

COUNCILS
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

EDITED, AFTER SPELMAN AND WILKINS,
BY
ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B. D.
Honorary Canon of Worcester,
AND
WILLIAM STUBBS, M. A.
Regius Professor of Modern History,
FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. II. PART II.

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
M DCCC LXXVIII

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VIII. CHURCH OF IRELAND; MEMORIALS OF S. PATRICK.

NOTICE.

FIVE years have now elapsed since Mr. ARTHUR HADDAN'S death, and the prospect of completing this portion of the work on the plan which he adopted, is as distant as ever. I have therefore recommended the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to issue the following sheets, which contain the matter introductory to the History of the Irish Church, and which constitute all the materials which had been prepared for publication when the work was broken off. The documentary remains of S. Patrick are, as it is believed, here given in their integrity; and no labour was spared in collating the MSS. which furnished the text.

WILLIAM STUBBS.

OXFORD,
April 3, 1878.

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COUNCILS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VIII.
THE CHURCH OF IRELAND
FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,
A. D. 350(?)—1175.

Period I.—*Before S. Patrick.* A.D. 350 (?)–440 (?).

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [PROSPER., *Chron. in an.* 431 (A.D. 455 × 463).]

Period II.—*S. Patrick, and the first Order of Irish Saints.* A.D. 440 (?)–543.

Quem Deus misit ut Paulum ad Gentes Apostolum. [S. SECUNDIN., *Hymn. in Laudem S. Patricii*, v. 27 (shortly before A.D. 448).]

Period III.—*S. Columba; Gildas; the Second Order of Irish Saints.*

A.D. 543–599.

Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a Sancto David, a S. Gilda, et a S. [Ca]doco. [CATAL. ORD. SS. IN HIBERNIA (c. A.D. 750).]

Period IV.—*The Third Order of Irish Saints. Easter Disputes. Missions.*

A.D. 599–665.

Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Alexandria errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat: soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt! [CUNMIAN., *Epist. ad Segien.* (A.D. 634).]

Period V.—*Termination of Easter Disputes. Missions.* A.D. 665–795.

Hibernia insula Scottorum sanctis viris plena habetur. [MARIAN. SCOT., *in an.* 674 (A.D. 1086).]

Period VI.—*Northman Invasions. Irish Teachers abroad.* A.D. 795–1014.

Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad littora nostra migrantem? [ERRIC. AUTISSON., *Pref. ad V. S. Germani* (c. A.D. 881).]

Period VII.—*Ostmen in Ireland Christianized. Canterbury claim over Irish Bishops. Settlement of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland.* A.D. 1014–1152.

Cantuariensis Ecclesia, totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, necnon adjacentium insularum mater. [EADMER, *Hist. Nov., I.* (A.D. 1122).]

Period VIII.—*Subjection of Ireland. Irish Church remodelled after the English pattern.* A.D. 1152–1175.

Insulas omnes [Papæ] sibi speciali quodam jure respiciunt. [GIR. CAMBR., *Hibern. Expugnat. II.* 6; *Opp. V.* 320 (c. A.D. 1189).]

CHURCH OF IRELAND

FROM THE BEGINNING UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUEST,

A.D. 350 (?)—1176.

PERIOD THE FIRST.

CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND OR OF IRISH BIRTH, BEFORE S. PATRICK.

A.D. 350 (?)—440 (?).

c. A.D. 350 (?). *Mansuetus first Bishop of Toul, an Irish Scot* ^a.

ACTA TULLENS. EPISC.—Mansuetus primus Tullensium Episcopus . . . nobili Scotorum genere oriundus. [*ap. Martene et Durand., Thes. Nov. III. 991.*]

ADSO, *V. Mansueti* [end of 10th century]:—

Inclya Mansueti claris natalibus orti

Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis :

Insula Christicolas gestabat Hibernia gentes ;

Unde genus traxit, et satus inde fuit.

[*ap. Ussher, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., XVI. ; Works, VI. 279.*]

^a So likewise Adso's prose *Life of S. Mansuetus* (*Bosquet, Hist. Eccl. Gallic. I. ii. 23, sq.*). See also *Ussher* (as above, pp. 296, sq.), *Calmet* (*Dissert. prefixed to Hist. Eccl. et Civ. de Lorraine, p. xxvii., and Preuves, p. 86.*), *Todd* (*S. Patrick, pp. 193, 194.*) *Mansuetus*

was also the name of the first known Bréton Bishop, A.D. 461 (see above, p. 72). And Dr. Reeves notes, that it is given as the Latin equivalent for Fethgna in the *Martyr. Donegal. p. 417.*

A.D. 415, 416. *Celestius the Pelagian an Irish Scot* ^a.

PORPHYRIUS [c. A.D. 415], *ap. Hieron. ad Ctesiph.* [*Opp., IV. ii. 481 ; as quoted above in vol. i. p. 12.*]

HIERON., *Comment. in Jerem., Prolog.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ut nuper inductus calumniator erupit, qui Commentarios meos in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios reprehendendos putat. Nec intelligit, nimia

[CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND BEFORE S. PATRICK.]

stertens vecordia, leges Commentariorum. . . . Nec recordatur stolidissimus, et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus, nos in ipso opere dixisse, Non damus digamos, immo nec trigamos, nec, si fieri possit, octogamos. [Opp., III. 527.]

Id. *ib. Lib. III., Præf.* [c. A.D. 416].—Ipseque [diabolus] mutus latrat per Alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia: qui juxta fabulas poetarum, instar Cerberi, spirituali percutiendus est clava, ut æterno cum suo magistro Plutone silentio conticescat. [Opp. III. 586.]

^a It seems the simplest interpretation of S. Jerom's words to refer them to Pelagius' coadjutor Cælestius. Pelagius himself is called a Briton by all authorities (S. Augustine, Prosper, Marius Mercator, Orosius, Gennadius). S. Jerom speaks of a "Scot" from the "neighbourhood of the Britons." Whether Cælestius

was a Christian before he quitted Ireland is left uncertain. He wrote "ad parentes suos de monasterio," while still a young man (*Gennad.*); but it may be almost certainly taken for granted that the monastery in question was not in Ireland.

Before A.D. 431. *Christians in Ireland before Palladius, but Ireland as a country still Pagan*^a.

PROSPER AQUITAN., *Chron. in an.* 431. [A.D. 455 × 463].—Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur. [Opp. I. 401, Bassani.]

Id., *Cont. Collat. XXI.* [c. A.D. 432].—Ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam [Cælestinus] studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. [*Ib.* I. 197.]

^a S. Jerom also (*Adv. Jovin. II.*) speaks of seeing in Gaul, when a very young man, "Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus." Little stress can be laid on S. Chrysostom's words, who thrice speaks of τὰς

Ἰσπερὶν τὰς ῥήσους in the plural as Christian (see above, vol. I. pp. 10, 11) at the end of the 4th century. For Irish native legends of Irish Christianity before S. Patrick, see note ^b to the next article.

A.D. 431. *Abortive Mission of Palladius to Ireland*^a.

PROSPER AQUITAN. [as in last article].

V. S. PATRICII {earlier than A.D. 807; prob. c. A.D. 700}.—Certe enim erat, quod Palladius, Archidiaconus Papæ Cælestini urbis Romæ Episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem Apostolicam quadragesimus quintus a Sancto Petro Apostolo, ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore possitam convertendam. Sed prohibuit illum, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra

nisi datum ei fuerat de cœlo. Nam neque hii feri et immites homines facile recipiunt doctrinam ejus, neque et ipse voluit transgere tempus in terra non sua; sed reversus ad eum qui misit illum. Revertente vero eo hinc, et primo mari transito, cœptoque terrarum itinere, Britonum finibus vita factus [*leg. functus*]. [*Book of Armagh*, fol. 2. a. a.^b]

* The *Vita Secunda* of S. Patrick, c. 23 (Colgan, *Tr. Tbaun.* p. 13), makes Palladius die "in Pictavorum finibus," meaning "Pictorum," and at Fordun. The *Annotations of Tirechan* on the Life of S. Patrick (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 16. a. a), state, that Palladius was also called Patrick, and that "martyrium passus est apud Scotos," i.e. in Ireland. The Scholia on Fiacce's Hymn (*Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 5) take him expressly to Fordun (see above, in vol. I. p. 18). And the balance of evidence, such as it is, seems in favour of modern as against ancient Scotland, as the locality of his death or martyrdom. See Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 286–306; and Bp. Forbes, *Calendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 427–430. The same *Vita Secunda* (c. 24, *Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 13), which is conjecturally dated c. A.D. 900, adds some particulars of his Irish proceedings, as that he landed among the Hy Garchon (in County Wicklow), built there three (wooden, so *II. Mag.*) churches (which are named), and left, when he withdrew, some relics of SS. Peter and Paul and others, and a copy of the Old and New Testaments, which Pope Cælestine had given him, together with the tablets on which he himself used to write.

^b The chief claim, of Irish origin, for the existence of an Irish Church before Palladius and S. Patrick, is in the eleventh century legends respecting the four Irish Munster Bishops, SS. Kieran, Ailbe, Declan, and Ibar, accepted by Colgan (*Tr. Tb.* p. 250), and not rejected by Ussher (*Antiq. Brit. Eccl. XVI.; Works*, VI. 332, 342–348), but which Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 198–221) conclusively refutes; some of these bishops being connected, in fact, with the Second Order of Irish Saints, and all of them dying in years between A.D. 500 and A.D. 600. The fourth of them, Ibar, is connected with S. Brigit by the Litany

of Aengus the Culdee, and by the hymn attributed to S. Brigit herself; as quoted in O'Curry's *Lectures on Materials of Anc. Irish Hist.*, App. CXXXIV. pp. 615, 616. There are also one or two indirect allusions in the legendary Lives of S. Patrick, which cannot bear much stress, although of ancient origin, e.g. the alleged discovery of an "altare mirabile lapideum in monte nepotum Ailello," i.e. in a district of Co. Sligo (*Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 11 b. a), by S. Patrick; to which the *Vita Tripart. II.* 35 (*Colg. Tr. Tb.* p. 134) adds a "stone cave of wonderful workmanship," and "four glass chalices." See Todd (*S. Patr.* pp. 221–224). An allusion also occurs in the Book of Armagh (fol. 17 a. a), quoted by Dr. Petrie (*Tara*, p. 47, in *Trans. of Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii.), to a church of S. Colman at "Cluain Cain in Achud," which that Bishop gave over to S. Patrick, and which is presumed therefore to have been founded before S. Patrick came.

That Sedulius, the Christian poet of the 5th century, was a Scot, rests solely upon his name (= *Sindbul* or *Siadbal*, and supposed to be modernized into "Shiel"), and upon a confusion between him and two others of the same name who were undoubtedly Scots, viz. the Bishop Sedulius of the Roman Council of A.D. 721, and the author of the Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles (see Art. *Sedulius* in Smith's *Dict. of Ancient Biography*). Cathaldus, Bishop of Tarentum, was certainly an Irish Scot, but he lived in the 7th century at the earliest (see Todd, *S. Patr.* pp. 195, 196). The legend of Brynach the Irishman, who settled in Pembrokeshire or Brecknock early in the 5th century (*Lives of Welsh SS.*, pp. 1, sq.; *Rees, Welsh SS.*, 150, 156), hardly deserves mention.

PERIODS II, III, IV, A.D. 440(?)–665. (*Introductory.*)ANCIENT SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH^a.

ANON. [c. A.D. 750]. *Incipit Catalogus¹ Sanctorum² Hiberniæ, secundum³ diversa tempora^b.*

First Order of Irish Saints, A. D. 440 (?)–543. Primus Ordo⁴ Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes, clari et sancti et Spiritu Sancto pleni, ⁵CCCL. numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum Caput Christum⁶, et unum ducem Patri- cium, ⁷habebant; unam⁸ missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram ab aure usque ad aurem sufferebant. Unum⁹ Pascha, ⁹quarta decima luna⁹ post æquinoctium vernale, celebrabant; et quod excommunicatum esset ab una Ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant. ¹⁰Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia super petram Christi fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant. Hic Ordo Sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna; hoc est, ¹¹pro tempore Læogarii¹², et ¹³Aila Muil¹⁴, et ¹⁴Lugada filio Læogarii¹⁵, et ¹⁵Tuathail. ¹⁶Hi omnes Episcopi de Romanis^c et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis exorti sunt^f.

Second Order of Irish Saints, A. D. 543–599. Secundus¹⁷ ordo¹⁸ Catholicorum presbyterorum^g. In hoc enim¹⁹ Ordine pauci erant Episcopi et multi presbyteri, numero CCC. Unum Caput Dominum²⁰ nostrum habebant; ²¹diversas missas celebrabant^h, et diversas regulas²²: unum Pascha quartadecima luna ²³post æquinoctium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad auremⁱ. ²⁴Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis^j. Hic Ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit; ²⁵hoc est^k, ab extremis ²⁶Tuathail, et per totum Diarmata Regis

¹ Ordinum, *add.* F. ² in Hibernia, F. ³ divisa, F. ⁴ om. F. ⁵ quadringenti quinquaginta, F. ⁶ colentes, *add.* F. ⁷ sequentes, F. ⁸ tonsuram habentes, et unam celebrationem missæ, et unum, F. ⁹ scilicet, F. ¹⁰ Nec laicos nec fœminas de Ecclesiis repellabant, *var. read. given by Ussher.* ¹¹ a. F. ¹² filii Neil, qui regnavit XXXVII. annis, *add.* F. ¹³ Ailildi cognomento Molt, qui XXX. annis regnavit, F. ¹⁴ Lugadii, qui VII. regnavit, F. ¹⁵ et hic Ordo Sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathailii, cognomento Moel Garbh, duravit, F. ¹⁶ Hi . . . sunt, *om.* F. et *add.*, sancti Episcopi omnes permanserunt. ¹⁷ vero, *add.* F. ¹⁸ Sanctorum talis erat, F. ¹⁹ secundo, *add.* F. ²⁰ colentes, F. ²¹ diversos celebra di ritus habebant, F. ²² vivendi, et, *add.* F. ²³ celebrabant; et hi uniformem tonsuram, scilicet ab aure usque ad aurem, faciebant, F. ²⁴ Mulierum quoque consortia ac administrationem fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant, F. ²⁵ scilicet, F. ²⁶ Tuathailii cognomento Moel Garbh temporibus, et XXX. annos quibus Dermotus Mackearvail regnavit, et pro tempore quo duo nepotes Muredachi qui VII. annis regnaverunt, et pro tempore quo Aidus filius Annirei qui XXX. annos regnavit, F.

[CATALOGUE OF IRISH SAINTS.]

regnum, et duorum Muredaig nepotum, et Ædo filii Ainmereich'. ¹ A Davide Episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt. Quorum nomina hæc sunt': ² duo Finiani, duo Brendani, Jairlaithea Tuama, Comgallus, Coemgenus, Ciaranus, Columba, Cainecus, Eogenius Mac Laisreus, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormacus, Colmanus, Nesanus, Laisreanus, Barrindeus, Coemannus, Ceranus, Comanus, [Endeus, Ædeus, Byrchinus,] et alii multi ³.

Third Order of Irish Saints. Tertius Ordo Sanctorum erat talis. Erant ⁴ presbyteri sancti, et pauci Episcopi, numero centum: qui in A.D. 599–665. locis desertis habitabant, ⁵ et oleribus et aqua et elemosynis [⁶ fidelium] vivebant, ⁷ propria devitabant, et ⁸ diversas regulas et ⁹ missas habebant, et diversam ¹⁰ tonsuram (¹¹ alii enim habebant coronam, ¹² alii cæsariem), et ¹³ diversam solemnitatem Paschalem ¹⁴ (alii enim ¹⁵ Resurrectionem XIV. luna ¹⁶ vel XVI., cum duris intentionibus, celebrabant). ¹⁷ Hi per ¹⁸ quaterna regna ¹⁹ vixerunt; hoc est, ²⁰ Æda Allain (qui tribus annis, ²¹ pro cogitatione mala, tantum regnavit), et ²² Domnail, et filiorum Mailcobi et Æda' S'aine ²³ permixta tempora; et ²⁴ usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam ²⁵ perduraverunt. ²⁶ Hæc sunt' nomina ²⁷ eorum: Petranus Episcopus, Ultanus Episcopus, Colmanus Episcopus, ²⁸ Murgeus Episcopus, Ædanus Episcopus, ²⁹ Lomanus Episcopus, Senachus Episcopus,—hi ³⁰ sunt Episcopi ³¹;—et alii plures. Hi vero presbyteri: Fechinus presbyter, Airendanus, Failanus, ³² Comanus, ³³ Commianus, Colmannus, Ernanus, Cronanus; et alii ³⁴ plurimi ³⁵ presbyteri.

³⁶ Nota, quod primus Ordo erat ³⁷ sanctissimus; secundus, ³⁸ sanctus sanctorum'; tertius, sanctus. Primus sicut sol in fervore claritatis calescit; secundus sicut luna pallescit; tertius sicut aurora splendescit. Hos tres Ordines beatus Patricius, superno oraculo edoctus,

¹ Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a S. David, et a S. Gilda, et a S. Deco. Et horum nomina sunt hi; scilicet, F. ² Finnianus, Endeus. Colmannus, Congallus, Ædeus, Queranus, Columba, Brandanus, Bricynius, Cainecheus, Caimginus, Lasreanus, Lasreus, Lugeus, Barrideus, F. Lasreus is given as an alternative for Lasreanus, in the *Cod. Salamanic.* ³ qui erant de secundo gradu Sanctorum, *add.* F. ⁴ enim, *add.* F. ⁵ hi, F. ⁶ *add.* F. ⁷ et omnia terrena contemnebant, et omnem susurrationem et detractionem penitus evitabant. Hi, F. ⁸ diversos celebrandi ritus, F. ⁹ etiam, *add.* F. ¹⁰ aliqui, F. ¹¹ aliqui, F. ¹² hi, *add.* F. ¹³ habebant, *add.* F. ¹⁴ om. F. ¹⁵ alii XIII., F. ¹⁶ Hic Ordo, F. ¹⁷ quatuor, F. ¹⁸ duravit, F. ¹⁹ pro tempore Aidi, F. ²⁰ om. F. ²¹ per tempora Moelcavæ, et pro tempore Aidi, F. ²² et hic Ordo, F. ²³ duravit, F. ²⁴ Quorum, F. ²⁵ sunt hi, F. ²⁶ om. F. ²⁷ Lompanus, F. ²⁸ om. F. ²⁹ omnes, *add.* F. ³⁰ om. F. ³¹ Cumenianus, F. ³² om. F. ³³ plures, F. ³⁴ The paragraph, *Nota . . . conspexit*, stands thus in the earlier of the MSS. used by Ussher—Primus Ordo sanctissimus, secundus Ordo sanctior, tertius sanctus. Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stella. The text is here taken from Ussher's 2nd MS., and alludes to a vision of S. Patrick described in Jocelyn's Life. ³⁵ sanctus sanctissimus, F. ³⁶ sanctior, F.

intellexit; cum in visione illa prophetica vidit totam Hiberniam flamma ignis repletam, deinde montes tantum ardere, postea lucernas ardere in vallibus conspexit.

^a Printed by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq. XVI., Works, VI.* 477-479), from two MSS., from the earlier of which he gives the first three paragraphs as above printed, and adds to the fourth its longer form from the other and later one. Another form of the same document was subsequently printed by Fleming (*Collect.* pp. 430, 431) from another MS. of which the various readings are given here, marked *F*. There is a copy of it in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, fol. 78 b, a (a MS. vol. of Lives of Irish Saints, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels); which was probably among Fleming's authorities, as its readings appear to agree almost exactly with his: if we may judge by an extract kindly communicated by Dr. Reeves. It appears to have been appended to MS. Lives of SS. Kerausus and Finnianus. O'Connor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* II. 162-165) reprints it after Fleming: and Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89) translates it from Ussher. It has been conjecturally attributed to Tirechanus, but is at all events not later than the middle of the 8th century. See Todd (as above), and Reeves (*ad Adamn. Add. Notes*, p. 334 n): and for a full commentary upon it, see Ussher and Todd as above quoted.

^b The following list of the Kings named in the document or included within its range (from Ussher, as above, pp. 514, 515, and Todd, p. 256), and of their probable dates, will supply the proof of the chronology above given; with the addition, that A.D. 440 is taken for the commencement, as the most probable approximation to the date of S. Patrick's mission, and A.D. 665 for the termination, as being the year of the death, by the great plague, of Kings Blathmac and Diarmait; that plague raging in England,

A.D. 664, according to Bede (*H. E.*, III. 27).

Period I. (1) Laoghaire Mac Neil, A.D. 428-463. (2) Oilíoll Molt, A.D. 463-483. (3) Lugaidh Mac Laoghaire, A.D. 483-508. [Interregnum, A.D. 508-513.] (4) Muirchertach Mac Ere, A.D. 513-533. (5) Tuathal Míclgarbh, A.D. 533-544.

Period II. (1) Diarmait, A.D. 544-565. (2) Donhnall and Fergus, sons of Muirchertach Mac Ere, A.D. 565, 566. (3) Baotan and Eochaidh, A.D. 566-568. (4) Ainmire Mac Sedna, A.D. 568-571. (5) Another Baotan, A.D. 571, 572. (6) Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 572-599. [Ussher inverts the order of (3) and (4) and omits (5).]

Period III. (1) Aodh Sláine and Colman Rimhe, A.D. 599-605. (2) Aodh Uariodhnach, A.D. 605-612. (3) Maolcobha, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 612-615. (4) Suibhne Meann, A.D. 615-628. (5) Domhnall, son of Aodh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 628-642. (6) Cellach and Conall Caol, A.D. 642-658. (7) Blathmac and Diarmait, sons of Aodh Sláine, A.D. 658-665.

O'Connor's dates differ slightly; and those given in Fleming's copy of the document itself, considerably. But the Annals, which are Ussher's and Todd's authorities, are the better evidence.

^c It appears by this, that Roman ecclesiastics were among S. Patrick's company; although the language of the Hymus of S. Sechn. II and of S. Fiacc, and of S. Patrick's own *Confessio*, and the silence of Prosper, besides chronological difficulties, disprove, upon purely historical grounds, the supposed mission from Rome of S. Patrick himself; which first appears in the *Scolia* on S. Fiacc's Hymn. See Todd at length.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

S. PATRICK, AND THE FIRST ORDER OF IRISH SAINTS, A.D. 440(?)–543.

[A.D. 440^a. Probable date of the mission to Ireland of S. Patrick: (who is described by himself as "Hiberione constitutus Episcopus" [*Conf. S. Patric.*], and by a contemporary as "Episcopus Scotorum" [*Title of S. Sechnall's Hymn*]; then as "Archipostulus Scotorum" [*Ann. Ult.*]; but, in later times, as "Ab Eireann uile," *Abbat of all Ireland* [*Flann of Monasteryboyce*, ob. A.D. 1066, *IV. Mag. in an.* 432], and as "Airdeaspuc, Ceitt Priomaid, ⁊ Ardapstel Eireann," *Archbishop, First Primate, and chief Apostle of Ireland* [*IV. Mag. in an.* 493].)

A.D. 445. Alleged date of the foundation of Armagh (*Ann. Ult.*—A.D. 457, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 448. Death of S. Sechnall, or Secundinus, of Domhnach Sechnall or Dunshaughlin, co. Meath (*Ann. Ult.*), who "primus Episcopus sub humo Hiberniæ exivit" (*V. S. Declan.*).

After A.D. 448. S. Fiacc made Bishop of Sletty (Queen's County).

A.D. 460. Death of Auxilius (of Killossy, co. Kildare); A.D. 468, of Benignus (of Armagh); A.D. 469, of Isserninus (of Kilcullen, co. Kildare): acc. to *Ann. Ult.*

c. A.D. 480. Nunnery founded at Kildare by S. Brigit.

A.D. 493. "Patricius archipostulus Scotorum quievit" (*Ann. Ult.*, so also *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 500. Death of S. Ibar, of Begerin, co. Wexford (*Ann. Ult.*, &c.).

A.D. 523, 5, or 7. Death of S. Brigit (*Ann. Ult.*, *IV. Mag.*).

A.D. 530. Clonard founded by S. Finnian of Clonard (co. Meath).

A.D. 534 (535) or 536 (537). "Dormitatio Moctai" (of Louth) "discipuli Patricii" (*Ann. Tigh.*, *Ult.*).

A.D. 540. Maghbile (Moville, co. Down) founded by S. Finnian of Maghbile.]

^a These dates are of course not given as more than conjectural and near the truth. Both Tillemont and Todd select A.D. 440 for S. Patrick's mission, as being at a reasonable interval after the certain date of Palladius, A.D. 431, besides its agreement with all the

evidence, except the unhistorical statement of S. Patrick's own mission by Celestine. The other dates also in the above list are uncertain, being variously given in the different Annals.

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII^a.[1. *Shortly before* A.D. 493(?). INCIPIT CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

1. Ego Patricius, peccator rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et ¹ contemptibilis sum' apud plurimos. Patrem habui ² Calpornum ³ diaconum, filium ⁴ quendam Potiti ⁵ filii Odissi' presbyteri qui fuit ⁶ vico ⁷ Bannaum Tabernæ, ⁸ villulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego ⁹ capturam dedi.' Annorum eram tunc fere xui: Deum ¹⁰ verum ignorabam, et Hyberione ¹¹ in captiuitate adductus sum' cum tot ¹² milia hominum, secundum merita nostra quia a Deo recessimus, et precepta Eius non custodiimus, et sacerdotibus nostris ¹³ non

¹ contemptibilissimus, C.F₁.F₂.B. ² Calpornium, C.F₂.B. Calpurnium, F₁. ³ diaconem, C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁴ quondam, C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₂.B. The two words are added in the margin of the Book of Armagh. ⁶ in. add. C.F₂; e. add. F₁.B. ⁷ Bannaum, C.F₁.F₂; Banaven, B. ⁸ villam, F₁.F₂.B. ⁹ in captam decidi, correxit B. ¹⁰ enim, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹¹ a. s. in c., B. ¹² milib, F₂. (on erasure); millibus, B. ¹³ inobedientes, C.F₁.F₂.B.

