that of Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, makes use of eight as principal witnesses. Five of these have been dated to the eighth century, two of which are argued to date to within sixteen years of the completion of the work.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Márkus, *Adomnán’s ‘Law of the Innocents’*; Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ‘The Law of Adomnán: a Translation’ in O’Loughlin (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 697*, pp. 53- 68.

<sup>131</sup> Judith McClure and Roger Collins (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. ix; J. Campbell, ‘Bede (673/4–735)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, May 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1922> (last accessed 20/11/15).

<sup>132</sup> Discussion of Bede’s potential use of Pictish source material occurs in Nicholas Evans, ‘The Calculation of Columba’s Arrival in Britain in Bede’s Ecclesiastical History and the Pictish King Lists’, *Scottish Historical Review* 87 no. 2. No. 224 (October 2008), pp. 185- 205.

<sup>133</sup> See 5.1.2 and 5.3.

<sup>134</sup> A detailed discussion of the extant manuscripts occurs in the introduction of Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds.), *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, repr. with corrections 1991), pp. xxxix- lxxvi. The principal manuscripts used in the edition are discussed pp. xliii- xlvi.



## 2.6 Later Texts

Several later texts are of great interest when attempting to piece together the later development of a saint's cult. In Scotland the most substantial source relating to figures within the Early Church is the *Aberdeen Breviary*, (**AB**). The breviary contains readings and hymns commemorating the saints venerated by the Scottish Church throughout the year. It was printed in two volumes, splitting the year into a winter and summer (*pars Hiemalis* and *pars Estivalis*). These were published in 13 February 1509 or 1510 and 4 June 1510 respectively. It is Scotland's earliest substantial printed book.<sup>135</sup> The gathering of information on the Scottish saints was undertaken by William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen.<sup>136</sup> Though the number of saints commemorated in the north-east of the country are numerous, the work displays a deliberate attempt to include saints commemorated in every Scottish diocese.<sup>137</sup> In 2012 Alan MacQuarrie, in collaboration with Rachel Butter, produced an edition and translation of the material relating to the 'Scottish' saints within the work.<sup>138</sup> Prior to this, only a small number of the readings had been edited.<sup>139</sup> A facsimile edition of both volumes was produced by William Blew in 1854, though

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<sup>135</sup> I have consulted the National Library of Scotland copy F.6.f.5 (*Pars Hiemalis* only) and the digitally available copies of the other two editions held by the library: A 'composite copy' of two previously separate volumes formerly held in the Advocates' Library and the recently acquired volumes previously held by the Glamis Castle Library. Alan MacQuarrie argues the latter to be the 'most complete' extant copy. See Alan MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints: Readings, Hymns and Prayers for the Commemoration of Scottish Saints in the Aberdeen Breviary* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2012), pp. xv- xvii; <http://digital.nls.uk/aberdeen-breviary/pageturner.cfm?id=74487406> (last accessed 19/11/15).

<sup>136</sup> Elphinstone (1431-1514) was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen in 1488 and was responsible for the foundation of the University of Aberdeen, which began teaching in 1497. See Leslie J. Macfarlane, 'Elphinstone, William (1431–1514)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8753> (last accessed 25/11/15).

<sup>137</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. xv and xxvi- xxvii.

<sup>138</sup> For inclusion in the edition, MacQuarrie selected 'those who are claimed to be Scottish or to have a connection with Scotland, together with a few other saints of the British Isles whose *cultus* was important in Scotland.' *Ibid*, p. xxxviii.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xiii and xix.

this is to some extent problematic due to its selective attempts to correct misprints in the original text as well as introducing a number of errors of its own.<sup>140</sup> Alexander Penrose Forbes made substantial use of **AB** in the *Alphabetical List of Saints* appended to his edition of Scottish Calendars, though these vary from precise translations to paraphrases.<sup>141</sup> All of the content within **AB** that is of interest to the present study is covered by MacQuarrie's edition.<sup>142</sup>

From the seventeenth century onwards, the study of the early medieval Irish Church has been influenced significantly by the work of members of the Franciscan order. Of particular importance to their scholarly endeavours was the St Anthony College, Louvain, an Irish Franciscan foundation which was established in 1607.<sup>143</sup> Also of importance was the community of Franciscans in Donegal, which after the destruction of Donegal Abbey in 1601, was based near the River Drowes.<sup>144</sup> Perhaps the most significant name associated with both houses was Michael Ó Cléirigh. In addition to his work as a scribe of older texts, Ó Cléirigh, with his associates, made notable contributions as a compiler in his own right. The most frequently used work of Ó Cléirigh in this study is the *Martyrology of Donegal* (**MD**), a calendar which used **MG** as one of its sources.<sup>145</sup> An edition of the work, edited by James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves and translated by John O'Donovan, was published in

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<sup>140</sup> William J. Blew, *Breviarium Aberdonense* (London: Bannatyne Club, 1854), 2 vols. For a discussion of this facsimile edition see MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. xvii- xix.

<sup>141</sup> Alexander Penrose Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 261- 466; Discussed in MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. xix.

<sup>142</sup> Prior to the publication of MacQuarrie's edition, the preliminary stages of the present investigation made some use of the editions of Blew and Forbes.

<sup>143</sup> Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010), p. 27.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. p. 39; Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Ó Cléirigh, Míchél (b. in or after 1590?, d. 1643?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20498> (last accessed 20/11/15).

<sup>145</sup> Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 71.

1864.<sup>146</sup> A further work of interest, which had Ó Cléirigh as its chief compiler, is the *Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM) which made use of a range of earlier annals as well as making significant editorial changes itself.<sup>147</sup> An edition by John O'Donovan was published in 1851, with a second edition published in 1856.<sup>148</sup>

A further Franciscan of great significance is John Colgan.<sup>149</sup> Colgan was responsible for editing large volumes of lives of the Irish saints. The only two of these to have been published were the volume dealing with the saints of January to March, published in 1645, and that dealing with Patrick, Brigit and Columba, published in 1647. However, as will be discussed, there is some indication that other unpublished work from the collection was utilised in the following century.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves (eds.), John O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin, Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1864).

<sup>147</sup> Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 26 and 102- 135.

<sup>148</sup> John O' Donovan, (ed. and trans.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1856), 7 vols.; discussed in Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 19- 20 and 323.

<sup>149</sup> Colgan (c.1592- 1658) was born in Donagh, Donegal. He had left Ireland by 1615 and spent a large part of his career at St Anthony's College, Louvain. See Mihail Dafydd Evans, 'Colgan, John (1592?-1658)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5902> (last accessed 20/11/15).

<sup>150</sup> See 6.2.3. John Colgan, *The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan* (Facsimile, Dublin, Dublin Stationary Office, 1948); John Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* (Dublin, Éamonn de Búrca for Edmund Burke, 1997 ed.). The extant works as well as some of those which were unpublished are discussed in Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*; and Brendan Jennings in the introduction to the facsimile of *Trias Thaumaturga*.

### 3 The Context of Pictish and British Ecclesiastical Migration

In order to be properly understood, the movements and perceived movements of Pictish and British individuals to Ireland associated with the Church must be placed in context. Particularly relevant to the context of the present study are those Picts and Northern Britons who travelled to Ireland for reasons other than church business. It is also important to consider the influence on the Irish Church of those incomers from Britain, and in particular the North, who are not the principal focus of this investigation. This chapter will seek to contextualise Pictish and British ecclesiastical migration to Ireland by surveying some of the principal evidence for Pictish and British ‘secular’ migration to Ireland, as well as the evidence for ecclesiastical migration to the island from English- and Irish-speaking Northern Britain.

#### 3.1 Non-Ecclesiastical Migration

Northern Britain and Ireland enter the historic period in the fifth century with strong traces of political and cultural interaction already both old and significant. In recent years, there has been movement towards the suggestion that the Cruithne and Dál Riata in Ireland may have originally been of Brythonic Argyll origin.<sup>1</sup> The open questions surrounding the true political, cultural and linguistic relationships between the west of Scotland and north of Ireland in late prehistory are too extensive to be tackled in full here. For the present it must simply be noted that in the earliest days of Christianity in Ireland, it may be more difficult to separate Pictish, British and Gaelic

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<sup>1</sup> Woolf, ‘Ancient Kindred? Dál Riata and the Cruithin’; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 148-149; Campbell, ‘Were the Scots Irish?’, pp. 285- 292.

migration than it would perhaps have been assumed on the basis of evidence relating to later times.

Definite Pictish activity becomes discernible with the passage of time. An entry seemingly implying the movement of a Pictish royal retinue to Ireland occurs in **AU 668.3**:

*naugatio filiorum Gartnaidh ad Hiberniam cum plebe Sceth*  
[the voyage of the sons of Gartnaid to Ireland with the people of Scí].<sup>2</sup>

This is also in **AT3 Kl. 168.1. CS 664** has the same entry, though with *Seí* in place of *Sceth*.<sup>3</sup> The excursion appears to have been a temporary one. **AU 670.4** records:

*Uenit genus Gartnaith de Hibernia* [the Sept of Gartnaith came back from Ireland].<sup>4</sup>

This is also in **AT3 Kl. 170.4** and **CS 666**. The text *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* names one of the sons as Cano and asserts that the exodus occurred in an attempt to escape following the killing of Gartnaid by Aedán mac Gabrán.<sup>5</sup> The text, which was argued by D. A. Binchy to be an eleventh century compilation of ninth century tales, is beset with genealogical and chronological confusion.<sup>6</sup> James Fraser has argued that the tale

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<sup>2</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 138- 139.

<sup>3</sup> A marginal note by Roderick O'Flaherty adds *Gartnati Pictorum Regis Filii*. Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, pp. 100 and 101, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 140- 141.

<sup>5</sup> D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963); Anouk Nuijten (trans.), *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin: A study and translation* (Unpublished BA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2014), <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/295120> (last accessed 16/6/2016); Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Binchy argued for this dating on linguistic grounds. One of the principle examples of genealogical confusion is the relationship between Gartnaid and Aidán in the text. In the *Senchus Fer nAlban*, Gartnaid is stated to be the son of Aidán, whereas in *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin*, Gartnaid is the son of 'Aed' - a fictitious brother of Aidán. Any claim of Gartnaid's descendants to Cenél nGabráin lineage is absent from the chronicles. Fraser argues this to betray a dispute by Cenél Loairn and Cenél nGabráin over the genealogy of Cenél nGartnait manifesting itself in differing genealogies. See Binchy (ed.), *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin*, pp. xiv and xviii; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, pp. 41 and 92. James E. Fraser, 'The Iona Chronicle, the Descendants of Áedan mac Gabrán, and the "Principal Kindreds of Dál Riata"', *Northern Studies* 38 (2004), pp. 77- 96, pp. 87- 88.

was inspired by a war on Skye between Cenél Gartnait and descendants of Túathalán, who he suggests may be identified as Túathal, a son of Áedán mac Gabráin listed in *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban*.<sup>7</sup> John Bannerman argues that the text merged two Canos. The first of these is the father of the Nechtán son of Cano whose death is recorded in **AU 621.3**. This Cano's own father is argued by Bannerman to have been the Gartnait king of the Picts, whose death is recorded in **AT3 Kl. 106.2** (date = AU 599). The second Cano is recorded in **AU 688.2: *Occisio Canonn filii Gartnaidh*** [The slaying of Canu son of Gartnait].<sup>8</sup> It is this later Cano son of Gartnait that Bannerman identifies as one of the unnamed sons who had travelled to Ireland twenty years earlier in **AU 668.3**.<sup>9</sup>

Ireland's role as a place of exile for Pictish nobility is frequently associated with the Columban Church and thus is of some significance to the present study. The apparent cases of royal exile involving Tarain in **AU 699.3** and Bridie in **AU 733.1** are of particular interest and will be considered in full later in the work.<sup>10</sup>

The theme of Ireland as a place of exile for secular figures is not limited to royalty, or indeed the Picts. Alfred Smyth has pointed to a number of entries in the annals that he argues to hint at the activities of 'part of the exiled warband of Rheged'.<sup>11</sup>

**AU 682.2: *Bellum Ratha More Maighi Line contra Britones ubi cecidit Cathusach m. Maele Duin, ri Cruithne, 7 Ultan filius Diccolla; 7 iugulatio Muirmin inmano***

<sup>7</sup> Fraser, 'The Iona Chronicle, the Descendants of Áedan mac Gabráin', pp. 84- 86.

<sup>8</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 150- 151.

<sup>9</sup> Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, pp. 92- 93.

<sup>10</sup> See 7.1.

<sup>11</sup> Alfred P. Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80- 1000* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1984), p. 26.

[The battle of Ráith Mór Maigi Lini against the Britons, in which Cathasach son of Mael Dúin, king of the Cruithin, fell, and Ultán son of Dícuill; and the killing of Muirmen while captive].<sup>12</sup>

**AU 697.10:** *Britones 7 Ulaidh uastauerunt campum Muirteimhne*  
[Britons and Ulaid wasted Mag Muirtheimne].<sup>13</sup>

**AU 702.2:** *Irgalach nepos Conaing a Britonibus iugulatus i nInsi m Nesan*  
[Írgalach grandson of Conaing was killed by Britons in Inis Mac Nesáin].<sup>14</sup>

**AU 703.1:** *Bellum Campi Culind i nAirdd nepotum nEchdaigh inter Ultu 7 Britones, ubi filius Radhgainn cecidit, [aduersarius] eclesiarum Dei*  
[The battle of Mag Cuilinn in Ard Ua nEchdach between the Ulaid and the Britons, in which Radgann's son, [an enemy] of God's churches, fell].<sup>15</sup>

**AU 709.2:** *Bellum Selgge hi Fortuathaibh Laigen contra nepotes Cennselaig, in quo ceciderunt .ii. filii Ceallaigh Cualann, Fiachra 7 Fiannamhail, 7 Luirgg cum Britonibus Ceallaigh; 7 post paululum Coirpri m. Con Coluinn iugulatus est*  
[The battle of Selg in Fortuatha Laigen against the Uí Cheinnselaig, in which fell two sons of Cellach of Cuala, Fiachra and Fiannamail, and Luirg with Cellach's Britons; and shortly afterwards Cairpre, son of Cú Cholainn, was killed].<sup>16</sup>

Smyth argues that the sequence of these events suggests a war band that travelled down the east coast of Ireland beginning in Antrim and ending up in Wicklow, implying a Northern British origin.<sup>17</sup> One point of caution here may be the timescale involved. Though it is not impossible that a retinue could remain unchanged for 27 years, it could be argued that any war band would wish to have recruited younger members by the end of this period, raising the question of whether the new generation too would have been British or were simply referred to as such due to the identity of the senior members of the band. The lifespan of these entries could

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<sup>12</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 146-147.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158- 159.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160- 161.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162- 163.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164- 167.

<sup>17</sup> Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 26.

therefore either reflect the maximum period in which an unchanging group of warriors could feasibly exist, or it could represent the length of time a warband that began with British warriors but which constantly recruited more local men over time could continue to be identified as 'British'. Alternatively, it remains possible that the entries may relate to separate groups of warriors. Whether all the entries should be regarded as a single traveling band of mercenaries or different forces, it would seem that the presence of Britons was a noteworthy feature of warfare in Ireland for a period covering at least three decades.

The role of Ireland as a place of refuge for Pictish royalty is argued to have continued until the last days of the 'Pictish' kingship. Alex Woolf suggests that following the death of Constantín son of Cinaed, recorded in **AU 876.1**, his son Domnall Son of Constantín and Domnall's cousin Constantín son of Áed may have fled to Ireland alongside the relics of Columba.<sup>18</sup> **AU 878.9** has: *Scrin Coluim Cille 7 a minna olchena du tiachtain dochum nErenn for teicheadh ria Gallaibh* [The shrine of Colum Cille and his other halidoms arrived in Ireland, having been taken in flight to escape the foreigners].<sup>19</sup> Woolf speculates that the cousins may have stayed with Mael Muire, their aunt, who was married first to Áed Finnliath, a King of Tara of the Northern Uí Neill, then Flann Sinna, the Southern Uí Neill king of Tara who succeeded him.<sup>20</sup>

Viking activity is even more directly responsible for the movement of people from Britain to Ireland in **AU 871.2**:

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<sup>18</sup> Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 123 -124.

<sup>19</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 334-335.

<sup>20</sup> Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 124.



*Amhlaiph 7 Ímar do thuidecht afrithisi du Ath Cliath a Albain dibh cetaibh long. 7 preaeda maxima hominum Anglorum, Britonum 7 Pictorum deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captiuitate*  
[Amlaíb and Ímar returned to Áth Cliath from Alba with two hundred ships, bringing away with them in captivity to Ireland a great prey of Angles, Britons and Picts].<sup>21</sup>

The same account is given in **CS 871**. However, the Picts are not mentioned here.

Further suggestion of Pictish migration to Ireland comes from excavations at Knowth. Here, a body which may have been decapitated has been found buried in the early medieval outer ditch surrounding the main structure. This has been suggested by strontium and oxygen isotope analysis of the teeth to have come from eastern Scotland. Radiocarbon analysis has assigned the body to the eighth or ninth centuries AD. It has also been suggested that one of the ogham inscriptions within the eastern tomb at Knowth may include the Pictish name *Talorc*.<sup>22</sup>

The sources suggest that within political circles, the extent of a Northern British presence in Ireland was not negligible. As will be discussed, the extent to which the Columban Church features in extant accounts of Pictish royal exile is notable.<sup>23</sup> This may indicate that the ecclesiastical links forged between Northern Britain and Ireland might have affected the choices made by those in the political sphere whose career fortunes necessitated a hasty relocation. The status of Ireland in

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<sup>21</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 326-327.

<sup>22</sup> Several different readings of this inscription have been suggested by Francis John Byrne. Not all of these can be read as containing the name. The various readings are: **ZTALLURZMO-MFNMA-M**; **ETALLURZMO-MFNMA-M**; **ZTALLURZAO-AFNMA-M**; **ZTALLURGGMO-MFNMA-M**; **ZTALLURGGU-MFNMA-M**; Byrne rejects the reverse readings **M-AMQTA-UZRUDDAFZ**; and **M-AMQTA-UZRUDDAFE**; See Francis John Byrne, 'The Inscriptions in the Main Passage Tomb at Knowth', in Francis John Byrne, William Jenkins, Gillian Kenny and Catherine Swift, *Excavations at Knowth 4: Historical Knowth and its Hinterland* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 2008), pp. 89-132, pp. 99-101; George Eogan, with E. O'Brien and B. Weekes, 'Burials and Enclosure of the Seventh to Ninth Centuries AD', in George Eogan, *Excavations at Knowth 5: The Archaeology of Knowth in the First and Second Millennia AD* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 2012), pp. 45-83, p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> See 7.1.

the eyes of the Pictish elite might perhaps be summarised as distant enough to be seen as a possible place of exile, though near enough for it to have been near the top of the list of chosen locations. The prominent though fleeting emergence of British warriors in the Irish historical record may point to a similar attitude on the part of the Britons.

### 3.2 Ecclesiastical Migration from Irish- and English-speaking Northern Britain

Though the focus of the present study is the migration of Picts and northern Britons, it is necessary to strongly emphasise the significance of movement from other insular groups to the Irish Church. In particular, the movement of Irish and English speakers from Northern Britain made a significant contribution.

Linguistic and cultural links may at times threaten to mask the extent of the movement of people from British Dalriada to Ireland within the Church. This particular class of migration is nonetheless of great significance to the understanding of interaction between Northern Britain and Ireland and an important element in any consideration of the migratory situation in the Early Irish Church. The most prominent Irish speaking churchmen who emerge in the sources as having travelled from Northern Britain to Ireland are the Abbots of Iona, whose activities provide some illumination of the relationship between the Irish speakers of Britain and Ireland within the Church. However, the case of Adomnán emphasises the difficulties involved in interpreting the movements of even the abbot whose activities in Ireland are best attested.

There has been some debate over the extent of Adomnán's travels to Ireland during his time as Abbot of Iona. In **HE V, 15** Bede seems to imply that following Adomnán's visit to Northumbria, during which he was persuaded to adopt the Roman practice in calculating Easter, he attempted to convert Iona. Upon failing to do so, Bede claims that he travelled to Ireland to convert people there to Roman practice and then returned to Iona, where he again failed to persuade his monks to change and died within a year:

*Qui cum celebrato in Hibernia canonico pascha ad suam insulam reuertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam temporis paschalis obseruantiam instantissime praedicaret, nec tamen perficere quod conabatur posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de saeculo*  
[After he had celebrated Easter in Ireland canonically, he returned to his own island and earnestly put before his monastery the catholic observance of the date of Easter, but he was unable to achieve his end; and it happened that before the year was over he had departed from the world].<sup>24</sup>

This however, does not seem to fit the chronology of other evidence relating to Adomnán. It is particularly notable that there were sixteen years between Adomnán's second journey to Northumbria and his death rather than two, as Sharpe argues to be implied by Bede.<sup>25</sup> Sharpe also points to three references in the Chronicles to journeys to Ireland.<sup>26</sup> The first of these occurs in **AU 687.5: Adomnanus captiuos reduxit ad Hiberniam .lx.** [Adomnán brought back sixty [former] captives to Ireland].<sup>27</sup> This has been linked to the mission of Adomnán to king Aldfrith mentioned in **HE V, 15.**<sup>28</sup> The second chronicle reference to a journey to Ireland

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<sup>24</sup> Colgrave and Mynors (ed. and trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 506- 507.

<sup>25</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 150-151.

<sup>28</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 352, n. 350.

occurs in **AU 692.1**: *Adomnanus .xiiii. anno post pausam Failbhei ad Hiberniam pergit* [Adamnán sets out for Ireland in the 14<sup>th</sup> year after the repose of Failbe].<sup>29</sup> The third reference to a journey occurs in **AU 697.3**: *Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit 7 dedit Legem Inocentium populis* [Adamnán proceeded to Ireland to give the Lex Innocentium to the people].<sup>30</sup> **AT3 Kl. 197.3** has: *Adhomnan tuc recth lecsa i nErind in bliadnain sea* [Adamnán brought a law into Ireland this year].<sup>31</sup> Adamnán himself mentions the return from a journey to Ireland in **VC II, 45**. This has been suggested by the Andersons to be the synod at Birr:<sup>32</sup>

*Tertia proinde uice, cum nos aesteo tempore post euerniensis sinodi conductum in plebe generis Loerni per aliquot uenti contrariatate retardaremur dies...*

[So too on the third occasion, in the summer season, after the meeting of the Irish synod, when for several days we were delayed by contrary wind among the peoples of the tribes of Loern...]<sup>33</sup>

It may be noted that in the late *Preface to the Cáin Adomnáin*, it would seem to be implied that Adamnán went to Birr from Ireland.<sup>34</sup> A ‘highly fictitious role’ is ascribed to him in the ‘Romanisation’ of Mag nEó by the *Life of St Gerald*, although Orschel posits that a visit to the site would be a possibility.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 152- 153

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 156- 157.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. Gough-Cooper (ed.), *Annals of Tigernach, Third Fragment*, p. 60; Stokes (trans.), *The Annals of Tigernach*, vol. 1, p. 175; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 488, 11v, b. Stokes assumes *recth* (which he reads as *recht*) to have been a gloss on *lecsa*. Gough-Cooper follows the manuscript in his transcription as the scribal mark providing the *h* is over the final *t*.

<sup>32</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. xlii and 177, n. 203.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 176- 177.

<sup>34</sup> Márkus (trans.), *Adomnán's 'Law of the Innocents'*, pp. 12- 13.

<sup>35</sup> Vera Orschel, ‘Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries’, *Peritia* 15 (2001), pp. 81-107 pp. 91- 92.

The various sources imply that a journey from Iona to Ireland could be interpreted in vastly differing ways. The chronicles and Adomnán's own words suggest that to many, including the abbot himself, travel to Ireland was considered a regular occurrence which was an intrinsic part of the role of a man in Adomnán's position. Indeed Sharpe has argued that the reference in **AU 692.1** to Adomnán's journey to Ireland being fourteen years after his predecessor may indicate that this was felt to be an unusually long period of absence for an Abbot of Iona.<sup>36</sup> Bede's portrayal of Ireland as a place of self-imposed exile for a heroic proponent of the Roman Easter serves to illustrate the extent to which the interpretation of migration as exile may in many cases owe more to the eye of the beholder rather than the migrant themselves.

Travel to Ireland is attested for Abbots of Iona both prior to and subsequent to Adomnán's abbacy. Adomnán portrays Columba in Ireland in a great number of anecdotes.<sup>37</sup> Sharpe suggests that all of these ultimately refer to two separate visits: one to 'the middle part of Ireland', the other to the meeting at Druim Cett.<sup>38</sup> The latter is referenced in **AU 575.1**:

*Magna con[uen]tio Droma Ceta, in qua erant Colum Cille ocus Aedh mc.  
Ainmirech*

[The great convention of Druim Ceat at which were present Colum Cille and Aed son of Ainmire].<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> Anecdotes where it is evident from the text alone that Columba is in Ireland for a short-term visit during his years of residence in Iona include **VC I, 14; I, 38; I, 40; II, 14; II, 36; and II, 43**.

<sup>38</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 28.

<sup>39</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 86- 87. Although Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill expand *contio* to read *conuentio*, Sharpe argues for the possibility that *condictio* may be intended. See Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 312, n. 204.

**A Clon. 587** has:

*Hugh mcAinmyreagh succeeded in the kingdom & reigned 25 years. In his time the meeting was between him and Aidan mcGawran, K. of Scotland in Dromkehaire with Divers of the nobility both spírítuall & Temporall of Ireland & Scotland, in their company for Decídíng the Controversie between the said kings for the Teritory and Lordship of Dalriada. St Columb Kill and St Bohyn were then present at that meeting.*<sup>40</sup>

Sharpe argues that the correct date for the convention is between 586 and 597.<sup>41</sup>

Whatever the true extent of Columba's historical journeys to Ireland after the foundation of Iona, it would seem that Adomnán's treatment of the anecdotes, frequently interspaced throughout the work, suggest that the founder's successors believed that a personal presence in the Irish Columban houses had been an essential feature of the duties of an Abbot of Iona since the earliest days of the Columban familia. Adomnán may have witnessed this practice first hand before his own Abbacy. **AU 673.4** has: *Nauigatio Faelbei abbatis Iae in Hiberniam* [The Voyage to Ireland of Failbe, abbot of Í].<sup>42</sup> The Andersons raise the possibility that Adomnán's apparent seniority in Iona during the anecdote in **VC II, 44** could be during this period of absence, although they lean towards the alternative possibility that this anecdote occurred later when Adomnán was himself abbot.<sup>43</sup>

The chronicles continue to chart the travels of Adomnán's successors. In addition to charting the journey of an individual, Bannerman and Charles-Edwards argue that the phrasing used in **AU 754.3** suggest a *terminus ante quem* for the

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<sup>40</sup> Denis Murphy, SJ (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin: RSAI, 1896), p. 90.

<sup>41</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 313, n. 204.

<sup>42</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 140-141.

<sup>43</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. xlii.

movement of the ancestor of the surviving *Iona Chronicle* to Ireland.<sup>44</sup> Similar phraseology is also used in **AU 766.6** in an entry that has been used as evidence that Sléibéne did not remain Abbot of Iona until his death in 767.<sup>45</sup>

Although not strictly an indication of travel, **AU 814.9** nonetheless hints at an interest and involvement in the affairs of the Irish houses:

*Ceallach abbas Iae, finita constructione templi Cenindsa, reliquit principatum, 7Diarmitius alumnus Daigri, pro eo ordinatus est*  
[Cellach, abbot of Í, when the building of the church of Cenannas [Kells] was finished, resigned the office of superior, and Diarmait, fosterling of Daigre, was appointed in his place].<sup>46</sup>

Bannerman argues that it is likely that from this point until the transferral of relics of Columba to Kells in **AU 849.7**, the Abbots of Iona maintained an active role as Abbot of Kells.<sup>47</sup>

Activity in Ireland of Irish speaking residents of Northern Britain was not limited to Abbots of Iona. The *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin* provides a number of potentially identifiable churchmen whose appearance on the list may argue for a presence at the law's promulgation at Birr, though Ní Dhonnchadha has urged

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<sup>44</sup> *Sleibene, abbas Iae, in Hiberniam uenit* [Sleibéne, Abbot of Í, came to Ireland]. Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 208- 209; discussed in Charles Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 225, n. 5; the *Iona Chronicle* is discussed above 2.1.

<sup>45</sup> *Suibne, abbas Ie, in Hiberniam uenit* [Suibne, abbot of Í came to Ireland] Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 220- 221; discussed in Charles Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 234 n. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 270- 271. 'Kells' identified by Thomas Charles Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 273.

<sup>47</sup> John Bannerman, 'Comarba Coluim Chille and the relics of Columba', *Innes Review* vol. 44, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 14-47, p. 32. The extensive activities of Diarmait in both Ireland and Northern Britain have been discussed by Clancy. See Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Britain: The Proceedings of a Day Conference held on 18 February 1995* (Aberdeen, Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), pp. 111- 130; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Diarmait Sapientissimus: The Career of Diarmait Dalta Daigre, Abbot of Iona, 814 x 839', *Peritia* 17 -18 (2003- 2004), pp. 215- 232.

caution in accepting that inclusion on the list necessarily implies attendance.<sup>48</sup> One such figure is *Ceti Epscop*, who appears in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 21. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha identifies him with Coeddi, Bishop of Iona, who died in 712 and whose death is recorded in **AU 712.1**.<sup>49</sup> A *Coeti* is listed in **MT 24 Oct**.<sup>50</sup> **MG 24 Oct** commemorates *Caeti*, named *epsco*p in a gloss.<sup>51</sup> Michael Ó Cléirigh identified this figure with the Bishop of *Cáin Adomnáin*. **MD 24 Oct** has:

*Caeti, Epscob. Adeir Cáin Adamnáin gurab do na naomaiḃ dó ḃí in urraḃas mná do saoraḃ ó daoirsi acus o sglāḃaiḃeḃt Ceti Epscop; acus as cosmail gurab do so laḃras*

[Caeti, Bishop. The Cáin Adomnáin states that Ceti, the bishop, was one of the saints who were security to free the women from every *kind* of captivity and slavery; and it is likely that it is of him he speaks].<sup>52</sup>

Also of interest is *Conamail Mac Conain epscop* who appears in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 23. Ní Dhonnchadha argues that the patronym and title is a misidentification by the annotator of the list.<sup>53</sup> She argues that the most likely individual is instead *Conamail mac Faílbe*, eventually Abbot of Iona whose death occurs in **AU 710.1**.<sup>54</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha also argues that Ioan, Abbot of the monastery of Eigg whose death is recorded in **AU 725.7** may be either *Ioain ecna mac in Gobann* in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 38 or *Ihain mac Samuél* in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 39.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', p. 184.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 191.

<sup>50</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 202- 203.

<sup>52</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 282- 283. See also the discussion on Cóeti of Iona by Rachel Butter in the Saints in Scottish Place-Names database. <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=52> (last accessed 27/8/2016).

<sup>53</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', pp. 191- 192.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 192.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 196.



The Guarantor List also appears to testify an English speaking presence at Birr. *Ichtbrycht episcop* appears in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adamnáin*, 29. Ó Cróinín argues that this *Ichtbrycht Episcop*, *Ichtbrychtán* in the **MO 8 Dec**, and *Uichtberct* in **HE V, 9** are the same individual.<sup>56</sup> Bede describes Uichtberct as a companion of Egbert who had lived as a hermit in Ireland for many years before travelling to Frisia. After spending two years unsuccessfully attempting to convert the Frisians, Uichtberct: *reuersus ad dilectae locum peregrinationis* [returned to his beloved place of exile].<sup>57</sup> The entry in **MO 8 Dec** reads:

*Buaid nIchtribricháin Umail  
darrala tar romuir.  
do Chríst cachain figil  
hí curchán cen choduil*  
[The triumph of humble [Egbert], who came over the great sea: unto Christ he sang a prayer in a hideless coracle].<sup>58</sup>

Stokes's translation of *Ichtribricháin* as 'Egbert' reflects a tendency for many commentators, including Ní Dhonnchadha, to equate this saint with Ecgberht.<sup>59</sup> Ecgberht is given extensive treatment by Bede. **HE III, 27** describes how as a young man of noble birth, Ecgberht along with Aethelhun travelled to Ireland to study in a monastery called *Rathmelsigi*. It has been argued that this may have been *Cluain Melsige* or Clonmelsh, Carlow.<sup>60</sup> According to **HE IV, 3**, as a youth he was also in Ireland alongside Chad, about whom he later related a vision of his ascent into heaven. Ecgberht was on one occasion visited by Higebald. **HE IV, 26** states that in

<sup>56</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach Manuscripts', *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 17- 49, p. 25.

<sup>57</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 480 -481.

<sup>58</sup> Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 250. Brackets mine.

<sup>59</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnán', pp. 193- 194.

<sup>60</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach Manuscripts', pp. 17- 49, p. 23.

684 he unsuccessfully urged Ecgrith, King of the Northumbrians, not to attack the Irish- an attack that was nonetheless carried out by Ecgrith's *duce* [ealdorman] Berht.<sup>61</sup> In **HE V, 9** it is described how he wished to travel to the Continent either to convert pagan Germanic peoples or to visit Rome, but was prevented by God from doing so. **HE III, 4** and **HE V, 22** describe how he came to Iona in 716, when it was under the abbacy of Dúnchad, and: *perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum et ad uerum canonicumque paschae diem translati* [set them right and brought them to observe the true and canonical Easter Day].<sup>62</sup> Bede's *Greater Chronicle*, within *De Temporum Ratione*, states that in 716: *plurimas Scotticae gentis prouincias* [many provinces of the Irish] were converted.<sup>63</sup> **HE III, 27** states that he died at the age of ninety in 729. **HE V, 22** expands on this by stating that his death occurred on Easter Sunday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of April.<sup>64</sup>

The identification of *Ichtbrycht Episcop* with this Ecgberht was rejected by Ó Cróinín on the basis that the day of Ecgberht's death is given by Bede as 24 April 729, correlating with *Ecbrichti Saxonis* in **MT 24 Apr** and *Ecbricht* in **MG 24 Apr**, but distinct from *Ichtbrychtán* of **MO 8 Dec** and *Ichtbritt* of **MG 8 Dec**.<sup>65</sup> Ó Cróinín further suggests that Bede's designation of *Sacerdos* is insufficient ground to accept Ecgberht as a bishop.<sup>66</sup> Vera Orschel argues that the identification of *Ichtbrycht* as

<sup>61</sup> Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 426- 427.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 224- 225.

<sup>63</sup> C. W. Jones (ed.), *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars VI, Opera Dedascalica 2*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 123 B (Turnhout, Brepols, 1977), p. 533; McClure and Collins (trans.), *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. xxiv- xxix and 339. See also Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede, The reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1988), p. 235. An excerpt of this passage appears in **AT3 Kl. 201.3** (date= AU 701). See Gough-Cooper, *Annals of Tigernach, Third Fragment*, pp. 61 -62.

<sup>64</sup> His death is also mentioned in **HE V, 23** and Bede's summary timeline in **HE V, 24**.

<sup>65</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 234; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach Manuscripts', p. 25.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25, n. 7.

Uictberct is backed up by Alcuin's *The bishops, kings and saints of York*, which describes Uichtberct as having built: *suae gentis monachis construxit ovile egregium* [an excellent shelter for monks of his race] and lists him alongside various English figures abroad.<sup>67</sup>

The fact that at least two plausible Northumbrian candidates may be proffered for the identity of *Ichtbrycht episcop* emphasises the extent and significance of Northumbrian activity within the Irish Church. Perhaps the most prominent expression of this activity was the monastery of Mag nEó na Sacsan, founded by Colmán, former Bishop of Lindisfarne.<sup>68</sup> **HE III, 26** states that following the Synod of Whitby, Colman returned to Ireland with followers. In **HE IV, 4** a fuller account is given. Here, it is stated that Colman, alongside the Irish who had been on Lindisfarne as well as about thirty Englishmen, first went to Iona and following this, went to Inishbofin, where he established a monastery. Following a dispute between the Irish and the English, he set up a monastery at *Mag éo* for the English monks. **AU 668.3** has: *Naugatio Columbani episcopi [cum] reliquis sanctorum ad Insolam Uaccę Albae, in qua fundavit aeclesiam* [The voyage of bishop Colmán, with the relics of the saints, to Inis Bó Finne, where he founded a church].<sup>69</sup> The Inishbofin in question has been identified as that in Connacht.<sup>70</sup> Orschel cautions against Chadwick's suggestion that there may have been a link between an earlier church on the island and the Columbans, arguing that the reference to an island of this name in

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<sup>67</sup> P. Godman, *Alcuin: the bishops, kings, and saints of York* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1982), pp. 82-83. Lines 1022-1033, 1026- 1027. Discussed in Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', p. 94.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81- 82.

<sup>69</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 138-139.

<sup>70</sup> Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', p. 82.

*Amra Coluim Cille* is most likely to be to Inishbofin in Donegal.<sup>71</sup> Orschel points to the obit of Colman in **AU 676.1** to suggest that he himself did not remain at Mayo once it had been established but remained associated with Inishbofin.<sup>72</sup>

Mayo was not the only establishment with strong English links. Orschel points to two other establishments that had a reference to Saxons within their names: *Tech Saxan* in Athenry, Galway and *Tisaxan* near Kinsale, Cork.<sup>73</sup> She also highlights two further foundations that seem heavily connected with English migrants- the already discussed Rathmelsigi, and Tullylease, Cork.<sup>74</sup> Within the latter is situated an inscription asking the reader to pray for *Berechtwine*, argued by Isabel Henderson and Elisabeth Okasha to be a form of the Old English name *Beorhtwine*, dating from the eighth or ninth centuries.<sup>75</sup>

If one individual was to be considered a personification of the links between Northumbria, Ireland and British Dalriada, it would perhaps be difficult to find a better candidate than Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, also known as Flann Fína mac Ossu. William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* states that Aldfrith's younger brother Egfrid was given the throne due to Aldfrith being illegitimate. Aldfrith: *in Hiberniam, seu ui seu indignatione, secesserat* [either under

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, pp. 86- 87.

<sup>72</sup> *Columbana, episcopus Insole Uacce Albe, 7 Finain filii Airennain pausant* [Colmán Bishop of Inis Bó Finne, and Fínán, son of Airennán, rest]. Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 142- 143; see Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', p. 89.

<sup>73</sup> Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', p. 83.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Although there is some similarity between the artwork of Tullylease and the Lindisfarne gospels, Henderson and Okasha argue that there is insufficient evidence for any direct dependency of Tullylease to an English establishment, emphasising instead the interaction of Northumbrian and Irish traditions as part of the wider insular sculptural tradition. See Isabel Henderson and Elisabeth Okasha, 'The Early Christian Inscribed and Carved Stones of Tullylease, Co. Cork', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 24 (Winter 1992), pp. 1- 36.

compulsion or in indignation had retired to Ireland].<sup>76</sup> Smyth believes that he may have studied in Ireland under Adomnán as a youth, potentially at Durrow.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, Colin Ireland has argued that it is likely that his mother was a high status Cenél nEógain woman.<sup>78</sup> The *Anonymous Life of Saint Cuthbert* posits that he was a monk on Iona prior to his assumption of the kingship upon the death of Egfrid.<sup>79</sup> James Fraser describes him as having ‘a Gaelic persona as a well-known Gaelic author’ and the text *Bríathra Flainn Fína maic Ossu* was attributed to him.<sup>80</sup> His death is recorded in **AU 704.3** in the entry immediately following the death of Adomnán: *Aldfrith m. Ossu sapiens, rex Saxonum, moritur* [the learned Aldfrid, son of Oswy, king of the Saxons, dies].<sup>81</sup> **AT3 KI. 204.4** has: *Altfrith mac Ossa .i. Fland Fína la Gaedhelu, ecnaidh, rex Saxonum fuit*.<sup>82</sup> In **VC II, 46** Adomnán describes Aldfrith as *amicum* [friend].<sup>83</sup> Despite some lingering murkiness as to the specifics of his background and ancestry, the life and career of Aldfrith exemplifies the strength and extent of the interrelationships between Ireland, Dalriada and Northumbria and in particular to the Columban Church.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>76</sup> R. A. B. Mynors, R. M Thomson and M. Winterbottom (eds. and trans.), *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 80- 81; see also John Sharpe and J. A. Giles (ed. and trans.) *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the kings of England. From the earliest period to the reign of King Stephen* (London, H. G. Bohn, 1847), pp. 52- 53.

<sup>77</sup> Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 129.

<sup>78</sup> Colin Ireland, ‘Aldfrith of Northumbria and the Irish Genealogies’, *Celtica* 22 (1991), pp. 64- 78.

<sup>79</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 218.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p. 217. An edition and translation of this text has been produced by Colin A. Ireland (ed. and trans.), *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: An Edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína maic Ossu* (Tempe, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999)

<sup>81</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 162- 163. Colin Ireland has argued that there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the designation *Sapiens* infers that Aldfrith held any office within the Church. See Colin Ireland, ‘Aldfrith of Northumbria and the Learning of a Sapiens’, in Kathryn A. Klar, Eve E. Sweetser and Claire Thomas (eds.), *A Celtic Florilegium: Studies in Memory of Brendan O Hehir* (Lawrence, Massachusetts, Celtic Studies Publications, 1996), pp. 63- 77.

<sup>82</sup> Gough-Cooper, *Annals of Tigernach, Third Fragment*, p. 63.

<sup>83</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 178- 179.

<sup>84</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 217- 218.

The strength and dynamism of the Ireland/ Dalriada/ Northumbria axis within the Church, as well as political ties between Ireland and Northern Britain, is the vibrant migratory context in which the Pictish and British presence in the Early Medieval Irish Church existed. Attention will now turn to these, often significantly less well noticed, cogs in the insular machine, beginning with the earliest centuries of the Church in Ireland.



## 4 The Early Church

### 4.1 Introduction

The Early Church unsurprisingly fascinated Irish hagiographers. Given what could be discerned from Patrick's accounts of his own life as well as subsequent hagiography, it is also unsurprising that the interaction of other early ecclesiastics and laypeople with Britain was a subject that arose frequently.<sup>1</sup> The centrality of Patrick within hagiography dealing with lesser known figures of the Early Church can pose a problem when assessing the way in which the interaction and movement of people between Britain and Ireland is portrayed. In particular, a British origin for any individual could serve as anything from a firm statement of a local patron's long-term discipleship under Patrick, to a simple narrative device to establish a good relationship from the outset. Clear advantages to constructing a British identity complicate any attempts to discern anything of the presence or influence of historical British individuals in the early Irish Church beyond that of its most famous figurehead. Nonetheless, Patrick himself stands testament to the possible influence of a fifth-century migrant and, as such, the search for any glimpses, however fleeting, of other historical migrants is justified.

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<sup>1</sup> The question of Patrick's own place of origin has provoked considerable debate. There has been little consensus, beyond the likelihood of a western British location. A location close to Carlisle has been argued by Charles Thomas and supported by De Paor. In contrast, K. R. Dark argues Dorset and the Cotswolds to be likely. Thomas Charles-Edwards and Pádraig Ó Riain argue that the matter has yet to be resolved convincingly. Thomas Clancy has argued that it is doubtful that a short-list of locations could be plausibly established. See Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, Batsford, 1981), pp. 310- 314; Liam De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, p. 88; K. R. Dark, 'St Patrick's Uillula and the Fifth-Century Occupation of Romano-British Villas', in Dumville (ed.), *St Patrick A.D. 493- 1993*, pp. 19- 24; Pádraig Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2011), p. 526; Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 216, n. 136; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'The Cults of Saints Patrick and Palladius in Early Medieval Scotland' in Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson (eds.), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 18- 19, p. 19.



The principal aims of this chapter are twofold. The first is to ask what can be discerned of British migration in the earliest phase of the Church in Ireland. The second is to discuss the manner in which British identity could be utilised for the contemporary purposes of later times. Given the large volume of sources dealing with potentially relevant individuals and their relationship with Patrick, a number of subjects have been selected for examination in an attempt to strike a balance between focus and breadth. One text in particular provides a useful starting point. This is the foundation account of the church of Trim, which occurs as part of a collection of texts known as the *Additamenta*, preserved in the *Book of Armagh*.<sup>2</sup> The number of people portrayed as being of British origin makes the text of significant interest here. Though the *Additamenta* itself provide a great number of subjects for consideration, the consideration of other individuals is merited in order to provide a fuller picture of the hagiography of the Early Irish Church and its relationship with Britain. As such, two individuals not portrayed in the *Additamenta* will be given attention due to the way in which they, in different ways, occupy distinctive places within the domain of Patrician hagiography. Ailbe is of interest due to his portrayal as a pre-Patrician churchman with British connections. Mochta merits attention given his unusual position as a man who is portrayed as a disciple of Patrick by Columban sources. Given the volume of discussion that exists on Patrick, consideration of his own historical career has been avoided. Discussion of Palladius has also been avoided in the present chapter. The presence of any relationship between Palladius and Northern Britain may be considered a matter of significant doubt. As much of the material associating him with a Northern British origin is intertwined with the cult of

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<sup>2</sup> An introductory discussion of this text takes place in Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 46- 49.

Torannán, he will be considered alongside this saint in another chapter.<sup>3</sup>

Geographically, the majority of sources dealing with the early Church ascribe nothing more specific than a British identity to the migrants that they portray.

However, an analysis of their treatment in the sources is essential to the understanding of the more specific dynamics of interaction between Northern Britain and Ireland as well as the development of the ‘migration narrative’ in both Scotland and Ireland.

## 4.2 Ailbe

Ailbe of Emly is one of ‘four holy Bishops’ whose hagiography had become intertwined by the time that they were studied by James Usher in the early seventeenth century and were regarded as having been earlier than Patrick.<sup>4</sup> Of these, Ailbe is of particular interest to the present study due to his stated upbringing by Britons. The version of the *Life of Ailbe* engaged with by Usher was derived from two apparently early fifteenth-century manuscripts in his possession: Dublin, Marsh’s Library, Z3. 1. 5 (*Codex Kilkenniensis*) and Dublin, Trinity College Library, 175.<sup>5</sup> Both of these contain a collection of lives, argued to come from a single exemplar, designated by Sharpe as *D*.<sup>6</sup> Sharpe argues that the version of the *Life of St Ailbe* in the two fifteenth century manuscripts was derived from another extant version preserved in the *Codex Salmanticensis*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See 6.4.4.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Sharpe, ‘Quatuor Sanctissimi Episcopi: Irish Saints Before St Patrick’, in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (eds.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers, Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, An Sagart, 1989), pp. 376- 399, p. 376.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp. 385- 386; Introduction to Dublin, Marsh’s Library, Z3. 1. 5, <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html> (last accessed 19/11/15).

<sup>6</sup> Sharpe, ‘Quatuor Sanctissimi Episcopi’, p. 386.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 386 and 390.

Throughout the *D* collection appear references to four pre-patrician churchmen in Ireland. These are explicitly listed in the *Life of St Declan of Ardmore*:

*Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi cum suis discipulus fuerunt in Hibernia ante Patricium predicantes in ea ad Christum: id est Ailbeus, Declanus, Ybarus, et Chiaranus*

[There were four most saintly bishops who were in Ireland with their disciples before Patrick, preaching there and converting many to Christ. They were Ailbe, Declan, Ibar and Ciarán].<sup>8</sup>

Sharpe argues that the claim to pre-Patrician status for these four derives from two distinct sources, a now lost account of St Ciaran as well as the *Life of Ailbe* preserved in the *Codex Salmanticensis*.<sup>9</sup> He suggests an eighth century date for this life, arguing it to be an attempt to counter Patrician narratives and assert 'if not superiority over Patrick, then at least precedence in time and equality in status'.<sup>10</sup> Francis John Byrne has raised the possibility that the life may have been written at the time of the *Cáin Ailbi* occurring in the annals.<sup>11</sup> **AI 784.1** has: *Cáin Ailbi la Mumain* [The Law of Ailbe in force in Mumu].<sup>12</sup> **AU 793.3** states: *Lex Ailbhi for Mumain 7 ordinatio Artroigh m. Cathail in regnum Mumen* [The law of Ailbe [promulgated] in Mumu, and Artri son of Cathal ordained king of Mumu].<sup>13</sup> Ó Riain, however, argues that the presence of Ailbe in Wales and Rome in much of the text

<sup>8</sup> Excerpt from *ibid*, p. 376; Liam De Paor (trans.), 'The Life of St Declan of Ardmore' in De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, pp. 244- 271, p. 251.

<sup>9</sup> Sharpe, 'Quatuor Sanctissimi Episcopi', p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 393- 394.

<sup>11</sup> Francis John Byrne, 'Derrynavlan: The Historical Context', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110 (1980), pp. 116- 126, p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen*, pp. 116- 117.

<sup>13</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 248- 249. Thomas Charles-Edwards argues that it is likely that the two events in this entry are connected given the status of Ailbe's church at Emly as the principal church of the Éoganachta. See Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, Volume 1, p. 256, n. 3.

suggests that the account is not an early one.<sup>14</sup> He argues that similarities may be detected with the content of the genealogies. Furthermore, he suggests that Ailbe's prophecy of St David's sanctity may have derived from content in Rhygyfarch's *Life of St David*, dating from the late eleventh century.<sup>15</sup>

The *Life of Ailbe* in the *Codex Salmanticensis* reports that having been left to the elements as a baby, Ailbe was rescued by a wolf and then raised by Lochan son of Luigre. He then entrusted his care to some Britons:<sup>16</sup>

*Lochanus autem, filius Lugin, dedit precium quibusdam Britonibus qui in famulatu fuerunt in oriente Cliach, et ipsi nutrierunt puerum, nomenque ei dederunt Albeus, eo quod vivus sub rupe repertus est*  
[Lochanus however, son of Lugin, gave pay to some Britons who were in servitude in East Cliach, and they fostered the boy, they gave him the name Albeus because he had been found alive under a rock].<sup>17</sup>

Sharpe suggests that the presence of Britons in servitude in Ireland could be seen as 'an allusion to Patrick's career' which is removed in the version at Usher's disposal with the substitution of *apud eum* [with him] in place of *in famulatu* [in servitude]:<sup>18</sup>

*Lochanus hic filius Lugin quibusdam Britonibus, qui apud eum in oriente Cliach fuerunt, dedit sanctum puerum, et ipsi diligenter nutrierunt eum; nomenque ei dederunt Albeus, eo quod vivus sub rupe repertus est*  
[This Lochanus son of Lugin gave the holy boy to certain Britons, who were with him in eastern Cliach, and they faithfully fostered him; they gave him the name Albeus because he had been found alive under the rock].<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid pp. 58- 59. The genealogies are discussed above, 2.5.

<sup>16</sup> Sharpe, 'Quatuor Sanctissimi Episcopi' p. 391.

<sup>17</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 118; Trans. Mine.

<sup>18</sup> Sharpe, 'Quatuor Sanctissimi Episcopi' p. 391.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon, 1910), pp. 46- 47; Liam De Paor (trans.), 'The Life of Ailbe' in De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, pp. 227- 243, p. 228.

In the text it is understood that the name derives from *ail*, ‘rock’ and *beo*, ‘alive’.<sup>20</sup>

Ailbe went on to be baptised by Palladius. Following this, the version in the *Codex Salmanticensis* asserts that he desired to go to Britain with his fosterers, when they decided to flee from their servitude:

*Postea autem, Britones illi a suo famulatu fugientes, Albeus cum illis usque ad mare ambulavit, volens ire trans mare cum ipsis. Ipsi autem, precio dato, navem ascenderunt et, Albeum ire secum nolentes, in portu solum reliquerunt. Illi autem, tota die vento et fluctibus maris iactati, rursum in portum reversi sunt, ubi ipsi sedebat. Et ipsi, scientes causa illius circumiactatos esse, assumpserunt eum in navem, et simul prospera navigatione usque ad Britanniam perrexerunt*

[Afterwards however, the Britons fled from their servitude. Albeus walked with them all the way to the sea, wishing to go across the sea with them. They however handed over payment, boarded the ship and did not wish Albeus to go with them, they left him behind in the port alone. However they were tossed for a whole day by the wind and with the waves of the sea. They turned back to the port and returned again to where he was sitting. And perceiving him to be the cause of this scattering around, they brought him into the ship, and at once they proceeded with favourable sailing all the way to Britain].<sup>21</sup>

The later version of the text again expunges any reference to slavery here:

*Postea autem Britones illi, nutritores sancti Albei, volentes ad patriam suam exire, beatus Albeus cum illis vsque ‘ad mare’ ambulavit, volens transnavigare cum eis; illi autem precio dato nauem ascenderant, et Albeum ire secum nolentes, in portu solum reliquerunt. Illi autem toto die vento et fluctibus maris iactati, rursum ad eundem locum retrusi sunt, vbi dimiserunt eum. Videntes autem illi sanctum puerum in portu, et scientes causa ipsius circumiactatos esse periculose inter fluctus, assumpserunt eum in nauem, et simul prospera nauigatione vsque ad Britanniam nauigauerunt*

[Afterwards, however, the Britons who had fostered Ailbe decided to return to their own country. Blessed Ailbe walked with them all the way to the sea, since he desired to make the voyage with them. But they did not wish him to accompany them, and they left him alone at the harbour. However, they were tossed for a whole day by the wind and with the waves of the sea, and eventually were driven back to the same place where they had left him. Then,

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 308, Life of St Ailbe n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 119; trans. mine.

when they saw the holy boy at the harbour, they understood why they had been battered about dangerously among the waves. They took him on board and together they sailed safely as far as Britain].<sup>22</sup>

Ailbe then travelled to Rome with miraculous assistance.<sup>23</sup>

References to an individual or individuals of this name are to be found in no less than four separate dates in the early martyrologies. **MT 30 Jan** lists: *Cruimthir Ailbhe*.<sup>24</sup> It may be prudent to note that this is one of the entries surviving only in the seventeenth-century Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5100-4 as it is the first day that would have fallen on one of the missing leaves of the *Book of Leinster* text.<sup>25</sup>

However, the similar entry for the same day in **MG** would appear to vouch for the provenance of this entry.<sup>26</sup> The same martyrology has three further entries, all nearly identical to one another: **MT 10 Sep: Ailbi Imlig**, **MT 12 Sep: Ailbei eps. Imlecha**, **MT 30 Dec: Ailbi episcopi Imlecha**.<sup>27</sup> Two of these appear in **MO**. **MO 12 Sep** gives:

*Celebair féil nAilbi*  
*La Fleid sorchai snámaig*  
[Celebrate Ailbe's feast with Fled the luminous].<sup>28</sup>

**MO 30 Dec** has:

*la hAilbe co nógi,*  
*arricfam a féli*

<sup>22</sup> Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. 1, p. 47; translation adapted from De Paor (trans.), 'The Life of Ailbe', p. 229.

<sup>23</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 119; Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. 1, p. 47; and De Paor (trans.), 'The Life of Ailbe', p. 229.

<sup>24</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, xxvii and 13; discussed above 2.3.

<sup>26</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 26.

<sup>27</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, pp. 2 and 70.

<sup>28</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 194.

[With virginal Ailbe, we shall attain his feast].<sup>29</sup>

In both cases, notes associate the saint with Emly.<sup>30</sup>

**MG 30 Jan** appears to preserve the distinct identity of *cruimthir Eilbe*, however the other entries appear less explicitly linked in this text than do their equivalents in **MT: MG 10 Sep: Elbe**, **MG 12 Sep: Ailbe Imlig Ibair**, **MG 30 Dec: in-agaïd aig Elbe** [Ailbe against battle].<sup>31</sup>

A number of relevant entries occur in the annals. **AU 527.4** has: *Pausatio Sancti Ailbe* [The repose of St Ailbe].<sup>32</sup> Similarly **AT3 Kl. 34.6** (date = AU527) has: *Pausa sancti Albi*.<sup>33</sup> Another obit of interest occurs in **AU 534.2: Quies Ailbe Imlecha Ibuir** [Repose of Ailbe of Imlech Ibuir].<sup>34</sup> In **AT3 Kl. 41.2** (date = AU 534) a similar entry reads: *Ailbe Imlich Iubair obit*.<sup>35</sup> **CS 531** has similar: *Ailbe Imleča Iubair quieuit*.<sup>36</sup> A further obit of note occurs in **AU 542.2: Albeus pausat** [Ailbe rests].<sup>37</sup> **AT3 Kl. 50.1** (date = AU 546) has: *Ailbe Senchua Ua nAillello obit*.<sup>38</sup> A similar entry occurs in **CS 542: Ailbe Senčua hua nAililla quieuit.<sup>39</sup> These entries would appear to group themselves relatively comfortably into three distinct episodes. The first relates to the death of an Ailbe who is given no further identification beyond his name and sanctity and recorded as occurring around 527. The next relates to the death of Ailbe of Imlech Ibuir around 534. Finally, in dates around 546, an**

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 194.

