

## THE IRISH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY.

### PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following paper, with its sequel, is translated from the original communications in German of Dr. Wattenbach, an eminent historical antiquary, and contributor to Pertz's *Monumenta*. They appeared under the title *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*, in Quast and Otte's Journal, *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. 21, 49. To the earlier portion, which briefly reviews an extended period of Irish ecclesiastical and literary history, the editor has added some notes, in the hope of making this interesting tract more useful. These notes are distinguished from the author's own by the signature 'Ed.' W. REEVES.

### THE CONGREGATION OF THE MONASTERIES OF THE SCOTI IN GERMANY.

The Basilica of the Scottish monks at St. James's, in Regensburg,<sup>a</sup> occupies no unimportant place in the history of the arts in the middle ages. It engages the attention of the architect as well as of the historian; and both will naturally ask the questions,—How it happened that these monks came to erect such buildings in Germany?—Who they really were? and—What influence they exercised on the civilization of our ancestors? Any person who only takes the trouble of looking into the matter will recognize traces of these strangers in a great variety of places. Yet there is, after all, but little generally known concerning them: the present, therefore, may be considered a fit occasion to give a collective sketch of their history, and although many a question may still remain in obscurity, yet perhaps the very attempt will be the means of bringing to light new documents and information, and thus of promoting the object of the inquiry.

At the very outset, we shall require an explanation of the name. We must not, indeed, understand Scotchmen<sup>b</sup> by the "Scoti," but the inhabitants of Ireland, who are of the same race.

<sup>a</sup> *Regensburg*.—This town, which is so called from its situation opposite the point where the river Regen enters the Danube, is also known of old by the name of Ratisbon.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Scotchmen*.—The voice of all antiquity pronounces Ireland to have been Scotia. To omit a host of authorities, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, and *Bede's Eccles. History* ought to have been sufficient to prevent a question being ever raised upon the subject; but national vanity and dishonesty induced some writers in the early part of the 17th century to arrogate all the honours of ancient *Scotia* to

North Britain. In the case of St. James's, at Ratisbon, admission was limited to the native Irish, except in a few cases where Scotchmen were received in virtue of descent from a common stock; but in course of time, when the Irish abandoned the name of Scots, they who assumed it applied to their own use what formerly belonged to the original possessors of the name, and even went so far as to exclude Irishmen from the institutions of their forefathers. On the names *Scotia* and *Scoti*, consult *Bede, Ec. Hist.*, i. 1; *Adamnan, Vit. S. Columbæ*, index in voc. (ed. Reeves); *Jonas, Vita S. Columbani*, cap. i.; *Messingham, Florilegium*,

The latter were almost exclusively known by the name of Scots in the earlier centuries of the middle ages, for everywhere we find that they were so called; but by degrees, together with the people, this name extended over Scotland likewise.<sup>c</sup> Therefore, it is in Erin, the Emerald Isle, so rich in fables, that we have to look for the home of these pilgrims—in that country which has continually furnished us with so many enigmas and singularities. The Irish, with their easily-excited temperament, seem always to have been particularly susceptible of religious impressions, and to have cherished them with remarkable sincerity. Already, in pagan times, this island was regarded as sacred,<sup>d</sup> and it was the chief seat of Druidism.<sup>e</sup> But when Christianity began to be preached by the kindred inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, the Irish likewise received it with great readiness.<sup>f</sup> It seems that the Druids did not oppose its introduction,<sup>g</sup> but changed themselves into Christian priests,

Tractat. Præambularis; Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant., cap. xvi. (Works, vol. vi., pp. 268-285); Fleming, Collectanea, p. 272*b*.; Stephani Viti Apologia, pp. 59-62; O'Flaherty, Ogygia, Prolog. pp. 25-33, 345, 346, 353, 463; Vardæi Romoldus, pp. 232-387; Cambrensis Eversus, vol. ii. pp. 95, 303, 695-725 (reprint); and among modern Scotch writers, Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. i.; Pinkerton, Enquiry, vol. ii. pp. 223-246 (Edinb. 1814).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> *Scotland likewise*.—Compare the passages collected by Zappert, Proceedings of the Vienna Academy, xii. 100, and Schmeller's Bavarian Lexicon, iii. 415. Aventin calls the Irish *Vildschotten* (wild Scots). [The name was at length forgotten in Ireland, except among sheanachies and bards. In like manner, *Anglia* is now found in Britain, and *Francia* in Gaul.—*Ed.*]

<sup>d</sup> *Sacred*.—See Ogygia, p. 21. and Ward's Rumold, p. 274, where it is presumed that Ireland was the *Ilieron* of the Greeks, and hence called *Ierne*. The lines of Festus Avienus are to the point:—

“Ast hinc, duobus in Sacram, sic insulam  
Dixere prisci, solibus cursus rati est,  
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.”

But the title *Sacred* properly belongs to Christian Ireland. An ancient Life of St. Abban observes:—“In hac insula tot viri eximie sanctitatis fuerunt quod *Insula Sanctorum* nomine appropriato dicebatur.” *Inis na naomh* was the native term to denote the same idea. The Irish chronicler Marianus Scotus, at the year 696 of his chronicle (that is, A.D. 589), writes:—“Hibernia, insula sanctorum, sanctis et mirabilibus per plurimos sublimiter plena habetur.” (Pertz, Monumenta, Tom. vii. p. 544.) And certainly there never was a title more appropriately bestowed: for, whether we regard the fulness of the native calendar, and the vast num-

ber of primitive churches at home, or the frequency of Irish foundations abroad, we cannot but be struck with the strong religious character of the ancient Irish. In the calendar of Donegal, there are 94 commemorations under the single name *Colman*!—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> *Druidism*.—Cæsar makes Britain its head-quarters (Bell. Gall. vi. 13); and, in the age of Tacitus, Mona or Anglesey was a famous seat of this religion (Annal. xiv. 29); but the British tradition concerning the transportation of the *Chorea Gigantum*, or Stonehenge, from Kildaro to Salisbury Plain (Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brit. Hist., viii. 10; Gir. Cambr., Top. Hib. ii. 18) seems to point to Ireland as the source whence Britain derived her observances. On St. Patrick's arrival, in the fifth century, this was the prevailing system, and its priests were termed *Magi*. See note in Reeves's Adamnan, pp. 73, 120, 350. The existence of Druids in Ireland, however, is denied by Pinkerton (Enquiry, vol. i. p. 18), and Lanigan (Ec. Hist. vol. i., p. 227).—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> *Readiness*.—The ease with which Christianity triumphed over paganism in Ireland is remarkable. Giraldus Cambrensis twitted the Irish bishops with the want of martyrdom: “Mirum itaque quod, ubi gens crudelissima, et sanguinis sitibunda, et semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla.” Top. Hib. iii. 28. In reply to which, see Cambrensis Eversus, cap. 81 (vol. iij. p. 430, reprint).—*Ed.*

<sup>g</sup> *Oppose it*.—They seem to have done so at first; and the earliest authority on the subject—which is the memoir of St. Patrick, in the Book of Armagh—gives a lively description of their efforts. The system, however, does not appear to have possessed any great hold on the minds of the people, and some conversions among the chiefs directly turned the scale.—*Ed.*

and thus preserved their dominion<sup>b</sup> over the minds of the people.

But, along with the Christian religion, there was brought in by the numerously immigrating British, Gaulish, and Roman—nay, perhaps even Egyptian, clergy,<sup>i</sup> the learning of the Latin church, and various new arts, among this already somewhat advanced and accomplished people. They learned how to build with more elegance and durability;<sup>k</sup> how to use lime and mortar; how to turn arches; likewise, how to manufacture costly vessels for the service of the church.<sup>l</sup> In particular, they also learned the Greek and Latin languages<sup>m</sup> and letters.<sup>n</sup> With singular industry,

<sup>b</sup> *Preserved their dominion.*—Colgan says that the Druids continued in Ireland till the eighth century, and adds:—“Et licet interea Druidæ in Christum credentes, auguria, vaticinia, incantationes, aliasque magicas professiones et artes abjuraverunt; non desiterunt tamen, nempe Seneciores [Anglicè *Sheanachies*], et poetæ studium antiquitatis mirifice colere, scholis publicis preesse, et hic in summo pretio apud proceres et populum haberi.” *Acta SS.* p. 149 b. n. 15. See the note in Reeves’s *Adamnan*, p. 79. Toland’s observation is to the point:—“Since what little opposition there happened to be in Ireland to Christianity was wholly made by the Druids, or at their instigation, and that when they perceived this new religion like to prevail, none came into it speedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it than they.” *History of the Druids*, p. 14, (Lond. 1747).—*Ed.*

<sup>i</sup> *Clergy.*—Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 589. [The author refers to the *Liber Litaniarum* of Aengus, the Culdee, which Colgan cites, and after him Dr. Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 185. The original Irish tract exists in manuscript, in Trinity College, Dublin (*Book of Leinster*, H. 2, 18), and in the *Leabhar Breac* of the Royal Irish Academy. An abstract is also given in Ward’s *Rumold*, pp. 204-207.—*Ed.*]