^a The text of the *Confessio* is taken from the Book of Armagh, fol. 22 a. a, sq.; with various readings and additions from three other MSS., Cott. MS. Nero E. I. fol. 167, sq. (C.), Fell MSS. Bodl. vol. I. fol. 7 a 11 b (F₁), and vol. III. fol. 158 a-164 a (F₂), both of which were formerly in the library of Sarum Cathedral; and from the *Acta SS.*, March 17, vol. II. pp. 533, sq., which follows a fourth MS., then at S. Vedast's at Noialle near Arras (B). Of these five MSS., that in the Book of Armagh was transcribed before A.D. 807, from a MS. alleged to have been written by S. Patrick himself, and at that time difficult to decipher, probably from its antiquity (so far the MS. itself states, and see for the date. Dean Graves in the *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*. III. 316; Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, p. 107; Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 288, 346-349; Dr. Reeves, *Ecel. Antiq. of Down*, &c., p. 224). It was also written at Armagh itself. It has therefore the strongest external evidence to the genuineness of its text. It is also marked unmistakably by the peculiarities of early Irish Latin. On the other hand, its marginal notes, indicating uncertainty and incompleteness (see below, note 6 on p. 297), and the phrases *et cetera*, *et reliqua*, which occur in some places of it, point to its being an abridgment of the original (as Dean Graves seems rightly to argue), and also to its having a text more or less corrupt. And this is confirmed by the fact, that in the other four MSS., long passages occur in the later half

of the tract, and almost equal in length to the remainder of it, which are not in the Book of Armagh, yet bear no sign of want of genuineness, and are in sense hardly separable from the context. The text, however, of these MSS., especially that of B, has been improved in grammar, while all four, but especially C, F₁, and F₂ (of which the last is corrected throughout by a better Latinist than its original scribe), present independent copies of the same original; and that both more correct in language, and fuller, than the Armagh text. These three are of the 11th century. The title above given is from the Cotton MS. The tract was first printed in Sir J. Ware's *Opuscula S. Patricio Ascripta* in 1656, from the first four of the above-mentioned MSS.; next, in the *Act. SS.* (as above) in 1668, from the S. Vedast MS.; then by O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Script. I.* cvii. in 1814, from the Cotton MS., corrected by the Book of Armagh; by Sir W. Betham, *Irib Antiq. Researches*, P. II. in 1827, from the Book of Armagh, but inaccurately; and by Villaneva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 184, in 1835, from the *Act. SS.* It is also in Migne's *Patrologia*. The Bollandists "improve" S. Patrick's Creed, as well as his Latin, by inserting the *Homocousion* into it, which is absent in all the other MSS. (it is, however, in S. Sechnall's Hymn, l. 88, below p. 326), besides other minor alterations. Several unimportant corrections of mere spelling in F₁.F₂, have been left unnoticed in the various readings.

[CONFESSIO S. PATRICII.]

oboedientes' fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant. Et Dominus induxit super nos iram ¹animationis Suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ, ubi nunc paruitas mea ²esse videtur' inter ³alienigenas; et ⁴ibi Dominus aperuit ⁵sensum incredulitatis meæ, ut vel ⁶serorem orarem dilecta' mea, et ut ⁷confirmarem toto corde ad Dominum meum, Qui respexit humilitatem meam, et misertus est ⁸adoliscentiæ ignorantiae meæ, ⁹et custodiuit me, antequam ¹⁰scirem Eum, et antequam' saperem vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et ¹¹muniuit me et ¹²consulatus est ¹³mei, ut pater filium. Unde ¹⁴autem tacere non possum, neque expedit ¹⁵quidem, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam, quam mihi ¹⁶dignatus ¹⁷in terra captiuitatis meæ: quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut post ¹⁸correctionem vel agnitionem ¹⁹Dei ²⁰exaltare, et ²¹confiteri mirabilia Eius coram omni natione, quæ ²²est sub omni caelo.' ²³Quia non' est alius Deus, nec umquam fuit, ²⁴nec ante, nec erit post hunc, præter ²⁵Deum, Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a Quo est omne principium; ²⁶omnia tenentem, ut ²⁷dicimus: et ²⁸Eius Filium Jesum Christum, ²⁹Qui cum Patre scilicet ³⁰semper fuisse testamur' ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem, ³¹inerrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, ³²et per Ipsum facta sunt visibilia ³³; ³⁴hominem ³⁵factum ³⁶morte devicta' in cælis ³⁷; et dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium ³⁸ et terrestrium et infernorum, ³⁹et omnis lingua confiteatur ⁴⁰Ei quia Dominus ⁴¹et Deus est Jesus Christus b: Quem credimus, et expectamus aduentum, ⁴²mox ⁴³futurum ⁴⁴iudex viuorum atque mortuorum,

¹ indignationis, F₁.F₃.B. (C. om. iram i. S., et d. nos). ² v. e., C.F₁.F₃.B. ³ alienigenas, C.F₃.B.; alienienas, F₁. ⁴ ubi, C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁵ sensus cordis mei incredulitatis, C.F₁.; sensus c. mee i., F₁.; sensum incredulitatis c. mei, B. ⁶ sero rememorem delicta, C.F₁.F₃.B. (A mark in the margin of the Book of Armagh, notes this passage as difficult to decipher. Dr. Graves supposes it to stand for ζ, = ζητρε. There is another mark also attached to some passages, indicating omission, viz. .: = dele). ⁷ conuerteret, C.F₁.F₃.; me conuerterem ex, B. ⁸ adulescentie mee et ignorantie, C.F₁.F₃.; adolescentie et ignorantie meæ, B. ⁹ om. B. ¹⁰ om. B. ¹¹ monuit, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹² consolatus, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹³ me, C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁴ ego, add. B. ¹⁵ om. B. ¹⁶ Dominus prestare, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁷ est, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ¹⁸ correctionem, F₃. ¹⁹ Domini, C. ²⁰ exaltaremur, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²¹ confiteremur, C.F₁.F₃.B. ²² sub celo est, B. ²³ Non enim, B. ²⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ Dominum, B. ²⁶ o. tenens, F₁.; B. om. from omnia to ante omne principium, by an homæoteleuton. ²⁷ diximus, F₁. ²⁸ Huius, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ Quem, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ i. s. t., C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ inenarrabiliter, C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ³³ et inuisibilia, add. C.F₁.F₃.; et inuisibilia, Qui Filium sibi consubstantialiæ genuit, add. B. ³⁴ Homo, F₁.; Hominum, C. ³⁵ factus, F₁. ³⁶ d. m., C.F₁.F₃.; et victa morte, B. ³⁷ ad Patrem receptum, add. C.F₃.B.; ad P. receptus, add. F₁. ³⁸ om. B. ³⁹ ut, C.F₃.B. ⁴⁰ Ei, om. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴¹ Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris, B. ⁴² Ipsius, add. C.F₁.F₃.B. ⁴³ futurus, F₃. (on erasure). ⁴⁴ iudicem, B.

b Phil. ii. 9–11 (not Vulg.). See, for these quotations from the Bible, above in vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

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Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua: et ¹effudit in uobis habunde ²Spiritum Sanctum donum et pignus immortalitatis; Qui facit credentes ³ac oboedientes ut sint filij Dei ⁴et coheredes Christi, Quem confitemur et ⁵adoramus unum Deum in Trinitate ⁶sacri nominis: Ipse enim dixit per Prophetam, “⁷Inuoca Me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis Me^c.” Et iterum inquit: “Opera autem Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est^d.” Tamen, et si in multis imperfectus sum, opto ⁸fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint ⁹perficere votum animæ meæ. Non ¹⁰ignoro testimonium Domini mei, Qui in Psalmo testatur: “Perdes ¹¹cos qui loquuntur mendacium^e.” Et iterum inquit: “Os quod mentitur occidit animam^f.” Et ¹²idem Dominus¹³: “Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent ¹⁴rationem de eo in die iudicii^g.” Unde ¹⁵autem vehementer cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere; sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum ¹⁶ante tribunal ¹⁷Domini Christi. Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed ¹⁸et usque nunc hessitavi: timui enim ne ¹⁹incederem in linguam hominum: ²⁰quia non dedici sicut caeteri, qui optime ²¹itaque jure et sacras literas utroque pari modo combiberunt et ²²sermones illorum ex infantia numquam ²³motarunt; sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt: nam sermo et ²⁴loquela ²⁵mea translata est in linguam alienam. ²⁶Sicut facile potest probari ²⁷ex aliis scripturæ meæ qualiter ²⁸sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus: quia, inquit Sapiens, “Per linguam ²⁹dignoscetur ³⁰et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina ³¹veritatis^h.” Sed ³²quid prodest excussatio iuxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione, ³³quatinus modo ipse adpeto

¹ infudit. C.F₁.F₂.B. ² Spiritus Sancti. C.F₁.F₂.B. ³ et. C.F₁.F₂. ⁴ Patris et c. Christi. C.F₁.F₂; Patris. B. ⁵ u. D. a., B. ⁶ sacrosancti. B. ⁷ Inuocabis. B. ⁸ fratres et cognatos meos. C.F₁.F₂. ⁹ perspicere. C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹⁰ enim. add. B. ¹¹ om. C.; eos omnes. B. And F₁.F₂. om. inquit in the next line. ¹² idem. C.F₂. ¹³ in Euangelio inquit. add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹⁴ pro eo rationem. C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁵ autem vehementer debueram. C.F₁.F₂; ego debere vehementer. B. ¹⁶ nostrorum. add. B. ¹⁷ Christi D., C.F₁.F₂; Domini nostri Iesu Christi. B. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹⁹ incederem. C.F₁.F₂; incidere in. B. ²⁰ et quia non legi. C.F₂; et qui legi. F₁; quia non legi. B. ²¹ i. iure et s. l. utraque p. m. combiberunt. C.F₁.F₂. (but with combiberunt in F₂ on erasure); sacris litteris sunt imbuti. B.— Incertus liber hic. add. in marg. of Bk. of Armagh. ²² sermonem illorum. C.F₁.F₂; studium scum. B. ²³ mutauerunt. C.F₁.F₂.B. ²⁴ lingua. B. ²⁵ nostra. C.F₁.F₂.B. ²⁶ sed. B. ²⁷ ex salua. C.F₁.F₂.B. ²⁸ c. s., B. ²⁹ dinoscitur. C.F₁.F₂.B. ³⁰ om. B. ³¹ uarietatis. C.F₁.F₂. ³² om. C.F₁.F₂.B. ³³ ut. B.

^c Ps. l. 15.^d Tobias xii. 7.

Ps. v. 6.

^e Wisd. i. 11.^f Matt. xii. 36.^g Ecclus. iv. 24.

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in senectute ¹ mea, quod in iuuentute' non comparauī; ² quod obstitērunt' vt confirmarem, ³ quod ante ⁴ perlegeram; sed ⁵ si quis ⁶ me ⁷ credidit? Et si dixerō, quod ante præfatus sum; ⁸ adoliscens, immo pene puer ⁹ in uerbis, capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid ¹⁰ peterem vel quid' ¹¹ adpeterem vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ¹² ergo hodie erubescō et vehimenter ¹³ pertimeo denudare imperitiā meā, quia ¹⁴ non deeritis' breuitate ¹⁵ sermone explicare ¹⁶ nequeo, sicut enim spiritus ¹⁷ gessit et ¹⁸ animas, et sensus ¹⁹ monstrat adfectus: sed si ²⁰ itaque datum mihi' fuisset sicut ²¹ et cæteris; verum tamen non silerem, propter retributionem. Et, si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc præponere cum mea ²² inscientia et tardiori ²³ lingua, ²⁴ sicut scriptum est ²⁵, "Linguae balbutientes velociter ²⁶ discent loqui' pacem i." quanto magis ²⁷ nos adpetere debemus, qui sumus ²⁸ nos æpistola Christi ²⁹ in salutem' usque ad ultimum terræ^k, et si non ³⁰ deserta, sed ³¹ ratum fortissimum scriptum' in cordibus ³² vestris, non atramento sed Spiritu Dei uiui^l; ³³ et iterum Spiritus testatur, et' ³⁴ "Rusticationem ab Altissimo creata est m." ³⁵ Unde ³⁶ ego primus rusticus,' profuga, indoctus ³⁷ scilicet, qui nescio' in posterum ³⁸ prouidere. Sed ³⁹ illud scio' certissime, quia vtique, priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis, qui iacet in luto profundo, et ⁴⁰ venit Qui potens est, et in Sua missericordia sustulit me: et quidem scilicet sursum adleuauit, et collocauit me in ⁴¹ "sua parte." Et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad ⁴² retribuendam quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficijs Eius, hic et in æternum, quæ mens ⁴³ hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem ammiramini, ⁴⁴ magni et pusilli ⁴⁵, et vos ⁴⁶ dominicati qui timetis Deum, rethorici:'

¹ om. C. ² quia o., C.F₁.F₂; and F₁.F₃, add. peccata mea; o. enim, B. ³ quodque, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ non, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁶ mihi, B. ⁷ credit, C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁸ adoliscens, C.; adhuliscens, F₁; adolescens, F₂.B. ⁹ (= in uerbis); in uerbis, B. ¹⁰ om. C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹¹ adpetere, B. ¹² ego, B. ¹³ pertimesco, B. ¹⁴ non possūm dē deeritis, in the Arm. MS.; desertis, F₂; desertis, C.F₁; deserti, B. ¹⁵ sermonis, F₂ (on erasure), B. ¹⁶ non possum, B. ¹⁷ gessit, C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁸ animus, C.F₁.F₂.B. ¹⁹ monstrare, C.F₁. ²⁰ sed etiam, C.F₁.F₂ (om. B.). ²¹ enim, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ²² l. d., B. ²³ non, B. ²⁴ inquit, C.; inquit, F₁.F₂; om. B. ²⁵ om. B. ²⁶ deserta, B. ²⁷ r. et f. scripta, C.F₁; rata et fortissima scripta, F₂; B has scripta only, but with a blank preceding it. ²⁸ nostris, C.F₁.F₂. ²⁹ om. B. ³⁰ Rusticatio, C.F₂; Rusticatio, F₁.B. ³¹ teste eodem Spiritu Dei uiui, add. B. ³² ego p. rusticus, C.F.; ergo p. r., F₁; ergo primum rusticus, B. ³³ qui scilicet nescit, B. ³⁴ prouidere, B. ³⁵ scio illud, C.F₁.F₂; illud, B. (om. scio). ³⁶ ueniens in the Arm. MS., with t under the i. ³⁷ summo pariete, C.F₁.F₂.B. ³⁸ retribuendum, F₂ (on erasure), B. ³⁹ humana, B. ⁴⁰ itaque, add. F₁.F₂. ⁴¹ qui timetis Dominum, add. C.B.; q. t. Deum, F₁.F₂. ⁴² domini ignari rethorici, C.F₂; d. i. rethorici, F₁; d. i. rethorici, B.

ⁱ Isai. xxxii. 4.^k Acts xiii. 47.^l 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.^m Eccles. vii. 15.

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audite¹ et scrutamini, Quis me stultum excitauit de medio eorum, qui videntur² esse sapientes et leges periti,³ et potentes in sermone et in omni re. Et me quidem,⁴ detestabilis huius mundi, præ cæteris inspirauit,⁵ si talis essem; dummodo⁶ autem ut cum metu et reuerantia et sine querella fideliter⁷ genti, ad quam caritas Christi transtulit⁸ et donauit me in vita mea, si dignus fuero, denique vt cum⁹ omni humilitate et naturaliter deseruirem¹⁰ illis. In mensura itaque¹¹ fidei Trinitatis¹² oportet distinguere, sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei, et consolationem æternam,¹³ sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen¹⁴ ubique expandere,¹⁵ ut etiam post obitum meum¹⁶ ex a Gallias¹⁷ relinquere fratribus et filiis meis, quos¹⁸ in Domino ego baptizauit,¹⁹ tot²⁰ milia hominum; et non²¹ eram dignus, neque talis vt hoc Dominus²² seruulo Suo concederet; ²³ post²⁴ erumpnas²⁵ et tantas moles,²⁶ post captiuitatem, post annos multos, in²⁷ gentem illam,²⁸ tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod²⁹ ego aliquando³⁰ in iuuentute mea³¹ numquam sperauit³² neque cogitauit. Sed postquam Hiberione deueneram, cotidie³³ itaque pecora pascebam, et³⁴ frequens in die orabam,³⁵ magis ac magis accedebat³⁶ amor Dei, et timor³⁷ Ipsius et fides augebatur, et Spiritus³⁸ agebatur, vt in die una usque³⁹ ad centum orationes,⁴⁰ et in nocte prope similiter:⁴¹ ut etiam in siluis⁴² et monte⁴³ manebam,⁴⁴ ante lucem⁴⁵ excitabar ad orationem per niuem, per gelu, per⁴⁶ pluuiam; et nihil mali sentiebam neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo video: quia tunc⁴⁷ Spiritus in me⁴⁸ feruebat. Et ibi scilicet⁴⁹ quadam nocte in somno audiui vocem dicentem mihi: Bene ieiunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam⁵⁰. Et⁵¹ iterum post paululum tempus⁵² audiui responsum dicentem⁵³ mihi: Ecce nauis tua parata est. Et⁵⁴ non erat prope: sed forte⁵⁵ habebat .ccc. milia passus: et ibi numquam

¹ ergo, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ² s. esse et legisperiti, C.F₁.F₂.B. ³ detestabilem, C.F₁.F₂.B.
⁴ etsi, B. ⁵ om. B. ⁶ prodessens, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁷ ut, C.F₁. ⁸ om. C.F₁.F₂.
⁹ illi, F₂.B. ¹⁰ quæ, add. B. (which also joins in mensura to the preceding sentence). ¹¹ sunt, add. B.; and et before sine. ¹² ac, add. B. ¹³ nomine, add. C.F₁. ¹⁴ et. B. ¹⁵ ex Gallias, C.F₁; ex Gallicis, F₂; om. B. (Incertain liber, marginal note in Book of Armagh.)
¹⁶ e. in D. b., C.B.; e. b. in D., F₁.F₂. ¹⁷ millia, B. ¹⁸ etsi, B. ¹⁹ etiam, F₁.F₂.
²⁰ seruo, B. ²¹ et, add. B. ²² erumpnas, C.B. ²³ et tante molis, C.F₁.F₂; tantæ molis, B. ²⁴ gente illa, B. ²⁵ a. e., B. ²⁶ nonqua desperauit, C.F₁.F₂. ²⁷ igitur, C.F₁.F₂; om. B. ²⁸ frequent, F₂. (on erasure). ²⁹ magisque, B. ³⁰ timor, F₁.F₂.
³¹ illius, C.F₁.B.; illis, F₂. ³² augebatur, F₁.B. ³³ facerem, add. B., but not in their MS. ³⁴ et, B. ³⁵ et in mente, C.; et in mite, F₂. ³⁶ et, add. C.F₁.F₂.B. ³⁷ exercitabar, C.F₁.F₂. ³⁸ pluuiam, C.F₁.F₂.B. ³⁹ in me S., C.F₁.F₂.B. ⁴⁰ quidam, C. ⁴¹ et terram, add. C.F₁.F₂. ⁴² om. C.F₁.F₂. ⁴³ a. r. dicens, F₂. (on erasure); r. a. dicens, B. ⁴⁴ om. C.F₁.F₂. and MS. of B. ⁴⁵ aberat, B.

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fueram, nec ibi ¹notum quicquam de hominibus habebam.' Et deinde postmodum conuersus sum in fugam; et intermissi hominem cum ²fueram ³.ui. annis'; et ⁴veni in virtute Dei, Qui viam meam ⁵ad bonum' dirigebat, ⁶et ⁷nihil metuebam, ⁸donec perueni ad nauem illam. Et ⁹illa die qua' perueni, profecta est ¹⁰navis de loco suo; et locutus sum ut ¹¹abirem ¹²unde ¹³nauigarem cum illis. ¹⁴Et gubernatori' displicuit ¹⁵illi, et acriter cum indignatione respondit: Nequaquam tu nobiscum ¹⁶adpetes ire. Et cum hæc audissem, separavi me ab illis, vt ¹⁷venirem ad ¹⁸tegorium ¹⁹ubi hospitabam, et in itinere cæpi orare: et antequam orationem consummarem, audiui unum ex illis ²⁰et fortiter ²¹exclamabat post me: Veni cito: quia vocant te homines isti. Et statim ad illos reuersus sum, et coeperunt mihi dicere: Veni, quia ex fide ²²recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam, quomodo volueris. Et in illa die ²³itaque reppuli sugere mammellas eorum' propter ²⁴timorem Dei': ²⁵sed verumtamen ab illis speravi venire in fidem Jesu' Christi; quia ²⁶gentes erant; et ²⁷ob hoc obtinui cum illis. ²⁸Et post triduum terram ²⁹cæpinus: et ³⁰xxvij. dies per ³¹desertum iter fecimus. ³²Et cibus defuit illis, et ³³fames inualuit super ³⁴eos. Et ³⁵alio die coepit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid, ³⁶Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est: quare ergo ³⁷pro nobis orare non potes? Quia ³⁸nos a' fame periclitamur: difficile ³⁹enim umquam' ut ⁴⁰aliquem hominem' videamus. Ego ⁴¹enim euidenter dixi illis: ⁴²Conuertimini ex ⁴³fide ad Dominum Deum meum; ⁴⁴Cui nihil est' impossibile, ut ⁴⁵cibum mittat uobis' in viam ⁴⁶vestram, usque dum ⁴⁷satiamini: quia ubique habundat Illi. ⁴⁸Et adiuuante Deo ita factum est. Ecce grex

¹ n. h. q. de h., C.F.; q. n. de h. habebam, B. ² quo, add. C.F., F.B. ³ a. sex, C.F., F.B. ⁴ om. B. ⁵ om. B. ⁶ ueni ad Benuni, add. B.; et, om. C. ⁷ ex nihilo, C.F. ⁸ om. F. ⁹ illa qua, C.F.; illa quam, F.; mox cum. B. ¹⁰ om. B. ¹¹ haberem, C.F., F.B. ¹² inde, F. ¹³ nauigare, C.F., F.B. ¹⁴ Et gubernator, C.; Gubernator, B. ¹⁵ erasure in F.; om. B. ¹⁶ adpetas, C.F., F.B. ¹⁷ et, add. C.F., F.B. ¹⁸ tegorium, C.F., F.B.; ad, om. F. ¹⁹ et ibi, F. ²⁰ om. C.F., F.B. ²¹ exclamare, F.B.; exclamanti, F. ²² recipimus, C.F., F.B.; reperimus, B. ²³ And et fac, F., F.B. ²⁴ itaque repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum, C.F.; itaque repulis fugere maffas illorum, F.; debui surgere in nauem eorum, corr. B.; but their MS. has repuli sugere maminas eorum. ²⁵ Deum, B. ²⁶ Verumtamen s. ab illis ut mihi dicerent, Ueni in fide Jesu, C. (and so also, but om. sed, F., F.B.); Sed u, non s. ab i. ut n. d., U. in fide, B.; but their MS. om. non. ²⁷ om. C.F., F.B. ²⁸ Et protinus nauigauimus, add. C.F., F.B. ²⁹ cepimus, C.F., F.B. ³⁰ viginti et septem, C.F. (but om. et). F.B. ³¹ desertum, C.F., F.B. ³² cibus autem et potus defecit nobis, B. ³³ famis, C.F. ³⁴ nos, B. ³⁵ alia, C.F., F.B. ³⁶ est, add. C.F., F.B. (and the note of interrogation after Christiane). ³⁷ non potes pro n. o., C.F., F.B.; n. p. pro n. o.; ora pro nobis, B. ³⁸ om. B. ³⁹ est enim, C.F., F.B. ⁴⁰ a. h. umquam. C.F., F.B.; h. a. unquam, B. ⁴¹ uero, B. ⁴² conuertimini, C.F., F.B. ⁴³ fide et ex toto corde, C.F.; fide ex toto corde, F.; toto corde, B. ⁴⁴ quia nihil est illi, C.F., F.B. ⁴⁵ hodie cybum m. nobis, F.; m. nobis c., B. ⁴⁶ nostram, B. ⁴⁷ satiemini, C.F., F.B. ⁴⁸ om. C.F., F.B.

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porcorum in via ¹ ante oculos nostros ² apparuit, et multos ex illis ³ interfecerunt: et ibi .ij. noctes manserunt ⁴ et bene refecti. Et ⁵ canes eorum ⁶ repleti sunt, quia multi ex illis ⁷ secus viam semiuiui ⁸ relictii sunt. Et post ⁹ hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo; et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum ¹⁰. Etiam mel ¹¹ siluistre inuenierunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt: et unus ¹² ex illis dixit: ¹³ Immolaticum est. Deo gratias. Exinde nihil gustavi ¹⁴. Eadem vero ¹⁵ eram dormiens, et fortiter temptauit me Satanas, ¹⁶ quod memor ero quandiu ¹⁷ fuero in hoc corpore: ¹⁸ et cecidit super me ¹⁹ veluti saxum ingens, et ²⁰ nihil membrorum præualens. Sed unde ²¹ mihi venit ²² in ²³ spiritum ²⁴ ut Heliam uocarem. Et ²⁵ in hoc vidi in ²⁶ cælum solem oriri; et dum ²⁷ clamarem ²⁸ Heliam ²⁹ viribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius ³⁰ decedit super me, et statim discussit a me ³¹ grauitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo ³² Domino meo ³³ clamabat pro me: ³⁴ et spero quod sic erit in die presuræ meæ, sicut in *Æuangelio* ³⁵ inquit Dominus, Non vos estis ³⁶. Multos adhuc ³⁷ capturam dedi. ³⁸ Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis: responsum autem Diuinum audiui, ³⁹ Duobus autem mensibus eris cum illis: quod ita factum est. Nocte ⁴⁰ illa ⁴¹ sexagensima liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum. ⁴² Etiam in itinere ⁴³ prævidit nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie, donec ⁴⁴ decimo die ⁴⁵ peruenimus omnes; sicut superius insinuauimus. Xx. et viij. ⁴⁶ disertum iter

¹ ueniebat, *add.* B. ² *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ³ interfecerunt, C.F.₁F.₃B. ⁴ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ⁵ carnes, C.; carne, F.₃. ⁶ repleti, C.F.₃B.; reuelati, F.₁. ⁷ defecerunt et, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B.; and eis for illis, F.₁. ⁸ derelicti, C.F.₁F.₃B. ⁹ hoc, C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹⁰ Et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃; Ex illa autem die c. a. h. sed, *add.* B. ¹¹ siluestre inuenierunt, C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹² illorum, B. ¹³ Hoc immolaticum, C.; Hoc immolatum, F.₁F.₃ (*on erasure*); Hoc immolatum, B. ¹⁴ nocte, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹⁵ cuius, F.₃. ¹⁶ fueram, C.F.₁; fuero, F.₃ (*on erasure*). ¹⁷ et cecidit, C.F.₁F.₃; cecidit enim, B. ¹⁸ ueluti saxa ingentia, C.F.₁F.₃; uelut saxum ingens, B. ¹⁹ nihil m. meorum præualui, C.F.₁F.₃ and *MS.* of B; omnium m. meorum vires abstulit, *corr.* B. ²⁰ me, C.F.₁; *om.* B. ²¹ ignarum in, C.; ignarum, et, F.; ignoro in, F.₃ (*on erasure*); ignoro, ut, B. ²² spiritu, C.F.₁F.₃B. ²³ Heliam uocarem, C.; Heliam uocare, F.₃; Eliam invocarem, B. ²⁴ inter hæc, C.F.₁F.₃B. ²⁵ cælo, C.F.₁F.₃B. ²⁶ clamabam, C.F.₁F.₃. ²⁷ Heliam (*bis*), C.F.₁F.₃; Eliam (*bis*), B. ²⁸ totis, *add.* B. And et ecce, F.₁. ²⁹ cecidit, B. ³⁰ omnem, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ³¹ Deo, C.F.₁; Domino, F.₃; *om.* B. ³² subuentus sum, et Spiritus Eius iam tunc clamauit, C.F.₁F.₃. ³³ s. autem, B. ³⁴ inquit, In illa die, Dominus testatur, C.F.₁F.₃; Dominus testatur; In illa die, inquit, B. ³⁵ qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris uestri, Qui loquitur in uobis. Et iterum post annos, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃; qui l. sed S. P. u. Qui l. in uobis. In itinere autem nostro (*as four lines further on in the text, down to*) cibo uero nihil habuimus. Et iterum post annos non, *add.* B. ³⁶ in capturam decidi, B. ³⁷ Nocte uero prima, B. ³⁸ dicentem mihi: Duos menses, C.; dicente mihi: Duos menses, F.₁; dicens mihi: Duos menses, F.₃ (*on erasure*). B. ³⁹ igitur, *add.* B. ⁴⁰ sexagesimo die, C.F.₁F.₃; sexagesima, B. ⁴¹ Ecce, C.F.₁F.₃; *om.* B. ⁴² prouidit, C.; autem nostro prouidit, B. ⁴³ quarto, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ⁴⁴ p. ad homines, C.F.₃; peruenimus ad homines, B. (F.₁ has peruenimus omnes, and *om.* by an *homoeteleuton* down to de cibo uero). ⁴⁵ per desertum iter fecimus. Et, C.F.₁B.; dies per d. i. f. Et, F.₃.