<sup>30</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, pp. 206-207, 262-263.

<sup>31</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 26, 174- 175 and 250-251.

<sup>32</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I pp. 66- 67.

<sup>33</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I pp. 70- 71.

<sup>35</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 44.

<sup>37</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I pp. 72- 73.

<sup>38</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, pp. 46- 47.

Ailbe Senchua Ua nAillello is commemorated and perhaps the name-only entry of **AU 542.2** should be included in this last group. The latter two groups relate to the two distinct cults that became prominent surrounding a man of this name, centred on Emly, Tipperary and Shancough, Sligo respectively.<sup>40</sup> Ailbe of Emly, whose lives have been discussed here, came to be the patron saint of the Diocese of Cashel and Emly.<sup>41</sup> The Ailbe associated with Shancough and assigned to the *Ua nAillello* in **AT** and **CS**, is mentioned in *Tírechán*, 19, 5, though here associated with Doogarry, Roscommon:<sup>42</sup>

*Et uenierunt per aluerum fluminis Sinnæ quæ dicitur Bandea ad Tumulum Gradi, in quo loco ordinauit Ailbeum sanctum praespiterum, cui indicauit altare mirabile lapideum in monte nepotum Ailelo, quia inter nepotis Aillello erat, et baptizauit Maneum sanctum, quem ordinauit episcopus Bronus filius Ieni seruus Dei, socius Patricii*

[And they crossed the bed of the Shannon- which is called Bandea to Dume Gráid [Doogarry, Co. Roscommon], where he ordained the holy Ailbe as priest. He pointed out to him a marvellous stone altar on the mountain of Uí Aillello [Curlew Mountain]- for he was among the Uí Aillello- and he baptised holy Maneus, whom Brón son of Icne, God's servant and companion of Patrick ordained].<sup>43</sup>

Though Ailbe of Shancough came to be regarded as a separate individual from Ailbe of Emly, Ó Riain points to the 10 September pattern day at 'Tobar Eilibh', near Shancough as evidence that they should be regarded as being originally one and the same.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 58- 61.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 60; Liam De Paor (trans.) 'Bishop Tirechán's account of St Patrick's Journey' in De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, pp. 154- 174, p. 161.

<sup>43</sup> Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 138- 140. Trans. adapted from ibid. pp. 138- 140; and De Paor (trans.) 'Bishop Tirechán's account of St Patrick's Journey', p. 161. The place name identifications are those of De Paor.

<sup>44</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 60.



By the seventeenth century, an Ailbe son of Ronan had become associated with the *Cruimthir Ailbhe* of **MT 30 Jan**,<sup>45</sup> with this new identification being made manifest in **MD 30 Jan**: *Ailbhe, mac Ronáin, do čenel cConuill Gulban mic Neill dó* [Ailbhe, son of Ronán, who is of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall].<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to argue that the assigning of such a date should be regarded as more than a reasonable inference by the Franciscans, attaching this Ailbe to the only feast of an Ailbe not associated with Emly in the genealogies. Further to this, Colgan asserted that this saint should be regarded as the same as Ailbhe of Shancough.<sup>47</sup> Whether these two inferences occurred at the same time, or were separate is difficult to ascertain with certainty, though it is perhaps worthwhile to note that the entry in **MD 30 Jan** does not specify a location.

An Ailbe features in lives of a number of other saints. He appears as a teacher of Mochuille of Tulla.<sup>48</sup> He also makes appearances in the lives of Mac Reith and Colum of Terryglass, two saints associated with the island of *Inis Celtra*.<sup>49</sup> Ó Riain has pointed to the use of the name *Mac Croidhe Ailbhe*, literally ‘son of Ailbhe’s Heart’ for Mac Reith, as a means of advancing his church’s standing in the eyes of the Munster hierarchy.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Best and Lawlor, (ed.) *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 30- 31.

<sup>47</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 60.

<sup>48</sup> Carolus De Smedt et. al. ‘Vita S. Mochullei Episcopi’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 17 (Brussels, Societe des Bollandistes, 1898), pp. 137- 138; discussed in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 474- 475; and Thomas Johnson Westropp, ‘St Mochulla of Tulla, County Clare’, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 6<sup>th</sup> Series, vol. 1, no. 1 (31 March 1911), pp. 5- 19, p. 8, n.4.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 231; Felim Ó Brian, ‘The Hagiography of Leinster’, in John Ryan (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill D. Litt. On the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Dublin, At the Sign of the Three Candles, 1940), pp. 454- 464, p. 461, n. 32.

<sup>50</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 421.

Leaving aside the origin and purposes of Ailbe's utilisation in later texts, the earlier evidence points to an already confused cult or cults. As has been discussed, the annals suggest dates for what appear to be either two or three distinct individuals, an Ailbe recorded as dying around 527, Ailbe of Emly around 534 and Ailbe of Shancough of the Ui Ailello around a decade later. The spread of these entries over a period of around twenty years would perhaps seem too large to attribute to errors of transcription. However, they may be considered close enough to arouse suspicion that these are the traces of divergent cults of ultimately the same man in different locations, each locally assigned a date of death pertaining to the early sixth century. As has been discussed, the case of such a link between at least Ailbe of Emly and Shancough is arguable from the presence of a pattern day at *Tobar Eilibh* near Shancough on 10 September, one of the days of commemoration of the Emly saint in **MT**.<sup>51</sup> By the seventh century at the earliest, an Ailbe was sufficiently associated with the Ui Ailello and the Sligo and Roscommon area to appear in this guise as a contemporary of Patrick in the work of Tírechán. In the martyrologies, the fact that **MT** in its final form presents three different dates (though two very close) for the commemoration of Ailbe of Emly and contrasts with the distinct treatment of each of these in **MG**, may suggest that the attempt at uniformity is the result of later scribal emendation. An alternative possibility is that **MT** collected already divergent feasts, all held to commemorate Ailbe of Emly. **MG** then tried to rationalise the repetition by assuming this to be a mistake and, taking them all to be separate individuals, deliberately removed what was perceived to be an incorrect identification from two of the entries. Whether or not either of these scenarios may be regarded as plausible,

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p. 60.

it would appear likely that at least both of the September listings originally reflect the commemoration of a single individual. All the while, it was ensured that *Cruimthir Ailbhe* of 30 January maintained a distinctive identity, though only speculation is possible regarding who was the intended identity of this Ailbe.<sup>52</sup> Given Tirechán's assertion that Ailbe was a priest, affirmed by his presence in a list entitled *De praespiteris* in the same document, Ailbe of the Ui Aillello should perhaps at least be considered a candidate, though the apparent connection of Ailbe of Emly and Shancough through the September commemoration at *Tobar Eilibh* may provide a tentative argument against this.<sup>53</sup>

Given the contradictory nature of much of the early source material, it is difficult to settle on any firm conclusions regarding the identity, identities or floruits of any historical Ailbe or Ailbes. What emerges from the extant evidence is a saint or saints who were by the seventh century at the earliest onwards, considered to be early, whether this be taken as sixth-century, contemporary with Patrick or pre-Patrician. It is difficult to assert that the fostering of Ailbe by British slaves in Ireland was based on any long-standing tradition. It is possible that the account originally came into being either by confusion with an account of Patrick, or more deliberately in order to offer some mirroring of his career. It may even be that Patrick himself was the original fosterer in the tale.<sup>54</sup> These possibilities notwithstanding, the suggestion that the tradition may have developed independently from Patrician tradition may be impossible to dismiss out of hand.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the most that can be

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<sup>52</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 128.

<sup>54</sup> My thanks are due to James Fraser for this suggestion, made in personal email correspondence.

<sup>55</sup> The proliferation of slave raids on western Britain from Ireland in the fourth and fifth centuries is discussed in Dark, 'St Patrick's Uillula and the Fifth-Century Occupation of Romano-British Villas',

taken from the British element in Ailbe's formative years is that an upbringing by Britons was considered to be a plausible event in the life of an early saint in Ireland.

### 4.3 Mochta of Louth

Another name of interest is Mochta, a figure notable for the manner with which he interacts with both Patrician and Columban hagiography. This is exemplified in **VC Preface II**, identified by Ó Riain as the earliest reference to the saint:<sup>56</sup>

*...Nam quidam proselytus brito homo sanctus sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus Maucteus nomine ita de nostro profetizauit patrono sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis conpertum habetur. 'In nouissimis' ait 'saeculi temporibus filius nasciturus est cuius nomen Columba per omnes insularum ociani prouincias deuulgabitur notum, nouissimaque orbis tempora clare inlustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepisculae interuallo disterminabuntur. Homo ualde deo carus et grandis coram ipso meriti.'*

[...For it is an accepted fact passed down to us from ancient men who knew of it that a certain British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of the holy bishop Patrick, called Maucte, prophesied thus of our patron, saying: 'In the last years of the world a son will be born, whose name Columba will become famous through all the provinces of the islands of the Ocean, and will brightly illumine the latest years of the earth. The fields of our two monasteries, mine and his, will be separated by the width of one small hedge: a man very dear to God, and of high merit in his sight.']<sup>57</sup>

A saint of this name is recorded in **MT 24 Mar**. The entry also names his mother:

*Mochta Lugmaid Cumman nomen matris eius* [Mochta of Louth, Cumman (was) his mother's name].<sup>58</sup> Richard Sharpe has expressed some doubt over when Mochta came to be associated with Louth, pointing to the absence of a named church in his

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p. 22 and 22 n. 22; David N. Dumville, 'Coroticus', in Dumville (ed.), *St Patrick A.D. 493- 1993*, pp. 107- 115, p. 108; and Dumville, 'British Missionary Activity in Ireland', p. 138.

<sup>56</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 465.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 4- 5.

<sup>58</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 26; Trans. mine.

obit in **AU 535.1** and the uncertainty surrounding the date of Louth's foundation.<sup>59</sup> It may be suggested that given the argued dependency of both **MO** and **MG** on **MT**, the lack of corresponding locational information in either text may be a point in favour of seeing the Louth attribution as a late addition to **MT**.<sup>60</sup> **MO 24 Mar** is decidedly less specific: *Mochtae credal cráibdech* [Mochtae, pious, devout]. **MG 24 Mar** is similarly vague: *Moc[h]ta maith a monar* [Mochta, good (was) his work]. Despite the apparent interaction by Ó Cléirigh with this entry in **MG**- adding *Lugbaidh* in a note, there is no equivalent entry on this date in **MD**.<sup>61</sup>

Two days later, **MG 26 Mar** also commemorates a *Mocta*. A gloss adds: *Insi Mocta* [of Inis Mocta] and this information is followed by **MD 26 Mar**.<sup>62</sup> There are no equivalent listings on this date in the earlier calendars and Ó Riain has attributed these dedications to 'Mochta na hInse son of Cearnachán'- an Armagh priest whose death is recorded as occurring in 922.<sup>63</sup>

**MT 19 Aug** appears more clearly associated with the earlier saint. *Mocta Lugmaid*.<sup>64</sup> This is followed in **MO 19 Aug**, though again with less detail: *Mochtae mór, maith sithbe* [Mochta the great, a good leader].<sup>65</sup> In **MG 19 Aug** his location is again given as Louth, providing a tentative point in favour of the provenance of the

<sup>59</sup> Richard Sharpe, 'Saint Mauchteus, discipulus Patricii', in Alfred Bammesberger and Alfred Wollmann (eds.), *Britain 400-600: Language and History* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990), pp. 85- 93, p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> The relationship between the martyrologies is discussed in 2.3. See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Martyrology of Óengus: The Transmission of the Text', *Studia Hibernica* 31 (2000/ 2001), pp. 221- 242, pp. 222 and 222 n. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 84; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 1 and 60- 61; Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 84 – 87.

<sup>62</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 62- 63; Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 88- 89.

<sup>63</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 27; and Stokes (ed. and trans), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 84; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 467.

<sup>64</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 64.

<sup>65</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 177.

surviving **MT** dedication: *Mochta lóc[h]rann Lughmaith* [Mochta the lamp of Lugmad].<sup>66</sup> **MD 19 Aug** is expansive, including a lengthy poem dealing with his longevity and abstinence from fat, with a particular focus on his teeth, presumably implying their survival as relics. This is followed by a shorter poem dealing with his diet attributed to Cuimin Coindeire.<sup>67</sup>

There is a further listing of interest in **MT 9 Sep**: *Mochotae Dromma*.<sup>68</sup> A note on the entry adds: *.i. mac Dergain*.<sup>69</sup> This listing is followed by **MG 9 Sep** in its brief listing of a *Mocta* and **MD 9 Sep**, which commemorates: *Mochta, mac Dergáin* [Mochta, son of Dergán].<sup>70</sup>

Further material of interest is to be found in the annals. **AU 535.1** records the death of Mochta, disciple of Patrick:

*Dormitatio Muchti discipuli Patricii .xiii. Kl Septembris. Sic ipse scripsit in epistola sua: Mauchteus peccator, prespiter, in Domino salutem*  
[The falling asleep of Mochta, disciple of Patrick, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of the Kalends of September. Thus he himself wrote in his epistle: ‘Mauchteus, a sinner, priest, disciple of St Patrick, [sends] greetings in the Lord’].<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 160- 161. The relationship between the martyrologies is discussed above, 2.3.

<sup>67</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 222- 225.

<sup>68</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 69.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 172- 173; Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 242- 243.

<sup>71</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 70- 71; The same phrasing begins the record of Mochta’s obit in the equivalent entry in **AT3 Kl. 42.2**. (In this entry scribal error appears to have turned *xiii* into *xui*. As the thirteenth day before the Kalends of September falls on the twentieth of August, the day following the August commemorations in the martyrologies, priority may be assumed to be given to this date.) Following this it is stated that he was 300 years old, after which an Irish poem is given. This is the same as the first poem of **MD 19 Aug**, though lacking its middle stanza. See Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 11; and Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 222- 225.

Mochta's obit is not the only occasion in which his words are quoted in the annals.

Information attributed to him is given in **AU 471.1**:

*Praeda secunda Saxonum de Hibernia, ut alii dicunt, in isto anno deducta est, ut Maucteus [.i. Mochtae] dicit. Sic in Libro Cuanach inueni*  
[The second prey of the Saxons from Ireland (as some state) was carried off this year, as Maucteus (Mochta) says. Thus I have found in the Book of Cuanu].<sup>72</sup>

Sharpe has argued that the forms *Mauchteus*, from the letter quoted in **AU 535.1** and *Maucteus*, as credited with the information in **AU 471.1** are, like *Maucteus*, from **VC Preface II**, spellings that are no later than c.700.<sup>73</sup> He argues the form *Muchti* in the entry itself of **AU 535.1** to be later, though still in the Old Irish period.<sup>74</sup> He has suggested that a copy of a letter of Mauchteus was kept on Iona and was used in both the obit and Adomnán's text.<sup>75</sup>

Both of the **AU** entries record early forms of the name and both state the written source from which their information is ultimately derived. It has been argued that the entries in the *Annals of Ulster* that make reference to the *Book of Cuanu* were added after the divergence of **AU** from the 'Clonmacnoise Group' of annals, although the *Book of Cuanu* may have itself been of Clonmacnoise Group origin.<sup>76</sup> Dumville and Mac Niocaill posit that the language used in the *Book of Cuanu* entries points to the tenth century at the earliest.<sup>77</sup> The presence of a similar entry in **AT3**

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<sup>72</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 50- 51.

<sup>73</sup> Sharpe, 'Saint Mauchteus, discipulus Patricii', p. 88.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p. 91.

<sup>76</sup> Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 104; and Evans, *The Present and Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 148.

<sup>77</sup> Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals*, pp. 20- 23; and David Dumville, 'Ulster Heroes in the Early Irish Annals: A Caveat', *Éigse* 17 (1977-1979), pp. 47- 54, pp. 47- 48.

**Kl. 42.2** to the obit of Mochta in **AU 535.1** argues against the *Book of Cuanu* being the source for this.<sup>78</sup>

Though it has been vociferously disputed, in particular due to the dating of the language, it may be worthwhile to note here John Kelleher's assertion that the *Book of Cuanu* was in fact a ninth-century revision of the annals, undertaken by Cuanu, Abbot of Louth, who died in 825.<sup>79</sup> Though he does not share the view of Kelleher that the Book of Cuanu was ancestral to all of the extant annals, Francis John Byrne agrees that Cuanu was 'most probably' Cuanu, Abbot of Louth.<sup>80</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards also expresses support for the possibility that the book may have been a ninth-century Louth work, pointing to the combination of the presence of the name Cuanu at Louth and the reference to Mauchteus.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the role of the *Book of Cuanu* to the transmission of the entry, the text of principal interest in **AU 471.1** to the present discussion is not the *Book of Cuanu* itself, but the text from which it is stated to quote. With only the knowledge that this work contained a reference to a Saxon raid and was attributed to *Mauchteus* it is impossible to surmise with certainty the nature of the text and whether or not this was the same work that contained the statement by a *Mauchteus* preserved in the obit

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<sup>78</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 11; The relationship of **AU** to **AT** is discussed above, 2.1.

<sup>79</sup> Kelleher describes his attribution of a revision to the annals by this Cuanu, Abbot of Louth, as a 'guess', based on the interest that is shown in the annals in the content of the *Táin Bó Cuailgne*, which is argued to have been composed in the North of County Louth. Following this attribution, he identifies this revision with the text named *Liber Cuanach* in AU. See John V. Kelleher, 'The Táin and the Annals', *Ériu* 22 (1971), pp. 107-127, p. 122; Evans, *The Present and Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, p. 191 and 191 n. 11; Dumville, 'Ulster Heroes in the Early Irish Annals: A Caveat', pp. 47-48.

<sup>80</sup> Kelleher, 'The Táin and the Annals', pp. 111-112; Francis John Byrne, 'Ut Beda Boat: Cuanu's Signature?', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds.), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2002), pp. 45-67, p. 67 and 67 n. 48.

<sup>81</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 460; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 72, n. 4. The fact that the reference to Mauchteus in **AU 471.1** is one of the reasons that Cuanu of Louth has been considered a candidate for authorship of the *Book of Cuanu* cautions against the use of the work to draw any conclusions over the relationship between Louth and Mochta.



in AU 535.1. Given the apparently different provenance of the two chronicle entries, it would appear that even if they originated in a single text, their arrival in the annals in their extant forms came at two distinct occasions. The work of Gildas would provide one possible exemplar for a potential genre of text that could include both the autobiographical statement from an epistle found in AU 535.1 and the historical record of AU 471.1, though the possibility of two distinct works, or indeed two distinct authors, must also be considered.

The name Mochta arises on a number of occasions as the father of Darerca or Monenna. This is stated in the opening sentence of the *Life of Darerca* in the *Codex Salmanticensis*:

*Virgo venabilis, nomine Darerca, cognomento Monynne, Conalleorum finibus orta, patre Mocteo, optimo videlicet viro*  
[The venerable Virgin, Darerca by name, surnamed Monynne, arose from the border of the Conalls, with father Mochta, evidently a very good man].<sup>82</sup>

Darerca and Mochta are also linked in the genealogies:

*Moninni- qui Darerca prius dicebatur- ingen Mochta m. Lilchan m. Lugdach m. Conaill m. Ehdach m. Cruind m. Lugdach ut supra.*  
[Moninni, who was previously called Darerca, daughter of Mochta, son of Lilchan, son of Lugdach, son of Conall, son of Ehdach, son of Cruind, son of Lugdach, as above].<sup>83</sup>

It is apparent that there was some disagreement over this lineage at the time of compilation, as this entry is followed by an alternative Cenél nEógain pedigree in

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<sup>82</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 83; trans. mine.

<sup>83</sup> Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 17, §98.1.

which Mochta does not feature.<sup>84</sup> A further genealogical entry gives an alternative ancestry:

*Monindi ingen Mochta ar slicht Chais m. Fiachach Araide*<sup>85</sup>

A further potential connection occurs in **MT 9 Sep** where *Sancti Darerca* appears immediately after *Mochotae Dromma*.<sup>86</sup>

It has been argued by De Paor that the assertion that Mochta was the father of Darerca stems from an earlier account of her being a ‘convert, disciple, pupil or “fosterling” of St Mochta of Louth’.<sup>87</sup> It is perhaps notable that in this instance, despite the apparent British connections of Darerca elsewhere, there is no indication in either the *Life of Darerca* or the genealogy that this Mochta is British.<sup>88</sup> This comes in some contrast to the stated British origin of St Mochta in his own life in the *Codex Salmanticensis*:

*Apostolicus pontifex Mocteus, ortus de Britannia, precedentibus future  
indiciis sanctitatis, ibi natus est*  
[The apostolic high priest Mocteus, originated from Britain, with previous indications of future sanctity, was born there].<sup>89</sup>

It is clear that the two Mochtas were not regarded as one and the same by the compiler of the *Codex Salmanticensis*. Indeed, if Heist’s scheme outlining the various collections that were brought together in the manuscript is correct, the two

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<sup>84</sup> See *Ibid*, p. 17, §98.2 and p. 193, n. 98. See also discussion at 2.1.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p. 70, §523.

<sup>86</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 69. This commemoration is discussed further in 8.2.

<sup>87</sup> De Paor, *St Patrick’s World*, p. 49.

<sup>88</sup> For the British connections of Darerca, see in particular 5.3 and 8.2.

<sup>89</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 394; trans. mine.

lives were originally from separate collections.<sup>90</sup> It is difficult to conclude with any certainty the extent to which the stated relationship between Darerca and Mochta is the result of any connection between them. The apparent Irish ancestry in the genealogies either affirms that the Mochta associated with Darerca was considered distinct, or alternatively that the assertion of Adomnán that he was British was not universally held. Whatever the original intention of the compiler of the genealogies, it may be possible that the presence of an Irish paternal lineage for Mochta set against his apparent British identity could have been reconciled with recourse to a maternal lineage. As will be considered below, British women appear not infrequently in the hagiography of the Early Church.<sup>91</sup> This could provide one explanation for the apparent significance of the mother of Mochta in his listing in **MT 24 Mar**, though caution is merited here given the questions that have been asked on the provenance of the extant entry.

Adomnán's account of Maucteus, the *proselytus brito* [British stranger] is of particular interest to the current investigation coming as it does from a Columban source who may be argued to have less reason to manufacture a British identity for a disciple of Patrick than those whose focus lay with the patron of Armagh.<sup>92</sup> The motives driving Adomnán's source and the nature of its origin are difficult to ascertain. However, Mochta must remain one of the principal candidates for a historical British migrant in the early Irish Church. Much surrounding his life and subsequent cult remain unknown. It is not certain when his cult arrived in Louth, or when and why a man with his name became one of the candidates for the father of

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<sup>90</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. xvi-xviii and xli- xlii.

<sup>91</sup> See in particular 4.4.1.

<sup>92</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 4- 5.

Darerca.<sup>93</sup> The question of a possible relationship between the cults of Mochta and Motrianóg is a further issue of some uncertainty that will be considered in a later chapter.<sup>94</sup> However, it would seem that Adomnán's Mauchteus penned at least one work of some importance to Iona and the chroniclers. For all that remains hidden of Mochta's life, writings and cult, it may well be that, along with Patrick, he is one of only two Britons in Ireland in the earliest centuries of Irish Christianity who have succeeded in leaving us any of their own words.

#### 4.4 Relatives and Disciples of Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*

Having considered the cases of Ailbe and Mochta, it is clear that the hagiographical portrayals of the relationship between the early Irish Church and Britain was far from straightforward. With Mochta, developing hagiographical traditions can be seen pulling Mochta towards both an Irish and a British identity, a theme that shall recur repeatedly throughout the study. Nonetheless, it would seem that the earliest source material does suggest the presence of a Mochta in Ireland who was a British churchman of some notability. The cause of the tradition of Ailbe's upbringing by Britons is harder to discern. The parallels that the original audience of the earliest extant *vita* would have drawn between Ailbe's foster parents and the life of Patrick are symptomatic of the extent to which the lives of the premier saints would have affected both the composition and reception of the traditions of lesser-known individuals. The relationship of Mochta with both Columban and Patrician hagiography is particularly emphatic of the extent to which the majority of Early

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<sup>93</sup> Sharpe, 'Saint Mauchteus, discipulus Patricii', p. 87.

<sup>94</sup> See 6.9.

Church figures must be viewed through a lens focused primarily on a handful of its brightest stars.

There are occasions where the bringing in of others to the orbit of the towering figures of hagiography appears to have allowed for the retention of sometimes extensive traditions relating to them. An anecdote of interest to the study is to be found in one of the supplementary notes to Tirechán's work in the *Book of Armagh*. These notes are known as the *Additamenta* and have been argued by Bieler to have come into their present form in the latter half of the eighth century.<sup>95</sup> The account in question deals with the foundation of the church at Trim, Meath and centres on Lommán, a disciple of Patrick.<sup>96</sup> It is of particular interest due to the significant number of Britons in Ireland featured within it and therefore it may be useful to quote the anecdote in its entirety:

*Quando autem Patricius cum sua sancta nauigatione ad Hiberniam peruenit, sanctum Lommanum in hostio Boinde nauim custodire reliquit quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus; ac deinde alium quadragensimum post obedentiam Patricio mansit, deinde secundum imperium sui magistri in sua nauí contrario flumine usque ad Vadum Truimm in hostio areis Feidilmedo filii Loiguirí Domino gubernante peruenit. Mane autem facto Foirtchernn filius Fedelímtheo inuenit euanguelium recitantem, et ammiratus aeuanguelium et doctrinam eius confestim credidit, et aperto fonte in illo loco a Lommano in Christo baptizatus est. Et mansit cum illo donec mater eius quaerere eum peruenit; et laeta facta est in conspectu eius, quia Brittonissa erat. At illa similiter credidit et iterum reuersa est in domum suam et nuntiauit merito suo omnia quae accederant illi et filio suo. At uero Fedelmídius laetificabatur in adeunt clerici, quia de Brittonibus matrem habuit, id est filiam regis Brittonum, id est Scoth Noe. Salutauit autem Fedelmídius Lommanum lingua Brittannica, interrogans eum secundum ordinem de fide et genere. Respondit*

<sup>95</sup> Bieler argues that this would have been shortly after the latest of the content was acquired by Armagh. He suggests this was the foundation account of Trim, for which he supports a date of the late-eighth century. This is apparently due to the fact that the last named descendent of Loíguire given in the text is *Sechnassach filius Segeni*, ten generations after Loíguire. This date is apparently accepted by Bieler, following John Gwinn, on an estimation of thirty years to a generation from an obit of Loíguire of around 463. See Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 46- 49 and 170.

<sup>96</sup> The account is discussed in Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 46- 49.

*ei: 'Ego sum Lommanus Britto Christianus, alumpnus Patricii episcopi, qui missus est a Domino baptizare populos Hibernensium et conuertere ad fidem Christi, qui me missit huc secundum uoluntatem Dei.' Statimque credidit Fedelmidius cum omni familia sua et immolauit illi et sancto Patricio regionem suam cum possessione sua et cum omnibus substantiis suis et cum omni progenie sua. Haec omnia immolauit Patricio et Lommano et Foirtcherno filio suo usque in diem iudicii. Migravit autem Fedelmid trans amnem Boindeo et mansit hi Cloin Lagen; et mansit Lommán cum Foirtcherno in Vado Truimm usque dum peruenit Patricius ad illos et aedificauit aeclesiam cum illis uigesimo quinto anno ante quam fundata esset aeclessia Alti Machae.*

*Progenies autem Lommani de Brittonibus, id est filius Gollit; germana autem Patricii mater eius; germani autem Lommani hii sunt: episcopus Munis hi Forgnidiu la Cuirniu, Broccaid i nImbliuch Equorum apud Ciarrige Connact. Broccanus i mBreachmig apud nepotes Dorthim, Mugenoc hi Cill Dumí Gluinn i ndeisciurt Breg. Haec autem progenies Patricii propria est consanguinitate et gratia, fide et baptisate et doctrina; et omnia quae adipti sunt de terra, de regionibus, aeclessiis et omnibus oblationibus propriis sancto Patricio in sempiternum obtulerunt*

[When Patrick on his holy voyage came to Ireland he left Lommán in the estuary of the Boyne to keep watch on his boat for forty days and forty nights; and after this (Lommán) stayed for another forty-day period beyond his obedience to Patrick; then, in accordance with his master's command, he sailed in his boat up the river, and under the Lord's guidance, came to Áth Truimm in front of the habitation of Fedelmid son of Loíguire. At daybreak Foirtchernn son of Fedelmid found him reciting the Gospel, and impressed by the Gospel and (Lommán's) teaching, he at once believed, and, a well having sprung forth, he was baptized in Christ by Lommán in that place. And he stayed with him until his mother came to look for him; and she rejoiced when she saw (Lommán) because she was British. And she likewise believed and went back to her house and told her husband all that had happened to her and her son. Fedelmid, however, also rejoiced at the coming of the cleric, because his mother was from the Britons, a daughter of a king of the Britons, that is, Scoth Noe. Fedelmid greeted Lommán in British and asked him in detail about his faith and family. He answered him: 'I am Lommán, a Briton (and) a Christian, a disciple of Bishop Patrick, who has been sent by the Lord to baptize the peoples of Ireland and to convert them to the faith of Christ; it is he who sent me hither according to the will of God.' And Fedelmid believed at once with his whole household and offered to him and to holy Patrick his land with the ownership (of it) and with all his wealth and with all his offspring. All this he offered to Patrick and Lommán and Foirtchernn his son till doomsday. Fedelmid moved across the river Boyne and stayed at Clúain Lagen; Lommán stayed with Foirtchernn at Áth Truimm until Patrick came to them and built a church among them in the twenty-fifth year before the church of Armagh was founded.

Lommán's ancestry was from the Britons, that is, from Gollit; a sister of Patrick was his mother; these are Lommán's brothers: bishop Munis of Forgnide among the Cuirni, Broccaid in Imbliuch Ech among the Cíarrige of Connaught, Broccán in Brechmag among the Uí Dorthim, Mugenóc in Cell

Dumi Gluinn in southern Brega. These are Patrick's own relations by blood and by grace, by faith, baptism and teaching; and they offered al the land, regions, (and) churches which they themselves acquired to Patrick for ever].<sup>97</sup>

#### 4.4.1 The Family of Foirtchernn, Fedelmid and Scoth Noe

Before a consideration of the listed relatives of Patrick and Lommán, attention may be given to the family encountered by Lommán at Trim in this narrative. A similar account featuring the same names for Lommán and his brothers occurs in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*.<sup>98</sup> However, this combines the two distinct British women into a single character:

*O thanicc Pátraic cona cobluch dochum nErenn do praicept do Góidelaib, 7 a luid do Themraig, foraccaib Lomman i nInbiur Bóinne i comét a lungae fri .xl. aidchi in chorgais. Forórongart Pátraic fair a ethar do imrum i n-aigid na Bóindi, co ngabad baili hitá indiu Ath Truim. Dún ind inbaid sin Feidlimthi maicc Loigairi maicc Neill .i. Áth Truim. Co ndecheid isin matain Fortchernn macc Feidlimthi co fuair Lommán 7 a šoscéla ara bélaib. Ingnád lais in forcetal rochúalae. Ro creit 7 ro baitsed o Lommán, 7 ro boí Fortchernnd i[c] coitsecht frisin forcetul, co túlaid a máthair fora íarair. Dorigni failti frisna cleirchiu, ar ba di Bretnaib di, .i. Scoth ingen ríg Bretan sí. Tanic Féidlemthi féin do accallaim Lommáin, 7 ró creit, 7 ró edbairt Áth Truimm do Día 7 do Pátraic 7 do Lommán 7 do Fortchernnd*  
[When Patrick came with his vessels to Ireland, to preach to the Gael, and when he went to Tara, he left Lomman in the estuary of the Boyne, keeping his ship for the forty nights of the Lent. Patrick ordered him to row his vessel against the Boyne till he should get to the place wherein Ath Truimm stands to-day. Áth Truimm was at that time the stronghold of Feidlimid son of Loegaire, son of Niall. In the morning Fortchern son of Feidlimid went and found Lomman with his gospel before him. A marvel to him (Fortchern) was the doctrine which he heard. He believed, and was baptized by Lomman, and Fortchern was listening to the doctrine until his mother came a-seeking him. She made welcome to the clerics, for of the Britons was she, namely, Scoth daughter of the king of the Britons, she. Fedilmthe himself came to have speech of Lomman and he believed, and he offered Áth Truimm to God, and to Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchern].<sup>99</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, pp. 166- 169.

<sup>98</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 66-69.

<sup>99</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 43; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 66- 67.

The situation is complicated further when figures within the text of Tírechán's *Life* itself are considered:

*Venit ergo Patricius sanctus per aluam fluminis Sinnæ per Vadum Duorum Auium in campum Ai. Audientes autem magi Loiguirii filii Neill omnia quæ facta fuerunt Caluus et Capitolauium, duo fratres qui nutrierunt duas filias Loiguirii Ethne alba <et> Fedelm rufa, timentes ne mores sancti uiri acciperent, indignati sunt ualde tenebrasque nocturnales ac densas +inaurinas super totum campum Ai fecerunt*

[Holy Patrick, then, crossed the bed of the river Shannon at the Ford of the Two Birds, making for Mag Aí. When the druids of Loíguire son of Níall, Máel and Capitolauium, who brought up the two daughters of Loíguire, fair-haired Ethne and red-haired Fedelm, heard about this fearing that these (maidens) might make the ways of the holy man their own, they grew very angry and brought the darkness of night and dense fogs over the whole of Mag Aí].<sup>100</sup>

These daughters of Loíguire make a later, lengthier appearance in the text, in which they interrogate Patrick, are baptised, and die after receiving the Eucharist.<sup>101</sup> A summary of the family as occurring in the three texts may be useful at this stage.

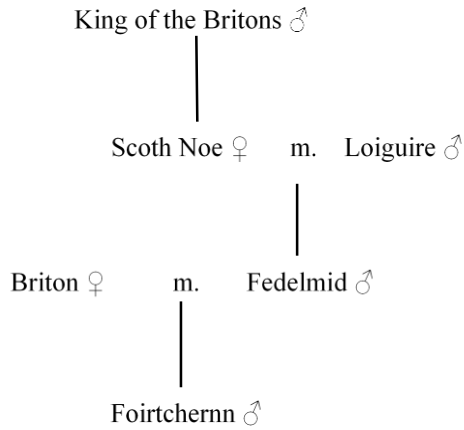
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<sup>100</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 138- 139 (Tírechán §19.1-2).

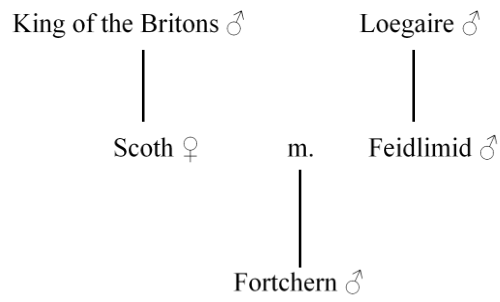
<sup>101</sup> Ibid, pp. 142-145 (Tírechán §26).



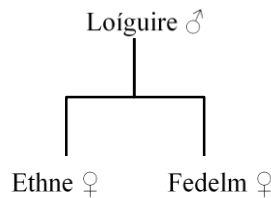
### Additamenta



### Tripartite Life



### Tírechán



The divergences between the accounts in the *Additamenta* text and that of the *Tripartite Life* would seem attributable to either an intentional or accidental simplification in the *Tripartite Life* or its source, or the *Additamenta* account itself being the result of duplication as suggested by Nora Chadwick.<sup>102</sup> Whichever way the tradition became confused, the uncertainty over the precise nature of the relationships portrayed appeared to continue into the twentieth century. Much of the discussion on the text of the *Additamenta* does not precisely reflect the nature of the family portrayed in the text itself and more closely corresponds to the family

<sup>102</sup> Nora Chadwick, 'A note on the Name Vortigern', in Nora Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 34- 38, p. 38, n.1.

portrayed in the *Tripartite Life*.<sup>103</sup> Having stated that the mother of Foirtchernn was a daughter of a king of the Britons, Hector Munro Chadwick argues there to be ‘a very great probability’ that the king is likely to have been the Vortigern of the *Historia Brittonum*.<sup>104</sup> He suggests that the Foirtchernn of the text is thus given the Irish form of the name of his ancestor, thus apparently implying that the Foirtchernn of the account was a historical individual.<sup>105</sup> Such an argument was also supported by Morris.<sup>106</sup> Bieler argues for some caution here, suggesting that the appearance of a Foirtchernn in **VC II, 17** may suggest that the name was not an entirely uncommon one.<sup>107</sup> Despite this, Nora Chadwick argues that the narratives presented in the *Historia Brittonum* at that of **VC II, 17** may be related.<sup>108</sup> She further argues that similarities exist between the text of the *Historia Brittonum* and ‘the story which lies behind the conversion of King Loiguire and that of Foirtchernn’.<sup>109</sup> Some caution may be merited here however. Her comparison of the conversion of king Loiguire with the account of Ambrosius and Vortigern in *Historia Brittonum* is based on an anecdote in Muirchu’s work that makes no mention of Loiguire’s grandson Foirtchern. Other than the appearance of Loiguire’s name itself as a patronym in the *Additamenta* account, there appears to be no overlap in the content of this text and the account of Loiguire in Muirchu.<sup>110</sup> It may therefore be difficult to necessarily

<sup>103</sup> For example, compare Hector Munro Chadwick, ‘Vortigern’, in Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in Early British History*, pp. 21- 33, p. 27; and John Morris, ‘Dark Age Dates’, in Michael G. Jarrett and Brian Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome: Essays Presented to Eric Birley on his Sixtieth Birthday* (Kendal, Titus Wilson and Son, 1966), pp. 145-185, p. 163; with the text of the *Additamenta* quoted above.

<sup>104</sup> Chadwick, ‘Vortigern’, p. 27.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Morris, ‘Dark Age Dates’, p. 163.

<sup>107</sup> Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 235-236, n. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Chadwick, ‘A note on the Name Vortigern’, p. 37.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Compare Muirchu I, 15-21 with *Additamenta* 2- 3; Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 84- 99 and 166- 169.

accept the presence of any single original tale lying behind both accounts. Even if such caveats are left aside, the prevalence of the ‘pagan king and his druids versus saint’ contest in hagiography strongly cautions against accepting any close relationship between the content of Muirchu, the *Additamenta* and the *Historia Brittonum*.

The anecdote of the daughters of Loíguire in Tírechán’s text may offer a highly tentative link between the traditions of Muirchu and the *Additamenta*, arguably containing material common to both. The name given for Fedelm, daughter of Loiguire by Tírechán’s text provides a clear link with Fedelmid, son of Loiguire in the *Additamenta*. The case for an association between this anecdote in Tírechán and Muirchu’s portrayal of Loiguire’s activities is more tenuous- though both feature the summoning of a mist to foil Patrick by a druid named Lucet Máel by Muirchu and Máel by Tírechán.<sup>111</sup> The first of these associations is the most crucial to the present study. Anything that could be discerned of the relationship between Tírechán’s Fedelm, daughter of Loiguire and the *Additamenta*’s Fedelmid, son of Loiguire, could add significantly to attempts to uncover the origin and purpose of the account of the British-Hiberno family portrayed in the latter. The task of affording either account priority is made all the more difficult with the uncertainty over the original shape of Tírechán’s text. Bieler argues that the lengthier anecdote involving the daughters of Loiguire in its present form is the result of elaboration by another author.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Muirchu I, 20 and Tírechán 19; Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 92- 95 and 138- 139.

<sup>112</sup> Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 223, n. c26.

Thomas O’Rahilly argued that the daughters in the account were originally those of Ailill Molt and that this changed in the account only in order that Patrick’s death could be accepted as occurring in the reign of Loiguire rather than Ailill, a Connacht King who was his successor.<sup>113</sup> He argues that the location of the encounter in Tírechán’s text in Connacht, coupled with the lack of a mention of a king of Connaught in the text, suggests that the account originally portrayed the daughters of Ailill in Connaught at a time when their father was ruling from Tara.<sup>114</sup> Such a theory presupposes an original level of historicity in the account that, given the confused nature of the various sources considered here, may be difficult to accept. Catherine Swift suggests that the presence of the girls in Connaught –aside from being a not implausible location for their fosterage- could be viewed as part of an attempt discernible throughout the work to assert the Uí Neill Kingship’s authority over the province.<sup>115</sup> Swift’s argument may perhaps also provide a plausible motivation for the deliberate removal of any male children in the portrayal of Loiguire. She has argued that Tírechán’s motivation in composing his work was to assert the dependence of the contemporary Conall Cremthainne kings of Tara on Patrick and thus solicit their support for Armagh.<sup>116</sup> In doing so, it was necessary to portray Loiguire as being without heirs so that the Kingship could be seen to pass to his brother.<sup>117</sup> A portrayal of Loiguire’s offspring as daughters would therefore allow for the motif of the joining of the offspring of the High-King of Ireland with the King

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<sup>113</sup> Thomas O’Rahilly, *The Two Patricks: A Lecture on the History of Christianity in Fifth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942), p. 36.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Catherine Swift, ‘Tírechán’s motives in compiling the “Collectanea”: an alternative interpretation’, *Ériu* 45 (1994), pp. 53-82, pp. 76- 78.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p. 81.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 72.

of Heaven without introducing the potential for problematic claims of over-kingship by rival branches of the Uí Néill.<sup>118</sup>

The presence of a tentative motive for the change of a son into a daughter may very gently nudge the balance in favour of giving Fedelmid Son of Loiguire precedence. The relatively developed family tree may also argue that narratives of such a family were well established by the time of its inclusion in the *Book of Armagh*. Nonetheless, it is also plausible that the bringing in of British women into a prominent Uí Néill dynasty served merely as a useful device by which to assert good relations at the outset between the local protagonists and the disciples of Patrick.

If yet another layer of complexity is desired, it is provided by James Carney, who has argued that similarities between the account of the daughters of Loiguire in Tíreachán with the account of Monesan in Muirchu point to some form of association between the tales.<sup>119</sup> In Muirchu's account Monesan is the daughter of a British king. She consistently refuses to enter into marriage, despite repeated punishment for this. Meanwhile she frequently asks questions about the nature of the Creator. Eventually her parents travel with her to Ireland to visit Patrick. There she is baptised and immediately dies.<sup>120</sup> Carney argues that Tíreachán's account of the daughters of Loíguire may have taken its form by a deliberate assimilation of the story of Monesan (which, in the form presented by Muirchu, is without location), with a hypothesised local tradition in Cruachain of a grave of two maidens.<sup>121</sup> Though such a process may be plausible, Carney's suggested grave is entirely hypothetical. If the

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 76.

<sup>119</sup> James Carney, *The Problem of St Patrick* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961), pp. 127-137.

<sup>120</sup> Muirchu I, 28. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 98- 101.

<sup>121</sup> Carney, *The Problem of St Patrick*, pp. 128- 129.

assimilation of some local tradition is to be sought, Muirchu's account of Monesan may be a better place to turn. The account of her burial is of interest here:

*Ubi moritur ibi et adunatur. Tunc Patricius prophetauit quod post annos uiginti corpus illius ad propinquam cellulam de illo loco tolleretur cum honore. Quod postea ita factum est. Cuius transmiringae reliquiae ibi adorantur usque hodie*

[She was buried on the spot where she died. Then Patrick prophesied that after twenty years her body would be conveyed from that location to a nearby chapel with great ceremony. This was done afterwards, and the relics of the maiden from across the sea are there an object of worship to the present day].<sup>122</sup>

Though Muirchu's account as it stands is without clear geographic location, it would seem likely that the account began life as a local legend attached to a burial of a woman said to be of overseas origin. In Muirchu's table of contents, found towards the end of the patrician material in the *Book of Armagh*, the account is labelled *De morte Moneisen Saxonissae*.<sup>123</sup> Carney argues that Monesan's name form appears to be either a British or Irish hypocoristic one, and believes it more likely that the original tale presented her as an Irishwoman, perhaps mistaking *sanctissima* for *Saxonissa*.<sup>124</sup> It is also plausible that an original British identity could have become a Saxon one in the tale.

The various anecdotes hitherto considered present a bewildering array of sometimes overlapping material. Some of the features common to more than one of

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<sup>122</sup> Muirchu I, 27. The given translation has been adapted from Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 100- 101.

<sup>123</sup> The chapter listing for *Moneisen Saxonissae* appears at the foot of 20r. b. Alongside the 'prologue' of Muirchu, the *Liber Angeli*, and an abridgement of *Patrick's Confessio*, it forms part of what Bieler argues to be an "early" group, originally a separate quire, written in an earlier hand of Ferdomnach than much of the other patrician material. See Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 2-3, 52 and 66- 67; For the manuscript see [http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder\\_id=26&pidtopage=MS52\\_01&entry\\_point=35](http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/#folder_id=26&pidtopage=MS52_01&entry_point=35) (last accessed 8/9/15).

<sup>124</sup> Carney, *The Problem of St Patrick*, p. 123 and 123, n. 1.

the accounts firmly point to a connection, while the suggestion of links between others is more tentative. Regardless of whether the apparent links are genuine in all cases or a mere few, the manner in which the different texts are associated with one another is perplexing. The account of Lommán in the *Additamenta* and the slight variant in the *Tripartite Life* features Fedelmid son of Loiguire, it takes place in Trim, Meath and features at least one British woman who is the daughter of a British king.<sup>125</sup> Tírechán's text discusses Fedelm, daughter of Loiguire and takes place in Connaught, no British relations are mentioned and there is an encounter with the druid Mael who helps to conjure up a fog. The account features the death of Fedelm and her sister after they are baptised.<sup>126</sup> Muirchu presents an anecdote featuring a druid named Lucet Mael who brings down fog, the account here takes place at Tara and no children of Loiguire are mentioned.<sup>127</sup> In a separate anecdote in Muirchu's text, a British woman named Monesan who is the daughter of a British king is featured. No location is given and the account features the death of Monesan following her baptism.<sup>128</sup> A diagram of the potential relationships between the accounts illustrates the complexity of the situation.

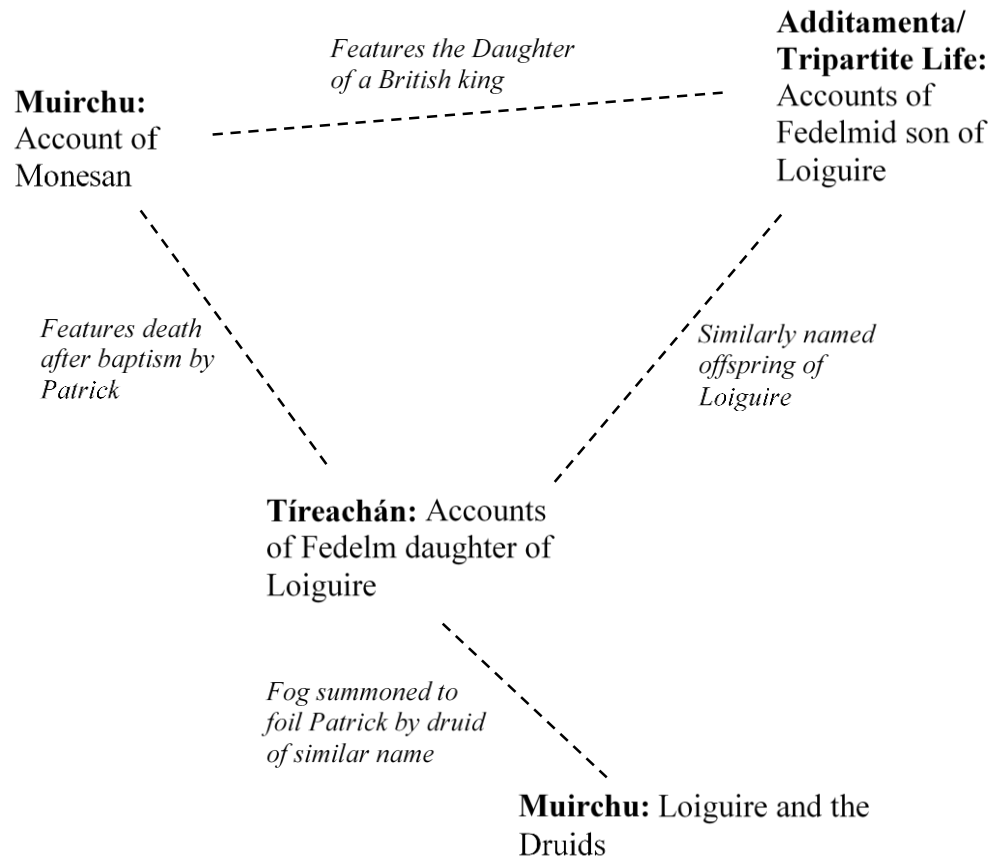
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<sup>125</sup> *Additamenta*, I. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 166- 169; and Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II pp. 66- 67.

<sup>126</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 138- 139 and 142-145 (Tírechán §19.1-2 and §26).

<sup>127</sup> Muirchu I, 20. Ibid pp. 92- 97.

<sup>128</sup> Muirchu I, 27. Ibid pp. 98- 101.



The texts as presented do not come close to hinting at a line of transmission. The possibility for the coincidental and unrelated occurrence of the same hagiographical motifs cannot be discounted, though the extent of the overlap of the various accounts would suggest some amount of cross-fertilisation. In compiling their accounts, the hagiographers were tapping into a developed pool of traditions that had diverged to a significant extent by the various periods of recording. Consequently, it may be impossible to do more than tentatively suggest possible means by which a tradition or traditions of British women active in Ireland at the time of Patrick could take the various forms by which they ended up being presented. One scenario could be that a



local tradition developed relating to a grave of a British woman, potentially in Meath. This came to be connected to other traditions of the descendants of Loiguire with the protagonist becoming a part of the cycle of tales surrounding the family. Following this, the characters became confused in some versions of the tale with the woman at the centre of the tale acquiring a name that had previously belonged to a male member of the family. Whatever the origins of the various diverse traditions of Loiguire and his court, it would seem plausible that Tirechán's transferral of the location to Connaught was done for contemporary reasons, and that it is to Meath that a broad location for the development of these traditions should be sought.

#### 4.4.2 Lommán

Attention may now turn to Lommán and his blood relations as presented in the account. The list of brothers in the *Additamenta* is greatly expanded in a version in the genealogies included in a text dealing with the mothers of saints. The earliest surviving version of this text is preserved in the *Book of Leinster*.<sup>129</sup> However, Ó Riain argues that the text was likely to have existed in now lost leaves of Rawlinson B 502, argued by Ó Riain to have been compiled around 1130.<sup>130</sup> Ó Riain believes the text to have been derived from a variety of sources, but suggests that any source material may have been supplemented with some amount of 'ad hoc fabrication'.<sup>131</sup> In this text, their mother, is named as Darerca:

*Darerca siur Patric mathair cóic n-epscoip ndéc 7da óg; Epscoip Mél,  
Epscoip Melcon, Epscoip Munis, Rioc Insi Bó Finni, Crummaine Lecna,*

<sup>129</sup> Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 220, n.722.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, p. xxvii and p. 220, n. 722 (This manuscript, argued by Ó Riain to be identifiable as the *Book of Glendalough* is discussed above, 2.5).

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p. 220, n.722.

*Midnu, Mogenóc, Lomman Atha Truim, Luran Duanaire o Daire Lurain et Loorn o Chill Channu andís, Ciaran, Carantot, Epscop Coluimb, Brenaind Fine, Epscop Mac Caille, Brocan 7 Broccaid. Eiche 7 Lallóc o Šenlus iar mBadbgnu na di chaillig*

[Darerca, sister of Patrick, mother of five bishops and ten, and two virgins].<sup>132</sup>

Although the current investigation is focused on those brothers who appear in the *Additamenta* text, some consideration will be given to the expanded list in the course of the discussion as it provides a potentially useful insight into the development of the tradition.<sup>133</sup>

A number of entries for individuals named Lommán occur in the Martyrology of Tallaght. The entry in **MT 4 Feb** has: *Lomman et Colman o Tamlac[h]taGliadh. Corc et Cóta o Druinn. Cuanna Lis Moir. Fuidbech mac Illadan.*<sup>134</sup> Although he does not appear in the equivalent entry in **MG 4 Feb**, a gloss in this date may suggest a misreading of **MT** here in which Lommán's name has been converted into a location: *Fuidbech, Corc (ó Dhruim Lommán) is Chota, la hAquilin áleb* [Fuidbech, Corc (from Druim Lommán) and Cota with Aquilinus, I will beseech].<sup>135</sup> **MD 4 Feb** also has an entry, though this differs somewhat: *Lommán Locha Gile, eitir Cairpre acus Breifne. Do śliočt Colla da Crioč dó* [Lomman, of Loch Gile, between Cairbre and Breifne. He was of the race of Colla-da-crioch].<sup>136</sup> Though the choice of date here is dependent on the tradition of the earlier calendars, the locational details are taken from the same work on the mothers of the saints that provides the expanded

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, p. 172, §722.16; trans. mine. Many thanks to Eystein Thanisch for his help with this. It is notable that despite the stated numbers, there appear to be seventeen men and two women listed.

<sup>133</sup> See 4.4.3.

<sup>134</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 14.

<sup>135</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 30- 31. Brackets denote gloss in question. Other glosses not given.

<sup>136</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 38- 39.

details of the family of a *Lomman Atha Truim*, son of Darerca. However, this work considers Lomman of Loch Gille to be distinct and a son of the aunt of Brigit of Kildare, Cuman: *et Lomman Loch Gille eter Chairpre 7Brefne*.<sup>137</sup> Elsewhere, the genealogies appear to make no distinction between Lommán of Lough Gille and Lommán of Trim, albeit providing slight variations in their reporting of Lommán's ancestry:

*Loman Lacha Gili m. Dallan m. Bresail m. Maine m. Domnaill m. Echach m. Fiachach m. Cairpre Lifechair m. Cormaic m. Airt m. Cuind Cetchathaig*.<sup>138</sup>

*Lomman Atha Truim m. Dallain m. Bresail m. Mane m. Domnaill m. Colla Mind m. Echach Domlen*.<sup>139</sup>

The latter comes immediately after Lommán of Trim appears in a version of the list of the children of Darerca apparently suggesting that the tradition of Lommán as the son of Darerca could be preserved even where his paternal line was given as Irish.<sup>140</sup> However, in this version of the tract of Darerca's children, there is no mention of her being sister to Patrick and by extension, no overt reference to her British origins.<sup>141</sup> Nonetheless, Ó Riain argues it possible that the lineage of Lommán son of Dallan was included here by the compiler in response to the Darerca tract and if this is the case, then it may not necessarily point to any widespread tradition of a mixed British and Irish parentage through Darerca and Dallan.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 171, §722.9; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 401. It will be noted that this is the same name as appears as the mother of Mochta in **MT 24 Mar**. However, Mochta is not listed in the genealogical text.

<sup>138</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 55, §350.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128, §694.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128, §693. and p. 216, n. 693. comp. p. 172, §722.16.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172, §16, n. a. See Dublin, Trinity College 1339, p. 354, Column D. Line 20.

<sup>142</sup> Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 216, n. 694.