<sup>k</sup> *Elegance and durability.*—According to Bede, the *mos Scottorum* in the middle of the seventh century was “non de lapide sed de robore secto, harundine tecto” (*H.E.* iii., 25). And when Naiton, king of the Picts, in 710, wished to improve the national style, “architectos sibi multos petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent.” (*Ib.* v., 21). See Petrie, *Round Towers*, pp. 122-154; Reeves’s *Adamnan* *Vit.* S. Columbæ, note, p. 177. Some of the very ancient Irish churches, with their inclined jambs and monolithic lintels, share largely in the characteristics of Egyptian architecture.—*Ed.*

<sup>l</sup> *Service of the Church.*—Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical*

*Architecture of Ireland*, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xx; Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter*, ii. 2, 416. [Early authorities assign to St. Patrick three smiths (*gobhainn*), expert in forging bells; and three artificers (*cerda*), S. Essa, S. Biteus, and S. Tassach, “tres fabri ærarii, vasorumque sacrorum fabricatores.” *Vit. Tripart.* iii. 98, (*Trias Thaum.* p. 167 a); *Book of Lecan*, fo. 35 b d; *Annals of Four Masters*, A.D. 448, (vol. i., p. 137, ed. O’Donovan). St. Daygh mac Cairill, who died Aug. 18, 587, was a distinguished metallurgist, and the following extract from his *Life* enumerates the various articles of religious use:—“Idem Daygeus episcopus, abbatibus, aliisque Hiberniæ sanctis, campanas, cymbala, baculos, cruces, scrinia, capsas, pyrides, calices, discos, altariola, chrysmalia, librorumque cooperatoria; quedam horum nuda, quedam vero alia auro atque argento gemisque pretiosis circumtecta, pro amore Dei, et Sanctorum honore, sine ullo terreno pretio, ingeniose ac mirabiliter composuit.”—*Vit.*, *Acta SS.*, Aug. tom. iii., p. 659 a. See O’Connor, *Rer. Hib. Ser.* vol. iv., p. 160; Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 860.—*Ed.*]

<sup>m</sup> *Greek and Latin languages.*—On the cultivation of Greek by the Irish, see Rettig, *Cod. San-Gallens.*, *Prolegom.* p. xiv.; Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 354. In Latin, though some of the Irish school are very rude, as in the book of Armagh, (sec. viii.), the reliques of Irish authors are very respectable and sometimes beautiful; as of Sedulius the Poet, circ. 474; Secundinus, circ. 450; Columbanus, both Verse and Prose, circ. 605; S. Gall, circ. 615; Cummanianus, 684; Augustin, circ. 652; Aileran, circ. 655; Adamnan, circ. 685; Dungal, circ. 810; Sedulius Junior, circ. 818; Dicuil, circ. 825; Johannes Scotus, circ. 858.—*Ed.*

<sup>n</sup> *Letters.*—It is still a vexed question whether the Irish knew the use of letters previously to the introduction of Christianity. But the oldest form of Irish letters, such as <sup>i</sup>s seen in the earliest manuscripts and inscriptions, is

they multiplied the manuscripts<sup>o</sup> of old authors which were brought to them, and soon gained the reputation of being the most skilful scribes of the age.<sup>p</sup> Numerous monasteries were speedily erected: in Bangor alone there were at one time three thousand monks.<sup>q</sup> Their superiors possessed episcopal authority,<sup>r</sup> and they steadfastly maintained the strictest discipline. Self-denial was familiar to them, but it was accompanied with great activity in the pursuit of knowledge, and always with a particular fondness and great talent for music.<sup>s</sup>

Such was the state of Ireland during the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. It was thus at a time when the whole western world seemed irrecoverably sunk in barbarism; when the Roman empire, after a hard and protracted struggle, had been at last subdued by the ever recurring assaults of the Germanic nations, and when these latter, though very eager to acquire the olden civilization, had no strength as yet to maintain it; when also, the Merovingian kingdom, after brilliant beginnings, fell away into distraction which daily increased, for corruptions of every kind, barbarism, and senselessness seemed everywhere to prevail; it was at this time that Ireland almost alone<sup>t</sup> afforded a refuge for the remnants of the old civilization: and, when the Anglo-Saxons were con-

manifestly an adaptation of the Latin alphabet. The Book of Armagh relates that St. Patrick daily baptized men, "et illis literas legebat ac abgatorias;" again, "Oingus cui scripsit Patricius abgitorium;" also, "Baptizavit Patricius filium et scripsit illi abgitorium." This word is a Latin form of the Irish *aibgiter*, or "alphabet," and (like *alphabet*), indicates a Greek origin, the first three letters holding a similar position in the Greek, as *abecedarium* exhibits the first four of the Roman alphabet.—*Ed.*

<sup>o</sup> *Multiplied the manuscripts.*—On the employment of Irish monks in *scriptio*, see the note in Reeves's Adamnan, p. 353. St. Columba, notwithstanding his abbatial duties, was a most diligent scribe. *Ib.* pp. 143, 215, 233.—*Ed.*

<sup>p</sup> *Most skilful scribes of the age.*—Of Dagaüs, who is said to have died in 586, we read: "Hic Dagaüs fuit faber tam in ferro quam in sere, et scriba insignis. Fabricavit enim trecentas campanas, trecenta peda pastoralia, et scripsit trecentos libros evangeliorum, fuitque primarius S. Kieranii faber." Kal. Cassel in Actis SS. Aug. iii. 656. [To enter upon an enumeration, much less a description, of the great works of Irish calligraphy, would be impossible in this place. Those who desire to be informed and delighted on the subject, may begin with Giraldus Cambrensis' account of the Book of Kildare (Top. Hib. ii. 38); then consult O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Ser. vol. i. Epistola Nuncupatoria, and vol. iv., pp. 130, 139; look into Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*; and above all, study as the latest and fullest

treatise, the work of the learned Helvetian, Dr. F. Keller's *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten* (in Mittheilungen des Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich, Siebt. Band, p. 61).—*Ed.*]

<sup>q</sup> *Three thousand monks.*—Bede's notice of the Welsh Bancor (H. E. ii. 2) estimates its inmates at seven companies of 300 each *i.e.* 2,100; and, in language borrowed from Bede, S. Bernard describes the great congregation of the Irish Bangor (Vit. S. Malachie, cap. 5). The statement in the text is founded on the passage in S. Comgall's Life: "In diversis cellis et monasteriis tria millia monachorum sub cura sancti patris Comgelli erant" (cap. 13); but it is incorrect to place them all in Bangor. S. Bernard refers to the massacre of 900 in one day, by pirates; possibly the Danish descent on the monastery recorded by the Annals of Ulster, at 823.—*Ed.*

<sup>r</sup> *Episcopal authority.*—Not always, nor indeed generally, in the larger monasteries. The great founders, SS. Columba, Brendan, Comgall, Carthach, &c., were only presbyters. See Reeves's Adamnan, pp. 335, 339, 341; Eccles. Antiq. pp. 129, 261.—*Ed.*

<sup>s</sup> *Music.*—See Giraldus Cambrensis, Top. Hib. iii. 11; O'Conor, Rer. Hib. Ser. vol. iv., p. 154.—*Ed.*

<sup>t</sup> *Almost alone.*—"Elle étoit," (says Letronne,) "au huitième siècle, plus éclairée, je veux dire moins barbare, qu'aucune autre contrée Européenne." Recherches Geogr. p. 35. The fact is that, owing to its extreme insular position,

verted to Christianity by Rome,<sup>u</sup> they crossed over to the sacred isle in multitudes, in order there to become scholars under these celebrated teachers in the monasteries of the Scots.<sup>v</sup> Some occasional Franks also came to them over the sea. But above all, the Irish went forth themselves into every part of the world. They filled England<sup>w</sup> and the neighbouring islands;<sup>x</sup> even in Iceland, their books and pilgrims'-staves were found by the Norwegians of later times.<sup>y</sup> In France, they

no foreign influence had for ages been exerted to disturb its ancient laws and customs; and, though intestine variances often paralyzed its energies, and the want of combined action always kept it back from national progress, it yet afforded in its tranquil monasteries, where sanctity was a guarantee for peace, full time for the religious mind to indulge in contemplation, without the slightest distraction arising from external influence or inward fear.—*Ed.*

<sup>u</sup> *By Rome.*—St. Augustin arrived in England in 597; and Paulinus was ordained Archbishop of the Northumbrians in 625; but Christianity made little way in the province, till the arrival of Bishop Aedan in 635, for whom, and all that followed in his wake, the Anglo-Saxon church was indebted to the Irish monastery of Hy or Iona.—*Ed.*