¹ See 1 Cor. x. 28, 29.² Matt. x. 20.

fecimus ex' ea nocte qua peruenimus ¹omnes, de cibo uero nihil habuimus. ²Et iterum post paucos annos in ³Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium ⁴susciperunt; et ex fide rogauerunt me, ut vel modo ⁵ego post tantas tribulationes, quas ego pertuli, ⁶nusquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet ⁷in ⁸sinu noctis' virum venientem quasi de Hiberione, ⁹cui nomen Victoricus,' cum ¹⁰æpistolis innumerabilibus ¹¹vidi: et dedit mihi unam ex ¹²his, et ¹³legi principium æpistolæ ¹⁴continentem: Vox ¹⁵Hyberionacum. Et ¹⁶dum recitabam ¹⁷principium æpistolæ, putabam ¹⁸enim ipse in mente' audire vocem ipsorum qui erant iuxta ¹⁹siluam Focluti n', quæ est prope mare ²⁰Occidentale, et sic exclamauerunt: ²¹Rogamus te, ²²sancte puer,' ut venias et adhuc ²³ambulas inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere: et sic ²⁴expertus sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos præstitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem ²⁵illorum. Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit; utrum in me, an iuxta me, verbis ²⁶peritissime, quos ego audiui et non potui ²⁷intelligere, nisi ad ²⁸posterum orationis sic ²⁹efficiatus est: Qui ³⁰dedit animam suam pro te, Ipse est Qui loquitur in te.' Et sic ³¹expertus sum gaudibundus.' Et iterum ³²vidi in me ipsum orantem: et ³³eram quasi' intra corpus meum, et audiui, ³⁴hoc est, super interiorem hominem, et ibi fortiter orabat ³⁵gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam et ³⁶ammirabam et cogitabam, quis esset qui ³⁷in me orabat.' Sed ad postremum orationis ³⁸sic efficiatus est,' ³⁹ut sit Episcopus; ⁴⁰et sic expertus sum,' et recordatus sum ⁴¹Apostolo dicente: " Spiritus adiuuat ⁴²infirmittatis orationis nostræ: "

¹ ad homines, C.F.₁B. ² om. B. ³ Britanniis, C.F.₁F.₂; Britannia, B. ⁴ susceperunt, C.F.₁F.₂; exceperunt, B. ⁵ me, C.F.₁F.₂; om. B. ⁶ nusquam, C.F.₁F.₂B. ⁷ vidi, add. C.F.₁F.₂B. ⁸ uisu nocte, C.F.₁F.₂; uisu de nocte, B. ⁹ Victoricius nomen, C.F.₁F.₂; Victrius nomen, B. ¹⁰ om. C.F.₁F.₂B. ¹¹ illis, C.F.₁F.₂B. ¹² lego, B. ¹³ continenter, B. ¹⁴ Hiberionarum, B. (*miswritten and corrected*, F.₁). ¹⁵ cum, C.F.₁F.₂B. ¹⁶ initium, B. ¹⁷ ipso momento, C.F.₁F.₂B. ¹⁸ silua uirgulti uolutique, C.; siluam uirgultique, F.₁; siluam uirgulti uolutique, F.₂; s. uirgulti, *MS. of B.* ¹⁹ Occidentem, C.F.₁F.₂. ²⁰ quasi ex uno ore, add. C.F.₁F.₂B. ²¹ sanctum puerum, C.F.₁F.₂. ²² ambules, C.F.₁F.₂B. ²³ experefactus, C.F.₁F.₂B. ²⁴ eorum, C.F.₁F.₂B. ²⁵ *Marked as doubtful in marg. of the Arm. MS.*; peritissimis, C.F.₁F.₂; peritissimis audiebam quosdam ex Spiritu psallentes intra me, et nesciebam qui essent, B. ²⁶ intelligere, F.₂B. ²⁷ postremum, C.F.₁F.₂B. ²⁸ affatus, C.F.₁F.₂B. ²⁹ pro te animam suam posuit, C.F.₂; p. t. a. s., F.₁; dedit pro te animam suam, B. ³⁰ experefactus s. g., C.F.₁F.₂; euigilaui, B. ³¹ audiui, B. ³² eram, C.F.₁F.₂; erat, B. ³³ super me, add. C.F.₁F.₂B. ³⁴ cum, add. B., *but it is not in their MS.* ³⁵ admirabar, C.F.₁F.₂B. ³⁶ oret in me, C.F.₁F.₂; oraret in me, B. ³⁷ sic effatus est, C.F.₂; s. effatus e., F.₁; dixit, B. ³⁸ (*Eps. miswritten for Sps.*).—ut sit Spiritus, F.₂; Se esse Spiritum, B. ³⁹ om. B. ⁴⁰ Apostoli dicentis, B. ⁴¹ infirmitatem n. o., C.F.₁F.₂; infirmitatem o. n., B.

P Near Killala, co. Mayo. The readings in the other MSS. agree with the facts, that the Armagh MS. was written at an early time in Ireland, while the knowledge of ancient

localities was still retained, whereas C.F.₁F.₂B. were copied at a later period, when they had been forgotten.

† I John iii. 16.

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¹ nam quod' oremus ² sicut oportet, nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inc[on]fessabilibus, quæ verbis ³ exprimi non possunt' r." Et iterum: "Dominus aduocatus noster ⁵ postulat pro nobis s." [⁶ Et quando tentatus sum ab aliquantibus senioribus meis, qui venerunt, ⁷ ob peccata mea, contra laboriosum Episcopatum meum, ⁸ nonnumquam in illo die fortiter impulsus sum, ut caderem hic et in æternum: sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum, ⁹ et mihi' benigne ¹⁰ valde ¹¹ subuenit in hac conculcatione, quod in ¹² labem et opprobrium non male deueni. Deum oro, ut non illis in peccatum reputetur ¹³ occasio: ¹⁴ nam post annos triginta inuenerunt me, ¹⁵ aduersus verbum, quod confessus fueram ¹⁶ antequam essem Diaconus. Propter anxietatem mæsto animo insinuaui amicissimo meo, quæ in pueritia mea vna die gesseram, imo in vna hora, quia necdum præualebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si ¹⁷ habebam tunc annos' quindecim, et Deum ¹⁸ vnum non credebam ¹⁹ ab infantia mea: sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum: et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et quotidie contra ²⁰ Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hoc potius ²¹ mihi bene' fuit: quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptauit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando ²² etiam de me ipso non cogitabam. Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis ad noctem illam,] ²³ vidi in visu noctis' scriptum ²⁴ erat contra faciem meam sine honore, et inter hæc audiui responsum ²⁵ dicentem mihi: Male ²⁶ audiui faciem ²⁷ designati, nudato nomine. Nec sic prædixit: Male vidisti: sed, Male vidimus: quasi ²⁸ Sibi Se iunxisset'; sicut dixit: "Qui vos ²⁹ tangit, ³⁰ quasi qui' tangit pupillam oculi Mei." Idcirco gratias ago Ei, Qui me in omnibus confortauit, ut

¹ nam quid, F₂.B.; nunquid, C.F₁. ² om. B. ³ exprimi non potest, C.F₁.F₂; exprimere non possum, B. ⁴ Deus, C.; Dominus est, B.; D. a. est, F₁. ⁵ et Ipse, add. B. ⁶ The passage in brackets, Et quando to noctem illam, is omitted by the Book of Armagh. It is given here (as are also the following passages of the same kind) from B., with various readings from C.F₁.F₂, in all of which four MSS. it and the like passages occur. ⁷ et, C.F₁.F₂. ⁸ utque, C.; utique, F₁.F₂. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁰ et, add. C.F₁.F₂. ¹¹ mihi, add. C.F₁.F₂. ¹² labe, C.; and m. erased in F₁. In, add. before opprobrium, F₁.F₂. ¹³ occasionum, C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁵ et, add. C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁶ antequod, C. ¹⁷ habeam t. annis, C.; habeam t. annos, F₁. ¹⁸ niuum, C.F₁.F₂. ¹⁹ neque ex, C.F₁.F₂. And F₁ om. the second in. ²⁰ Hiberione, C.F₁. ²¹ b. m., C.F₁.F₂; and F₁ has hæc for hoc. ²² autem tunc, add. C.F₁.F₂. (but autem erased in F₁). ²³ in u. n. uidi, B.; but vidi is not in their MS. ²⁴ om. B. ²⁵ Diuinum dicentem, C.F₁; Diuinum dicens, F₂ (on erasure). B. ²⁶ uidimus, C.F₁.F₂. ²⁷ Dei signati, C.F₁.F₂. ²⁸ ibi Se iunxit, C.F₁.F₂.B. ²⁹ tangit (bis), C.F₁.F₂.B. ³⁰ quasi, C.F₁.F₂; qui, B.

* Rom. viii. 26.

* 1 John ii. 1.

* Zech. ii. 8.

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non me ¹impediret a profectione², qua statueram, et de ³mea quoque ⁴opera quod a Christo ⁵Domino meo ⁶dedideram: sed magis ⁷ex eo⁸ sensi virtutem non paruam: et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus. Unde autem ⁸audenter dico, non me repræhendit conscientia mea ⁹hic et in futurum,¹⁰ teste Deo, ab eo¹¹ quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ¹¹ego retuli ¹²vobis. [¹³Sed magis ¹⁴doleo pro amicissimo meo, cur ¹⁵tale meruimus habere¹⁶ responsum, cui ¹⁶ego credidi etiam animam ¹⁷meam. Et ¹⁸comperit ab aliquantis fratribus ¹⁹meis ante defensionem illam, quod ego non interfui, nec in Britannijs eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia ²⁰pulsetur pro me.¹⁷ Ipse ore suo dixerat: Ecce ²¹promouendus es tu ad gradum Episcopatus: quo non eram dignus: sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis ²²in me publice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et lætus indulserat?¹⁸ Est Dominus, Qui maior omnibus est. Satis dico: sed tamen ²⁴non debeo abscondere donum Dei, quod largitus est ²⁵in terra captiuitatis meæ; quia tunc fortiter inquisiui ²⁶Illum, et ibi inueni Eum, et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus, ²⁷propter inhabitantem Spiritum Eius¹⁹, Qui operatus est usque in ²⁸hunc diem in me²⁰. ³⁰Nouit autem Dominus,¹⁹ si ³¹ab homine ista audissem,¹⁹ forsitan tacuissem propter caritatem Christi. Unde ³²ego indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, Qui me fidelem seruauit in die tentationis meæ; ita ut hodie ³³confidenter offeram Illi sacrificium, ³⁴et velut¹⁹ hostiam viuentem animam meam ³⁵consecro Domino meo, Qui me seruauit ab omnibus angustijs meis; ut ³⁶Ei dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quæ est ³⁷inuocatio mea, Qui mihi tantam diuinitatem ³⁸denudasti? ita ut hodie ³⁹exaltarem et magnificarem nomen Tuum ⁴⁰in quocumque¹⁹ loco fuero; ⁴¹nec tantum¹⁹ in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris; ut quidquid mihi euenerit, siue bonum siue malum,

¹ impenderet, C.F.₁; impediret (on erasure), F.₃. ² mea, add. B.; and quam for qua, F.₁.F.₃.B. ³ meo, F.₃ (on erasure). B. ⁴ opere, F.₃ (on erasure). B. ⁵ om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁶ didiceram, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ⁷ et ex eo in me, F.₁; ex eo in me, F.₃. ⁸ om. B. ⁹ om. B. ¹⁰ testem Deum habeo, C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹¹ om. B. ¹² om. C.F.₁.F.₃.B. ¹³ For the passage in brackets, from Sed magis to ultra est, here taken from B., see above, note 6, on p. 304. ¹⁴ delco, F.₁. ¹⁵ hoc meruimus audire tale, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁶ ergo, C. ¹⁷ om. C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁸ comperi, C.F.₁.F.₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁰ pro me pulsaret. Etiam mihi, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²¹ dandus, C.F.₃; datus, F.₁; and quod for quo in next line, F.₁.F.₃. ²² et, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²³ et, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁴ om. F.₁. ²⁵ nobis, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁶ Eum, C.F.₁.F.₃; and Illum for Eum in next line, F.₁.F.₃. ²⁷ sic credo, add. C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁸ hanc, C.F.₁.F.₃. ²⁹ audenter rursus, add. C.F.₃; audienter rursus, add. F.₁. ³⁰ sed scit Deus, C.F.₃; sed sit D., F.₁. ³¹ mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³² ergo, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³³ confitenter, F.₁. ³⁴ ut, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁵ Christo, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁶ et, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁷ uocatio, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁸ cooperuisti, C.F.₁.F.₃. ³⁹ in gentibus constanter exaltarem, C.F.₃; g. c. c., F.₁. ⁴⁰ ubicumque, C.F.₁. (and F.₃ with a blank for loco). ⁴¹ necnon, C.F.₁.F.₃.

¹⁹ Rom. viii. 11, marg.

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æqualiter ¹debeam suscipere, et Deo gratias semper agere; Qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem Eum ²crederem sine fine,³ et Qui me audierit: ut et ego ³in nouissimis diebus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum ⁴auderem aggredi⁵; ita ut ⁵imitarer illos, quos ⁶Dominus iam olim prædixerat ⁷prænuntiatiuros Euangelium Suum “in testimonium omnibus gentibus⁸” ante finem mundi. Quod ⁸sicut vidimus, ⁹ita suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Euangelium prædicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.]

Longum est autem totum per singula ¹⁰enarrare laborem meum vel per partes: breuiter dicam qualiter pi[i]ssimus Deus de scruitute sepe ¹¹liberauit, ¹²et de periculis xij. quæ periclitata est anima mea; præter insidias multas, et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, ¹³nec iniuriam legentibus faciam. Sed ¹⁴Deum auctorem¹⁵, Qui nouit omnia, etiam antequam fiant; [¹⁶Ut me pauperculum ¹⁷et pusillum¹⁸ responsum Diuinum ¹⁹creberrime admoneret.²⁰ Unde mihi hæc sapientia, quæ in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noueram, neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum ²¹tam magnum ²²et salubre ²³donum Dei²⁴ agnoscere ²⁵et diligere, ²⁶ut patriam et parentes amitterem, et munera multa ²⁷quæ mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrymis? Et offendi ²⁸illic contra votum aliquantos de senioribus meis: sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque acquieui illis: non ²⁹ego, sed Dei gratia, quæ vicit³⁰ in me: et ³¹restiti illis omnibus, ³²quatenus venirem³³ ad Hibernas gentes Euangelium prædicare, et ab incredulis ³⁴iniurias perferre, vt ³⁵audirem opprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et ³⁶persecutiones multas usque ad vincula, et ut darem ³⁷me et³⁸ ingenuitatem meam pro ³⁹utilitate aliorum. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum, ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime ⁴⁰ponam pro nomine Eius: et ⁴¹Illi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus

¹ debeo, C.F.₁F.₂.² s. f. c., C.F.₁F.₂.³ inscius sim, add. C.F.₂; inscius, add. F.₁.⁴ adire aggredi, C.; a. aggredider, F.₂; audirem aggredider, F.₁.⁵ imitarem quispiam, C.F.₁;imitarer quospiam, B.; i. q. illos (on erasure), F.₂.⁶ ante, add. C.F.₁F.₂.⁷ prænuntiatiuros,C.; prænuntiatiuros, F.₁; prænuntiatus, F.₂.⁸ ita ergo ut, C.F.₂;ita ergo, F.₁.⁹ itaque,C.F.₁F.₂.¹⁰ narrare, B.¹¹ me, add. B., but not in their MS.¹² ex duodecim periculis,C.B.; e. d. p. quibus, F.₁F.₂.¹³ nec et, C.F.₁F.₂;

ne, B.

¹⁴ Dum, F.₁F.₂;

Dominum, B.

¹⁵ habeo, add. C.F.₁F.₂B.¹⁶ For the passage in brackets, from Ut me pauperculum down to indulgeret, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304.¹⁷ pupillum, C.F.₁F.₂;and add. ideo tamen, F.₁F.₂.¹⁸ creberrime admonuit, C.F.₂;creber admoneret, F.₁.¹⁹ donum, add. C.F.₁F.₂.²⁰ om. C.; tam, F.₁F.₂.²¹ Deum, C.F.₁F.₂.²² uel, C.F.₁F.₂.²³ sed, add. C.F.₁F.₂.²⁴ om. C.F.₁F.₂, and MS. of B.²⁵ illos, C.F.₁F.₂;and aliquantis in next line, F.₁.²⁶ mea gratia, sed Deus Qui vincit, C.F.₁;m. g., sed D. Q. vicit, F.₂.²⁷ restitit, C.F.₁;resistit, F.₂.²⁸ ut ego ueneram, C.F.₁F.₂.²⁹ contumelias, C.F.₁F.₂.³⁰ aurem, C.; laurirem, F.₁ (and on an erasure) F.₂.³¹ persecutionis, C.³² om. C.F.₂;me, F.₁.³³ utili-

tatem, C.

³⁴ om. C.F.₁F.₂, and MS. of B.³⁵ ibi, C.F.₁F.₂.

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¹ indulgeret.] Quia valde debitor sum Deo, Qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit, ut populi multi per me in ² Deum renascerentur, ³ et ut clerici ubique ⁴ illis ordinarentur, ad plebem nuper ⁵ venientem ad credulitatem, quam sumsit Dominus ab extremis terræ; ⁶ sicut olim promisserat per profetas Suos: “Sicut falso comparauerunt patres nostri idola, et non est in eis utilitas.”—“Ad Te gentes veniunt et dicent.” Et iterum: “Posui Te ⁷ lumen in gentibus ut sis ⁸ in salutem usque ad ⁹ extremum terræ.” Et ibi volo expectare promissum Ipsius, Qui ¹⁰ usque numquam fallit, sicut in Æuangelio pollicetur: “Venient ab Oriente et Occidente ¹¹ ab Austro et ab Aquilone, et recumbent cum Abraam et Issac et Iacob.” sicut credimus ab omni mundo venturi ¹² sint credentes. Idcirco ¹³ itaque oportet ¹⁴ bene et diligenter ¹⁵ piscare, sicut Dominus præmonet ¹⁶ et docet, dicens: “Venite post Me, ¹⁷ et faciam vos ¹⁸ fieri piscatores hominum.” Et iterum ¹⁹: “Ecce ²⁰ mitto piscatores et venatores multos, dicit Deus.” et cætera. Unde ²¹ autem valde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita vt multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur: ²² et ubique essent clerici, qui baptizarent et ²³ exhortarent populum ²⁴ indegentem et desiderantem; sicut Dominus ²⁵ in Æuangelio ²⁶ ammonet et docet dicens: “Euntes ergo ²⁷ nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti,” ²⁸ reliqua usque dicit, “sæcli.” Et iterum ²⁹: “Euntes ³⁰ ergo in mundum uniuersum prædicate Æuangelium omni creaturæ; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit; ³¹ qui uero non crediderit, condemnabitur.” ³² Reliqua sunt exempla.

¹ mihi, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃. ² Deum renascantur, C.F.₁F.₃; Domino r., B. ³ et postmodum consummarentur, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ⁴ Illis, F.₁; Illi, F.₃. ⁵ ueniente, C. ⁶ sicut olim promiserat per prophetas Suos ad gentes uenient ab extremis terræ; et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt [comparauerunt, F.₃; and F.₁ adds et] patres nostri idola, et non est utilitas in eis, C.F.₁F.₃; B. (*om. from* sicut olim to terræ *by an homoteleuton, and then reads*), et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt p. n. sibi idola, et n. e. u. in eis. ⁷ in lucem, B. ⁸ salus Mea, B.; and et sis, *just before*, F.₁. ⁹ ultimum, C.B.; and aspectare, *in next line*, F.₁. ¹⁰ utique, C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹¹ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃. (B. *om.* ab A. et ab A.). ¹² sunt c., C.F.₁F.₃; *om.* B. ¹³ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹⁴ quidem, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹⁵ piscari, B. and F.₃ (*on erasure*). ¹⁶ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ¹⁷ *om.* B. ¹⁸ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃. ¹⁹ dicit per prophetas, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ²⁰ Ego, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B.; and peccatores, F.₁; and dicit Dominus, F.₁F.₃. ²¹ a. v. oportebatur, C.F.₁; a. v. oportebat, F.₃; oportuit ualde, B. ²² ut, C.F.₁F.₃B. ²³ exhortarentur, F.₃; exhortarentur, B. ²⁴ indegentem, C.F.₁F.₃B. ²⁵ inquit, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ²⁶ admonens et. B. ²⁷ *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B.; and F.₁ has ego for ergo. ²⁸ docentes eos seruire [observare, F.₁F.₃] omnia quæcunque mandavi uobis: et ecce Ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi, C.F.₁F.₃; so also B., but with dixero for mandavi. The passage is one of those which indicate that the Armagh copy is abridged. ²⁹ dicit, *add.* C.F.₁F.₃B. ³⁰ *om.* C.D. ³¹ *om.* B. ³² *om.* C.F.₁F.₃B. The exempla are obviously those which follow in the text, but are omitted in the Book of Armagh: a further passage to prove this last to be abridged.

* Jerem. xvi. 19.

* Acts xiii. 47.

* Matt. viii. 11.

* Matt. iv. 19.

* Jerem. xvi. 16.

* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

* Mark xvi. 15, 16.

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¹ [Et “prædicabitur hoc Euangelium regni in universo mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet finis^f.” Et ² iterum Domini Propheta prænuntians, inquit: “Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu Meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filij vestri et filia vestra³, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt: et quidem super seruos Meos et ⁴ ancillas Meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu Meo et prophetabunt⁵.” Et ⁶ Osce dicit: “Vocabo non-plebem Meam ⁶ plebem Meam, et non-misericordiam-consecutam ⁶ misericordiam-consecutam. Et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs Mea vos; ibi vocabuntur filij Dei viui^h.”] Unde autem ⁷ Hiberione, qui numquam notitiam [Dei] ⁸ habuerunt, ⁹ nissi idola ¹⁰ et immunda vsque ¹¹ semper coluerunt, quomodo nuper ¹² facta est plebs Domini, et filij Dei ¹³ nuncupantur filij ¹⁴ sanctorum, et filia Regularum monachi ¹⁵ et virgines Christi ¹⁶ esse videntur. ¹⁷ [Et etiam una ¹⁸ Scotta benedicta, nobilis, pulcherrima, ¹⁹ adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi: et post paucos dies vna caussa venit ad nos: insinuauit ²⁰ namque nobis responsum accepisse a ²¹ nuntio Dei, ²² qui monuit ²³ eam ut permaneret virgo Christi, et ²⁴ sic Deo proximaret. Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ²⁵ similiter faciunt; non ²⁶ voluntate patrum suorum; ²⁷ imo ²⁸ persecutiones patiuntur et inproperia falsa a parentibus suis, et nihilominus plus augetur numerus: et de genere nostro ²⁹ quæ ibi ³⁰ Christo ³¹ natæ sunt, nescimus numerum ³² earum, præter viduas et continentas. Sed et ³³ illæ maxime laborant, quæ seruitio detinentur: usque ad terrores et minas assidue ³⁴ perferunt: sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis ³⁵ Suis: nam ³⁶ etsi vetantur, tamen fortiter imitantur. Unde autem ³⁷ possem etsi voluero ³⁸ dimittere

¹ For the passage between brackets, Et to Dei Viui, here taken from B., see above in note 6, on p. 304. Et iterum, C.F., F₃.

² Item Dominus per prophetam prænuntians, C.F₃; item Dominus per prophetam prænuntiat, F₁.

³ Et filii vestri uisiones uidebunt, add. C.F., F₃.

⁴ super, add. C.F., F₃. ⁵ in, add. C.F₃. ⁶ om. C. ⁷ Hiberionæ, B. ⁸ habuerant, C.F., F₃, B.; and add before it, Dei, ⁹ nec, add. B. ¹⁰ om. B. ¹¹ nunc, add. C.F., F₃, B.

¹² perfecta, F₁, F₃; effecta, B. ¹³ nuncupabuntur, B. ¹⁴ Scottorum, C.F., F₃, B. (and begin the sentence at the second Filii). The word stands thus in the Book of Armagh—scorum.

¹⁵ om. F₁. ¹⁶ ipse, C.F., F₃. ¹⁷ For the passage between brackets, from Et etiam to pro animabus vestris (p. 311), here taken from B., see above, note 6, p. 304.

¹⁸ b. S., gentiua, C.; b. S., genitiua, F₁; b. S., genitiua, F₃. ¹⁹ adultera, F₁. ²⁰ om. C.F., F₃. ²¹ nutu, C.F₃.

²² et, C.F., F₃. ²³ etiam ut esset, C.F., F₃; and F₁, om. Christi. ²⁴ ipsa, C.F., F₃. ²⁵ ita hoc, C.F., F₃.