**MT 7 Feb** lists a: *Lomman Locha hUair*.<sup>143</sup> This is followed in **MO 7 Feb**:

*Lommán lócharn bríge Locha Uair ard áge*  
[Lommán, a vigorous lamp, Loch Uair's lofty pillar].<sup>144</sup>

The listing is followed in **MG 7 Feb**. A genealogy is provided in **MD 7 Feb**:

*Lommán, Locha Huair in Uíð mac Uais isin Míde. Do čenel gConnail*  
*Gulban, mic Néill, dó*  
[Lomman, of Loch hUair, in Ui-Mac-Uais, in Midhe. He was of the race of  
Conall Gulban, son of Niall].<sup>145</sup>

This follows an ancestry laid out in the genealogies:

*Lomman Locha Uair m. Erannain m. Ceispir m. Lathim m. Fergus m.*  
*Conaill Gulban m. Neill Noigiallaig*.<sup>146</sup>

A note in the fly leaf of the original manuscript of **MD** appears to link this Lommán with the others.<sup>147</sup> Though James Todd was uncertain of the authorship of each of the notes, he argued it likely that many of those in Latin were the work of John Colgan.<sup>148</sup>

*S. Lommani Episcopi nepotis S. Patricii ex sorore festum in Ecclesia sua in Portlomain diec. Miden seu Aird Breacain, 3 veris seu Febr. Extant baculus et catena qua cinctae sanantur laborantes puerperio. dicitur cum navicula advectus per aëra usque Ath-trym in Midia et insula Loch-huarensis prope*

<sup>143</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 15.

<sup>144</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, p. 59.

<sup>145</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 40- 41.

<sup>146</sup> Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 5, § 10. See also p. 76, § 620 and p. 81, § 662.13.

<sup>147</sup> Discussed in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 402; and Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.) *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. xxiv.

<sup>148</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. xxiv and xli- xlii.

*Portum Lomani extruxisse aediculam, quae extat adhuc, in qua vivebat ex herbis potissimum Alexandricis, quarum ibi magna copia*

[The feast of St. Lomman, Bishop, nephew of St Patrick by his sister, [is celebrated] in his church in Portlomain, diocese of Meath or Ardbreacain, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Spring, or February. His staff is extant, as also his chain, by which women labouring in childbirth, when girt with it, are healed. He is said to have been carried through the air in his boat as far as Ath Trim, in Meath; and to have built a small house in an island in Loch Huar, near Portlomain, in which he lived for the most part on Alexandric herbs, of which there is there a great abundance].<sup>149</sup>

A further February listing occurs in **MT 17 Feb**: *Loman i nAth Truim cum*

*sociis .i. Patricii hostiari.*<sup>150</sup> Though no Lommán is present on this day in **MO**, **MG** or **MD**, the entry for Lurach in **MD 17 Feb** may be worth highlighting:

*Lurach, Duanaire, mac Cuanach, o Doire Lurain i nUilltoib̄. Do siol Colla Uais áirdri Erenn do. Darerca, siur Patraic, a ma'air. Epscop é beos*  
[Lurach, of the Poems, son of Cuana, of Doire Lurain in Uladh. He was of the race of Colla Uais, monarch of Erin. Darerca, sister of Patrick, was his mother. He was also a bishop].<sup>151</sup>

Lurech mac Cuanach appears in **MT 17 Feb** immediately following Lommán of Trim. However, no further information is given about him here and there is nothing in the entry to state that they are brothers. The entry in **MD** therefore connects this Lurech of the early calendars with Luran in the tract on the sons of Darerca. Given that a *Luaran ó Daire Lurain* appears in **MT 29 Feb** and much more exactly matches the *Luran Duanaire o Daire Lurain* from the list of the sons of Darerca, it may follow that Lurech mac Cuanach was originally regarded as a separate and unrelated individual whose proximity to Lomman in **MT 17 Feb** is of no consequence.<sup>152</sup> Though if it were

<sup>149</sup> See note XX in *ibid*, pp. xli- xlii.

<sup>150</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p.17.

<sup>151</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 52- 53.

<sup>152</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 85; Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 172, §722.16.

the case that a conflation of Lurech and Luran was a mistake on the part of Ó Cléirigh due to the former's proximity to Loman in MT, it might be asked why Lommán himself was not included in **MD 17 Feb**. Given that the saints listed in **MT 17 Feb** are all stated to be buried at Trim, it may be unwise to entirely dismiss the notion that the coming together of Lommán and Lurech in **MT** is unrelated to the brotherhood of Lommán and Luran in the genealogical texts, especially given the presence of Fortchern in **MT 17 Feb** immediately following Lurech.<sup>153</sup>

The fourth reference to a Lommán in the Martyrology of Tallaght occurs in **MT 11 Oct**: *Lomman i nAth Truim cum suis omnibus et Fortchern*.<sup>154</sup> He is also commemorated in **MO 11 Oct** in a verse that introduces the suggestion that he suffered from leprosy:

*It ána a ndírmann  
In tríir imrádam  
Fortchern, Lommán lainnech,  
Cainnech maccu Dálan*  
[Of the trio whom we commemorate, splendid are their multitudes: Fortchern, Lommán the scaly, Cainnech descendant of Dála].<sup>155</sup>

A note in Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 7 here states his ailment even more plainly: *.i. lanna claime fair* [i.e. scales of leprosy on him].<sup>156</sup> Entries for Lommán also occur in **MG 11 Oct** and **MD 11 Oct**.

A June commemoration is also attested. **MT 19 Jun** records: *Molommae Domnaig Imlech*.<sup>157</sup> This is followed in **MG 20 Jun** and **MD 20 Jun**, though in

<sup>153</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 401; Best and Lawlor, (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p.17.

<sup>154</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 78.

<sup>155</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 215.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 222- 223.

<sup>157</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 51.

Gorman the locational information is in a note rather than the main text.<sup>158</sup> Ó Riain connects these entries with a reference in the *Book of Armagh Notulae* that appears to refer to the same individual as an exorcist, though it should be noted that the heavily abbreviated nature of the *Notulae* means that only initials are actually given in the text itself: *Siluister. D(omnach) I(mblecho) Mu-Lommae. exor(cista),. D(omnach) M(ór) C(riathar). F(éicc)*.<sup>159</sup>

A reference to a Lommanus Turrescus appears in Tírechán's work, in which there is no indication that he is anything other than Irish: *Et uenit per diserta filiorum Endi in r r + Aian, in quo r erat r Lommanus Turrescus* [And he came through the waste lands of the Sons of Énde to Mag Aíán (?), where there was Lommanus Turrescus].<sup>160</sup> Two further references to a Lommán occur in Tírechán. The first is on a section on priests in a long list of clergy associated with Patrick: *Anicius, Brocidius, Amirgenus, Lommanus, Catideus, Catus, Catanus, Broscus, Ailbeus, Trianus episcopus*.<sup>161</sup>

The remaining appearance is also in the form of a list, in this case in reference to a number of companions of Patrick at Selc, Roscommon, apparently associated with an inscription:<sup>162</sup>

*Venit uero Patricius ad Selcam, in quo errant aulae filiorum Briuin, cum multitudine episcoporum sanctorum. Castrametati sunt in cacuminibus Selcae et posuerunt ibi stratum et sedem inter lapides, in quibus scripsit manus sua literas, quas hodie conspeximus oculis nostris: et cum illo fuerunt*

<sup>158</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 120, n. 5.

<sup>159</sup> Notulae 40; Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 49- 50 and 181; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 401. The *Notulae* are discussed above, 2.4.

<sup>160</sup> Tírechán 34, 2. in Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 150- 151.

<sup>161</sup> Tírechán 6, 4. Ibid pp. 128-129. Discussed in ibid p. 217, n. cc.6-8.

<sup>162</sup> De Paor (trans.), *St Patrick's World*, p. 166.

*Bronus episcopus, Sachelus, Bronachus praespiter, Rodanus, Cassanus, Brocidius, Lommanus frater eius, Benignus heres Patricii et Benignus frater Cethiaci de genere Ailello, qui tenuit cel-lolam Benigni in +anorto+ a Patricio <et> a Ceth-iaco-, Felartus episcopus de genere Ailelo et sorer eius et altera sor or quae fuit in insola in Mari Conmaicne, quae sic uocat-ur: Croch Cuile; et plantauit aeclessiam super stagnum Selcae +in̄scae+, et baptizauit filios Broin*

[Patrick came to Selc, a place where there were the halls of the sons of Brion, together with a great number of holy bishops. They camped on the heights of Selc, and they made their resting-place amidst the stones, on which his hand wrote letters which (even) today we may see with our eyes; and these were with him:

Bishop Brón, Sachelus, Bronach the priest, Rodanus, Cassanus, Brocidius, Lommán, his brother, Benignus, the heir of Patrick, and Benignus, brother of Cethiacus, of the race of Ailill, who held the small cell of Benignus in (?) from Patrick and Cethiacus, bishop Felart of the family of Ailill and his sister... and another sister who was in the monastery in the Mare Conmaicne (Connemara), which is called Croch Cúile; and he established a church on Loch Selcae and baptised the sons of Brón].<sup>163</sup>

The flow of events between Lommán Brother of Brocidius's companionship of Patrick at Selc, and Patrick's journey to Mag Aine 'where there was Lommanus Turrescus' could be taken to imply separate individuals were intended by Tírechán.<sup>164</sup> However the proximity of De Paor's argued location of Selc (between Rathcroghan and Tulsk) and Drumatemple (the last location of Patrick identified by De Paor before meeting Lommanus Turrescus) would seem to argue for an association.<sup>165</sup>

Nathalie Stalmans and Thomas Charles-Edwards argue Lommán of Trim to be 'one of the clearest cases of an early British saint being drawn into a subordinate position within the cult of St Patrick'.<sup>166</sup> They suggest this to have been in response to threats by the ruling division of Cenél Loigairi to the control of Trim by a smaller

<sup>163</sup> Tírechán 30. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 146- 149.

<sup>164</sup> Tírechán 30- 34. Ibid, pp. 146-151.

<sup>165</sup> De Paor (trans.), *St Patrick's World*, pp. 166- 167.

<sup>166</sup> Nathalie Stalmans and T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Saints of Meath', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51010> (last accessed 23/4/14).



branch in the early eighth century, the intention being to gain the support of Armagh in helping to maintain control.<sup>167</sup> Though a Lommán appears as subordinate to Patrick in Tírechán, as has been discussed, these appearances appear to be centred on Roscommon. However, the appearance of Broccaid as a brother of Lommán in both Tírechán and the *Additamenta* demonstrates that these accounts are related in their surviving form. If then Lommán of Trim became subordinate to Patrick for reasons of dynastic politics, it may have been by incorporating elements of an already subordinate Roscommon Lommán, brother of Broccaid while making the connection with Patrick more solid by presenting them as blood relations. A caveat here would be the apparent lack of any sources dealing with Lommán of Trim predating the *Additamenta* or **MT** with which to compare these texts. Potentially harder to justify is the assertion, also made elsewhere by Charles-Edwards, that Lommán of Trim was British in the first place.<sup>168</sup> If the bringing in of Lommán of Trim to the family of Patrick was indeed the result of deliberate manipulation, the possibility may exist that his British identity was merely a by-product of this constructed family relationship. The problems that have already been discussed in assessing the provenance of the account of Lommán and the family of Feidlimid emphasise the difficulties in ascertaining whether Lommán's use of the British language was a late embellishment of the tale in its final form, or was based on any earlier source material.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p.32.

<sup>169</sup> See 4.4.1.

#### 4.4.3 Munis

The *Additamenta* do not give any account of Munis beyond that given in the list: *Episcopus Munis hi Forgnidiu la Cuircniu* [bishop Munis of Forgnide among the Cuircni].<sup>170</sup> Alongside a note of a *crum(thir) Munis* in the *Notulae*, this is all the information that is given for any individuals of this name within the *Book of Armagh*.<sup>171</sup> The *Tripartite Life* is a more fruitful source for references to Munis. His first appearance here is in the list of Lommán's brothers that follows its account of Lommán and Fortchernn. This narrative and the list of brothers in the *Tripartite Life* is close in content to the *Additamenta*. The same brothers' names are presented and the entry for Munis differs only in the presentation of some extra geographical detail: *epscop Muinis hi Forcnidi la Cui[r]ccniu, .i. hi tuaisciurt Midi frisin nEithne andess* [Bishop Munis in Forcnide, at Cuircne, in the north of Meath, to the south of the Eithne].<sup>172</sup> Elsewhere in the *Tripartite Life*, the portrayal of Munis differs substantially. A further list is given where entirely different siblings are listed, the father is given a different name and, unlike the *Additamenta* and its corresponding list in the *Tripartite Life*, the mother is named as Darerca:

*A tuluid Patraic for muir i tír Bretan do ascnam Erend, dotaet escop Muinis ina diaid 7i ndiaid a braithri .i. escop Mél Ard Achaid 7Rióc Insi Bo Finne .i. maicc Conis 7Darerce ger[ma]nae Patricii, ut dicunt munter a cell 7 noco diultaidi in sin. Atát dano sethra innaní sin .i. Eichi o Chill Glaiss fri hArd Achad andess i Tetbai 7Lallócc o Senliuss la Connachta, 7putatur quod ipsa est mater filiorum Bairt, comtis secht maic lea 7di ingin*  
[When Patrick went on the sea from the land of Britain to journey to Ireland, bishop Muinis came after him and after his brothers, namely, bishop Mél of Ardachad and Rióc of Inis-bó-finne; and (they are) sons of Conis and

<sup>170</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 168- 169; *Additamenta* 2, 1.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181; *Notulae* 20.

<sup>172</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 44; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 68- 69. Compare *Additamenta* 2, 1 (extract given here in in 4.4).

Darerca, Patrick's sister, as the households of their churches say, and that is not to be denied. There are, moreover, sisters of those (bishops), namely, Eiche of Cell Glass to the south of Ard Achad in Tethbae, and Lallocc of Senlis in Connaught; and it is considered that she (Darerca) is the mother of Bard's sons, so that she has seven sons and two daughters].<sup>173</sup>

It is notable that, like those listed in the *Additamenta* text, all of these siblings also feature in the list of Darerca's children within the tract on the mothers of saints, hinting that the compiler of the longer list brought together several extant traditions and assumed in this case that the different lists related to different siblings of Munis.<sup>174</sup> It is therefore possible that the portrayal of Darerca as mother of Munis in the *Tripartite Life* was the ultimate source of her motherhood of the entire list in the genealogical tract. Jocelin of Furness or his sources appear to have grappled with the problem of the two *Tripartite Life* lists in his own life of Patrick. Here he presents Brochadius, Brochanus, Mogenochus, and Lommán as sons of Tygridia- another sister of Patrick. In contrast, Mel, Moch and Munis are stated to be sons of Darerca.<sup>175</sup> Such a scheme by Jocelin or his source could have been an attempt to iron out the apparent discrepancies within the *Tripartite Life*, retaining Darerca as the mother of the three named in the *Tripartite Life*'s second list (with *Moch* emerging as either a misreading of *Rióc* or a more deliberate attempt at establishing alliterative standardisation), while introducing another sister of Patrick (named elsewhere in the *Tripartite Life*) as mother of Lommán, Brochadius, Brochanus and Mogenochus.<sup>176</sup> Under such a scheme, Munis may have been removed from the second list as a

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<sup>173</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, pp. 51- 52; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 82- 83.

<sup>174</sup> See 4.4.2.

<sup>175</sup> James O'Leary (trans.), *The Most Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick* (7<sup>th</sup> edition, New York, P.J. Kenedy, 1904), pp. 190-191 (Jocelin, *Life of Patrick*, Ch. 50).

<sup>176</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 16- 17.

perceived error in order to maintain consistency. This notwithstanding, though all the named individuals (if it is accepted that Moch and Rióc are identical) in Jocelin's scheme appear in the *Tripartite Life*, there is enough divergence in narrative detail in Jocelin's work not to rule out the possibility that a source other than the *Tripartite Life* or a directly related source was used.<sup>177</sup>

Following the listing of Muinis alongside Rioc and Mél, the *Tripartite Life* provides an extended account of the deeds of Muinis. Within this, Muinis is given the responsibility by Patrick of baptising a twelfth of Ireland. He also travels to Rome where he receives relics and meets with the 'Abbot of Rome'.<sup>178</sup> These are then placed in a hollow elm at Clonmacnoise by the grave of the first man to be buried there. The discussion of the activities of Muinis ends with Patrick leaving him in Forгнаide with various artefacts.<sup>179</sup>

**MT 18 Dec** lists: *Muniss ep. i Fergnaidi*.<sup>180</sup> **MG 18 Dec** is sparser in its detail: *Munis Mingar* [Gentle-pious Muniss].<sup>181</sup> **MD 18 Dec** also has a listing for Muinis. This contains information taken from the *Tripartite Life* and a reference to this work, but understands Gollit to be the sister rather than father of Muinis.<sup>182</sup>

Ó Riain has highlighted the presence of a commemoration of Munis on 6 February within Whytford's *Martiloge*, printed in 1526.<sup>183</sup> This occurs as part of the

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<sup>177</sup> A table of correspondence between Jocelin's life and related texts can be found in Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness, Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York, York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 52-57; See p. 53, §50.

<sup>178</sup> *co hapaid Romae*. See Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 52. The term is discussed in T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Érlam: The Patron-Saint of an Irish Church', in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 267- 290, p.273.

<sup>179</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 82- 87.

<sup>180</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 86.

<sup>181</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 240- 24.

<sup>182</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 340- 341 and p. 340, n. 1.

<sup>183</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 451; F. Procter and E. S. Dewick (eds.), *The Martiloge in Englysshe* (London, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893), p. vi. Richard Whytford was a Bridgettine monk

*Addicions* for 6 February.<sup>184</sup> These are listings given after the main entries for the day which, unlike the main body of the work, are not translated from the martyrology used in Syon monastery.<sup>185</sup> They were instead collected by Whytford himself from a variety of sources at his disposal:<sup>186</sup>

*In yrelond ye feest of saynt Mele/ saynt Melke and saynt Munyse bysshops/ f of seynt Ryoke an abbot/ f all foure breder f neuwes vnto saynt Patryke by his syster saynt Darerke/ all men of synguler sanctite f grete myracles.*<sup>187</sup>

Whytford's attribution of a 6 February feast for Munis was followed by Colgan, who attributed his choice of date to Whytford's work along with a Carthusian Martyrology.<sup>188</sup> Indeed, Colgan has followed the *Addicions* in his ordering of all of the saints on this day.<sup>189</sup> Whytford's ordering of the four brothers matches the first four listed in the genealogical tract on the mothers of saints and thus would seem to be ultimately derived from this or a related text.<sup>190</sup> As a *Meli episcopi* is listed in **MT 6 Feb**, it may be that Whytford or his source may have chosen this date for Munis and the other brothers listed brothers of Mele as a consequence of this.<sup>191</sup>

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who entered Syon Abbey c.1511. He died c. 1543. See J. T. Rhodes, 'Whitford, Richard (d. 1543?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29308> (last accessed 20/11/15).

<sup>184</sup> F. Procter and E. S. Dewick (eds.), *The Martiloge in Englysshe*, p. 23.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, pp. viii, xii and 23.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xii- xiii.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23.

<sup>188</sup> Colgan, 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae', p. 267.

<sup>189</sup> Compare Colgan, *The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae'*, pp. 259- 268; with Procter and Dewick (eds.), *The Martiloge in Englysshe*, p. 23.

<sup>190</sup> Compare Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 172, §722.16; with Procter and Dewick (eds.), *The Martiloge in Englysshe*, p. 23.

<sup>191</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 15.

An overview of the hagiography of Munis, serves to emphasise the extent to which kinship with Patrick could be utilised in order to promote allegiances between churches and to assert dominance or dependency according to the needs and desire of the compiler. Thomas Charles Edwards points to two such alliances, following the two separate lists of siblings in the *Tripartite Life*. The first, a scheme intended to tie churches from a wide geographic area to Trim. The second, reflecting a more local alliance between churches.<sup>192</sup> The extent to which the relationships and relics depicted in the *Additamenta* and *Tripartite Life* seem focused on contemporary concerns, makes it difficult to argue convincingly for any great antiquity in any particular element of these accounts. Although it may remain a possibility that any possible historical Munis was British in origin, this is a notion for which no real evidence stands.

#### 4.4.4 Broccaid and Broccán

The next two brothers to be listed in the *Additamenta* are: *Broccaid i nImbliuch Equorum apud Ciarrige Connact* and *Broccanus i mBrechmig*.<sup>193</sup> Ó Riain has suggested that these two saints are likely to have been ultimately the same person and given the similarity of the names it may make some sense to consider them together here.<sup>194</sup> Tírechán has a number of references of interest. The long list of clergy in the text contains a list: *De nominibus Francorum Patricii* [On the names of the Franks of Patrick]. Included in this is a *Brocanus*.<sup>195</sup> The section preceding this is entitled: *De praespiteris* [concerning priests]. A *Brocidius* appears here. Also

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<sup>192</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 32- 33.

<sup>193</sup> *Additamenta* 2, 1. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 168.

<sup>194</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 127.

<sup>195</sup> Tírechán 7, 1. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 128- 129.

included on this list are a *Lommanus* and *Ailbeus*.<sup>196</sup> As has previously been noted, there is a further reference to *Brocidius* later in the work as part of a list of clergy who were with Patrick at Selc and here Lomman is specifically said to be his brother.<sup>197</sup> All of these references occur in list form and the information that can be gleaned from them is correspondingly sparse. However, a number of points of interest emerge. As has been previously discussed, the assertion of the brotherhood of Lommán and Brocidius can be traced to *Tírechán* at the latest.<sup>198</sup> The possibility has already been raised that this may reflect an already extant Roscommon centred tradition of a relationship between the two.<sup>199</sup> However, it may also be possible that it was *Tírechán* himself who first made the assertion in *Tírechán*, 30, 3 that *Brocidius* was the brother of Lommán, based on the presence of both on the list of priests reproduced in *Tírechán*, 6, 4.<sup>200</sup> Perhaps arguing against such a notion would be the selectivity that this would have to have involved, given the lack of any further correspondence between the list of priests and the list of clergy at Selc.<sup>201</sup>

After his appearance in the list of brothers of Lommán in the *Additamenta*, Broccaid appears on two further occasions. The first gives little more information than a re-statement of Broccaid's relationship to Lommán and seems to function in the narrative as a means of setting the scene for dialogue between Lommán and Foirtchern:

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<sup>196</sup> *Tírechán* 6, 4. Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> See 4.4.2; *Tírechán* 30, 3. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* pp. 148- 149.

<sup>198</sup> See 4.4.2.

<sup>199</sup> See 4.4.2.

<sup>200</sup> For a discussion of the composition of these lists see Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 217, n. cc. 6-8.

<sup>201</sup> Compare *Tírechán* 6, 4; with 30, 3-4 (ibid, pp. 128- 129 and 148- 149).

*Post aliquantum autem tempus adpropinquante Lommani exitu perrexit cum alumpno suo Foirtcherno ad fratrem suum Broccidium fratrem salutandum. Perrexerunt autem ipse et alumpnus eius Foirtchernn, commendauitque sanctam aeclessiam suam sancto Patricio et Foirtcherno, sed recussauit Foirtchernn tenere hereditatem patris sui, quam obtulit Deo et Patricio nissi Lommanus dixit: 'Non accipies benedictionem meam nissi acciperis principatum aeclessiae meae'*

[After some time, when Lommán's end was approaching, he proceeded with his disciple Foirtchernn to his brother Broccaid in order to greet (visit) him. So they travelled, he and his disciple Foirtchernn, and he entrusted his church to holy Patrick and to Foirtchernn, but Foirtchernn refused to take the heritage of his father, which he had offered to God and Patrick; Lommán however, said: 'You will not receive my blessing unless you accept the abbacy of my church.'].<sup>202</sup>

In the other reference to Broccaid, the churchman's presence appears to be more central to the purpose of the narrative:

*Sanctus Patricius familiam suam in regione Ciarrichi, per Spiritum sanctum praeuidens eam esse undique cassatam, id est episcopum Sachellum et Broccidium et Loarnum et praespiterum Medb et Ernascum, in unitatem pacis aeternae cum uno fidei ritu sub potestate unius heredis suae apostolicae cathedrae Alti Machae sub benedictione sua uniamiter coniunxit*  
[Holy Patrick united in concord, with his blessing, his community in the region of Ciarrige, that is, bishop Sachellus and Broccaid and Loarn and the priest Medb and Ernascus, foreseeing through the Holy Spirit that (the community) was to be shaken (?) on all sides; (he united it) in a union of eternal peace with the profession of one faith under the authority of the one heir of his apostolic cathedral of Armagh].<sup>203</sup>

This is in some contrast to the treatment of Sachellus elsewhere in the *Book of Armagh*:<sup>204</sup>

*Caetiacus itaque et Sachellus ordinabant episcopos, praespiteros, diaconos, clericos sine consilio Patricii in campo Aí; et accussauit illos Patricius, et mittens aepistolas illis exierunt ad poenitentiam ducti ad Ardd Mache ad*

<sup>202</sup> *Additamenta* 3, 1-2; Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>203</sup> *Additamenta* 6; *Ibid* pp. 170-173.

<sup>204</sup> The text is discussed in Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 43-44 and 44, n. 128.



*Patricium et fecerunt poenitentiam monachorum duo pueri Patricii prumpti. Et dixit eis: 'Non magnae erunt aeclessiae uestrae.'*

[Caetiachus, then, and Sachellus ordained bishops, priests, deacons, and clerics in Mag Aí without taking council with Patrick; and Patrick accused them, and when he sent them a letter they were moved to penance and went out to Patrick to Armagh and, as two willing disciples of Patrick, did the penance of monks. And Patrick said to them: 'Your churches shall not be great.'].<sup>205</sup>

Thomas Charles-Edwards argues that the manner in which Caetiachus and Sachellus (of the Uí Ailella and Cíarraige nAí respectively) are treated in this anecdote may be reflective of the increasing power of the rival Uí Briúin.<sup>206</sup> It may then be that the *Additamenta* passage and its portrayal of Broccaid and the other churchmen is an attempt to assert the importance of the churches of the Cíarraige nAí and their loyalty to Armagh in the face of any such attacks.

Names of interest occur relatively frequently in the early martyrologies. A *Broccaid* is listed in **MT 9 Jul** with no further information.<sup>207</sup> The various Broccán entries in the same calendar are as follows: **MT 1 Jan: Broccani meic Ennae. MT 9 Apr: Broccani. MT 11 Apr: Broccani. MT 5 Jun: Brocan Clúana meic [Feicc]. MT 27 Jun: Broccain. MT 8 Jul: Broccán scribnidh. MT 14 Aug: Broccain meic Lugdach. MT 25 Aug: Broccain Imgain. MT 17 Sep: Broccain .i. Rois Toirc.**<sup>208</sup> **MT 21 Oct** provides a long list of monks of Fintan. Among those listed are: *Broceni, Bricceni, Broceni, Breccani, and Becani.*<sup>209</sup>

Such an array of commemorations makes it difficult to chart with any certainty the cults of either of the brothers listed in the *Additamenta*. The first of these, *Broccaid i nImbliuch Equorum apud Ciarrige Connact*, came to be associated

<sup>205</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 122- 125.

<sup>206</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 44- 45.

<sup>207</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 54.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 31, 32, 48, 52, 54, 63, 66 and 72.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

with 9 July.<sup>210</sup> However, no such locality appears in the calendars for this date until a note to **MG 9 Jul** adds: *Imligh Broccadha i Maigh óe*. This identification is followed by **MD 9 Jul**, which refers to the listing of Broccaid as the brother of Lommán in the *Tripartite Life*.<sup>211</sup> Ó Riain has pointed to the proximity of this feast and that of the listing for *Broccán scribnidh* in **MT 8 Jul**, and suggested that Broccán of Mothel in Waterford was originally the same as Broccaid of Emly in Roscommon.<sup>212</sup> The saint commemorated on 8 July appears to have his Waterford connection recorded first in additional notes to the main entries. References to Mothel occur in notes to **MO 8 Jul** in *Lebar Brecc*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 610 and Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 7, as well as a note to **MG 8 Jul**.<sup>213</sup> As a Broccán appears as Patrick's scribe in *Acallam na Senórach* in an anecdote taking place by the Lakes of Killarney, it is not necessarily clear that *Broccán scribnidh* was originally inextricably linked with Waterford.<sup>214</sup> It may therefore be that the adjacent feast days speak less of any common origin for cults in Roscommon and Waterford, than they do of the difficulties inherent in connecting the original early calendar entries with the places with which they eventually came to be associated. It is similarly difficult to attribute any one of the plethora of early feasts to *Broccanus i mBrechmig apud nepotes Dorthim* of the *Additamenta*.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 168; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 127.

<sup>211</sup> Compare Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 132- 133; with Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 190- 191.

<sup>212</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 54; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 128.

<sup>213</sup> Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus*, p. cxvii; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, pp. 168- 169; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 132- 133.

<sup>214</sup> Ann Dooley and Harry Roe (trans.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 20.

<sup>215</sup> Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, p. 168.

Broccaid and Broccán then, remain something of shadowy figures. The widespread commemorations in the Martyrology of Tallaght may be reflective of a cult that spawned multiple local dedications at an early date. However, they may also simply be illustrative of the prevalence of a name. The number of occurrences in various lists throughout the *Book of Armagh* alone emphasises the problem. References to churchmen named Broccán or similar are not lacking, however allusions that fulfil more than a basic contemporary narrative function are in short supply. It may then be that these listed names attest a relatively prominent early cult or cults, which were brought into the Patrician corpus of hagiography with the loss of all but their names.

#### 4.4.5 Mugenóc

Mugenóc is another brother whose presence in the *Additamenta* amounts only to his appearance in the list of brothers: *Mugenoc hi Cill Dumi Gluinn i ndeisciurt Breg* [Mugenóc in Cell Dumi Gluinn in Southern Brega].<sup>216</sup> **MT 26 Dec** provides the same locational detail as the *Additamenta: Mogenoc .i. i Cill Duma Gluind*.<sup>217</sup> This is followed by **MG 26 Dec** which commemorates: *Mo Genoc caid* [My chaste Genóc].<sup>218</sup> A gloss expands on this: *epscop o Chill Dhumha ghluinn i ndeiscert Bregh* [a bishop, from Cell Duma gluinn in the south of Bregia].<sup>219</sup> Although the extant text of **MT** links this Mogenoc with *Cill Duma Gluin[d]*, the absence of such information in the text of **MG 26 Dec** may suggest that the location information in

<sup>216</sup> *Additamenta* 2, 1. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 168- 169.

<sup>217</sup> Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 1.

<sup>218</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 246- 247.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 246- 247, 26 Dec n.2.

MT is a later interpolation.<sup>220</sup> MD 26 Dec expands the entry significantly, seemingly furnishing it with information from Jocelyn of Furness's life or an associated text: *Mogenocc, epscop, ó Chill duma gluinn, i ndescert Bregh. Acus Tigrid, siur Pátraicc, a má'air* [Mogenóg, Bishop, of Cill-dumha-gluinn, in the [South] of Bregia; and Tigrid, sister of Patrick, was his mother].<sup>221</sup>

*De Tribus Ordinibus Sanctorum Hiberniae* lists a number of saints of Ireland divided into three 'orders' arranged chronologically, with the first order the earliest and most holy and the third order the latest and least holy.<sup>222</sup> Finnian is given principal position in the list of saints of the second order.<sup>223</sup> In the *Codex Salmanticensis*, a list of disciples of Finnian is appended to the text. This includes a name of interest here: *Hec sunt nomina discipulorum sancti Finniani Cluana Hyrard... Mugenoch Killi Cumili...* [These are the disciples of St Finnian of Clonard... Mogenóc of Cell Cumili...].<sup>224</sup> Heist has pointed to the correspondence between this list and that given in the *Vita S. Finniani* in the same manuscript,<sup>225</sup> to argue that both texts originally belonged to an earlier compilation made use of by the compiler of the *Codex Salmanticensis*.<sup>226</sup> Mugenóc then, is not a name arising only in connection with the very earliest churchmen of Irish hagiography. However, it is

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<sup>220</sup> See 2.3.

<sup>221</sup> See also discussion in 4.4.3 O'Leary (trans.), *The Most Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick*, pp. 190-191 (Jocelyn Life of Patrick, Ch. 50); Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 348- 349. O'Donovan gives 'East' in his translation. I am grateful to the anonymous glossator in the Edinburgh University Library copy of the edition for drawing my attention to this apparent error.

<sup>222</sup> For editions of this text see Paul Grosjean, 'Édition et Commentaire du Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae Secundum Diversa Tempora ou de Tribus Ordinibus Sanctorum Hiberniae', *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 (1955), pp. 197- 213; and Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. 81- 83. A translation of the *Codex Salmanticensis* version of the text is to be found in De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, pp. 225- 226.

<sup>223</sup> In some manuscripts, two Finnians are placed at the start of the list. See Grosjean, 'Édition et Commentaire' pp. 206- 211.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207; De Paor (trans.), *St Patrick's World*, p. 226.

<sup>225</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 101.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xl- xli.

perhaps notable that in such an association with Finnian of Clonard, a Mugenóc again appears to find himself in association with a man for whom there are strong grounds for positing a British association.<sup>227</sup>

#### 4.4.6 Assessing the Additamenta

Though brief, the account of Lommán, his family and disciples offers an intriguing glimpse into the portrayal of British activity in Ireland in the fifth century by an eighth-century source. The usefulness of a British identity for early ecclesiastics as a hagiographical device to unite them with the patron of Armagh, coupled with the scarcity of entirely independent sources relating to many of the individuals, makes caution warranted in accepting the historicity of a British identity for any historical person lying behind the names in the account.<sup>228</sup> Nonetheless, there are occasions, particularly in the case of the family of Fedelmid and Scoth Noe as well as with Mugenóc, where there may be reason to suspect that a tradition of British origin may have more lying behind it than contemporary political or episcopal expediency. The variations in the stated family relationships that emerge in the *Tripartite Life* and the extended list of siblings in the *Book of Leinster* attest that, once established, a tradition of a relationship to a British family was one that could have both longevity and fluidity.

#### 4.5 Conclusions

Many of the named men and women who have been discussed here may only have survived in the historical record due to their perceived connections with Patrick.

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<sup>227</sup> See in particular 5.1.4.

<sup>228</sup> See De Paor, *St Patrick's World*, pp. 44- 45.

However, being brought into the patrician sphere of hagiography did not necessarily guarantee the retention of any early accounts of a saint's life and works. It is possible that in some cases, any original accounts of a local patron came to be replaced by accounts in which that patron appeared in name only as subservient to Patrick, with all else that may have previously been associated with them lost. However, there are some occasions where elements of narrative seem to have survived, albeit in garbled form, which hint at possible early traditions of British activity in Ireland. The accounts of the family of Fedelmid and the potentially associated narratives that have been discussed in connection with it would seem to hint at such a tradition.

Where any British identity came to be associated with an individual, whether through the survival of an earlier tradition or for political expediency, hagiographers were faced with the problem of ensuring that any necessary link with contemporary Irish kindreds was maintained. That such a problem was grappled with is suggested by the not infrequent listing of various 'British' individuals discussed here in genealogical texts and later chronicles attached to Irish paternal lineages, coupled with the frequent recourse to the maternal line in the expression of British descent through women such as Darerca and Scoth Noe. Darerca is a figure of great interest in the development of the traditions relating to interaction between Northern Britain and Ireland and will be considered in greater detail elsewhere in this study.<sup>229</sup>

Though in many cases the build-up of traditions surrounding those that have been discussed here has entirely obfuscated the career of any historical person, there are occasions where the evidence hints of at least the shadowy outline of a real person lying behind the later cults. Of those who have been considered here, Mochta

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<sup>229</sup> See in particular 5.3 and 8.2.

may be considered the closest to a historical figure for whom fleeting fragments of activity may be discerned, though even this may amount merely to his migrant status and his authorship of at least one text. For Mugenóc and the various British women appearing in the family of Fedelmid and associated texts, the most that can be expressed is a strong possibility that the surviving accounts were built on characters held to be British at an early stage. It may be the case that many of the others came to be considered British only due to a combination of contemporary political expedience and what later centuries deemed a plausible portrayal of the extent of British activity in the fifth and early sixth centuries in Ireland. The historical interaction that can be discerned between the northern Britons in particular, and the Irish Church, as well as later perceptions of such interaction, will be returned to later in this study.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> See 7.3 and 8.1.

## 5 Uinniau

### 5.1 Introduction to Uinniau

Whatever the historical realities lying behind it, later hagiography allowed a more conspicuous British identity to remain in its portrayal of the earliest Irish Church than was to be the case with its representation of later ages. However, even if connections with Britain are harder to discern within the source material relating to post-patrician ecclesiastics, the sixth century is no less interesting in the study of migration from Britain to Ireland within the Church. One of the strongest candidates for a sixth-century figure hailing from Britain of great influence in the Irish Church is the saint known as \*Uinniau.<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that a single historical individual of this or similar name lies behind the traditions of both Finnian of Moville and Finnian of Clonard, potentially along with various others.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Clancy has suggested that to these various aliases may be added Ninian.<sup>3</sup> If this assertion is to be accepted, then a picture of a British migrant of significance to both Northern Britain and Ireland emerges. The complex array of potential aliases and issues surrounding them necessitates any study to be selective. Nonetheless, it may be useful to begin with a survey of the main evidence relating to individuals named Uinniau or those whom which this name appears to be associated and to consider the principal themes

<sup>1</sup> See for example Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton, Gael, Ghost?', pp. 71- 84.

<sup>2</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, 'St Finnbarr: A Study in a Cult', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 82 (1977), pp. 63- 82; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Finnian or Winniau?' in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds.), *Irland und Europa: Ireland and Europe* (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1984), pp. 52- 57; Richard Sharpe, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', in Michael Lapidge and David Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 193- 205, p. 198; David N. Dumville, 'Gildas and Uinniau', in Lapidge and Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches*, pp. 207- 214, p. 212; Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Question of Priority', p. 409; Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla', pp. 75- 76; Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject', p. 189; Thomas Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', *Innes Review* 52, no. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 1- 28, pp. 13- 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



that arise. Discussion will then progress to two outstanding issues that are particularly pertinent to the study of Hiberno-British interaction in the sixth-century Church and its subsequent perception. The first of these is the manner in which one source appears to deliberately relocate Finnian to Britain. The second is the question of how assertions that had been made in the past regarding the relationship between Ninian and Monenna should be considered in the wake of more recent suggestions concerning the true relationship between Uinniau and Ninian.

#### 5.1.1 Irish Evidence and the *Vita Columbae*

Two distinct anecdotes of interest appear in **VC** featuring a number of relevant variant name-forms. In **VC II, 1** Columba is portrayed as living as a youth under the training of a Bishop known both as Findbarr (using the accusative *Findbarrum*) and Uinniau (using the dative *Vinniauo*). Through the prayers of Columba, water is turned into wine for the celebration of mass, despite Columba himself attributing the deed to Uinniau.<sup>4</sup> This is one of the miracles summarised in **VC I, 1**. An anecdote in **VC III, 4** describes how his (seemingly the same) master *Finnio*, sees Columba accompanied by an angel.<sup>5</sup>

References to a Uinniau also appear in the chronicle record. **AU 579.1** has: *Quies Uinniani episcopi m. nepotis Fiatach* [Repose of bishop Finnian moccu Fiatach].<sup>6</sup> Dumville argues a more likely original entry could have read: *Quies Uinniani episcopi macu Fiatach* [The Peaceful death of Bishop Uinnianus of Dál

<sup>4</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 94- 95 and 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 186- 187.

<sup>6</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 90- 91.

Fiatach].<sup>7</sup> He suggests that this should be connected to the entry in **MT 10 Sep**:

*Finnio m. h. Fiatach*.<sup>8</sup> The saint is explicitly linked to Moville in **MO 10 Sep**:

*Clí dergóir co ñgliani,  
Cor-recht tar sál sídi,  
Súí diand Ériu inmall,  
Findbarr Maige Bili  
[A kingpost of red gold  
With purity over the swelling (?)  
sea (he came) with law, a sage  
for whom Ireland is sad,  
Findbarr of Mag Bili].<sup>9</sup>*

A ‘Findian’ and a ‘Findbarr’ are both listed in **MG 10 Sep**:

*Findian cride in crabaidh,  
Maighe Bile buadaig,  
Seanach,<sup>10</sup> Findbarr, Fergus  
[Findian, the heart of devotion of victorious Mag Bile. Senach, Findbarr,  
Fergus].<sup>11</sup>*

The same names appear in **MD 10 Sep**.<sup>12</sup> A bishop and confessor Finnian is also listed in **Cal. Drum. 10 Sep**.<sup>13</sup>

**AU 549.3** has a listing for another Finnian, the first in a list of plague victims:

*Mortalitas magna in qua isti pausant: Finnio maccu [Tel]duib* [A great mortality in which these rested: Finnian moccu Telduib].<sup>14</sup> The entry in **AI 552** makes specific

<sup>7</sup> Dumville, ‘St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?’, p.72.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.72; Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p.193.

<sup>10</sup> Original manuscript reading as given in edition, this is revised to *Seanach* by the editor.

<sup>11</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>12</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 242- 243.

<sup>13</sup> Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond*, p. 95; Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense*, p. 30( [the formatting used for the page number here replicates that of the printed edition, the punctuation distinguishes the calendar section from the separately numbered missal section].

<sup>14</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 76- 77.

mention of Clonard: *Quies Finniae Cluana Iraird* [Repose of Finnián of Cluain

Iraird].<sup>15</sup> This saint of Clonard appears in **MO 12 Dec**:

*Tor óir úas cech lermaig,  
gébaid coir frim anmain,  
Findén find, frém inmain,  
Clúana Iraird adbail*

[A tower of gold over every sea plain: he will give a hand to (help) my soul,  
Findian the fair, a loveable root, of vast Clonard].<sup>16</sup>

A Finnian is also listed in **MG 12 Dec**, **Cal. Drum 12 Dec** and **MD 12 Dec**.

Ó Riain has also pointed to the presence of the saint in an early-ninth-century calendar in Reichenau as well as a similarly dated Visigoth manuscript from Spain.<sup>17</sup>

The index to **MD** states that in addition to his December commemoration, Finnian of Clonard is also commemorated on 23 February: *ar 23 Feb. ata i n-oifig na naom nErennach* [at the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Feb. he is in the office of the Saints of Ireland].<sup>18</sup>

The unlikelihood of the same hypocoristic form Finnian developing independently in independent cases has led to the assertion that Finnian of Moville and Clonard derive from the same individual. Ó Riain has suggested that the failure of Adomnán to name a monastery for Columba's tutor suggests that he knew of only one saint of this name.<sup>19</sup> Dumville has argued that the earlier obit given in the annals

<sup>15</sup> Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen*, pp. 70- 71.

<sup>16</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 251.

<sup>17</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 321. The Visigoth manuscript is San Lorenzo, El Escorial I.III.13. I have unfortunately been unable to consult this document. See Paul Grosjean, 'Notes D'Hagiographie Celtique', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954), pp. 343- 363, p. 347; and Kathleen Hughes, 'Review: Vie De S. Rumon; Vie, Invention Et Miracles De S. Nectan. By Rev. Paul Grosjean', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 9, no. 36 (Sep. 1955), pp. 465- 468, p. 467.

<sup>18</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 420- 421.

<sup>19</sup> Ó Riain, 'St Finnbar: A Study in a Cult'; Ó Riain, 'Finnian or Winniau?'; Sharpe, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', p. 198; Dumville, 'Gildas and Uinniau', p. 212; Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Question of Priority', p. 409; Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla', pp. 75- 76; Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject', p. 189; Thomas Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', pp. 13- 14.

to Finnian of Clonard would correspond more convincingly with the elderly tutor of Columba in VC than do the dates of Finnian of Moville.<sup>20</sup> However, he suggests that it is not necessary to accept either date.<sup>21</sup> A mid-seventh century date has received cautious acceptance as a reasonable *terminus ante quem* for the proposed divergence of two localised cults.<sup>22</sup> Dumville suggests that at Clonard, Finnian acquired a *moccu Telduib* genealogy when this group was in charge of the bishopric.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the designation *m. nepotis Fiatach* associated with the Moville saint's feast has been argued to be linked to Moville's position as a principal church of the *Dál Fiatach*.<sup>24</sup> A further argued local alias of the same individual is Findbarr of Cork, whose cult will be considered presently.<sup>25</sup>

#### 5.1.2 Uinniau and Scotland

The Scottish record adds further complexities to the hagiographical landscape. The *Aberdeen Breviary* includes a number of potentially relevant individuals. There is a brief entry for a St Finnian in **AB 18 Mar**.<sup>26</sup> Alan MacQuarrie suggests that this is either a manifestation of St Fínán, who is commemorated in the Irish calendars on 16 March, or the abbot of Nér recorded in **AU 623.2: Quies M. Lasre abbatis Ard Machae, 7Uinei abbatis Neir** [Repose of Mac Laisre, abbot of Ard Macha, and of Finnia, abbot of Ner].<sup>27</sup> MacQuarrie also points to the

<sup>20</sup> Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?', p.78.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.80.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Dumville, 'Gildas and Uinniau', pp. 212- 213.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.; and Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?', p.72.

<sup>25</sup> Ó Riain, 'St Finnian: A Study in a Cult'; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 333.

<sup>26</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 92- 93.

<sup>27</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 112- 113; MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 92- 93.

commemoration of a St Finnin in Migvie, Aberdeenshire, where St Vinning's Fair took place at a similar time of year. An *Ecclesiam Sancti Finnani* is first attested at Migvie 1163 x 1178 in *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*.<sup>28</sup>

A lengthier entry is provided for St Findbarr in **AB 25 Sep**. This asserts that he was born in Caithness. His mother was the slave of a king named Tigernach, who on discovering her impregnation by a soldier, sentenced her to be burned to death. However, the infant was miraculously heard to speak from the womb, causing the king to relent and release Findbarr's mother unharmed from the flames. The account goes on to describe the saint's episcopal ordination by Pope Gregory, followed by his return to Scotland to tutor Columba as a deacon.<sup>29</sup> MacQuarrie points to the apparent Cork origin of most of the tale, with almost all details of the account, including the name of the local ruler, being present in the extant Lives of Findbarr of Cork, though in these the accounts take place in Ireland.<sup>30</sup> One detail that is raised by MacQuarrie that does not obviously owe its existence to this dossier is the reference to Findbarr being a teacher of Columba.<sup>31</sup> MacQuarrie states that the manner in which the compiler of **AB** apparently equated Finnian with Uinniau teacher of Columba is uncertain.<sup>32</sup> However, given that the form Findbarr is used for Uinniau on more than one occasion by Adomnán, a possible route for this notion does not appear to be too problematic.<sup>33</sup> It is however notable that the location of Columba's education by

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 364; O. Tyndall Bruce (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1841), pp. 249- 250; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1318865087> (last accessed 29/8/2016).

<sup>29</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 234- 237.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 361; the cult of Bairre m. Amairgin of Cork is discussed in <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=10> (last accessed 2/10/2016).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. 361.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 362.

<sup>33</sup> **VC I, 1** and **II, 1**.

Findbarr appears to have been understood by the compiler of **AB** as taking place in Scotland rather than Ireland:

*Scociam denuo reuersus, quamplurimos ad Christi fidem seruandam  
persuasit; sub cuius eciam tutela reuerendissimus pater Columba in  
Leuitarum ordine diu militauit*

[Returning again to Scotland, he exhorted many to keep the faith of Christ; the reverend father Columba also soldiered for a long time under his teaching in deacon's orders].<sup>34</sup>

Though the rest of the account of Findbarr would appear to demonstrate that the compiler was not averse to relocate events from Ireland to Scotland, it may be worth drawing attention to this particular change given that this locational shift of Columba's education by Findbarr appears elsewhere, as will be discussed presently.<sup>35</sup>

The Cork saint appears on the same date as his Caithness counterpart in the Irish Calendars. **MT 25 Sep** lists: *Barrind Corcaige*.<sup>36</sup> **MO 25 Sep** has:

*La cléir Eusebi  
sóerais cech fleid forcraid,  
la líth ind fír sercaig,  
féil Barri ó Chorcaig*

[With the train of Eusebius, which freed every surfeiting banquet, with the festival of the loveable man, the feast of Barre from Cork].<sup>37</sup>

He is also listed in **MG 25 Sep** and **MD 25 Sep**.

<sup>34</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 236- 237.

<sup>35</sup> See 5.2.

<sup>36</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 74.

<sup>37</sup> Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 196.

Place name dedications relating to a ‘Barr’ figure are relatively abundant and geographically widespread throughout Scotland.<sup>38</sup> However, MacQuarrie cautions against accepting that all such names relate to the same individual or in some cases any personal name at all.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, celebration of St Barr’s fair in Dornoch on 25 September and celebration of St Barr on 27 September in Barra serve to demonstrate that a cult associated with Findbarr of Cork and his commemoration on 25 September became widespread.<sup>40</sup> The Barra commemoration on this date is attested by Martin Martin at the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> In the following chapter, it will be argued that the equation of the Torannán of the Irish Calendars to local Hebridean toponymy may have been a result of seventeenth century Franciscan missionary activity.<sup>42</sup> Given such influence, it is difficult to assign any great antiquity to the September commemoration of Barr on Barra. Any Franciscan influence would have been not significantly earlier than seventy-five years prior to Martin Martin’s account. Nonetheless, the apparent continuation of pilgrimage from Barra to Ireland through to the later years of the sixteenth century would have allowed ample opportunity for Irish influence on a September commemoration of the Saint to develop at an earlier stage.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. 362; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=470> (last accessed 21/9/2015).

<sup>39</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. 362.

<sup>40</sup> The fair at Dornoch was later moved to the 10<sup>th</sup> of October by Alexander, Earl of Sutherland. A ‘St Finbarr’s Croft’ is first attested in Dornoch in 1608. See James David Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland* (Royal Commissioners on Market Rights and Tolls, 1890), p. 40; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1347302487> (last accessed 29/8/2016); MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. 362; entry for ‘Findbarr’ in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> (last accessed 3/10/2016).

<sup>41</sup> Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland circa 1695* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 1994), pp. 158, 163- 164; MacQuarrie, *Legend of Scottish Saints*, p. 363; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1321535817> (last accessed 29/8/2016).

<sup>42</sup> See 6.4.5.

<sup>43</sup> John L. Campbell, ‘The MacNeils of Barra and the Irish Franciscans’, *Innes Review* 5 (Spring 1954), pp. 33- 38, p. 33.

A further commemoration of interest in the *Aberdeen Breviary* is that of St Winnin in **AB 21 Jan**. The lessons here tell of how the saint was born in Ireland and travelled with a number of companions to Scotland, where he arrived in Cunninghame.<sup>44</sup> He cursed the river Garnock due to its refusal to yield any fish, causing it to change course. Following this he travelled to *Sacrum Nemus*- argued by MacQuarrie to be Hollywood near Dumfries, where a holy spring appeared.<sup>45</sup> He later became a bishop and was buried at Kilwinning, North Ayrshire.<sup>46</sup> Aside from the name of the town itself, Kilwinning is associated with the burial of a *Finanus* in a compilation of lives entitled the *Sanctilogium*, compiled by John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Although in this work the feast day of the Finanus is, like Finnian of Moville, given as 10 September, it is one of four lives in the work which are presented out-of-order at the end of the text rather than placed in order according to their feast day.<sup>48</sup> This account assigns an Ulster Dál nAraide genealogy to the saint, argued by Fiona Edmonds to reflect ‘a strategy to undermine Dál Fiatach’ and thus dating this genealogy to earlier than the eleventh-century domination of the latter.<sup>49</sup> She argues further that a date prior to the late eighth century should be

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<sup>44</sup> The first lesson begins *Wynninus, Scotica prouincia ortus*. MacQuarrie points to his travel to *Scociam Minorem* later in the text when ‘Scotland’ is intended as evidence that in this case, the former term refers to Ireland. See MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp 42-43 and 422.

<sup>45</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, p. 423.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>47</sup> <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=470> (last accessed 30/8/2016); Fiona Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period: Whithorn, Futerna and Magnum Monasterium* (Whithorn, friends of the Whithorn Trust, 2009), p. 12. Tynemouth's work was edited by Friar John Capgrave, who arranged the content in alphabetical order and printed as *Nova Legenda Angliae* in 1516. The work is discussed in David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints, Fifth Edition* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. xv- xvi. See Carl Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. I (Oxford, Henry Frowde, 1901), p. 447.

<sup>48</sup> Ingrid Sperber, ‘Lives of St Finnian of Movilla: British Evidence’, in Proudfoot (ed.), *Down, History and Society*, pp. 85- 102, p. 87; Carl Horstman, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. 1 (Oxford, Henry Frowde, 1901), p. xiv; Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, p. 12.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.



favoured due to the relative strength of the Dál nAraidi at this time.<sup>50</sup> In the text, Finanus is taken to Britain by a bishop Nennius who brought him back to Britain, where he studied in a *Magnum Monasterium*. He later journeyed to Rome and afterwards converted two peoples near Italy. He then returned to Ireland where, amongst other deeds, he resurrected a nun in *Cella Montis* (Killeavy, Armagh). Eventually upon his death, he was buried at Kilwinning.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the presence of a Nennius in this account, Clancy has cautioned against necessarily accepting *Magnum Monasterium* as Whithorn.<sup>52</sup> A more secure representation of Finnian's studentship in Whithorn is to be found in an account in the eleventh-century Irish *Liber Hymnorum*.<sup>53</sup> This tells of how Finnian failed to assist a princess named Drusticc to marry Ríóc, both also students at Whithorn. The Princess then gave birth to St Lonán of Treóit, with the father being a different man. The teacher Mugint then sent an assassin to kill Finnian. However, Mugint himself was struck instead and died.<sup>54</sup> Edmonds has pointed to the considerable similarities between this account and one of those within Tynemouth's life, although there are substantial differences in the narratives and the *Liber Hymnorum* account contains many more named British individuals.<sup>55</sup>

One of the most intriguing links between an apparent Finnian manifestation and Whithorn is to be found in a note to **MO 28 Sep**. The entry itself reads:

*Dá Fíndio geldai*

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Sperber, 'Lives of St Finnian of Movilla: British Evidence', pp. 91-94.

<sup>52</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 19, n. 71.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (eds.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol. 1 (London, Henry Bradshaw Society 13, 1898), p.22. A paraphrase translation occurs in Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, pp. 22- 23.

*it gessi im cech cobair*  
[The two bright Findios are to be asked for every aid].<sup>56</sup>

A note in on this entry in the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 610 reads: *Alii dicunt com[bad] hé dobeth i Futerna isna Rannaib si uerum est* [Some say it is he who used to be in Whithorn in the Renna [if that is true]].<sup>57</sup> Such a note could be suggested to imply the continuation in some quarters of an association between a Finnian and Whithorn amounting to more than simply a passing visit or studentship there. However, Edmonds argues that the likely source for the note was the *Liber Hymnorum* given the known access that the commentator had to this source.<sup>58</sup>

Local toponymic references to a figure of a similar name abound throughout Galloway and Ayrshire, with examples of both Winnin and Finnian forms strongly represented.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that Whithorn itself may owe its name to such a personal name. Pamela O’Neil argues that the Old English *Hwiterne* and Bede’s *Ad Candidam Cassam*, usually translated ‘White House’, may be based on an original Celtic name-form that incorporated *Uin/Fin* [white] in reference to the saint’s name, rather than a reference to the style of the building. O’Neill posits that Bede’s interpretation of the name is more a reflection of his own ‘dogged obsession with building churches in the roman style’, than any accurate description of the building itself.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céli Dé*, p. 197.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, pp. 212-213; Brackets my trans. Stokes leaves the Latin untranslated; See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 610, 68 v.

<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=mslauidmisc610> (last accessed 20/11/15).

<sup>58</sup> Edmonds, *Whithorn’s Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>59</sup> Clancy, ‘The Real St Ninian’, pp. 17-18.

<sup>60</sup> Pamela O’Neill, ‘Six degrees of whiteness: Finbarr, Finnian, Finnian, Ninian, Candida Casa and Hwiterne’, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007), pp. 259- 267, pp. 262- 263.

What is to be made of all this? Ingrid Sperber has suggested that an original local saint in south-western Scotland became swallowed up by the hagiography of Finnian of Moville, arguing that the notion that Scottish hagiography's apparent linking of the local Winnin to Finnian of Moville was directly derived from a historical career spanning both Northern Britain and Ireland is unlikely but not irrefutable.<sup>61</sup> The question of how Winnin of Galloway and other saints of Scottish hagiography and toponymy relate to their Irish counterparts will be considered presently. However, it is first necessary to introduce another name to the discussion.