<sup>v</sup> *Monasteries of the Scots.*—Bede's testimony to this is worthy of being written in letters of gold:—"Erant ibidem eo tempore [*i.e.*, A.D. 664], multi nobilium simul et medicorum de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vite gratia, illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt; alii magis circumuendo per cellas magistrorum, lectioni operam dare gaudebant: quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant." (*Hist. Ec.* iii. 27.) See of Vilbrord, *ib.* iii. 13. and of Ecgberet, *ib.* v. 9. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in 690, jealous of Ireland's attractions, nevertheless thus testifies of it:—"Cur inquam, Hibernia, quo cateruatum istinc lectores classibus advecti confluent, ineffabili quodam privilegio efferatur," &c. And again:—"Quamvis enim prædictum Hiberniæ rus, pascuosa numerositate lectorum, quemadmodum poli cardines astriferis micantium ormentur vibraminibus siderum: ast tamen" &c. *Sylloge Epist. Hib.* xiii.—*Ed.*

<sup>w</sup> *Filled England.*—Diuma, an Irishman, was the first bishop of Mercia, who was succeeded by Cellach, also a Scot. S. Fursa planted Christianity at Burghcastle, in

Suffolk; Malmesbury (originally called Ingeborne) derived its name from Maildulf the founder, an Irishman. Dicul, a Scot, founded the monastery of Bosanham; St. Bees, in Cumberland, is so called from Bega, an Irish virgin who established a cell there; St. Moninna is the patron saint of Burton-on-Trent; as is St. Ciaran, under the name Piran, of more than one church in Cornwall. The famous S. Cuthbert, the patron saint of Durham, is the Nulloch or Mochudrick of the Irish, a native of Leinster, and he received part of his training at Inhyrypum, now Ripon, a monastery founded by the Scots.—*Ed.*

<sup>x</sup> *Neighbouring islands.*—The church of Lindisfarne was founded by Bishop Aidan, who was succeeded by Finan, and he by Colman, all Scots. Hy, or Iona, founded by S. Columba, is of world-wide celebrity. Maccaulus, a native of Down, became bishop of Man in the fifth century. S. Columba was the patron saint of Mull, Tiree, Islay, Oronsay, and Lewis. St. Donnan, of Egg; St. Maelrubha, of Skye; St. Moluoc, of Lismore, and Raasay; St. Brendan, of Bell; St. Melaise, of Arran; SS. Catan and Blaau, of Bute. In fact, there is scarcely an island on the west side of Scotland which does not acknowledge an Irishman as the founder of its church.—*Ed.*

<sup>y</sup> *Norwegians of later times.*—Dahlmann's *Geschichte von Dänemark*, ii. 106 ff. [In a passage cited by Johnstone from the *Landnamabok*, we find the following statement:—"Before that Ireland was inhabited by Norwegians, there were men there called by the Norwegians *Pape*, who professed the Christian religion, and are believed to have arrived over the sea from the west; for Irish books, which were left behind by them, bells, and croziers, and many such articles were found, which seemed to indicate that they were west-men. These were found in Papeya, towards the east, and Papyli." (*Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 14.) See the excellent note of Dr. Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. p. 225. The Life of St. Ailbhe of Emly, who died in 527, relates of him that "volens fugere homines, ad insulam *Tyle* in oceano positam navigare decrevit, ut ibi viveret Deo secretis

were every where to be met with; and they made their way even into the heart of Germany. St. Cataldus,\* the patron of Tarentum, was a Scottish pilgrim of this kind from the school of Lismore. Now, if we come to inquire concerning the activity of these monks, and the manner of their labours, we are quite surprised and disappointed at finding that they have left us no written information whatever on the subject. The faculty for simple historical narration seems to have been almost entirely wanting in this nation. When, in later times, they treat of antiquity, they immediately fly off into fantastic fables. We are indebted solely to the abbot Jonas<sup>b</sup> of Bobio, a native of Susa in Piedmont, for a true account of one of the most important of those Irish missionaries, namely, Columbanus, who, with twelve companions, went out from Bangor at the end of the sixth century.<sup>c</sup>

solus. Sed nutu Dei Engus rex Casseil hoc prohibuit." (Cod. E. 3 11, Trin. Col. Dub., fol. 135 aa.) Concerning SS. Erculphus and Buo, Irish missionaries to Thule or Iceland, see Colgan, Act. SS. pp. 241, 256. But the most interesting notice of the island is that by the Irish geographer, Dicuil, who wrote in 825, and states that, thirty years before, that is, A.D. 795, certain clerics who had sojourned in Thule had given him an account of the continued light at the summer solstice, so that at night they could see "vel pediculos de camisia abstrahere." See Letronne, Recherches Géographiques, Dicuil, p. 38, and his own observations, pp. 143, Corrections p. 91. Speaking of the Feroe Islands, Dicuil adds—"Fere cunctæ simul angustis distantes fretis, in quibus, in centum ferme annis, eremitæ ex nostra Scottia navigantes habitaverunt." ib. p. 39. See O'Connor, Rer. Hib. Ser., Ep. Nuncup., i. 25; vol. iv. 141; Irish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. v. p. 153.—*Ed.*]

\* *Cataldus*.—This name is a Latin form of the Irish *Cathal*. He presided over the school of Lismore about the year 640; and afterwards travelled to Italy, where he became bishop, and after his death, patron saint, of Tarentum. His festival is kept at Taranto, on the 8th of March; at which day Colgan has collected his acts. (Act. SS. pp. 544-562.) May 10th is the festival of his Invention and Translation, at which day his name appears in the Acta Sanctorum, and Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints. St. Donnatus, his brother, was bishop of Lupice, now Lecce, in the kingdom of Naples. The brothers lived together for some time at *San Cataldo*. See Ussher, Brit. Ec. Ant. c. 16 (Works, vol. vi., p. 300-308); Lanigan, Ec. Hist., vol. iii. pp. 121-128.—*Ed.*

<sup>a</sup> *Wanting in this nation*.—The Irish Annals, which are exceedingly truthful, are however, painfully succinct. They afford, indeed, a skeleton for native history; but it

would require great experience and ingenuity to reduce them to order. Unfortunately, the early developments of continued narrative which have come down to our time are either Lives of Saints, which are a great congeries of extraordinary legends; or Romances, which are full of monstrous prodigies. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, or Adamnan's Life of S. Columba on the one hand, and the Dinneanchus on the other, are about the best specimens of their respective classes. See the remarks in Reeves's Adamnan, pp. vii., 193.—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *Jonas*.—His *Vita S. Columbani Abbatis*, in 29 or 30 chapters, has been printed by Surius; in the 3rd volume of Bede's Works; by Messingham, Florilegium, pp. 219-239; by Fleming, Collectanea, pp. 214-243; Mabillon, Acta SS. Bened. sæc. ii. Harris, in his edition of Ware's Irish Writers, follows Trithemius and Fleming in pronouncing Jonas an Irishman (p. 29), but he is in error; and so is Cave, in calling him "gente Hibernus" (Histor. Literar. an. 630, vol. i. p. 580). In his Life of Attala, Jonas states that he had license to go from Bobio to Susa to see his mother. Several MSS. of this Life are preserved on the Continent. A fine one of the ninth century was sold on the 29th of March last, in London, at M. Libri's sale (Catal. No. 269, p. 63; facsimile, plate xxi).—*Ed.*

<sup>c</sup> *End of the sixth century*.—Abridged by O. Abel, in the Historians of Ancient Germany, cent. vii. [His name was really *Colum*, latinized *Columba*, by which he calls himself (see Reeves's Adamnan, p. 5); but the distinctive form, Columbanus, is useful to guard against the confusion which identity of names might create. He was a native of Leinster, and for some years was a disciple of S. Comgall, at Bangor, county of Down. In 589 he left Ireland, and journeyed to Burgundy, where he founded the church of Luxeu.—*Ed.*]

In this manner we find them always wandering in larger and smaller companies. Their outward appearance was most striking, and the more so as they were still in the habit of painting their eye-lids,<sup>d</sup> which reminds us of the ancient Britons and their painted bodies. Their whole outfit consisted of a *cambuttà*<sup>e</sup> or pilgrim's staff, a leathern water-bottle, a wallet,<sup>f</sup> and (what was to them their greatest treasure) a case containing some relics. In this guise they appeared before the people, addressing themselves to them everywhere with the whole power of their native eloquence.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>d</sup> *Painting their eye-lids.*—"Stigmata, signa, pictura in corpore, quales Scoti pingunt in palpebris." Hattemer's Denkmäler, Bd. i. pp. 227, 237, cited by Keller.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> *Cambuttà.*—The short pastoral staff of Columbanus called *Cambata*, was sent, on his death, to his disciple, St. Gall. (Vit. c. 30, Flem. Coll. p. 248 b.) This word conveys the idea of curvature, as in the Greek *kampto* and the Irish *cam*. See Mabillon, de Liturg. Gallic. p. 435; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 324; Keller, p. 66.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> *Wallet.*—See the note on the words *Pelliceo sacco*, in Adamnan's Vit. S. Columbæ, p. 116, ed. Reeves. "De pera Scottica jacula timet." Epist. Ermeurici, cited by Keller.—*Ed.*