²⁶ sponte p. eorum, C.F., F₃. ²⁷ sed, C.F₁; sed et, F₃. ²⁸ persecutionem patiuntur, C.F., F₃.

²⁹ qui, C.F., F₃. ³⁰ om. C.F., F₃; and MS. of B. ³¹ nati, C.F., F₃.

³² eorum, C.F., F₃. ³³ illa (corrected), F₃; illas, C.F₁. ³⁴ persuaserunt, C.F₃; perseuerant, F₁.

³⁵ meis, C.F., F₃. ³⁶ et siue tantum, C.F., F₃. ³⁷ om. C.F., F₃; and MS. of B.

³⁸ amittere, C.F., F₃.

^f Matt. xxiv. 14.

^h Joel ii. 28.

^h Hosea i. 10, ii. 23.

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illas, et ¹pergere in ²Britannias; ³etsi libentissime paratus ⁴irem, quasi ad patriam et parentes: ⁵et non id solum, sed etiam usque ⁶ad Gallias ⁷visitarem fratres ⁸meos, ut viderem faciem Sanctorum Domini mei: scit Dominus quod ego ⁹id valde optabam. Sed ¹⁰illigatus Spirituⁱ (Qui mihi protestatur, si hoc fecero, ¹¹et reum futurum^{us} esse designat) ¹²timeo ¹³perdere laborem, quem inchoavi; et non ego, sed Christus Dominus, Qui ¹⁴mihi imperavit ut venirem, ¹⁵essemque cum illis^{us} residuum ætatis meæ; si Dominus voluerit et custodierit me ab omni ¹⁶macula, vt non peccem coram Illo. ¹⁷Sperare autem hoc debueram: sed memetipsum non credo, quamdiu fuero in “hoc corpore mortis^{is}.” quia fortis est qui quotidie nititur ¹⁸me subuertere^{re} a fide et proposita castitate religionis non fictæ, ¹⁹quam scruabo^{us} usque in finem vitæ meæ Christo ²⁰Domino meo: sed caro inimica semper ²¹adtrahit ad mortem, id est, ad illecebras ²²in infelicitate perfruendas^{us}. Et scio ex parte ²³quod ego^{us} vitam perfectam ²⁴non didici^{us}, sicut et ceteri credentes: sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in ²⁵conspectu Eius^{us}, quia non mentior: ex quo cognoui Eum ²⁶in iuuentute mea, creuit in me amor Dei et timor Ipsius, et vsque nunc, fauente Domino, “fidem scruaui^{us}.” Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit, ego non silebo neque ²⁷abscondam signa et mirabilia, ²⁸quæ mihi a Domino ²⁹monstrata sunt ante multos annos quam ³⁰fierent, quasi Qui “nouit omnia etiam ante tempora secularia^m.” Unde ³¹ego quidem debueram^{us} sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, Qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ ³²et negligentiae meæ; . . . et de loco non in unoquoque, ut non mihi vehementer irascetur, ³³cui adiutor datus sum, et non cito acquieui, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et ³⁴Spiritus nihilominus^{us} suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium: quia vidit in me quod paratus eram; sed quod ³⁵nihilo

¹ ut pergens, C.F₁.F₃. ² Britannis, C.F₁.F₃. ³ Et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ eram, C.F₁.F₃.
⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ uisitare, C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃; and F₁.F₃, add. et.
⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ¹⁰ alligatus, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ ut futurum rerum me, C.; u. f. reum me, F₁.F₃. ¹² et, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ pendere, C. ¹⁴ me, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ esse cum illis, C.; esse meum illis, F₁; esse mecum illis, F₃. (on erasure). ¹⁶ uia mala, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁷ Spero, C.F₁.F₃; and memetipso, F₁. ¹⁸ s, me, C.F₁.F₃; and preposita, F₁. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ Deo, F₃. ²¹ trahit, C.F₁.F₃. ²² illicite perficiendas, C.F₃; illicite perficiendas, F₁. ²³ quare, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ ego non egi, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ c. Ipsius, C.F₃; inspectu Ipsius, F₁. ²⁶ a, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ abscondo, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ quem, F₁. ²⁹ ministrata, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ fuerant, C.F₃; fuerunt, F₁. ³¹ autem debuero, C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃. ³³ qui, C.F₁.F₃. and irascetur, C. ³⁴ sicut Spiritus, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ mihi pro his nesciebam de s. m., C.F₃; mihi pro his nesciebam detestatu, F₁.

¹ Acts xx. 22.^k Rom. vii. 24, marg.¹ 2 Tim. iv. 7.^m See Acts xv. 18.

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plus sciebam de statu' meo quid facerem: quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, ¹et quidam' inter ²ipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes, qui Deum non nouerunt? Non ³causa malitiæ; sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, ⁴iter illud', propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnoui gratiam, quæ tunc erat in me: nunc mihi ⁵sapit, quod ante debueram ⁶vocanti Deo parere'. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuavi fratribus et conseruis meis, qui mihi crediderunt: propter quod prædixi et prædico ad roborandam ⁷fidem vestram. ⁸Utinam et vos imitemini maiora, et potiora faciatis. ⁹Hæc erit gloria mea: quia "filius sapiens gloria patris est n." Vos scitis et Deus qualiter ¹⁰conuersatus sum inter vos' a iuuentute mea; ¹¹in fide veritatis et ¹²sinceritate cordis, etiam ad gentes illas, inter quas habito; ego fidem illis ¹³præstiti et præstabo. Deus scit, neminem illorum circumueni, nec cogito, propter Deum et Ecclesiam Ipsius; ne excitem illis et ¹⁴vobis omnibus persecutionem, et ne per me ¹⁵blasphemetur nomen Domini: quia scriptum est: "Væ homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur." Nam etsi imperitus sum ¹⁶in omnibus', tamen conatus sum quidpiam seruare me, etiam ¹⁷fratribus Christianis et virginibus Christi, et mulieribus religiosis, quæ mihi vltronca munuscula donabant, et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis, et iterum ¹⁸reddebam illis; et aduersus me scandalizabantur cur ¹⁹hoc faciebam: sed ego ²⁰id faciebam' propter spem perennitatis, vt me in omnibus caute ²¹possem conseruare'; ita ut me in aliquo titulo ²²infideles non carperent', vel ²³etiam ministerium seruitutis meæ: nec, etiam in ²⁴minimis, incredulis locum darem infamare siue detrectare ²⁵me paratis'. Forte autem quando baptizauī tot millia hominum, sperauerim ab aliquo illorum vel ²⁶dimidium scriptulum'? Dicite mihi, et reddam vobis p. ²⁷An quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam, ²⁸numquid ministerium gratis distribuī illis? Si

¹ et iam, C.F., etiam jam, F., ² seipsos, C.F., F., ³ ut, add. C.F., F., ⁴ intellegi, C.; intelligi, F., and MS. of B.; intellexi, F.,; and F., has testator. ⁵ capit, C.F., F., ⁶ om, C.F., F., and MS. of B. ⁷ et confirmandam, add. C.F., F., ⁸ Ut, C.; Utinam ut, F., F., ⁹ Hoc, C.F., F., ¹⁰ apud uos e. sum, C.F., F., ¹¹ et, C.F., F., ¹² in, add. F., F., ¹³ præstauī, C.F., F., ¹⁴ nobis, C.F., F., ¹⁵ blasphemaretur, C.F., F., ¹⁶ nominibus, C.F., and MS. of B. ¹⁷ et, add. C.F., F., ¹⁸ reddebant, F., and aduersum, F., ¹⁹ ego, C.F., ²⁰ om. C.F., F., and MS. of B. ²¹ propterea conseruarem, C.F., F., ²² infideli caperent, C.F., F., and MS. of B. om. non. ²³ om. C.F., F., ²⁴ minimo, F., F., ²⁵ om. C.F., F., and MS. of B. ²⁶ dimedio scriptule, C.F.,; dimidium scriptule, F., The screenpall was an ancient Irish coin, value about 3d. ²⁷ Aut, C.F., F., ²⁸ Add. B.; et, C.F., F.

¹ Prov. x, 1.² Levit. xxiv. 16.³ 1 Sam. xii. 3.

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poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium ¹calceamenti mei, dicite ²mihi; et reddam vobis ³magis. Ego impendi ⁴vobis, vt me ⁵caperent; et inter vos et ubique pergebam caussa vestra in multis periculis, etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat, qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum ⁶in fide confirmaret: donante Domino, diligenter ⁷ac libentissime pro salute vestra omnia ⁸gessi. ⁹Interea præmia ¹⁰Regibus dabam; præter quod mercedem dabam filijs ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant: et ¹¹nihilominus comprehenderunt me ¹²nunc cum comitibus ¹³meis, vt in illa die auidissime ¹⁴interficerent me. Sed tempus nondum venerat. Et omnia quæcumque ¹⁵habebamus nobiscum rapuerunt ¹⁶, et ¹⁷meipsum ferro vinxerunt. Et quarto decimo die absoluit me Dominus ¹⁸a potestate eorum, et quidquid nostrum fuit, redditum est nobis propter Deum et necessarios amicos, quos ante ¹⁹prouidimus. Vos autem experti estis ²⁰quanta erogaueram eis, qui ²¹indigebant per omnes regiones, ²²quas ego frequentius visitabam: censeo enim non ²³minus quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis. Ita, ut me fruamini et ego vobis semper fruar in ²⁴Domino (²⁵nec me pœnitet nec satis est mihi) adhuc impendo et superimpendam: potens est ²⁶enim Dominus vt det mihi postmodum, ut meipsum ²⁷impendam ac superimpendam^r pro animabus vestris.] Ecce testem Deum inuoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, ²⁸neque, ut ²⁹sit ³⁰occassio ³¹vobis, neque ut honorem ³²spero ³³ab aliquo viro: sufficit enim ³⁴honor, qui ³⁵non mentitur. Sed video iam in præsentī sæculo me supra modum ³⁶exaltatus sum a Domino; et non eram dignus neque talis ut ³⁷hoc mihi præstaret: dum scio ³⁸melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam ³⁹diuitiæ et deliciæ. Sed et Christus Dominus

¹ uel, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ² aduersus me, C.F₁.F₃. ³ pro, *add.* F₁.F₃. ⁴ caperet, C.F₁.F₃.
⁵ consummaret, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ generaui, C.F₃; generari, F₁. ⁸ Interim, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ d. R. propter quod d. m., C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ nihil, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C.F₁.F₃.
¹² meis. Et, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ cupiebam interficere, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ nobiscum inuenerunt, C.F₁.F₃; *and MS. of B. om.* habebamus. ¹⁵ illud, *add.* C.F₁; illa, *add.* F₃ (*on erasure*). ¹⁶ me, C.; meipso, F₁. ¹⁷ de, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ prouidimus, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ quantum ego erogavi illis, C.F₁.F₃.
²⁰ indicabant, C.; iudicabant, F₁.F₃. *and MS. of B.* (The Brehon judges, probably.) ²¹ quos, C.F₁.F₃. ²² minimum, C.F₁.F₃. (*and F₃ has an erasure for quam*). ²³ Deum, C.F₁.F₃.
²⁴ Non, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ impendat, C.F₁; impendam, F₁. ²⁷ quod, *add.* B. (*not in their MS.*). ²⁸ fit, B. ²⁹ causa, B. ³⁰ adulationis uel auaritie, scripserim, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B.
³¹ sperarem, C.F₃.B.; serarem, F₁. ³² uestrum, C.F₁.F₃.B. ³³ mihi, *add.* F₁.F₃.B. ³⁴ nondum, F₁.F₃.B. ³⁵ uidetur sed corde creditur. ³⁶ Fidelis autem Qui promisit, nunquam, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.B.
³⁷ exultatum, C.F₁.F₃; exaltatum, B. ³⁸ m. h., B. ³⁹ certissime quod mihi m. c., C.F₁.F₃; certissime quod mihi c. m., B. ⁴⁰ dilitias et diuitias, C.F₁; deliciæ et diuitiæ, F₃.B.

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¹ pauper fuit pro nobis⁴. Ego ² vero miser et infelix, etsi opes
 voluero, iam non habeo, neque meipsum ³ iudico: quia quotidie
⁴ spero aut internicionem, aut circumueniri, aut redigi in seruitutem,
 sive ⁵ occasio cuiuslibet. ⁶ [Sed nihil horum vereor propter pro-
 missa cælorum: quia iactaui meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis,
⁷ Qui vbique dominatur, sicut Propheta ait: "Iacta cogitatum tuum
 in ⁸ Dominum, et Ipse te enutriet¹." Ecce ⁹ ego commendo² animam
 meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro Quo ¹⁰ legatione fungor in ignobili-
 tate mea: sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc
 officium, ut unus essem de Suis ¹¹ minimus minister. "Unde autem
 retribuam Illi pro omnibus quæ ¹² retribuit mihi³;" ¹³ seu quid dicam
¹⁴ aut quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil ¹⁵ valeo nisi Ipse
 mihi dederit: sed ¹⁶ scrutatur corda et renes⁴; quia satis et nimis
 cupio, et paratus eram, ut donaret mihi bibere calicem¹⁷, sicut
 indulsit ¹⁸ et ceteris amantibus Se. ¹⁹ Quapropter non ²⁰ contingat
 mihi a Domino meo ut ²¹ unquam amittam plebem ²² Suam, quam
 acquisiuit in ultimis terræ. ²³ Oro ergo⁵ Deum ut ²⁴ mihi det⁶ perse-
 uerantiam, et dignetur ut reddam Illi ²⁵ me testem fidelem usque ad
 transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et, si aliquid boni ²⁶ imitatus
 sum unquam⁷ propter Deum meum Quem diligo, peto ²⁷ Illi, ²⁸ ut det
 mihi ²⁹ quatenus cum illis proselytis et captiuis pro nomine Suo
 effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ³⁰ ipsa etiam carcæam ³¹ sepultura,
³² et ³³ miserrime cadauer per singula ³⁴ diuidatur; ³⁵ auibus, canibus,
 aut bestiis ³⁶ ac feris proijciatur, vt comedant⁸ illud. Certissime
³⁷ enim reor, si mihi hoc ³⁸ curæ sit⁹, lucratus sum animam ³⁹ in
 corpore meo: quia ⁴⁰ nulla dubitatione in ⁴¹ illa die¹⁰ resurgemus in
 claritate solis, hoc est in gloria ⁴² Iesu Christi redempti omnes
 erimus¹¹ quasi ⁴³ filij Dei¹¹ et cohæredes Christi, et conformes

¹ pro nobis p. f., B. ² om. C.F₁.F₃; and opus, F₃. ³ dignum, add. B. (not in their MS.).
⁴ sperno, C.F₃. ⁵ occasionem, F₃. (on erasure); occasione, B. ⁶ For the passage in
 brackets, from Sed nihil to prius euaseta, here taken from B., see above, in note 6, on p. 304.
⁷ quia, C.F₁; and dicit, F₁.F₃. ⁸ Deum, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ nunc c., C.F₁; c. nunc, F₃.
¹⁰ legationem, C. ¹¹ minimis, F₁.F₃. ¹² retribuam, F₁.F₃. ¹³ sed, F. ¹⁴ uel, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁵ uideo, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ scrutabor, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ Eius, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ Quia
 propter, C.; Quia, F₁. ²⁰ contingunt, C.F₁.F₃; and Deo, F₁.F₃. ²¹ nunquam, C.F₁.F₃.
²² meam, C. ²³ oro, C.F₃; ora, F₁. ²⁴ d. m., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B.
²⁶ unquam i. [innitatus, F₁.] s., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ Illum, F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ ut, C.F₁.F₃.
³⁰ ipsum, C.; ipsam, F₁; ipse, F₃. (on erasure). ³¹ sepulturam, C.F₁. ³² aut, C.F₁.F₃.
³³ miserrissime, C.; miserrissime, F₁; miserrime, F₃. (on erasure). ³⁴ membra, add. C.F₁.F₃.
³⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ aspersis, aut uolueres cæli comederent, C.; a. a. u. c. comederunt, F₁;
 a. a. u. c. comederint, F₃. ³⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁸ incurrisset, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁹ cum, C.F₁.F₃.
⁴⁰ sine ulla, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ d. i., C.F₁.F₃. ⁴² Christi Iesu Redemptoris nostri, C.F₁.F₃.
⁴³ filium, C. ¹¹ uiui, add. C.F₁.F₃.

¹ 2 Cor. viii. 9.² Ps. vii. 9.³ Ps. lv. 22.⁴ Rom. viii. 17, 29.⁵ Ps. cxvi. 12.

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¹ creaturæ imaginis ipsius: ² quoniam ex Ipso, et per Ipsum, et in Ipso sunt omnia: Ipsi gloria in secula seculorum, Amen. In Illo enim regnaturi sumus'. Nam sol iste quem videmus, ³ Illo iubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed numquam regnabit ⁴ neque permanebit splendor eius: sed et omnes qui adorant cum in pœnam miseri male deuenient. Nos autem ⁵ qui credimus et adoramus solem verum ⁶ Iesum Christum, Qui numquam interibit; neque qui fecerit voluntatem ⁷ Suam ⁸ interibit sed manebit in æternum, ⁹ quomodo Christus ¹⁰ manet in æternum, Qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et ¹¹ Spiritu Sancto ante secula, et nunc et per omnia secula seculorum, Amen. Ecce iterum ¹² atque iterum' breuiter exponam verba Confessionis meæ. Testificor in veritate et in exultatione ¹³ coram Deo et sanctis angelis Eius, ¹⁴ quia numquam habui ¹⁵ ullam occasionem præter Euangelium et promissa Illius, ut unquam ¹⁶ redirem ad gentem' illam, unde ¹⁷ prius ¹⁸ euaseram.] Sed præcor credentibus ¹⁹ et timentibus Deum, quicumque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam ²⁰ Patricius peccator', inductus scilicet, Hiberione ²¹ conscripsit; ut nemo umquam dicat, quod ²² mea ignorantia' si aliquid pussillum ²³ egi vel demonstraerim secundum ²⁴: sed arbitramini ²⁵ et uerissime ²⁶ credatur, quod ²⁷ donum Dei' fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.

²⁸ Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos'.

¹ future, C.F₁.F₃. ² C.F₃. *om. from sunt to enim*; F₁. *om. from quoniam to sumus*.
³ Deo, F₃; *om.* C.F₁. ⁴ et, *add.* C.F₃. ⁵ *om.* F₃. ⁶ *om.* C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ Ipsius, C.F₁.F₃; and just before, *fecerat*, F₁. ⁸ *om.* C.F₁.F₃, and *MS. of B.* ⁹ quomodo et, F₁.F₃. (C. *om.* quomodo—æternum.) ¹⁰ manebit, C.F₁; permanebit, F₃. ¹¹ cum, *add.* C.F₁.F₃.
¹² iterumque, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ cordis, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ qui, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ aliquam, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁶ redderem agentem, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ autem, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ vix, *add.* C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ ac, B.
²⁰ peccator P., B. ²¹ conscripsi, B. ²² m. ignorantia, F₁; meæ ignorantie fuerit, B. (*but fuerit not in their MS.*) ²³ ego, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ Dei placitum, *add.* C.F₁.F₃; p. D., *add.* B. *Marked as doubtful in margin of Book of Armagh.* ²⁵ ac, B. ²⁶ creditur, F₁; credatis, B. ²⁷ Dei, C.F₁.F₃; Deus, B. ²⁸ Added by the same hand at the end of the *Confessio* in the Book of Armagh.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

[*Shortly before A.D. 493 (?)*.]

EPISTOLA S. PATRICII

AD CHRISTIANOS COROTICI TYRANNI SUBDITOS.¹

1. Patricius peccator indoctus², Hiberione³ constitutus⁴ Episcopus, certissime reor, a Deo accepi id quod sum: inter⁵ barbaras⁶ utique⁷ gentes proselytus et profuga, ob amorem Dei. Testis⁸ Ille est, si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam aspere aliquid⁹ ex ore meo effundere: sed cogor zelo Dei¹⁰ ac veritatis Christi¹¹ excitatus, pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum, pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes et animam meam, ¹²quia usque ad mortem si ¹³dignus sum, ¹⁴voui Deo meo docere gentes, etsi ¹⁵nunc contemnar a quibusdam. ¹⁶Et manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda ¹⁷ac tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico ciuibus meis ¹⁸atque ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed ciuibus dæmoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum, ¹⁹qui Barbarorum²⁰ ritu hostili in morte viuunt; socij Scotorum atque Pictorum apostatarum, ²⁰quasi sanguine volentes saginari²¹ innocentum Christianorum, quos ego ²¹innumeros Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui.

2. Postera die qua ²²chrismati neophyti in veste candida, ²³dum fides flagrabat²⁴ in fronte ipsorum, ²⁴crudeliter trucidati atque mactati ²⁶sunt gladio, supradictis ²⁶misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero, ²⁷quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid ²⁸indulgeretur de præda vel de captiuis baptizatis quos ²⁹ceperunt: ³⁰sed cachinnos fecerunt de illis. Idcirco nescio ³¹quid magis luceam:

¹ The text is taken from the Act. SS., March 17, vol. ii. (B.); with various readings from Cotton MS. Nero E. 1. (C.), and from Fell MSS., vols. i. and iii. (F₁, F₂). The title above given is added by the Bollandists. In C.F₁, F₂, the tract is introduced with merely, *Explicit liber primus, Incipit secundus*. It has been printed with the *Confessio*, as above in note ², p. 296. Coroticus probably = Ceredig, (the Christian) Prince of Ceredigion or Cardigan. ² scilicet, add. C.F₁, F₂. ³ constitutum, F₂. ⁴ Episcopum me esse fateor, C.F₁, F₂. ⁵ barbaros, F₂. ⁶ itaque, C.F₁, F₂. ⁷ habito, C.F₁, F₂. ⁸ c. I., C.F₁, F₂. ⁹ et, F₁. ¹⁰ et, C.F₁, F₂. ¹¹ excitavit, C.F₁; excitavit me, F₂. (interlined). ¹² om. C.F₁, F₂, and MS. of B. ¹³ dignum sum, C.; dignum sum, F₁. ¹⁴ noui, C.; uiuo, F₁. ¹⁵ contempnor a quibus, C.; contemnor a quibus, F₁; contempnor quibus, F₂. ¹⁶ om. C.F₁, F₂. ¹⁷ et, C.F₁, F₂. ¹⁸ neque, C.F₁, F₂. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁, F₂, and MS. of B. ²⁰ que sanguinolentos (sanguulentos, C.) sanguinare de sanguine, C.F₁; que sanguentos s. de s., F₁. ²¹ innumeros, C.F₁, F₂. ²² crismate, F₂. ²³ flagrabat, C.; flagrabant, F₂; fragrabat, F₁; and fides, not in MS. of B. ²⁴ dum, add. C.F₁, F₂. ²⁵ om. C.F₁, F₂, and MS. of B. ²⁶ Et, add. C.F₁. ²⁷ quam, F₁. ²⁸ indulgentem, C.F₁, F₂. ²⁹ ceperant, F₂. ³⁰ om. C.F₁, F₂, and MS. of B. ³¹ quod m. l., C.; quos m. l., F₁; quid m. lucebam, F₁.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

an qui interfecti, vel quos ceperunt; vel quos grauiter Zabulus illaqueauit, ¹qui ²perenni pœnæ in gehenna³ pariter cum ipso ³mancipabuntur: quia utique “qui facit peccatum, seruus est ⁴peccati^a,” et filius ⁵diaboli nuncupatur.

3. ⁶Quapropter ⁷resciat omnis homo timens Deum, quod ⁸a me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo, pro Quo ⁹legatione fungor, ¹⁰patricidæ, et fratricidæ^c, lupi rapaces, “deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis^b,” sicut ait: “Iniqui dissipauerunt legem Tuam, Domine^c.” ¹¹quam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime ¹²et benigne plantauerat atque ¹³instruxerat. Fauente ¹⁴Deo, “non usurpo ¹⁵aliena^d.” sed^e partem habeo cum his, ¹⁶quos ¹⁷vocauit ¹⁸ac prædestinauit Euangelium prædicare in persecutionibus non paruis usque ad extremum terræ; etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui Deum non veretur, nec sacerdotes ¹⁹Eius, quos ²⁰elegit, et indulsit illis ²¹summam ²²diuinamque ²³potestatem, “quos ligarent super terram ²⁴esse ligatos^f et in cælis^c.”

4. Unde ergo quæso ²⁵plurimum, sancti^g et humiles corde, adulari talibus non licet, nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis, nec elemosinas ipsorum ²⁶debent recipi^h, donec crudeliter ²⁷effusis lacrymis pœnitentiam agentes satisfaciant Deo^g, et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus. “Dona ²⁸enim iniquorum reprobatur Altissimusⁱ,” ²⁹et “qui offert sacrificium ex substantia ³⁰pauperis, quasi ³¹qui victimat filium in conspectu patris ³²µ.” “³³Diuitiæ,” ³⁴inquit, “quas ³⁵congregauit iniuste, euomentur de ventre eius, ³⁶angelus mortis trahit illum^j, ira draconum ³⁷multabitur, interficiet illum ³⁸lingua colubri^k,” ³⁹comedet ⁴⁰eum “ignis inextinguibilis^l.” ideoque, “Væ qui replent se ⁴¹his

¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B.C.F₁. ³ mancipabunt, C.F₁.F₃.² perhenne pena gehenne, F₃; perenne pena gehennam,C.F₁. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ Zabuli, C.F₁.F₃.C.; propter quam rem, F₃. ⁷ sciat, C.F₃.⁸ om. C. ⁹ legationem, C.F₁.¹⁰ patricida, fratricida, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ quoniam, C.¹² om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ instructa erat, C.F₁.F₃.¹⁴ Domino, F₁. ¹⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B.¹⁶ om. F₁. ¹⁷ aduocauit, C.F₁.F₃.¹⁸ et, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ Ipsius, C.F₁.F₃.²⁰ egegit, F₁. ²¹ summa, F₁.²² Diuinam, C.F₁.F₃. ²³ sublimem, add. C.F₁.F₃.²⁴ l. e., C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ primum Dei, F₁.²⁶ recipere debere, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ p. e. l. satis Deo faciant, C.F₁.F₃.²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ sui, add. C.F₁.F₃.³⁰ pauperum, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ om. C.F₃.³² Diuitias, C.F₁.³³ inquit, C. ³⁴ congregabit, C.F₃; and injustus, F₃.³⁵ t. i. angelum m., C.F₁; t. i. angelus m., F₃.³⁶ mulcrabitur, F₁. ³⁷ linguam coluris, C.; lingua colubris, F₁.³⁸ comedit, F₁.F₃. ³⁹ autem, add. F₁. ⁴⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃.^a John viii. 34, 44.^b Ps. xiv. 4, &c.^c Matt. xvi. 19, &c.^d Ecclus. xxxiv. 23.^e Ecclus. xxxiv. 24.^f Job xx. 15, 16, Lxx.^g Matt. iii. 12, &c.^h Ps. cxix. 126.