A further mitre has been thrown into the ring with the suggestion that Ninian should be added to the dossier of potential Uinniau aliases. Clancy's argument that *Nynia* and associated forms should ultimately be understood as a misreading of *Uinniau* provides a convincing solution to the seeming lack of early *Ninian* place names or dedications.<sup>62</sup> Nonetheless, some difficulties remain. One such question is how Whithorn itself would accept the renaming of its local saint from Uinniau to Ninian.<sup>63</sup> A further difficulty arises from studies attributing the Scottish activities of St Monenna to a lost life of Ninian.<sup>64</sup> It must be asked if such an assertion can stand if the redrawn picture of Ninian as a manifestation of Uinniau were to be accepted. The notion that the cult of Ninian is entirely derived from Uinniau has not been universally embraced. Butter posits an 'independent (though obscure) original existence'.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Sperber, 'Lives of St Finnian of Movilla: British Evidence', p. 90.

<sup>62</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', pp. 1-28.

<sup>63</sup> James Fraser, 'Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of Saint Ninian', *Innes Review* v. 53, no. 1 (Spring 2002) pp. 40-59, p. 54.

<sup>64</sup> A. Boyle, 'St Ninian and St Monenna', *Innes Review* 18, no. 2 (Autumn, 1967), pp. 147- 151.

<sup>65</sup> Rachel Butter, 'The Cult of Saints', in MacQuarrie, *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. xxii- xxvi, p. xxiv.

### 5.1.3 Penitential and Gildas

Dumville points to the reference by Columbanus to correspondence between Gildas and a Uennianus.<sup>66</sup> He argues in favour of this Uennianus being in probability the same as the Uinniaus credited in two manuscripts as being the author of a penitential that Columbanus used as a model for his own, given that Columbanus refers to the former Uinniau as *auctor*.<sup>67</sup> If the links of Columbanus with both suggest that the two should be considered one, albeit inferentially, it must then be asked how or if such an individual relates to his various Irish and Scottish namesakes. Dumville concedes that there is no solid link between the Uinniau associated with Columbanus and the Finnians of Irish Hagiography. However, he argues the coincidence of names as well as the knowledge of Gildas in Ireland in the late sixth and seventh century to be suggestive of such a connection.<sup>68</sup>

The matter of the various dedications throughout Northern Britain further muddy the waters. If the toponymic evidence of Northern Britain were to be detached from its associated hagiography and considered on its own, there would seem little reason to suggest that the *Barr* that appears in place names in Barra, Argyll, Ross-shire and Sutherland should be equated with the *Wynn* and *Fin* forms of Ayrshire and Galloway.<sup>69</sup> Clancy has suggested the possibility that the *Barr* forms reflect a later spread of the cult under Columban influence.<sup>70</sup> He argues that a north-eastern group of dedications to *Finan* should also be considered to reflect a separate

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<sup>66</sup> Dumville, 'Gildas and Uinniau', p. 207.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 208.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 213.

<sup>69</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011 ed., Edinburgh, Birlinn), pp. 165, 189, 193 and 272- 273; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=470> (last accessed 30/8/2016).

<sup>70</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 27.

original local cult.<sup>71</sup> He further claims that all of these cults should be considered separate from the cult of a Uinniau in Brittany and South Wales.<sup>72</sup>

If it was to be considered the case that several individuals originally lay behind the various British place name dedications, the question then arises as to which, if any of them should be assigned priority as potentially being the same historical individual behind the Irish Finians. Clancy implies that the Galloway Uinniau should be given priority here, given the region's proximity to Movable.<sup>73</sup> It may be suggested that further fuel for one of the northern clusters to lie behind the Finian of Irish hagiography may come from a poem in the ninth century *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex*. It will be argued in the following chapter that this poem may depict Finian of Clonard as one of three men who are described as a 'rich present' from Pictland to Ireland. If this is accepted, then the retention of a tradition of Northern British origin in Clonard into the ninth century would appear to be implied. This would, however, raise the issue of the extent to which poetic licence could permit an author drawing on Clonard tradition to allow Galloway and Ayrshire to fall into 'Pictonia' in order to fit with their intended scheme.

Attempts to connect Columbanus's Uinniau with Ireland's Finian remain more tentative still. Sharpe points to Movable's proximity to Bangor and suggests the latter as a likely location for Columbanus to have encountered the letter of Gildas.<sup>74</sup> Though this would fit with Clancy's hypothetical outline of an individual potentially connected with south-western Scotland and north-eastern Ireland having written the

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, p. 17, n. 59; also see Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', in Katherine Forsyth (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Deer* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2008), pp. 363-397, pp. 367-375.

<sup>72</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 14, n. 45.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 25.

<sup>74</sup> Sharpe, 'Gildas as a Father of the Church', p. 198, n. 22.

penitential and corresponded with Gildas, the argument for more than one British Uinniau leaves the possibility that Uinniau the *auctor* could have been a separate man.<sup>75</sup>

#### 5.1.4 Uinniau's Place of Origin

If it is to be accepted that at least some of the British evidence may point to the same historical figure as much of the Irish material and that the possibility exists that their lifetime saw activity on both islands, the question arises as to where the man was from. The debate over the place of origin of a unitary Uinniau/Findbarr has been dominated in recent years by Pádraig Ó Riain and David Dumville. The latter has pointed to the form *Finnio* found in **MT 10 Sep**, arguing that the 'io' ending is a sign of British Celtic influence.<sup>76</sup> He argues that this is derived from Uinniau, itself a British form.<sup>77</sup> Ó Riain has pointed to the non-hypocoristic Irish form *Findbarr*, asserting that 'hypocoristics are either produced or assimilated by full forms, and not *vice versa*', thus suggesting an Irish origin for Uinniau/ Finnian.<sup>78</sup> This has been challenged by Dumville, who asserts that the 'strongly self-interrogatory' nature of the sources could have allowed *Findbarr* to have been created from *Uinniau* in an attempt to recover the original form.<sup>79</sup> Dumville has also argued that it is possible that Findbarr emerged as an Irish translation of British *\*Uindubarros*.<sup>80</sup> He further points to the apparent tradition at the time of composition of **MO** that apparently

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<sup>75</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 26.

<sup>76</sup> Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?', pp. 72 and 74.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p. 74-75.

<sup>78</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 322; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Question of Priority', p. 411; Ó Riain, 'Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject', pp. 188- 191.

<sup>79</sup> Dumville, 'St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?', pp. 76-77.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p.79.

associated *Findbarr Maige Bili* with coming from across the sea.<sup>81</sup> Ó Riain maintains that the notion of Finnian as an ‘outsider’ suggests that he was a member of an Irish speaking settlement in south-western Britain.<sup>82</sup> This has been described by Thomas Charles-Edwards as an ‘attractive suggestion’.<sup>83</sup> However, Dumville argues that there is no reason to suggest that he was not a Briton and that it is not even possible to conclusively demonstrate that the real individual had any genuine activity in Ireland, although this would be plausible.<sup>84</sup>

Given that the issue is still ‘live’ and largely hinges on whether it is held that ‘full’ name-forms can or cannot be derived from hypocoristic forms, it is necessary to proceed with some caution before labelling Finnian a ‘British migrant’.

Nonetheless, though an acceptance of a likely identity as a Briton is not universally embraced, the fact that the principal opponent of the notion suggests a British geographical origin would in itself allow for his inclusion in the present study. The extent to which he or his possible derivations may have cast a wide net of influence over the hagiographical record in both Scotland and Ireland furthers the case for his inclusion here.

#### 5.1.5 Next steps

A survey of the evidence relating to the various occurrences of Uinniau, Finnian and Findbarr in the historical, hagiographic and toponymic record shows the room for speculation to remain huge in terms of the life of a historical individual or

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 74.

<sup>82</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 322; Ó Riain, ‘Finnio and Winniau: A Question of Priority’, p. 411; Ó Riain, ‘Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject’, pp. 196- 202.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards, ‘Britons in Ireland, c. 550- 800’ in Carey, Koch and Lambert (eds.), *Ildánach Ildírech*, pp. 15- 26, p. 19; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 291.

<sup>84</sup> Dumville, ‘St Finnian of Movilla: Briton Gael or Ghost?’, p.81.

individuals, but also regarding the manner in which his or their cults spread, diverged and merged to create the bewildering array of evidence that exists today. It is obvious that any completion of the puzzle and yielding of a definitive picture is far off.

Indeed, it is not at all clear that enough pieces remain for this to ever be achieved with certainty. Nonetheless, it is perhaps possible that some remaining pieces can be prized out from under the bed.

As has been seen, the *Aberdeen Breviary* appears to relocate Findbarr's education of Columba to Scotland.<sup>85</sup> Though it is arguable that this is more likely to reflect the intended narrative flow of this document's compiler than any survival of traditions of a British based education of Columba by Findbarr, this suggests that an investigation of the other text in which this occurs and its purpose, namely the '*pseudo-Cumméne*' *Vita Columbae* is merited. A further area where consideration may be merited is the issue of how Monenna may fit into the picture. The assertion that some of the narratives of this saint's journey through Scotland were derived from a lost life of Ninian was based on a more traditional understanding of this figure.<sup>86</sup> As will be seen, a re-examination of Monenna, in the context of more recent discussion on relationship between Ninian and Uinniau raises intriguing questions of its own.

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<sup>85</sup> See 5.1.2.

<sup>86</sup> Boyle, 'St Ninian and St Monenna', pp. 147- 151.



## 5.2 Finnian Comes Home?: An Examination of Chapter IV of the *'Pseudo-Cumméne' Vita Columbae*

In examining the relationship of Uinniau with Northern Britain and Ireland, it may be useful to consider one text that has suffered comparative neglect in recent years due to its apparent claim to a provenance that is demonstrably false. The *Vita Columbae* of 'Pseudo-Cumméne' (henceforth **Ps-C**) is now widely considered to be derived from Adomnán's work rather than to be the earlier work of Abbot Cumméne find, as had been previously thought.<sup>87</sup> There are a number of points of interest within the text, which suggest that an examination as a text in its own right rather than an outright dismissal may prove useful. For present purposes, particularly interesting is the manner in which the text places a youthful Columba in Britain under the supervision of Bishop Finnian.<sup>88</sup> Before this specific anecdote is put to further scrutiny, it may be useful to briefly discuss the text and how attitudes to the text have developed over time.

The main body of the text is comprised of a number of anecdotes present in Adomnán's work.<sup>89</sup> All are from **VC III** with the exception of two from **VC II**.<sup>90</sup> The anecdotes in **Ps-C** are sparser in detail than their equivalent chapters in **VC** and are arranged into greater chronological order.<sup>91</sup> Printed editions emerged in the

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<sup>87</sup> Marjory Anderson, 'Introduction: Textual', in Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, p. lxiv.

<sup>88</sup> Pseudo-Cumméne IV. In an attempt to preserve consistency and clarity, this discussion will continue previous practice and refer to the text as Pseudo-Cumméne or **Ps-C**. This is despite the apparent likelihood, as will be discussed, that it was not attributed to Cumméne until a late stage.

<sup>89</sup> **Ps-C I-XXIV**; the appended list of miracles is outwith the scope of the present discussion, but invites future investigation. The chapter divisions used in the text are argued by the Andersons to derive from Achery and Mabillon's edition, though they remain useful when discussing the text. See Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 15.

<sup>90</sup> James F. Kenney, 'The Earliest Life of St. Columcille', *Catholic Historical Review* 11 (1925-1926), pp. 636- 644, p. 640.

<sup>91</sup> W. M. Metcalf (ed.) *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1 (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1889), p. xx; Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 15.

seventeenth century by Colgan in 1647 and Achery and Mabillon in 1668.<sup>92</sup> In the latter, an attribution was made to Cumméne on the basis that it contained some, though not all, of the prophesy of Columba in Dorbene's extract of Cumméne's life, without following Dorbene in first naming its source.<sup>93</sup> This authorship was accepted by most scholars for the following two centuries.<sup>94</sup> However, attitudes began to change from the early twentieth century when it was highlighted that a note in the 1668 edition explains how Cumméne's authorship was deduced, strongly suggesting that the authorship was not given in the now lost manuscript used for the edition.<sup>95</sup> No surviving manuscripts contain a note of authorship.<sup>96</sup> It therefore appears likely that no early manuscript attempted to attribute the work to Cumméne.

A number of arguments have arisen to suggest that *Pseudo-Cumméne* was derived from Adomnán's *Vita-Columbae* rather than being a source for it. Some of the most convincing are the apparent misunderstandings of ideas contained within Adomnán's work on the part of the compiler of **Ps-C**. The Andersons have drawn attention to the fact that during the anecdote within **VC III, 23** an angel comes to Columba's deathbed in order to collect 'a *depositum* dear to God', the notion of the soul being a deposit being derived from the *Life of Anthony*.<sup>97</sup> However, they highlight the equivalent passage in **Ps-C XVIII**, in which the equivalent phrase is '*pro cuiusdam missus depositione deo cari*', translated by the Andersons as '[for the death' (if not 'the burial') of a man dear to God].<sup>98</sup> They also contrast **VC**'s

<sup>92</sup> Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 321- 325; Jean Luc Archery and Jean Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1668), pp. 361- 366; discussed in Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 13.

<sup>93</sup> Comp. **VC III, 5**. and **Ps-C V**; Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 13.

<sup>94</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. xix.

<sup>95</sup> Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 13.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

statement that the room in which Virgno hid was filled with light: *non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore*, [not without an effect of great terror],<sup>99</sup> with **Ps-C XV**'s assertion that it is the room itself that is 'filled with great terror': *Sed et illius exedrae separatim conclave ubi Fernaus latitabat illud coeleste lumen formidabili timore repleverat* literally: [But that room of the hall, which had been partitioned, where Virgno was hiding, that light from heaven had filled up with terrible fear].<sup>100</sup> Furthermore they highlight the account of Columba and his battle with a multitude of demons in **VC III, 8**: *nec innumerabiles unum vincere poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere, donec angeli dei, ut sanctus post quibusdam non multis retulerat, in am[mi]niculum adfuere* [neither could the numberless enemies defeat the one man, nor was the one strong enough to drive them from his island; until, as the saint afterwards related to a few men, angels of God came to his support].<sup>101</sup> The Andersons contrast this with **Ps-C IX**: *Nec tamen innumeri unum vincere potuerunt: donec angeli Dei in adminiculum affuere* [Nor were the many able to overcome the one until angels of God came to help].<sup>102</sup>

Such arguments would seem persuasive in establishing that **Ps-C** is largely a derivation of **VC**. However, problems remain in the understanding of the composition and purpose of **Ps-C**. Of particular interest to this study is the relationship between **Ps-C III** and **IV**. **Ps-C III** contains the account (found within

<sup>99</sup> **VC III, 19**. Anderson and Anderson, *Life of Columba* (1961), pp. 16 and 506.

<sup>100</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 62. Literal translation mine. It is notable that Metcalf's translation instead states that it was Virgno who was filled with terror [Moreover, the heavenly light filled also the chapel, though it was shut off, where Fernaus was lying hid in great alarm]. See Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints* (Paisley, Alexander Gardner, 1895), pp. 39- 40. Discussed in Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 16.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 480- 481.

<sup>102</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 57; discussed and translated in Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 16; Metcalf's translation reads [but though innumerable, and he one, they were unable to overcome him, till at last the angels of God came to his aid]: Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 36.

**VC III, 4)** of Bishop Finnian seeing an angel by the side of a youthful Columba.

This is followed in **Ps-C IV** by the account of Columba as a young man turning water into wine for the celebration of mass by Finnian (equivalent to **VC II, 1**).

However, the beginning of the account in **Ps-C IV** situates the latter event in Britain:

*Hiisdem diebus Sanctus, cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit. Quo proveniens quadam solemni die sancto magistro suo et episcopo Finniano missam celebranti vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu non inveniebatur*

[In those days the saint crossed over to Britain with twelve disciples and fellow soldiers. He arrived on a certain holy day, as his holy teacher and bishop Finnian was celebrating Mass, when it chanced that no wine could be found for the sacrificial mystery].<sup>103</sup>

This can be contrasted with the opening of **VC II, 1**, where the account takes place firmly in Ireland:

*Alio in tempore cum vir venerandus in Scotia apud sanctum Findbarrum episcopum adhuc juvenis sapientiam sacrae scripturae addiscens commaneret, quadam sollemni die vinum ad sacrificiale misterium*

[At one, time, when the venerable man, while still a youth, was living in Ireland with the holy bishop Findbarr, acquiring knowledge of sacred scripture, it chanced on a certain festival that no wine was found for the sacrificial rite].<sup>104</sup>

The principal reason for the geographic relocation has been argued by the Andersons to stem from the fact that in both the A and B texts of **VC**, the statement that Columba travelled to Britain follows the anecdote of Finnian seeing the angel -the account that directly precedes the miracle of the wine in **Ps-C**.<sup>105</sup> The placement of

<sup>103</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 53; Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 32.

<sup>104</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), pp. 324- 325.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

this statement following **VC III, 4** in all manuscripts of **VC** has been argued by the Andersons to be an error, with the proper place for the sentence being after **VC III, 3**- the account of the excommunication of Columba.<sup>106</sup> In addition to suggesting that this further demonstrates the dependence of **Ps-C** on **VC**, they argue that the compiler of **Ps-C** assumed *in Scotia* of **VC II, 1**, to refer to Scotland and thus replaced the term with *quo perveniens* when placed directly after the statement that he travelled to Britain in **Ps-C III**.<sup>107</sup> They argue that such an understanding of *Scotia* is indicative of late compilation.<sup>108</sup>

The airing of some caution may be justified over necessarily accepting that the compiler of **Ps-C** was ignorant of the early meaning of *Scotia* as Ireland. It may be noted that the word itself is used elsewhere in **Ps-C**. It occurs in **Ps-C VII** when Columba is questioned on how he can know of the death of Brendan: *Nullus enim ejus obitus praecessit nuncius de Scotia* [no messenger from [Ireland] has announced his death].<sup>109</sup> A further reference occurs in **Ps-C XII**:

*Alio quoque tempore quatuor fratres visitandi gratia sanctum Columbam adeunt de Scotia in Hymba commanentem insula.*

[Moreover, on another occasion, four brethren came from [Ireland] for the sake of visiting S. Columba, who was then residing in the Island of Hynba].<sup>110</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, pp. 14 and 472, n.4.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, pp. 14- 15. Their assertions are summarised by Marjory Anderson in the later reprint of the work Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, pp. lxii- lxxv.

<sup>108</sup> Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 15; The Andersons follow Brüning in suggesting that the text's origin lies on the continent with an earliest date of the mid-twelfth century. See Ibid p. 17.

<sup>109</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 55; Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 44 (brackets mine).

<sup>110</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 58; Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 37 (brackets mine).

It is clear from these passages that the compiler of **Ps-C** considered *Scotia* to be a term that did not cover the location of either Iona or Hynba.<sup>111</sup> Correspondingly, one straightforward reading of this text would be to accept *Scotia* to be Ireland.

However, the fluidity of the meaning of this term when it eventually came to be applied to Northern Britain could undoubtedly allow for its use to describe an area of Britain that did not include the Columban islands.<sup>112</sup> Such an interpretation would however, raise problems with the Andersons' suggestion that the British setting of **Ps-C IV** is the result of ignorance of the meaning of the word *Scotia*. If it were to be held that the compiler of **Ps-C** used *Scotia* to apply to Northern Britain in this limited sense, some understanding of Scottish political geography would be implied. If the Andersons' suggestion that the compiler of **Ps-C** assumed that Columba arrived in *Scotia* when he sailed to Britain were also to be accepted, it would follow that the compiler envisaged the meeting between Finnian and Columba taking place somewhere in Britain that was distinct from Iona or Hynba.<sup>113</sup>

It may be useful to examine also the material that would have been encountered by the compiler of **Ps-C** in reading Adomnán's work, though not repeated by him. Several occurrences of *Scotia* appear in **VC III, 23**, a chapter heavily drawn on by **Ps-C XVII-XXIV**. One such occurrence is to be found in Columba's prophesy regarding the future of Iona:

*Et inde egrediens, et monticellum monasterio supereminentem ascendens, in vertice ejus paululum stedit; et stans ambas elevans palmas suum benedixit*

<sup>111</sup> Although not explicitly mentioned in **Ps-C VII**, Iona is named as the location of Columba in the equivalent account in **VC III, 12**.

<sup>112</sup> Dauvit Broun, 'Defining Scotland and the Scots Before the Wars of Independence', in Dauvit Broun, R. J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (ed.) *Image and Identity: The Making and re-making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1998), pp. 4- 17, p. 7.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 15.

*cenubium, inquires: 'Huic loco quamlibet angusto et vili non tantum Scotorum reges cum populis, sed etiam barbarum et exterarum gentium regnatores cum plebibus sibi subjectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem. A sanctis quoque, etiam aliarum ecclesiarum, non mediocris veneratio conferetur'*

[Going from there, he climbed a small hill overlooking the monastery, and stood on its summit for a little while. And as he stood he raised both hands, and blessed his monastery saying: 'On this place, small and mean though it may be, not only kings of the Irish with their peoples, but also the rulers of barbarous and foreign nations, with their subjects, will bestow great and especial honour; also especial reverence will be bestowed by saint even of other churches'].<sup>114</sup>

**Ps-C XIX** reduces this to a characteristic summary, neglecting any detail:

*Inde ergo sanctus Dei egrediens et montem monasterio supereminentem ascendens in vertice ejus paululum stedit, et elevatis manibus coenobium suum benedixit, et de praesentibus et futuris multa prophetavit quae postea eventus probavit*

[Thence going out and ascending to the summit of a hill overlooking his monastery, the Saint of God stood a little, and with uplifted hands blessed his community, and prophesied many things concerning the present and the future which the event afterwards confirmed].<sup>115</sup>

The lack of interest shown by **Ps-C** makes it impossible to discern how the phrase *Scotorum reges* was perceived, though it is clear that there would have been scope to understand the passage as a reference to later Scottish kings. It may therefore follow that any apparent lack of interest in politics within the text is not necessarily merely due to a late compiler.

A reference that should have been a greater indicator of the meaning of *Scotia* to the compiler of **Ps-C** occurs towards the close of Adomnán's work:

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p. 525.

<sup>115</sup> Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 63; Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 42.

*Et haec etiam eidem baetae memoriae viro a deo non mediocris est conlata gratia, qua nomen ejus non tantum per totam nostrum Scotiam, et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit in hac parva et extrema ociani britannici commoratus insula, sed etiam ad trigonam usque Hispaniam, et Gallias, et ultra Alpes pininas Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque romanam civitatem, quae caput est omnium civitatum*

[And this great favour also was conferred by God on that man of blessed memory, that although he lived in this small and remote island of the Britannic ocean, he merited that his name should not only be illustriously renowned throughout our Ireland, and throughout Britain, the greatest of all the islands of the whole world; but that it should reach even as far as three-cornered Spain, and Gaul, and Italy situated beyond the Pennine Alps; also the Roman city itself, which is the chief of all cities].<sup>116</sup>

This passage may offer the clearest hint to any reader of **VC** that *Scotia* was considered to be an entirely separate entity from *Britanniam* rather than located within it. However, it is possible to argue that this passage, and the others given here, would be far from enough to emphasise that *Scotia* did not refer to a part of Britain if the compiler of **Ps-C** had had no notion that an earlier meaning had existed.

It may be concluded that **Ps-C**'s understanding of *Scotia* remains difficult to determine and as such, the Andersons' suggestion that an equation of *Scotia* with *Britannia* was the principal factor influencing the placement of **Ps-C IV** must remain in consideration. However, as has been discussed, any acceptance that the compiler of **Ps-C** believed *Scotia* to refer to Northern Britain results in some doubt over an absolute ignorance of insular geography. It would also raise the possibility that a stay with Finnian on the mainland of Northern Britain before Columba's arrival at Iona and Hynba was envisaged. In light of the caveats in necessarily accepting a misunderstanding of *Scotia*, it may be considered justifiable to examine other aspects

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<sup>116</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.), *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), pp. 540- 543.



of **Ps-C IV** in the attempt to uncover the reasons for its placement in the text and its purpose.

It may be noted that Kenney, though an advocate of an early date for the bulk of the text, believed **Ps-C IV** to be a later insertion.<sup>117</sup> He argued that, in addition to it being one of two chapters that does not run parallel to anecdotes within Adomnán's third chapter, its placement occurs 'awkwardly and irrationally' and in mirroring the first miracle of Christ, would be a logical miracle for a later medieval scribe to insert.<sup>118</sup> The Andersons have countered that there is no reason to assume that the chapter was brought into **Ps-C** any later than that which preceded it, as both deal with Finnian and both are set at a similar time -relevant when considering the attempted chronological order of **Ps-C**.<sup>119</sup> They suggest that the placement of **Ps-C IV** in Britain is therefore indicative of the whole work being 'a late composition by someone ignorant of Irish tradition and the circumstances of Columba's life'.<sup>120</sup>

However, there are a number of inconsistencies that would be difficult for any compiler to accept, even one with no knowledge of insular hagiography or geography. The greatest difficulty of consistency between **Ps-C III** and **IV** is the sequence of events. Using only material from **Ps-C** the order and location of events in the two chapters can be understood as follows: Columba is a young man in an unspecified country. He visits Bishop Finnian, who sees that Columba is accompanied by angels. Columba then sails with 'twelve disciples and fellow soldiers' to Britain, where Bishop Finnian is celebrating Mass. Wine could not be

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<sup>117</sup> Kenney, 'The Earliest Life of St. Columcille', p. 641.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 15.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

found for the Eucharist and it is inferred, though not clearly stated, that Columba was responsible for turning water in to wine for this purpose.<sup>121</sup>

**Ps-C III** and **IV** have been taken from two separate books of **VC** and, as has been discussed, were apparently deliberately re-written at the point of joining to flow into each other. Further, it is specifically stated that the miracle of the water into wine occurred on the very day Columba arrived in Britain, a statement that does not derive from Adomnán. In light of this deliberate editing, it must therefore be asked why the compiler did not attempt to complete the unification of the two anecdotes by removing the obvious inconsistency of Bishop Finnian's location, particularly when it is considered that the entire work attempts to introduce a chronological order absent in Adomnán's work. A further problem of inconsistency arises with the length of Columba's life. Columba sails to Britain as a young man and after thirty-four years is *senio fessus* [infirm with age], by any standards an unusually hasty descent into old age.<sup>122</sup> It must be noted that this particular disparity also exists in Adomnán's work as it stands, fuelling the argument that it the sentence has been misplaced in all existing manuscripts of **VC**.<sup>123</sup> Nonetheless, it becomes particularly marked in the chronological framework of **Ps-C**.

Taking into account the inconsistency between **Ps-C III** and **IV**, there is a temptation to ask if Kenney may have been correct in arguing for **Ps-C IV** to be a later insertion, even if his chronology for the composition of the rest of the text is rejected. It is tempting to suggest that the inconsistency of the two chapters reflects a badly thought out insertion that did not pay due heed to how the rest of the work

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<sup>121</sup> Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, pp. 32- 33.

<sup>122</sup> **Ps-C III, IV** and **XVII**. Metcalf (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of Scottish Saints*, vol. 1, p. 62; Metcalf (trans.), *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. 41.

<sup>123</sup> Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), pp. 14 and 472, n.4.

would be affected. However, the deliberate manipulation of chapter IV in its re-wording as well as the introduction of the specific timing of Columba's arrival to coincide with activity of Finnian remains puzzling if it is held that the proposed later inserter was uninterested in producing a coherent narrative.

An examination of **Ps-C IV** results in the somewhat infuriating conclusion that some level of manipulation of the available source material occurred in order to bring together the accounts of **Ps-C III** and **Ps-C IV**. However, such manipulation stopped short of creating an entirely logical sequence of events between the two chapters. Perhaps most significantly, that manipulation which did occur has resulted in an account that, at least in part, moves Finnian to Britain as a precursor to Columba. While the Andersons' suggestion that such a move is purely a product of a misunderstanding of the meaning of *Scotia* is feasible, it is justifiable to ask if the change of location may have occurred for more intentional reasons.<sup>124</sup> The fact that **Ps-C IV** returns Finnian 'home' as an antecedent of Columba in Britain may be without significance. However, given that a similar move apparently occurred in **AB**, it may be unwise to dismiss the possibility out of hand that these texts reflect the survival or development of a tradition that Uinniau had taught Columba in Scotland.<sup>125</sup>

### 5.3 A Saint of Many Faces? Some Thoughts on Uinniau, Niniau and Monenna

Adding to the complexities involved with untangling the relationship between the various distinct faces of Uinniau is the difficulty in understanding the

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>125</sup> See 5.1.2.

place of a narrative involving the female saint Monenna or Modwenna. This is to be found in an eleventh-century *Vita* attributed to Conchubranus and has been argued to derive from the confusion of two distinct saints, one active in Ireland, the other in England and Scotland.<sup>126</sup> In 1967 it was suggested by Alexander Boyle that the Scottish element of the journey was originally taken from a life of Ninian that had been mistakenly inserted into the narrative. Boyle argued that this may have been due to the similarity of Ninian's name, when given in the form *Mo-Ninn*, to *Monenna*, and that such a mistake could be inferred by the extent to which the route of Monenna through Scotland was felt to reflect a probable route for Ninian as an early missionary.<sup>127</sup> He also pointed to a number of instances where he felt dedications to Ninian could be shown to coincide with places listed in the *Conchubranus Life* (his conclusions in this regard are summarised in **Appendix I**). These assertions have remained in consideration in more recent years by those attempting to grapple with questions that surround the identity of *Ninian/ Uinniau*.<sup>128</sup> However, the fact that the equation of Monenna with Ninian was first made under the assumption of a traditional Ninianic narrative, suggests that it may be prudent to look again at the relationship between Ninian and Monenna, bearing in mind the links that have been suggested between Ninian and Uinniau, and to ask what an assessment of

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<sup>126</sup> This authorship has been disputed. However, the term *Conchubranus Life* shall be used here for simplicity. P. A. Wilson, 'St Ninian: Irish Evidence Further Examined', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 46 (1969), pp. 140- 159, p. 150; Robert Bartlett, Introduction in *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), p. xv; Boyle, 'St Ninian and St Monenna', p. 147.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 147- 151.

<sup>128</sup> For example, Geoffrey Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania* (Whithorn, Friends of the Whithorn Trust, 2004), pp. 5-7; and Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Scottish Saints and National Identities', in Thacker and Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 397- 421, pp. 402- 403; John MacQueen, *St Nynia* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 2005 ed.), pp. 137- 144.

Monenna's Scottish journey may contribute to our understanding of the putative migrant Bishop.

One of the greatest difficulties encountered in any attempt to gauge any potential relationship between Monenna and Ninian is the apparent lateness of almost all surviving dedications to the bishop.<sup>129</sup> This makes any analysis of the often tentative links between the Scottish places in the *Conchubranus Life* and Ninian problematic, not least due to the ubiquity of devotion to St Ninian in Scotland in later centuries. The discussion here will focus on two places mentioned in the *Conchubranus Life*, due to their relative promise in contributing something to the discussion of the relationship between Ninian and Monenna. These are Eccles, or St Ninian's, near Stirling and, perhaps surprisingly, Edinburgh.

Perhaps the most logical place to begin a discussion on the connection between Ninian and Monenna is at Eccles, now part of Stirling. The church here has been suggested by Clancy potentially to hold the earliest evidence of any dedication to St Ninian.<sup>130</sup> It is also given as a stopping point on the journey of Monenna's coffin in the *Conchubranus Life*.<sup>131</sup> Clancy has highlighted that Eccles in Stirling is the only

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<sup>129</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 9. An extensive summary of dedications to Ninian can be found in the *Saints in Scottish Place-Names* database: <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=530> (last accessed 23/09/15). The relatively common *Ninewells* place-names throughout Scotland have been argued to have little to do with the saint. Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus suggest that they refer frequently to the number of springs in the location. An example is *Nyniwell's Field* in the Hopetoun Estate, West Lothian, suggested by P.A. Wilson to be an early dedication to Niniau, but which was recorded as *Ninewells Park* in 1855 x 1859. See Ordnance Survey Name Books, West Lothian Vol. 2. (1855- 1859), p. 7. <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/west-lothian-os-name-books-1855-1859/west-lothian-volume-02?transcription=1> (last accessed 3/9/2016); P. A. Wilson, 'The Cult of St Martin in the British Isles', *Innes Review* 19 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 129-143, pp. 132 and 133, n. 12; Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, pp. 30 and 188, n.40; Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife* (Donnington, Shaun Tyas, 2008- 2012), vol. 5, pp. 457- 458; Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 12, n. 40; H. M. D. Jones, *Geophysical Investigation of the Hopetoun Estate West Lothian* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh Archaeological Field Society, c.2003), p.5.

<sup>130</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 11.

<sup>131</sup> *Conchubranus Life* Bk. III, Ch. 11, in Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (ed.), 'The Life of Saint Monenna by Conchubranus, Part III', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, vol. 10, n. 2 (1982), pp. 426- 454, pp. 446, 447.

place where an *Eccles* place name and the presence of a dedication to Ninian coincide.<sup>132</sup> *Eccles* names have frequently been argued to be suggestive of the activity of the early church in British and Pictish speaking areas, with ‘simplex’ forms, such as at Eccles in Stirling, potentially the earliest. However, it has also been suggested that, despite its Brythonic roots, *Eccles* may often be considered an English name form, including in cases where it is not coupled with an overtly English element. Recent studies have not reached a consensus as to the origin of the specific example of Eccles in Stirling.<sup>133</sup>

The reference to Eccles in the *Conchubranus Life* comes towards the end of the narrative, when two rival parties of pallbearers each believe themselves to be transporting the body of the saint:

*Et sic factum est ut Scotigene exirent cum integro feretro et corpus illius super illud sicut eis uidebatur ad ecclesiam que uocatur Allecht cum festinatione. Hibernenses uero et Anglici exierunt cum Athea et uenerunt illa die cum integro feretro et corpus super illud integrum iuxta castellum qui dicitur Striuelin ad ecclesiam que uocatur Eccles. Et postea adduxerunt corpus eius de loco ad locum usque dum uenientes ad predictum locum quam sibi eligit in uita. Nam et baculus suus cum ea illuc positus est. Pellicia uero*

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<sup>132</sup> Clancy, ‘The Real St Ninian’, p. 11.

<sup>133</sup> For discussion focused on the British nature of the name-form, see G. W. S. Barrow, ‘The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: A Note on Some Place-Name Evidence’, *Scottish Studies* 27 (1983), pp. 1- 15; Simon Taylor, ‘Place-names and the Early Church in Scotland’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 28 (1998), pp. 1- 20, pp. 3- 7; Alan MacQuarrie, ‘St Ninians by Stirling: a Fragment of an Early Scottish Minster Kirk?’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 28 (1998), pp. 39- 53, p. 42; Clancy, ‘The Real St Ninian’, pp. 10-11; Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, pp. 10- 13. For a consideration of the name-form in the context of English language place names see Carole Hough, ‘Eccles in English and Scottish Place-Names’, in Eleanor Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names* (Nottingham, English Place-Name Society, 2009), pp. 109- 124, pp. 115- 116; Alan G. James, ‘\*Eglēs and Eclēs and the formation of Northumbria’, in Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, pp. 125- 150, pp. 127- 128; Thomas Owen Clancy, ‘The Big Man, The Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint: Paradigms and Problems in Studies of Insular Saints’ Cults’, in Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (eds.), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 1- 20, pp. 5- 9; Thomas Owen Clancy, ‘Saints in the Scottish Landscape’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 33 (2013), pp. 1- 34, pp. 10- 22; O. J. Padel, ‘Brittonic Place-Names in England’, in Jayne Carroll and David N. Parsons (eds.), *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-First-Century Interpretations of English Place-Name Studies* (Nottingham, English Place-Name Society, 2013), pp. 1- 41, pp. 27- 29.

*eius et melotes et cetera utensilia pro thesauris in Hiberniam ducte sunt ad ecclesiam qui dicitur Chellescleue*

[And it so happened that the Scots went forth with the complete bier and her body on it, as it seemed to them, and they hastened to the church called Alyth. But the Irish and the English went forth with Athea and with the complete bier and her body on it came that day to the church called Eccles near the fortress named Stirling. And thereafter they took her body from place to place until they came to the aforesaid place which she had chosen for herself while alive. For her staff too was placed there with her. But her leather coat and sheepskin and the rest of the things she used were brought as treasures to Ireland to the church called Killevy].<sup>134</sup>

The specific mention of Eccles as a stopping point on the journey of the body of Monenna, described by Robert Bartlett as ‘curious emphasis’, may suggest that the writer of the original source was attempting to accommodate an existing local tradition or dedication within the narrative.<sup>135</sup> Is there any evidence of such a tradition? As it has been suggested that the Scottish places mentioned in the life are given as a result of mistaken identification with Ninian, it is worthwhile to look into the connection of Ninian with the church, which can be shown to date, at the latest, to 1241.<sup>136</sup> Daphne Brooke argues that the dedication to Ninian at Eccles is likely to be older than this. She asserts that Alexander I commanded the dedication of the chapel of Stirling Castle at a time when Whithorn and Stirling did not lie in the same kingdoms and that Alexander’s ‘choice of patron saint’ must therefore reflect an existing local practice, argued to have stemmed from a pre-existing devotion to Ninian at Eccles.<sup>137</sup> Her argument appears to rest on a non-stated acceptance that the chapel of Stirling Castle was dedicated to St Ninian. However, there seems to be no evidence that this was the case. Brooke references a document recording an

<sup>134</sup> ‘The Life of St Monenna by Conchubranus, part III’, pp. 446- 447.

<sup>135</sup> Bartlett, *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, p. xvii.

<sup>136</sup> Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, p. 11.

<sup>137</sup> Daphne Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places* (Edinburgh, Canongate Press, 1994), p. 24.

agreement between Robert, Bishop of Saint Andrews and Gaufrid, Abbot of Dunfermline in the presence of David I which refers to the dedication of Alexander I, and outlines the relationship between the chapel of Stirling Castle and the church at Eccles but this makes no mention of a named patron of the chapel of Stirling, or indeed Eccles.<sup>138</sup> Indeed the only dedication that can be discerned for the chapel of Stirling Castle is to St Michael.<sup>139</sup>

John MacQueen has suggested that evidence for a burial ground consecrated by Ninian at St Ninian's, Stirling, may exist in Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*. There is an anecdote where St Kentigern visits a man named Fregus on his deathbed in a town known as *Kernach*. Following his death Kentigern transports Fregus's body, using two un-tamed oxen: *ad Cathures, que nunc Glasgu vocatur* [to Cathures, which is now called Glasgow]<sup>140</sup> where he is buried in a cemetery that had been consecrated by Ninian.<sup>141</sup> However, MacQueen suggests the possibility that in Jocelin's original source for this anecdote *Cathures* did not refer to Glasgow, but may instead have referred to St Ninian's near Stirling. This is due to its proximity to Carnoch in Airth Parish, Stirlingshire, his preferred candidate for *Kernach*.<sup>142</sup> Such a hypothesis would have a burial ground connected with Ninian at a location connected with the body of Monenna, thus seemingly furthering the case for a relationship between the two saints. The motif of the two wild oxen would also be notable if held to refer to the

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid, p. 188, n. 28. The text and translation can be found in Archibald. C. Lawrie (ed.), *Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153* (Glasgow, J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905), pp. 146- 147, 403- 404.

<sup>139</sup> Charles Rodgers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Edinburgh, The Grampian Club, 1882), p. xi; it is argued by Rodgers that the dedication to St Michael may ultimately derive from the relationship between David I and St Malachi, see p. xi, n. †.

<sup>140</sup> Jocelin, *Vita Kentigerni*, IX in Alexander Penrose Forbes (ed.) *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 179. Trans. mine.

<sup>141</sup> Jocelin, *Vita Kentigerni*, IX trans. Metcalfe, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, pp. 177- 280, pp. 199- 201.

<sup>142</sup> John MacQueen, *St Nynia*, pp. 69- 71.



same location as the reference to oxen in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, which will be discussed presently. However, the highly speculative nature of MacQueen's suggestion should be noted. Carnoch in Airth Parish is only one of three possibilities he suggests for *Kernach*- two in Stirlingshire and one in Fife.<sup>143</sup> His suggestion that *Cathures* did not refer to Glasgow in Jocelin's source is based on his argument that the form *Cathures* for Glasgow is unattested elsewhere, as well as the fact that in the earlier chapters of Jocelin's work, Fregus, and indeed Kentigern himself, is largely connected with Stirlingshire and eastern Scotland rather than the west.<sup>144</sup> The choice of St Ninian's, Stirling, as the potential true identity of *Cathures* is based on its known later association with Ninian and its proximity to one of the potential candidates for *Kernach*.<sup>145</sup> Such a line of reasoning may be regarded as so inferential as to offer little evidence for an association between Ninian and a burial ground at Eccles. Furthermore, MacQueen himself leaves open the possibility that the narrative did indeed originally refer to Glasgow.<sup>146</sup> Brooke's equation of *Cathures* with Cadder in modern Glasgow –a name derived from the Brythonic *cader*, meaning 'fort' should also be noted as further reason for caution here, although this could equally offer a means by which Jocelin could have mistaken a reference to a fort of more easterly location, such as Stirling, for a Glasgow location.<sup>147</sup>

An alternative connection between Ninian and the Stirling area has been suggested by Daphne Brooke. She has pointed to the task in *Culhwch ac Olwen* requiring that two individuals who have been turned into oxen, Nynnyaw and

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<sup>143</sup> *Carnoch* in Fife attested from 1215. See in Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 1, pp. 210- 211.

<sup>144</sup> MacQueen, *St Nynia*, pp. 70- 71.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, p. 71.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>147</sup> Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, p. 25.

Peibyaw, be yoked together. These live on either side of *Mynyd Bannawg*.<sup>148</sup> Brooke argues that this refers to the Campsie Fells, to the north-east of which lies Eccles.<sup>149</sup> This identification is also held by John MacQueen, following W. J. Watson.<sup>150</sup> It must however be remembered that the location of *Mynyd Bannawg* has been far from agreed, with others arguing that the term may refer to a more northerly location.<sup>151</sup>

N. K. Chadwick suggested a connection between the reference to *Nynnyaw* and *Peibyaw* in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the account of Ninian and Plebia in Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Niniani*.<sup>152</sup> This tells of how Ninian and Plebia were reading psalms outdoors while resting during a journey. They were at first miraculously sheltered from the rain. However, Ninian was distracted by 'some unlawful thought' and as a result the rain began to fall on his book. It was only after the 'mild reproach' of Plebia that he regained his composure and as a result, his miraculous shelter was restored.<sup>153</sup> Chadwick argues that the reference in *Culhwch ac Olwen* is intended to depict two 'wicked Pictish princes who were ultimately reformed under monastic discipline' and claims that Ailred used a 'traditional' source for this account that was 'identical' with material in *Culhwch ac Olwen*.<sup>154</sup> Although the use of the term 'identical' may be something of a stretch here, the reference in *Culhwch* at the very least appears to indicate the existence of Ninianic tradition in central Scotland that may have been accepted into the ultimately prevailing narrative of Ninian through its possible incorporation in some form by Ailred. Whether or not any of this is of direct

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, p. 29.

<sup>150</sup> MacQueen, *St Nynia*, p. 76.

<sup>151</sup> See for example the discussion in N. K. Chadwick, 'St Ninian: A Preliminary Study of Sources', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 27 (1950), pp. 9- 53, pp. 38- 39.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

<sup>153</sup> Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita Niniani*, IX, trans. MacQueen, *St Nynia*, pp. 102- 124, p. 117.

<sup>154</sup> Chadwick, 'St Ninian: A Preliminary Study of Sources', pp. 41- 43.

relevance to Eccles, and thus Monenna, is of course dependent on the original intended location of *Mynydd Bannawg*, which remains an open issue. However, it is in any case worth noting Chadwick's argument that the story is evidence that Niniau was a saint originally venerated in eastern Scotland, whose centre was later moved to Galloway, possibly alongside relics.<sup>155</sup>

It may be summarised that concrete evidence of a dedication to Ninian predating the suggested eleventh-century date of the *Conchubranus Life* remains elusive.<sup>156</sup> If the connection between Eccles near Stirling and *Mynydd Bannawg* were to be accepted, then the association of Ninian with the Church could be pushed back as far as the date of *Culhwch*. However, as it has been argued that *Culhwch ac Olwen* may be as late as the twelfth century, even this would not necessarily give Ninian priority over Monenna.<sup>157</sup>

One avenue, quite literally, that has hitherto been overlooked in discussion of the relationship between Monenna and Ninian is an Edinburgh street that formerly ran from what is now the eastern side of Parliament Square to the Cowgate. It is of interest to the present investigation due to the nature of what Stuart Harris describes as its 'astonishing number of corrupt forms'.<sup>158</sup> Ignoring unrelated, apparently later, names for the street, the various attested forms are: *St Mennin's Close*, *St Monan's*

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p. 48.

<sup>156</sup> Bartlett, *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, p. xv.

<sup>157</sup> Simon Rodway, 'The Date and Authorship of *Culhwch ac Olwen*: A Reassessment', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 49 (2005), pp. 21-24, p. 22; T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Date of *Culhwch ac Olwen*', in Wilson McLeod, Abigail Burnyeat, Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, Thomas Owen Clancy and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (eds.), *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies* (Ceann Drochaid, Clann Tuirc, 2010), pp. 45- 56.

<sup>158</sup> Stuart Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, Gordon Wright, 1996), p. 548.

*Wynd, St Ninian's Close, St Ninian's Row, St Ninan's Street, Lady St. Minnan's Close, Ladie Sanct Monance Close and Lady St Ninian's Close.*<sup>159</sup>

There has been a tendency to equate the street, insomuch as it has been discussed at all, with St Monan, an Irish missionary of the sixth century whose cult was mainly centred on Fife.<sup>160</sup> In 1886 Peter Millar suggested that the name could indicate that the adjacent Mercat Cross was dedicated to the saint.<sup>161</sup> The suggestion was made due to the strong personal devotion of David II to St Monan and has been accepted by Michael Penman.<sup>162</sup> However, there would appear strong grounds to question this proposal, which was in any case only raised tentatively by Millar as a possibility.<sup>163</sup> If it was the case that a dedication to St Monan, a relatively well known saint over the Forth, was bestowed upon the structure and consequently its adjacent street, it is difficult to understand why such a variety of name forms would accrue. It is also hard to explain why a well-known saint such as Ninian, with no apparent linguistic similarity to Monan in the Scots language, could become confused with Monan in this way. It is even more difficult to explain the instances where both Ninian and Monan are named as females in some of the forms.

It has also been asserted by a number of scholars that the name of the street derives from the former presence of a chapel on the site that was dedicated to St

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<sup>159</sup> Perhaps the most comprehensive and meticulously referenced overview of street names in Edinburgh is to be found in the unpublished notes of Boog-Watson at the City of Edinburgh Central Library. This invaluable resource deserves greater recognition and certainly publication or digitisation. The preceding references are discussed in vol. 2 pp. 45-46, 200-202; vol. 5. p. 206; vol. 7. pp. 258, 342, 348; vol. 13. p. 342; vol. 15. p. 289. Unrelated names for the street include *Steil's Close* and *New Bank Close*; see Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, p. 548.

<sup>160</sup> Michael Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights: the religious devotions and court of David II of Scotland 1329-71', *Historical Research*, 75, no. 189 (August, 2002), pp. 249-272, p. 258; the cult of Monan in Fife is discussed in Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, pp. 545-549.

<sup>161</sup> Peter Millar, 'The Mercat Cross of Edinburgh from 1365 to 1617, its site and form', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 20 (1886), pp. 371-383, p.389.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 371-383; Penman, 'Christian Days and Knights', p. 260.

<sup>163</sup> Millar, 'The Mercat Cross of Edinburgh from 1365 to 1617, its site and form', p. 389.

Monan.<sup>164</sup> The trail of references from all such claims appears to ultimately lead to a lecture delivered by James Augustin Stotherd in the mid-nineteenth century:

*In olden times there was a wynd leading from the High Street to the Cowgate, called S. Monan's or S. Mennan's wynd, from a chapel of the saint which stood on it.*<sup>165</sup>

Unfortunately, with this statement the trail runs cold. The only reference given by Stotherd for his information on St Monan's Wynd is a work that does not mention any chapel there.<sup>166</sup> We are therefore left in the dark as to where Stotherd's information came from, if indeed the former presence of a chapel was not simply an inference on his part. I have been unable to find an earlier source making reference to any chapel in Edinburgh dedicated to St Monan, or for that matter Monenna/Modwenna.<sup>167</sup> A chapel, whoever its patron, must therefore remain an unproven, albeit plausible, possibility.

Norman Dixon argued that the street was in fact dedicated to St Monenna.<sup>168</sup> He pointed to the equation that had been made by Watson between the term *Castellum Puellarum* [castle of the maidens] and Monenna's apparent foundation on Castle Rock.<sup>169</sup> A connection between the castle and Monenna was also argued by James Grant, who contended that the *Conchubranus Life* was ultimately the source of

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<sup>164</sup> For example, Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh*, p. 548; Boog-Watson, vol. 2. p. 200; James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1914), p. 493.

<sup>165</sup> James Augustin Stotherd, *Lectures on the Religious Antiquities of Edinburgh Read to the Holy Gild of St Joseph*, Last Series (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 114.

<sup>166</sup> The work discusses the home of the Hangman of Edinburgh on the street and simply states in a footnote that the street was 'Anciently St Mannan's Close'; see Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 189.

<sup>167</sup> Many thanks to Professor Steve Boardman for his assistance in this ultimately unsuccessful search.

<sup>168</sup> Norman Dixon, *The Placenames of Midlothian*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (1947), p. 86; available online <http://www.spns.org.uk/PNsMIDLOTHIANv3.pdf> p.32 (last accessed 21/3/12).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121; following Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place Names of Scotland*, p. 342.

tales that asserted that royal maidens had once been kept there.<sup>170</sup> Dom Michael Barrett went so far as to suggest that Edinburgh was in fact named after her.<sup>171</sup> In later years, such arguments were largely superseded by the claim that the appearance of the term *Castellum Puellarum* in official documents from the time of David I was directly related to the king's involvement in the affairs of his niece, the Empress Matilda, and her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, to whom Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* was dedicated.<sup>172</sup> If the term was introduced to political usage through the work of Geoffrey, the question remains as to the source of the term in Geoffrey's own work, if indeed he intended it to refer to Edinburgh. Roland Blenner-Hassett pointed to Skene's assertion that the tradition of Monenna may have been Geoffrey's basis for use of the term.<sup>173</sup> However, this suggestion was dismissed by Loomis, who instead argued that the use of *Castellum Puellarum* was ultimately due to the influence of Breton storytellers on the Scottish nobility.<sup>174</sup>

It would then seem that any attempt to equate the term *Castellum Puellarum* with Monenna must do so through a Galfridian prism that is tenuous at best. However, the variety of forms of the street's name would seem to suggest some awareness of a female saint of similar name in Edinburgh. Crucially, these variants appear to display some specific attempt to equate this name with Ninian, though in a

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<sup>170</sup> James Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. 1 (London, Paris and New York, Cassel, Petter, Galpin and Co., 1880), p. 15. Grant pointed to the discovery of apparently female bones and coffins at the site of St Margaret's Chapel in 1853 as potential evidence for some truth lying behind the account, the very short newspaper article he refers to does not provide any further information beyond this: see *Caledonian Mercury* (26 September 1853).

<sup>171</sup> Dom Michael Barrett, *A Calendar of Scottish Saints* (Fort Augustus, Abbey Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1919), pp. 103- 104 (6 July).

<sup>172</sup> The case was convincingly argued by Robert Loomis, 'Scotland and the Arthurian Legend', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 89 (1958 for 1955-6), pp. 1-21, particularly p. 8.

<sup>173</sup> Roland Blenner-Hassett, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Mons Agned and Castellum Puellarum', *Speculum*, vol. 17, no. 2 (April, 1942), pp. 250-254, p. 253, n.13.

<sup>174</sup> Loomis, 'Scotland and the Arthurian Legend', p. 9.

manner in which the fact that she is female is made clear. The link between these names seems particularly puzzling in a non-Gaelic speaking context where the form *Mo-Ninn* would not be an immediately evident variation of *Ninian*. Consequently, it may be asked if there are grounds for doubting that the bringing in of a ‘Scottish journey’ into the Monenna narrative was simply the result of a misidentified account of a male Ninian. The name forms of the street would appear to suggest an awareness of a connection between the names, and indeed that either Monan or Ninian could be applied to a female saint. Attempts to grapple with the relationship between the names are also visible elsewhere. One example is to be found in a note in **MO 6 Jul** in the *Lebar Brecc*:<sup>175</sup>

*Moninde 7rl. .i. moninde slébi cuilind, ocus sárbile ahainm prius. no darercai ahainm fortuus. acht araile file balb rotroiscc aice conid he toisech rolabair nimim [leg. Nindin?]<sup>176</sup> unde est moninde frisin caillig. Ocus nine écis fair féin .i. monine quasi monanna artbertis nacaillecha fria* [‘Moninne’ etc. i.e. Moninne of Slieve Gullion, and SárBILE was her name previously. Or Darerca was her name at first. But a certain dumb poet fasted with her, and the first thing he said [after being miraculously cured of his dumbness] was ninnin. Hence the nun was called Mo-ninde, and the poet himself Nine Écis. Mo-nine quasi Mo-nanna the nuns used to call her].<sup>177</sup>

The bizarre onomastic tale emphasises the similarity of Monenna’s name to a diminutive form of the name Ninian.<sup>178</sup> This may have been an obvious point to any Irish observer. Thus, if this example stood alone, it could be argued that a compiler

<sup>175</sup> Many thanks to Eystein Thanisch for alerting me to this. The notes are discussed in the introduction to Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Óengusso Céle Dé*, pp. xlvii- lii.

<sup>176</sup> Bracketed section Stokes’s.

<sup>177</sup> Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus*, p. cxvi.

<sup>178</sup> The relationship of the name *Ninian* and *Ninine* is discussed in Henry Gough-Cooper, ‘Some Notes on the Name “Ninian”’, *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Third Series, vol. 72 (1997), pp. 5- 10, p. 5; The poet Niníne Éces has been connected to the Uí Echdach and assigned a flourit of 700. See Robert Welch (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 393.

of the Life of Monenna may have mistakenly incorporated material from a male Ninian and, on a separate unrelated occasion, the commentator in the *Martyrology of Oengus* noticed the similarity of the names and felt the need to explain them. However, the fact that an awareness of the confusion of the names also appears to be attested in a street name outside the Gaelic zone may hint that something else is going on.

A further apparent manifestation of an awareness of a link between Monenna and Ninian has been highlighted by Boyle, who has pointed to a life of St Maiden (*Medane*) within **AB 19 Nov**. In this account, Maiden is an Irish woman who has taken a vow of chastity. She attempts to avoid the pursuit of an enamoured soldier by travelling to the Rhinns of Galloway. When the soldier eventually finds her, he tells her that her face and eyes are the reason that he is so enamoured with her, whereupon she tears out her eyes, causing him to repent. Following this Maiden lives the rest of her life: *in sanctitate, et paupertate transigens sub sanctissimo et beatissimo patre Niniano antistite* [in holiness and poverty under the most holy and blessed father Bishop Ninian].<sup>179</sup>

It is not unanimously accepted that St Maiden should be regarded as identical to St Monenna. Helen Brown has pointed to the similarity of this narrative and that of St Triduana, also in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. In particular, she has drawn attention to the accounts of both saints' plucking out of their own eyes. She points out the fact

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<sup>179</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 294- 297; also discussed in Alexander Boyle, 'St Ninian and the Life of St Monenna', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 91 (1973), pp. 21- 30, p. 30; and Robert Trotter and Herbert Eustace Maxwell, 'Notice of the Excavation of St Medan's Cave and Chapel, Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 20 (1886), pp. 76- 90, pp. 88-89.



that this incident does not occur in any extant life of Monenna.<sup>180</sup> A similarity between Maiden and Triduana has also been highlighted by James A. Ross. However, despite this, he assumed Modena to be the same as Monenna and Modwenna.<sup>181</sup> Caveats notwithstanding, the narrative does appear to offer further support to the notion that a female saint with a name akin to Monenna was known to be associated with Ninian.