<sup>g</sup> *Eloquence.*—See the notices collected by F. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken*. A lively picture of an Irish pilgrim of later times is given in the following account of Abbot Samson, of St. Edmunds, in the *Cronica Johannis de Brakelonda*, p. 35:—"Bene scitis quod multum laboravi propter ecclesiam de Wlpet, propter quam habendam in proprios usus vestros, iter arripui versum Romam per consilium vestrum, tempore scismatis inter papam Alexandrum et Octavianum, transivique per Italiam, illa tempestate qua omnes clerici qui portabant literas domini pape Alexandri capiebantur, et quidam incarcerationantur, quidam suspenderantur, quidam, truncatis naso et labiis, remittebantur ad papam in dedecus et confusionem ipsius. Ego vero simulavi me esse Scottum, et Scotti habitum induens, et gestum Scotti habens, sepe illis qui mihi illudebant, baculum meum excussi ad modum teli quod vocatur *gaveloc*, de more Scottorum voces comminatorias proferens. Obviantibus et interrogantibus quis essem? nihil respondi, nisi: '*Ride, ride Rome, turve Cantwerveberie.*' Sic feci, ut me et propositum meum celarem,

Tucius ut peterem, Scotti sub imagine Romam. Impetratis autem literis a domino papa (12 Jan., 1161), pro

voto meo, in redeundo transivi per quoddam castellum, sicut via me ducebat ab urbe; et ecce ministri de castro circumdederunt me, capientes et dicentes: "Iste solivagus, qui Scottum se facit, vel explorator est, vel portitor literarum falsi pape Alexandri." Et dum perscrutabantur panniculos meos et caligas, et femoralia, et etiam sotulares (schuhe, souliers [shoes]) veteres, quos super humeros portavi ad consuetudinem Scottorum, injeci manum meam in peram quam portavi cuteam, in qua scriptum domini pape continebatur, postum sub cifo parvo, quo bibere solebam: et Domino Deo volente, et sancto Ædmundo, simul extraxi scriptum illud cum cifo, ita quod, brachium extendens in altum, breve tenui sub cifo. Cifum quidem viderunt, sed breve non perceperunt. Et sic evasi manus eorum in nomine Domini." This passage, as well as some others, I owe to the kindness of Dr. Jaffé. ["You are aware that I have laboured much for the church of Wlpet, and that, in order to obtain it for your use, I undertook, by your advice, a journey to Rome at the time of the schism between popes Alexander and Octavian. I passed through Italy at the period when all clerics bearing letters from pope Alexander were arrested, some of them imprisoned, some hanged, and others, after having their noses and lips cut off, sent back to the pope, to his disgrace and confusion. But I pretended to be a Scot; and having adopted the Scottish dress and behaviour, I shook my staff, like the weapon called a *gaveloc*, at those who scoffed at me, crying aloud in a threatening voice after the manner of the Scots. To those who met me and inquired who I was, I replied only, '*Ride, ride, Rome, turve Cantwerveberie.*' This I did to conceal who I was, and what was my design,

'Tucius ut peterem Scotti sub imagine Romam.'

Having obtained the letters from the pope, in accordance with my wish (12 Jan. 1161), I passed, on my way from the city, by a certain castle, and behold, the servants of the castle surrounded me, laying hold of me and saying: 'This solitary

Some, as for instance Gallus,<sup>b</sup> learned the language of the country;<sup>1</sup> the rest employed an interpreter when they preached before the laity; but to ecclesiastics they spoke in the common language of the Latin church. Columbanus and his companions, in a fearless and determined manner, opposed the degenerate Merovingian clergy with their penitential sermons, and of course soon excited their bitter hatred; while the people, with the most ardent veneration, flocked in multitudes to hear them. To the powerful hierarchy of the Franks, their presence in the country had become obnoxious,<sup>k</sup> as it was the source of disadvantageous comparisons. But the kings<sup>1</sup> received them with reverence, and gave them land to build monasteries on, for themselves and the numerous Franks and Romanized natives who gathered around them. There they settled, and there, after their national manner, they enclosed a large space which they filled with their huts, in the midst of which conspicuously rose the church, and beside it the round tower, or steeple, which also served as a place of refuge in times of need.<sup>m</sup> Yet this was not an abiding place to them; for their strict uncompro-

vagabond, who pretends to be a Scot, is either a spy, or the bearer of letters from the false pope, Alexander.' And whilst they were searching my clothes, my trousers, my hose, and even the old shoes which I carried on my shoulder after the manner of the Scots, I put my hand into a skin wallet where I carried the papers of my lord the pope, placed under a little cup that I had for drinking out of, and, by the favour of the Lord God and St. Edmund, I took them out along with the cup; and raising my arm aloft, I held them under the cup. They saw the cup, indeed, but not the papers. And so I escaped out of their hands in the name of the Lord." The extract is taken from p. 35 of the *Cronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, printed by the Camden Society, curante 'Johanne Gage Rokewode,' Lond. 1840; the index of which work is very imperfect, omitting to give any reference to this most curious passage.—*Ed.*]

<sup>b</sup> *Gallus*.—He was the favourite and most honoured disciple of Columbanus, in whose company he went from Ireland. According to a genealogical notice of him, preserved in a MS. of the 9th century at St. Gall (*Goldastus, Rer. Alemann. i. 2, p. 386; Colgan, Trias Thaum. 3 pbl; .6 Pertz, Monumenta Germ. Hist., tom. ii. p. 34*), he was of Leinster extraction, being of the same race as St. Brigid. His Irish name, *Callech* (now *Coileach*), was latinized by its kindred term, *Gallus*. In 612 he founded the church, which in process of time grew to be a great monastery, and gave the name of the founder not only to the town which formed around it, but to a whole canton of Switzerland. In 625 he was offered, and urged to accept, the See of Constance, but he steadfastly refused. The discourse, however, which he delivered at the consecration of his disciple John,

is preserved. It is printed by Canisius (*Antiq. Lect. tom. v. p. 896*); by Messingham (*Florileg. p. 415*); and, with notes, by Barthius (*Francofurt, 1623*). He died on the 16th of October, which is his festival, 645. His prose *Life*, by Walafridus Strabo, has been printed by Surius, tom. v., Oct. 16; Messingham, *Florileg.*, pp. 255-295; *Goldastus, Rer. Alemann. Script.* An earlier prose *Life*, followed by Walafridus, is printed by Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, tom. ii. pp. 5-21. A metrical *Life*, in 1810 hexameter lines, written in the year 850, is preserved in MS. at St. Gall, of which the present writer has a copy. But the fullest information is to be had in the recently published volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. tom. vii., pp. 856-909.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Language of the country*.—St. Gall's knowledge of the German tongue is thus alluded to by his biographer:—"Columbanus itaque B. Gallo id injunxit officii, ut populum ab errore Idolatrie ad cultum Dei exhortatione salutari revocaret: quia ipse hanc a Domino gratiam meruit, ut non solum Latinæ, sed etiam barbaricæ locutionis cognitionem non parvam haberet." cap. 6 (*Florileg. p. 259 b*).—*Ed.*

<sup>k</sup> *Obnoxious*.—The question of the paschal controversy was that on which he and the Gallican bishops were ostensibly at issue. See Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. ii.*, p. 270.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Kings*.—When Columbanus arrived on the Continent, according to Mabillon, Gontran reigned in Burgundy, and Childebert, son of Sigebert, in Austrasia (*Annal. Benedict.*); but Jonas states that Sigebert was then monarch of both kingdoms, and that, hearing of the fame of Columbanus, he requested of him to settle in his dominions (cap. 5).—*Ed.*

<sup>m</sup> *Refuge in time of need*.—Petrie, p. 377, after Mabillon's *Iter Germanicum*. [The Round Towers were specially calculated to be such, and the Irish Annals record numerous



minging ministry spared not even the kings;<sup>a</sup> and they preferred to leave the country, and their gloriously flourishing monasteries,<sup>o</sup> rather than pass over in silence the abominations of the Merovingians. Columbanus escaped from the malice of Brunehilde, and fled to Theudelinda,<sup>p</sup> queen of the Lombards, a friend of Gregory the Great, and in her dominions he built the monastery of Bobio,<sup>q</sup> for the purpose of combating the Arian heresy; whilst Gallus stopped on the way in order to preach Christianity to the yet pagan Allemanni. A great many more of his countrymen must have been employed in Germany in the same manner; but it is only of the most distinguished among them that the names have been preserved to us, and beyond that, scarcely any thing else. In the countries of the Rhine, numerous monastic establishments trace back their origin to such Scottish pilgrims; but authentic information on the subject is wanting regarding them all,<sup>r</sup> and there is nothing further preserved in the memory of the people than the veneration for the name which bears witness to their remarkable exertions.