[EPISTOLA S. PATRICII AD COROTICI SUBDITOS.]

¹ quæ non sunt sua^k. ² Et “quid prodest homini ³ si totum mundum lucretur ⁴ se autem ipsum perdat^l et ⁵ detrimentum animæ suæ patiatur¹²?” Longum est per singula ⁶ discurrere vel insinuare per totam legem ⁷ carptim testimonia de tali cupiditate. Avaritia mortale crimen. “Non concupisces rem proximi tui^m.—Non occidesⁿ.—Homicida non potest esse cum Christo^o: qui ⁸ enim odit fratrem suum homicida ⁹ esse adscribitur^p.” ¹⁰ Et, “Qui non diligit fratrem ¹¹ suum ¹² manet in morte^q.” Quanto magis reus est, qui manus suas ¹³ coinquinat in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper ¹⁴ conquisiuit in ultimis ¹⁵ finibus terræ per ¹⁶ exhortationem paruitatis nostræ?

5. Numquid sine Deo vel secundum carnem ¹⁷ Hiberionem veni? Quis me compulit? Alligatus ¹⁸ sum spiritu ut ¹⁹ non videam aliquem de cognatione mea. Numquid ²⁰ amo piam misericordiam, quod ²¹ sic ago erga ²² illam gentem^r, ²³ quæ me aliquando ²⁴ cepit, et ²⁵ deuastauit seruos et ancillas ²⁶ patris mei? Ingenuus ²⁷ sum secundum carnem, ²⁸ nam Decurione patre nascor: vendidi ²⁹ autem nobilitatem meam (non erubescio ³⁰ neque pœnitet) pro utilitate aliorum: denique ³¹ sum in Christo ³² traditus genti exteræ ob gloriam ineffabilem perennis vitæ, quæ est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro: et si mei ³³ non cognoscunt, “Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet^s.” Forte non sumus ³⁴ ex uno patre, neque^t ex uno ouili: ³⁵ sicut ait ³⁶ Dominus: “Qui non est Mecum ³⁷ contra Me est, et qui non congregat Mecum^u, spargit^v.” Non conuenit ³⁸ si unus destruit, alter ædificat. ³⁹ Num quæro quæ mea sunt?

6. Non mea gratia, sed Deus ⁴⁰ hanc quidem^w solitudinem ⁴¹ dedit in corde meo, ut ⁴² essem de venatoribus siue ⁴³ de ⁴⁴ piscatoribus, quos olim Deus in nouissimis diebus ante prænuntiavit. Inuidetur

¹ qui, F₁. ² uel, C.F₁.F₃. ³ ut, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ a. s. d., C.F₁.F₃.
⁶ discutere, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ carpere, F₁.F₃; capere, C. ⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁰ Uel, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C. ¹² in m. manet, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ coinquinat, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁴ adquisiuit, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ extationem, C. ¹⁷ Hiberione, C.F₁.F₃.
¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C. ²⁰ a me, C.F₁. (an crasure in F₃). ²¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. (an erasure in F₃ for quod). ²² g. i., C.F₁.F₃. ²³ qui, C.F₁.F₃. (corrected to quæ, F₃). ²⁴ ceperunt, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ deuastauerunt, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ domus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ fui, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃; and Decorione, F₁.F₃. ²⁹ enim, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ neque me, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ seruos, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³² om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ³³ me, add. C.F₁.F₃.
³⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ neque unum Deum patrem habemus, add. C.F₁; n. D. u. p. h., add. F₃.
³⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁷ om. C. ³⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ³⁹ Non, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ q. h., C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁴² unus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴³ om. C.F₁.F₃.
⁴⁴ peccatoribus, F₁.

^k Habak. ii. 6.^l Matt. xvi. 26; Mark viii. 16.^m Exod. xx. 17, &c.ⁿ Exod. xx. 13, &c.^o See 1 John iii. 15.^p 1 John iii. 15.^q 1 John iii. 14.^r Luke iv. 24.^s Matt. xii. 30.

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mihi. Quid faciam Domine? Valde despicio. Ecce oues Tuæ circa me laniantur atque deprædantur ¹a supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico ²hoste: mente ³enim longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. “Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini⁴,” qui vtique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat; et filij Scottorum ⁴ac filia Regulorum monachi ⁵hebant et virgines Christi ⁶quot enumerare nequeo. “⁷Qui propter iniuriam iustorum’ non ⁸Te placat Domine’, etiam usque ad inferos non ⁹placabit^u.”

7. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare vel ¹⁰conuiuium facere’ cum talibus? De spolijs defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt domos suas; de rapinis viuunt, nesciunt ¹¹misereri. Venenum ¹²bibunt, ¹³letalem cibum porrigunt ad amicos et filios suos; sicut Eua non intellexit quod ¹⁴utique mortem ¹⁵tradidit viro suo: sic sunt omnes qui male agunt; mortem’ perennem pœnamque ¹⁶perpetuam ¹⁷operantur. Consuetudo Romanorum ¹⁸Gallorumque Christianorum ¹⁹est, mittunt ²⁰presbiteros sanctos ²¹et idoneos ad Francos ²²et exterarum gentes’ cum tot ²³millibus solidorum ad redimendos captiuos ²⁴baptizatos: tu ²⁵omnes interficis et vendis illos genti exteræ ignoranti Deum: quasi in lupanar tradis ²⁶membra Christi; qualem ²⁷ergo spem habes in Deum?

8. ²⁸Qui ²⁹tecum sentit’, aut qui ³⁰communicat verbis ³¹alienis et adulationi’, Deus iudicabit: scriptum est enim: “Non solum facientes mala, sed etiam consentientes damnandi sunt.” Nescio quid dicam ³²aut quid loquar amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei, quos gladius supra modum ³³tetigit. Scriptum est enim: “³⁴Flere cum flentibus.” Et iterum: “Si dolet unum membrum, ³⁵condolent omnia membra.” Quapropter Ecclesia ³⁶plorat et ³⁷plangit filios et

¹ et, C.F₁.F₃. ² hostili, F₃; hostile, C.F₁. (and no stop). ³ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ et, C.F₁.F₃. ⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁷ quamobrem iniuria istorum, C.: quamobrem iniuria iustorum, F₁.F₃. ⁸ Tibi placeat, F₃; Te placeat, C.F₁; Te placat, MS. of B. ⁹ placebit, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ conuiuium frueri, C.F₁; conuiuio frui, F₃. ¹¹ miseri, C.F₁.F₃. (and no stop); and domus, just before, F₁. ¹² om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ letale, C.F₁; and et amicos, F₁. ¹⁴ om. C. ¹⁵ om. C.F₃. (by a bomæoteleuton). ¹⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃; and pœnam, F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ operatur, F₃. (on erasure). ¹⁸ Gallorum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ uiros, C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²² et ceteras gentes, C.F₁.F₃. ²³ milia, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ baptizat, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ totius, C.F₁; toties, F₃. ²⁶ membris, F₁. ²⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁸ Ucl, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ te consentit, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ te, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ adulationis, C.F₁.F₃. ³² uel, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ dure, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁴ Flcte, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁵ condoleant, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ ploret, F₁. ³⁷ plangit, C.F₁.F₃.

¹ See Acts xx. 29.⁴ Eccus. ix. 17.⁸ Rom. i. 32.⁵ Rom. xii. 15.¹ 1 Cor. xii. 26.

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filias suas, ¹ quos adhuc ² nondum gladius hostilis³ interfecit, sed ³ exportati ⁴ sunt ⁵ per longa terrarum ⁶ spatia. ⁷ Ut peccatum ⁸ manifestæ grauetur impudentiæ, impudens ibi habitat et⁹ abundat: ibi venundati ingenui homines Christiani in ⁹ seruitutem redacti sunt, præsertim indignissimorum ¹⁰ pessimorumque ¹¹ atque ¹² apostatarum Pictorum.

9. Idcirco cum tristitia et mœrore ¹³ vociferabor: O speciosissimi atque amantissimi fratres et filij, quos in Christo genui ¹⁴ nec enumerare ¹⁵ queo, quid faciam vobis? Non sum dignus ¹⁶ neque hominibus subuenire. "Præualuit iniquitas iniquorum ¹⁷ supra nos." ¹⁸ Forte non credunt ¹⁹ quod unum baptismum ²⁰ percepimus ²¹ et unum Deum ²² habemus: indignum est illis ²³ quod de²⁴ Hibernia nati sumus: ²⁵ sic ²⁶ enim ²⁷ aiunt . . . Idcirco doleo pro vobis, doleo, carissimi mei: sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum, ²⁸ quia non gratis laboravi ²⁹ et peregrinatio mea in ³⁰ vanum ³¹ non fuit^b: et contigit scelus ³² illo in tempore^c horrendum ³³ et ³⁴ ineffabile. Deo gratias: ³⁵ credentes et³⁶ baptizati de ³⁶ seculo recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno: vos migrare cœpistis ubi "nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors ³⁷ erit amplius^c:" sed "exultabitis sicut vituli ³⁸ resoluti, et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus vestris^d."

10. Vos ergo regnabitis cum Apostolis et Prophetis atque Martyribus ³⁹ et æterna regna capietis, sicut Ipse testatur ⁴⁰ inquiens: "Venient ab Oriente ⁴¹ et Occidente et recumbent cum Abraam et Isaac et Iacob in regno cælorum^e." "Foris ⁴² canes et ⁴³ venefici et homicidæ et ⁴⁴ mendaces et periuri^f:" pars eorum in ⁴⁵ stagno ignis æterni: non ⁴⁶ enim in vanum^g ait Apostolus: "Ubi iustus vix saluus erit, peccator et impius ⁴⁷ et transgressor legis ubi se ⁴⁸ recognoscet^g?"

¹ quas, C.F₁.F₃. ² g. n., C.F₁.F₃. ³ prolongati et, add. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ⁵ in, C.F₁.F₃. ⁶ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ Ubi, C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ manifesta grauetur impudentiæ, C.; manifeste g. i., F₁.F₃. ⁹ seruitute, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ pessimorum, C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹² apostatarumque, C.F₁.F₃. ¹³ vociferabor, C.F₁. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ nequeo, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ Deo, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ super, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ Quasi extranei facti sumus, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. and MS. of B. ²⁰ percepimus, C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ vel, C.F₁.F₃. ²² patrem, add. F₁.F₃. ²³ om. C.F₁.F₃. (Hiberia, C.F₁.F₃; Iberia, MS. of B.). ²⁴ sic, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ ait, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁷ "Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?" add. C.F₁.F₃. (and MS. of B., but with quod for quid). ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²⁹ vel, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁰ uacuum, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ om. F₁. ³² tam, C.F₁.F₃. ³³ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁴ ineffabilem, F₁. ³⁵ creduli, C.F₁.F₃. ³⁶ celo, F₁. ³⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁸ ex uinculis, add. C.F₁.F₃. ³⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁰ inquit, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴¹ ab, F₁. ⁴² canis, F₁. ⁴³ veneficos, C.F₁.F₃; uenefici, F₃. (on erasure); and homicidæ, and par, F₁. ⁴⁴ mendacibus periuris, C.F₁.F₃; mendaces periuri, F₃. (on erasure). ⁴⁵ stagnum, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁶ immerito, F₂; merito, C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁴⁸ recognoscit, C.F₁.F₃.

^a Malachi ii. 10.^b See Gal. ii. 2; iv. 11.^c Rev. xxi. 4; xxii. 5.^d Malachi iv. 2, 3.^e Matt. viii. 11.^f Rev. xxii. 15.^g 1 Peter iv. 18.

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¹ Ubi crit' Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis ² rebellatoribus Christi? Ubi se videbunt, ³ qui mulierculas baptizatas ⁴ et prædia orphanorum spurcissimis satellitibus suis distribuunt' ob ⁵ miserum regnum temporale, quod utique in momento ⁶ transit sicut nubes vel fumus, qui utique vento dispergitur: ita peccatores ⁷ et fraudulentī a facie Domini peribunt: iusti autem ⁸ epulabuntur in magna constantia cum Christo, ⁹ et iudicabunt nationes, et Regibus iniquis dominabuntur in secula seculorum^h, Amen.

11. Testificor coram Deo et angelis ¹⁰ sanctis Suis, ¹¹ quod ita erit sicut ¹² intimavit ¹³ imperitia mea'. Non mea verba ¹⁴ sunt ista', sed Dei et Apostolorum atque Prophetarum, ¹⁵ qui numquam ¹⁶ mentiti sunt, ¹⁷ quæ ego in Latinum transtuli'; ¹⁸ et "qui ¹⁹ crediderint salvi erunt', qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur i:". Deus ²⁰ enim locutus est. Quæso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei ²¹ promptus fuerit, ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut ²² nequaquam subtrahantur a nemine', sed magis potius ²³ legantur coram cunctis plebibus, et præsentē ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus ²⁴ inspiret illos ut quandoque ²⁵ de eo' resipiscant, ita ²⁶ ut vel sero pœniteant quod tam impie gesserunt. ²⁷ Homicidæ erga fratres Domini fuerunt: ²⁸ sed pœniteant' et liberent captiuas baptizatas, ²⁹ quas ³⁰ antea ceperunt; ita ut ³¹ mereantur Deo vivere, et sani efficiantur hic et in æternum. Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Amen.

¹ Unde enim, C.F₁.F₃. ² rebellatores, C.F₁. ³ quum, F₃.; quam, C.F₁. ⁴ præmia distribuuntur, C.F₁.; præmia distribuunt, F₃. ⁵ miserere, C.; miscere, F₁. ⁶ transeat, C.F₁.F₃. ⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ⁸ epulentur, C.F₁.F₃. ⁹ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹¹ quo, F₁. ¹² intimabit, F₁.; intimauerunt, F₃. (on erasure). ¹³ imperitie mee, C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁴ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁵ quod ego Latinum expesi, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁶ enim, add. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁷ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. ¹⁹ crediderit, saluus erit, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁰ om. C.F₁.F₃. ²¹ ut, add. C.F₁.F₃. ²² nequaquam subtrahatur ammine, F₁. ²³ legatur, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁴ inspirat, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁵ Deo, C.F₁.F₃. ²⁶ om. F₁. ²⁷ Homicida, C.F₁.; and om. fuerunt, F₁.F₃. ²⁸ om. C.F₁.F₃. (et, also, is erased in F₃). ²⁹ quos, C.F₃. ³⁰ ante, C.F₁.F₃. ³¹ mereantur, C.F₁.F₃. (corrected in F₃. into mereantur).

^h Rev. xxii. 5.ⁱ Mark xvi. 16.

[S. PATRICI CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

A.D. 440(?) × 493(?) *The Lorica of S. Patrick*^a.

S. PATRICI CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.

1.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt trén togairm Trinoit,
 Cretim Treodataid foísi[ti]n Oen-
 datad,
 In dúlemain dail.

2.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt Gene Crist co n-a Bathius,
 Niurt Crochta co n-a Adnocul,
 Niurt n-Escirge co Fresgabail,
 Niurt Tóniud do Brethemnas
 Bratha.

3.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt Grád Hiruphin,
 In urlataid Aingel,
 [Ifrestul nan Archangel,^b]
 Hi frescisin Escirge ar cenn
 fochraice,
 In ernaighthib I luasal Athrach,
 I tairchetlaib Fátha,
 Hi priceptaib Apstal,
 In hiresaib Fuismédach,
 In endga nóem Ingen,
 Hi ngnímaib Fer Fírean.

4.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt nime,
 Soilse gréne,
 Etrochta snechtai,

1

I bind to myself to-day
 The strong power of an invoca-
 tion of the Trinity,
 The faith of the Trinity in
 Unity,
 The Creator of the elements.

2.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of the Incarnation of
 Christ with that of His Baptism,
 The power of the Crucifixion, with
 that of His Burial,
 The power of the Resurrection;
 with the Ascension,
 The power of the Coming to the
 sentence of Judgment.

3.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of the love of Seraphim,
 In the obedience of Angels,
 [In the service of Archangels,^b]
 In the hope of Resurrection unto
 reward,
 In the prayers of the noble Fathers^c,
 In the predictions of the Prophets,
 In the preaching of Apostles,
 In the faith of Confessors,
 In the purity of holy Virgins,
 In the acts of Righteous men.

4.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of heaven,
 The light of the Sun,
 The whiteness of Snow,

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Ane thened,
 Dené lóchet,
 Luathe gáethe,
 Fudomna mara,
 Tairisem talmain,
 Cobsaidecht ailech.

The force of Fire,
 The flashing of Lightning,
 The velocity of Wind,
 The depth of the Sea,
 The stability of the Earth,
 The hardness of Rocks.

5.

Atomriug indiu
 Niurt Dé dom luamaracht,
 Cumachta Dé dom chumgabail,
 Ciall Dé domm imthús,
 Rosc Dé dom reimcise,
 Cluas Dé dom éstecht,
 Briathar Dé dom eriabrai,

Lám Dé domm imdegail,
 Intech Dé dom remthechtas,
 Sciath Dé dom dítin,
 Sochraite Dé domm anucul,
 Ar intleadaib demna,
 Ar aslaighib dualche,

Ar irnechtaib aicnid,
 Ar cech nduine mídús thrastard^d
 dam,
 I céin ocus in ocus,
 I n-uathed ocus hi sochaide.

6.

Tocuirius etrum thra na huile
 nert so.
 Fri cech nert n-amnas n-
 étrócar,
 Fristí dom churp ocus domm
 anmain,
 Fri tinchetla saibfáthe,
 Fri dubrechtu gentliuchta,

5.

I bind to myself to-day
 The power of God to guide me,
 The might of God to uphold me,
 The wisdom of God to teach me,
 The eye of God to watch over me,
 The ear of God to hear me,
 The word of God to give me
 speech,
 The hand of God to protect me,
 The way of God to prevent me,
 The shield of God to shelter me,
 The host of God to defend me,
 Against the snares of demons,
 Against the temptations of
 vices,
 Against the lusts of nature,
 Against every man who medi-
 tates injury to me,
 Whether far or near,
 With few or with many.

6.

I have set around me all these
 powers,
 Against every hostile savage
 power,
 Directed against my body and
 my soul,
 Against the incantations of
 false prophets,
 Against the black laws of
 heathenism,

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Fri sáibrechtu heretecda,
 Fri himcellacht n-idlacha,
 Fri brichta ban ocus goband
 ocus druad,
 Fri cech físs a ra chuiliu an-
 man duini.

Against the false laws of heresy,
 Against the deceits of idolatry,
 Against the spells of women,
 and smiths, and druids,
 Against all knowledge which
 blinds the soul of man.

7.

Crist domm imdegail indíu
 Ar neim, ar loscud,

 Ar badud, ar guin,

 Conomthair ílar fochraice.

7.

Christ protect me to-day
 Against poison, against burn-
 ing,
 Against drowning, against
 wound,
 That I may receive abundant
 reward.

8.

Crist lim, Crist rium,
 Crist im degaid, Crist innium,

 Crist íssum, Crist úasum,

 Crist dessum, Crist tuathum,

 Crist illius,
 Crist issius,
 Crist i neruse.

8.

Christ with me, Christ before me,
 Christ behind me, Christ within
 me,
 Christ beneath me, Christ above
 me,
 Christ at my right, Christ at my
 left,
 Christ in the fort,
 Christ in the chariot-seat,
 Christ in the poop^e.

9.

Crist i cridiu cech duine imm
 imrorda,
 Crist i n-gin cech óen rodóm la-
 brathar,
 Crist in cech rusc nom dercaedar,
 Crist in cech cluais rodám cloa-
 thar.

9.

Christ in the heart of every man
 who thinks of me,
 Christ in the mouth of every man
 who speaks to me,
 Christ in every eye that sees me,
 Christ in every ear that hears
 me.

10.

Atomriug indíu
 Niurt tren togairm Trinoit,

10.

I bind to myself to-day
 The strong power of an invoca-
 tion of the Trinity,

[S. PATRICII CANTICUM SCOTTICUM.]

Cretim Treodataid fóisitin Oen-
datad,
In dulemain [dail].

The faith of the Trinity in
Unity,
The Creator of [the elements].

II.

Domini est salus,
Domini est salus,
Christi est salus,
Salus tua Domine sit semper
nobiscum.

II.

Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of the Lord,
Salvation is of Christ,
May thy salvation, O Lord, be
ever with us.

^a From *Lib. Hymnorum* (MS. 7th century, acc. to Ussher, Trin. Coll., Dublin), as printed in Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 150, 151, 2nd ed., 1872. The Irish was first published by Dr. Petrie, *Essay on Tara*, pp. 57–67 (*Trans. Royal Irish Soc.*, vol. xviii.). The translation is from Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, pp. 426–429).

Patraicc do rone inn immun sa. In aimseir Loegaire MeicNeil do rigned. Fat a denma hautemdia diden co na manchaib ar naimdib in bais ro batar in etarnid ar na cleircheib. Ocus is luirech hirse inso fri him degail cuirp ocus anna ar demnaib ocus duinib ocus dualchib. Cech duine nos geba cech dia co ninnithemleir i n-dia ni thairisfet demna fri a gnais. Bid ditin do ar cech neim ocus format. Bid comna do fri dianbas. Bid lurech dia anmain iar n-a etsecht. Patraicc ro chan so in tan do rata na hetarnaidi ar a chinn o Loegaire, na digsed do silad chreitme co Temraig; couid annsinn at chessa siadlucht na n-etarnade comtis aige alta, ocus iarroe i n-a n-diaid i Benen. Ocus *Fatb Fiada* a hainm.

It was held to be S. Patrick's as early as the 8th century, being referred to as his "Canticum Scotticum" by Tirechanus (*Annot. in V. S. Patric.*, *Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16 a. a., quoted by Petrie and Todd). In the *Lib. Hymn.* it is prefaced as follows:—

Patrick composed this hymn. In the time of Loegaire son of Nial it was composed. The cause of its composition was to protect himself and his monks against the enemies unto death, who were in ambush against the clergy. And this is a religious armour to protect body and soul against demons and men and vices. Every person who sings it every day with all his attention on God, shall not have demons appearing to his face. It will be a protection to him against every poison and envy. It will be a safeguard to him against sudden death. It will be an armour to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this at the time that the snares were set for him by Loegaire, that he might not come to propagate the faith to Temur; so that it appeared to those who were lying in ambush that they were wild deer, and a fawn after them, that is, Benén [Benignus]. And *Fatb Fiadba* [=The Instruction of the Deer, Petrie, but Stokes renders it Guard's cry] is its name.

The legend referred to is mentioned in Todd, p. 424, from the Life of S. Patrick in the Book of Armagh.

^b Inserted by Mr. Stokes from a second copy of the Hymn in Bodl. Rawl. B. 512.

^c Patriarchs, Stokes.

^d *Leg. midúthrastar*, Stokes.

^e "i.e. Christ when I am in the fort (at

home), Christ when I am in the chariot-seat (travelling by land), Christ in the poop (travelling by water). See Stokes, *Irish Glosses* (580), p. 81." (*Todd, ad loc.*) The passage is translated differently in Dr. Petrie's *Essay*. And Mr. Stokes in his *Goidelica* translates it "Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height."

Before A.D. 448 (?). *Hymn of S. Sechnall (Secundinus) in praise of S. Patrick*^a.

INCIPIT YMNUS SANCTI PATRICII, EPISCOPI SCOTORUM.

Audite, omnes amantes ¹Deum, sancta merita
Uiri in Christo beati Patricii Episcopi:
Quomodo bonum ob actum ²simulatur angelis,
Perfectamque propter uitam aequatur Apostolis.

Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus;
Cuius opera refulgent clara inter homines,
Sanctumque cuius sequuntur exemplum mirificum;
Unde et in celis Patrem ³magnificant Dominum'.

Constans in Dei ⁴timore et fide immobilis,
Super ⁵quem edificatur ut ⁶Petrus Ecclesia;
Cuiusque Apostolatam a Deo sortitus est;
In ⁷cuius ⁸portae ⁹aduersus inferni non preualent.

Dominus illum elegit, ut doceret barbaras
Nationes; ¹⁰ut ¹¹piscaret per doctrinae retia;
¹²Ut de seculo credentes traheret ad gratiam,
¹³Dominumque sequerentur sedem ad aethariam.

Electa Christi talenta uendit euangelica,
Quae ¹⁴Hibernas inter gentes cum ¹⁵usuris exigit;
¹⁶Naugii huius laboris, ¹⁷tum operac, pretium,
Cum Christo regni celestis ¹⁸possessurus gaudium.

Fidelis Dei minister, insignisque nuntius,
Apostolicum exemplum formamque ¹⁹præbet bonis;
Qui tam uerbis quam ²⁰et factis ²¹plebi prædicat ²²Dei,
Ut quem dictis non conuertit, ²³actu prouocet bono.

¹ Dominum, C. ² Similatur, W, M. ³ Magnificat Deum, C. See *Matt. V. 16.*
Vers. Ital. ⁴ amore, C. ⁵ Quae, M. ⁶ Petrum, C, M, W. ⁷ Quem, C.
⁸ p-rtia, W. ⁹ aduersum, M. ¹⁰ et, M. ¹¹ piscaretur, C. ¹² Et, M.
¹³ Dominum qui, M. ¹⁴ Eueras, B. ¹⁵ usura, W. ¹⁶ Navigiis, M. ¹⁷ Dominum,
C (probably mistaking *tum* for *dum*). ¹⁸ possedit, C. ¹⁹ om. C. ²⁰ om. W.
²¹ om. C. ²² Dominum, W. ²³ fructu, M.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDINI.]

Gloriam habet cum Christo, honorem in seculo;
 Qui ab ²⁴omnibus ut Dei ueneratur angelus;
 Quem Deus misit ²⁵ut Paulum ad gentes Apostolum,
 Ut hominibus ducatum praeberet regno Dei.

Humilis Dei ob metum spiritu et corpore,
 Super quem bonum ob actum ²⁶requiescit Dominus;
 Cuiusque ²⁷iusta in carne Christi portat stigmata;
 In Cuius sola ²⁸sustentans gloriatur ²⁹in cruce.

Impiger credentes pascit dapibus celestibus,
 Ne qui ³⁰uideantur cum Christo in uia ³¹deficiant;
 Quibus erogat, ³²ut panes, uerba euangelica;
³³In cuius multiplicantur, ut manna, in manibus:

³⁴Kastam qui' custodit carnem ob amorem Domini,
 Quam carnem templum parauit Sanctoque Spiritui;
 A Quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus,
 Quam ³⁵ut hostiam placentem uiuam offert Domino:

Lumenque mundi accensum ingens euangelicum,
 In candelabro leuatum, ³⁶toti fulgens seculo,
 Ciuitas regis munita supra montem posita,
 Copia in qua ³⁷est multa quam ³⁸Dominus possidet.