If a tradition of Monenna or Medana had at some point become confused to some extent with that of St Triduana, then this could potentially offer a connection between Monenna and St Andrews -one of the Scottish locations presented in the *Conchubranus Life*- as the B version of the *Saint Andrews origin legend* has Triduana accompany St Rule as the relics of the Apostle are brought to Scotland.<sup>182</sup> It may be noted that the burial place for Triduana is given in this account as *Anagles*.<sup>183</sup> Taylor and Márkus suggest the possibility that this may derive from *an eaglais* meaning simply ‘the church’.<sup>184</sup> It may be possible that a burial at a more specific *Eccles* was the original intended meaning. If this was the case, the argument for an association between Triduana and Monenna would be furthered, as would the case for the priority of Monenna over Ninian at *Eccles*.

Leaving speculation over the relationship between Monenna and Triduana aside, it appears that there are at least three instances where a distinction between a

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<sup>180</sup> Helen Brown, ‘Saint Triduana of Restalrig?’, in Debra Higgs Strickland (ed.), *Images of Medieval Sanctity*, (Leiden, 2007) pp. 45- 69, p. 54.

<sup>181</sup> James A. Ross, ‘A Patron Saint for British Ophthalmologists’, *British Journal of Ophthalmology* 38 (1954), pp. 634- 635, p. 634.

<sup>182</sup> St Triduana’s association with St Andrews is discussed in Brown, ‘Saint Triduana of Restalrig?’, p. 55; Version B of the St Andrews Legend is edited and translated in Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, pp. 564- 600. See summary of locations mentioned in the account of the journey of Monenna, **Appendix I**.

<sup>183</sup> St Andrews Foundation Account B Ch. 6 ed. and trans. Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, pp. 575, 579.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, vol. 3, p. 598.

female St Monenna and a male Ninian is known and engaged with- the note in **MO**, the account in **AB** and the Edinburgh street name. Furthermore, when *St Monan's Wynd* is considered alongside the account of St Maiden in the *Aberdeen Breviary* and an apparent dedication in Scone, the claim that Monenna is unaccounted for in Scotland except the problematic Dunkeld Litany does not seem tenable.<sup>185</sup> Therefore it may be proffered that in its original form the source of the Scottish journey of Monenna did in fact refer to a woman as opposed to being an account of Ninian. Nonetheless, if this was the case, it would appear that the potential for confusion between the names was recognised at an early stage. Arguably because of this, a perceived association between the saints may have developed and in some places, Eccles being a notable example, narratives became confused in such a way that it is now difficult to ascertain with any confidence which should be given priority.

If it is accepted that later accounts of Ninian in Galloway derive from later re-adoption of literary tradition rather than a long-standing local tradition of Uinniau, it would follow that the account of Maiden within **AB** came into its final form at a late stage, telling us little of any historical Modena/ Monenna save for the longevity of traditions surrounding her in Scotland.<sup>186</sup> However, with such tradition in mind, it is prudent to consider whether the appearance of a *sanctus episcopus nomine Finbar cognomento Vinianus* in Monenna's monastery after her death in the *Conchubranus life* are really nothing more than 'a simple case of name dropping' as argued by Barrow, or if they might instead point to some tradition of contact between the two

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<sup>185</sup> Ross, 'A Patron Saint for British Ophthalmologists', p. 635; Bartlett, *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, p. xvii. The Dunkeld Litany has been argued by Clancy to contain a 'genuine ninth-century core' that has been 'subject to later antiquarian interference'. See Clancy, 'Iona, Scotland and the Céili Dé', pp. 121- 122.

<sup>186</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', p. 23.

saints.<sup>187</sup> The *Conchubranus Life* emphasises the importance of Killeavy to Monenna's cult with its depiction of her belongings being brought there after her death.<sup>188</sup> As has been noted, Tynemouth's *Life of Finanus* places this as the site of the saint's resurrection of a nun.<sup>189</sup>

The historicity of the account of the journey through Scotland in the *Conchubranus Life* is hard to dismiss entirely. There are clearly elements that are ahistorical and arguably parts that may owe their roots to the traditions of other saints, Triduana being one possibility. However, the logical journey through British strongholds (which was what spawned the suggestion of a connection with Ninian in the first place) does stand as potential testament to a tradition that is old. Indeed, it is possible that on occasion an old dedication to such a female saint became confused with her more famous male counterpart in local dedications as his fame spread.

#### 5.4 Conclusions

Attempting to unearth the movements of any historical Uinniau is a task fraught with difficulties. The best that can be hoped for in the reconstruction of any fragmentary outline of the locations of his activity or his travels are probabilities or, more realistically, reasonable possibilities. Given that there may be trace of more than one Uinniau in British toponymy, it may be hard to give any one area priority as the location of the author of the Penitential and correspondent of Gildas. Nonetheless geography, as well as the poem in the *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex* that will be

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<sup>187</sup> Conchubranus Life Bk. III, Ch. 13, in Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (ed.), 'The Life of Saint Monenna by Conchubranus, Part III', p. 448; Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, p. 6.

<sup>188</sup> Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (trans.), 'The Life of St Monenna by Conchubranus, part III', p. 447.

<sup>189</sup> See 5.1.2; Horstman (ed.), *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. 1, p. 446; trans. Sperber, 'Lives of St Finnian of Movilla: British Evidence', pp. 91-94.

discussed in the next chapter, may combine to suggest that in the search for the place of origin of Irish Finnian, it is to Northern Britain that it may be best to turn.<sup>190</sup>

Clancy's outline of a figure originally hailing from Britain, active in Whithorn and south-western Scotland as well as Ireland, offers a plausible sketch of his life, albeit one that invites many questions.<sup>191</sup>

How would Monenna fit into this picture? It would seem that her Scottish activities cannot be easily dismissed as those of a third-hand regeneration of Uinniau, who morphed from Uinniau, to Ninian, before taking female form in the text of Conchubranus. Nonetheless an association between Monenna and Ninian appears to have survived until recent times. Despite the strong case for Ninian of Whithorn to be identified as Uinniau, a historical 'Niniau' cannot entirely be dismissed. Any such figure would have been almost entirely supplanted by a 'Ninian' derived from Uinniau in hagiography, yet could have been the basis on which local traditions of Ninian managed to gain a foothold throughout the central belt. Indeed, it might be asked if it is possible that such a hypothetical Niniau be identified with a Mo-Nin or Monenna, with an original female saint over time being replaced in dedications by the more famous bishop. Even if this is an inference too far, the suggestion that in some areas the cult of Bishop Ninian was conflated with an earlier cult of a female saint could help to account for the apparent traces of an awareness of a female counterpart closely associated with Ninian. Such speculation does not however account for any apparent association between Uinniau/ Finnian and Monenna to be found within the hagiography. The two points in favour of such a connection, the presence of *Finbar cognomento Vinianus* in the *Conchubranus Life* and Finanus's

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<sup>190</sup> See 6.3.

<sup>191</sup> Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', pp. 25-27.

resurrection of a nun in Killeavy in John of Tynemouth's life, may be so tangential as to be of no consequence. Nonetheless, it may be unwise to necessarily reject out of hand the possibility of some tradition of a link between them.

Just as significant to the issue of British-Irish relations as the identity and activity of any sixth-century individuals, is the development of the hagiography of Uinniau and those saints who potentially derive from him. As has been discussed, there is some indication in early Irish sources that a tradition was extant placing his origins overseas and potentially specifically in Northern Britain. Despite this, he was readily adopted into the local genealogies of a number of different locations, resulting in the emergence of the Irish-born Finnians and Findbarrs. In Scotland, something of the reverse seems to have been the case. What may have been originally several different individuals, one of whom may have been the same as the 'historical' Irish Finnian, adopted the Irish hagiography of the various Irish guises of Finnian, thus accepting him as a saint of Irish origin. In some areas the saint may have been introduced first as an Irishman, without a pre-existing local cult.<sup>192</sup> However, over time, some of these narratives, through a combination of accident and design, moved him back to Britain. Despite the apparent survival of some tentative associations with Whithorn, it may be too great a stretch to suggest that this final relocation of the saint occurred on any solid early foundations. Nonetheless, the cults of Uinniau serve to illustrate the extent to which a saint could continue to migrate back and forth between Northern Britain and Ireland long after their death.

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid, p. 27.

## 6 Seven Brothers

### 6.1 Introduction

*Secht meic áille Oéngusa,  
Lotar co iath ñhÉrenn*  
[The seven beautiful sons of Oéngus, they went to the land of Ireland].<sup>1</sup>

So begins one of the most intriguing texts in the study of the movement of peoples from Northern Britain to Ireland. This is a poem in the *Book of Leinster Genealogies* and attributed to Colmcille in the manuscript, that purports to describe the destinations of seven brothers upon their arrival in Ireland: Trosacán, Torannán, Mo-Chullian, Agatán, Itharnaisc, Eóganán and Mo-Thrianóc. The full text of the poem is given in **Appendix II**. In the closing stanza, the locations are seen to be associated with monasteries stated to be within Uí Néill territory:

*Na manistri fuaratar,  
i nde[r]natar a ferta,  
is la hUí Néill Noígiallaig  
co rrath in spirta sechta. S.*  
[The monasteries that they received and in which they did their great deeds, they are (now) among the Uí Néill, with the grace of the seven-fold Spirit].<sup>2</sup>

The genealogy of Oengus is given earlier in the manuscript and has been argued to place him in Scottish Dalriada.<sup>3</sup> However, Clancy has argued it likely that at least some of the individuals represented had a Pictish origin.<sup>4</sup> He suggests that the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. and trans. in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', *Ériu* 32 (1981), pp. 99- 114, pp. 112-113.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Dublin, Trinity College 1339, p. 350; ed. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 104; Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 383.

purpose of the poem (henceforth *Seven Brothers*) may have been to link seven men of Northern British origin who were associated with churches in ‘the Meath-Leinster area’ that were claimed to be the property of the Uí Néill in the poem.<sup>5</sup> The language of the poem is described by Ó Cróinín as being ‘distinctly late’.<sup>6</sup> However, he suggests that one potential ‘archaism’ in the text is its use of *etamuin*, argued to be a dative form of an early Irish word for Thursday.<sup>7</sup> He argues that the ‘chronological precision’ with which it is used in the phrase *I prid nóin Iúin etamuin* [On the day preceding the Nones of June, a Thursday] may point to this line being derived from a metrical calendar.<sup>8</sup> The poem itself alongside its associated genealogies present the brothers as belonging to the late sixth and early seventh centuries.<sup>9</sup>

It is the intention of the present chapter to examine in detail each of the churchmen discussed in the poem and any evidence that exists for their activities and subsequent cults, whether in the Irish Midlands or elsewhere. The reasons for carrying out such a study are twofold. Firstly, the poem provides a useful springboard for case studies dealing with individuals of apparently Northern British origin in Ireland in their own right. These will at times also involve others not mentioned in the poem, but who are in some way connected with its subjects and who may themselves be of interest to the consideration of Hiberno-British relations. Secondly, it is hoped that in the examination of each of the individual churchmen, some plausible possibilities, if not firm answers, for the reasons for the composition of the poem itself and any traditions that lie behind it may emerge.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ó Cróinín, ‘The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?’, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, pp. 105 and 113.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 105.

## 6.2 Troscán

One of the difficulties in attempting to assess the evidence for Troscán (or Drostan) and his subsequent cult, if indeed all later devotions to him owe their origins to one individual, is interpreting the diverse range of feast days assigned to him.<sup>10</sup> As much of the evidence relating to the various cults under discussion is recorded in calendars, it makes sense to structure discussion of the various manifestations of Troscán around the four distinct dates with which he is most frequently associated. This will allow for some speculation regarding the trajectory of the various local commemorations and any historical migrant lying behind them. Despite the centrality of these four distinct dates in much of the extant evidence, it should be noted that some outlying commemorations exist bearing little relationship to other material, particularly in some late Scottish sources. Examples of such dates include 28 January in *Menologium Scoticum* of 1622 and 4 December in the Kalendar from the Scottish Service Book of 1637.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, it is to the four main ‘clusters’ that we must turn in order to grapple with the earliest evidence for Troscán and his cult.

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<sup>10</sup> The issue of whether or not the evidence relates to a single individual is discussed in Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, pp. 382- 387.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Penrose Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 175 and 191.



### 6.2.1 4/12 June

In *Seven Brothers*, Troscán is grouped alongside three other individuals as having crossed the sea at the same time. These are Torannán, Agatán and Mo-Chullian.<sup>12</sup> These four are also stated to have died on the same day:

*I prid nóin Iúin etamuin  
luidset a bethaid brethglan  
di deoin Meic Dé Datharail,  
'n-a curi comlán cethrur*

[On the day preceding the Nones of June [4 June] the four complete warriors passed from the right-judging life by the will of the fair (?) Son of God].<sup>13</sup>

It is later stated that:

*Troscan tren tarrasair  
I nArd Breccain co mbinni*

[Troscán the strong, settled at Ardbreccan, with melodiousness].<sup>14</sup>

Clancy argues that this must be the same individual as is found in **AU 719.2**:

*Drostain Dairtaighe quieuiti nArd Breccan* [Drostán of Derthach rested in Ard Brecán].<sup>15</sup> All four brothers appear in the Martyrology of Donegal on 12 June.<sup>16</sup>

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín suggests that the discrepancy between the two dates has occurred simply as a result of a mistake in transcription that confused *pridie Nonarum* for *pridie Idus*.<sup>17</sup> Drostán (and indeed Mo-Chullian or Agatán) does not appear in any of

<sup>12</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 113. Ó Cróinín gives 8 June in his translation, however this is merely a typing error. Many thanks are due to him for his clarification of the issue.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, pp. 112-113.

<sup>15</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, pp. 174- 175; Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 382.

<sup>16</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 168- 169.

<sup>17</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 108.

the earlier martyrologies on either the 4<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>18</sup> The Martyrology of Donegal states: *ceit're derbrait're iadriđe do śliočt Cairbre Riada, mic Conaire, mic Mođa Lama* [these were four brothers of the race of Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire].<sup>19</sup> Although no specific source is cited in the Martyrology of Donegal entry for Troscán, the entry for Agatan states that the information derives from: *naoimseancasa* [the Sanctilogium].<sup>20</sup> It is apparent that the explicit linking of these four within the Martyrology of Donegal derives from the surviving poem. It would therefore appear that no independent witness survives for a feast day of 4 or 12 June for Drostan. Indeed, Drostan, Agatán and Mo-Chullian may have been for some reason deliberately brought together with Torannán on the feast day of the latter. Given the presence of Torannán in 12 June in the early martyrologies it may be argued that precedence should be given to 12 June over 4 June for this date.

Whatever the reasons for the association of these four men, it is notable that this tradition did not take hold in Scotland. Indeed, other than in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, late sources appear to be silent on the issue of a June commemoration for Drostan. The fact that this tradition did not reach the late Scottish martyrologies is perhaps most marked in the case of *The Arbuthnot Missal*, given the prominence it affords Torannán.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> It may be noted that there is a *Mochuae Cichech* in **MT 4 Jun**. This is repeated in **MD 4 Jun**. This distinct name form is discussed in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 467. See Best and Lawlor (ed.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 168- 169.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 166- 167.

<sup>21</sup> For the entry in the Arbuthnott missal for Ternan see Alexander Penrose Forbes (trans.), *Liber Ecclesiae Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (Burntisland, Pitsligo, 1864), pp. 310- 311.

Many of the later Scottish calendars posit a date of 14 December for the feast of Drostan. These include the Calendar of the *Aberdeen Breviary*.<sup>22</sup> This is also one of the dates given for a Drostan in the *Menologium Scoticum*, where the entry reads: *In Scotia ad S. Andream Drostani monachi* [In Scotland, at St Andrews, the monk Drostan].<sup>23</sup> Although as will be seen, this does not appear to be Dempster's favoured date for this feast, this entry would appear to suggest that the commemoration of St Drostan occurred in December at one time as far south as Saint Andrews. *Adam King's Kalendar* has: *Drostane mounke and confess. in scotland mother brother to king Achaius*.<sup>24</sup> *The Martyrology of Aberdeen* has: *In Scocia apud Abirdour Aberdonensis diocesis Sancti Drostani abbatis. Reliquie gloriose cuius virtutum signa laudibus merito sunt extollenda* [In Scotland at Aberdour in the Diocese of Aberdeen of the abbot Saint Drostan. The glorious relics are rightly held up and praised as signs of his virtues].<sup>25</sup> Drostan is commemorated on this date in the *Calendar of the Arbuthnott Missal*, dating to 1491.<sup>26</sup> There was also a cluster of fairs dedicated to Drostan in the North East at this time in December. The Dustain fair at Aberlour lasted for three days and commenced on the eleventh of December.<sup>27</sup> A fair

<sup>22</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 123; see also entry for 'Drostan' in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> (last accessed 3/10/2016).

<sup>23</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 221; trans. mine. The index as printed by Forbes lists four dates for Drostan within the *Menologii Scotici*. However, there is no sign of him in the entry itself for 20 December. The three for which entries exist are 28 January, 19 November and 14 December.

<sup>24</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 137. Many thanks to William Aird for his assistance with this translation.

<sup>26</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 108; Stephen Mark Holmes, 'Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560', *Innes Review* 62.2 (2011), pp. 127- 212, p. 164.

<sup>27</sup> Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland*, p. 14.

at Rothiemay also known as the Dustain Fair then occurred on the fourteenth.<sup>28</sup> In Old Deer, the St Drostan's Fair took place on the Wednesday after the nineteenth.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the abundant late calendar references to a feast of St Drostan in December, early references prove elusive. Alexander Forbes pointed to the Martyrology of Oengus, where an entry for 14 December reads: *Drusus Cona Thriur* [Drusus with his Three].<sup>30</sup> Archibald B. Scott went as far as to attempt to identify the supposed three companions of Drostan.<sup>31</sup> However, a number of glosses in different manuscripts of **MO** expand on the entry, most significantly within Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 505, where it is noted: *martiris in Antiochia teste Grigorio, cum suis sociis*.<sup>32</sup> In the calendar of the *Drummond Castle Missal*, the entry for 14 December reads: *Apud Antiochiam, natale sanctorum martyrum, Deusi, Zosimi, et Teodori*.<sup>33</sup> It is evident that this entry is one of those within this missal that derives ultimately from Martyrology of Ado 14 December: *Apud Antiochiam, natalis sanctorum martyrum, Drusi, Zosimi et Theodori*.<sup>34</sup> It is clear therefore that this individual is not the Drostan considered here. If the early Irish Martyrologies refer to a martyr at Antioch, it must then be asked if the presence of Drostan in the later Scottish martyrologies can be attributed to a misunderstanding of earlier sources.

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 102.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 327; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 251.

<sup>31</sup> He argued that these were Colm, Medan and Fergus. This conclusion was arrived at spuriously based on local associations between these three and Drostan in both Caithness and Aberdeenshire. A number of other saints associated with Caithness were excluded on the basis that they were either 'solo workers' or were elsewhere attested as 'workers from S. Donnan's Muintir': Archibald B. Scott, 'S. Drostan of Buchan and Caithness', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 27 (1908-1911), pp. 110- 125, p. 123.

<sup>32</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 260.

<sup>33</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense*, p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> 'Sancti Adonis Viennensis Archiepiscopus Martyrologium', *Patrologia Latina* 123, col. 0414c. Discussed in Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense*, p. vi.

An analysis of the evidence for a commemoration of Drostan on the Fourteenth of December reveals evidence of widespread commemoration of the saint in December throughout the North East. Devotion to an insular Drostan on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December is demonstrable from the time of the *Arbuthnot Missal* of 1491.<sup>35</sup>

There are indications that devotion to St Drostan may have occurred at an early stage throughout the area which in later times can be shown to have commemorated Drostan in December. Commemoration of Drostan at Deer is traceable to the seemingly late eleventh or early twelfth century origin legend in the *Book of Deer*.<sup>36</sup> Katherine Forsyth has highlighted a possible earlier dedication, suggesting that an inscribed cross fragment at Ravenscraig may contain an inscription commemorating (and potentially an image depicting) St Drostan.<sup>37</sup> This has been argued to date from the ninth or early tenth century.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Clancy has suggested that *Drostein Dairtaighe* in **AU 719.2** could potentially be a mistaken expansion of \**Drostan Déir*.<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere a commemoration of Saint Drostan is one of several interpretations of the ‘Drosten Stone’ at St Vigeans.<sup>40</sup> However, concrete evidence that any such potential devotion was associated with a December feast prior to the *Arbuthnott Missal* seems elusive. Notwithstanding the independence of the *Aberdeen Breviary* account of Drostan from the origin legend in the *Book of Deer*, it is possible that the content of the breviary directly influenced the choice of date at Deer. The similarity of Drostan’s name to the name of an unrelated continental saint

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<sup>35</sup> Holmes, ‘Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560’, p. 164.

<sup>36</sup> Kenneth Jackson (ed. and trans.), *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 12 and 16.

<sup>37</sup> Katherine Forsyth, ‘The Stones of Deer’, in Forsyth (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Deer*, pp. 398-438, pp. 417-426.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 426.

<sup>39</sup> Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 375.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Owen Clancy, ‘The Drosten Stone: a new reading’ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 123 (1993), pp. 345- 353.

found on the Fourteenth of December in the early Irish martyrologies suggests that commemoration of Drostan on this day is the result of late misinterpretation that attached the local saint to December in error. A work such as the *Arbuthnott Missal* with an active interest in ‘native saints’ may be a candidate for such a misreading. It must be concluded that, however early the devotion to Drostan in north-eastern Scotland may be, any corresponding antiquity for the associated December feast day is unlikely.

### 6.2.3 11 July

A further date that is on occasion given for the feast of St Drostan is the 11<sup>th</sup> of July. This is the date that appears in the *Acta Sanctorum*, which seems to have influenced the inclusion of this date in modern listings.<sup>41</sup> An example of a modern celebration of a July feast for Drostan occurs at St Drostan’s Episcopal Church, Tarfside, Glenesk, Angus, where the feast of St Drostan is celebrated on the nearest Sunday to the twelfth of July.<sup>42</sup> The early Irish Calendars do not have any reference to the commemoration of St Drostan on this date. The Calendar of David Chalmers, published in 1631 in Paris, lists the following entry for 11 July: *Sanctus Drastanus Abbas & Confessor De eo plerique praesertim Leslaeus lib. 4 historiae, & Maior lib.*

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<sup>41</sup> For example, the entry for Drostan in David Hugh Farmer (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford, Oxford University Press, repr. 1990). *Acta Sanctorum* vol. 30, July III (Paris and Rome, Victorem Palmé, repr. 1868) pp. 190-191 (11 July).

<sup>42</sup> Many thanks are due to the Rev. David Mumford for his helpful correspondence (12/12/2012). He informs me that the twelfth rather than the eleventh is used in the Episcopal calendar in order to avoid a clash with the feast of St Benedict. As will be seen, this coincidence of dates maybe of some considerable interest.

2.<sup>43</sup> Although both of the sources referred to by Chalmers do contain references to Drostan, neither shed light on the reasons for his chosen date.<sup>44</sup>

Alban Butler also lists Saint Drostan under 11 July. He refers to his source as *Colgan, ad 11 Jul.*<sup>45</sup> The index entry for Drostan cites: *Colgan MSS.*<sup>46</sup> This is a reference that Butler gives with some frequency and in a manner that is distinct from references to Colgan's extant published works. The entry for St Drostan is one of several entries for which such a reference is the only one given.<sup>47</sup> It would therefore appear that the source by which Butler ascertained a feast day of 11 July is one of several apparently previously extant, though unpublished, works which apparently have not survived the French Revolution.<sup>48</sup>

Can anything be discerned of this lost work of Colgan and its source?

Butler's narrative is concise, yet contains a number of milestones in the saint's life:

*He was a prince of the royal blood in Scotland, educated under the discipline of the great St. Columba. He was afterwards abbot of Dalcongaille; but in his old age lived a recluse in a forest. He died about the year 809. His sacred*

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<sup>43</sup> David Chalmers, *De Scotorum Fortitudine* (Paris, 1631), p. 163. In the wake of the discussion over a possible June date, it may be prudent to highlight an apparent typesetting error that has resulted in the single page on which this appears being incorrectly headed *Junij* instead of *Julij*. The correct month appears on both other such headers in July (compare p. 163 with pp. 161 and 165). However, this appears to be of little significance. Chalmers, or Chambers, was educated at the University of Aberdeen. He was ordained as a Priest in Rome in 1612. He was appointed Principal of the Scots College, Paris in 1637 and died in 1641. Brian M. Halloran, 'Chambers, David (d. 1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67836> (last accessed 2/10/15); David McRoberts, 'Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments', *Innes Review* 3 (1952), pp. 49- 63, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> John Leslie, *De Origine moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem* (Rome, 1578, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1675), p. 145; See also the Scots translation of the work by James Dalrymple in 1596, ed. E. G. Cody, *The Historie of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Scottish Texts Society, Edinburgh, 1888), p. 233; Archibald Constable (trans.), *A History of Greater Britain* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1892), p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints*, vol. 7 (Dublin, R. Coyne, 1833), p. 51.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 1118.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 51.

<sup>48</sup> A discussion by Brendan Jennings of the works of Colgan and their survival occurs in the introduction of the 1948 facsimile edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*. See '*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*' of *John Colgan*.

*remains were deposited in a stone coffin at Aberdeen. See Colgan, ad 11 Jul.*<sup>49</sup>

It is notable that almost all of the statements made in this account are similar to information that is to be found in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. Nearly all of the slight differences can be attributed to misreading or interpretation. The assertion that he lived in a forest in his old age would appear similar to the statement in the Breviary that: *ad secreta heremi in partibus Scocie se transtulit; ubi uitam hermiticam ducens* [he betook himself to desert hermitages in Scotland...leading the life of a hermit there].<sup>50</sup> The statement about a stone coffin in Aberdeen would appear to be a direct misreading of the Breviary: *Ossa uero sanctissimo confessoris Drostan apud Aberdowyr in tumba reconduntur lapidea* [The Bones of the most holy confessor Drostan are buried in a stone tomb at Aberdour].<sup>51</sup> It would thus appear that, assuming that Colgan is the sole source of Butler's information, Colgan's information was to a large extent based on information within the *Aberdeen Breviary* or its source. The corruptions would be explicable by a mistranslation by Butler. However, there are two points where Butler's source and the *Aberdeen Breviary* diverge significantly. The first of these is the provision of a year of his death, which differs substantially from other accounts and requires a much more general interpretation of 'under the discipline of the great Saint Columba' than the personal tutelage outlined in the Breviary.<sup>52</sup> The other major divergence between Butler's source and the *Aberdeen Breviary* is the date of commemoration. Colgan apparently listed this as 11 July whereas, as has been seen, the *Aberdeen Breviary* lists 14

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<sup>49</sup> Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints*, vol. 7, p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 4-7.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.



December. While there is nothing in Butler's presentation of Colgan's work that would provide any hints for the divergence here, a clue presents itself in the work of John Wilson.

Wilson's *English Martyrologe* was published in 1608. It contains a single entry for 11 July:

*In Scotland the Commemoration of S. Dronston Confessour, who was borne in the same Kingdome of the bloud Royall, and vnclie to Aidan King of Scotland, contemned the vanities of the world in his youth, and entering into a Monastery there, tooke the Religious habit of S. Benedict. In which kind of life he so excelled in all humility and perfection, that his name was very famous throughout Scotland and Ireland, euen vntill his dying day, which happened full of sanctity of life and miracles, about the yeare of Christ, six hundred: where also in ancient catholicke tymes, many Chappells and altars haue been dedicated in his honour.*<sup>53</sup>

The identification of Drostan as a Benedictine appears to be without any extant source, and indeed conflicts directly with many of the accounts that link Drostán with Columba. One possibility would be that a source for some reason deliberately attempted to distance Drostan from Columba and thus chose to assert that Drostan was a member of a different order. Alternatively, it may be suggested that some intrusion of traditions associated with Dunstan, the tenth century Benedictine is possible.<sup>54</sup> Whatever the reason for the identification of Drostan as a Benedictine, this connection suggests a plausible reason for the identification of Drostan with 11 July, the feast of the translation of St Benedict.<sup>55</sup> Conversely, it is also possible that an existing tradition associated Drostan with 11 July and it was on this basis that a connection with St Benedict was made. However, it may be telling that A. B. Scott

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<sup>53</sup> John Wilson, *The English Martyrologe* (St Omer, English College Press, 1608), pp. 188- 189.

<sup>54</sup> See entry for Dunstan in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

<sup>55</sup> See entry for Benedict in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

reports that the Aikie Fair on 11 July (in addition to the Drostan fair, the other main fair at Old Deer) was locally associated with St Drostan and ‘said to be the celebration of the removal of part of his relics’.<sup>56</sup> The most logical source of a July commemoration may have been a fair at Deer, originally associated with the feast of the translation of the relics of St Benedict, but later re-adopted for the local patron.

#### 6.2.4 19 November

Yet another alternative date occurs for the commemoration of Drostan within Thomas Dempster’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*:

*Vixit anno DCVI. Sanctus colitur XIX Novembris. Breviaria Scotica, et consensus ecclesiarum nostratum*  
[He Lived in the year 606. Holy Worship 19 November. Scottish Breviary and the consensus of our churches].<sup>57</sup>

Dempster’s source for this is puzzling. A cursory glance at occasions where he uses the term *Breviaria Scotica* as the reference for his dates, suggests that the majority correspond with a similar date in the *Aberdeen Breviary*.<sup>58</sup> However, there appears to be a significant minority where this is not the case.<sup>59</sup> Thus although it has been argued that this is indeed a source that was used by Dempster, it should not necessarily be assumed that it is the only work accorded the title *Breviaria Scotica* by him.<sup>60</sup> Drostan is one such entry whose date does not correspond with that given

<sup>56</sup> Scott, ‘Saint Drostan of Buchan and Caithness’, p. 123.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1829), p. 206 (Lib. IV, entry 375); trans. mine.

<sup>58</sup> Comparing entries in Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, vol. 1, with the Calendar of the Aberdeen Breviary, in MacQuarrie (ed.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. xliii- lii.

<sup>59</sup> Examples include S. Berthamus, 6 April; S. Blanus, 19 July; and S. Erthadus, 24 July.

<sup>60</sup> Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. xxxviii.

in the *Aberdeen Breviary*, which as has been discussed gives the 14<sup>th</sup> of December as his commemoration.<sup>61</sup> However, it may be pointed out that in the *Aberdeen Breviary*, the feast of *Sancti Fergusiani, epyscopi et confessoris, patroni insignis de Glamis* occurs on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November.<sup>62</sup> It must be emphasised that Dempster does not himself link Drostan with Fergus. Indeed, in his *Menologium Scoticum* two days separate Fergus and the November entry for Drostan.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, a consideration of the extent to which this coincidence of dates is significant may be justified in light of suggestions associating the cults of Drostan and Fergus.<sup>64</sup> Clancy has argued that the ‘abundant cult’ of a Fergus attested in dedications in Scotland, particularly the North East, is associated with *Fergustus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus*, who was a signatory to a council in Rome in 721, alongside *Sedulius episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum*, apparently indicating a Pictish bishop resident in Ireland.<sup>65</sup> He argues him to be the same as *Fergus Cruthnech* in **MT 8 Sep**.<sup>66</sup>

The case against the adjacent November feasts of Fergus and Drostan in Scotland being a mere coincidence is furthered by the existence of two fair days in Caithness. In Orlig the St. Trothermas<sup>67</sup> Fair was held on the fourth Tuesday of

<sup>61</sup> MacQuarrie (ed.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. lii and 4-5.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 292- 293.

<sup>63</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of November respectively. Unlike the *Historia*, where Drostan is commemorated only in November, he has four different listings in the index of the *Menologium*: 28 Jan, 19 Nov, 14 Dec and 20 Dec. However, I can find no reference to him in the text itself on 20 December. See Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 177- 243.

<sup>64</sup> For example, Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 382.

<sup>65</sup> Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. 12 (Florenti, 1766), column 265. Extracts and discussion in Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 379. He argues that their presence in Rome may have been for other matters rather than for the council itself, although he leaves open the possibility that some of the matters discussed may have been of interest to insular clergy. See Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 381.

<sup>66</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 69; Clancy, ‘Deer and the early church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 379.

<sup>67</sup> Argued to be a form of Drostan’s name in Leslie J. Myatt ‘St Drostan in Caithness’, *Caithness Field Club Bulletin* (April, 1987), <http://www.caithness.org/history/articles/saintdrostan.htm> (last accessed 27/4/15); Proximity to other sites associated with St Drostan, including Westfield, Halkirk and

November.<sup>68</sup> In Wick, the fair of Fergusmas was held on the same day.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it may be deduced that at least in Caithness, Drostan and Fergus at some time shared a feast day in November. The account of Fergus in the *Aberdeen Breviary* gives most specific geographic detail for his activities in the North East. However, it asserts that he came here via Caithness, though no specific foundations in this county are mentioned.<sup>70</sup> It may thus be asked if the Breviary records tradition current in north-eastern churches that depicted Fergus as travelling to their establishments from Ireland via Caithness. Such a conclusion might suggest that an association between Fergus and Drostan was a reasonably early phenomenon originating in Caithness. An alternative possibility would be that it is a late phenomenon, and that devotion to Drostan and Fergus as a pair was introduced Caithness at a single time at a late stage, attached to an existing feast day of Fergus. However, the great variety of name forms purported to be associated with Drostan in Caithness, all with an unvoiced *T*, may argue against this. The cluster of dedications attributed to Drostan in Caithness is striking. These include Westfield, Westerdale, Castletown, Gills and Brabster. Forms of the name include Trostan, Tristan, Tustan and Trothan.<sup>71</sup>

It may here be worthwhile to briefly note a further argument in favour of early links between the Church in Ireland and the far north of Scotland. In the *Life of Saint Fintan of Rheinau*, St Fintan escapes from Norse captors who are sheltering on a small Orcadian island and swims to an unspecified landmass that may be either

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Cannisbay would appear to support such a conclusion. See Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 326 for list of dedications.

<sup>68</sup> Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs now and formerly held in Scotland*, p. 94.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 116.

<sup>70</sup> MacQuarrie (ed.), *Legends of Scottish Saints*, pp. 292- 295.

<sup>71</sup> D. Beaton, *Ecclesiastical History of Caithness* (Wick, William Rae, 1909), p. 82; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=448> (last accessed 30/8/2016).

intended to be a large Orcadian island or Caithness.<sup>72</sup> There he encounters a Bishop who: *in Hibernia insula litteralibus erat studiis inbutus et eiusdem linguae notitia satis eruditus* [acquired his education in Ireland and was well acquainted with the language of that country].<sup>73</sup> Curiously, the feast of St Fintan himself occurred on 15 November, thus coinciding closely with the Caithness commemorations of the two saints discussed here with arguable Irish connections.<sup>74</sup> The wider context of the ecclesiastical connections between Ireland and the far-northern Pictish zone suggested by much of the evidence relating to Drostan, Fergus and Fintan will be considered in the next chapter.<sup>75</sup>

The possibility that Drostan and Fergus were considered to be associated at an early stage outside of Caithness cannot be dismissed out of hand however. The inscription on the ‘Drostan Stone’ at St Vigean contains both personal names. Watson asserts that it ‘most probably commemorates three clerics’: *Drosten ipe Uoret ett Forcus* [Drosten. in peace. Uoret. and. Forcus.]<sup>76</sup> Clancy argues that Uoret instead refers to a Pictish King and his consequent dating of the inscription to 839-

<sup>72</sup> William P. L. Thomson has suggested the Holm of Papay to be a plausible location for the Orcadian island where Findan escaped captivity. H. Löwe has suggested that it is possible that Fintan travelled as far as Rosmarkie to meet the Bishop, though he posits that this location may be too far south. See William P. L. Thomson, ‘St Findan and the Pictish-Norse Transition’, in R. J. Berry and H. N. Firth (eds.), *The People of Orkney* (Kirkwall, The Orkney Press, 1986), pp. 279- 283; H. Löwe, ‘Findan von Rheinau. Eine irische Peregrinatio im 9. Jahrhundert’, *Studi Medievali* 3<sup>rd</sup> series 26 (1985), pp. 53- 100, pp. 77 and 82. Many thanks to Ellen McKay for her help with the German in Löwe’s articles.

<sup>73</sup> O. Holder-Egger (ed.), ‘Vita Findani’, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Series Scriptorum* 15, 1, pp. 502- 506, p. 504. Reproduced in Reidar Th. Christiansen, ‘The People of the North’, *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 2 (1962), pp. 137- 164, pp.148- 155, p. 151; Kevin Ó Nolan (trans.), ‘The Life of the Holy Findan’, in Christiansen, ‘The People of the North’, pp. 155- 164, p. 159. See also excerpts in J.F. Hogan ‘St Fintan of Rheinau’, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, vol. 14 (1893), pp. 385- 396, p. 391; and Christine J. Omand (trans.), ‘The Life of Saint Findan’, in Berry and Firth (eds.), *The People of Orkney*, pp. 284- 287. For a discussion of the extant manuscripts containing this text, see H. Löwe, ‘Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Vita Findani’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 42 (1986), pp. 25- 86.

<sup>74</sup> See entry for Fintan of Rheinau in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

<sup>75</sup> See 7.2.

<sup>76</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011), p. 317.

842 would support Isabel Henderson's argued date in the first half of the ninth century.<sup>77</sup> Despite many different readings and translations of the monument, one frequent theme is that of an association of some kind between two individuals of the personal names Drosten and Forcus. Interpretations made include that the two were student and teacher, successive abbots at the same establishment, craftsman and cleric responsible for the stone's construction as well as two saints being commemorated.<sup>78</sup> Given such a range of possible interpretations, it is difficult to assert with any certainty that the monument provides evidence of commemoration of the saints under discussion here being associated. However, it must remain a possibility to be considered.

#### 6.2.5 Closing Remarks

None of the four dates for which there is substantial evidence for the commemoration of Drostan may be regarded as being without difficulties. The assertion that his feast day should be celebrated in June seems to originate in a deliberate Irish attempt to associate Drostan, alongside Agatan and Mo Chullian, with Torannán. The July commemoration suggested in late continental sources may owe its roots to some confusion of tradition with St Benedict, perhaps originating in Deer. The December feast, though widespread throughout the North East of Scotland from Fife to Aberdeenshire, may have sprung from confusion with Drusus of Antioch. The November date seems to be closely related to Fergus and have its

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<sup>77</sup> Clancy, 'The Drosten Stone: a new reading', pp. 345- 353; I. B. Henderson. Featured in Elisabeth Okasha, 'The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (Summer 1985), pp. 43- 69, p. 61.

<sup>78</sup> Donald MacRae, 'The Drostan Stone (St Vigeans)', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 43 (1909), pp. 330- 334, p. 333; Clancy, 'The Drosten Stone: a new reading', pp. 350- 351.

centre in Caithness. Although it is clear that there has been much influence between them, it is not clear if all of the various traces to commemoration to Drostan ultimately owe their roots to one individual, or if they instead point to the activities of more than one churchmen of the same or similar names.

### 6.3 A Note on a Poem in the *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex*

Before continuing with the discussion of the seven brothers and their associates, it may be appropriate to discuss here a poem in the margin of f. 37 v in the ninth-century *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis CXCv) which is of interest to this study in light of comments that have been made on Fergus:<sup>79</sup>

*Aspice marmoreas superantes astra columnas.  
Quas hic sanctigeri fulcit harena soli.  
Felix famosus Heleranus, Finnia, Fergi,  
Fulgida donifero lumina facta Deo.  
O magnum Scotiae misit Pictonia diues  
Munus relliquias, quas uelit esse suas.  
Unde uenit Tytan et nox ubi sidera condit.  
Quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat horis*  
[Look on the marble columns surpassing the stars,  
Which the sand of the saint-bearing land supports here:  
Happy, famous Ailerán, Vinniau, Fergus,  
Shining lights made by gift-carrying God.  
O He sent a great present of Ireland,  
Relics which great Pictonia wishes to be its own,  
whence comes Titan and where night establishes the stars  
and where midday is hot with blazing hours].<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The manuscript is discussed in James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929), p. 669; and Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1985), p. 198.

<sup>80</sup> Ed. and trans. David Howlett, 'Seven Studies in Seventh-Century Texts', *Peritia* 10 (1996), pp. 1-70, p. 7.

Ó Cróinín offers the slightly different translation of part of the poem:

[O great was the present that rich Poitiers sent to Ireland: a wealth of relics that it wishes for itself].<sup>81</sup>

The three named individuals within the poem have been identified by Ó Cróinín as Uinniaus of Clonard, Ailrán Sapiens of Clonard and Fergus, companion of Sedulius.<sup>82</sup> If these identifications were to be accepted then the poem may be of some interest given the presence of two individuals discussed in the present project.<sup>83</sup>

Both Howlett and Ó Cróinín suggest that *Pictonia* refers to Poitiers.<sup>84</sup> The latter suggests that the lines containing this are referring to Palladius and uses it as a means of furthering his case that he came from the area.<sup>85</sup> He compares this to lines in another poem, composed in the seventh century, where it is stated of Patrick that *alma Britannia misit*.<sup>86</sup> He suggests that a misunderstanding of texts containing such references to *Pictonia* may have ultimately resulted in the emergence of a tradition linking Palladius with the Picts.<sup>87</sup>

To this interpretation of these lines may be offered an alternative possibility. As has been discussed, there are grounds for considering both Uinniau and Fergus to be of Northern British origin.<sup>88</sup> As such, it may be asked if rather than implicitly

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<sup>81</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Who Was Palladius "First Bishop of the Irish"?', *Peritia* 14 (2000), pp. 205-237, p. 236.

<sup>82</sup> Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The Irish as Mediators of Antique Culture on the Continent', in Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (eds.), *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times* (Basel, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1993), pp. 41-51, p. 49.

<sup>83</sup> See 1 and 6.2.4.

<sup>84</sup> Howlett, 'Seven Studies in Seventh-Century Texts', p. 7, n. 6; and Ó Cróinín, 'Who Was Palladius "First Bishop of the Irish"?', p. 236.

<sup>85</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'Who Was Palladius "First Bishop of the Irish"?', pp. 236-237.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 236; The full poem is presented in Kuno Meyer, 'Verses from a Chapel Dedicated to St Patrick at Péronne', *Ériu* 4 (1911), pp. 110-111, p. 110.

<sup>87</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'Who Was Palladius "First Bishop of the Irish"?', p. 237.

<sup>88</sup> See 5.1.4 and 6.2.4. Little has been firmly established of the life of Ailrán, other than that he was associated with Clonard and died in 665. Two extant texts have been attributed to him. See Aidan



referring to a fourth unnamed individual, the lines in question may instead be referring to one (or indeed all) of the three named saints. If this were the case, *Pictonia* may be more plausibly read as ‘Pictland’. *Pictones* is an attested form for the Picts, occurring in **AU 750.4**, **AT3 Kl. 250. 4** (AT 750) and **AT3 Kl. 252.4** (AT 752).<sup>89</sup> The entry in the case of the first mentioned of these is as follows:

*Bellum Catohic inter Pictones 7 Brittones in quo cecidit Talorggan mc.  
Forggussa, frater Oengussa*  
[The battle of Catonic (?) between Picts and Britons, in which Talorgan, son of Forgus [and] brother of Aengus, fell].<sup>90</sup>

Given that *Brittones*, as used in the annals to denote a group of people, corresponds with *Britannia* as a geographic area in the phrase *alma Britannia misit*, it may be asked if the phrase *misit Pictonia diues* in the Karlsruhe poem similarly reflects the land of the insular *Pictones*. If such an interpretation was correct, then the lines could be a reference to some dispute between Clonard and a Pictish foundation that saw the Pictish establishment assert a claim over the relics of one or more of the men named within the poem.

#### 6.4 Torannán

Given the apparent pedigree of Torannán’s June feast as compared with his three sailing companion brothers, a study of Torannán is essential in any attempt to come to terms with the potential reasoning for the composition of the poem.<sup>91</sup> A

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Breen, *Ailerani: Interpretatio Mystica et Moralis Progenitorvm Domini Iesv Christi* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1995), p. 1; Ireland, ‘Aldfrith of Northumbria and the Learning of a Sapiens’, p.67.

<sup>89</sup> Many thanks to Nicholas Evans for drawing my attention to these references.

<sup>90</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 204-205.

<sup>91</sup> See 6.2.1.

glance at the extant material shows that any attempt to chart the development of his various cults, let alone discern any historical individual, is beset with difficulties. Possibly giving rise to the greatest problems is the wide range of locations with which he is said to be associated.

#### 6.4.1 Irish Sources

In *Seven Brothers*, Torannán is listed as first of the four who sailed across the sea at the same time and who were granted the privilege of dying on the same day:<sup>92</sup>

*In cethrur for-facabsat  
luidset dar farge fostán:  
Torannán is Agatán,  
Mo-Chullian is Troscán*

[The four whom they left (behind) went across the steady sea; Torannán and Agatán, Mo-Chullian and Troscán].<sup>93</sup>

The poem goes on to provide information about where Torannán settled, identified by Ó Cróinín as Tulach Fortcheirn in Uí Felmada territory in Leinster, argued to be next to the river Brosna or Silver in Offaly or Westmeath:<sup>94</sup>

*Torannán in tairbertach,  
ós toraib Tulcha Tinni*

[Torannán the generous (settled) above the hosts of Tulach Tinni].<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112-113.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> See O' Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, vol. 3, p. 183, n. g. Hogan appeared to favour Offaly over Westmeath, though his reasons for this are not given. See Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae Et Scotiae* (Dublin, Hodges, Figgis and Co; London, Williams and Norgate, 1910), p. 634. See also Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 106 and 106, n. 38.

<sup>95</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112-113.

As has been discussed, Torannán is notable as being the only one of these four with an obvious presence on 12 June in the early Irish martyrologies. A Torannán or Tarannan appears in the martyrologies of Tallaght, Oengus and Gorman on 12 June as well as in the Calendar of the *Drummond Castle Missal*.<sup>96</sup> **MO 12 Jun** links him with a tradition of some form of travel:

*Torannán buan bannach*  
*tar ler lethan longach*  
[Torannán lasting, deedful, over the wide ship- abounding sea].<sup>97</sup>

A Forannán, commemorated in Downings, Kildare on 12 June is argued to be the same by Ó Riain, who posits that Forannán of Alternan in Sligo may also be a manifestation of Torannán.<sup>98</sup>

#### 6.4.2 Inscriptions

A number of inscriptions throughout the Pictish area bear similarities to the name Torannán or Ternan.<sup>99</sup> These will be considered in greater detail in the discussion of Itharnaisc and Ethernan.<sup>100</sup> However, given the significance of Fordoun, Aberdeenshire, to Ternan it may be appropriate to briefly note the inscription found here. This occurs on a Class II symbol stone. One line of Roman lettering was read by Allen as **PIDARNOIN**, although Okasha argues that these

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<sup>96</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 49; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 140; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 115; Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense*, p. 18.

<sup>97</sup> Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p.140.

<sup>98</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 352 and 501.

<sup>99</sup> Clancy, 'Deer in the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 376.

<sup>100</sup> See 6.7.4.

letters are now ‘too highly deteriorated to be interpreted’.<sup>101</sup> Okasha argues that the writing itself is un-datable, although the cross slab itself has been dated by Isabel Henderson to the eighth century on art historical grounds.<sup>102</sup>

#### 6.4.3 Torannán and Columba

Although there are widespread attestations of a 12 June feast in the Martyrologies, similar name forms are also accounted for on 9 June, the feast day of Columba and Baithene. **MT 9 Jun** has: *Mothorae Domnaig Cliabra*.<sup>103</sup> O’Hanlon suggests that there is a scribal error in the form of the place name here and identifies it as Drumcliff in Sligo.<sup>104</sup> In **MD 9 Jun** the form is: *Droma Cliabh*.<sup>105</sup> The association between Mothoria and Columba at Drumcliff is overt in O’Donnell’s *Betha Coluimb Chille*, where Columba entrusts care of the church to: *Motharen Droma Cliab*.<sup>106</sup> There is a reference in **MG 9 Jun** to: *mo Thoria, naem niamda* [My Toria holy radiant].<sup>107</sup> Ó Riain has pointed to the ascription to Colmcille in *Seven Brothers* as further evidence that there was some understanding of a connection between them: *Coluim Cille cesinit*.<sup>108</sup> Given the ubiquitous nature of Columba in

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<sup>101</sup> J. Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, vol. 2 (part 3), (1993 edition, Angus, The Pinkfoot Press), pp. 201- 203; Okasha, ‘The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland’, p. 52; Iain Fraser (ed.), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 2008), p. 23. A 2004 photograph may be viewed at <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/948307> (last accessed 5/10/15). For further discussion of this inscription see below, 6.7.4.

<sup>102</sup> This is due to the panelling on the cross and the lack of continuous interlace. See Henderson featured in Okasha, ‘The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland’, pp. 52- 53.

<sup>103</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 49.

<sup>104</sup> John O’Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 6 (Dublin, James Duffy and Sons, 1875), p. 609, Article V, n. 1.

<sup>105</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O’Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 164.

<sup>106</sup> A. O’Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (eds. and trans.), *Betha Colaim Chille* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1918), pp. 87-88.

<sup>107</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 112- 113.

<sup>108</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 130; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 501.

hagiography, it may be difficult to ascertain what, if anything may be read into any such connections. However, within the poem itself the close association between Torannán and Mochuille may be of some interest to the issue and will be discussed in greater detail presently.

#### 6.4.4 Torannán and Palladius

One notable feature of much of the evidence for the cult of Torannán is the frequency with which he is closely associated with Palladius. Some evidence of association between Palladius and Ternan in Scotland may be seen in the overlap of localised cults, both men having cults centred on the Mearns.<sup>109</sup> Banchory Ternan held the St Ternan's fair in June. Amongst its other fairs throughout the year was the Paldy fair in July.<sup>110</sup> A number of written Scottish sources suggest a close link between the two. John of Fordun suggests Ternan to be a disciple of Palladius:

*Erat itaque discipulus beato Palladio sanctus Terrananus pontifex, qui baptismate pater et universis litterarum et fidei rudimentis almificus doctor et alumnus*

[The holy bishop Terran likewise was a disciple of the blessed Palladius, who was his godfather, and his fostering teacher and futherer in all the rudiments of letters and of the faith].<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Thomas Clancy, 'The Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk Revisited', *Innes Review* 50, no.1 (Spring 1999), pp. 83- 88, p. 85; MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 406-407.

<sup>110</sup> Marwick, *List of Markets and Fairs Now and Formerly Held in Scotland*, p. 21.

<sup>111</sup> William F. Skene (ed.), *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), Bk. III, Ch. 9. p. 94; Felix J. H. Skene (trans.), *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), Bk. III, Ch. 9, p. 86.

A close association between the two is also in evidence in the *Aberdeen Breviary* where both the accounts of Ternan (12 June) and Palladius (6 July) state that Ternan was baptised and taught by the latter.<sup>112</sup>

Clancy has argued that the appearance of Ternan in the eleventh-century *Life of St Laurence* may have been due to the use of material in this text that originally related to Palladius. As evidence for this he cites the existing dedication to Palladius at Fordoun, one of the places where Laurence teaches in the *Life*, as well as the relationship between Ternan and Laurence in the text, which seems to resemble the relationship between Ternan and Palladius elsewhere.<sup>113</sup> In addition to the suggestion that Laurence has acquired a role previously played by Palladius within the account, he suggests that confusion surrounding local dedications to Palladius also resulted in Ternan taking over some of the traditions of Palladius. He proffers the example of the title *Archipontifex Hiberniae*, as used for Ternan in *The Life of St Laurence*, which would be a more fitting description for Palladius.<sup>114</sup> Skene reacted to the apparent confusion between Ternan and Palladius in the Mearns by suggesting that Ternan was likely to have been a disciple of Palladius who brought his relics to the southern Pictish areas. He suggested that in founding a church dedicated to Palladius in Fordun, he himself became associated with it.<sup>115</sup> More recently Clancy has proposed that Torannán may have been involved in bringing the relics, or at least the

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<sup>112</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 142, 170.

<sup>113</sup> An edition and translation of the Scottish content occurs in Alan MacQuarrie, 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', *Innes Review* 47, no. 2, (Autumn 1996), pp. 95- 109, pp. 105-109. The *Life* itself depicts Laurence of Canterbury. However, Clancy argues that Laurencekirk may have originally been dedicated to Laurence the Martyr. Clancy, 'The Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk Revisited', pp. 84- 85.

<sup>114</sup> MacQuarrie, 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', p. 106; Clancy, 'The Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk Revisited', p. 85.

<sup>115</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1877). p.30.

cult, of Palladius to the Mearns, without the stipulation that they were contemporary.<sup>116</sup>

A notable feature of Ternan's appearance in the *Life of St Laurence* is his apparent role as a Romanising influence in the Irish Church:

*Interea fama eius transuolante, maria, quia 'lux in candelabro et ciuitas in monte nequit abscondi', sanctus Terenanus archipontifex Hibernie ad eum transiit, uir tantæ sanctitatis, ut tres mortuos suscitasse perhibeatur. Qui audiens beatum Laurentium de pasche obseruatione aliisque apostolicis institutionibus mutuo conuentu disputantem, dedit manus ueritati. Suosque discipulos indignantes quod tam diuinus uir tali aduene subiaceret, ad ueritatis lineam suo exemplo cum sua gente correxit*

[Meanwhile his fame spread across the sea, for 'a light upon a lamp-stand and a city upon a hill cannot be hid'. St Ternan, archbishop of Ireland, came to him, a man of such great sanctity that he is said to have resuscitated three dead men. He heard St Laurence discoursing on the observation of Easter and other apostolic institutions, when they met together, and gave his assent to the truth. [Ternan's] disciples were indignant that such a holy man should be subject to this foreigner; but he brought them into the way of truth by his example, together with his whole people].<sup>117</sup>

It is possible to argue that if Ternan was here based on Palladius then this may simply reflect an 'updating' of a tradition that saw Palladius as a bringer of continental ways to errant insular people. Nonetheless, the possibility that both Ternan and the Easter controversy were originally intended should not be unduly dismissed. Ternan is also depicted as a force promoting Roman orthodoxy in the work of John Leslie, though here in the context of assisting Palladius in refuting Pelagianism.<sup>118</sup> However, it may be argued more likely that this particular narrative

<sup>116</sup> Clancy, 'Deer in the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 386.

<sup>117</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', pp. 106- 108.

<sup>118</sup> Leslie, *De Origine, moribus & rebus gestis Scotorum*, Bk. IV, Ch. 41, p. 131; Dalrymple, (trans.) *The Historie of Scotland*, ed. E. G. Cody, p. 210.

is more a result of the intent to depict Ternan as a loyal disciple of Palladius than the preservation of any tradition of anti-Pelagian tradition.

Although within the majority of sources it is merely a close association between two distinct individuals that is alluded to, there are indications that at times Torannán and Palladius were believed to be the same person. The fourteenth-century *Lebar Brecc* contains the following note on Torannán's entry in **MO 12 Jun**:

*.i. palladius rocartad o chomorba petair inerinn riaptraic dforcetul doib. ni ragbad inerinn condechaid in albain hic sepultus est in liconio. no mothoren tulcha fortchirn anib felmeda 7 odruim cliab hicairpri*  
[i.e. Palladius was sent (?) by Peter's successor into Ireland before Patrick to teach them. He was not received in Ireland, so he went into Scotland. He was buried in Liconium (?). Or My-Toren of Tulach Fortchirn in Ui-Felmeda and of Druim Cliab in Cairpre].<sup>119</sup>

Skene argued that *Liconium* was 'probably' a former name of Banchory-Ternan.<sup>120</sup> It may be argued that such an inference is highly questionable given the existence in the Eastern Church of a Saint Tarasios of Lykaonia.<sup>121</sup> As such, it appears possible that some tradition of the eastern saint has crept in here and thus the statement of his burial raises more questions surrounding Irish access to eastern material or tradition than it does about the potential resting place of a 'native' Torannán. The first part of this note also appears in other manuscripts. The fifteenth-century Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 7 version of **MO** contains the following gloss on Torannán's 12 June listing:

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<sup>119</sup> Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus*, p. cii. Bracketed queries are Stokes's own. A discussion of this manuscript occurs in Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, pp. xvi- xx.