So it is likewise in Franconia, where testimony is borne to the exertions of St. Kilian<sup>s</sup> and his

instances where the neighbouring people took refuge in them. The castellated character of many steeples of the "Palc" in later times indicates that material security was often more efficient than the moral, in the existing state of society.—*Ed.*]

<sup>a</sup> *Kings*.—Brunehild, the widow of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, was mother of Childeburt, who succeeded to the throne of that kingdom, and subsequently to that of Burgundy also. He died in 596, leaving two sons, Theodebert and Theodoric, or Thierry, under the guardianship of their grandmother. The former inherited the crown of Austrasia, and the latter that of Burgundy. Brunehild was banished from Austrasia in 599, and was received by her grandson Theodoric, in Burgundy, whom she encouraged in licentious habits. The censure which Columbanus passed on his conduct provoked Brunehild, who instigated Theodoric to persecute and banish the Irish missionary.—*Ed.*

<sup>o</sup> *Monasteries*.—They were:—Luxovium, now *Lucieu*, with its affiliated cells, Anagrates, now *Anegray*, and Ad Fontanas, now *Fontaines*.—*Ed.*

<sup>p</sup> *Theudelinda*.—On the death of her husband Autharis, king of the Lombards, she succeeded to the monarchy, and having afterwards married Agilulph, raised him to a share in the throne. Jonas represents *Egilulf*, the husband, as Columbanus's patron (cap. 29).—*Ed.*

<sup>q</sup> *Bobio*.—This monastery was founded in 613, and the founder died, Nov. 21, 615. Like Luxieu and St. Gall, it soon ceased to be governed by an Irish abbot, but it long retained the associations of the founder's people; and its library, replete with precious Irish manuscripts, until a comparatively recent date, served as a monument of its Scotch

origin. The memory of St. Columbanus is still held in high esteem in northern Italy, and the town *San Columbanus*, in the district of Lodi, commemorates his name.—*Ed.*

<sup>r</sup> *Regarding them all*.—There is one noble exception, for which we are indebted to Mabillon, namely the *Monasterium Scottorum in Honaugia*. This monastery was founded on an island in the Rhine, near Strasburg, now called Honau, by Tuban, an Irish bishop, in 720, and was patronized by Pepin, Carloman, and Charlemagne. A confirmation grant of 810 states that it was founded *ad pauperes et peregrinos gentis Scottorum*; and it is attested by the signatures of the abbot, seven bishops, and one presbyter, all of them bearing Irish names. The charters, from which we derive information in this instance, are printed by Mabillon in his *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. ii., appendix, p. 695 *b*. See Zeuss's *Gram. Celt.*, vol. i.; Proceedings of the Royal Irish Acad., vol. vi. p. 452.—*Ed.*

<sup>s</sup> *St. Kilian*.—The Apostle of Franconia. His Life says: "Scotia, quæ et Hibernia dicitur, insula est maris oceani, fecunda quidem glebis, sed sanctissimis clarior viris; ex quibus Columbano gaudet Italia, Gallo ditatur Alemannia, Kiliano Teutonice nobilitatur Francia." Duke Gozbert received him kindly at Wurtzburg, about the year 687; but his wife Geilana, to whose marriage (as she was the widow of her husband's brother) the missionary had objected, moved with anger, procured his murder, on the 8th of July, 689. His Life is printed by Canisius, *Antiq. Lect.*, tom. iv.; Messingham, *Florileg.* p. 318; Surius, July 8; Mabillon, *Act. Benedict.* sæc. ii. p. 991.—*Ed.*

associates, not so much by fabulous legends as by very ancient manuscripts in the handwriting of the Irish, which are preserved in the library at Wurtzburg,<sup>1</sup> and above all, by the Latin Bible, written in uncial letters, which, according to credible tradition, was found in St. Kilian's tomb.<sup>2</sup> With the rise of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries the star of the Scots sets.<sup>3</sup> Although their ministry operated so powerfully, they were little qualified to erect lasting structures, for they were wanting in that firm cohesion and that strict order by which the Anglo-Saxons became so strong. In many points differing from the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and in many respects degenerated and disorderly, the Irish preachers appeared to Boniface<sup>4</sup> as nothing less than heretics, and as such were successfully combated by him. The real missionary excellence of the Irish was now over for ever; yet, for centuries after, their monasteries in Ireland were famed afar as places of strict discipline and singular learning. They also continued to travel in numbers through foreign countries, no longer as preachers, but as pious pilgrims,<sup>5</sup> and also frequently still as teachers of the Frankish clergy.

When Charles the Great gathered about him, from all sides, teachers for his nations, there came also Scots; and Dungal acquired an illustrious name while preceptor at the cathedral school in Pavia.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wurtzburg*.—See, on this, Oegg, *Korographie von Wurtzburg*; Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xx. [The copy of the Pauline Epistles with the interlinear Irish gloss, so largely and advantageously employed by Zeuss, is a remarkable monument of early Irish occupation.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *St. Kilian's Tomb*.—"Le célèbre MS. des Evangiles, trouvé l'an 743 dans le tombeau de S. Kilian, mort en 687, qu'on expose sur l'Autel, à la vénération des Fidèles, le jour de la fête du Saint, dans l'Eglise Cathédrale de Wurtzburg." *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii. p. 101. See Eckhart, *Comment. de Reb. Franc. Oriental.*, tom. i., p. 452. where a facsimile is given; *Chronicon Gotwecense*, tom. i., p. 34; especially O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Scr.*, vol. i. Ep. Nuncup. pp. cxliv. ccxii.; T. Purton Cooper, Appendix A to Report of Rec. Com. p. 252. Judging from the published specimens, one would call the letters Irish semi-uncials rather than uncials.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sets*.—In England there was a striking instance of this in the paschal discussion at Whitby, and its results. See Bede, *Ec. Hist.*, iii. 25, 26, iv. 4. In modern times the term *Anglo-Saxon* has absorbed even the manuscripts of the Irish.—*Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> *Boniface*.—The famous Winfrid, born about the year 680. He became archbishop of Mentz, founded the famous monastery of Fulda, as well as created several bishoprics, and is styled the Apostle of Germany. He was martyred, June 5, 755. The Irishmen who encountered him were, Virgilius, the apostle of Carinthia, who had been known in Ireland as Ferghal abbot of Aghabo, with Sidonius, or

Sedna, Sampson, and Clement. In 746, Virgilius and his associate, Sidonius, were ordered by Boniface to rebaptize a person in whose case the baptismal formula had been incorrectly pronounced; this they refused to do, and the matter was referred to Pope Zachary, who decided in favour of the Irishmen. In 747, Boniface denounced him to the Pope as one who had erred in Catholic doctrine. But his gravest offence was his theory of "Antipodes," which was misrepresented, and threatened him with expulsion from the church. In this controversy, Boniface enjoyed the advantage of having the Pope completely on his side. Samson was charged with heresy regarding baptism. The other Irishman (Clement) was, with Adalbert, a Frenchman, condemned for heterodoxy, in a Council, 742, and subsequently imprisoned by Carloman. Three years after, the acts of the Council were confirmed by the Pope. See Ussher's *Sylloge Epist.*, xv.-xvii. (Works, vol. iv., pp. 457-465.)—*Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> *Pious pilgrims*.—The motive of their wanderings is pointed out in the *Privilegia of Henry iv.*, granted to St. James's.

<sup>6</sup> *Pavia*.—He was in France in 811, when he wrote his famous letter to Charlemagne, on the solar eclipses of 810. He was teacher in Pavia about 823. Muratori has printed an accurate catalogue of the books bestowed by him on the monastery of Bobio, to which is prefixed the notice: "Quos Dungalus, præcipuus Scottorum, obtulit beatissimo Columbano." *Antiq. Ital. Dissert.* 43, tom. iii. col. 821.—*Ed.*

Under Charles the Bald the name of Johannes Scotus<sup>a</sup> is distinguished for that profound erudition and liberty of mind which elevated him far above his contemporaries.

From the time of Columbanus, Irish monks had continued to wander in numbers into these countries where he had laboured, and there we find many traces of their presence. Their most brilliant monument, however, is the monastery of St. Gall<sup>a</sup>: there, at the tomb of their pious countryman, they settled in a barren wilderness; until, by-and-by, there arose out of the poor cottages of the Scots that splendid monastery, which, at a later period, contained a majority of Allemannic monks, yet still for a long time received many Irish comers, and among them teachers of such celebrity as Moengall, called also Marcellus.<sup>b</sup>

We may judge of their industry by the study of Greek, the love of music, and the skill in various arts, which distinguished the monastery of St. Gall above all others. Scarcely was there any other establishment so celebrated for the beauty of its manuscripts, nor did any other so highly prize the art, or develop with such care and ardour, the ornamentation of initial letters. Therein especially do these monks show that they were faithful followers of their Irish brethren, whom they soon surpassed and left far behind.<sup>c</sup> The Scottish manuscripts are distinguished by very elaborate execution, by brilliant colouring of unfading splendour, and by the richness and beauty of their ornamentation; but at the same time by a singular rudeness in the representation of natural objects, especially in the correct treatment of the human figure.<sup>d</sup> Their favourite ornaments are the interlaced serpents, and by them, as well as the serpents' heads, one can trace the influence of Irish art, as may be seen, for instance, in gospels of Charles the Bald.<sup>e</sup>

Now, it was under Frankish and Allemannic hands that the new and peculiar style of art grew up which we have in the St. Gall manuscripts, and which in after times was diffused from Suabia

<sup>a</sup> *Johannes Scotus*.—Settled in France before 847. He was the most eminent metaphysician of his day, and was well versed in Greek. Though a layman, he was consulted by the most eminent divines, and his opinion, in ecclesiastical as well as literary questions, bore the greatest weight. Mosheim styles him "a man of great and excelling genius, and not a stranger to Greek and Roman learning."—*Ed.*

<sup>b</sup> *St. Gall*.—See the excellent Essay of F. Keller, quoted above.