Maximus ³⁹nanque in regno celorum uocabitur,
 Qui quod uerbis docet sacris, factis adimplet bonis;
 Bono ⁴⁰precedit exemplo ⁴¹formamque fidelium,
 Mundoque in corde habet ad ⁴²Deum fiduciam.

⁴³Nomen Domini' audenter ⁴⁴annunciat gentibus,
 Quibus ⁴⁵lauacri salutis aeternam dat gratiam;
 Pro ⁴⁶quorum orat ⁴⁷delictis ad ⁴⁸Deum ⁴⁹quotidie;
 Pro quibus ut Deo dignas ⁵⁰immolatque hostias.

Omnem pro Diuina lege mundi spernit gloriam,
⁵¹Que cuncta ad ⁵²cuius mensam estimat ⁵³ciscilia;
 Nec ingruenti mouetur mundi huius ⁵⁴fulmine,
 Sed in aduersis laetatur, cum pro Christo patitur.

²⁴ hominibus, B. ²⁵ om. B. ²⁶ requiescet, B. ²⁷ iuxta, C; sua, W. ²⁸ susten-
 dans, B; sustentante, C. ²⁹ om. C. ³⁰ Misprinted ridetur in W. ³¹ deficient, W.
³² om. C. ³³ om. W. ³⁴ Castum qui, B; Castamque, C. ³⁵ et, B, M. ³⁶ toto, M.
³⁷ et, C. ³⁸ Deus, W. ³⁹ namque, C, M, W. ⁴⁰ procedit, C. ⁴¹ formaque, C.
⁴² Dominum, C. ⁴³ Nomenque Dei, M. ⁴⁴ adnuntiat, M. ⁴⁵ lauacris, M.
⁴⁶ quarum, B, W. ⁴⁷ dilictis, B. ⁴⁸ Dominum, C. ⁴⁹ cotidie, B, M. ⁵⁰ ymolat-
 que, B. ⁵¹ Qui, M, W. ⁵² eius, W; Christi, C. ⁵³ quisquillas, C; quisquilia, M, W.
⁵⁴ flumine, W.

[HYMNUS S. SECUNDUS.]

Pastor bonus ⁶⁵ac fidelis gregis ⁶⁶euangelici;
 Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum,
 Suamque pascere plebem Diuinis dogmatibus;
 Pro qua ad Christi exemplum suam ⁶⁷tradidit animam.

Quem pro meritis Saluator prouexit pontificem,
 Ut in celesti moneret clericos ⁶⁸militia;
 Celestem quibus annonam erogat cum uestibus,
 Quod in Diuinis impletur sacrisque affatibus.

Regis nuntius inuitans credentes ad nuptias;
 Qui ornatur uestimento ⁶⁹nuptiale indutus;
 Qui celeste ⁶⁰aurit uinum in uasis celestibus,
 Propinansque Dei plebem ⁶¹spirituali poculo.

Sacrum inuenit thesaurum sacro in uolumine,
 Saluatorisque in carne ⁶²Dietatem ⁶³peruidit;
 Quem thesaurum emit sanctis perfectisque meritis;
⁶⁴Israel uocatur ⁶⁵huius anima uidens Deum.

Testis Domini fidelis in lege catholica,
 Cuius uerba sunt Diuinis ⁶⁶condita oraculis;
 Ne humane ⁶⁷putrent carnes ⁶⁸essaeque a uermibus,
 Sed ⁶⁹celeste ⁷⁰salliantur sapore ad uictimam.

Uerus cultor et insignis agri euangelici,
 Cuius semina uidentur Christi ⁷¹euangelia;
 Quae ⁷²Diuino serit ore in aures prudentium,
⁷³Quorumque corda ac mentes Sancto arat Spiritu.

Xps: illum Sibi ⁷⁴legit in terris uicarium,
⁷⁵Qui de gemino ⁷⁶captiuos liberat seruitio;
 Plerosque de seruitute quos redemit hominum,
 Innumeros de ⁷⁷Zabuli ⁷⁸absoluet dominio.

Ymnos cum Apocalipsi Psalmosque cantat Dei,
 Quosque ad edificandum Dei tractat populum;
⁷⁹Quam legem in Trinitate sacri credit Nominis,
⁸⁰Tribusque Personis Unam docetque Substantiam.

⁵⁵ et, M. ⁵⁶ euangelicae, B. ⁵⁷ tradit, M. ⁵⁸ *Misprinted* militiae in C.
⁵⁹ nuptiali, B, C, M, W. ⁶⁰ haurit, C, M, W. ⁶¹ spiritale poculum, M; spiritali
 poculo, W. ⁶² Pietatem, C; Deitatem, M, W. ⁶³ peruidet, C; peruidit, M.
⁶⁴ Israel, B; Israel, M. ⁶⁵ eius, B. ⁶⁶ candida, M. ⁶⁷ putant, M. ⁶⁸ esaeque,
 C; esaeque, W; acseque, M. ⁶⁹ coelesti, M, W ⁷⁰ salientur, C; alleantur, M;
 sallientur, W. ⁷¹ euangelii, C. ⁷² Diuina, B. ⁷³ Quorum quoque, M.
⁷⁴ elegit, M, W. ⁷⁵ Quem, C. ⁷⁶ captiuum, C. ⁷⁷ Stabuli, W. ⁷⁸ absoluit, B,
 W; absoluit, C, M. ⁷⁹ Quem, C. ⁸⁰ Tribuque, B.

Zona Domini precinctus diebus ⁸¹et noctibus,
 Sine intermissione Deum orat Dominum;
 Cuius ingentis laboris ⁸²percepturus ⁸³premium,
 Cum Apostolis ⁸⁴regnabit ⁸⁵sanctus super ⁸⁶Israel.

⁸⁷Audite omnes'.

[In memoria eterna erit iustus;

Ab auditione mala non timebit⁸⁸.

Patricii laudes semper dicamus,
 Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus.

Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,
 Ueni, sancte Patricii, saluos nos facere⁸⁹.]

⁸¹ ac, B. ⁸² Praecepturus, W. ⁸³ praemia, C. ⁸⁴ regnavit, B. ⁸⁵ sanctis, W.
⁸⁶ Israel, M. ⁸⁷ Audite et rl., B. ⁸⁸ Ps. cxi. 7. ⁸⁹ B. om. the third of these
 couplets or antiphons, and adds at the beginning of them, Or: = *Oratio*, or *Oremus*. C. om. the
 first, and adds a third, viz. "Patricius sanctus Episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus, Ut deleantur
 protinus peccata que commisimus." M. gives this third (omitting the word *sanctus*), with that
 in the text which begins *Patricii laudes*, but om. the others. W. om. all.

^a Printed from the *Lib. Hymn.* at Trin.
 Coll., Dublin, by Dr. Todd (*Bk. of Hymns of
 Anc. Ch. of Irel.*, P. I. pp. 11–24): also by
 Bishop Graves, *Catholic Layman*, vol. ii.
 no. 23, p. 134, *Dubl.* 1853. The Hymn also
 occurs in the *Leabhar Breac* (also at Dublin),
 here designated B; in Colgan (*Tr. Tb.*,
 p. 210), who first printed it, C; in Muratori's
Antippon. Bencborensis (*Aneed. Ambros.*, IV.
 127–159), M; and in Ware (*App. to Opusc.
 S. Patric.*, pp. 146–150), W: each of these
 copies resting upon independent MS. autho-
 rity. And their various readings are accord-
 ingly here given in the notes, from Dr. Todd.
 Villanueva simply reprinted the Hymn from

Colgan and Ware. It is also in the MS. *Lib.
 Hymnor.* belonging to the Franciscan monas-
 tery at Dublin, lately brought there from
 Rome; and in the MS. consuetudinary of
 S. Patrick's, Dublin (14th cent.), now in the
 Univ. Libr., Cambridge (*Dr. Reeves*). S. Sechnall's
 death is placed by *Ann. Ult.* at A.D. 448.
 His Hymn was well known before the 8th cen-
 tury, being mentioned by Tirechanus as the
 Hymn of S. Patrick (*Bk. of Armagh*, fol. 16,
 a. 2). And it is held to be genuine, and to
 have been written in S. Patrick's lifetime,
 by the best Irish antiquarian scholars. See
 Dr. Todd's copious notes for its history and
 author.

[The four documents above printed,—viz. S. Patrick's two tracts and Hymn, and S. Sechnall's
 Hymn,—appear to be the only authentic and contemporary documents of this Period. The
 tract *De Duodecim Abusionibus Saeculi* (in Ware's *Opusc. Patric.* and in Villanueva's, attributed
 also to S. Cyprian and to S. Augustine) was current among the Irish as S. Patrick's as early as
 the beginning of the 8th century (*Cod. Can. Hib.*, lib. xxiv. c. 3). And that *De Tribus Habi-
 taculis* (likewise in Ware and Villanueva, and in the *App.* to S. Augustine, vol. vi.) was also
 assigned to S. Patrick, but not by Irish authorities. Internal evidence is conclusive in referring
 both to a later writer (see Todd's *S. Patrick*, p. 484). For S. Fiacc's Hymn, see below in
 Appendix C.]

APPENDIX A.

CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.

Canons attributed to a Synod of Bishops, consisting of S. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus^a.

INCIPIIT SINODUS EPISCOPORUM, ID EST, PATRICII, AUXILII, ISSERNINI.—Gratias agimus Deo Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. *Presbiteris et diaconibus et omni clero*, PATRICIUS, AUXILIUS, ISSERNINUS, EPISCOPI, salutem.

Satius nobis negligentes præmonere, quam culpæ quæ facta sunt; Solamone dicente, “Melius est arguere [quam] irasci^b.” Exempla difinitionis nostræ inferius conscripta sunt, et sic inchoant:—

1. Si quis in questionem captivis quæsierit in plebe suo jure sine permissione, meruit excommunicari^c.

2. Lectores denique cognoscant, unusquisque, ecclesiam in qua psallat.

3. Clericus vagus non sit in plebe.

4. Si quis permissionem acciperit, et collectum sit pretium, non plus exigat quam quod necessitas poscit^d.

5. Si quid supra manserit, ponat super altare pontificis, ut detur alii indigenti^e.

6. Quicumque clericus ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat, et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint^e, et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contempnentur, et ab Ecclesia separentur.

7. Quicumque clericus ussus^f, negligentiae causa, ad collectas mane vel vespere non occurrerit, alienus habeatur, nisi forte jugo servitutis sit detentus.

8. Clericus si pro gentili homine fideiusor fuerit in quacunque quantitate, et si contigerit (quod mirum non est) per astutiam aliquam gentilis ille clerico fallat, rebus suis clericus ille solvat debitum; nam si armis compugnaverit cum illo, merito extra Ecclesiam computetur^g.

9. Monachus et virgo, unus ab hinc, et alia ab aliunde, in uno hospitio non commaneant, nec in uno curru a villa in villam discurrant, nec adsidue invicem confabulationem exercent.

10. Si [quis] incœptum boni operis ostenderit in psallendo, et nunc

intermisit, et comam habeat; ab Ecclesia excludendus, nisi statui priori se restituerit.

11. Quicumque clericus ab aliquo excommunicatus fuerit, et alius eum suscipit, ambo cœquali pœnitentia utantur.

12. Quicumque Christianus excommunicatus fuerit, nec ejus elemosina recipiatur^b.

13. Elemosinam a gentibus offerendam in Ecclesiam recipi non licet^b.

14. Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more gentium ad aruspice[m] juraverit, per singula cremina annum pœnitentiæ agat; impleto, cum testibus veniat, anno pœnitentiæ, et postea resolvetur a sacerdoteⁱ.

15. Et qui furtum fecerit, demedium pœniteat; viginti diebus cum pane; et, si fieri potest, rapta repræsentet; sic in Ecclesiam renuctur^j.

16. Christianus qui crediderit esse lamiam in sæculo^k, quæ interpretatur striga, anathema[tiz]andus, quicumque super animam famam istam imposuerit; nec ante in Ecclesiam recipiendus, quam ut idem creminis, quod fecit, sua iterum voce revocet^l, et sic pœnitentiam cum omni diligentia agat.

17. Virgo quæ voverit Deo permanet^m kasta, et postea nubserit carnalem sponsum, excommunis sit, donec convertatur: si conversa fuerit, et dimiserit adulteriumⁿ, pœnitentiam agat; et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.

18. Si quis excommunis fuerit, nec nocte pascharum in ecclesiam non introeat, donec pœnitentiam recipiet.

19. Mulier Christiana, quæ acciperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio^o; quæ hæc fecit, excommunis sit.

20. Christianus qui fraudat debitum cujuslibet ritu gentilium, excommunis sit, donec solvat debitum.

21. Christianus cui dereliquerit aliquis, et provocat eum in judicium^p, et non in Ecclesiam, ut ibi examinetur causa; qui sic fecerit, alienus sit.

22. Si quis tradiderit filiam suam viro honestis nuptiis, et amaverit alium, et consentit filiæ suæ, et acceperit dotem; ambo ab Ecclesia excludantur.

23. Si quis presbiterorum ecclesiam ædificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eam consecret; quia sic decet.

24. Si quis advena ingressus fuerit plebem, non ante baptizet^q, neque offerat, neque consecret, nec ecclesiam ædificet, [do]nec permissionem accipiat ab Episcopo: nam qui a gentibus sperat permissionem, alienus sit^r.

[CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO S. PATRICK.]

25. Si quæ a religiosis hominibus donata fuerint, diebus illis quibus pontifex in singulis habitaverit Ecclesiis, pontificalia dona (sicut mos antiquus) ordinare ad Episcopum pertinebunt, sive ad usum^s necessarium, sive egentibus distribuendum, prout ipse Episcopus moderabit.

26. Si quis vero clericus contra venerit, et dona invadere fuerit deprehensus, ut turpis lucri cupidus ab Ecclesia sequestretur.

27. Clericus Episcopi in plebe quislibet novus ingressor, baptizare et offerre illum non licet, nec aliquid agere; qui si sic non faciat, excommunis sit.

28. Si quis clericorum excommunis fuerit, solus, non in eadem domo cum fratribus, orationem facit, nec offer[r]e nec consecrare licet, donec se faciat emendatum; qui si sic non fecerit, dupliciter vindicetur^l.

29. Si quis fratrum accipere gratiam Dei voluerit, non ante baptizetur quam ut XLmum^u agat.

30. Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parruchiam, nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu^r est; die Dominica offerat tantum susceptione, et obsequi hic contentus sit.

31. Si quis conduxerit e duobus clericis, quos discordare convenit per discordiam aliquam, prolatum uni e duobus hostem ad interficiendum, homicidam congruum est nominari: qui clericus ab omnibus rectis habetur alienus^w.

32. Si quis clericorum voluerit iuvare captivo, cum suo pretio illi subveniat; nam si per furtum illum inviolaverit, blasphemantur multi clerici per unum latronem; qui sic fecerit, excommunis sit.

33. Clericus qui de Britanis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare.

34. Diaconus nobiscum similiter, qui inconsultu suo abbate sine literis in aliam parruchiam absentat^s, nec cibum ministrare decet; et a suo presbitero, quem contempsit, per poenitentiam vindicetur. Et monachus inconsultu abbate vagulus debet^y vindicari.

Finiunt Sinodi Distincta^z. [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20): and in S., I. 52-54; and W., I. 2, 3. Also in Ware, *Opusc. S. Patric.* pp. 42-46.]

^a Of the canons here printed, under S. Patrick's name, this first series, which occurs as a whole, and is attributed to a single synod, is undoubtedly Irish. How far they are S. Patrick's, see below, in note^z. The amount of credence due to the heading, which assigns them to Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, is not great (see however below in note^y): although the omission of the name of Secundinus may be accounted for, by his comparatively early death, which the Ann. Ult.

assign to A.D. 448. There is another (very imperfect) copy of them (15th century) in MS. C.C.C.C. 298, no. 22. The five miscellaneous canons, which are appended to them in Wilkins as S. Patrick's, are all to be found in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, printed below in its place, either briefly or at length; but only two of them, that printed here in Sect. II. no. 1 (at greater length than in the *Cod. Can.*) as the first of S. Patrick's single canons, and one relating to theft, are assigned

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to S. Patrick in that code. Of the others, one is from Isidore, another from an "Irish Synod," and the remaining one is simply a verse of S. Paul to Timothy. The collection in Ware (also in *Wilkins*, I. 6, 7) is to be found entirely in the code just referred to, and under S. Patrick's name. The Index to that code will guide the reader both to these, and to several others not in Ware. The second series here given, contains certain single canons attributed to S. Patrick, from various sources; omitting however those which will be found in full in the Code, in order to avoid repetition. The remaining or third series given here (and in *Wilkins*), which is printed by Spelman from a MS. given him by Ussher, is certainly not S. Patrick's, but is nevertheless Irish (see below, p. 333, note ²). Strictly speaking, all these should have been printed with the Code so often referred to; since none of them can well be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the seventh century. But for convenience' sake, those collections which bear S. Patrick's name as a whole, and the single canons so designated, which are not in the *Cod. Can.*, or are only there in part, are placed here after S. Patrick's undoubted writings.

^b *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LXV. 17.

^c *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 25: adding "abbatis" after "permissione," and reading "redemptionem" for "in quastionem."

^d *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLI. 26: adding "pontificis" after "permissionem."

^e The part of this canon relating to the tonsure is in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, LI. 7, and is there also attributed to S. Patrick. It clearly cannot be really his.

^f i. e. jussus.

^g *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXII. 2.

^h *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 8: reading "clericus" for "Christianus."

ⁱ *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 10: reading "interrogat" for "juraverit," while *Wilkins* after Spelman reads "nieaverit."

^j *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVIII. 8.

^k Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "speculo."

^l Corrected in the MS. *prima manu* into "revocat."

^m Corrected by *Wilkins* into "permanere."

ⁿ Corrected by *Wilkins* into "adulterum."

^o Corrected by Spelman and *Wilkins* into "adultero."

^p Miswritten in MS., "inductum."

^q "baptizat," in MS.

^r *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLII. 4: as from "Synodus Patricii."

^s i. e. "usum."

^t *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXXIX. 9.

^u "quadragintissimum," Spelman.

^v "principatum," in MS.

^w *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, X. (a). 1: but with no reference either to S. Patrick or Ireland, and with a different reading.

^x "adsentiat," in Spelman.

^y "decret," in Spelman.

^z The general date of these canons must obviously be placed at a period when there was a settled Church in Ireland, yet while heathenism still ruled in parts of the country; when the Britons and the Irish (cc. 6, 33) had become estranged, *scil.* by the adoption of Roman customs by the latter (north as well as south) while the former retained the Celtic ones, i. e. at least after A.D. 716 but before A.D. 777 or 809 (see in vol. I. p. 204: and, lastly, when the Church had existed long enough in Ireland for a custom to arise and to have become "antiquus" (c. 25). The first years of the eighth century are the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the collection as a whole. It is obviously out of the question to trust seriously to the dates of the Annals (death of Isserninus A.D. 469, of Auxilius A.D. 460, and of Secundinus, who is not mentioned, A.D. 448) compared with the heading of the alleged synod; which, together, point to the date of A.D. 448 x 460. The numbering of the canons is due to Spelman. It is to be added, however, that the short preface together with canons 1, 4, 5, part of 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24, 28, are quoted as S. Patrick's (24 as from "Synodus Patricii") in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* of the beginning of the eighth century, printed below in its place; although it is impossible that one at least of them, sc. 6 (so far as relates to the Roman tonsure), can be really S. Patrick's.

II. Single Canons attributed to S. Patrick.

1. PATRICIUS, DE UNITATE ET SUBDITORUM * * * . Quis ergo audent scindere unitatem, quam nemo hominum solvere vel reprehendere potest?^a "Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una, et nulla erat separatio in eis, nec quisquam ex bonis suis dicebat esse aliquid, sed erant illis omnia communia: [...] gratia quoque erat magna super illos omnes;

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nec vero in eis aliquis indigens; nam quicumque possessores agrorum aut domorum erant, vendentes adferebant pretia illorum et ponebant ante Apostolorum [pedes], et dividebatur unicuique ut opus erat [.....]. Quidam autem vir, nomine Annanias, cum Safirra uxore sua [..]; et adferens partem aliquam ante pedes Apostolorum [...]: dixit autem Petrus illi, Annanias, cur implevit Satanas cor tuum ad mentiendum Spiritui Sancto, ut fraudem faceres de pretio agri? Nonne manens tibi manebat, et venditum in tua potestate erat? Quare posuisti in corde tuo facere hoc malum? Non es hominibus mentitus sed Deo. Audiens autem Annanias hæc verba cecidit et expiravit^b." [MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (*olim* O. 20), fol. 59-62: and partly in S., I. 54; and W., I. 3, 4.]

^a These words are cited as from "synodus" (i. e. probably an Irish synod), in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XX. 9; but without the quo-

tation from the Acts.

^b Acts iv. 32-35; v. 1-5 (not Vulg.).

2. *Canon of S. Patrick from the Book of Armagh*^a. [fol. 21 b. b.]

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quodque opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perfecerit, aut prædicta ejus insignia dispexerit, ad libertatem examinis ejusdem Airddmachæ præsulis recte judicantis perveniet causa totius negotiationis, cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermisiss.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus, ad cathedram Archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est, Patricii, atque hujus antestitis examinationem recte refferenda.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit, causa prædictæ negotiationis, ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri Apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

Hii sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. Post vero exitum Patricii sancti alumpni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

^a Printed also in *Appendix CXVII.*, pp. 611, 612, of Mr. O'Curry's *Lectures on Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1861. Part of the passage is in *Ussher, Relig. of Ancient Irish*, c. VIII., *Opp.* IV. 330, note. And a part of it is also in *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XIX. 5. The date of the canon is obviously

after the primacy of Armagh had been claimed at least, if not established: probably in the 8th century. The MS. of the Book of Armagh is dated by Irish scholars, probably, in A.D. 807 (see *Todd, S. Patrick*, p. 288 n., and Dr. Graves as there quoted).

III. *Canons of a Second Synod attributed to S. Patrick*^a.I. *De habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus.*

De eo quod mandastis de habitatione cum fratribus peccatoribus, audite Apostolum dicentem, "Cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem sumere¹." Non ejus escas sumas cum eo. Cæterum si bos sis et trituras, hoc est, si doctor es et doces, "non obturatur tibi os²," et "dignus es mercede tua³," sed "oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput tuum⁴," sed corripe adhuc et argue.

II. *De observationibus*^b *eorum.*

Contentus tegmento et alimento tuo, cætera dona iniquorum reproba⁵, quia non sumit lucerna nisi quod^c alitur.

III. *De pœnitentia post ruinas.*

Statuitur, ut abbas videat, cui attribuetur potestas alligandi et solvendi; sed aptior est, juxta Scripturæ exempla, veniam. Si vero cum fletu^d et lamentatione et lugubri cum veste sub custodia, pœnitentia brevis quam longa, et remissa cum temperamentis^e.

IV. [*De excommunicato repellendo*^f.]

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Si tibi non audierit, sit tibi velut gentilis et publicanus^g." Non maledices, sed repelles excommunicatum a communione, et mensa, et missa, et pace; et si hæreticus est, post unam correptionem devita⁷.

^a The following (the mention of "D. Rothæus" excepted, which Wilkins has added,—he was titular Bishop of Ossory) is Spelman's account (as quoted in Wilkins) of the source whence the canons here given are derived. "Secundam hanc S. Patricii synodum ex Andegavensi bibliotheca transcriptum D[avid] Rothæo communicavit aliquando Jacobus Sirmundus, quorum ille eam ad reverendissimum patrem D. Jacobum Armachanum Archiepiscopum Primatem Hiberniæ misit, et eandem mihi præsul idem eruditione et pietate spectatissimus 1 Aprilis, 1628. De tempore autem, quo sit habita, neuter mēnit, nec e synodo deprehenditur" (*Spelm. Conc.*, I. 59). The canons in the two preceding articles, and those in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.* printed further on, and those in this

(so called) Second Synod, are indisputably Irish; but hardly S. Patrick's. Of this "Second Synod," cc. III., VIII., XIV., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXX., occur (as marked in the notes) in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, and are there referred in most cases (not to S. Patrick, but) to a Roman Synod as adopted by an Irish one. And can. XXVII. of the list is directly contrary to S. Patrick's own "Confessio" (above, p. 308, l. 21).

^b "oblationibus," in Wilkins.

^c Corrected by Spelman and Wilkins into "quo."

^d "flem," in MS., corrected by Spelman into "fletu."

^e *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XLVI. 8; but with a varied text.

^f Added by Spelman.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 11.

² Deut. xxv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 9.

³ 1 Tim. v. 18.

⁴ Ps. cxl. 5. V.

⁵ Ecclus. xxxiv. 23.

⁶ Matt. xviii. 17.

⁷ Tit. iii. 10.

V. *De suspectis causis.*

Audi Dominum dicentem, "Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem¹;" —hoc est, "donec veniat, Qui manifestabit consilia cordium¹;"—ne iudicium ante diem iudicii facias. Vide Iudam ad mensam Domini, et latronem in paradiso.

VI. *De vindictis Ecclesiæ.*

Audi item Dominum dicentem, "Qui effuderit sanguinem innocentem, sanguis ipsius effundetur²;" sed ab eo qui portat gladium; dictator² autem vindictæ innocens habetur. De cæteris autem per legem Evangelicam, ab eo loco in quo ait, "Et eum qui aufert aliquid a te, ne repetas³;" sed libenter, si ipse quid referat, humiliter recipias.

VII. *De baptismatis incertis.*

Statuunt ne rebaptizati [sint], qui symboli traditione[m] a quocunque acceperunt, quia non inficit semen seminantis iniquitas. Sin vero, non est rebaptizare, sed baptizare. Non abluendos¹ autem lapsos a fide credamus, nisi per impositionem manus accepi[antur]¹.

VIII. *De reis autem abstractis ab Ecclesia.*

Non ad reorum defensionem facta est Ecclesia; sed iudicibus persuadendum est, ut^k spiritali morte eos occiderent, qui ad sinum matris Ecclesiæ confugiunt^l.

IX. *De lapsis post gradum.*

Audi canonica instituta. Qui cum gradu cecidit, sine gradu surgat. Contentus nomine tantum, amittat ministerium: nisi qui tantum a conspectu Domini peccans non recessit.

X. *desideratur.*XI. *De separatione sexuum post lapsum.*

Consideret unusquisque in conscientia sua, si amor et desiderium cessavit peccati, quia corpus mortuum non inficit corpus alterius mortui; sin vero, separentur.

* "dictatur," in MS., and Spelman.

¹ Corrected by Wilkins into "absoluedos."

² So Wilkins. "Accepi" in Spelman from

the MS.