<sup>120</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 2, p.30.

<sup>121</sup> <http://www.synaxarion.gr/gr/sid/3057/sxsaintinfo.aspx> (last accessed 17/11/15).



*.i. Palladius ro cartad o comurba Petair/ i n-Erinn .i. ria Patraic, do foircetal doibh. (buan di[n] ui mi/rabilibus. bannach .i. asenex f[ui]t ban[n]ach .i. abono/ ban[n] leis sair 7ban[n] leis anair)*  
 [.i.e. Palladius was sent by Peter's successor into Ireland before Patrick to teach them. Lasting from the six miracles. Deedful i.e. from 'he was a deedful old man'. i.e. from the good of deeds by him to the east and deeds by him from the east].<sup>122</sup>

Alan MacQuarrie argues that the gloss may have been intended to read *Torannán .i. discipulus Palladii* but reached its final form through scribal error or to indicate an overlap of their places of activity.<sup>123</sup> However, given the murkiness of the association between the two individuals, it may be asked if it should necessarily be assumed that the scribe would have understood there to have been a distinction between them.

A much later indication of apparent confusion between *Torannán* and *Palladius* appears to be present in folklorist Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, originally published in 1900. In his introduction to poems about the Figwort, one of the Gaelic names of which is given as *Torranan*, Carmichael provides a narrative of St *Torannán* that is said to be 'current in Uist':<sup>124</sup>

*The Pope sent Torranan to teach the people of Ireland the way of salvation. But the people of Ireland would not receive Torranan, whom they beat and maltreated in various ways. Torranan prayed to God to deliver him from the Irish, and shook the dust of Ireland off his feet. He betook himself to his coracle and turned it sun-wise, in the name of God, in the name of Christ and in the name of Spirit, praying the 'Teora Naomh,' Holy Three, to send him*

<sup>122</sup> Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, pp. xii- xiii and 148 -149. The rounded bracketed section does not appear in Stokes's transcription and translation. / here indicates a line break in the manuscript. The square brackets indicate my own expansion of abbreviations in the manuscript. See Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 7, 22 r. <https://www.isos.dias.ie/> (last accessed 19/11/15). The highly tentative translation was produced in collaboration with Eystein Thanisch, making use of Stokes's translation of the equivalent note in the *Lebar Brecc*. See Stokes (ed.), *On the Calendar of Oengus*, p. cii.

<sup>123</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 406.

<sup>124</sup> Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, repr. 1972), pp. vi, 78, and 80; Derick S. Thomson, 'Carmichael, Alexander (1832–1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48849> (last accessed 7/10/15).

*when and where and whichever way they listed and had work for him to do-but not again to Ireland. The man was driven about hither and thither on the wild waves in his frail coracle no one knows how long or how far. But an Eye was on his prow and a Hand was on his helm and the tide, and the wind, and the waves combined to take him into the little creek of Cailigeo in Benbecula...*<sup>125</sup>

Carmichael goes on to detail the activities of Torannán throughout the Hebrides and foundations attributed to him. If it is to be accepted that Carmichael reports a genuine late tradition here, then it serves to reinforce the complexities surrounding the relationship between Torannán and Palladius and the manner in which their respective traditions developed. Despite the clear similarity with the traditions surrounding Palladius, there is no overt indication within the narrative itself that Torannán was pre-Patrician.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, it is stated that he dedicated one of his foundations to Columba.<sup>127</sup> The various Hebridean place name dedications would appear to lend some legitimacy to Carmichael's claims of devotion to a saint of similar name on the islands.<sup>128</sup> However, as will be seen it may be argued to be unlikely that any early place names truly owe their roots to the Torannán of Carmichael's account.

#### 6.4.5 Torannán and Ternan

The evidence thus far discussed appears to be centred on four different areas. In Leinster, Sligo and the Hebrides, the name occurs principally in the form Torannán. In the Mearns the form that occurs is Ternan.<sup>129</sup> Apparently linking the

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<sup>125</sup> Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. 2. p. 80.

<sup>126</sup> See 6.4.5.

<sup>127</sup> Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. 2, p. 81.

<sup>128</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011), p. 300.

<sup>129</sup> Forannán's cult at Alternan exemplifies the ease with which such name forms can be associated. See Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 352; a summary of the cult in Scotland can be found under

latter with at least the Leinster and Hebrides manifestations of Torannán is some form of association with Palladius. The entry in **MT 12 Jun: Tarannan aċ Bendchair**, appears to connect Torannán with Banchory, where the relics of Ternan were said to be kept until the Reformation.<sup>130</sup>

Watson called to attention one aspect of *Seven Brothers* which he believed may have further connected the Irish evidence to the north-eastern Scottish sphere of activity:

*Na manistri fuaratar,  
Inde[r]natar a ferta,  
Is la hUí Néill Noígiallaig  
Co rrath in spirita sechta. S.*  
[The monasteries that they received and in which they did their great deeds,  
they are (now) among the Uí Néill, with the grace of the seven-fold spirit].<sup>131</sup>

Watson suggested a link between the reference to the Uí Néill in the poem and the name of Kincardine O'Neill, which borders Banchory Ternan. The use of the name O'Neill here can be attested to 1200 and Watson proposed that 'it formed part of the patrimony of Torannán's monastery'.<sup>132</sup> However, it is uncertain what the name O'Neill indicates given the absence of further evidence for a discernible Uí Néill, or indeed O'Neill, presence in the area.<sup>133</sup> A link with the Uí Néill can be argued for Drumcliff, which was located in the territory of Cenél Cairbri.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore,

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'Ternan' in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> (last accessed 3/10/2016).

<sup>130</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 49; MacQuarrie 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', p. 108, n. 6; Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011), p. 300.

<sup>131</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 113.

<sup>132</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011), pp. 518- 519, n. 300.

<sup>133</sup> A speculative consideration for the probable origin of the name occurs in James Crabb Watt, *The Mearns of Old* (Edinburgh and Glasgow, William Hodge, 1914), pp. 361- 362.

<sup>134</sup> Thomas Owen Clancy, *The Triumph Tree* (Edinburgh, Canongate, 1998), p. 350.

Clancy's suggestion that Ternan may have been in some way responsible for the bringing of the relics of Palladius to the Mearns from Armagh leaves open room for some form of Uí Néill connection, given the influence argued for *Síl nÁedo Sláine* over Armagh.<sup>135</sup> However, given the importance of the Uí Néill throughout Ireland, it is difficult to suggest that any of these connections offer more than the most tenuous link between any of the establishments with which Ternan or Torannán has been associated.

Speculation about any possible Uí Néill link aside, the various somewhat confused strands of evidence point to a saint closely associated with 'Roman' orthodoxy. An association with Palladius sees him combat Pelagianism, whereas he is seen to subscribe to the Roman system of Easter calculation on his own accord. However, he also appears as an associate or follower of Columba. Reconstructing the life of any historical individual or individuals behind this figure must remain speculative. As has been seen, the various strands of hagiography are so confused in their chronology that they offer no obvious period in which to place him. A *terminus ante quem* is offered with his inclusion in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Oengus, both argued by Ó Riain to date from 829 to 833.<sup>136</sup> If the inscription at Fordun were to be dated with the rest of the stone and accepted as relating to Ternan, then devotion to him may be moved to the previous century.<sup>137</sup>

One hypothesis is that he may have been part of Kenneth Veitch's 'Romanist faction' of the Columban Church keen to emphasise and promote the patronage of a saint whose supposed attempts to correct insular error could be used as a means of

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<sup>135</sup> Clancy, 'Deer in the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 387; J. M. Picard, 'The Purpose of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 160- 177, p. 162.

<sup>136</sup> Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints*, pp. 97- 98.

<sup>137</sup> Henderson in Okasha, 'The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland', pp. 52- 53.

promoting more contemporary causes.<sup>138</sup> Such an interpretation could account for the apparently more solid differentiation of Ternan and Palladius in north-eastern Scottish sources, as a clearer differentiation between devotee and patron saint would be expected in the area where Ternan was based. Travel to Ireland, including to Columban establishments in a bid to promote the relics of Palladius as well as potentially to discuss issues relating to Easter and tonsure would allow a route into Ireland for specific accounts linking Palladius to the Mearns.<sup>139</sup>

One difficulty with this scenario is the issue of the Hebrides. The lateness of the anecdote of Torannán and his journey here makes it difficult to draw any conclusions over the provenance of any narrative traditions relating to Torannán. Indeed, the neatness with which it fits surviving medieval narratives of Palladius gives cause for suspicion.<sup>140</sup> However, there does appear to be evidence for a *Taran* in place names such as *Taransay*, *Teampull Tharáin* and *Cladh Tharáin*.<sup>141</sup> One possibility may be that Franciscans re-evangelising from the seventeenth century, in

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<sup>138</sup> Kenneth Veitch, 'The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664- 717, a reassessment' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127 (1997), pp. 627- 647, p. 635.

<sup>139</sup> Such accounts are discussed in Clancy, 'The Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk Revisited', p. 84.

<sup>140</sup> An overview of Irish narratives of Palladius occurs in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 524-525. The treatment of Palladius in *Muirchú* is particularly striking as a comparison to Carmichael's account of Torannán: *Certi enim erant quod Paladius archidiaconus pape Caelestini urbis Romae episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem apostolicam quadragensimus quintus a sancto Petro apostolo, ille [Palladius] ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore possitam conuertendam. Sed Prohibuit illum quia nemo potest accipere quincquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo. Nam neque hii fieri et inmites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam eius neque et ipse longum uoluit transegere tempus in terra non sua, sed reuersus ad eum qui missit illum. Reuerente uero eo hinc et primo mari transito coeptoque terrarum itenere in Britonum finibus uita functus* [They knew for certain that Palladius, archdeacon of Pope Celestine, the bishop of Rome, who was then occupying the apostolic see as the forty-fifth successor of St. Peter the apostle, had been consecrated and sent to this island in the cold north in order to convert it. But he was prevented from doing so (by the fact that) nobody can receive anything from the earth unless it be given him from heaven. Neither were these wild and harsh men inclined to accept his teaching nor did he himself wish to spend a long time in a foreign country, but (decided to) return to him who had first sent him. On his way back from here, having crossed the first sea and begun his journey by land, he ended his life in the territory of the Britons]. *Muirchú* I 8 (7), Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>141</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (2011), p. 300; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=550> (last accessed 30/8/2016).

a mission sent from Louvain, identified a local saint *Taran* featured in place names as the same Palladius/ Torannán of the Dublin, University College Library, Franciscan A 7 gloss tradition, this manuscript having been itself in Louvain.<sup>142</sup> Building on this, they may have inferred a narrative incorporating local place-name evidence into their own existing Palladius/ Torannán traditions, inferring that Hebrides was his place of arrival upon departure from Ireland.

#### 6.4.6 Torannán and the Brothers

The forgoing discussion has considered individuals, most notably Palladius and Colmcille, who were seen to be in some way associated with Torannán. It may be noted however that aside from *Seven Brothers* itself, there seems very little within extant tradition to link Torannán with the three brothers who are said to share a feast day with him. This may be considered surprising given the apparent attempt to specifically associate the four as well as the apparent precedence of Torannán in having an attestable early 12 June feast. In light of the prominence of both Ternan and Drostan in later Scottish Hagiography, it is particularly surprising that there is little attempt to link them in the Scottish narratives, perhaps suggesting that any real or imagined connection between the two was fostered in Ireland rather than Scotland

Ó Riain has argued that, given the derivation of the Mochuille from Colm, saints with this name are ‘likely to have been localizations of the cult of Colum Cille of Iona’.<sup>143</sup> If this were the case with the Mochuille in the poem then it may be

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<sup>142</sup> Brendan Jennings, ‘The Return of the Irish Franciscans to Louvain 1606- 1925’, *Studies: An Irish quarterly Review*, vol. 14, No. 55 (September 1925), pp. 451- 458, p. 456. Further discussion on the Franciscans in the Hebrides occurs in Campbell, ‘The MacNeils of Barra and the Irish Franciscans’, pp. 33- 38; Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. xii.

<sup>143</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 473.

argued that any traditions linking Torannán to Colmcille offer a plausible association by which the feast of Mothoria could have emerged on 9 June alongside the existing feast of Mochuille (originally understood to be Columba). If Mothoria or Torannán's feast then slipped forward three days, it may have been that a later scholar moved a Mochuille with him and in doing so de-coupled him from his illustrious original. One possible argument against such a hypothesis is the absence of a Mochuille or similar from either **MT** or **MO 12 Jun.**<sup>144</sup> As will be considered presently, it may not even be the case that any of 'the four' were necessarily linked before the composition of the poem.<sup>145</sup>

## 6.5 Mo-Chullian

In contrast with the wide-ranging activities of Troscán and Torannán within hagiography, Mo-Chullian appears to have left a much more modest trail of evidence. As has been discussed,<sup>146</sup> a complicating factor is the potential that individuals with this name may be manifestations of Colm Cille.<sup>147</sup> A further complication is the appearance of *Mocholla* as a woman's name in the calendars.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 49; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p.140. An even more tentative connection may be the apparent manifestation of Torannán as Farannán at Downings, Kildare. The suggestion that this is the same individual has already been noted. Here his feast was celebrated on 12 June. It may be noted that in the twelfth-century life of Mochuille of Tulla, Mochuille encounters a nobleman by the name of Forannán. See Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 475, 501.

<sup>145</sup> See 6.10.1 and 6.10.2.

<sup>146</sup> See 6.4.6.

<sup>147</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 473.

<sup>148</sup> **MT 25 May** commemorates *Mocholla i[ngen] Doma*. A *Mocholla* appears in **MG 23 Mar. mo Cholla chaemh chruthgel** [my Colla, dear, white formed]. Ó Riain assumes this to be a man, stating that this is a 'variant of Mochuille', though the corresponding entry in **MD 23 Mar** states that this is an *ógh* [virgin]. There is no obvious equivalent entry in the early martyrologies. An explicitly male *Mochollae* appears, with no further information, as part of a list of over two hundred monks of Fintan, son of Tulchán in **MT 21 Oct.** See Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, pp. 46 and 82; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 84- 85; Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 84- 85; and Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 476, 505 and 581.

The lack of any obvious Mo Chullian in the early martyrologies on 12 June has already been raised.<sup>149</sup> Nonetheless, there has been some suggestion that the Mo Chullian of the poem appears elsewhere.

*Seven Brothers* itself gives some information regarding the activities of Mo Chullian:

*Mo Chullian i nDresnatha  
Fothart Fea, feidm n-ualle  
[Mo Chullian was in Dresnatha (in the territory) of the Fotharta Fea- a great  
pride].<sup>150</sup>*

The location of Dresnatha has not been identified. However, Ó Riain assigns the territory of the Fothart Fea to Forth, Carlow.<sup>151</sup> Both Ó Riain and Ó Cróinín assert that this Mo Chullian should be considered the same as the Mo Chullian who, in an account in the Leinster genealogies, cursed Ceallach mac Mael-ottraich following a *sargud* [violation] during the battle of Atha Slabae.<sup>152</sup> Ó Riain assumes this violation to have been of a church.<sup>153</sup> Ó Cróinín assumes this to reflect an association of Mo Chullian with the Uí Cennselaig, the defeated opponents of Cellach's forces.<sup>154</sup> Ó Riain further associates this saint with a well in Glencommaun, named *Tobermathulla* in Tullahought, Kilkenny.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> See 6.2.1.

<sup>150</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112- 113.

<sup>151</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 474.

<sup>152</sup> M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1962), p. 74; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 474; Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 107.

<sup>153</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 474.

<sup>154</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 107.

<sup>155</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 474.



O’Hanlon assumed this saint to have been the same as Mochuille son of Dichuill, who he found briefly mentioned in a note by Colgan.<sup>156</sup> There is an extant life of this saint dating from the mid-twelfth century with which O’Hanlon appears not to have been acquainted.<sup>157</sup> The comment by Colgan on an unnamed Son of Dichuill in the *Tripartite Life* demonstrates that he also equated ‘Mochuille son of Dichuill’ with the Mochuille of *Seven Brothers* and the genealogies who appears in **MD 12 Jun**, though not with the Son of Dichuill in the *Tripartite Life*:

*Non videtur hic fuisse Sanctus Mochulleus filius Dichuill de quo Sanctilogium Genealogicum cap. 31 & nos fusius ad 12. Junii, quem ex propriis actis vixisse post annum 600. colligitur*  
 [It does not here seem to be Saint Mochulleus son of Dichuill, of whom the genealogies of the saints Ch. 31 and ourselves detail to 12 June, who from several lives is gathered to have lived after the year 600].<sup>158</sup>

Colgan is referring here to a curious anecdote within the *Tripartite Life*, the text of which runs as follows:

*Maigen inna arrad andess la Patraic, fer muntiri do conaggaib, macc Dicuill; la Colum Cilli indú tre foill*  
 [A place close by it [Ath Maigne, Westmeath], to the south, belonged to Patrick. One of his household, Dichóll’s son, set up there. Colomb Cille hath it now through cunning].<sup>159</sup>

This fascinating glimpse of an apparent dispute between Patrician and Columban communities raises many questions. However, given the lack of any further

<sup>156</sup> O’Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 6, p. 654; Colgan’s brief reference occurs in Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 174.

<sup>157</sup> Westropp, ‘St Mochulla of Tulla, County Clare’, p. 6.

<sup>158</sup> Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 174; trans. mine.

<sup>159</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 50; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick*, Part I, pp. 78- 79. Brackets mine: Ath Maigne is named in the previous chapter of the text.

information on the intended identity of ‘Dichóll’s son’, the possibility that he may indeed have been a ‘Mochuille’, must remain nothing more or less than the most tentative of speculation. However, it is striking that Ath Maigne has been identified as being near Ardnurcher, Westmeath.<sup>160</sup> Ruscach, Offaly, one of the potential places for Mo-Thrianóc’s location in *Seven Brothers* is within Ardnurcher parish.<sup>161</sup> As will be seen, it may be problematic to necessarily equate this location with Mo-Thrianóc’s cult, except perhaps in the eye of the author of the poem.<sup>162</sup> There seems little solid ground to suggest any association of the cults of Mo-Thrianóc and Mo Chullian at this location. However, the anecdote of Dichóll’s son does serve as confirmation of a dispute between Columban and Patrician churches in a location that may have been one of those intended by the author of *Seven Brothers*.

The Bollandists expressed doubts over necessarily equating the Mo Chullian of *Seven Brothers* with Mochuille son of Dichuill.<sup>163</sup> The rejection of a link was followed by Westropp on chronological grounds based on the seeming chronology of the genealogies placing Mochuille son of Dichuill living after 600. In contrast Mochuille of Fothart Fea is presented as the brother of Torannán, assumed by Westropp to be contemporary with Palladius.<sup>164</sup> Such a distinction has been maintained by scholarship since.<sup>165</sup> Given the many difficulties surrounding the dating of Torannán coupled with the extreme dubiousness of any literal fraternal relationship, it may be unwise to necessarily assume the distinction of the two on

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<sup>160</sup> Marie Therese Flanagan, ‘Irish and Anglo-Norman Warfare in Twelfth-Century Ireland’, in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffry (eds.), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 52- 75, p. 60.

<sup>161</sup> See 6.9; <http://www.logainm.ie/en/42120> (last accessed 26/4/15).

<sup>162</sup> See 6.9 and 6.10.2.

<sup>163</sup> Carolus De Smedt et. al. ‘Vita S. Mochullei Episcopi’, p. 136.

<sup>164</sup> Westropp, ‘St Mochulla of Tulla, County Clare’, p. 6.

<sup>165</sup> For example, see the two distinct entries in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 474- 475.

either chronological or genealogical grounds. Nonetheless, positive evidence for the equation of the two is also lacking. However, given the argued manifestations of Torannán as Forannán, it may be prudent to note the presence of an encounter in the Life of Mochuille of Tulla between Mochuille and a secular leader Forannán.<sup>166</sup>

The evidence relating to men by the name of Mochuille leaves much room for speculation in the consideration of the individual portrayed in the poem. The suggestion that Mochuille may derive from Colmcille not only adds a complicating factor to the consideration of the origins of the Mochuille in the poem, but also serves to demonstrate the difficulty in assuming that others of the same name are necessarily in any way connected with one another.

## 6.6 Agatán

As with his brothers, Agatan is given a location in the poem:

*Agatán 'na dísiurtán ar brú na Ethni uaire*  
[Agatán was in his little hermitage on the banks of the cold Inny].<sup>167</sup>

In addition to this information, the poem outlines how he was the youngest of the four brothers who travelled together and died on the same day. It also states that he won the slab that they travelled on:

*Ind lecc for a-táncatar dar triathmuir trethnaig,*  
*Agatán a sósar-som ros-fuc a crandchor cethruir*

<sup>166</sup> See 6.4.1; Carolus De Smedt et. al. 'Vita S. Mochullei Episcopi', p. 143. A Paraphrase summary of the text occurs in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 475.

<sup>167</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112-113.

[The flagstone on which they came over the storm-swelled sea, it was Agatán, the youngest of them, who won it in a lot casting among the four].<sup>168</sup>

Ó Cróinín has argued that the Inny marked the traditional boundary between the Uí Néill and the Laigen.<sup>169</sup> The fact that the poem therefore appears to chart an establishment apparently on the very fringes of Uí Néill territory may be of some consequence in attempting to establish the reasons for its composition. An attempt to chart the, in some cases highly speculative, Midland locations of the four brothers hitherto considered, does suggest four distinct locations. It may therefore make some sense to speculate on a possible ‘boundary’ being demarcated, or at the very least, a deliberate attempt to cover a wide area. As will be seen, this appears to contrast with the locations of the remaining three ‘brothers’ in the work.<sup>170</sup>

Given the absence of any further information on Agatan and his cult, the significance of the various other points made about him in the poem in addition to his location is unclear. It is possible that his designation as the youngest indicates that he was perceived as the most recent of any of the patrons listed, suggesting that the assertion that they died on the same day refers only to a calendar date as opposed to the year. Against this however would be Ó Cróinín’s argument that not only a date, but day of the week was indicted by the poet, strongly implying that the same year was indeed intended.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p. 107.

<sup>170</sup> See in particular 6.10.2.

<sup>171</sup> He argues *etamuin* to mean ‘Thursday’. See Ó Cróinín, ‘The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?’, pp. 107- 108.

## 6.7 Itharnaisc

### 6.7.1 Irish Calendars

Attention may now turn from the four brothers who are stated to have died on the same day to the three ‘outliers’ completing the septet. In the poem the only information that is given about Itharnaisc is the location of his settlement- identified as Clane, Kildare:<sup>172</sup>

*Itharnaisc án i Cloenad*  
[the famous Itharnaisc at Clane].<sup>173</sup>

This Itharnaisc is also attested in the martyrologies. The entry in **MT 22 Dec** reads:

*Itharnaisc Cloenad. Tua m.h. Roida idem et Ultan Tigi Tua. Ideo Tua dicitur quia lapis in labiis eius per omne tempus quadragesimae habebat ut non posset loqui et inde Tua dictus est*  
[Itharnaisc of Clane. Tua m. h. Roida the same, and Ultan Tigi Tua. Therefore he is called Tua because he used to hold a stone in his lips for all the time of lent so that he was not able to speak and as a consequence is called Tua].<sup>174</sup>

It is possible that here *idem* (*id-* in the manuscript)<sup>175</sup> is being used to suggest that

*Tua m.h. Roida* is ‘the same’ individual as *Itharnaisc Cloenad*, leaving *Ultan Tigi*

*Tua* as a separate individual. This would suggest a similar reading for **MO 22 Dec**:

*Ronn-ain itge tuae,*  
*Itharnaisc nád labrae*  
[May the prayer of silence protect us- Itharnaisc who is not of speech].<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, p. 106.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, pp. 112-113.

<sup>174</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 88; trans. mine.

<sup>175</sup> Franciscan A 3, p. 11, Column b. See <https://www.isos.dias.ie/> (last accessed 25/10/15).

<sup>176</sup> Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 253; trans. mine (compare Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, pp. 253 and 473, where this Tua is considered a separate man. This is reflected in his capitalisation of *Tuae*, which I have adjusted here).

The calendars therefore attest an Irish cult at least as early as **MT** and **MO**. Significantly, the entry at **MT** would seem to confirm the association of Itharnaisc with Clane at this stage. As will be seen, this may be of some significance in assessing the purpose of *Seven Brothers* and suggesting possible locations for its composition.<sup>177</sup>

#### 6.7.2 Chronicles

While the Irish calendar entries would seem relatively straightforwardly to relate to the same individual as Itharnaisc in *Seven Brothers*, it is more difficult to equate other evidence with Itharnaisc of Clane. A similar name is attested in the chronicles in association with Northern Britain. **AU 669.2** has: *Itarnan 7 Corindu apud Pictores defuncti sunt* [Itarnan and Corindu died among the Picts.]<sup>178</sup> This is also present in **AT3 KI. 169.2**: *Itharnan 7 Corindu apud Pictores defuincti sunt*.<sup>179</sup> **CS 665** has similar, although the name is spelled *Iturnan* and the entry gives *Pictones* in place of *Pictores*, thus providing a more straightforward reading of what has been described by Clancy as the ‘odd form *Pictores*’.<sup>180</sup> Clancy has suggested that the use of *apud* could be taken to suggest that the men were killed by the Picts, although he believes it more likely to simply denote a location of death in this instance.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> See 6.10.2.

<sup>178</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, p.139.

<sup>179</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 50.

<sup>180</sup> Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, p. 100; Clancy, ‘Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland’, p. 375, n. 10.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

Charles-Edwards suggests the possibility that this Itharnan may be the first bishop of Rathin, Buchan and further points to the possibility that this individual may be the man whose name appears on the stones at Scoonie and Brodie.<sup>182</sup> Such speculation is difficult to substantiate or refute, given the lack of a more specific location or any firm identification of his companion *Corindu*.<sup>183</sup>

### 6.7.3 Scottish Sources

Given the stated Northern British origins of Itharnaisc of Clane and the lack of any solid information surrounding the Itharnan of the annals, consideration of the various appearances of this or similar names in Scotland may be of some interest. The *Aberdeen Breviary* contains entries for three different saints potentially of relevance to the present discussion: Ethernasc, Ethernan and Adrian.

*Ethernasc*: The most overtly similar individual in the *Aberdeen Breviary* to the saint of the Irish sources is Ethernasc, whose feast is given as 22 December. The entry here is sparse, with the only substantive information coming from the heading: *Sancti Ethernasci, confessoris, patroni Lanthres*.<sup>184</sup> The location in question has been identified as Lathrisk in Fife.<sup>185</sup> MacQuarrie suggests that the *n* given in the place of patronage should be considered a misprint for *u*. He argues that in none of the early forms of Lathrisk is the letter *n* present.<sup>186</sup> That this identification is

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<sup>182</sup> Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 157, n. 7. See also 6.7.4.

<sup>183</sup> For a discussion on the potential identity of Corindu see Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', pp. 376- 377.

<sup>184</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 10, following manuscript reading given in p. 10, n. q.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, p. 357.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, p. 357, n. 52.

justified appears to be confirmed by the Register of the Priory of the Cathedral Church of St Andrews. This records the consecration of the chapel on 28 July 1243 and dedication to St John the Evangelist and St Ethernasc:<sup>187</sup>

*It' eodē anno . v. kl auḡ dedicata ꝥ ecča sċi Johis euangliste ꝥ sċi Athernisci cōf de Losceresch ab eodem ep̄o*

[Also in the same year, on the fifth day before the Kalends of August, the churce of St John the Evangelist and of St Atherniscus (confessor) at Lathrisk was dedicated by the same bishop].<sup>188</sup>

A reference to Ethernasc also occurs in the *Martyrology of Aberdeen* 22 December, also apparently linking him with Lathrisk:

*In Scotia apud Lauthreis Ethernasius episcopus vite mirande sanctitatis et gracia plenus*

[In Scotia at Lauthreis, Bishop Ethernasius [who], with a life of marvellous saintliness, was full of grace].<sup>189</sup>

A 22 December listing also appears in other Scottish Calendars. However, the name referred to here is Ethernan. On this date *Adam King's Kalendar* has:

*S Ethernane bishop and confess. disciple to S. Colme in scotland vnder king aidanus.*<sup>190</sup>

Slightly differing information is given in *Menologium Scoticum* 22 December:

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p. 357.

<sup>188</sup> Bruce (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, p. 348; Alan Orr Anderson (trans.), *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. 2 (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1922), p. 521. Bracketed addition to translation mine.

<sup>189</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 137; many thanks to William Aird for his assistance with this translation.

<sup>190</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p 170.



*In Scotia Ethernani episcopi, qui in Insulis Scoticis natus, sancti Columbae discipulus fuit*

[In Scotland Bishop Ethernan, who was born in the Scottish Islands, was a disciple of Saint Columba].<sup>191</sup>

From these listings, it is clear that Ethernan was understood by some to be the same as Ethernasc. However, it appears that the only occasions in which the name appears in the form Ethernasc are those when a specific local dedication to Lathrisk is being discussed.

*Ethernan*: Aside from the references by Adam King and Thomas Dempster, an Ethernan appears elsewhere in Scottish sources, although associated with a different day. **AB 2 Dec** lists: *Sancti Ethernani, episcopi et confessoris*.<sup>192</sup> The account of his life tells that he was born to Scottish nobility and was sent by his parents as a youth to ‘teachers of Christ to be imbued in studies of the good liberal arts’.<sup>193</sup> He then travelled through Ireland where he was educated by various churchmen (no names or locations are given) and eventually ordained a bishop. He later returned to Scotland with a number of unnamed *scolasticis, presbiteris et clericis* who went with him as he lived as a hermit.<sup>194</sup> Towards the end of his life, he consecrated the church of Rathen, Buchan and died on 2 December.<sup>195</sup>

The most striking feature of this account is its vagueness. It is notable that no other individuals are named. Not even one of the usual premier saints is brought in,

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid, p. 222; trans. mine.

<sup>192</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 2; the commemoration of Ethernan on this day in Scotland is discussed in the entry for ‘Ethernan’ in the *Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland*, <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> (last accessed 3/10/2016).

<sup>193</sup> *a cunabulis et iuuenilibus annis bonarum arcium studiis per parentes professoribus Christi traditur imbuendus*. See MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 2- 3.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

despite the statement of being educated by various seniors in Ireland. Other than the vague assertions of Scottish origin, Irish schooling and Scottish activity later in life, only a single location is mentioned at the close of the account. On this basis, Forbes argued the account to have been primarily constructed for the purpose of defending Catholicism against early attacks on the intercession of saints and to emphasise the ‘exemplary discharge of the duties of a Catholic bishop’.<sup>196</sup>

While this account would appear to only show awareness of a link with Rathen, a connection with the saint on this day is also apparent in the presence of St Ethernan’s Fair, which was held in Forfar on 2 December.<sup>197</sup> As will be discussed presently, it has been suggested that there may be some link with Máel Odráin who is commemorated in a number of the Irish calendars on this date.<sup>198</sup>

*Adrian:* The third entry of potential interest in the *Aberdeen Breviary* is that of Adrian on 4 March. The account here tells of how Adrian was born in Pannonia, Hungary. He became a bishop and sailed to Scotland with a large number of companions.<sup>199</sup> Of these, Glodianus, Gayus, Monan and Stobrandus are named. After travelling through the lands of the Picts, the men settled on the Isle of May, before this was ravaged by the Danes and Adrian was killed.<sup>200</sup> It has been argued by MacQuarrie that Adrian was a ‘Latin realisation’ of the name Ethernan.<sup>201</sup> That

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<sup>196</sup> Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 333.

<sup>197</sup> Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural*, pp. 140- 141; James Balfour Paul, ‘The Incidence Of Saints’ Names In Relation To Scottish Fairs’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 52 (1917- 1918), pp. 159- 170, p. 166; MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 357.

<sup>198</sup> See 6.7.5.

<sup>199</sup> The Breviary itself states 6606, though MacQuarrie assumes that 6666 was intended. See MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 68- 69 and p. 68, n. f.

<sup>200</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 67- 70.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*, p. 320.

‘Adrian’ of the Isle of May should be identified as an ‘Ethernan’ seems confirmed by the presence of a grant by Alexander Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, who died in 1289. This was to establish a *luminarium Sancti Ethirnini* on the Isle of May.<sup>202</sup> The choice of 4 March for the commemoration of Adrian appears to have been due to the feast of Hadrian of Nicomedia falling on this day.<sup>203</sup>

The entry in the *Aberdeen Breviary* shares a number of features with the account of St Adrian within Wyntoun’s *Orygynale Cronykil*. This begins with the coming of the saint and his companions to Fife:

*Saynt Adriane wyth hys company  
Come off the land off Hyrkany,  
And arrywyd in to Fyffe,  
Quhare that thai chesyd to led thar lyff.*<sup>204</sup>

Upon obtaining permission from the king to preach, they first go to *Caplawchy-* identified as the Caiplic Caves.<sup>205</sup> Thereafter, they go to the Isle of May. Saint Adrian and many of his company are eventually killed on Holy Thursday by the company of *Hwb, Haldane* and *Hyingare* who had come from Denmark *wyth gret multitude*. The Danes then move further south:

*Than past thai furth in Inland  
Fast Crystyne men thare slayand.  
That tyme thare thai browcht to grownd  
The kyng off that land, Saynct Edmwnd  
Aucht hundryr wyntyre and sevynty*

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, p. 321; Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, p. 69.

<sup>203</sup> Rachel Butter, ‘The Cult of Saints’, in MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. xxii- xxvi, p. xxvi.

<sup>204</sup> David Laing (ed.), *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglass, 1872), p. 85 (Bk. VI, Ch. 8).

<sup>205</sup> Peter A. Yeoman, ‘Pilgrims to St Ethernan: the Archaeology of an early Saint of the Picts and Scots’, in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World* (St Andrews, Committee for Dark Age Studies, 1998), pp. 75- 91, p. 77.

*And Aucht to rekyn fullyly.*<sup>206</sup>

The most striking difference between the two texts is the differing place of origin. In Wyntoun's text Orkney would appear to be the most likely identity of *Hyrkany*, whereas the Breviary records a significantly more exotic origin: *In Partibus Ungarie prouincie Pannonie*.<sup>207</sup> What may account for such a disparity? MacQuarrie suggests that Pannonia may have been considered an appropriate birthplace for a saint due to it being the birthplace of both St Martin of Tours and Saint Margaret.<sup>208</sup> It would be surprising if a search for a continental origin was deemed necessary given the apparent tradition of an Orcadian origin. It therefore may be possible that the notion of Hungarian roots arose simply through a misunderstanding or misreading of *Hyrkany*, following which, it was deemed necessary to expand with more detail and thus a probable specific location within Hungary was inferred. The apparent existence of an association between Adrian and Orkney is also puzzling given the apparent lack of connection between Ethernan/ Adrian with the archipelago or elsewhere in the far north in any other sources. The Isle of May does appear in the Orkneyinga Saga, however, there is not any notable resemblance between the account of the plundering of the Island, said to be in the reign of David I with *Baldvini* as Abbot of the monastery, and either the *Orygynale Cronykil* or the *Aberdeen Breviary*.<sup>209</sup>

If Adrian is accepted as a manifestation of Ethernan, his cult in Fife would appear to have early origins. Simon Taylor has pointed to Kilrenny, opposite the Isle

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<sup>206</sup> Laing (ed.), *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 86 (Bk. VI, Ch. 8).

<sup>207</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 66.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, p. 320.

<sup>209</sup> Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (trans.), *Orkneyinga Saga* (Penguin, London, 1981), pp. 151-154; Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, p. 69.

of May, which was recorded as *Kylrethni* 1150 x 1152, and suggests that this name contains a reference to Ethernan. He further suggests that the name is present in Aithernie in Scoonie Parish by Leven and links this with the inscription in Scoonie discussed below.<sup>210</sup>

#### 6.7.4 Inscriptions

A number of inscriptions are worthy of consideration. Four have been suggested by Peter Yeoman to have reasonable claim to include a name similar to Ethernan.<sup>211</sup> These are as follows:

*Scoonie*: This is a class II symbol stone, featuring a hunting scene. The stone has an ogham inscription, reading **EDDARRNONN**.<sup>212</sup>

*Brodie*: This Class II symbol stone was found in Dyke, Moray in 1781. It was later moved to Brodie castle. A large amount of ogham lettering is present on the edges of both faces of the stone. However, much is unreadable or greatly questionable. The only part suggested by Forsyth to have any certainty in its interpretation reads **EDDARRNONN**.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Simon Taylor, 'Place-names and the Early Church in Eastern Scotland', in Barbara E. Crawford (Ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (Scottish Cultural Press, Aberdeen, 1996), pp. 93- 110, p 99; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1327333663> (last accessed 30/8/2016).

<sup>211</sup> Yeoman, 'Pilgrims to St Ethernan: the Archaeology of an early Saint of the Picts and Scots', p. 77.

<sup>212</sup> Katherine Forsyth, *The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland: An Edited Corpus* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Harvard, 1996), pp. 481 and 486.

<sup>213</sup> Forsyth, *The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland: An Edited Corpus*, pp. 139- 158.

*Fordoun:* This monument has been noted already in connection with Torannán.<sup>214</sup> It was discovered in the late eighteenth century in use as paving for the old church in Fordoun.<sup>215</sup> On the surviving side of this Class II symbol stone a cross is displayed. The missing top of the slab has removed the best part of a top line of Roman script, leaving a bottom line of text that was read by Allen as **PIDARNOIN**.<sup>216</sup> Okasha argues that this lettering has now deteriorated beyond interpretation.<sup>217</sup> The identification of the first letter in particular may be questioned. Allen's sketch has the stem of the 'P' coming down only as far as the bottom of all of the other letters, (in the manner of a modern capital 'P'). This appears to be supported by the accompanying photograph. However, the more modern sketch, dated to 2005 in the RCAHMS *Canmore* database and reprinted in Iain Fraser's work, has the lower curve of the 'p' in line with the bottom of the other letters, with the stem protruding below, (as with a modern lower-case 'p'). The accompanying photograph appears to substantiate this as far as the placement of the curve is concerned (though this is not closed at the bottom), however, it shows no sign of any stem protruding below the line of text. It may then be asked if the apparent closed curve of the 'P' in the early photograph is in fact a mere trick of the light. The later sketch may have been influenced by this reading and in attempting to form the letter that Allen had interpreted, perceived a stem below the line of text where none had ever been visible.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> See 6.4.2.

<sup>215</sup> Fraser (ed.), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*, p. 23.

<sup>216</sup> Discussed in Okasha, 'The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland', pp. 43- 69, p. 52. See also Fraser (Ed.), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>217</sup> Okasha, 'The Non-Ogam inscriptions of Pictland', p. 52.

<sup>218</sup> See the illustrations in Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland; Volume II* (part III), p. 202 and adjoining figs. 217A and 217 B. Compare the photograph and sketch in Fraser (ed.), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*, p. 23; and <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/948307> (last accessed 5/10/15); <http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1081380> (last accessed 7/10/15).

*Newton:* This monument is in Newton House, Aberdeenshire. However, there has been some dispute as to its original location.<sup>219</sup> The most striking feature of the monument is its non-ogham inscription. There has been much debate as to the nature of the script used here, with most recent opinion converging on the notion of an unusual form of Roman script.<sup>220</sup> A mirror symbol and ‘the remains of a spiral or concentric ovals’ have recently been identified on the stone.<sup>221</sup> The ogham inscription on the stone is argued to be unusual in being one of the few inscriptions that is intended to be read from top to bottom.<sup>222</sup> Using such an interpretation, Forsyth suggests that there is some ambiguity over the end of the inscription, but argues for the start to be read as **IDDARRNNVORENNI**.<sup>223</sup> It has been argued that both *Iddarrnnn* and *Vorenni* are given as personal names, with the former, despite differences in spelling, being linked to the name that appears on the other inscriptions that have been discussed.<sup>224</sup>

#### 6.7.5 Closing Remarks

How then, if at all, do these various references relate to each other? Can a picture of one or several individuals and their cults discerned from the Scottish evidence and to what extent may any of this be said to relate to the Itharnaisc of the Irish sources? Clancy has suggested that an Ethernan may have been active in Fife and that more northerly dedications may have been a result of a potentially much

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<sup>219</sup> Forsyth, *The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland*, p. 420.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 438.

<sup>221</sup> Fraser (ed.), *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>222</sup> Forsyth, *The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland*, pp. 426- 427.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 435- 436.

later spreading of his cult, pointing to Forsyth's suggestion that the grant to the Isle of May by the Earl of Buchan may offer a means by which the cult of Ethernan found its way to the North East.<sup>225</sup> However, he also offers the alternative possibility that the grant simply reflected pre-existing devotion to the saint.<sup>226</sup> While the existence of the more northerly inscriptions that have been discussed may be considered evidence for early devotion to an individual of similar name, the proximity of that at Fordoun to a centre for the cult of Ternan should caution against necessarily equating the north-eastern inscriptions with the saint of further south.<sup>227</sup> The picture is further confused with the stated Orcadian connections of Adrian of May, the reasons for which remain a mystery.

The case for the Ethernan of May being the same as Adrian does appear more straightforward. It has been suggested that a Latinisation of Ethernan led to the name Adrian being associated with the saint and that this consequently resulted in the adoption of the feast day of Hadrian of Nicomedia.<sup>228</sup> A perceived connection between the names may also be in some way responsible for the commemoration of Ethernan on 2 December in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. Máel Odráin, a Westmeath churchman is commemorated in the Irish calendars on this day and it has been argued that the similarity of Adrian and Odráin may have resulted in the identification of 2 December as a feast of Ethernan in Rathen.<sup>229</sup>

The question then arises as to the extent to which Ethernan/ Adrian is related to Ethernasc in Ireland. It is clear from the various Scottish calendar listings that the

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<sup>225</sup> Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 375.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> See 6.4.2.

<sup>228</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 321.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid. See **MO 2 Dec**, **MG 2 Dec** and **MD 2 Dec**. Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, p. 326.



patron of Lathrisk came to be viewed as the same individual who appears in the Irish Martyrologies on 22 December as well as in *Seven Brothers*. Taylor and Márkus dismiss Watson's suggestion that the dedication here is evidence for sixth-century Columban activity.<sup>230</sup> They suggest instead that it is possible that this was 'part of a pattern of cultic connections between eastern Scotland and Leinster' that may have little to do with the Columban Church.<sup>231</sup> However, they argue that it is more likely that the saint of Lathrisk is a form of Ethernan as appears elsewhere in Fife.<sup>232</sup> The choice of a feast of 22 December in Scotland would then have been a late identification from the Calendars rather than evidence of an original unified cult. Certainly the sparse nature of the accounts of the Scottish material does not suggest a large amount of Irish influence or that that a large amount of early Scottish tradition survived into the early modern period. The entries for 22 December in *Menologium Scoticum* and Adam King's *Kalendar* do appear to suggest that the names Ethernan

<sup>230</sup> Examples of Fife dedications to Ethernan include Kilrenny as well as St Irnie's well, which is within Kilrenny Parish. Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 2, p. 251; Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, p. 324.

<sup>231</sup> Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 2, p. 251. Taylor has pointed to the link with Kildare that is expressed in the Abernethy Foundation Account, found within a number of versions of the Pictish King List. In this, Darlugdach, Abbess of Kildare, travels from Ireland to Britain during the reign of Necton Morbet filius Erip: *secundo anno aduentus sui immolauit Nectonius Aburnethige deo et sancte Brigide presente Dairlugdach que cantauit alleluia super istam hostiam* [in the second year after her arrival Nechtan gave Abernethy as a sacrifice to God and to St Brigit in the presence of Darlugdach, who sang Halleluia over the offering]. The expanded version of the account, in the fourteenth-century *Poppleton Manuscript*, attributes Nechtán's actions to a former period of exile in Ireland: *Causa autem oblationis hec est. Nectoni[us] in uita iulie uiuens fratre suo Drusto expulsante se usque ad Hiberniam pro illo dixit: 'Si peruenies ad patriam tuam dominus miserebitur tui; regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis.'* [Now the reason for this offering is this: Nechtan, living a life of an exile, his brother Drust having expelled him to Ireland, asked St Brigit to beseech God for him. Praying for him, she said 'If you reach your native land the Lord will have mercy upon you and you will possess in peace the kingdom of the Picts'.] Taylor further argues that these connections suggest that the Leinster saint Maedoc of Ferns, Wexford is a 'Strong Candidate' for the patron of St Madoes, across the Tay from Abernethy. See Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (new ed. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2011), p. 247; Simon Taylor, 'The Abernethy Foundation Account and its Place-names' *History Scotland* 5, no. 4 (July and August 2005), pp. 14- 16; The different versions of the text are discussed in Molly Miller, 'The Disputed Historical Horizon of the Pictish King-Lists', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 58, No. 165, Part 1 (April 1979), pp. 1- 34, pp. 13- 14.

<sup>232</sup> Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 2, p. 251.

and Ethernasc were seen to be interchangeable. It may then be that the Ethernan, Ethernasc and Adrian in the *Aberdeen Breviary* all received their feast days through misidentification, leaving no trace of an original, if any existed, date of commemoration. That there had been an early cult in Fife appears clear from the toponymic evidence. The various inscriptions also suggest that the commemoration of an individual or individuals of this name occurred at an early stage. However, given that there is at least one other known churchman of similar name to whom some of the inscriptions may refer, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the carved evidence.<sup>233</sup> It may then be that in terms of how the Northern British evidence related to the Irish cult of Itharnaisc, all that can be said is that it emphasises that the name was not an unreasonable one for a man portrayed as being of Northern British origin.

## 6.8 Eóganán

In the poem, Eóganán is mentioned on two occasions:

*Eóganán áille rémend*  
[Eóganán of the beautiful coursing]

*Cend Leccaig im Eóganán*  
[Eóganán was at Cend Leccaig].<sup>234</sup>

What appears to be the same individual is commemorated in **MT 19 Dec**:

*Eoganan mac Oengusa i nArd Leccaig i mMaig Ene.*<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> See 6.4.2.

<sup>234</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112-113.

<sup>235</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 87.

He also appears in **MG 20 Dec**:

*Euganan 'mo n-iadmait*  
[Euganáan round whom we close].<sup>236</sup>

A gloss expands with the same information that is given in **MT**:

*O Árd Lecach I Maigh Ene*  
[from Ard Leccach in Mag Ene].<sup>237</sup>

**MD 20 Dec** gives a slightly more detailed location:

*eoghan[an], ó Ard Lecach, I, Maigh ene angar der Ruaidh*  
[Eoghan[an], of Ard-leccach, in Magh-Ene, near unto Eas Ruaidh].<sup>238</sup>

That the individuals named in the poem and in the calendars are the same would appear to be evident from the association of each with a *Leccaig* or *Leccach*, as well as the fact that both are designated a son of Oengus. As will be seen however, there is something of a problem here regarding the location of his church as given by these calendars.

It has been suggested that the location of Eoghanan's foundation in the poem should, following the pattern of several of the other brothers, be sought in the Irish Midlands. Ó Riain suggests Lackagh in Kildare.<sup>239</sup> It has been suggested by Clancy

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<sup>236</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 242- 243.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> *an* is inserted by a later hand. See Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 342- 343.

<sup>239</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 297.

and Ó Riain that such a Leinster location could allow a link to be made with the Íógenán who appears in **VC II, 9**.<sup>240</sup>

*Alio in tempore ymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu discriptus de cuiusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris cum pellicio in quo inerat sacco in quodam partis Laginorum fluio submersus cecidit. Qui uidelicet libellus, a natalicio domini usque ad pascalium consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum prespiterum gente Pictum cuius prius iuris erat in eodem non solum sed etiam putrefacto portatur sacco. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus aperiens suum incorruptum libellum inuenit, et ita nitidum et siccum acsi in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore et numquam in aquas cecidisset*

[At another time a book of hymns for the week, written in the hand of Saint Columba, fell from the shoulders of a boy who had slipped from a bridge, and, with the skin satchel that contained it, was submerged in a certain river of the region of the Lagen. This book remained in the water from the Lord's nativity until the days of Easter were concluded, and after that, found on the river bank by some women who were walking there, it was carried to a certain priest Íógenán, a Pict by race, to whom it formerly belonged; in the same satchel, which was not only sodden, but even rotten. When Íógenán opened the satchel, he found his book undamaged, and as clean and dry as if it had remained all that time in a coffer, and had never fallen into the water].<sup>241</sup>

There has been some disagreement over the meaning of *gente Pictum* here. Sharpe notes that the name Éoganán is not recorded until the ninth century amongst Picts - and then to a King Éoganán who had an Irish father.<sup>242</sup> He suggests that he may have been a Pict who either took an Irish name, or adapted his own name to an Irish form.<sup>243</sup> Reeves argued that in this context Picts should be equated with the Irish Cruithin.<sup>244</sup> This is rejected by Sharpe who argues that the Irish Cruithin are never

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<sup>240</sup> Clancy, 'Deer and the Early Church in North-Eastern Scotland', p. 383; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 297.

<sup>241</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 106- 107.

<sup>242</sup> Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 322, n. 232

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Discussed in Ibid.

referred to as Picti.<sup>245</sup> Overt references to Irish Cruthni may be compared at **VC I, 7: rege Cruithniorum**, and **I, 49: Cruthini**.<sup>246</sup> It therefore does appear most likely that Adomnán did intend to portray an individual of Pictish race.

While it seems entirely plausible that a Pictish priest named Iógenán in Leinster in **VC** may be the same as a churchman named Éogenán, originally from Northern Britain in an apparently Meath- and Leinster-centred poem, the apparently different location that is suggested in the calendar entries must be considered. The calendar tradition appears to be founded on the entry in **MT 19 Dec** which, as has been already discussed, locates him: *i nArd Leccaig i mMaig Ene*.<sup>247</sup> The plain in question here has been identified as Magh Eine between the rivers Erne and Drowes in the far south of Donegal.<sup>248</sup> Diarmuid Ó Murchadha has pointed to the reference to ‘the quarter of Killerlachach’ in a 1623 Chancery inquisition detailing lands granted to Henry Lord Folliott in the vicinity of Ballyshannon.<sup>249</sup> Notwithstanding the commonness of the name Lackagh, this does seem to be a plausible identification for the location given in **MT**.

There would therefore appear to be an impasse, with early sources seemingly placing ‘Eoghanan son of Oengus’ in different sides of the country. Though the poem itself is vague in the location it gives, giving only *Cend Leccaig* with no further qualification save the reference at the end of the poem to all the locations being within the territory of the Uí Néill, the apparent Meath and Leinster centre of the rest of the poem may argue for a Midlands location. The account by Adomnán,

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, pp. 30 and 88.

<sup>247</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 87.

<sup>248</sup> Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, ‘Mag Cetne and Mag Ene’, *Éigse* 27 (1993), pp. 35- 46, pp. 37 and 40.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid, pp. 38 and 40.

would appear to add a point in favour of this. Yet, if the extant entry in **MT** is the original, as early as **MT** apparently the same individual is placed in Donegal. Although the location in the Donegal tradition would appear to be more solidly identifiable, the fact that **MT** provides a patronym derived from the same tradition as the poem, coupled with the presence of a Eoganán in **VC**, may be taken as an argument for Leinster to be given precedence here. As has been the case when discussing other calendar entries, some amount of caution should be shown in necessarily assuming **MT** in its extant form to necessarily reflect its original content given the absence of any locational information in the corresponding **MG** entry.<sup>250</sup> Another point in favour of the calendar entries being derived from the tradition given in the poem may be the proximity of the feasts that are given for Eóganán and Itharnaisc.<sup>251</sup> However, this could conversely be taken to hint at the poem's use of a source that already associated these two. Certainly, if the Donegal association was derived from the poem or its source, it would seem to indicate a widespread audience for the poem or its tradition at an early stage.

Ó Riain has suggested that a tradition of the saint is also to be found in a third Irish location. He points to the presence of a Eóganán in *Acallam na Senórach*:<sup>252</sup>

*ocus téit roime sair co loch in daim dheirg an lá sin i ndáil nAraidhe co hairm a mbádar dá chruimter uaisle do mhuintir Phátraic .i. Colmán éala ocus Eoganán ocus siat ac gabáil na canóine caeime coimdeta ocus ac edarmholad in dúileman*

[That day therefore he journeyed eastward to *loch an daimh dheirg* in *Dál nÁraide*, where were two eminent presbyters of Patrick's familia: Colman of

<sup>250</sup> Ó Riain, 'The Martyrology of Óengus: The Transmission of the Text', pp. 222 and 222 n. 6; See the discussion on the calendar entries for Mochta above, 4.3.

<sup>251</sup> The commemoration of Itharnaisc in **MT 22 Dec** is discussed above, 6.7.1.

<sup>252</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 297.

Ela and Eoghanan, and they were performing all the order of the serene dominical Canon with mutual praising of the Creator].<sup>253</sup>

Ó Riain has identified the location here as being ‘approximately North Down and South Antrim’.<sup>254</sup> Given the lack of any further information about this individual in the text, it is difficult to conclude that it is necessarily intended that this is the same man as the poem and the calendars. Although the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand therefore, it may be that the Eóganán portrayed here is an unrelated individual of the same name.

Eoghanan does not have any obvious presence in the Scottish martyrologies. It is difficult to assess whether or not he may be commemorated in place names in Scotland due to the similarity of his name with forms of Adomnán. MacQuarrie has suggested that some of the names usually assumed to be associated with Adomnán in Scotland may instead originally refer to a Eóganán.<sup>255</sup> The situation regarding place-names in Ireland is even more problematic given the ubiquity of *Eoghan*. As has been seen however, even without any clear toponymic evidence, the extant material raises difficulties. It may be that the apparent locational incongruity was caused by an early misidentification of *Cend Leccaig* by **MT** or its source, potentially during a later adaptation to this text. Alternatively, the author of the poem or the genealogical tradition associated with it was aware of a Pictish Iógenán in Leinster from **VC** and consequently misidentified a Donegal individual in the calendar tradition. This latter scenario would require the acceptance that the proximity of Itharnaisc and Eóganán

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<sup>253</sup> Standish H. O’Grady (ed. and trans.), *Silva Gadelica* (Edinburgh, Williams and Norgate, 1892), vol. 1, p. 158 and vol. 2, pp. 175- 176. I have kept *Dál nÁraide* un-translated and rejected O’Grady’s potentially misleading ‘Dalaradia’.

<sup>254</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 297.

<sup>255</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 319.

in the calendars is coincidental. However, it does have its merits in attempting to explain the formulation of the poem and shall be discussed at the close of the chapter.<sup>256</sup>

## 6.9 Mo-Thrianóc

Mo-Thrianóc is the first of the individuals in the poem to be listed and the first whose destination is outlined:

*Mo-Thrianóc i rRuscachaib,  
la hUí Falge ro-faémad*  
[Mo-Thrianóc was received at Ruscach, among the Uí Falge].<sup>257</sup>

The calendars commemorate the same individual on 20 August. **MT 20 Aug** has simply: *Mothrianoc Ruscaig*.<sup>258</sup> **MG 20 Aug** gives a slightly more expansive entry: *mo Thre[n]oc caid, Concand, dias cocertus carthair* [my Tre[n]óc the chaste and Concann, a pair that with justice are loved].<sup>259</sup> A gloss on this entry adds: *mac Aonghusa, ó Ruscaigh* [son of Oengus: from Ruacach].<sup>260</sup> **MD 20 Aug** has: *Motrenócc, mac Aengusa, ab Ruscaigh* [Motrenóg, son of Aenghus, Abbot, of Rúsgach].<sup>261</sup> It should also be noted that there is a further entry for a Mothrianoc in **MT 2 Feb**: *Mothrianoc mac Aengasa*.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>256</sup> See 6.10.2.

<sup>257</sup> Ed. and trans. Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 112-113.

<sup>258</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 64.

<sup>259</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 160- 161.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 224- 225.

<sup>262</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 14.