<sup>c</sup> *Marcellus*.—In Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli*, at 890, he is thus spoken of:—"Marcellus quidam Scotigena episcopus Gallum tanquam compatriotam suum rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal, postea a nostris Marcellus diminutive a Marco avunculo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis eruditissimus." Pertz, *Mon.* tom. ii. p. 78. The names of other Scots occur in the *Necrologium*; as Clemens, Failan, Brendan, Dubsan,

Adam, David, Melchomber, Fortegian. *Ib.* p. 79 note.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> *Left behind*.—They may have surpassed the Irish in perspective as painters, but as scribes they never equalled them; and there is a lamentable falling off from the Scoti in the German school of calligraphy. Compare, for example, the Scoti specimens in Keller with the facsimiles in the second volume of Pertz, *Tabb.* ii. v. vi. In conception, intricacy, and skill, the Scoti execution has never been equalled. There are two plates in Keller which might well challenge comparison; but what are we to say of the Book of Kells? where is its equal?—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> *Human figure*.—Compare Schnaase, *ubi supra*, p. 456.

<sup>f</sup> *Gospels of Charles the Bald*.—S. Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*; Le Comte Bastard, *Peintures et Ornaments des Manuscrits*; Jorand *Grammatographie du Neuvième Siècle*.

in all directions. It was a fusion of imitations of the classical antique, which we find in manuscripts dating from the time of Charles the Great, with those fantastic figures which the Scots had developed to excess.

As in writing, so likewise in music, in goldsmith's work of all kinds, and in carving, the Scots have been celebrated from olden times, and in these arts they have also been the teachers of the industrious monks of St. Gall.<sup>f</sup>

Fulda,<sup>g</sup> in like manner, was frequently visited by them after the differences had been made up so far between the Anglican and Scottish churches, that the latter could even regard Boniface (whose corpse rested there) as their countryman; as we learn from the chronicler Marian, who expressly calls him a Scot.<sup>h</sup>

But there were, besides, other monasteries erected exclusively for Scottish monks<sup>i</sup> by bishops, as well as by laymen, who took delight in their pious mode of life. In these monasteries the brethren prayed for the souls of the founders, and hospitably received their journeying countrymen when on pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem.<sup>k</sup> In France and Lorraine there were many such

<sup>f</sup> *St. Gall.*—Petrie, *ut supra*, p. 200. Keller, p. 69. Compare the "Vasa Scotica," Vita Bernwardi, c. 6; Mon. Germ. SS. iv. 760.

<sup>g</sup> *Fulda.*—In 1039 died Richard, abbot of Fulda: "Hic etiam multos sanctos Scottigenae gentis viros in commune fratrum habebat, atque caminatam et dormitorium ipsis seorsum simul et inter fratres subministrabat sicut pater." *Mar. Scotus*, Chron. 1061 (Pertz, vii. p. 557). In 1043 died S. Anmchadh, who, having set out from Iniskealtra, on the Shannon, travelled to Germany and became a recluse at Fulda. Of him Marianus Scotus writes: "Animchadus Scottus monachus et inclusus obiit 3 kal. Feb. in monasterio Fuldensi. Super ejus sepulchrum visa sunt lumina, et psalmodia audita. Super quem ego Marianus Scottus decem annis inclusus, super pedes ejus stans cotidie cantavi missas." Chron. apud Pertz, Monum. vii. p. 557. To this monastery Marianus Scotus refers when he says, at the year 937: "Monasteria sanctorum Scottorum, sancti Galli et sancti Bonifacii, igne consumuntur."—*Ed.*

<sup>h</sup> *Scot.*—Marianus's statement is:—"Bonifacium, patre atque etiam matre Scottum." An. 737. "Iste enim Bonifacius de Hibernia missus est cum Willebrordo." *Ib.* At 745, 762, 765, he calls him *Bonifacius Scottus*. His birth is generally placed at Crediton, or Kirton, in Devonshire, and his name Winfrid, indicates Saxon origin. Yet Marianus Scotus can hardly be supposed to have written at

random or falsely when he made the positive assertions cited above. As in the case of St. Cuthbert, there seems to be considerable uncertainty regarding his parentage. Casimir Oudin guardedly writes: "natione Anglus, vel Scotus ut quibusdam videtur." *De Scriptor. Eccl.*, tom. i., col. 1788. It is worthy of remark that the Irish claim S. Gregory the Great also as their countryman, and even give his pedigree as such, making him a descendant of Cairbre Musc. See Curry's *Battle of Mugh Leana*, p. 172.—*Ed.*

<sup>i</sup> *Scottish monks.*—Such was the monastery of Honau, mentioned above.—*Ed.*

<sup>k</sup> *Rome and Jerusalem.*—Ricomarch says:—"Cum inextinguibile Hiberniensium desiderium ad sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum reliquias visitandas arderet." *Vit. S. David*. Yet, in the margin of the ancient MS. of S. Paul's epistles called the Codex Boernerianus, is the Irish verse which has so long puzzled biblical critics, commencing—

*Teicht do Róim mor saílo,*

*Becc torbai.*

To come to Rome (is) great labour;

Little profit."

See *Irish Eccles. Journal*, vol. v. p. 138. In Wales they had the proverb concerning Menevia or St. Davids—

"Meneviam si bis, et Romam si semel ibis,

Merces equa tibi reddetur hic et ibi."

monasteries.<sup>1</sup> In Cologne, Great St. Martin's, which is supposed to have been founded by Olgar,<sup>m</sup> that paladin of Charles the Great who is known in the Carolingian epics as "Ogier le Danois," the brother-in-law of Roland, and the "Holger Danske" of the Danes, and who is no other than the Margrave Olgar, who already appears in a fabulous shape in the narrative of the monks of St. Gall, and of whom the monks of Tegernsee,<sup>n</sup> as well as the monks of St. Faron, near Meaux, assert that he had become a monk among them.<sup>o</sup> Of this monastery of St. Martin there exists a small fragmentary chronicle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>p</sup> but in all other respects the whole of our information regarding the existence of these establishments is derived from accidental mention made of them by independent historians or authors. Some particulars were collected by Marianus Scotus,<sup>q</sup> a pupil of

Pope Gregory, writing to Quirinus, an Irish bishop, in 601, says: "Lator presentium ad beati Petri apostolorum principis Ecclesiam veniens, fraternitatis vestrae se asseruit ad nos epistolas accepisse, easque in Hierosolymorum urbe cum rebus quoque aliis perdidisse." Ussher's Syll. Ep. ii. S. Virgilius was accompanied to Saltzburg by seven Irish bishops, "qui proposuerant Domini vestigia ac sanctam terram corporeis oculis videre." *ib.* Ep. xvi. (Works, vol. iv. p. 462).—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Monasteries*.—Already in the Council of Meaux, of 845, cap. 40, the restoration of the dilapidated hospitals of the Scots in France was enjoined. ["Sed et hospitalia Scottorum, quae sancti homines illius gentis in hoc regno construxerunt, et rebus pro sanctitate sua acquisitis ampliaverunt, ab eodem hospitalitatis officio funditus sunt alienata," &c. Can. 40.—*Ed.*]

<sup>m</sup> *Olger*.—"Scoti multo tempore illud incoluerunt, donec a primo fervore tepescentes, ex hoc sicut etiam ex aliis quibusdam monasteriis expulsi sunt, et alii Germani sunt substituti. . . . Herbodus rexit sub annum 778 quo monasterium a Saxonibus est destructum, et denuo restauratum per Otgerum Daniae ducem, adjuvante Karolo Magno imperatore." Chron. Sti. Martini, ap. Pertz, ii. p. 214. See also *ib.* pp. 124, 195, 759, 760.—*Ed.*

<sup>n</sup> *Tegernsee*.—In Bavaria, between the rivers Isar and Inn, and the lakes Schlier and Tegern. See Mabilion, Annal. Ord. S. Bened., tom. ii. p. 130.—*Ed.*

<sup>o</sup> *A monk among them*.—Leibnitzii Annales Imperii Occidentis, i. 82 seq.