^k Corrected by Wilkins into "ne:" wrongly, as appears by the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*

^l *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XXVII. 14.

¹ Matt. xiii. 30; 1 Cor. iv. 5.

² Gen. ix. 6.

³ Matt. v. 42.

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XII. *De oblatione pro defunctis.*

Audi Apostolum dicentem, "Est autem peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis¹." Et Dominus, "Nolite donare sanctum canibus²." Qui enim in vita sua non merebitur^m sacrificium accipere, quomodo post mortem illi poterit adjuvare?

XIII. *De sacrificio.*

In nocte Paschæ, si fas est ferre foras, non foras fertur, sed fidelibus deferaturⁿ. Quid aliud significat quod in una domo sumitur agnus, quam [quod^o] sub uno fidei culmine creditur et communicatur Christus?

XIV. *De abstinentia votiva vel legali a cibis^p.*

Statutum, ut [post] Christi adventum sponsi nullas ratas leges inveniat jejunii. Quid autem inter Novatianum et Christianum interest, nisi quod Novatianus indesinenter, Christianus vero per tempus abstineat; ut locus, et tempus, et persona per omnia observetur^q.

XV. *De relinquenda vel docenda patria.*

Docenda patria prius, per exemplum Domini; et derelinquenda postea si non proficiet^r, juxta exemplum Apostoli. Sed qui potest facere^s, licet periclitatur, ubique doceat, et se ostendat; qui vero non potest, taceat et abscondat. Alius quippe ab Jesu in domum suam mittitur, alius sequi jubetur³.

XVI. *De falsis Episcopis.*

Qui non secundum Apostolum electus est ab altero Episcopo, est dammandus; deinde ad reliquam plebem declinandus et degradandus.

XVII. *De praposito monachorum.*

Monachi sunt, qui solitarii sine terrenis opibus habitant sub potestate Episcopi vel abbatis. Non sunt autem monachi, sed vactro-periti^t (hoc

^m Corrected by Wilkins into "merebatur."ⁿ Altered by Wilkins into "deferetur."^o Added by Wilkins.^p So Wilkins by conjecture. The MS. in Spelman has, "De abstinenti insolivi lequat a cibis."^q *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, XI. 15.^r Altered by Wilkins into "proficiat."^s Altered by Wilkins into "proficere."^t "Bactro-peratæ," from *βάκτρον* and *πήρα*, is a contemptuous name for "philosophi," applied by S. Jeron (*in Matt.* xix.) to corrupt monks: who, as he proceeds to say, were "contemptores sæculi." For "solliciti," in the text, should probably be read "sæculi." But even so amended, some words seem to have dropped out of the text.¹ 1 John v. 16.² Matt. vii. 6.³ Luke viii. 39; Matt. ix. 9; &c.

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est, contemptores solliciti). Ad vitam perfectam in ætate perfecta (hoc est, a viginti annis) debet unusquisque constringi, non adtestando sed voto perficiendo: ut est illud, "Unusquisque sicut proposuit corde suo faciat¹;" et, "Ut vota mea reddam in conspectu Domini²," et reliqua. Quo voto vivitur, situs locorum coartat, si superabundantia in omnibus devitetur in vita; quia in frigore et nuditate, in fame et siti, in vigiliis et jejuniis, vocati sunt.

XVIII. *De tribus seminibus Evangeliorum*³.

Centesimum Episcopi et doctores, qui omnibus omnia sunt; sexagesimum clerici, et viduæ, qui continentes sunt; tricesimum laici, qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt. Illis amplius non est in messe Domini. Monachos vero et virgines cum centesimis jungimus.

XIX. *Qua ætate baptizandi sunt.*

Octavo die chatechumeni sunt; postea, solemnitatibus Domini baptizantur, id est, Pascha, et Pentecoste, et Epiphania.

XX. *De parrociiis.*

Cum monachis non est dicendum, quorum malum est inauditum, qui unitatem vero plebis non incongrue suscepimus.

XXI. *De retinendis vel dimittendis monachis.*

Unusquisque fructum suum in Ecclesia, in qua imbutus est, perfruatur; nisi causa majoris profectus ad alterius^a ferre permissa^x abbatis cogat. Si vero ex[t]i[t]erit^y causa utilior, cum benedictione dicatur, "Ecce Agnus Dei¹;" non quod^z sua sunt singuli quærentes, sed quæ Iesu Christi⁵: vocationis^a autem causam non permittunt^b subditos discurrere.

XXII. *De sumenda Eucharistia post lapsum.*

Post examinationem carceris^c sumenda est; maxime autem in nocte Paschæ, in qua qui non communicat, fidelis non est. Ideo brevia sunt et stricta apud eos spatia, ne anima fidelis intereat tanto tempore jejuna medicinæ; Domino dicente, "Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis⁶."

^a So corrected by Wilkins: "adulteris," in Spelman.

^x Altered by Wilkins into "permisso."

^y So altered by Wilkins: "exierit," in Spelman.

^x Corrected by Wilkins into "quæ."

^a "vacationis" is a needless correction.

^b Altered by Wilkins into "permittant."

For "discurrere," Wilkins has "discutere."

^c *leg.* "carnis," Wilkins.

¹ 2 Cor. ix. 7 (not Vulg.).

² Matt. xiii. 23; &c.

³ Ps. cxv. 18, &c. Vulg. ("in conspectu populi").

⁴ John i. 36.

⁵ Phil. ii. 21.

⁶ John vi. 54.

XXIII. *De juramento.*

"Non jurare oinnino¹." De hoc consequente^d lectionis series docet non adjurandam esse creaturam aliam, nisi Creatorem: ut prophetis mos est,—*"Vivit Dominus,"* et, *"Vivit anima mea,"* et, *"Vivit Dominus Cui assisto hodie²."* Finis autem contradictionis est nisi Domino³. Omni^e enim quod amat homo, hoc et juratur^f.

XXIV. *De contentione duorum absque testibus.*

Statuunt, ut per quatuor sancta evangelia, antequam communicet, testatur, quid probatur; et deinde sub iudice fama relinquatur^g.

XXV. *De toro fratris defuncti.*

Audi decreta synodi,—*"Superstes^h frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat:"*—Domino dicente, *"Erunt duo in carne unaⁱ:"* ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est^j.

XXVI. *De meretrice conjugē.*

Audi Dominum dicentem,—*"Qui adhæret meretrici, unum corpus effici-
tur^k."* Item,—*"Adultera lapidetur^l:"*—id est, huic vitio moriatur, ut desinat crescere quæ non desinit mœchari. Item, si adulterata fuerit mulier, nunquid revertitur ad virum suum priorem. Item, *"Non licet viro dimittere uxorem, nisi ob causam fornicationis^m:"*—ac si dicat, ob hanc causam; unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non vetant.

XXVII. *De voluntate virginis vel patris in conjugio.*

Quod vult pater, faciat virgo, quia caput mulieris vir. Sed requirenda est a patre voluntas virginis, dum *"Deus reliquit hominem in manu consilii suiⁿ."*

XXVIII. *De primis vel secundis votis.*

Eadem ratione observanda sunt prima vota, et prima conjugia, ut secundis prima non sint irrita, nisi fuerint adulterata.

^d *leg.* consequentia, and *om.* series: the words are from S. Jerom.

^e *leg.* omne.

^f *Cod. Can. Hibern., XXXIV. 3.*

^g *Cod. Can. Hibern., XV. 14;* reading "flamma" for "fama."

^h "super istis," in Spelman.

ⁱ *Cod. Can. Hibern., XLV. 35.*

¹ Matt. v. 34.

² 1 Sam. xxv. 26; 1 Kings xvii. 1 (not Vulg.); &c. &c.

³ Hebr. vi. 16.

⁴ Gen. ii. 24; Matt. xix. 5; &c.

⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 16.

⁶ Levit. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22.

⁷ Matt. xix. 9.

⁸ Eccclus. xv. 14.

XXIX. *De consanguinitate in conjugio.*

Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minus nec plus: quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse.

XXX. *De vindicandis adsuctis.*

Nunquam vetitum^k; licet. Verum observandæ sunt leges jubilei, hoc est, quinquaginta anni, ut non adfirmetur^l incerta vice ratio^m temporis. Et ideo omnis negotia[tio] subscriptione Romanorum confirmanda estⁿ.

XXXI. *De gentilibus qui ante baptismum credunt, quam pœnitentiam habeant.*

Remittuntur quidem omnium peccata in baptismo; sed qui cum fidei conscientia infidelis temporarius^o vixit, ut fidelis peccator judicandus est.

Finit Patricii Synodus. [S., I. 55-59; W., I. 4-6; Ware, pp. 31-39.]

^k "vetitus," in Spelman.

^l Altered by Wilkins into "infirmetur."

^m So Wilkins: "rato," in Spelman.

ⁿ Cod. Can. Hibern., XXXV. 8.

^o "infidelem tempor..." in Spelman.

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANCIENT LAWS OF IRELAND¹, CALLED SENCUS MOR, RELATING TO THE CHURCH.

[I. *Place, Time, and History of the Code.*]

Locc don laidse Teamuir, ocus
loc do Seanchus hi samrad ocus i
fogmur, ar a glainni [ocus ar-a-
haiðne] is na haimseraib sin; ocus
Raith gut aird, in baili adta Lec
Patraic aniu, i nGlind na mbodur,
i fagus do Nith nemundach, a loc

The place of this Poem and the
place of the Sencus was Teamhair^a,
in the summer and in the autumn,
on account of its cleanness and plea-
santness during these seasons; and
Rath-guthaird^b, where the stone of
Patrick is at this day in Glenn-na-

¹ The *Senclús Mór* is the code of the old Irish law, derived from Pagan times, but drawn into the form of a code, and modified so as to be in harmony with Christianity and to recognize the Christian Church, under the influence of Christian ecclesiastics. The date at which it was compiled, is affirmed by itself, and by the *IV. Mag.*, to have been that of S. Patrick; who with Benignus and Cairnech makes up the ecclesiastical trio of its nine alleged compilers. Irish scholars like Dr. O'Donovan assert the language of the code itself, apart from the Introduction and the Glosses, to be consistent with such a date. The place also at which it was in part drawn up, viz. Tara, which ceased to be a royal residence A.D. 565, indicates that it was at least commenced before (at latest) that year. On the other hand, the more than questionable Christianity of at least two of the Kings named as among its compilers,—the analogous case of Howel Dda's Laws, where the mere fact of a triple code (besides other difficulties) shews that the literal statement of its origin only approximates to the truth,—the great improbability that the influence and the territorial endowments of the Church could have been so great in Ireland at that early date,—and the general presumptions that lie against the literal truth of a legend of

such a character and period,—incline to the conclusion that the story in the Introduction contains only a nucleus of truth; and that Dr. Todd's is the soberer judgment, who holds it "not impossible that such a work may have been begun in the times of S. Patrick, but that the *Senclús Mór* in its present form cannot be of so remote an age;" although he would date even the later portions (now, however, we suppose, inseparable from the rest) as not later than the 9th or 10th centuries. The 13th century appears to be the earliest date of any existing MS. The Irish, with a translation, of a portion of the code, was published at Dublin, vol. i. in 1865, vol. ii. in 1869, under the authority of a Royal Commission for the purpose, by Dr. W. Neilson Hancock, with the co-operation of Mr. O'Curry and Dr. O'Donovan until their deaths, and then of Professor Thaddeus O'Mahony; under the title of *Ancient Laws of Ireland. SENCUS MÓR*. Vol. I. *Introduction to Senclús Mór*, and *ATHGABAIL, or Law of Distress*, as contained in the Harleian MSS.; and vol. II. *Law of Distress completed, Laws of Hostage-Sureties, Fosterage, Sacr-Stock Tenure, Daer-Stock Tenure, and of Social Connexions*. Other volumes are to follow. The extracts here given are those portions only which refer to the Church.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

a ngeimrid ocus a n-errać, ar gaire
leo a conad ocus a uisce, ocus ar
tesaidećt i naimsir in geamfuaćta.

Ocus it inunda aimser doib, aim-
ser Laegaire mic Neil, Ríg Eirenn ;
ocus Teiosius rob aird rig in domain
and in tan sin, ocus deisínerećt air-
side, ut dixit in filed—

" Patraic ro baithuis go li,
" In aimsir Tethosi,
" Pritcuis soiscela cen meit,
" Do tuait molfaig mac Miled."

Ocus persa do Seancus lin per-
sannu in tSencusa, i. i. :—

" Laegairi, Corc, Dairi dur,
" Patraic, Beneoin, Cairneach coir,
" Rosa, Dubthać, Fergus co feib,
" Naci sailgi sin tSencuis moir."

Persa na laide imorro Dubthać Mac
ua Lugair, rig filed bfer nErend.

Tuait a denmu in tSencusa ; Pa-
traig do toidećt i nErind do silad
baithuis ocus credme do Gaeideluib,
i. i. is in nomad bliadain do flaitcas
Tetosi, ocus is in ceiramađ bliadain
do flaitius Laegaire mic Neill, Ríg
Eirenn.

mbodhur, near Nith nemonnach, was
the place during the winter and the
spring, on account of the nearness
of its fire-wood and its water, and
on account of its warmth in the time
of winter's cold.

And they were composed at the
same time—in the time of Laeghaire,
son of Niall, King of Erin ; and
Theodosius was monarch of the
world at that time, and it was in
commemoration of this the poet
said :—

" Patrick baptized with glory,
" In the time of Theodosius,
" He preached the Gospel without
failure
" To the glorious people of Mi-
lidh's sons."

And the authors of the Senchus
were the number of the persons of
the Senchus—viz.,

" Laeghaire, Corc, Dairi the hardy,
" Patrick, Benen, Cairnech the just,
" Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus with
science,
" These were the nine pillars of
the Senchus Mor."

But the author of the Poem was
Dubhthach Mac ua Lugair, royal
poet of the men of Erin.

The cause of the Senchus having
been composed was this :—Patrick
came to Erin to baptize and to dis-
seminate religion among the Gaei-
dhil, i. e. in the ninth year of the
reign of Theodosius, and in the
fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire,
son of Niall, King of Erin.

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[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Iarsin mbreith sin tra ro forcongrad o Patraic for seraib Eirenn ar co tistais co haen maigin fri haentaib imac[a]lma do. Iar tiactain imurro doib don dail ro prítad soscela Crist doib uili; agus ot cuas d'fearaib Eirenn marbad na mbeo agus beougað na marb, agus uili comacta Patraic, iar tiactain do i n-Eirinn; agus ot cõdcatar Laeghaire cona druidib do sarugað tria firta agus mirbaile dermara i fiadnaisi fer n-Erend, rosleatsat for, ogreir De agus Patraic.

Is and asbert Laeghaire: "Rictai a les, a firu Eirenn, suidiugað agus ordugað each rechta lind [cid cenmota in ni seo]". "Is ferr a denam," ol Patraic. Is and sin tarreomlad cae aes dana la hErind co tarfen each a ceird fia Patraic, ar beilaib caea flaia la hErind.

Is and ro herbad do Dubthaç tasfenad breitemnusa agus uile fili-decta Eirenn, agus nach rechta ro falnasat la firu Eirenn, i rect aicnid agus [a rect faidi] agus i mbreitaib innsi Eirend agus i fileaib.

Toairngertatur do nicfad berla ban bias, i. rect litre; ar in Spirit naem ro labrastar agus do aircechain tria ginu na fer fireon cet rabatur i n-innis Eirenn, amail do n-aircechain tria ginu na [prim faidi] agus na n-uasal aitre, i rect petarlaice; a ro

After this sentence Patrick requested of the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him. When they came to the conference the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all; and when the men of Erin heard of the killing of the living and the resuscitation of the dead, and all the power of Patrick since his arrival in Erin; and when they saw Laeghaire with his druids overcome by the great signs and miracles wrought in the presence of the men of Erin, they bowed down, in obedience to the will of God and Patrick.

Then Laeghaire said—"It is necessary for you, O men of Erin, that every other law should be settled and arranged by us, as well as this." "It is better to do so," said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each of them exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin.

It was then Dubhthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin, through the law of nature, and the law of the seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.

They had foretold that the bright word of blessing would come, i. e. the law of the letter; for it was the Holy Spirit that spoke and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in the island of Erin, as he had prophesied through

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

siact reët aicnid mar nad rochat recht litri.

Ina breia fir aicnid tra din ro labairustar in Spirit naem tria ginu breitemon ocus filid fireoin fer n-Ei-renn, o congabad in insi so co creitium anall, dos airfen Dubthaë uile do Patraic. Ni din nad taudëaid fri breiür nDe i reët litri ocus nu-fiaidnaise, ocus fri cuibsenä cresion, conairged in ord breitemnaëta la Patraic ocus eclaisi ocus flaite Erenn; doneoch robba dir reët aicnid [uile] ingi creitium, ocus a coir ocus comuain n-Eclaisi fri tuait. Conide Senchus mar insen.

Nonbur tra do erglas do orduëad in liubairsi, .i. Patraic, ocus Beneoin, ocus Cairnech, tri Epscuib; Laegaire, ocus Corc, ocus Daire, .i. tri Ríg; Rosa, .i. mac Triëim, ocus Dubiaë, .i. suí Berla, ocus Fergus, .i. filid.

Nofis, din, ainm in Liubairse ro ordaigset, .i. sis nonbur, ocus ata a desmereët rinn anuas.

Is i so tra in Cain Patraic, issed nad cumaic naë breitem daenna do Gaedelaib do taibhiuch nach ni fogeba i Senchus mor.

the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law; for the law of nature had prevailed where the written law did not reach.

Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of this island, down to *the reception* of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith, and its obligations and the harmony of the church and the people. And this is the Senchus Mor.

Nine persons were appointed to arrange this book, viz., Patrick, and Benen, and Cairnech, three Bishops; Laegaire, and Corc, and Daire, three Kings; Rosa, i. e. Mac-Tre-chim, and Dubhthach, i. e. a doctor of the Bérla *Féini*d, and Fergus, i. e. a poet.

Nofis, therefore, is the name of this book which they arranged, i. e. the knowledge of nine persons, and we have the proof of this above.

This is the Cain Patraic, and no human Brehon of the Gaedhil is able to abrogate anything that is found in the Senchus Mor.

[*Introduction, vol. I. pp. 2-19.*]

^a i. e. Tara

^c Near the source of the Ardee (anciently

called the Níbh), co. Louth.

^d Dubhthach's poem above-mentioned, and

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its history, are given here in the original work. It recited the condemning to death of the murderer of Odhran, S. Patrick's charioteer.

^d i. e. of the dialect of the Feini, in which these laws were written.

[2. *Dire-fine equal for King and Bishop.*]

Is a Sencas Mar ro airled comdire do Rig ocus Epscop, ocus aige rechta litre, ocus suad filed forcan di cendaib forosna, ocus do briugad dire-nar cetaib, oca mbi caire ansic co na thochus techta.

In the Sencus was established equal 'dire'-fine for a King, and a Bishop, and the head of the written law, and the chief poet who composes extemporaneously, and for the brewer, who is paid 'dire' for his hundreds, and who has the ever-full caldron and his lawful wealth^a.

[*Introduction, I. 40.*]

^a So also in dispensing hospitality, the haunch was reserved for "the King, Bishop, and literary doctor" (*Introd., I. 49*).

[3. *Tithes, First-fruits, Alms, Contracts.*]

Aatat a tri noda icat, dechmada, ocus primiti, ocus almsana, aragairet re cuairt duinebad, traethad cairde la Rig ocus tuaith, aragair tuarathlia cotha.

There are three things which are paid, *viz.*, tithes and first-fruits, and alms, which prevent the period of a plague, and the suspension of amity between a King and the country, and which also prevent the occurrence of a general war.

Astad caich in sochar ocus ina dochur argair bailiuth in betha.

The binding of all to *their* good and bad contracts prevents the lawlessness of the world.

Acht na cuic curu ata taithmechta la feine, cia ro nasatar: cor moga cen a flaith, cor manaig cen apaid, cor meic beoathar cen athair noca, cor druith no mire, cor mna sech a ceili.

Except the five contracts which are dissolved by the Feini, even though they be perfected: the contract of a labourer without his chief, the contract of a monk without his abbat, the contract of the son of a living father without the father, the contract of a fool or mad woman, the contract of a woman without her man.

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. I.]

Olcena atsui^{ter} cuir bel amail
adrodad Adum in derbdiubairt: at-
bath in bith uile ar acn uball.

In like manner are fixed the con-
tracts by word of mouth, as Adam
was condemned for his red fraud:
all the world died for the one apple.

[*Introduction, I. 50-52.*][4. *A stumbling Bishop to be degraded.*]

Atat ceitheora sabaid tuaite noda
desruithethar i mbeaib: Rig gubre-
iach, Epscop tuisledach, file diubar-
tach, aire eisindraic nad oiget a
mamu. Ni dlegaiter doib dire.

There are four dignitaries^a of a
territory who may be degraded: a
false-judging King, a stumbling Bi-
shop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy
chieftain who does not fulfil his
duties. 'Dire'-fine is not due to
these.

[*Introduction, I. 54.*]

^a See also pp. 56, 57: "Inflicting wounds, or committing acts of treachery, upon bodies or persons, or fratricide, or secret murder, or refusing to entertain a company, or adultery, if it be committed by any one of an ecclesiastical grade, deprives such ecclesiastical orders of full honor-price at once until they pay 'eric'-fine, and do penance; and they all return to their former dignities except the Bishop, who does not return, but becomes a hermit; or, according to others, it is the virgin Bishop only who does not recover his grade or his perfection again; the Bishop of one wife does return, i.e.

when he performs penance within three days." And p. 61: "All men whose office did not compel them to frequent the Church, have a 'cunihal' for frequenting the Church. If a person of the six grades of the Church has done these deeds, he shall move to a higher grade, so as he does penance in proportion to the dignity of the grade, however insignificant the crime. . . . When they [the Brewys] have not increase of property to entitle them to recover their rank, they must do penance at their own Church," &c.

[5. *Value of Bishop's Testimony.*]

Ar forbrise Ri cach a fiadnaise,
ar is tualaing som forgell for cach
recht, acht a da comgrad d'inraicaib,
no sui, no Epscop, no deorad De.

The King excels all in testimony,
for he can, by his mere word, decide
against every class of persons ex-
cept those of the two orders of reli-
gion or learning who are of equal
rank with himself, as the doctor, or
the Bishop, or the pilgrim [exile of
God].

[*Athgabail, or Law of Distress, I. 78.*]

[6. *Furniture of a Church.*]

Is and ro airled etach fri lith, arm
fri nith, ech fri aige, dam fri h-ar,
bo fri blicht, mucc co nur, cauru
co lí; toichned Ri, biathad airec,
esbuid fledi, intreb n-ecalsa, &c.

It is in it (*the rule of one day's stay*)
were included *distresses for* raiment
for the festival day, weapons for the
battle, a horse for the race, an ox
for ploughing, a cow for milk, a pig
with fatness, a sheep with its fleece;
the withholding of his food-tribute
from a King, the food-tribute of a
chieftain, the deficiency of a feast,
the furniture of a church, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 122.*]

[7. *Relics—Churchyard.*]

Athgabail dechmaide im crichad
selba, im fuigell, im dirind uas caé,
im rodarc tunne [im set rodere] im
diubu nuire, &c.

Distress of ten days for the partition
of lands, for a relic, for the moun-
tain *land* high above all, for things
of value seen on the sea, for valuable
articles, for digging a churchyard, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 200-202.*]

[8. *Advice of Church in making Laws.*]

Is cosse conamas athgabail huine,
ocus aile, ocus treisi, ocus cuicthe,
ocus dechmaide la Feni a comairleib
Eclaisi, a nnoisib tuai, a firechtaib
fíled, a comcetaíaidib flatha, a com-
airle breitheman, acht ní ima tor-
maig cubus ocus aicne a fírbrethaib
iar cubus.

Hitherto have been enumerated
the distresses of one day, and of two
days, and of three days, and of five
days, and of ten days, by the Féini
by the advice of the Church, from
the customs of the laity, from the
true laws of the poets, from the con-
current opinions of the Kings, from
the advice of judges, except what
conscience and nature added from
true judgments according to analogy.

[*Law of Distress, I. 208, 209.*]

[9. *Injuring Utensils of the Altar.*]

(This is included in a list of injuries for which a distress of three days is ordered. The cup and chalice are the utensils specified.)

[*Law of Distress, I. 233-235.*]

[10. *Exemption of Clerks from duty of interfering to prevent violence.*]

Bit sellaig slana and chena, i.
cleirig, oculus mna, oculus mec, oculus
aes nad meisi gona na anacal na
urgair, oculus eccuind oculus escunid.

There are also other lookers-on
who are exempt, i.e. clerics, and
women, and boys, and people who
are not able to wound or protect or
forbid, and imbeciles and incapables.

[*Law of Distress, I. 242, 243.*]

[11. *Why distress is fourfold.*]

Oculus ar ind hi it ceteora selba bit
for each adgair oculus adgairter: selb
fini atardai, oculus selb flata oculus selb
Ecalsa, oculus selb maithrai, no selb
altrama; ro bi eo comraicet huile
for oen; rom bi imbei a di, no a
tri, no nachae aenar nacha techta.

(Among other reasons) Because
there are four who have an interest
in every one who sues or is sued:
the tribe of the father, the chief, the
Church, the tribe of the mother, or
the foster-father; it may be that they
all may be in one; it may be that
they may all be in two, or in three,
or one alone may have an interest
in him.

* * * * *

* * * * *

Oculus ar ind hi it ceithri rechta ro
mesraigset ar breilemnacht: recht
naicned, oculus recht setarlui, [recht
saide,] recht nudfiadnaise.

And because there are four laws
which are brought to bear upon
judicature: the law of nature, the
patriarchal law, the prophetic law,
the law of the New Testament.

[*Law of Distress, I. 260, 261.*]

[12. *Exemption for those who go to obtain the Communion for a Sick Person.*]

Dlomtar turbuid; a teisið annso:
tubad sloig fo mendad; iarmoraet
cruid, no coibdena; no gabala, no

The occasions of exemption are
here set down; these are they: the
attack of a host upon the house;

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

cimidi, no fir muindire consla i
n-ailiri, no coingi comna, no lega
do neoch biss fri bas, &c.

pursuit of cattle, or a party; or the
seizure of cattle, or a prisoner, or a
member of a tribe having gone on
a pilgrimage, or to obtain the com-
munion, or a physician for a person
on the point of death, &c.

[*Law of Distress, I. 266, 267.*]

[13. *Delay of Ten Days in distraining Cattle belonging to the Church.*]

Ni gaibier aigabail neime graid
flatha no Eculsa conar fastur doib
cu dechmuid.

The exempt cattle of the chieftain
grade or of the Church shall not be
distrained until a delay of ten days
has taken place.