Ó Cróinín suggests Ruscachbeg (or *Rúscach*, [Russagh]) in Offaly as a plausible location for *Ruscach*.<sup>263</sup> This would place Motrianóg's establishment among the Ui Failge as outlined in the poem.<sup>264</sup> However, Ó Riain suggests a second possible location, a *Rúscach* in Cooley, Louth.<sup>265</sup> He argues that this area is 'associated' with a potentially connected individual who appears in **VC I, 18**.<sup>266</sup>

*Vir beatus quendam de suis monacum nomine Trenanum gente mocu Runtir legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam praecipit die*  
[On a certain day the blessed man ordered one of his monks, called Trenán, of the family mocu Runtir, to go to Ireland as an emissary].<sup>267</sup>

The association between Trenanus and Louth does not appear to be entirely straightforward however and deserves further consideration. The notion that the Trenanus of **VC** may be equated with the Mothrianoc of the Poem appears to rest on four points: Firstly, Trenanus is described as *gente mocu Runtir* in **VC**. Secondly, the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* places the *Dál Runtir* to the East of Louth and appears to link their location with Mochta of Louth via Patrick:

*Is ed dochóid Pátraic íar sin do Ardd Pátraic fri Lúgmag anair, 7folámadair congábail and. Dodechoid Dál Rúntir inna diaid día astud, feib doucc cách díib di alailiu. Ros bendach Pátraic íar suidiu, 7forácaib ordnidi loech 7 cléirech díib, 7ardrach forru fría tír anechtar, fódég dodechotar asa tír i ndegaid Pátraic.*

*Ticed Pátraic anair cech día ó Ard Pátraic, 7Mochtae aníar ó Lúgmag, co comraictis immacaldaim cach día oc Licc Mochtae. Lúa n-ánd tucc int aingel epistil eturru. Arléga Pátraic in n-epistil, 7is ed ro baí hi suidiu: 'Mochta craibdech credal*

<sup>263</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 106; <http://www.logainm.ie/en/42120> (last accessed 26/4/15).

<sup>264</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 501.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and. trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 42- 43.

*bíid i n-airm i rragab:  
téit Pátraic la bréithir a Ríg  
i mMachai mín anad.'*

*Ro aithni Pátraic na dá chlam déac do Mochtai forácaib i nArdd Pátraic, 7  
nu berthi acnamad ó Mochtai doáib cech n-aidchi*

[Thereafter Patrick went unto Ard Pátraic ('Patrick's height'), to the east of Louth, and he desired a cloister there. The Dál-Runtir went after him to retain him, as each of them delivered him unto another. After this Patrick blessed them, and he left [as his blessing that there would be] of them famous laymen and clerics, and that a sovrán would be over them outside their country, because they had gone out of their country after Patrick.

Patrick used to come every day from the east from Ard Pátraic, and Mochtae from the West, from Louth, so that they came together for conversation every day at Lecc Mochtai ('Mochtae's flagstone'.) One day the angel placed a letter between them. Patrick reads out the letter, and this is what was in it:

'Mochtae pious, believing,  
Let him bide in the place wherein he has set up  
Patrick goes at his King's word  
To rest in smooth Armagh.'

Patrick delivered to Mochtae the twelve lepers whom he left at Ard Pátraic, and their ration was carried to them by Mochtae every night].<sup>268</sup>

A Louth base for the Dal Runtir is also supported in the *Book of Leinster*

*Genealogies*, which place the Dal Runtair as one of three divisions of Conaille Murthemne.<sup>269</sup>

Thirdly, a Triananus is associated with Mochta of Louth in the *Life of St Mochta*. This life is to be found in the *Codex Salmanticensis*.<sup>270</sup> It is part of a group of lives within the manuscript that has been argued to derive from a 'Northern Lectionary' dealing with saints from the north of Ireland.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>268</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, pp. 135- 136; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 226- 229.

<sup>269</sup> Eoin Mac Neill, 'Mocu, Maccu', *Ériu* 3 (1907), pp. 42- 49, p. 45, n. 4. For a discussion on the location of the Conaille Muirthemne see David E. Thornton, 'Early Medieval Louth: The Kingdom of Conaille Muirthemne', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1997), pp. 139- 150, p. 139.

<sup>270</sup> For a discussion of this manuscript see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, pp. 228- 246; and Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, pp. ix- xlix.

<sup>271</sup> T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Northern Lectionary: a source for the Codex Salmanticensis?', in Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 154- 155.

*Die sacro Pasche, cimitherium cum fratribus mane orando perlustrans, parvulum quendam, ibi ludentem vituperavit. Qui ait: 'Pocius,' inquit, 'quod Trianano promisisti implere deberes, Pascha videlicet apud ipsum celebrare.' Tunc homo Dei, ab angelis elevatus, trans longa terrarum spacia ad Trianatum ducitur, peractoque missarum officio redditur suis, qui interea a quo elevatus est loco parum discesserunt. Postmodum missarum celebravit solempnia. Sic et sic ardens ac lucens, omne suum tempus in contemplative vite ocio et active exercitiis transegit*

[...while with his monks, Mocteus spent the Easter morning walking round their cemetery in prayer, he saw a child playing there, and he was reproved. Then the child replied: 'you should rather have fulfilled a promise made to St. Treanan, that you would celebrate the Easter with him.' Whereupon, the man of God was elevated in the air by Angels, and brought over a long way to St. Treanan. Having celebrated Mass, he again was returned to his monks. Afterwards, he celebrated Mass for them. Thus, as a burning and shining light, his whole time was spent in heavenly contemplation and in the active exercises of religion].<sup>272</sup>

Fourthly, the Mothrianoc of the Calendars and Mochta have adjoining feast days. Mochta is commemorated on 19 August in **MT, MO, MG, Cal. Drum., and MD.**<sup>273</sup>

It may be seen that, while taken together these four points offer much scope for speculation, their use to draw any conclusions over the location of the Mothrianoc of the poem is far from straightforward. The most pressing question arising from these various points is whether or not the Trenanus *gente mocu Runtir* of **VC** should be considered identical with the Trenanus of the Life of Mochta (and presumably the Mothrianoc of the Calendars and *Seven Brothers*), as the case for a

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<sup>272</sup> Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 399; O'Hanlon (trans.), *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 8, p. 283.

<sup>273</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 64; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 177; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 160- 161; Todd and Reeves (eds.), Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense*, p. 27; O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 222- 225.

Louth location for Rúscah is entirely dependent on Mothrianoc being of the Dal Runtir.

It must be acknowledged that in VC itself, despite the presence of both Mochta and Trenanus *gente mocu Runtir* in the work, there seems to be no reason to assume that they were in any way seen as associated by Adomnán.<sup>274</sup> Indeed, they are not contemporaries. Mochta prophesies Columba's birth and Trenanus is a disciple of Columba. With regard to the Trenanus in the *Life of St Mochta*, it must also be remembered that it is specifically stated that Mochta and Trenanus were far away from each other, requiring miraculous angelic transportation to bring them together. Thus no locational information for this Trenanus can be drawn from this text.

It must be concluded that the fact that Mochta was seen to have an association with the Dal Runtir and that, separately, Mochta was in some way associated with a Trenanus/ Mo-Thrianóc are insufficient grounds to assume that this Trenanus was the same individual as the Trenanus of the Mocu Runtir in VC. However, the possibility cannot be dismissed that despite the fact that the latter is overtly not a contemporary of Mochta in this text, the traditions of the two were in some way associated. It may be summarised that a Louth location for the Mo-Thrianóc on *Seven Brothers* remains a possibility, though entirely dependent on a speculative link with *Trenanum gente mocu Runtir*. It further requires the acceptance that the author of the *Seven Brothers* or its source misidentified the location of Ruscach, placing it among the Ui Failge in error.

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<sup>274</sup> VC 2<sup>nd</sup> Preface and I, 18.

It is perhaps possible to add a point in favour of accepting a genuine tradition of Motrianóg among the Ui Failge as opposed to this being a misguided inference on the part of the poet or their source. The genealogies list: *Trenan Drui i nImgan*.<sup>275</sup> Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin has suggested that although a location cannot be identified in certainty, this may refer to *Ráith Imgain* or Rathangan.<sup>276</sup> This lies in the barony of East Offaly, Kildare.<sup>277</sup> Ó Riain regards this Tréanán and Motrianóg as separate individuals.<sup>278</sup> However, the proximity of Rathangan in East Offaly, Kildare, to Lackagh, West Offaly, Kildare (which, as has been discussed, appears to be associated with Eoghanan) is striking. When Itharnaisc's Clane is also considered, it becomes apparent that if the Mothrianoc of the poem were to be identified with 'Tréanán Draoi', then the three 'odd saints out' in the poem would all be connected with a relatively small area of East and Central Kildare.<sup>279</sup> This could hint at a local source for this information or a possible location of the poet themselves.

The presence of two different listings for a Mothrianoc in **MT** causes further complications. O'Hanlon posited a 'double festival' as the most likely explanation.<sup>280</sup> While this may appear the most straightforward explanation, given that both entries in **MT** correlate with material found in the poem as well as later calendars, the fact that both of the entries **MT** contain entirely different information (**MT 2 Feb** stating him to be the Son of Oengus and **MT 20 Aug** equating him with Ruscach) would perhaps caution against necessarily assuming this to be the case. Alternatively, it is

<sup>275</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 31.

<sup>276</sup> Ailbhe Séamus Mac Shamhráin, *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland: the Case of Glendalough* (Maynooth, An Sagart, 1996), p. 182.

<sup>277</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 577.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> A map detailing the boundaries of the historic baronies of Kildare may be found at <http://www.botanicgardens.ie/herb/census/philips/kildare3.jpg> (last accessed 21/11/15).

<sup>280</sup> O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 2, p. 262.

possible that the author of *Seven Brothers* or its source as well as subsequent calendars combined the information in the two entries. The problem of the two feast days in **MT** may then have greater ramifications for attempts to understand the background of the poem as a whole and any tradition from which it derives. However, as with the question of location, the evidence provides much scope for speculation with little on which to base any firm assertions.

## 6.10 Conclusions

### 6.10.1 The Four

What then can be said of the traditions portrayed in the poem and the reasons for its composition? Turning first to the ‘group of four’ who are united by a feast day as well as travelling together, the most pressing question is to ask what it is that specifically links these four closely. As has been seen, outwith the tradition of the poem there is too little in extant material to be able to say with any certainty that there was any tradition of association between them with the potential link between Torannán and Mochuille. It has been seen that the 12 June commemoration for Torannán in **MT** and **MO** is suspiciously close to the commemoration of *Mothorae Domnaig Cliabra* on 9 June in **MT**, the feast day of Colmcille. If Mochuille were to be accepted as a manifestation of Colmcille then it is at least a possibility that Colmcille (as ‘Mochuille’) and ‘Mothoria’ were celebrated as a pair on 9 June in Drumcliff. This would perhaps allow for the possibility that such a double commemoration spread elsewhere and in so doing, slipped forward three days as well as detached Mochuille from his original. However, the absence of a Mochuille from

the early martyrologies on 12 June may count as an argument against this scenario.<sup>281</sup>

Another argument against this pairing being the basis on which rested the tradition of the shared feast day in *Seven Brothers* is the locations with which the two appear to be associated in the poem. Any point on either the rivers Brosna or Silver, suggested for the location of Torannán's *Tulcha Tinni*, would lie many miles from Forth, Carlow argued for Mochuille. Indeed, if the various identifications of the places stated to have been associated with the four brothers in the poem are plotted on a map (see **Appendix III**), it is notable how widely spread these seem to be:

Ardbraccan in Meath; the Brosna or Silver Rivers mainly in Offaly and Westmeath; Forth, Carlow; and the river Inny, flowing mainly through the far north of Westmeath and south of Longford.

The location of Agatan may be particularly significant here. Ó Cróinín has argued that the Inny marked the 'traditional boundary line between the territories of the Uí Néill and those of the Leinstermen'.<sup>282</sup> Given the statement in the poem that all the establishments mentioned are among the Uí Néill, it may be suggested that the intention with these four brothers is to demarcate the widest possible expanse of territory. The use of a traditional boundary of Leinster territory may then have been used to reinforce the point being made.

#### 6.10.2 The Three

The locations given in the poem for the three remaining men do not seem as widespread. If the various suggested midland identifications of these places are

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<sup>281</sup> See 6.2.1 and 6.5.

<sup>282</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 107.

accepted, then all three are likely to lie within the area demarcated by the ‘group of four’. The only exception may be Mo-Thrianóc’s Ruscach if Torannán’s *Tulcha Tinni* lay on an early Westmeath point on the course of the Brosna. This is a possibility left open by O’Donovan’s broad suggestion of a location anywhere on the Brosna or Silver rivers, but silently rejected by Hogan and Ó Cróinín who posit only an Offaly location.<sup>283</sup> However, if Mothrianoc is to be associated with *Trenan Drui i nImgan* of the genealogies, and consequently arguably Rathangan, then the proximity of locations associated with ‘the three’ becomes striking.<sup>284</sup> As has been seen however, the apparently neat geographical fit of these three comes with puzzling difficulties. Two of the three (Éoganán and Mo-Thrianóc) have strong claims to be associated with other locations: Éoganán with southern Donegal and Mo-Thrianóc with Louth.<sup>285</sup> It may be significant that these are the only two of the ‘Seven sons of Oengus’ in the poem, who are described as a ‘Son of Aengus’ in **MT**.<sup>286</sup> It is also interesting to note that these are also the two with namesakes who appear as travellers from Britain in **VC**. All this considered, the following scenario may perhaps be one possible explanation of how these three came to be associated as ‘brothers’ amongst the seven.

Of ‘the three’, Itharnaisc appears to have the most solid connection with his location- Clane, Kildare.<sup>287</sup> Arguably, this may suggest one plausible location of the author of the poem or its source. It may have been locally held that this man was of

<sup>283</sup> See O’ Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* vol. 3, p. 183, n. g.; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae Et Scotiae*, p. 634; Ó Cróinín, ‘The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?’, p. 106 and 106, n. 38. Also see above, 6.4.1.

<sup>284</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 31. Also see above, 6.9.

<sup>285</sup> See 6.8 and 6.9.

<sup>286</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, pp. 14 and 87.

<sup>287</sup> See 6.7.1.



Pictish origin. The author may have noticed that there was a Eoghanan in **MT** with a feast day close to that of Itharnaisc. They could have plausibly identified this Eoghanan as the Pictish man in **VC**, in doing so misidentifying *Ard Leccaig* in Donegal in the Martyrology, as being a local West Offaly *Cend Leccaig*.

The author may also have been aware of a local dedication to *Trenan Drui i nImgan*. Again in **VC**, they found a Trenanus who travelled from Northern Britain to Ireland. They also found two separate entries in **MT**: one giving the location *Ruscach*, intended by **MT** to be Louth but misinterpreted as a nearer location among the Ui Failge by the author, (possibly in response to an existing dispute there between Columbans and Patricians as evidenced in the account of the son of Dichuill in the *Tripartite Life*) the other stating that a Mothrianoc was the son of an Oengus.<sup>288</sup> This led the author to infer that Mothrianoc and Eoghanan were siblings, potentially providing inspiration for Oengus's paternity for all of the men in the poem. Once the idea for the poem had become established, 'the four' were brought in to mark out the widest possible extent of territory.

### 6.10.3 Reasons for Composition

Whether or not this speculative scenario has any merit, it is clear that some form of Uí Néill control over certain religious houses is central to the poem's *raison d'être* and that there may be some geographical significance to the territory covered. However, the question remains as to why churchmen perceived as hailing from Northern Britain were chosen as the subject. It may be simply that since a single 'dynasty' was seen as desirable to the author in uniting the establishments outlined,

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<sup>288</sup> See 6.5.

then the choosing of men with apparently Northern British ties aided the creation of a plausible unified genealogy. It is also possible that some now unknown pre-existing tradition did link a number of these establishments, particularly in the case of ‘the four’. One potential reason for the choice to focus on men of Northern British origin may lie in the wider hagiographical narrative of the Irish church. It has been seen that British identity had become accepted as part of the character of the earliest Irish Church, with many men and women brought together as family members and travelling companions of Patrick.<sup>289</sup> If this had led to the larger island being seen as something of a hagiographical Eden, it is possible that an account depicting a second, independent exodus could be used in order to assert an independent, specifically non-patrician, identity for the churches depicted.<sup>290</sup>

#### 6.10.4 The Broader Picture

Whatever the reasons and motivations that lay behind the composition of the poem and notwithstanding the questionability of any true association between its subjects, its interest in the broader discussion of interaction between Northern Britain and Ireland is indisputable. Even allowing for the various misidentifications, duplications and convergences that may have occurred in the interaction between the poem and other sources, a picture of a dynamic association of Irish and Northern British, and in particular Pictish, churches and churchmen emerges. Though such relationships appear to have been of significance for the entire Pictish Zone, more specific links such as those between the far northern Pictish territories and Ireland

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<sup>289</sup> See 4.5.

<sup>290</sup> This will be discussed further below, 8.2.

become discernible. Such 'channels of migration' are of crucial importance to the shaping of the character of insular ecclesiastical migration and will be examined in the next chapter. It may be summarised that if were indeed the case that any association between the men portrayed was in actuality the result of systematic manipulation on the part of the author, the very fact that such a scheme uniting Northern British churchmen in Ireland was plausible for the desired geographical area would be testament to the strength of the connections across the sea.

## 7 The Dynamics of Migration

Throughout the course of the study, the individuals whose movements can be to any extent discerned have suggested a fluid and dynamic range of interactions within the Church connecting often far-flung regions of the British Isles. Though the various movements form a tangled web of migration and communication, a number of patterns of geographical contact emerge that may be worth considering as particularly tangible and significant links. The intention here is to discuss three such links that could be considered ‘channels’ of migration. To begin, consideration will be given to the Columban Church and its role in ecclesiastical migration between the Pictish zone and Ireland. Attention will then turn to the interaction between Ireland and the far-northern Pictish territories. Focus will then shift further south to the ecclesiastical links between the northern Britons and Ireland. Much of the evidence relating to these interactions coalesces into two distinct groups relating to the premier figureheads of the Irish Church and their associated foundations. Nonetheless, some glimpses are discernible of a situation significantly more complex than that which the sometimes binary view of competing hagiographers would allow for.

### 7.1 The Picts and the Columbans

A repeated theme arising from much of the evidence that has been considered is the links between the Picts and the Irish speaking Columbans. From its very outset, the relationship between the Picts and the Columban Church is obscured by seemingly contradictory evidence. In **HE III, 4**, Bede states that Iona was gifted to Columba by the Picts under Bridei Mac Meilochon after their conversion:

*Venit autem Britanniam Columba regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon rege potentissimo, nono anno regni eius, gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit; unde et praefatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit*

[Columba came to Britain when *Bridio filio Meilochon*, a most powerful king, had been ruling over the Picts for over eight years. Columba turned them to the faith of Christ by his words and example and so received the island of Iona from them in order to establish a monastery there].<sup>1</sup>

The notion that Iona was granted by a Pictish king is explicitly contradicted in **AU 574.2** where it is asserted that it was the Dalriadan king who bestowed the land:

*Mors Conaill m. Comghaill anno regni .xvi. sui qui obtulit insulam Iae Columbe*

*Cille* [Death in the sixteenth year of his reign of Conall son of Comgall who granted the island of Ia to Colum Cille].<sup>2</sup> The same information is also provided by **AT3 Kl.**

**82.1.**<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Evans argues that Adomnán, despite his argued Pictish source material, may also have attempted to ensure that his own work was devoid of references to Columba as principal missionary of the Pictish kingdom and any suggestion that the Pictish king may have had the powers of overlordship necessary

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<sup>1</sup> Colgrave and Mynors (ed. and trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 222-223. Bridie's patronym seems likely to point to the Welsh *Mael*, meaning 'prince, chief, leader'. For discussion and translation of this and associated name forms see Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994), pp. 43-60, p. 44; and Melville Richards, 'Mailoc', *Habis* 3 (1972), p. 159; Some discussion on this name and the potential relationship (in an arguably gaelicised form) between its second element and the Welsh *Cwn* [Dogs] occurs in Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1995), p. 50; and Lionel Joseph 'Old Irish Cú: A Naïve Reinterpretation', in A. T. E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (eds.), *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp* (Van Nuys, Ford and Bailie, 1990), pp. 110-130, pp. 113 and 126, n. 7. Further discussion, considering the name in the context of the Pictish language occurs in Guto Rhys, *Approaching the Pictish Language: Historiography, Early Evidence and the Question of Pritenic* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015), pp. 218-222. The Andersons suggest Mailcun, King of Guenedota to be one possible identification for the father of Bridie. See Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (1961), p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 21.

to bestow Iona upon the churchman.<sup>4</sup> He suggests that, in addition to risking potential recognition of Pictish overlordship of Dalriada, any claim that Iona was granted to the Church by a Pictish king could have ramifications for the succession of the Abbacy itself. He points to an eleventh- or twelfth-century commentary on the legal tract *Córus Bésgnai*, which asserts that after the kin of the founder of a monastery, the kin of the original landowner was the next in line to the succession of the abbacy.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, Evans further argues that Iona's ninth abbot may have stopped short of the explicit statement that the monastery was granted by Conall mac Comgaill to prevent any similar claims on the succession as well as to avoid offence to the Picts.<sup>6</sup>

Whatever the original reality of the situation, if it is the case that Bede made use of a Pictish source for his account, it is clear that the Pictish kingdom itself viewed the Columban Church as being of fundamental importance to its very place in Christendom.<sup>7</sup> A potential reflection of this perceived importance, from a Gaelic perspective, occurs in the *Amra Coluimb Chille*:

*ar ní-n forcetlaid for-canad túatha Toí*  
[for we do not have the teacher who would teach the tribes of the Tay].<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Adomnán's use of a Pictish source is argued in Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumméne Ailbe, and the Picts'; discussed in Evans, 'The Calculation of Columba's Arrival in Britain in Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Pictish King Lists', pp. 189- 190.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. The commentary to the text and its account of ecclesiastical succession rights is discussed in Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland A. D. 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, Laigin Publications, 1999), pp. 224- 228; and T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Érlam: The Patron-Saint of an Irish Church', in Thacker and Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 267- 290, pp.273- 277. The tract itself is discussed in Fergus Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988), p. 267; and Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005), pp. 290- 291.

<sup>6</sup> Evans, 'The Calculation of Columba's Arrival in Britain in Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Pictish King Lists', pp. 189, n. 24 and p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 188- 189.

<sup>8</sup> Clancy and Márkus (eds. and trans.), *Iona*, pp. 104- 105. See also Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Bodleian Amra Choluib Chille', *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899), pp. 31-55, 132- 183, 248- 289, 400- 437, pp. 164- 165.

It has been suggested by Jacopo Bisagni that the tendency among scholars to date the poem to the late sixth or seventh century may be questioned and that the linguistic evidence of the text points more convincingly to a ninth-century composition. However, he proposes that ‘the mindset’ and themes of the work may argue for this being built upon a late sixth- or early seventh-century core text. Given his contention that newer content of the work primarily infiltrates ‘large sections of the second half’ particularly focused on Columba’s Uí Néill connections, the placement of the phrase in question near the beginning of the work may argue for its inclusion in this suggested early phase.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the movements of the secular Pictish elite seem to attest the significance they afforded the Columban Church. The presence of *Bruide mac Derilei ri Cruithintuathi* on the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 91 has been argued to be illustrative of the strength of the influence of the Columban Church over the Pictish ruling dynasty.<sup>10</sup> However, interaction with the Columban Church in Ireland was not limited to those in the Pictish ascendancy at any given time. Ireland appears to have served as a place of exile for Tarain, a former King of the Picts. He was expelled from the kingship in **AU 697.1**, after which he was replaced by Bridei mac Der-Ilei: *Tarachin de reghno expulsus est* [Tarachin was expelled from the kingship].<sup>11</sup> The deposed king’s subsequent action as recorded in **AU 699.3** is of

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<sup>9</sup> Bisagni, ‘The Language and Date of Amrae Coluimb Chille’, pp. 8- 10.

<sup>10</sup> Ni Dhonnchadha, ‘The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin’, p. 214; Veitch, ‘The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664- 717, a reassessment’, pp. 634- 636.

<sup>11</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, pp. 156- 157; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 247; Thomas Owen Clancy, ‘Philosopher-king: Nechtan mac Der-Ilei’, *Scottish Historical Review* 83 (2004), pp. 125- 149, p. 135.

interest here: *Tarain ad Hiberniam pergit* [Tarachin proceeds to Ireland].<sup>12</sup> Thomas Clancy and James Fraser have pointed to similarities in the life of this Tarain and the account of a Tarain in **VC II, 23**.<sup>13</sup> In this episode, Columba entrusts: *de nobili Pictorum genere exsulem Tarainum* [an exile, Tarain by name, of a noble family of the Picts] to the care of Feradach in Islay.<sup>14</sup> Feradach causes Tarain to be killed and following this, Columba prophesies that Feradach will himself soon die and be: *ad infernaliam rapietur loca* [carried off to the infernal regions].<sup>15</sup> Fraser argues that the contemporary Tarain may have been helped by Adomnán during his exile and although Adomnán may have accepted that Tarain's deposition was valid, the abbot's account may have served as a warning against any attempt to harm the exiled king. Clancy has suggested that such a warning would have been reinforced by the anecdote's placement amongst various accounts dealing with the oppression of innocents.<sup>16</sup>

The themes of royal exile and association with the Columban Church emerge again in one of the most dramatic episodes in the chronicles. In **AU 733.1** it is recorded that: *Dungal m. Selbaich dehonoraui Torach cum traxit Brudeum ex ea 7 eadem uice Insola Cuilenrigi inuassit* [Dúngal son of Selbach profaned Torach when he forcibly removed Bruide from it, and on the same occasion he invaded Inis Cuirenrigi].<sup>17</sup> The episode is also recorded in **AT3 KI. 233.1**: *Dungal mac Selbaig doríndi toisc a Toraigh 7 toisc {aile a nInis Cuirenn raighe} corairg* [Dungal, son of Selbach made an expedition into Torach, and another expedition into Inis

<sup>12</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, pp. 158- 159.

<sup>13</sup> Clancy, 'Personal, Political, Pastoral', pp. 50- 51; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 5- 6.

<sup>14</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 126- 127.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 5- 6; Clancy, 'Personal, Political, Pastoral', pp. 50- 51.

<sup>17</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, pp. 186- 187.



Cuirennrige, and he destroyed...].<sup>18</sup> Dungal son of Selbach had been a King of the Dal Riata. He was thrown out of the kingship in 726.<sup>19</sup> **AT3 Kl. 226.4** (AT 726) has: *Dungal de reghno iectus est 7Druist de reghno Pictorum iectus 7Elphin pro eo regant* [Dungal was expelled from the kingship; and Drust was expelled from the kingship of the Picts, and Elphín reigns instead of him].<sup>20</sup> Marjory Anderson has suggested that there may be a connection between Dungal's profaning of Tory and the account of Flaithbertach and the fleet of Dalriada given in **AT** for the same year.<sup>21</sup> In **AT3 Kl. 233.4** (AT 733) it is stated that:

*Flaithbertach classem Dal Riada in Iberniam duxit 7caedes magna facta est de eis in insola hOníe uibí hí trucidantur uiri. Concoabar mac Locheni 7 Branchu mac Brain 7multí in flumine demersí sunt quod dicitur in Banna* [Flaithbertach brought the fleet of Dál Riata to Ireland, and many of them were slaughtered on the island of Oíne, where the following were killed: Conchobar son of Lóchéne and Branchú son of Bran, and many were drowned in the river which is called the Bann].<sup>22</sup>

James Fraser has highlighted the account in the *Fragmentary Annals*,<sup>23</sup> §221, appearing to suggest that the fleet was from Fortriu:<sup>24</sup>

*Cath do briseadh do Aodh Allain mc. Feargail for Flaithbeartach mc. Loingsigh, rí Eireann, go ttug Flait[h]beartach loingius a Fortreanoibh chuige a n-aigidh Ceneil Eogain. Acht cheana ra baidheadh earmhor an*

<sup>18</sup> Brackets are used by the editor to denote sections of the text filling empty space in the line above: Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, The Third Fragment*, pp. 1 and 74. Stokes (trans.), *The Annals of Tigernach*, vol. 1, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, p. 184.

<sup>20</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 72; Charles-Edwards (trans.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 199.

<sup>21</sup> Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, p. 184, n. 246.

<sup>22</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, The Third Fragment*, p. 74; Charles-Edwards (trans.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 206.

<sup>23</sup> These survive only in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5301-5320, copied from a now lost manuscript written by Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh in 1643. See Joan Newlon Radner (ed. and trans.), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1978), p. vii.

<sup>24</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, p. 295.

*chobhlaigh sin. Mors Flaithbeartaigh féin 'sin bliadain sin, 7 sgartain righ[e] nEreann re Cenel Conaill go fada iar ttain*  
[Áed Alláin son of Fergal defeated Flaithbertach son of Loingsech, king of Ireland in battle, so Flaithbertach brought a fleet with him from Fortriu against Cenél Eógain. However, most of that fleet was drowned. Flaithbertach himself died in that year, and the kingship of Ireland was taken from Cenél Conaill for a long time thereafter].<sup>25</sup>

There has been much speculation over the precise political circumstances surrounding this event and the apparently related removal of Bridei, identified as Bridei son of Onuist son of Vurguist, from Tory.<sup>26</sup> The key point of interest for the present discussion is the presence of a Pictish royal in an Irish Columban monastery, implying the continuation of links between Pictish secular powers and the Columban Church beyond the *expulsio* of the *familia Iae* from Pictish territory in 717. Fraser has suggested that the terminology used for the events of 717 implies a severing of ties to Iona specifically as opposed to the wider Columban community.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Julianna Grigg has argued that the *expulsio* may have been a localised event, where an Iona delegation had journeyed to Athol in an attempt to secure the release of Tolarg (a future king of Athol who had been taken as a hostage by Nechtan Mac Der-Ilei in 713), but was rebuffed by the Pictish king.<sup>28</sup> Whatever the reasons for the expulsion, the fact that a Pictish prince would choose to seek sanctuary in Tory demonstrates that it did not result in the complete severing of ties between the Columban church and Pictish royalty.

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<sup>25</sup> Radner (ed. and trans.), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, pp. 86- 87.

<sup>26</sup> For example, Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, pp. 184- 185; and Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 288 and 295- 296.

<sup>27</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 279- 280 and 295.

<sup>28</sup> Julianna Grigg, *The Philosopher King and the Pictish Nation* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2015), pp. 173- 176.

One candidate for a potentially non-Iona Columban of some influence is a figure named *Curetán Epscop* in the *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin*, 22. He is also mentioned in the *Preface to the Cáin Adomnáin*, ch.22. Ní Dhonnchadha supports the assertion of Reeves and Hogan that the location of *Ruis Mind Bairend*, of which he is bishop and abbot in **MT 16 Mar**, is Rosemarkie.<sup>29</sup> Ní Dhonnchadha also supports the suggestion that he is the same as *Albanus Kiritinus Bonifacius* in a Bollandist extract of a *life* based on a lost Utrecht Manuscript and *Bonifacius* in **AB 16 Mar**.<sup>30</sup> The Utrecht text states that the saint was an Israelite, descended from Rhadia, a sister of Peter and Andrew. Boniface founded a church at the river *Gobriat*, [Gowrie] after baptising a King Nechtán. He preached for sixty years to the Picts and Scots and died at Rosmarkie, a church he had founded, at the age of eighty. He was buried in the church of Saint Peter.<sup>31</sup>

In the account in **AB 16 Mar** *Bonifacius* is also an Israelite descended from Rhadia. In its lengthier account of his activities prior to coming to Pictland, it is stated that he became pope at the age of fifty. After seven years he wished to travel to far-northern lands and so after seven years, three months and seven days, left the See of Peter and travelled to the lands of the Picts. He was accompanied by the bishops Bonifandus, Benedictus, Servandus, Pensandus, Benevolus, Madius and Precipuus, along with abbesses Crescentia and Triduana and a large entourage of

<sup>29</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 24; Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', p. 191; William Reeves, 'On the Céili-dé. Commonly Called Culdees', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 24, Antiquities (1873), pp. 119- 263, p. 163; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae Et Scotiae*, pp. 584 and 587.

<sup>30</sup> The Bollandist text can be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 8, March II (Paris and Rome, Victorem Palmé, repr. 1865), pp. 444- 445; discussed, edited and translated in MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 331- 332; Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin', p. 191.

<sup>31</sup> Discussed, ed. and trans. in MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 331- 332; also discussed and summarised in Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 281. See also Aidan MacDonald, *Curadán, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie* (Rosemarkie, Groam House Museum Trust, 1992), pp. 10- 14.

further unnamed followers.<sup>32</sup> Upon arrival, he baptised *Nectaium Pictorum regem* who in return granted his place of baptism to Boniface. After many years engaged in church building, conversions, scribing and the working of miracles, Boniface died at the age of 84.<sup>33</sup> MacQuarrie argues that the account is more chronologically consistent than is the case with many of the accounts in the Breviary, with the naming of Emperor Maurice of 582-602 and Gregory the Great (d. 604) in the narrative allowing for Boniface to be identified as Boniface IV (608-615) and King Nechtán to be identified as intended to be *Nechtán nepos Uerb*, who reigned c. 597-620.<sup>34</sup> Despite its internal consistency, MacQuarrie argues that if an equation is to be made between the Boniface of the *Aberdeen Breviary* and *Curetán Epscop* of the *Cáin* then Nechtán mac Der-Ilei, who reigned c.705- 724 would provide a more plausible historical King Nechtán with whom he could have been associated.<sup>35</sup> Veitch argues that he may have been a part of a ‘pro-Roman faction’ of the Columban Church with strong links to the Pictish royal household deriving from Adomnán’s activities, particularly the *Cáin*.<sup>36</sup>

There has been some disagreement over the extent to which the Pictish Church interacted with Iona and the wider Columban familia following the *expulsio* of 717. Julianna Grigg argues that the event was reflective of the consolidation of a strong Pictish Church whose links with Northumbria were growing increasingly

<sup>32</sup> Aidan MacDonald has noted that a number of the names appear to be listed in pairs and suggests that it is possible they may reflect neighbouring chapels, alters or shrines in Fortrose Cathedral or elsewhere. See MacDonald, *Curadán, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> MacQuarrie (ed and trans), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 84- 87.

<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that Forbes suggested that Boniface should be identified as Boniface III. See Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 281; MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 330; Farmer (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, p. 189. This Nechtán is distinct from the earlier *Necton Morbet filius Erip*, claimed in the Pictish King Lists to be the secular patron of Abernethy and discussed above, 6.7.5.

<sup>35</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. 331.

<sup>36</sup> Veitch, ‘The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664- 717, a reassessment’, p. 637.

significant.<sup>37</sup> She suggests that the advent of stone church building in Pictland, Class II symbol stones as well as dedications to St Peter, particularly in the Far North, are all manifestations of such links, providing tangible evidence that the promise that Northumbrian masons were to be sent to the Pictish King, as outlined in Bede's copy of Ceolfrith's letter to Nechtán, was carried out.<sup>38</sup> In contrast, Veitch maintains that continuity of Columban influence is detectable through the continued activities of individuals such as Curetán and argues that similarities with the spread of the cult of Fergus may also link the latter and his apparent activities in the Far North to this.<sup>39</sup> If Pictish ecclesiastical activity (notwithstanding whether Columban or otherwise) was increased in Orkney and Caithness in Nechtán's reign, the statements of both political and religious affiliation evident in **VC II, 42** attest that any developments came in the wake of claims already asserted during his brother's reign (and potentially significantly earlier) that Orkney was both territorially Pictish and ecclesiastically Columban.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the extant material relating to Fergus, Drostan and the bishop in the *Life of St Fintan* would seem to imply strongly that ecclesiastical links between Ireland and Orkney and Caithness remained significant beyond the first decades of the eighth century.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the figure of Troscán or Drostan, others portrayed in *Seven Brothers* may also hint at the continued links of a 'reformed' Pictish Church with Ireland. It has already been argued that the range of extant cults of Torannán and his

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<sup>37</sup> Juliana Grigg, 'Expulsion of the Familia Iae over the spine of Britain by King Nechtan', in O'Neill (ed.), *Exile and Homecoming*, pp. 31- 42, p. 42.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp. 39- 40.

<sup>39</sup> See 6.2.4 and 7.2; Veitch, 'The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664- 717, a reassessment', p. 638.

<sup>40</sup> See 7.2.

<sup>41</sup> See 6.2.4, 6.3 and 7.2.

association with Palladius may have stemmed from the historical activities of a potentially Pictish churchman in Ireland.<sup>42</sup> More tentatively, the case of Itharnaise may hint at Hiberno-Pictish ecclesiastical links.<sup>43</sup> However, Taylor and Márkus caution that any Pictish link with Ireland should not necessarily be assumed to be Columban, in particular highlighting the case of the Abernethy foundation account.<sup>44</sup> A concrete manifestation of non-Columban Irish ecclesiastical interaction with the Picts is suggested by Nicholas Evans, who argues that phrasing used in a note on Patrick in the *Series Longior* version of the Pictish King list and common to other Patrician texts from the eighth century onwards, including the *Additamenta*, points to ‘the Pictish use of a text derived from an eighth-century Patrician source’.<sup>45</sup> It is difficult to label any of the subjects of the poem ‘Columban’ with any certainty, particularly as the text of VC may have played in the shaping of the tradition of *Seven Brothers*.<sup>46</sup> Testament to the potential for confusion is the case of Mo-Chullian, who as a possible manifestation of Columba, portrayed as a migrant from Northern Britain to Ireland, may have become a mirror image of his historical self.<sup>47</sup>

Whatever the truth behind the genesis of the Pictish Church, evidence that the Picts viewed the Columbans as an intrinsic part of their early ecclesiastical history seems traceable to the various source materials used by Adomnán and Bede. An early Gaelic perspective is potentially portrayed in the *Amra Coluimb Chille. Seven Brothers* attests the longevity of the notion that the influence of migration from

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<sup>42</sup> See 6.4.4 and 6.4.5.

<sup>43</sup> See 6.7.5.

<sup>44</sup> Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 2, p. 251. This is discussed above, 6.7.5.

<sup>45</sup> Evans, ‘The Calculation of Columba’s Arrival in Britain in Bede’s Ecclesiastical History and the Pictish King Lists’, pp. 200- 201.

<sup>46</sup> See 6.10.2.

<sup>47</sup> See 6.5.

Northern Britain within the Columban Church was a significant phenomenon, even if the acknowledgement of its often Pictish character came to be overlooked. As has been discussed, the popularity of *Vita Sancti Columbae* may have played a not insubstantial role in the shaping of this text.<sup>48</sup>

The relationship of Adomnán and Bridei mac Der-Ilei seems to attest the extent of the influence of the Columban Church on the Picts. The *Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnán* may be a testament to the church's influence on the King's very movements. The links between the Columban Church and the secular elite appear to have been sufficiently entrenched so as not to be limited to those in ascendancy at any given time, with indications that exile to Columban establishments was seen as a primary option for those fleeing the kingdom, even in cases such as with Tarain, when Iona may have favoured competitors for the kingship.<sup>49</sup> Whatever the nature of dynamics between the Pictish Kingdom and Columban Church as a whole after Nechtán mac Der-Ilei's *expulsio*, the Columban escape route remained a viable, albeit not necessarily secure, option for a displaced royal.<sup>50</sup>

## 7.2 The Far-Northern Pictish Zone

One area that emerges from the study with evidence of significant lines of interaction and communication with Ireland, particularly within the Church, is the far-northern Pictish zone.<sup>51</sup> Though the annals are not replete with information on

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<sup>48</sup> See 6.10.2.

<sup>49</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 5- 6.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of the wider political and genealogical context of the reigns of Bridei and Nechtan see Clancy, 'Philosopher-king: Nechtan mac Der-Ilei'.

<sup>51</sup> The evidence considered here relates to Orkney and Caithness. However, despite a lack of written evidence, the symbol stones of Shetland are testament to the archipelago's place within the far-northern Pictish cultural sphere. Irish-language ogham inscriptions suggest that Shetland's experience of contact and interaction with Ireland may have been similar to that of Orkney and Caithness. See Ian

the political and ecclesiastical events of the area, Orkney in particular has sufficient material to begin to sketch the haziest of outlines of the political context of the archipelago and its relations with external forces. **AU 580.2** has: *Fecht Orc la hAedhan mc. Gabrain* [The expedition to [Innsi] Orc by Aedan son of Gabrán].<sup>52</sup> An apparent duplication occurs in **AU 581.3**: *Fecht Orc* [The expedition to [Innsi] Orc.]<sup>53</sup> William Thomson argues that both a Dalriadan attack in its own right and Dalriadan assistance to a Pictish leader would be plausible here.<sup>54</sup> External Pictish influence is more concretely discernible in **AU 682.4**: *Orcades delete sunt la Bruide* [The Orkneys were destroyed by Bruide].<sup>55</sup> External influence is also apparent in **AU 709.4**: *Bellum for Orcaibh in quo filius Artablair iacuit* [A battle [gained] over the Orkneymen, in which Artablair's son fell].<sup>56</sup>

Arguably the most questionable chronicle reference to Orkney occurs in *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 717 amongst a list of men killed in battle.<sup>57</sup>

*...the battle of Allone before mentioned was fought wherein king fferall was slain by the Leinstermen on Friday the third of the Ides of December in the yeare of our Lord 720*  
*...These are they that were slaine in the Ks. Side in that battle...*  
*...Anmcharad McConcharad; Niva Mac Oirck, prince of ye Orcades; the ten nephews of Moylefithry...*<sup>58</sup>

G. Scott and Anna Ritchie, *Pictish and Viking-Age Carvings from Shetland* (Edinburgh, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 2009), pp. v- vii.

<sup>52</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 90- 91.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> William P. L. Thomson, *The New History of Orkney* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition 2008), p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 146- 147.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, pp. 166- 167.

<sup>57</sup> These annals were produced in English by Conell MaGeoghagan from a now lost Irish book. He completed the work in 1627. See Denis Murphy, SJ (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, RSAI, 1896), pp. 5- 9.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, p. 113.



The equivalent entry in **AT3 Kl. 222.7** (AT 722) appears to conflate two of these men into one, but with a different title: ...*Anmchadh mac Oircc ri Guill 7Irguill 7 .x. nepotés Maile Fithrig*...<sup>59</sup> Some hint as to the original content lying behind these two annals may perhaps be glimpsed in the equivalent passage in the *Fragmentary Annals*: ...*Aedgein hUa Maite; Nuada Uirc ri Guill 7Irguill, i-g-Cinel Conuill; .x. nepotes Maoilfitrig*... [...*Aedhgen Ua Maithe; Nuada Uirc, King of Gull and Irgull in Cinel-Conaill; ten grandsons of Maelfithrigh*...].<sup>60</sup> O'Donovan identified Gull and Irgull as two territories in northern Donegal, the former name surviving in the Rosguill Peninsula.<sup>61</sup> A similar entry occurs in the version of the account in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, though the locational information is here less detailed: ...*Acdgen húa Mathgne, Nuada mac Oirc rí Gall, 7dech húi Maeili fithrig*... [...*Aedgen húa Mathgne, Nuada son of Orc, king of the foreigners, and ten descendants of Mael-fithrig*...].<sup>62</sup> It would seem that an original *Nuada Uirc ri Guill 7Irguill*, as preserved in the *Fragmentary Annals* has found himself merged with an adjacent name on the list in **AT3 Kl. 222.7** in the one instance, and turned into an Orcadian in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 717 in the other, presumably due to his patronym. Therefore, it seems that *Niva Mac Oirck, prince of ye Orcades* must be denied even recognition as a pseudohistorical Orcadian.

A much more solidly Orcadian individual, whether ultimately historical or not, appears in **VC II, 42**:

<sup>59</sup> Gough-Cooper (ed.), *The Annals of Tigernach, the Third Fragment*, p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments, Copied from Ancient Sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh* (Dublin, Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1860), pp. 48- 49.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, n. r..

<sup>62</sup> Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Battle of Allen', *Revue Celtique* 24 (1903), pp. 41- 70, pp. 52- 53.

*Alio in tempore Cormacus, Christi miles, de quo in primo huius opusculi libello breuiter aliqua commemorauimus pauca, etiam secunda uice conatus est herimum in ociano quaerere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum ocianum plenís enauigauit uelís, hisdem diebus sanctus Columba, cum ultra dorsum moraretur Britanniae, Brudeo regi praesente Orcadum regulo commendauit, dicens: 'Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigrauerunt, desertum in pilago intransmeabili inuenire obtantes. Qui si forte post longos circuitus Orcades deuenerint insulas, huic regulo cuius obsedes in manu tua sunt deligenter commenda, ne aliquid aduersi intra terminos eius contra eos fiat.' Hoc uero sanctus ita dicebat quia in spiritu praecognouit quod post aliquot menses idem Cormaccus esset ad Orcades uenturus. Quod ita postea euenit. Et propter supradictam sancti uiri commendationem de morte in Orcadibus liberates est uicina*

[At another time, Cormac, a soldier of Christ, of whom we have briefly related some few things in the first book of this work, attempted for the second time to seek a desert place in the ocean. After he had sailed away from the land, with full sails, over the limitless ocean, in those days Saint Columba, while he was beyond the spine of Britain, charged king Bruide, in the presence of the subject-king of the Orcades, saying: 'Some of our people have recently gone out desiring to find a desert place in the sea that cannot be crossed. Earnestly charge this king, whose hostages are in your hand, that, if after long wanderings our people chance to land in the islands of the Orcades, nothing untoward shall happen to them within his territories.' The saint spoke thus because he foreknew in the spirit that after some months this Cormac would come to the Orcades. And it did afterwards so happen. And because of the aforesaid commendation of the holy man, Cormac was delivered from imminent death in the Orcades].<sup>63</sup>

William Thomson points to the already discussed 'destruction' of Orkney by a King Bruide in **AU 682.4** to suggest the potential contemporary motivation for the shaping of Adomnán's narrative.<sup>64</sup> As has been discussed, elsewhere Adomnán has been argued to have used stories set in the era of Columba to mirror more contemporary events involving persons of the same name.<sup>65</sup> There is however a problem in necessarily equating the anecdote of Bruide and the Orcadian sub-king in **VC II, 42** with the actions of the later Bruide in **AU 682.4**. Fraser has argued that this anecdote

<sup>63</sup> Anderson and Anderson (ed. and. trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. pp. 166- 167.

<sup>64</sup> Thomson, *The New History of Orkney*, p. 9.

<sup>65</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 5- 6. See discussion above, 7.1.

in VC belongs to a category of stories set amongst the Picts that are marked by the use of terminology referring to the territory of the Picts as being across *dorsum Britanniae*, with a lack of overly dramatic miracles and without the large-scale conversion of significant numbers of Picts. He argues this to contrast with the accounts stated to be set in *prouincia Pictorum*, where dramatic miracles and large-scale conversions are a significant feature.<sup>66</sup> He suggests that the latter category is likely to have been composed by Adomnán himself.<sup>67</sup> Further, he argues that the former category, including the episode in question here, derives from the earlier life written by Cumméne around 640.<sup>68</sup> This would suggest that any contemporary resonance of the anecdote was coincidental and any insight into the relations between the Columban Church, Orkney and the wider Pictish territory must be taken in the context of composition in the first half of the seventh century at the latest. However, given Adomnán's record in attempting to reflect contemporary concerns in his work, it may be unwise to dismiss a connection between the portrayal of the Orcadian sub-king with more recent events in this case. It could therefore be suggested that the anecdote offers a tentative point against assuming that, in the form used by Adomnán, the *trans dorsum Britanniae* anecdotes were compiled as early as the life of Cumméne. An alternative suggestion would see Cumméne himself composing the tale for contemporary purposes. The reign of Bridei son of Vuid is portrayed in the Pictish King list as coinciding with the argued date of c. 640 for Cumméne's *Life*.<sup>69</sup> Though nothing can be stated of any interaction between this Bridei and Orkney, a portrayal of an Orcadian under-king in this way could be used to assert the territorial

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<sup>66</sup> Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumméne Ailbe, and the Picts', especially pp. 184- 186.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 192.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 187.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, pp. 226- 227.

extent of the Pictish Kingship, a kingship which, if the claims of the list were to be accepted, may have been a southern one in 640.<sup>70</sup> There is perhaps no way of saying with any certainty which, if any, of these scenarios may have played a part in influencing the text as it stands. In addition to the possibility that the *Trans Dorsum Britanniae* miracles were compiled by a third party, the reader is presented with two plausible potential authors, each with a proven track record in the utilisation of Columban history for contemporary purposes.<sup>71</sup> Further, the political roles of at least four King Brideis could have influenced the shape of the text (Columba's own Bridei son of Mailcon, Cumméne's contemporary Bridei son of Vuid, as well as Adomnán's own contemporaries Bridei son of Beli and Bridei son of Der Ilei).<sup>72</sup> Indeed the name Bridei may have had the potential to embody a timeless universal Pictish kingship in a way that few other names could.

Whatever the immediate political and ecclesiastical concerns at the time of composition of the account, it would seem that the implied relationship between the Irish speaking church and the far-northern Pictish zone was more than simply the result of a single instance of hagiographical expedience. A spindle-whorl, now in the Orkney Museum, Kirkwall, argued to have been made from local chalk carries an ogham inscription argued by Katherine Forsyth to read *BENDDACT ANIM L*, 'a blessing on the soul of L' in Old Irish.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion of both abbots' motivation in their respective treatments of the ordination of Aidan, see Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, pp. 357- 359, n. 360.

<sup>72</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 103, 226- 227 and 240.

<sup>73</sup> Katherine Forsyth, 'The Ogham-inscribed Spindle-whorl from Buckquoy: evidence for the Irish Language in Pre-Viking Orkney?', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125 (1995), pp. 677- 696, pp. 680 and 688.

It would seem then that it is against a background of established ecclesiastical links between the far-northern Pictish zone and Ireland that the figures of Drostan, Fergus and the unnamed Bishop encountered by Fintan must be considered. Whether the evidence for Drostan and Fergus represents the movements of historical individuals, later cults, or both, it would seem likely that the traces of links within their hagiography and other sources are reflective of genuine ecclesiastical connections. Whether or not the bishop in the Life of Saint Fintan was ultimately based on a single historical person, his character suggests that by the end of the Pictish period in the far North, the movement of churchmen for education was regarded as a plausible manifestation of such connections.<sup>74</sup> The somewhat bewildering nature of the geographical material relating to Drostan and Fergus also serves to emphasise the possibility that the far-northern Pictish zone was a significant point of contact in the interaction between the north-eastern Pictish zone and Ireland, highlighting the importance of maritime contact in the relationship between Ireland and the Picts.<sup>75</sup>

### 7.3 The Northern Britons

Throughout the course of the study, the Britons have emerged repeatedly as a group whose activity in Ireland is easily visible in hagiographical sources, though arguably less clear elsewhere in the historical record. The possibility of a northern origin for both Patrick and Uinniau, coupled with the activity of lesser attested individuals such as Lommán, his associates and Monenna in the hagiographical

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<sup>74</sup> See 6.2.4.

<sup>75</sup> See 6.2.4.

material, can contribute to a perceived busy channel of interaction with Ireland stretching from Galloway to Lothian.<sup>76</sup> However, as has been discussed, such a picture may be somewhat misleading. It has been argued that seeming connections between the eastern Central Belt and figures connected with both Whithorn and Ireland may be problematic and possibly more of a result of errant inference by later hagiographers than genuine connections.<sup>77</sup> The comparatively early demise of the north-eastern British territories may be a disruptive factor in the retention of any record of historical interaction.<sup>78</sup> Though the vestiges of the cult or cults of Uinniau would appear to place the links between the north-western Britons and Ireland on a firmer historical footing, the murkiness surrounding the life and career of any historical Uinniau, including a place of origin, makes it all but impossible to use his cult to paint a picture of the extent or longevity of these links.<sup>79</sup>

If it is difficult to discern the place of origin of well attested ecclesiastics such as Patrick and Uinniau, for less prominent fifth- and sixth-century ecclesiastics the task becomes arguably impossible.<sup>80</sup> The *Litany of Irish Saints I* lists: *Sinchell sósar sacart* [Sinchell the younger, the priest].<sup>81</sup> He is followed by: *Sinchell sinser epscop* [Sinchell the elder, the bishop].<sup>82</sup> It is later stated in the litany (in what Kathleen Hughes has argued to have been originally a gloss) that: *Senchilli, Britanni ó Britania* [The Senchilli (were) Britons from Britain].<sup>83</sup> These two are also listed in

<sup>76</sup> See in particular 4.1, 4.4, 5.1.4 and 5.3.

<sup>77</sup> See in particular 5.3.

<sup>78</sup> Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, pp. 170- 172.

<sup>79</sup> See 5.1.2.

<sup>80</sup> See 4.1 and 5.1.4.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Irish Litanies* (London, Henry Bradshaw Society 62, 1925), pp. 56- 57.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Kathleen Hughes, 'On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800', *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), pp. 305- 331, p. 329; Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Irish Litanies*, pp. 56- 57.

the *Litany of Irish Saints II: In da Chonchend déc la da Shinchell i Cill Achid, in Chonchennaig la Manchan Leith Móir* [The twelve Dogheads with the two Sinchells in Cell Achaid; the dogheaded ones with Manchan of Liath Mór].<sup>84</sup> Cell Achaid has been identified as Killeigh, Offaly, within the Diocese of Kildare.<sup>85</sup> Both of these litanies appear in four manuscripts, adjacent to one another in every case. The earliest of these is the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster*.<sup>86</sup> The second litany does not state that the Sinchells were originally from Britain. However, their placement in the text is within its first forty-nine sections, argued by Kathleen Hughes to be an originally separate litany primarily concerned with pilgrim saints.<sup>87</sup> There is nothing to hint of British identity within the calendars or annals and the genealogies of both men are argued by Ó Riain to tie both to the Uí Labhradha of Leinster.<sup>88</sup> It is therefore possible that the assertion of British origin is nothing more than a hagiographical trope within the litanies, reflecting the perceived British influence on the Irish Church throughout its earliest centuries.

Elsewhere the litanies seem to attest the presence of Britons in more significant numbers, though again the provenance of the claim to a British identity is

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, pp. 64- 65. The three later manuscripts omit *da* [two], thus commemorating only one Sinchell. See Ibid, p. 64, n. 15; and Hughes, ‘On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800’, p. 324. An occasion in the same litany where priority may be argued for the older *Book of Leinster* reading is discussed below. The *conchend* or ‘dogheads’ of Cell Achaid are argued by Hughes to be ‘pilgrims with a devotion to S. Christopher’. The cults of these and other *conchend* are discussed in Hughes, ‘On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800’, pp. 328- 331.

<sup>85</sup> De Paor, *St Patrick’s World*, p. 122; Rev. M. Comerford, *Collections Relating to the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin* (Dublin, J. Duffy, 1883), p. 260, n.

<sup>86</sup> The other manuscripts are *The Book of Hy Maine (Leabhar Ua Maine)*, London, British Library, Additional 30512 and Dublin, Trinity College Library, 1285 (H. 1, 11). The first litany is imperfect in the latter two manuscripts. See Plummer, *Irish Litanies*, pp. xi- xx.

<sup>87</sup> Hughes, ‘On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800’, p. 306; Sarah Sanderlin, ‘The date and Provenance of the “Litany of Irish Saints-II” (The Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints)’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature 75* (1975), pp. 251-262, pp. 251- 252.