<sup>p</sup> *Eleventh century*.—Monum. Germ. SS. ii. 218. Böhmer's Fontes iii. 344. [It is printed by Pertz, Monum., tom. ii. (Script.), pp. 214 215, from a palimpsest vellum leaf: "in qua litterae Anglo-Saxonicae [recte Scoticae] deletae, bibliorum partem continenti, chronicon abbatum S. Martini recentiori manu superinductum erat;" preserved in the Wallraffian library at Cologne.—*Ed.*]

<sup>q</sup> *Marianus Scotus*.—His Irish name was Maelbrigte, as

appears from two entries in his autograph chronicle. He was born in Ulster, in 1028, and in early life studied under Tighernach, of Boirche, in the monastery of Moville. In 1052 he became a monk, and four years after removed to Germany, and entered the Irish monastery of St. Martin, at Cologne. In 1059 he was ordained priest at Wurtzburg, and became a recluse at Fulda, where he remained for ten years. In 1069 he was removed to Mentz, where he resumed the same austere mode of life, in which he continued without change till his death, in 1086. This great work, which is the most elaborate historical production of the middle ages, has always enjoyed the highest encomiums of the learned. Florence of Worcester made it the basis of his Chronicle. Sigebert styles the compiler "vir aetate sua admodum disertus." It was printed by Heroldus, at Basle, in 1559, from an imperfect and interpolated copy, and reprinted by Struvius in 1726, also at Frankfort, in 1583. Gerhard John Voss undertook the task of publishing it in its integrity, but did not live to fulfil his intention. (Ussher, Works, vol. vi., p. 283). Several manuscript copies are in existence, among which the best is that in the British Museum (Cotton, Nero, C. v.). But the autograph, with the compiler's own signature, *Marianus inclusus*, is fortunately preserved, (Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus, No. 830, large 4to vell. foll. 170,) and has been ably edited in Pertz's Monumenta, tom. vii. (Script. tom. v.) pp. 481 seq., by Professor Ed. G. Waitz, with critical apparatus and facsimiles. All that remains now is to have it printed in a separate form, under Irish editorship. For further notices of Marianus, see Oudin, Comment. de SS., tom. ii. col. 698; Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. p. 144 (ed. 1743); Lanigan, Ec. Hist., vol. iii., p. 446, iv. p. 7; Harris's Ware's Ir. Writers, p. 66; Hardy's Introduction to the Monument. Hist. Brit., p. 83; Zeuss, Gramm. Celt., vol. i. p. xxvii; O'Donovan, in Ulst. Journal of Archæol., vol. vii. p. 20, 24; Nicolson, Eng. Hist. Libr., p. 46; Scottish Hist. Libr. p. 20, where, *more Albanico*, he is made a Scotchman.

the first Irish historian, Tighernach,<sup>r</sup> who left Ireland in the year 1056, and who entered the Scottish monastery at Cologne, after which he lived for a long time at Fulda, and at last had himself immured as a recluse at St. Martin's, in Mentz, where, in complete seclusion, he worked out his great chronicle of the world. He died in the year 1082.<sup>s</sup>

At that time, or rather later, another learned Irishman, called David,<sup>t</sup> was presiding over the cathedral school at Würzburg. He it was whom the Emperor Henry the Fifth chose as his chaplain, and took with him to Italy as his historiographer, in the year 1110. And accordingly he described the Emperor's journey to Rome, and showed his eminent talent for the office of aulic scholar, by his well-known *Comparison of the Capture of Pope Paschal with the Wrestling of Jacob and the Angel of the Lord, whom he would not let go except he would bless him*. The work itself is not preserved to us.

In addition to the above, the only other historical work of these Scottish monks which I know of is the chronicle of the monastery of St. James at Regensburg, which is preserved under the name of the *Vita Sancti Mariani Scoti*, and has been printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>u</sup> But this is of the

<sup>r</sup> *Irish historian Tighernach*.—This is an error. Marian's preceptor was Tighernach, surnamed Boirchech, *i.e.*, "of Boirche," now Mourne. He was abbot of Moville, in the county of Down. His obit occurs in the *Four Masters* at 1061, in these words: "Tighernach Boirchech, chief confessor of Ireland, anchorite, and successor of Finnen, died of the plague." The death of his son is recorded at 1098: "Flaithbhartach, son of Tighernach Boirchech, successor of Finnen of Maghbiile, died on his pilgrimage." Colgan (*Act. Sanc.* p. 206*b*, n. 8), and after him Lanigan, (*Ec. Hist.* iii. p. 446, 448) err in making Tighernach Boirchech abbot of Clonard, in Meath. They mistook the Finnen in the annals at 1061. Colgan properly omits his name in the catalogue of the abbots of Clonard (*A. S.* p. 407). His day occurs in the later Irish calendars at the 13th of May. But Tighernach the annalist was of a different race; his surname was O'Braoin (O'Brien), and he was of the Siol-Muireadhaigh, a Connaught tribe. He died in 1088, being at the time abbot of Clonmacnois and Roscommon. There is no uncertainty in the choice of these, for Marianus expressly says: "Ita mihi Tigernach Borchecch mihi culpabili in aliqua levi culpa pronuntiavit." (*Chron.* 1065, p. 557, where Waitz, by a slight error, reads *Tigernach Borchecch*).—*Ed.*

<sup>s</sup> *Died in 1082*.—This is the last entry in his chronicle; and his death is recorded by his continuator, at the same year. See Mabillon, *An. Ord. S. Bened.* an. 1083.—*Ed.*

<sup>t</sup> *David*.—This individual's name does not appear among the "Irish Writers," yet his distinguished contemporary, Ekkehard, bears honourable testimony to his merit: "Providerat rex se non solum armatis sed etiam litteratis viris necessario muniri. Inter quos claruit quidam Scotigena nomine David, quem dudum seolas Wiricbure regentem promorum probitate omnique liberalium artium peritia rex sibi capellanum assumpsit. Hic itaque jussus a rege totius hujus expeditionis seriem rerumque in illa gestarum stilo facili tribus libris digessit."—Pertz, *Monum.* viii., 243. Trithemius affirms that he afterwards became a monk under Macarius, (*ib.* p. 11, not 15.) William of Malmesbury states that the emperor's progress was described by David, bishop of Bangor, a Scot, though far more partially to the king than becomes a historian; and he gives several abstracts from his narrative, (*lib.* v. § 420, vol. ii. p. 656, ed. Hardy.) Baronius, as might be expected, is not so indulgent:—"Inter omnes hujus temporis scriptores tantum sacrilegium detestantes, unus ille plane ridendus Vrspergensis abbas, qui nervis solutus profitendæ libere veritatis, ob privatam erga Henricum Imp. affectum, sacrilegium adeo immane convertere nititur in pietatem, comparans eundem Henricum Patriarchæ Jacob," &c. *Annales*, an. mxxi. (tom. xii., col. 85, Colon. 1613).—*Ed.*

<sup>u</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*.—Februarii tom. ii., pp. 365—372. [It was copied by John Gamansius, a Jesuit, from a manuscript

greatest importance for our purpose, because the monastery of St. James not only occupied a very distinguished position itself, but was the parent of numerous monastic colonies, which very soon were the only surviving Scotie monasteries, and subsequently formed themselves into one corporation. This chronicle was written shortly before the year 1185.<sup>w</sup> There is another account of the origin of St. James's which is not yet printed, but which will, in all probability, prove to be of no value, as in this work the Scotie monks have entirely yielded to their own luxuriant imagination. We arrive at this conclusion from the last portion of this work, which is printed in the *Origines Guelficae*, (ii. 431-452), and contains a very confused statement concerning the origin of the convent in Memmingen,<sup>x</sup> and totally irreconcilable with history.

Besides these, there is still existing in manuscript another historical work, of a most fabulous nature, which ascribes the foundation of the two Regensburg houses to Charles the Great. This fiction was already contradicted in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by Andrew, of the monastery St. Mang in Stadt-am-Hof; and again by brother Martin, of St. Emmeram; by Laurentius Hochwart, and by Aventinus.<sup>y</sup>

But there are also preserved some charters of St. James's, which elucidate not only the history of the convent itself, but also its connexion with the affiliated establishments. From these charters and from some other records of the monastery, Paricius has compiled a history of St. James, in his work,<sup>z</sup> *Newest and Authentic Historical Account of all the Imperial Chapters, Principal Churches, and Monasteries situate within the walls of the town of Regensburg: by John Charles Paricius, Notary and Arithmetician of that city.* 1753, 8vo. Strange to say, without being aware of this work, Thomas Ried published, from the charters alone, his *Historical Account of the Scotch Monastery Weyh St. Peter, at Regensburg, demolished in the year 1552.* 1813, 8vo. But neither he nor

Carthusiæ Gammicensis, and edited with valuable notes by Bollandus. It is styled a life of S. Marianus, but it is rather a chronicle of the church founded by him, and of its various affiliations. Lanigan, in the fourth vol. of his *Eccles. Hist.* has drawn liberally from it.—*Ed.*]

<sup>w</sup> Year 1185.—The author mentions at the end, where he gives a list of the Papal privileges, a bull of Alexander III. dated January 1177, but not the bull of Lucius III. of April 10, 1185. He mentions the death of the first Scotie abbot at Vienna, whose successor, Finan, was ordained in the year 1181, according to *Monum. Germ. SS.* ix., 617; and he mentions also the foundation of the convent at Eichstadt, which took place, according to Paricius, in 1183.