[*Law of Distress, II. 48, 49.*]

[14. *Steward Bailiffs of Kings and Bishops.*]

Acht athuig forría bitís fri cinta o
Riguib.

Except steward-bailiffs which Kings
had to be accountable for their li-
abilities.

[*Gloss.*] .I. acht na hatuig ro bitís
ac na Riguib da soiritin re ic a cinuid,
for a toibgeð caé in sola cinuid no
in sola fiac roddlesta do na Rigaib, .i.
maoir no rectuire in R iat side, uair
adette lais in ugclur, aigabail do
gabail do na Riguib ocus do na
Hespocuib budém, cid troscud do
legdis ima fiachuib cuir ocus cun-
nurta, ocus im cinta coisi ocus
laimé. Is amluid ro bidis na Riga
ocus na Espuic i nallut, do rer na
narsanta, ocus athuig forría acuð da
fine budein, no doer cele ag in Ri,
no doer manuð ag in Espuc, ocus
cumað amluid sin do betis na graid
secta, ocus na graid ecalsa uile.
Ocus do daer ceilib flaia no dia
ngelfine an athuig forría, ocus do
doermancuib eaculsa, no dia ngelfine

[*Gloss.*] That is, except the stewards
whom Kings used to have to relieve
them in paying for their liabilities,
and whom all sued for the liabilities
of crime or liabilities of contract due
from the Kings, i. e. these were the
stewards or agents of the King, for
the author of this law was loath to
take distress from the Kings or Bi-
shops themselves, though the persons
suing them fasted on them for their
liabilities of bargain and contract,
and their crimes of foot and hand.
The Kings and the Bishops in an-
cient times, according to the ancients,
had stewards of their own tribe, or
the King had a 'daer'-stock tenant,
or the Bishop a 'daer'-stock tenant
of ecclesiastical lands, and all the
septenary grades and all the eccle-

na hatuig forria. No bitis ac tobué doib gaé neé dligdis ocus a gabáil aigabala uime, da risdais ales; ocus gaé cin ro acurta ar na Riguib cumad dibsim ro gabta aigabail uime. Da léclis na Riga troscad ocus da ngabta aigabail do na RigaiB tar fis in atuiB forta, is siac indligid athgabala ann, ocus a da trian don cinn ocus aen trian don athué forria; no cumad don athué forria no betis in da trian; ocus gaé indliged aigabala do gentur risin atué, is siac indligid athgabala do inn, ocus a da trian aice buden ocus a áen trian don Ri; no dono cumad a breit do aenur a ninbuid is de gabtur in aigabail; ocus in inbuid is don Rig no gebta i cuma siach indligid aigabala do breit do aenur. Ocus gaé indliged do dena in tathac forria fein um in aigabail is a ic do aenur; ocus da tecmad indliged aigabala do denum don cinn, cumad é in taiué forria no icfud; ocus aitgin in gaé neé racus a lopud, ocus i corpsiac daigabail in athuig forria dic on cinn; no cuna ica etir ini na rachuid a lobad di.

siastical grades were similarly *provided*. Their (*the Kings'*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of the chieftain or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe, and their (*the Bishops'*) steward-bailiffs were of the 'daer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands or of the 'Geilfine'-tribe with which the *Bishop's* church was connected. They used to levy for them everything that was due to them and take distress for it, if necessary; and for every liability for which the Kings were sued, it was from these that distress was taken. If the Kings had permitted fasting to be performed and if distress were taken from the Kings without the knowledge of the steward-bailiff, there is fine of illegal distress imposed for it, of which two thirds are due to the head *Kings*, and one third to the steward-bailiff; or according to others the two thirds were due to the steward-bailiff; and for every illegality of distress committed against the steward he shall be paid fine for it (*the illegal distress*), of which he himself shall possess two thirds and the King one third; or else he shall obtain all when it is from him the distress is taken; and when it is taken from the King, he alone shall get the fine for illegal distress. And as regards every illegality which the steward-bailiff shall commit respecting the distress, he alone shall pay for it; and should it happen that the head (*King or Bishop*) committed illegality of distress, the steward-bailiff shall pay for it, and make restitution for

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everything that has gone into forfeiture, and the original debts of the steward-bailiff shall be paid by the head; or *according to others* the part of it which has become forfeited shall not be paid for at all^a.

[*Law of Distress, II. 94, 95.*]

^a In Irish tenure of land, the chief supplied the stock, the occupier the labour. In Saer-stock tenure, which was the nobler of the two, the occupier gave no security; in Daer-

stock tenure, he did. See Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to vol. ii. of the *Senchus Mor*, pp. xlviii. sq. 'Geilfine' was a tribe-relationship extending to the fifth degree (*Id. ib.* xlvii).

[15. *Distraint of Ecclesiastics.*]

[*Gloss.*] Aithgabail aesa ecolsa; troscad ocus apud iaram nad ngeba a paiter naé a credo ocus nad tet do sacarfaic ocus do aubairt. Mad aes graid no aes creidme * * im toig a cluicc no im cois a altoire, ocus apud na ro oiffrither fuirri, ocus nad mbentar cloc do trataib. Do airchindchaib ocus aesgraid inso. Ma atloat gaibter a sesci no a mblicta, mana tincatar.

[*Gloss.*] As to the distraint of ecclesiastics: fasting is to take place and afterwards notice is to be given that they say not their Lord's Prayer nor their Creed, and that they go not to the sacrifice nor to the offering. If they be persons in orders or religious persons, let a 'gad'-bye be put upon their bell-houses or at the foot of their altar, and a warning given that there shall be no offering made upon it, and that the bells for the hours shall not be rung. This refers to 'Airchinnechs' and persons in orders. If they abscond let their dry cows or their milch cows be seized, unless they tender justice.

[*Law of Distress, II. 120, 121.*][16. *Distress of an Abbat upon his Tenant or Monk.*]

[*Gloss.*] A cumat apad ar a manaé; ocus athair ara mac; ocus filir aru felmac.

[*Gloss.*] It is the same with the distress of an abbat upon his tenant of ecclesiastical lands [monk]; and of a father upon his son; and of a tutor upon his pupil.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[17. *Privileged Residence in which there is a Bishop.*]

[*Gloss.*] Ata dono forus dila cinta di aithgabail, .i. a fuirech i ndail imbi Ri, no Epscop, no sui, no uasal nemid sechip é; a fuirech i faichi cainte, no fir nad fuilngét gruaídi, ar ní daimside dligiuth itir do duine.

[*Gloss.*] There is, however, a residence which washes out the liability of a distress, i. e. to seize in an assembly in which there is a King, or a Bishop, or a professor, or a noble 'nemidh,' whoever he may be; to seize in the green of a satirist, or of a man who does not suffer 'gruaidhi,' for he vouchsafes no right whatever to a person.

[*Law of Distress, II. 128, 129.*]

[18. *Distinctions of Sundays and Festival-days.*]

Mac in uiriuch desa inurro, dath fo lei a eduíg cach lae, .i. foru brut no foru inur, ocus da etuch dathu uime dia domnuig; ocus itir a lom ocus inua do.

The son of the 'aire-desa' chief wears clothes of a different colour every day, i. e. his cloak or his tunic is to be of a different colour every day, and he is to wear clothes of two different colours on Sunday; and he is to have both old clothes and new clothes.

Mac in uiriuch tuis inurro, dath for eduíge uile; ocus da étuc dathu uinne cach lae, itir a lom ocus a nua, ocus da educh dathu nuaid uime dia domnuig. Educh dathu cach lae aice, educh doinnuig ocus etuch sollumuín, aét is ferr cach étuch araile díb.

The son of the 'aire-tuisi'-chief is to have all his clothes coloured; and is to wear clothes of two colours every day, both old and new, and to wear new clothes of two colours every Sunday. He is to have coloured clothes every day—clothes for Sunday and clothes for the festival, but each of them better than the other.

Mac in uiriuch aird inurro, da etuch daía nua cach lae imeside, ocus da etuch dathu nuaid dia domnuig ocus i sollumuín, aét is ferr cach etuch araile.

The son of the 'aire-árd'-chief is to wear new clothes of two colours every day, and new clothes of two colours on Sunday and the festival day, but each of these clothes better than the other.

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Mac in da airi forgill is tairi sic.

The sons of the two inferior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, the same as the last mentioned.

Mac na nairiuch forgill is ferr, ocus mac na Ríg, etuch dathu nuaid doibside in cach aimsir, aét is fearr araile dib, ocus or ocus airget foruib uile.

The sons of the superior 'aire-forgill'-chiefs, and the sons of the Kings, are to have new coloured clothes at all times, but exceeding each other in quality (*the Sunday clothes better than the week-day clothes, and those for the festival better than those for Sunday, as already specified*), and all embroidered with gold and silver^a.

[*Law of Fosterage, II. 148, 149.*]

^a These are part of the duties of a foster-father. The epithets indicate the various grades of chieftainship.

[19. *Dissolution of Contracts.*]

Gach cor dib taithmither uile, is ar ain, no treise, no cethruimie taithmither. Aon fri taimec cor na ceile iar fis; ocus treise fri taithmech cor na mac saorlicie iar fis; ocus cuicte fri taithmeç cor na saormanac iar fis. Ma taithmeç imurro a ndiubarta nama, is inand ocus in re fri taithmenn in cenn a ndiubarta fadein, .i. co ceithre uaire fichet, ocus co dechmaid.

As to every contract of all these which is dissolved, it is in one day, or three days, or four days they are dissolved. One day for dissolving the contracts of the tenants after knowledge of them; and three days for dissolving the contracts of the emancipated sons after knowledge of them; and five days for dissolving the contracts of the 'saer'-stock tenants of ecclesiastical lands after knowledge of them. If their dishonest contracts only are dissolved, the time is the same as that in which the chief dissolves their own dishonest contracts, i. e. in twenty-four hours, and in ten days.

[*Law of Saer-Stock Tenure, II. 218, 219.*]

[20. *Social connexion between the Church and its Tenants of Ecclesiastical Lands.*]

[*Gloss.*] .i. is i lanamnacht uil itir in Eclais ocus a manchu, pricecht

[*Gloss.*] The social connexion which subsists between the Church^a

ocus oifrenn, ocus imaind anma on Eclais da manchaib, ocus airtiu cac meic do forcetal, ocus cac manaig do coir aithrige; dechmada ocus primiti ocus almsana uaithabsium disi, ocus lan log enac in nertslainti, ocus trian log enac fri bas; ocus breithcamnus, ocus imdenam, ocus fiadnaise don Eclais for a mancaib, itir sacermanach ocus daermanac, ocus for cac tuata uile cid sacermanach he, muna raib Eclais aile, [Eclais is comuasal resi], aca testugud.

and its tenants of ecclesiastical lands is, preaching^b and offering,—and requiem for souls is due from the Church to its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, and the receiving of every son for instruction, and of every *such* tenant to right repentance; tithes, and first fruits, and alms, are due of them to her, and full honor-price when they are in strong health, and one-third honor-price at the time of death^c; and the Church has *the power of pronouncing* judgment, and proof, and witness, upon its tenants of ecclesiastical lands, both 'sacer'-stock tenants and 'daer'-stock tenants, and upon every other layman, even though he be a 'sacer'-stock tenant of ecclesiastical lands, unless there is another Church of equal dignity claiming him.

[*Law of Social Connections, II. 344-347.*]

* The Church, ('eclais'), i.e. 'ecan clas,' the assembly of wisdom; or 'eclas,' i.e. 'iclas,' because the Church supplies every one with what he requires; or 'eclas,' i.e. 'uag clas,' pure assembly, the Church is an assembly which is purer than all others; or eclas, i.e. 'ecen leas,' by which one's welfare is effected, when he is in difficulty; or 'eclas,' from the Greek *ecclesia iusti populati*, i.e. the assembly of the just. 'With her tenants of ecclesiastical lands'

('manchu'), i.e. with the people who give it (*the Church*) valuable ('somainacha') goods ('maine'), after a proper way, ('cae'), or manner. (*Law of Soc. Con., II. 345.*)

^b Another MS. adds, "Baptism and communion, and requiem of souls."

^c The same MS. adds, "And every first calf, and every first lamb, and every first-born of children, and every tenth child from that out."

[21. *Restitution for Illegal Taking of Church Property.*]

Asrenar aithguin cach dichmaire cairchther co troscad, acht in Eclais.

Restitution is paid for every illegal taking with which they are charged by fasting, except *when* the Church is concerned.

[*Gloss.*] Co troscad, i. co na dernar troscad ime ac iarraid a aithgena iar na gabail; is ann ata aithgin do tuata ann muna troisceter. Acht in

[*Gloss.*] Fasting^a, i.e. when fasting is not performed in seeking its restitution after it has been taken; restitution is *not* paid to a layman unless

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

Eclais, .i. aét mainib o eclaisdaeda berair he, is ann ata aithgin and ria troscad, uair isse cuit in in aétnaigie a bail ata aithgin laéta no gnimraid don tuait ann, biaid a diablad do Ecluis. Aithgin olcena, .i. aithgin uile éena in cach ni berair o neoch cen athcomarc is in nerrach co na torrachtain ina uide icce coir, .i. cenmoia Eclais.

the fasting is performed. Except *when* the Church is concerned, i. e. unless it (*the property*) has been taken from an ecclesiastic: if it has, there shall be restitution before fasting, for the force of the "except" is *that* where there is restitution of milk or work to a layman, there shall be double *restitution* to the Church. Restitution is also paid, i. e. restitution is likewise paid for everything which is taken away from one without asking permission, i. e. for the forced relief or loan which is to be forthcoming in its proper time of payment, i. e. except *when* the Church is concerned.

[Law of Social Connexions, II. 352, 353.]

^a For the custom of fasting in connexion with distraint, see Dr. Hancock's *Pref.* to *Senchus Mor*, vol. i. pp. xlviii. sq.

[22. *Duty of the Church on account of Land, &c.*]

[Gloss.] Rath tarairrdig tabuirt in cele don ni teit a nairim caé forcruid nairbid. Tabuirt na Ecluisi, biathad in aen cineda gin fine, gin tir, gin inilled, ocus cach mic ocus gach manuig. Ocus tabuirt manuig, .i. .x. 7rl.

[Gloss.] The excessive return for the stock is the implied duty of the tenant out of that which goes to the account of each excess of measure. The implied duty of the Church is the feeding of the last survivor without a tribe, without land, without cattle, and of every son *left destitute*, and of every tenant of ecclesiastical lands. And the implied duty of a tenant of ecclesiastical lands, i. e. the tenth, &c.

[Law of Social Connexions, II. 354, 355.]

[23. *Restitution of Eric-fine and of Penance.*]

Aithgin neirci ocus aithgin peine do Eclais ria troscud; aithgin ocus dire ocus enecclann iar troscad, ocus

Restitution of 'eric'-fine and restitution of penance *are to be paid* to the Church before fasting; restitu-

[EXTRACTS FROM SENCHUS MOR, VOL. II.]

a log do pennait in dichmaire in sein. Aithgin do caé cena ina dichmaire ria troscud; aithgin imorru ocus dire ocus eneclann in taide, ocus in elguin ria troscud, issed dno in dichmaire iar troscad. Cia troisc-ther imorru imon taide ocus imin elguin, ni ictar diablaid do neoch ro raidsem, co ro cinne breithium. Issed a trocar; a etrocar imorru diablaid neich dlegar ria troscad do ic iar troscad i taide ocus i nelgum. Ise fein atai im in dichmaire, naé aili imorru innisis in taide.

tion, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price after fasting, and the amount for the illegal taking are paid in penance. Restitution *is due* to every one in general for illegal seizure before fasting; but restitution, and 'dire'-fine, and honor-price *are due* for theft, and for illegal seizure before fasting, and these *penalties* are for illegal taking after fasting. But even though fasting be performed in cases of theft and forcible seizure, double shall not be paid for anything we have mentioned, until the Brehon decides it. That is the leniency of the case; but the severity is that the double of the thing due before fasting is to be paid after fasting for theft and forcible seizure. He (*the plaintiff*) himself is *the witness* of the illegal taking, but another person tells of the theft.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 354-357.*][24. *Contracts for the Gathering for the Festivals.*]

Ni bi cor cor nechtar da lina sech araile, inge curu lesaigter a cumtus; iteside inso comul comuir fri coibne techta in tan nad bi occaib fadesin comobair trebta do luad; fochraic tire; tinol cua; coinull sollaman.

The contract made by either party is not a *lawful* contract without *the consent* of the other, except in case of contracts tending equally to the welfare of both; such as the alliance of co-tillage with a lawful tribe when they (*the couple*) have not the means themselves of doing the work of ploughing; the taking of land; the collecting of food; the gathering for the festivals^a.

[*Law of Social Connexions, II. 356-359.*]

^a Gathering for the festivals, i. e. gathering of food for consumption at the festivals, i. e. at Easter and Christmas. (*Law of Soc. Con., II., pp. 358. 359.*)

APPENDIX C.

HYMN OF S. FIACC^a.

1. Genair Patraicc innemthur, ised atfet hiscelaib :
Maccan sembliadan deac intan dobreth fodéraib.
3. Succat aainm itubrad ; cedaathair bafissi ;
Macc Alpuirn, maic Otide, hoá deochain Odissi.
5. Báí se bliadna ifoguam, maisse dóine nistoimled,
batarile cothraige cethartrebe diafognad.
7. Asbert Uictor frigniá mil contessed fortonna :
forruib achois forsindleice marait aes nibronna.
9. Dofaid tarelpa, huile de mair baamru retha,
conidfarggaib lagerman andes indeisciurt lethá.
11. Ininnsib mara torrian ainis, innib adríni ;
legais canoin lagerman, ised adfiadat líni.
13. Dochum nerenn dodfētis aingil de hifithisi :
menicc atchithi hifisib dosnicfed arithisi.
15. Robochobair donderinn tichtu Patraicc, forochlad :
roclos cian son agarma macraide caille fochlad.
17. Gadatar cotíssad innoeb aráinthised lethu,
aratintarrad ochlóen tuatha herenn dobethu.
19. Tuatha herenn tairchantais dosnicfed sithlaith nua,
meraid code aiartaige bedfás tír temrach tua.
21. Adruid frilœgaire tichtu Phatraicc nicheilltis ;
rofrad ind[*f*]átsine innaflatha asbeirtis.
23. Balcír Patraicc combeba ; basab indarba clóene :
ised tuargaib aena suas de sechtreba dóine.
25. Yinmuin ocus abcolips, natricoicat noscanad ;
pridchad baitsed arniged demolad dé nianad.

HYMN OF S. FIACC.

1. Patrick was born in Nemthur ; it is this that has been declared in histories :
a child of sixteen years, when he was brought under tears.
3. Succat his name it was said ; who was his father is to be known :
son of Calpurn, son of Potitus, grandson of deacon Odisse.
5. He was six years in slavery ; men's food he ate it not :
many were they—four tribes, whom Cothraige^b served.
7. Victor^c said to Mil's^d slave that he should go over the waves :
he pressed his foot on the stone : its trace abides : it wears not away.
9. He went across all the Alps—Great God ! it was a marvel of a journey !
until he staid with German in the south, in the south part of Latium.
11. In the isles of the Tyrrhene sea he remained, therein he meditated :
he read the canon with German : it is this that writings declare.
13. To Ireland God's angels were bringing him in his course :
often was it seen in visions that he would come thither again.
15. It was a help to Ireland the coming of Patrick, who was called :
afar was heard the sound of the cry of the children of the wood of Fochled^e.
17. They prayed that the saint would come, that he would journey with them,
that he would turn the peoples of Ireland from Evil to Life.
19. The peoples of Ireland were prophesying that a new Prince of Peace
would come to them,
That his successors would abide to the day of Doom, that Tara's land
would be waste and silent.
21. His druids concealed not from Loegaire Patrick's coming ;
The prophecy of the Prince whereof they spake, was verified.
23. Pious was Patrick till he died ; he was a strong expeller of evil.
it is this that raised his goodness upwards . . . (?) beyond men's tribes.
25. Hymns and Apocalypse, the three fifties, he used to sing them ;
he preached, baptized, prayed, from God's praise rested not.

APPENDIX C.

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. Nicongebed uacht sini dofeiss aidche bilinnib.
fornim consena aríge ; prídchaiss fríde indinnib.
29. Islán, tuaith benna bairche, nísgaibed tart nalia :
canaid cétsalm cechnaidchi ; doríge aingel fogniad.
31. Foaíd forleice luim iarum, ocuscuilche fliuch imbi ;
bacoirthe afrihadart ; nileicc achorp hitimmi.
33. Prídchad soscéla docách ; dogníth mórferta illethu :
íccaid luscú latruscu. mairb dosfúscad dobethu.
35. Patraic prídchais doscotaib ; rochéis mór seth illethu,
immi contissat dobrath incach dosfuc dobethu.
37. Meicc Emir, meicc Erimon, lotar huili lacisal :
fosrolaic intarmchosal isinmorchute níscl.
39. Condathanic intapstal ; dofaith gith gáithe déne :
prídchais trifichte bliadan croich Crist dothuataib Fene.
41. Fortuaith Herenn bai temel ; tuatha adortaís síde f ;
nícreitset infirdeacht innatrínóite fire.
43. In Ard-macha fil ríge ; iscian doreracht Emain :
iscell mór Dún Lethglassa ; nimdil ceddilhrub Temair.
45. Patraice diambai illobra adcobra dul do Máchi :
doluid aingel arachenn forset immedon láthi.
47. Dofaith fades couictor ; bahe aridralastar :
lassais inmuine imbai asinten adgladastar.
49. Asbert, “Orddan doMachi : doCrist atlaigthe buide :
dochumnime mosrega : roratha duit dugude.
51. Ymmon dorroega itbiu, bidlúrech díten docách :
immut illaithiu innessa regat fir Herenn dobrath.”
53. Anais Tassach i diaés intan dobert comman dú :
asbert, monicfed Patraice briathar Tassaig nirbugo.
55. Samaiges crich friaidchi arnacaite les occai :
cocenn bliadne bai soillse, bahé sithlathie fotai.
57. Incath fechta imBethron frituaith Cannan lamac Nuin,
assoith ingrian frigabon, issed adfeit littri dúinn.
59. Huair assoith laHésu ingrian fribás innacleón,
ciasuthrebrech bahuisse soillsi fricítsecht nanóeh.

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

27. The cold of the weather kept him not from spending night in linns :
in heaven he won his kingdom ; he preached by day on hills.
29. In Slan^f in the territory of Benn-Boirche neither thirst nor hunger
possessed him :
he sang a hundred Psalms every night : he served the angels' King.
31. He slept on a bare stone then ; and a wet robe around him :
a pillar-stone was his pillow ; he left not his body in warmth.
33. He preached the Gospel to every one ; he wrought great marvels
widely :
he healed the halt with the lepers, the dead he raised them to life.
35. Patrick preached to the Scots ; he suffered great pain widely,
that around him might come to Judgment every one whom he brought
to Life.
37. Erier's sons, Eremon's sons, all went to Hell :
the transgression cast (?) them into the great low pit.
39. Until the Apostle came to them : he went the wending of a swift wind :
he preached for three score years Christ's cross to the pagans of the Féni.
41. On Ireland's people was darkness : the peoples adored earthly gods* ;
they believed not the true Godhead of the true Trinity.
43. In Armagh is a Kingdom ; it is long since Emain passed away :
Dun Lethglasse is a great Church ; not pleasant to me though 'Tara be
desert.
45. Patrick, when he was in sickness, desired to go to Armagh :
an angel went to meet him on the road in the middle of the day.
47. He went south to Victor ; he it was that met him :
the bush wherein he (Victor) was flamed ; from the fire he exclaimed.
49. He said, " Primacy at Armagh ; to Christ offer thanks :
to heaven thou wilt soon come : thy prayers have been granted to thee.
51. The Hymn thou chosest in thy life, shall be a corslet of protection to
every one^h :
around thee on the day of Doom the men of Ireland will come for
Judgment."
53. Tassachⁱ remained after him when he had given the communion to him :
he said, that Patrick would soon come ; 'Tassach's word was not false.
55. He put an end to night, for light was not consumed with him :
to a year's end was radiance, this was a long peace-day.
57. At the battle fought on Bethron against Canaan's people by the son
of Nun,
the sun rested at Gibcon, that is what histories tell us.
59. Since the sun rested with Joshua at the death of the wicked,
though it was fitting, meeter were radiance at the death of the saints :

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Clerich Herenn dollotar dairi Patraicc ascechsét :
son incetaíl fosrolaich contuil each úadib forsét.
63. Anim Patraic friachorp, isiarsethaib roscarad,
Aingil Dé ícétaidchi aridfetis cenanad.
65. Intan conhualai Patraic, adella in Patraic naile ;
isínalle connubcabsat dochum nísu Meicc Maire.
67. Patraic cen airde núabar bamór domaith romenair,
beith ingéillius Meicc Maire ; basén gaire ingenair.

Genaír Patraicc.

* This hymn was composed after the date when Tara ceased to be a royal residence, and therefore not earlier than the latter part of the 6th century. Consequently it was not the composition of Fiacc of Sletty, as it is affirmed to be in the Preface to it in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*. It was also, obviously, written in the interest of the Armagh claim to primacy. It is given here as the earliest do-

cument relating to S. Patrick's life, besides his own Confession and Letter. These last-named documents negative in effect both the alleged regular training of S. Patrick under S. Germanus, and his mission by the Pope. The Fiacc Hymn was written after the former legend had come into existence, but before anything had been heard of the latter. It is printed here from Stokes's *Goidelica*, pp. 126-

[HYMN OF S. FIACC.]

61. Ireland's clerics went to watch Patrick from every road:
the sound of the chant covered them, so that each of them slept on the road.
63. Patrick's soul from his body, it is after pains it was separated,
God's angels on the first night were singing it without ceasing.
65. When Patrick went, he visited the other Patrick;
it is together they ascended to Jesus, Mary's Son.
67. Patrick without loftiness or arrogance, it was much of good he thought.
He was in the friendship of Mary's Son: happy was the fate to which
he was born.

[Patrick was born.]

312, 2nd edit., and with his translation. Colgan first printed it, and from him O'Connor. And it is also in Part II. of Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 287-289. The original is in the MS. *Lib. Hymn.* at Dublin.

^b A name for Patrick, = Cothirhiacus, in Book of Armagh (Stokes).

^c The name given to the angel "Scotticæ Gentis" (Stokes).

^d = Milchun, Patrick's master.

^e See above, p. 303, note 1.

^f The river Slany near Saul, co. Down.

^g side = deos terrenos (Stokes).

^h St. Sechnall's Hymn, acc. to Stokes. But the allusion rather seems to be to S. Patrick's own *Lorica*.

ⁱ Bishop of Rúith cholptha, now Raholp, near Down (Stokes).