<sup>88</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 562. The relevant calendar and annal entries are **MT 26 Mar; MO 26 Mar; MG 26 Mar; MT 25 Jun; MO 25 Jun; MG 25 Jun; MD 25 Jun; AU 549.3.**

far from secure. Listed in the *Book of Leinster* version of the *Litany of Irish Saints II*, again within Hughes's 'Litany of Pilgrim Saints', are: *Coeca fer de Bretnaib la mac Móinain i lLaind Léri* [Fifty men of the Britons with the son of Moinan in Land Léri].<sup>89</sup> It should be noted that in the three later manuscripts, text instead has: *do Brenaind* [to Brendan] in place of the reference to Britons.<sup>90</sup> However, as this invocation (which is the twenty-sixth in the litany) is significantly removed from the other three references to Brendan (in relatively close proximity to one another in fifteenth, sixteenth and nineteenth place), there may be some grounds for accepting that the reading in the older *Book of Leinster* may be given priority here.<sup>91</sup>

Firmer footing is to be found in obits of the seventh and eighth centuries. **AU 661. 1** lists the death of: *Conainn nepotis Daint abb Imlecho Ibair* [Conaing grandson of Dant, abbot of Imlech Ibair].<sup>92</sup> Thomas Charles Edwards suggests that his name is a British one.<sup>93</sup> A more overt statement of British origin for a churchman is given in **AU 751.6**: *Mors Colman na mBretan m. Faelain abbatis Slaine* [Death of the abbot of Sláine, Colmán of the Britons, son of Faelán].<sup>94</sup> The apparently Irish name forms here may be an indication that any lack of British names within the

<sup>89</sup> Hughes, 'On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800', p. 327; Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Irish Litanies*, pp. 66- 67.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Irish Litanies*, pp. 62- 65; and Hughes, 'On an Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints Compiled c. 800', pp. 323 and 325.

<sup>92</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 132- 133.

<sup>93</sup> Charles-Edwards (trans.), *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 152, n. 3.

<sup>94</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I, pp. 206- 207. F. J. Byrne and Pádraig Francis suggest that *Colman na mBretan* was responsible for a text ancestral to the *Tripartite Life*, as well as the lives of Patrick known, following Colgan, as *Vita II* and *Vita IV*. They claim that a knowledge of the Welsh language and geography is discernible in the extant descendent texts and that Sláine is a likely location for composition given connections between Sláine and Péronne, and the 'north Frankish manuscript tradition' of *Vita II* and *Vita IV*. See F. J. Byrne and Pádraig Francis, 'Two Lives of Saint Patrick: "Vita Secunda" and "Vita Quarta"', in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 124 (1994), pp. 5- 117, pp. 14- 15; Clancy, 'The Cults of Saints Patrick and Palladius in Early Medieval Scotland', p. 22.



annalistic and hagiographical record need not necessarily be taken as evidence for relative absence of British activity in Ireland from the seventh century onwards. Nevertheless, there remains a surprising contrast between the level of portrayed engagement of Britons in the dawn of the Christian era in Ireland and that of later centuries, particularly given that these later centuries were a time in which much of the hagiographical narrative of the earlier period was being consolidated.

**AU 864.5** attests the continued presence of at least some level of movement from British territory to the Irish Church in the ninth century: *Aedgen Britt, episcopus Cille Daro, 7scriba 7anchorita 7senex fere .cxui. annorum, pausauit* [Aedgen the Briton, Bishop of Cell Dara, scribe, anchorite and an elder almost 116 years of age, rested].<sup>95</sup>

Although it is undoubtedly possible that the original identity of many Britons was lost, the difference between the portrayals of high levels of activity in the fifth- and sixth-century Church and the lower levels recorded for the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries is greater than might be expected. Furthermore, the southern locations of those who do appear in the chronicle record for these later centuries may point to a Southern British origin. It would therefore seem that, despite the apparent presence of Northern British warriors in Ireland during the late-seventh and early-eighth centuries, any ecclesiastical links between the Northern Britons and Ireland during this time were relatively small in comparison to those forged between the Irish and both the Northumbrians and Picts.<sup>96</sup> Given the difficulties in corroborating the British identity of many associated with the earliest centuries of the Irish Church, it is

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<sup>95</sup> Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I Ibid, pp. 320- 321.

<sup>96</sup> See 3.1.

also possible that the strength of some links in the fifth and sixth centuries may have been overstated as a consequence of the developing narrative of the relationship between the islands of Britain and Ireland. The development of this narrative will be examined in the following chapter.<sup>97</sup>

#### 7.4 Assessing the Dynamics of Migration

Given the opacity of much of the available evidence, it may be considered surprising that any meaningful patterns can be discerned that suggest lines of interaction and communication more durable than the movement of individual ecclesiastics. Nonetheless the existence of lasting lines of interaction is what emerges from a study of the Pictish relationship with the Columban Church in both Ireland and British Dalriada. Associated with this, at least at its outset, would appear to be a channel of connections between the wider Irish Church and the far-northern Pictish areas that was of significant importance to the character of the pre-Norse Church in Orkney and Caithness. Though such links may undoubtedly have been significant to maritime communication between Ireland and the better attested Pictish areas further south, the relationship between the Far North and both these areas may perhaps argue for Caithness and Orkney to be given a greater prominence amongst the Pictish political, economic and religious spheres than it is often afforded. In some contrast, lines of interaction between Ireland and the northern Britons that are prevalent in the hagiographical record are harder to discern as historical conduits of ecclesiastical activity. In order to account for the apparent discrepancy, it is necessary to turn to the

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<sup>97</sup> See 4.5 and 8.1.

issue of the shaping of the 'migration narrative' itself and how and why it developed as it did.

## 8 The Development of the Migration Narrative

A recurrent theme throughout the study has been the extent to which contemporary factors influenced the portrayals of the Church's migratory history. At any given time, a multiplicity of factors combined in order to ensure that the perceived interactions of ecclesiastics of the past did not necessarily correlate with historical migration. The aim of this chapter will be to chart how the portrayal of movement from Northern Britain to Ireland took shape and changed over time. In attempting to survey the development of views that were held in both Ireland and Britain, a level of complexity is added by the fact that in any single given time and location there may have existed a fluctuating picture of levels of migrant activity. Any hagiographer's perception of the level of British activity in Ireland the fifth century was unlikely to be in any way comparable to their view on the extent of British activity in Ireland in the eighth. It seems that the most logical manner in which to attempt to discern the formation or development of ecclesiastical migration narratives is to begin with the earliest engagement with a migratory past and to proceed as hagiographers and historians through the progressing years in both Ireland and Northern Britain continued to grapple with the issue of migration in the earlier Church.

### 8.1 The Portrayal of Northern British Migration in the Earliest Source

#### Material

Although extant works of Patrick and Uinniau, along with the possible extant sentence of Mochta, may preserve the words of early British migrants in the Early

Church, it is from the seventh century onwards that the earliest retrospective portrayals of Britons in Ireland's past is to be viewed.<sup>1</sup> Mochta's prophetic role in **VC Preface II** attests that, notwithstanding any original potentially older source of this account, a late seventh-century view of Irish Christianity's earliest times saw the British presence in the Irish Church to be something that was not limited to the figure of Patrick himself, even if potentially viewed as connected with discipleship of Patrick.<sup>2</sup>

As has been discussed, it has been argued that a copy of the letter of Mauchteus may have been present on Iona, ultimately lying behind one or both of the chronicle entries seemingly utilising his work.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Charles-Edwards's assertion that the Patrician entries of the fifth century were not a component of the *Iona Chronicle* prior to 740 would suggest that it is difficult to contextualise Iona's view of Mochta and how it would have fitted into its wider perceptions of Patrician and British influence in Ireland.<sup>4</sup> However, the presence of Iógenán, the Pictish Priest and contemporary of Columba in **VC II, 9** testifies that Adomnán's acknowledgement of

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<sup>1</sup> See 4.3 and 5.1.3.

<sup>2</sup> See 4.3. For a discussion of the dating of **VC** see Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*, p. 55. The late seventh century is among the range of dates that has been posited for the *Life of Saint Samson of Dol*, another text in which a depiction of British ecclesiastical activity in Ireland occurs, in this case unambiguously Southern British. Dates suggested for this life have ranged from the early seventh century to the beginning of the ninth. Dumville describes the notion that it is earlier than the late seventh century to be 'incredible'. In the text, the saint travels to Ireland with some Irishmen who are returning from Rome. During his short stay in Ireland, he practices a number of miracles, including an exorcism of an abbot who, having been cured, gives his monastery to Samson. On Samson's return to Britain, he sends Umbraphel, his uncle, to be abbot there. Discussed in Dumville, 'British Missionary Activity in Ireland', p. 141, n. 56; Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, Methuen and Co., 1966), pp. 72- 73; Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, pp. 173- 175; Thomas Taylor (trans.), *The Life of St. Samson of Dol* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925), pp. 39- 42.

<sup>3</sup> See 4.3.

<sup>4</sup> Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 58.

settled residents from Britain in the Irish Church was not limited to its very earliest phase.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, and in some contrast to this, the accounts of Muirchu and Tírechán do little to suggest any significant British presence in Ireland. Indeed, aside from Patrick himself, the only overt reference to named individuals of British origin comes in the account of Monesan, which, as has been discussed, may owe its origins to local tradition.<sup>6</sup> It would seem then, that while record or tradition relating to a British presence in the early Irish Church was extant in the seventh century, the earliest Patrician hagiographers found less use for any such tradition than would be the case in later centuries. If it is in any way possible to speculate on the relatively meagre pickings of sources and to proffer a summary of the seventh-century view of the migratory situation in the Church's earliest centuries, it would perhaps be that British individuals other than Patrick were held to have been present, though not necessarily seen as serving any particularly useful hagiographical purpose.

A change of tone is detectable from the eighth century.<sup>7</sup> Discussion of the *Additamenta* has suggested that, notwithstanding any original historical figures lying behind the subjects portrayed, the building of family connections between figures such as Lommán and Patrick, reflecting the allegiances and claims of local churches, may have resulted in the up-playing of the British role in the Early Church.<sup>8</sup>

Although it is possible that in many cases a British identity was merely an unintended consequence of these constructed family connections, the narrative

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<sup>5</sup> See 6.8.

<sup>6</sup> See 4.4.1; Muirchu I, 28. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 98-101.

<sup>7</sup> The prominence of Britons in the *Additamenta* and later patrician hagiography has been noted by Dumville, 'British Missionary Activity in Ireland', pp. 141-142.

<sup>8</sup> See in particular 4.1, 4.5 and 7.3.

devices that were made possible, such as the use of the British language to establish connections between migrants, may have fuelled the entrenchment of the association between the Britons and the Early Irish Church beyond Patrick himself.<sup>9</sup> It is also possible that the contemporary migratory situation contributed to an increased emphasis on the role played by links between Britain and Ireland in the early Church. James Fraser has suggested that by the eighth century, an increase in Northumbrian and Mercian territory at the expense of areas of British control may have resulted in increased migration of British speakers to Ireland. This in turn may have brought consideration of the links between the islands to the fore amongst scholars attempting to portray the character of the earliest Church.<sup>10</sup> However, as has been discussed, it is difficult to argue for any noticeably increased British ecclesiastical presence in Ireland in the eighth century.<sup>11</sup>

If eighth-century political and dynastic expedience had the result of increasing the perceived presence of Britons in the Church of the Patrician era, it may have had the opposite effect on the perception of later times. As has been discussed, it has been argued by Fiona Edmonds that the *Life of Finanus* preserved in the compilation of John of Tynemouth may date from the eighth century and assign the saint to the Dál nAraide for contemporary reasons.<sup>12</sup>

From the close of the seventh century onwards, glimpses of the Pictish understanding of the relationship with the Irish may be discernible. James Fraser has argued that Adomnán may have had access to a Pictish source arguing Columba to

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<sup>9</sup> See in particular 4.4, especially 4.4.1.

<sup>10</sup> My thanks are due to James Fraser for this suggestion, taken from personal email correspondence August 2014. One potential example of such a presence is the apparent British war band on the east coast of Ireland attested from **AU 682.2** to **AU709.2**. See above, 3.1.

<sup>11</sup> See 7.3.

<sup>12</sup> Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, p. 15. See above, 5.1.2.

be responsible for the conversion of the northern Picts, potentially the same as a source suggested to have been used by Bede.<sup>13</sup> If Pictish sources do indeed lie behind Bede's account of the conversion of the Picts in **HE III, 4**, then it may be possible to tease out the most tentative of inferences regarding a Pictish view of the relationship between the Irish and Pictish Church.<sup>14</sup> While there is an acknowledgement of the significance of Columban influence in the North, the role presented for Ninian appears to contradict the alternative narrative discernible in *Amra Choluimb Chille* seemingly assigning the activities of Columba to the South.<sup>15</sup> Though Bede's account reveals nothing of any awareness or engagement with the subject of ecclesiastical emigration from Pictish territory, it suggests that by the time of composition, accounts were available that had the potential to offer an alternative view, if not an outright challenge, to Irish narratives of the relationship between the Irish and Pictish Church. If the suggestion made earlier that a poem in the *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex* may refer to a Pictish claim on relics held in Ireland were to be accepted, it would appear that any divergence from the Irish narrative of Hiberno-Pictish relations was not an isolated incident.<sup>16</sup> Indeed given the claims that the ninth-century Sedulius Scottus is responsible for both the Karlsruhe poem and the poem on the cat Pangur Bán, seemingly with a Brythonic name, it may be even be possible that the author had encountered alternative narratives first hand from a Pictish presence at his own continental monastery.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Fraser, 'Adomnán, Cumméne Ailbe, and the Picts', pp. 189- 190.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 189.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 190. See above, 7.1.

<sup>16</sup> See 6.3.

<sup>17</sup> This *Sedulius Scottus* should not be confused with the eighth-century *Sedulius episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum*, the traveling companion of *Fergustus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus*, who was discussed in 6.2.4. For discussion of Sedulius Scottus and his relationship with Liège and its court see Elva Johnston, *Literacy and Identity in Early Medieval Ireland* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 49- 50. Dumville has discussed the extent to which Welsh influence is discernible in the



Any such scenarios may be fanciful, though this in itself emphasises that a key difficulty in assessing the full context of the early stages of the shaping of the migration narrative is the gulf between the extant evidence of Pictish and Northern British provenance with that of Irish origin. However, the paucity of Pictish source survival is in itself an important factor in the understanding of how this narrative developed through later centuries. The distancing of Alba from the Picts may have allowed claims on a Pictish identity for some individuals in the Church to falter due to a perceived detachment from local concerns, though, as will be seen, this seems to be in some contrast with the continuation of the portrayal of Picts as secular figures of authority.

## 8.2 The Development of the Irish Perspective

Though the earliest centuries of Irish historiography may have plotted the course that migration history was largely to follow, the apparent trend that increasingly saw the role of Britons as limited to the earliest days of the Church was not straight away absolute. *Seven Brothers* attests that there were occasions where tradition of a Northern British origin associated with men assigned by the genealogists to the sixth and seventh centuries could survive and be utilised.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, it remained the earliest Church that was presented with the most conspicuous British identity. As has been discussed, the solidifying British

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output of the Irish ecclesiastics on the continent. See David N. Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat: Scribe, Language and Culture in the Church of Viking-Age Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 25- 30 and 49- 50; D. R. Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin, Four Courts, 1995), pp. 129- 131; David Greene and Frank O'Connor (eds.), *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry A.D. 600 -1200* (Macmillan, London, Melbourne, Toronto, 1967), p. 81; pp. 49- 50.

<sup>18</sup> See 6.1; Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 105.

connections with a raft of early ecclesiastics may have had to contend with a desire to root individual patrons firmly in local soil, potentially accounting for the frequent portrayals of a British mother and Irish father.<sup>19</sup>

In order to examine this further, it may prove useful to investigate the case of Darerca, who is of particular interest to this study due to the relationship that her own hagiography attests with Northern Britain, as well as the frequency of her appearances within the hagiography of those said to have British connections in Ireland: Throughout the course of the investigation, she has appeared in various guises: as the daughter of Mochta, mother of Lomman and his siblings, sister of Patrick, disciple of Ninian, and possible associate of Uinniau. In particular, the apparent attestations of a cult of a Monanna in the Central Belt of Scotland and the manner in which this may have become intertwined with the cult of Ninian has been discussed previously.<sup>20</sup> It is unclear to what extent any historical figure behind the Scottish cult of Monenna was the same, or came to be seen as the same as, the woman or women behind the Irish cult of Monenna or Darerca (or indeed the English cult), prior to the compilation of the *Conchubranus Life*. It is however clear that within the Irish cult, a connection with Britain was at times a feature of her portrayal.

A number of relevant entries to the figure of Darerca are attested in the calendars. **MT 22 Mar** lists: *Derercae*.<sup>21</sup> Evidence of some divergence of the cult of this particular individual by the time of composition comes from a listing in **MT 23 Mar**: *Darerca Uirgo*.<sup>22</sup> Though this listing is followed immediately by: *Ingen Fēradaig*, the fact that **MO 23 Mar** pays tribute to the Daughter of Feradach with no

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<sup>19</sup> See 4.5.

<sup>20</sup> See 4.3, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 5.3 and 5.4.

<sup>21</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

reference to Darerca is perhaps an indication that a separate listing for an unnamed woman was intended here.<sup>23</sup> **MG 22 Mar** follows this with a note adding that Darerca was the sister of Patrick- a statement that is incorporated into the main text in **MD 22 Mar**.<sup>24</sup>

A possible indication that the two distinct names associated with this saint were associated at an early stage comes in **MT 6 Jul**, in a listing associating her with Slieve Gullion, Armagh:<sup>25</sup>

*Moninni Sleibi Culinn quae et Darerca prius dicta est*  
[Monenna of Slieve Gullion, and who was previously called Darerca].<sup>26</sup>

**MO 6 Jul** contains a similar commemoration, though with no reference to the name Darerca:

*Moninne in t̄slébe*  
*Cuilenn ba cáin áge,*  
*gabais búaid, gell glaine,*  
*siur Maire máre*  
[Moninne of the Mountain of Cuilenn was a fair pillar: she gained a triumph, a hostage of purity, a kinswoman of great Mary!].<sup>27</sup>

**MG 6 Jul** also contains a reference to Monenna, though also without reference to the Darerca name-form:

*mo Ninne cáid caillech*

<sup>23</sup> Ibid; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céli Dé*, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 60- 61; Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 22- 23.

<sup>25</sup> Identified in Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 465.

<sup>26</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 54; trans. mine.

<sup>27</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céli Dé*, p. 161.

[My Ninne a holy nun].<sup>28</sup>

Although it is possible that **MT 6 Jul** reflects an early association of the names Monenna and Darerca, the silence of **MO** and **MG** on the matter of an alternative name for Monenna of Slieve Gullion may suggest the possibility that the equation of Monenna and Darerca within the text may be a later interpolation.<sup>29</sup>

A further commemoration of interest occurs in **MT 16 Sep**: *Monenn Clúana Conaire*.<sup>30</sup> This location has been identified as Cloncurry, Kildare.<sup>31</sup> The name is also given in **MO 16 Sep**: *Mo Ninn, núall cech gena* [My Ninn, the cry of every mouth].<sup>32</sup> This is followed by **MG 16 Sep** which includes the listing: *...Moenend leo* [...with them Moenenn].<sup>33</sup> Two glosses here provide seemingly contradictory identifications. An interlinear gloss identified as the work of Ó Cléirigh agrees with the location given in **MT**: *epscop Cluana Conaire i ttuaiscert Úa Fáelain* [bishop of Cluain Conairi, in the Northern part of Húi Faeláin].<sup>34</sup> In contrast, a marginal note attributed to John Colgan identifies the saint as Ninian of Whithorn: *Mo-nenn .i. id est Ninnianus episcopus Candidae Casae* [My Nenn, i.e. Ninnian, bishop of Whithern].<sup>35</sup> Unsurprisingly, Ó Cléirigh maintains the Kildare location in **MD 16 Sep**.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 130- 131.

<sup>29</sup> See 2.3.

<sup>30</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 71.

<sup>31</sup> Comerford, *A history of the Roman Catholic Parish of Kilcock*; [http://www.kildare.ie/library/ehistory/2006/09/kilcock\\_parish\\_of\\_comerfords\\_d.asp](http://www.kildare.ie/library/ehistory/2006/09/kilcock_parish_of_comerfords_d.asp) (last accessed 9/6/15).

<sup>32</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, p. 194.

<sup>33</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 178- 179.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1 and 178- 179.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1 and 178- 179.

<sup>36</sup> Todd and Reeves (eds.), O'Donovan (trans.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 248- 249.

Aside from the questions raised with these listings as to the ultimate provenance of the September commemoration of Ninian of Whithorn, the relatively spartan listings in the earliest calendars emphasise the difficulty in ascertaining whether or not the original saint commemorated was intended to be male or female. Though the saint of Cloncurry came to be regarded as a Bishop, it may be prudent to suggest one caveat in necessarily assuming this was the original intention. 16

September is the octave of 9 September, a day on which **MT 9 September** commemorates: *Sancti Darerca*, listed immediately following: *Mochotae .i.mac Dergain > Dromma*.<sup>37</sup> It is therefore perhaps possible to suggest that the feast of Darerca on 9 September and Monenn on 16 September were associated. A further commemoration occurs in **MT 15 Jan** with the listing of: *Darerca uirgo*.<sup>38</sup> The inclusion of a *moNinne óg* in **MG 3 Jun** has been argued by Ó Riain to be associated with the account in Conchubranus's Life linking her with *Caemgen*, *Affine* and *Glunsalaich*.<sup>39</sup> These three, though not Monenna, are listed in **MT 3 Jun**.<sup>40</sup>

It is clear that by the time of the composition of **MT**, several distinctive commemorations for individuals named *Darerca* and *Moninni* had taken shape. The form and extent of the diversity of these commemorations is difficult to ascertain. The uncertainty of whether the Monenna dedications were originally intended to relate to a man or a woman compound the difficulty in assessing the number of individuals they originally related to. The question of whether or not the names Darerca and Monenna were seen to be in any way linked at the time of compilation is

<sup>37</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 69. See above, 4.3.

<sup>38</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 158; Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 496.

<sup>40</sup> Best and Lawlor (eds.), *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, p. 47.

another open one. Any caution necessary for the entry seemingly linking the two names is far from strong enough to suggest outright dismissal of the suggestion that they were indeed equated at the time of the original composition of **MT**. Likewise the instance of the two names at octaves may be nothing more than a tenuous coincidence or could reflect some early link. The extent to which any of the early commemorations were seen to associate Monenna or Darerca with Patrick or any other British churchmen is also unclear. The possibility that there was an early cult associated with a Monenna in Northern Britain has already been discussed.<sup>41</sup> Though there is no evidence to link any of the early Irish commemorations with a hypothetical Northern British Monenna, the possibility that any of the entries were held to be associated with Britain prior to any eventual equation with Patrick and other named Britons cannot be discounted.

One potential signal of an association between the Early Irish calendar listings and Patrick may be the falling of the March feasts within the octave of Patrick's own.<sup>42</sup> The adjacent listings of *Darerca* and *Mochotae* in **MT 9 Sep** may be an indication that an association was also held to have existed between these two by the time of compilation. The differences in the ancestry provided for Mochotae in this calendar entry, and the genealogies that have been discussed may suggest that if this listing does indeed link Mochta and Darerca, the tradition took hold early enough for significant divergences in lineage to become embedded. In any case, as has been discussed, it may be doubtful as to whether her portrayal as a daughter of Mochta was in any way indicative of a British identity.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See 5.3.

<sup>42</sup> Discussed in Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 253.

<sup>43</sup> See 4.3.

Whatever the circumstances of the advent of the tradition of Darerca as the daughter of Mochta, whether originally intended as a blood-daughter or disciple, such a tradition could emerge comfortably alongside her portrayal as a nun in a number of the calendars. However, this is not the case with her role as mother of multiple saints. As has been discussed, Darerca is stated to be the mother of Muinis, Mel and Rioc in the Tripartite Life.<sup>44</sup> However, elsewhere in the same text, two distinct but related lists assert that she was a nun and embroideress:<sup>45</sup>

*Na cailecha oc dénum na n-anart altóra .i. Cochmaissi 7Tígris 7Lupait 7 Darercae*

[The nuns making the altar-cloths, namely, Cochmaiss and Tigris and Lupait and Darerce].<sup>46</sup>

*A théora druinecha .i. Lupait 7Erc ingen Dáire 7Cruimthiris hi Cengoba*

[His three embroideresses, namely Lupaid, and Erc daughter of Dáire, and Cruimthiris in Cengoba].<sup>47</sup>

It is notable that in addition to their appearance alongside Darerca working on cloths, Tigris and Lupaid both appear elsewhere as sisters of Patrick.<sup>48</sup> However, the description of Lupaid and Tigris as sisters of Patrick occurs independently to that of Darerca.<sup>49</sup> It seems therefore, that a number of divergent traditions are reflected that see the hagiography of a number of women perceived to be in some way associated with Patrick taken in different directions. In the case of Darerca, it may be that in

<sup>44</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, pp. 51- 52; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 82- 83; discussed above, 4.4.3.

<sup>45</sup> Discussed in Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 253.

<sup>46</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, p. 147; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 252- 253.

<sup>47</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, p. 155; Stokes (trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 266- 267.

<sup>48</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, p. 9; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 16- 17.

<sup>49</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, pp. 51- 52; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part I, pp. 82- 83.

some local traditions, such as at Ardachaid and Inishbofin, saw her move from a being a nun said to be associated with Patrick to being his sister, after which her use as a mother in local hagiography could serve a more useful purpose than that of a nun.<sup>50</sup> Though the original reasons for associations with Patrick may have been nothing more than the desire to connect a local saint to him, given the possibilities that have been discussed for some early Northern British devotion to a Monenna or similar, it is plausible that some existing perceived association with Britain may have been a factor.<sup>51</sup>

Whatever the precise circumstances of Darerca coming to be portrayed as a sister of Patrick and mother of various saints, once this had come to pass she could provide the ideal means to reconcile potentially conflicting hagiographical motivations. As a sister of Patrick and a mother, she could provide the closest possible blood link to this saint, also allowing for the retention of any lingering tradition of a British origin for a local ecclesiastic whilst ensuring that any more local dynastic paternal claims on their lineage would not need to be challenged. All the while, alternative traditions retaining Darerca's original role as a nun ran their own course, resulting in the long-lived, though conflicting, dual identity as a nun and a mother. The impact of the diverse hagiographical forces at work on the cults of Darerca and her associates on the Irish view of migration in Church history was significant. British identity may have been in many cases an inadvertent side-effect of deliberate attempts to provide local figures with a family link to Patrick, though at times some vestige of local tradition of British identity may have survived in some

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<sup>50</sup> Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic*, pp. 51- 52; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Part II, pp. 82- 83. See above, 4.4.3.

<sup>51</sup> See 5.3.



cults.<sup>52</sup> However this side-effect resulted in a solid British character for the Early Irish Church. The result of intermarriage in the hagiography allowed the protagonists a firm place in Irish genealogical tradition. This arguably set a precedent that emphasised the Irish dynastic pedigree of later ecclesiastics and consequently downplayed any hint of external origin. With such a perceived pattern of a British genesis and subsequent Irish development of the Church, the motivations lying behind the tradition of the *Seven Brothers*, arguably the most striking exception to this trend, may be of some significance. The account in the poem does not appear to tie its subjects to the earliest phase of the Irish Church, yet it emphasises their British origin. However, the poem states an unambiguous intention to assert Uí Neill territorial control over various churches and it has been argued that it may have furthermore attempted to demarcate the boundaries of political territory and begins with an overtly Columban introduction.<sup>53</sup> If by the time of composition, Britain had become a hagiographical Eden for the earliest Irish Church, an independent second exile could perhaps be used to assert an independence from the successors of the first.

### 8.3 The Development and Shaping of a Scottish Perspective

Though not eradicated entirely, the decreasing visibility of any Pictish or Northern British presence in the Irish Church except when associated with its earliest stages may have been further influenced by the trajectory of hagiography in Scotland. Alan MacQuarrie has drawn attention to the lack of a single portrayal of

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<sup>52</sup> See 4.4.1 and 5.3.

<sup>53</sup> See 6.1 and 6.10.1.

any individual as Pictish within the *Aberdeen Breviary*, despite the presence of several individuals for whom there are strong grounds to suspect a Pictish origin.<sup>54</sup> He argues that ‘a conscious Gaelicisation of the church in Pictland’ may have occurred in the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>55</sup> Evidence that some amount of Gaelicisation was underway by the twelfth century is suggested by the portrayal of Drostan as a disciple of Columba in the origin account in the *Book of Deer*.<sup>56</sup> Although the portrayal of Drostan as coming from Iona with its founder would not in itself preclude a Pictish identity, his apparently Gaelic patronym *Cosgreg* suggests that it is unlikely a contemporary audience would have regarded the account of Drostan as portraying a Pictish man.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, the local mormaer is named *bede cruthnec*, ‘Bede the Pict’, seemingly emphasising the Pictish identity of the local ruler.<sup>58</sup> The firm presence of a Pictish secular elite is also visible in the two origin accounts of St Andrews, argued by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus to date from the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>59</sup> As has been discussed, the foundation account of Abernethy features the bestowal of lands to Irish ecclesiastics by a Pictish monarch.<sup>60</sup> Further emphasis of grants to the Church by a Pictish ruler occurs in the account of the giving of Loch Leven to St Serf within the *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*. Here the grant is made by *Brude Filius Dergard*, named as the last king of the Picts.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. xxix.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 365.

<sup>56</sup> Jackson (ed. and trans.), *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, pp. 19, 30 and 33.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19; the name is discussed in p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 19, 30 and 33.

<sup>59</sup> Taylor with Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife*, vol. 3, p. 412.

<sup>60</sup> See above, 6.7.5.

<sup>61</sup> Bruce, *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, p. 113.

It seems that by the twelfth century, a repeated theme began to emerge of an external clergy being granted territory by a local Pictish elite. It would appear therefore that MacQuarrie's argued 'depictification' was a process that vigorously emphasised external ecclesiastical influences on the Pictish areas whilst leaving the portrayal of Pictish secular hegemony intact.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, it seems that the depiction of a Pictish secular authority could be used to assert a solid antiquity to any establishment. Eleventh-century portrayals of the Picts as predecessors of the contemporary kingdom attest that, at least in some accounts, they had not been entirely expunged from their place in the origins of the Scottish kingdom. Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, known to have been engaged with in Scotland, adapts Bede's Pictish origin narrative and states that the Scots trace their origin to both them and the Irish.<sup>63</sup> This has resulted in what Alex Woolf argues to be the medieval explanation for the disappearance of the Picts that is 'closest to that of historians working on the problem in recent times'.<sup>64</sup> The *Lebor Bretnach*, a Gaelic adaptation of this work argued to date from the reign of Malcolm III, ends with a list presenting the Scottish King as a successor to the Pictish monarchs.<sup>65</sup> Broun asserts that no such claims survive from the twelfth century.<sup>66</sup> However, a king list from the first half of the thirteenth century claiming Alexander II as a successor of both the Pictish and Dalriadan kings, coupled with the accounts of land grants to churches that have been

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<sup>62</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. xxix.

<sup>63</sup> Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007) p. 48.

<sup>64</sup> Lewis Thorpe (ed. and trans.), *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966), pp. 123- 124, Bk. IV, Ch 19; Alex Woolf, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Picts', in McLeod, Burnyeat, Stiùbhart, Clancy and Ó Maolalaigh (eds.), *Bile ós Chrannaibh*, pp. 439- 450, p. 439.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 50. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III*, pp. 50 and 55.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*.

discussed, would suggest that the use of the Pictish secular elite in the legitimisation of contemporary affairs weathered the twelfth century.<sup>67</sup> It therefore seems that in the former Pictish areas, the loss of a Pictish presence in local ecclesiastical history occurred independently from and earlier than the complete removal of the Picts as political predecessors of the contemporary Kingdom.<sup>68</sup>

The phenomenon of asserting an external origin for Pictish ecclesiastics was not echoed in the hagiography of other groups. MacQuarrie argues that the *Aberdeen Breviary* demonstrates a propensity to turn Irish saints into Scots.<sup>69</sup> As has been discussed, he suggests the account of Findbarr as one where the portrayal is based primarily on Irish material and relocated to Caithness in the *Breviary*.<sup>70</sup> The cult of Fillan provides an example of an apparently Gaelic saint with a widespread cult throughout Scotland who retained a steadfastly Scottish identity, despite the incorporation of traditions associated with various Irish saints of the same name by the time of composition of the *Aberdeen Breviary*.<sup>71</sup> The portrayal of native Gaels demonstrates that the early northern Scottish Church was not held to be an empty vessel, the character of whose contents was wholly dependent on what was placed in it from outside. Nonetheless, the indisputably Irish character of Columba and much of the Columban Church ensured that the historiography of the Church retained a strong Irish flavour.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 49.

<sup>68</sup> A discussion on the absence of the Picts as ancestral to the Kingdom in the developing Scottish origin narratives occurs in Ibid, pp. 37- 61. Also see Dauvit Broun, 'The Picts' Place in the Kingship's Past Before John of Fordun' in Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History, The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 11- 28.

<sup>69</sup> MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. xxix and 416- 417.

<sup>70</sup> See 5.1.2; MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, p. xxix and 361.

<sup>71</sup> Simon Taylor, 'The Cult of Saint Fillan in Scotland' in T. R. Litzka and L. E. M. Walker (eds.), *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages: Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe* (Dublin, Four Courts, 2001), pp. 175- 210; MacQuarrie, *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 22- 27 and p. 360; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=461> (last accessed 31/8/2016).

One linguistic group who, as with the Picts, had seen their tongue disappear from the kingdom by the time of the compilation of the *Aberdeen Breviary* were the Britons. However, in contrast to the Picts, the Breviary depicts Kentigern, Tenew and Ninian unambiguously as northern Britons.<sup>72</sup> Though relatively few in number, the high profile of these saints ensures the Britons a firm place in Scotland's ecclesiastical past. The assertiveness of the Diocese of Glasgow throughout the twelfth century has been argued to be seminal to the entrenchment of the Britons within later Scottish hagiography. Broun has argued that although ultimately manifest in the claims for ecclesiastical independence for the diocese, which were to become firmly established throughout the final quarter of the century, the assertive promotion of a British identity for the Diocese and its patrons owed its roots to a long held notion of distinctiveness.<sup>73</sup> The force with which such notions were promoted may be argued to be the primary reason for the survival of Kentigern and Tenew's British identity in the *Aberdeen Breviary* in contrast to even Patrick having a father: *de Scotorum nobili familia ortus* [of a noble family of the Scots] and a French mother.<sup>74</sup> The Northumbrian promotion of the cult of Ninian, followed by an increase in interest in Ninian in the twelfth-century Church (argued by Clancy to be his period of development into 'a type of national saint') may have had a similar effect in ensuring the longevity of the Whithorn saint's British credentials.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints* Ibid, pp. 26- 39, 172- 174 and 214- 229.

<sup>73</sup> Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III*, pp. 140- 146.

<sup>74</sup> *matre, Conkessa, beati Martini Turonensis episcopi Francigena sorore* [his mother being Conkessa, a Frenchwoman, sister of St Martin bishop of Tours]. MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 88- 89.

<sup>75</sup> Clancy, 'The Big Man, The Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint', in Steve Boardman (ed.), pp. 7- 8.

Though not prolific, there is also a notable Anglo-Saxon presence within the *Aberdeen Breviary*. Ethelreda, Oswald and Ebba are stated to be English, while Cuthbert, though not given an ancestry, moves in conspicuously Northumbrian circles.<sup>76</sup> The extent of the cults of individuals such as Cuthbert and Oswald in southern Scotland ensured the retention of an English dimension in the narrative of the early Scottish Church.<sup>77</sup> The perceived importance of English activity within the Church can only have been bolstered by the royal promotion of the cult of Margaret from the reigns of her children to the printing of the *Aberdeen Breviary*.<sup>78</sup> Added to this, the commemoration of Magnus in the Breviary reflects recognition of some Norse influence on the Church within the Kingdom.<sup>79</sup>

The near-complete set of peoples portrayed within the *Aberdeen Breviary* makes the Pictish absence all the more striking. However, it would seem that the survival of the other non-Gaelic peoples is more down to the strength of their respective localised cults than any desire on the part of the compilers for a ‘multi-national’ depiction of Scottish ecclesiastical history. Nonetheless, the net result of the assorted hagiographical narratives was a view of the early Scottish Church in which Irish input was pivotal but not unique. While some element of ‘native’ influence from Britons, Gaels and Anglo-Saxons was recognised, the eradication of the Picts as a perceived ancestral people to the Kingdom of Scotland made a significant impact to the perceived migratory dynamics of Early Medieval Ireland and Northern Britain. The consigning of the Picts to a purely secular role in the Early Church ensured that

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<sup>76</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 92-95, 146- 149, 176-179 and 190-193.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, pp. 350 and 405.

<sup>78</sup> Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of Scots* (New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 95- 100, and 119- 133.

<sup>79</sup> MacQuarrie (ed. and trans.), *Legends of the Scottish Saints*, pp. 100- 115.

Pictish ecclesiastics were detached from any responsibility for the shaping of the Church in Pictland itself, let alone wielding any influence elsewhere.

Even with the disappearance of the Picts from the Scottish hagiographical narrative, the *Aberdeen Breviary* still attests to a significant migratory influence on the Irish Church from Northern Britain. Ethernan, Drostan, Colman, Duthac, Patrick, Moluag and Machan are all unambiguously depicted as Scots who travelled to Ireland.<sup>80</sup> To this list may be added Blane, who despite being portrayed as being of Irish lineage is depicted as being born in Bute.<sup>81</sup> If anything then, there appears to be an assertiveness of the extent of the influence of Scottish ecclesiastics on Ireland. The picture painted beginning with Patrick and continuing with ‘adopted’ figures as diverse as Drostan and Colman, is of an Irish Church that owed a great deal to the machinations of travellers from the North of the neighbouring island. If a ‘one-way’ view of migration history in the Church eventually came about in Scotland, it was far from developed by the early sixteenth century.

#### 8.4 Focused but not Forgotten: Conclusions on the Development of the Migration Narrative

The various sources that have been examined conspired to pull accepted truths of migratory history in different directions. An initial acknowledgement of the British presence in the Irish Church beyond Patrick began to be downplayed, or at

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid, pp. 1-5, 4-7, 58-61, 72-77, 88-91, 148-159 and 236-239.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, pp. 180- 191; Gilbert Márkus argues that Blane was likely to have been British and that the easterly spread of his cult, eventually centred on Dunblane, was associated with the movement of his relics from Bute and the entrenchment of a Cenél Comgaill power base in Strathearn. **MG 10 Aug** commemorates: *Blaan buadach Bretan* [Victorious Bláán of Britain]. See Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Bute* (Donnington, Shaun Tyas, 2012), pp. 18-21, 49- 54, 95- 97 and 211- 212; Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Gorman*, pp. 154- 155; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=22> (last accessed 2/10/2016).

least not actively promoted by, the earliest Patrician hagiographers. However, by the eighth century, Irish hagiographers began to view British identity as a useful device in the depiction of the Early Church. Despite this, political expedience began to exert an influence that attempted to draw individuals from the Early Church as well as later centuries back towards an Irish identity. Nonetheless, some traditions of British identity among early ecclesiastics had become sufficiently entrenched to remain part of the hagiographical tapestry of the Early Church, potentially resulting in the promotion of British origin through the female line in order to provide some reconciliation. Meanwhile some localised traditions relating to migration from Northern Britain in later centuries were retained, potentially boosted in part by vocal Pictish reminders. Although any Northern British claims of Pictish influence on the Irish Church may have disappeared with the relegation of the Picts to a purely secular role in later Scottish accounts, a strongly assertive claim of external influence on behalf of 'Scottish' churchmen is present by the time of the compilation of the *Aberdeen Breviary*. It therefore may be summarised that though the general trajectory of Irish hagiography throughout the course of the Medieval Period may have been to prioritise the Irish nature of the Church, some British input beyond that of its perceived founder continued to be discernible. In pre-Reformation Scotland, the strength of such a presence seems to have been actively promoted, albeit in a heavily gaelicised context. Many aspects of migration from Northern Britain to Ireland came to be lost or downplayed through the course of the medieval period. However, the result was a migration narrative that was more focused, rather than entirely forgotten.





## 9 Conclusion

The investigation began with two principal aims. The first of these was to consider the evidence for migration from Northern Britain to the Irish Church, in particular that of British and Pictish individuals. The second was to examine how such migration came to be perceived in later times, considering both why these perceptions developed and how they may have changed over time. In examining the first of these themes, each of the case studies that has been looked at has helped to contribute to a picture of a complex and vibrant pattern of relations across the sea that varied in strength and impact.

Some British presence beyond that of Patrick is detectable in the early Irish Church. The cases of Mochta and arguably Mugenóc attest that at the very least the Armagh patron was not a solitary British force in Irish Christianity's earliest stages. However, the extant evidence makes it difficult to assert that the Irish Church possessed a British presence as extensive as many later sources would portray.<sup>1</sup> The various cults in Ireland that have been argued to derive from a British Uinniau would argue for a man of this name to be considered the second most influential British figure in the earliest centuries of the Irish Church, though as has been seen, it is far from certain that all of the various potentially related cults in Northern Britain and Ireland ultimately derive from the same man. Drostan, Fergus, Torannán and Eoganán add further names to the list of those for whom there is some evidence of a historical origin in Northern Britain.<sup>2</sup> Each migrant whose life can in any way be glimpsed in the source material, as with those whose activities have been entirely

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<sup>1</sup> See in particular, 4.4.6, 4.5, 7.3, 8.1 and 8.2.

<sup>2</sup> See 6.2, 6.4 and 6.8.

lost, travelled under their own unique set of circumstances. However, every individual migrant contributed their own thread to a complex tapestry of relations between Northern Britain and Ireland. When what survives of the tapestry is viewed, traces remain of particularly significant connections such as the links between the Irish Church and the far-northern Pictish zone, as well as those between the wider Pictish speaking area and the Columban Church.<sup>3</sup> Other connections that appeared to be prominent through the layers of hagiography placed on top of them, such as that between the Northern Britons and the earliest Irish Church, are harder to discern except in the most fleeting of traces when these are swept away.<sup>4</sup>

By its nature, the processes of attempting to discern ecclesiastical migration from Northern Britain to Ireland from the fifth to the late-eighth centuries has involved consideration of how the interaction between Northern Britain and Ireland during these centuries was perceived by later commentators. As has become apparent, these views could be complicated and reflect a conception that there had been a fluctuating migratory situation as the first four centuries of Irish Christianity progressed. At times, the contemporary migratory situation may have influenced the way that the movement of people in the past may have been perceived.<sup>5</sup> However, often more complex factors were at play, sometimes conspiring to pull the depicted individuals in contradictory directions. Competing hagiographical and genealogical motivations could result in seemingly contradictory portrayals of ecclesiastics such as Darerca as both a member of a religious community and a matriarch of an ecclesiastical dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Local churches that may have been inspired to assert the

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<sup>3</sup> See 7.1 and 7.2.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular, 7.3, 8.1 and 8.2.

<sup>5</sup> See 8.1.

<sup>6</sup> See in particular, 8.2.

pedigree of their founders within the kindreds of local elites also had to grapple with the place of these same founders within the developing framework of the perceived genesis of the Irish Church. This could lead to a desire to place local saints within the hagiography of the premier saints of the Early Church, as disciples and often blood relations. It is obvious how in such circumstances, Britain could become seen as the 'Eden' of the Irish Church by Patrician hagiography, providing Ireland with not only Patrick, but also by implication those who had become known as his blood relatives and many of his disciples. However, perhaps in reaction to this trend, it seems that Britain could also be used to assert an independent and equally valid genesis for other foundations, whether this was in order to assert parity with, or independence from Armagh. Considerations of secular and religious politics could be reconciled through marriage, with a paternal attachment to secular elites and maternal attachment to church figures, and by extension in many occasions Britain, the ideal means by which to portray this.

The investigation of the wider themes of migration has allowed a number of specific issues to be investigated which hold their own intriguing problems relating to the perception of migration and the development of the historiography and hagiography of migrants. In particular, certain texts have come to the fore that, though not as overtly concerned with the themes of travel evident in passages of the *Additamenta* or *Seven Brothers*, may nonetheless provide some insight into the nature of travel between Northern Britain and Ireland and the manner in which it was perceived. In the case of the '*Pseudo-Cumméne*' *Vita Columbae*, it may be impossible to chart the motivation that lay behind the disjointed portrayal of the locations and movements of Finnian and Columba. However, examination of the text

suggests that, however illogical the surviving product, some amount of deliberate shaping of the representation of these movements is evident. The presence of extant traditions of the relationship between these two men and Britain would offer one possible reason for such shaping of the text. Another text offering fresh possibilities in the consideration of how ecclesiastical migration came to be viewed is the poem on Ailerán, Uinniau and Fergus in the *Karlsruhe Augustine Codex*. As has been discussed, it is possible that the poem offers an insight into ninth-century perceptions of Northern British influence on the Irish Church and specifically Clonard, as well as hinting at a corresponding Pictish awareness of this relationship.

Migration, both real and imagined, had a lasting impact on the shape of the early Irish Church. From the fifth to the eighth centuries and beyond, the movement of people from Northern Britain to Ireland in association with the activities of the Church influenced the forging and reinforcing of ecclesiastical and political links. The early medieval Irish Church sat within a patchwork of interactions and connections that joined it to the wider insular world, and Christendom as a whole.<sup>7</sup> The manner in which these interactions came to be perceived in later times, however inaccurately, formed the foundations on which both Ireland and Scotland were to build their ongoing migration stories.

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<sup>7</sup> See Ch. 1.

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## 11 Appendices

### 11.1 Appendix I: Monenna's Journey and Ninian

#### A. Boyle's suggested correlation of sites on Monenna's journey with Ninian.<sup>1</sup>

Name in Text	Boyle's Identification	Boyle's suggested connection of place with Ninian <sup>2</sup>	Notes
<i>Chilnecase in Galuueie</i>	Whithorn (Candida Casa), Galloway	Principal site associated with Ninian from Bede onwards <sup>3</sup>	Boyle highlights Watson's identification as Kilcais, North of Ayr
<i>Dundeuenel</i>	Dundonald	St Ninian's Chapel <sup>4</sup>	
<i>Dunbreten</i>	Dumbarton	None, except proximity to Glasgow where according to <i>Vita Kentigerni</i> of Jocelyn Ninian had consecrated a graveyard.	Note however MacQueen's argument against Glasgow, as has been discussed. <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compiled using information from Boyle, 'St Ninian and St Monenna' (Autumn, 1967), pp. 147- 151. I have added minimal additional comment in the 'notes' column.

<sup>2</sup> On several occasions Boyle does not himself outline the connection but instead points to other works. These works are referenced here as appropriate. A number of locations listed here are charted in the Saints in Scottish Place-Names database. where this is the case, a specific reference is provided.

<sup>3</sup> <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1358864459> (last accessed 31/8/2016).

<sup>4</sup> George Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. 5 (Paisley, Alexander Gardner, new ed. 1890), p. 411, n. (i).

<sup>5</sup> See 5.3.

<i>Striuelin</i>	Stirling	Church of St Ninian's to the south of Stirling. Formerly known as <i>Eccles</i> . <sup>6</sup>	Note discussion in present work. <sup>7</sup>
<i>Dunedene/Edeneburg</i>	Edinburgh	St Ninian's Lands, Liberton; St Ninian's Chapel; <sup>8</sup> Alterage in Saint Giles; St Ninian's Chapel, Bridge-End Leith. <sup>9</sup>	Note discussion in present work.
<i>Dun peleder</i>	Traprain Law or Drumpellier, Coatbridge. Boyle prioritises the former	None if the former is implied. The latter is linked by Boyle to Glasgow as above.	As above, note MacQueen's argument against a Glasgow Ninian connection.
<i>Sanctum Andream</i>	Saint Andrews	None known	
<i>Aleethe</i>	Alyth	Church dedicated to St Ninian	
<i>Lonfortin</i>	Longforgan	Proximity to Alyth	Boyle draws attention to the

<sup>6</sup> W. Douglas Simpson, *Saint Ninian and the origins of the Christian Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1940), p. 98; <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1327938399> (last accessed 31/8/2016).

<sup>7</sup> See 5.3.

<sup>8</sup> <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1367497495> (last accessed 31/8/2016).

<sup>9</sup> Forbes (ed.), *Lives of Saint Ninian and Saint Kentigern*, p. xv; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, p. 411, n. (i); <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1362051581> (last accessed 31/8/2016).

			commonness of <i>longphort</i> names in Scotland.
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## 11.2 Appendix II: *Seven Brothers*

Ó Cróinín's text and translation of the poem is provided here, revised to incorporate his suggested translation of *etamuin* and with the misprinted date adjusted.<sup>10</sup>

*Colum Cille cecinit*

1. *Secht meic áille Oéngusa,*

*lotar co iath ñhÉrenn;*

*Mo-Thrianóc is Itharnaisc,*

*Eóganán áille rémend.*

2. *Mo-Thrianóc i rRuscachaib,*

*la hUí Falge ro-faémad;*

*Cend Leccaig im Eóganán*

*Itharnaisc án I Cloénad.*

3. *In cethrur for-facabsat*

*luidset dar farge fostán:*

*Torannán is Agatán,*

*Mo-Chullian is Troscán*

4. *Troscán trén tarrasair*

*i nArd Breccain co mbinni;*

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<sup>10</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The oldest Irish names for days of the week' pp. 105 and 112- 113. See above 6.2.1.

*Torannán in tairbertach*

*ós toraib Tulcha Tinni.*

*5. Mo-Chullian i nDresnatha-*

*Fothart Feä, feidm n-ualle;*

*Agatán 'na disiurtán*

*ar brú na Ethni uaire.*

*6. Uais itge cond-ráncatar*

*forind ardríg find fethal;*

*combad oénlaé a n-estecht-som*

*'n-a cure comlán cethrar.*

*7. I príd nóin Iúin etamuin*

*luidset a bethaid brethglan*

*di deoin Meic Dé Datharail,*

*'n-a curi comlán cethrar.*

*8. Ind lecc fora- táncatar*

*dar triathmuir trethnaig,*

*Agatán a sósar-som*

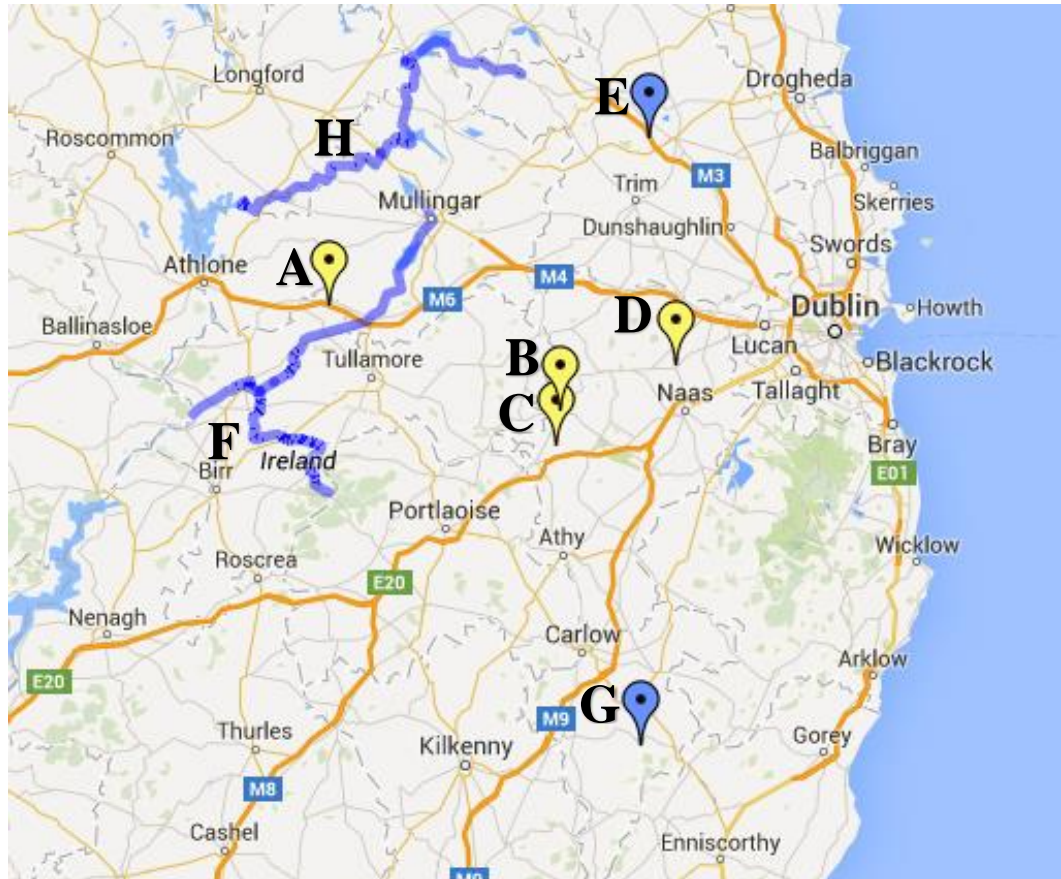
*ros-fuc a crandchor cethruir.*

*9. Na manistri fuaratar,*

*i nde[r]natar a ferta,  
is la hUí Néill Noígiallaig  
co rrath in spirita sechta. S.*

- [1. The seven beautiful sons of Oéngus, they went to the land of Ireland; Mo-Thrianóc and Itharnaisc, Eóganán of the beautiful coursing.
2. Mo-Thrianóc was received at Ruscach, among the Uí Falge; Eóganán was at Cend Leccaig, and the famous Itharnaisc at Clane.
3. The four whom they left (behind) went across the steady sea; Torannán and Agatán, Mo-Chullian and Troscán.
- 4 Troscán the strong settled at Ardbreccan with melodiousness; Torannán the generous (settled) above the hosts of Tulach Tinni.
5. Mo-Chullian was in Dresnatha (in the territory) of the Fotharta Fea- a great pride; Agatán was in his little hermitage on the banks of the cold Inny.
6. The four complete warriors found a noble grant from the High-King of fair halidoms; that they should all die on the same day.
7. On the day preceding the Nones of June (4 June), a Thursday, the four complete warriors passed from the right-judging life by the will of the fair (?) Son of God.
8. The flagstone on which they came over the storm-swelled sea, it was Agatán, the youngest of them, who won it in a lot-casting among the four.
9. The monasteries that they received and in which they did their great deeds, they are (now) among the Uí Néill, with the grace of the seven-fold Spirit.]

11.3 Appendix III: Midlands locations suggested for the seven brothers based on their stated places of settlement in the poem.



Map data © 2015 Google.

This map plots the identifications that have been made by Ó Cróinín and Ó Riain for the possible Meath and Leinster locations of places presented in the text of *Seven Brothers*. As has been discussed, even if these places correctly reflect the locations intended by the compiler of the poem, it is possible that in some cases the compiler or their source mistook references to non-midlands locations in their own sources as more local dedications. Though Rathangan is not associated with Mo-Thrianóc in the



poem itself, it is also plotted here due to its potential significance in understanding the reasons for the text's composition.

'The Three':

**A:** *Mo-Thrianóc*. Rúscach, Offaly.<sup>11</sup>

**(B:** *Trenan Drui i nImgan*, Rathangan, Kildare.<sup>12</sup>)

**C:** *Eóganán*, Lackagh, Kildare.<sup>13</sup>

**D:** *Itharnaisc*, Clane, Kildare.<sup>14</sup>

'The Four':

**E:** *Troscán*, Ardraccon, Meath.<sup>15</sup>

**F:** *Torannán*, Tulcha Tinni, argued to be located on the Brosna or Silver Rivers. As has been discussed, Ó Cróinín and Hogan suggest only and Offaly location. However, O'Donovan left open the possibility for a more northerly Westmeath location on the Brosna.<sup>16</sup>

**G:** *Mo Chullian*, Forth, Carlow.<sup>17</sup>

**H:** *Agatan*, River Inny, Meath/ Cavan/ Longford/ Westmeath.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.logainm.ie/en/42120> (last accessed 23/4/15); Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for days of the week', p. 106; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 501.

<sup>12</sup> Mac Shamhráin, *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland: the Case of Glendalough*, p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for days of the week', p. 106, n. 41; Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 297.

<sup>14</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for days of the week', p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 107.

<sup>16</sup> See O' Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, vol. 3, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) p. 183, n. g.; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae Et Scotiae*, p. 634; Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', p. 106 and 106, n. 38.

<sup>17</sup> Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p. 474.

<sup>18</sup> Ó Cróinín, 'The Oldest Irish names for the days of the week?', pp. 106- 107.