<sup>x</sup> *Memmingen.*—Manuscripts in London and Pommersfelde, Pertz, *Archiv.* vii. 711, ix. 527. [The Irish monastery at Memmingen was founded in 1167, as will be shewn in

the sequel to the present article.—*Ed.*]

<sup>y</sup> *Aventinus.*—Oefele, *Script. Rer. Boic.* i. 34, 212, 347. *Aventini Annal. Boi. lib.* iv., c. 4, 9. Manuscripts in London, Pertz, *Archiv.* vii. 711; and in Vienna, *ib.* x. 455. Probably it was this book which the chaplain of Count von Platen made a present of to the Vienna Scoti. Zappert, in the *Proceedings of the Vienna Academy*, xiii. 183.

<sup>z</sup> *His work.*—The title is: *Allerneueste und bewährte Historische Nachricht von allen in denen Ringmauern der Stadt Regensburg gelegenen Reichs-Stiftern, Haupt-Kirchen und Clöstern, von Johann Carl Paricio, Notar und Arithmetician daseibst.* 1753. 8.

<sup>a</sup> *Historical Account.*—The title of this work is: *Historische Nachricht von dem, im Jahre 1552, demolirten Schottenkloster Weyh Sanct Peter zu Regensburg,* 1813. 8.

Paricius has used the *Vita Mariani*, and for this reason it will not be superfluous to give a historical account of this congregation of Scottish monasteries, according to these various sources.

Eleven years after the chronicler Marian, a second Marian also (in 1067<sup>b</sup>) left Ireland with two companions, Johannes and Candidus. These Scots used generally to adopt, besides their own strange native name, another Latin one—or at least their own transformed or translated into Latin. The intention of these pilgrims was to go to Rome; but it is said that they remained a considerable time in Bamberg, and that there they entered the Benedictine order, in the monastery of Michelsberg. While proceeding on their pilgrimage, they met with a very friendly reception at Regensburg, in the nunnery of Obermünster. Here, and in a cell of his own at Niedermünster, Marian wrote some missals and numerous other religious books,<sup>d</sup> for which his companions prepared the parchment. In Obermünster he found a countryman of his called Murchertac,<sup>e</sup> who had been there for some time, and was leading a hermit's life, immured in a cell, after the manner of these Irishmen. Murchertac is said to have persuaded Marian to stay where the rising sun should first appear to him on his journey, instead of proceeding to Rome. It was near St. Peter's Church, before the southern gate of Regensburg, where, having ended his devotions, the rising sun met him. The nuns of Obermünster<sup>f</sup> heard this news with great joy, and the abbess bestowed that church and

<sup>b</sup> In 1067.—Aventini Annal. Bojorum, l. v. cap. xi., 31. Laurent. Hochwart ap. Oefele, Script. Rer. Boic. i. 184. He wrote a Psalter for the abbess Mathilde of Niedermünster in 1074, the seventh year of his pilgrimage.

<sup>c</sup> Latin.—A whole dissertation might be introduced here in illustration of the above; but the limits of this article would not admit it, and the writer purposes to make this the subject of a future communication. Suffice it to say that the few following examples may not be considered misplaced. *Fergal* is latinized by Virgilius, *Siodhail* by Sedulius, *Cathal* by Cataldus, *Donnchadh* by Donatus, *Calloch* by Gallus, *Comgall* by Faustus, *Mochmog* by Pulcherius, *Bolean* by Vulganius, *Maelbrigte* by Marianus, *Cellach* by Celsus, *Maelmaedhog* by Malachias, *Maldegar* by Vincentius, *Maelmuire* by Marianus, *Beoædh* by Beatus. Some of these are translations, and some mere vocal adaptations, in which case the same name, as Marianus, or Malachias, represents various Irish ones.—*Ed.*

<sup>d</sup> Religious books.—His Vita says: "Tantum scribendi gratiam B. Mariano divina providentia contulit, quod multa ac prolixa volumina veloci calamo perscripserit." And it adds: "Præterea multæ congregationes monastici ordinis, quæ fide et caritate ac imitatione B. Mariani derivatæ de

finibus Hiberniæ Bavariam et Franconiam peregrinando inhabitant, ex majori parte scriptis B. Mariani fulciuntur." Act. SS. Feb. ii. p. 367a. Among other books which he wrote, the Life mentions several copies of the Old and New Testaments, with explanatory commentaries. Of these, a Psalter with a commentary collected from the Fathers was seen by Aventin in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Annal. p. 553. A manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, with interlinear and marginal glosses in his handwriting, partly Latin and partly Irish, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In three places it bears the date 1079. See Denis, Codd. MS. Theol. Bibl. Pal. Vindobon., vol. i., pt. i., col. 127; Lambecii Comment. ii., p. 749; especially Pertz, Monum. vii., p. 484, notes 22, 23; Zeuss's Gram. Celt. i., p. 24; and O'Donovan in this *Journal*, vol. vii. p. 22, *supra*.—*Ed.*

<sup>e</sup> Murchertac.—He is noticed at 1080 in Raderus' *Bavaria Sancta* under the name *Muricherochus*, tom. ii., p. 220. Colgan combines his account with that in the *Vita Mariani* at the 17th of January, Acta SS. p. 110.—*Ed.*

<sup>f</sup> Obermünster.—This and Niedermünster, which signify "Upper and Lower Monasteries," are rendered *Superius Monasterium* and *Inferius Monasterium* in the Vita.—*Ed.*



the adjacent ground upon him. In the year 1076 the Scots settled there, and the citizens of Regensburg, and one Bezelin in particular, built a small monastery for them, which the Emperor Henry the Fourth, in 1089, at the solicitation of the abbess Hazecha, took under his protection.<sup>5</sup> Scotie pilgrims now came hither in numbers, especially from Marian's native province, the north of Ireland,<sup>6</sup> from whence originally came his first seven<sup>1</sup> followers, of whom the last, called Domnus,<sup>2</sup> according to the *Vita Mariani*, (though from the shortness of the time, it is scarcely credible,) built the new monastery of St. James, in honour of the patron of the pilgrims. For very soon the monks had not room enough in the old monastery, Weyh-Sanct Peter,<sup>1</sup> and therefore they purchased from the Count of Frontenhausen, for the sum of thirty pounds, a piece of ground which was situated at the opposite town-gate, where is now the Stadt-am-Hof. Still, in the Imperial Privilege of the year 1089, mention is only made of the monastery of St. Peter, though in the next year the foundation was an occurrence that had already taken place; for we have on record a letter of the monks of St. James, addressed to King W., that is, Wratislaw,<sup>m</sup> of Bohemia, who reigned from 1086 to 1092. In their letter they ask of him an escort for their messengers to Poland; so far extended were their connexions already at that time. Of Marianus's companions, the one called Johannes went to Göttweich,<sup>n</sup> in Austria, where he immured himself as a recluse;<sup>o</sup> but the other, called

<sup>5</sup> *Protection*.—That the witnesses to the charter given in Ried, Cod. Dipl. i., 167, are a later interpolation taken from Henry V.'s charter has already been pointed out by Laurence Hochwart in Oefele, Script. Boic. i. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *The north of Ireland*.—Zeuss supposes that this Marianus was the same as "Gilla-na-naemh, of Leinster, bishop of Glenmallocha, and afterwards head of the monks of Wirzburbh," whose death is recorded by the *Four Masters*, at 1085. But besides the great violence of latinizing Gilla-na-naemh by *Marianus*, which would more naturally be *Sanctinus*, Marianus was a native of Ulster, and died on the 9th of February, whereas Gilla-na-naemh was a Leinsterman, and died on the 7th of April.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Seven followers*.—The prevalence of *seven* in Irish groupings is remarkable. Besides the frequency of "seven churches," we have in the calendar various commemorations of "seven bishops;" and, on the continent, Virgilius of Salzburg and his seven bishops, as also the charter of Honan and its seven subscribing "episcopi." Their names, as given by Aventinus, are: Johannes, Candidus, Clemens, Donatus, Murcheridach, Magnaldus, and Isaac. *Annales Boior.*, lib. v.—*Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> *Domnus*.—Probably in Irish, *Donnchadh* or *Ferdomhnach*; He is called *Dionisius* in the record cited by Lynch.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Weyh-Sanct-Peter*.—That is, "*Sancti Petri Consecrati*;" the tradition being, according to the fabulous chronicle of the monastery, cited by Henidius and Aventinus, that the church was erected on the site of a battle, where the bodies of the slain were buried, and that it was miraculously consecrated by St. Peter from heaven. *Annal. Boior. lib. iv.*, p. 330; *Acta SS. Feb. ii. p. 362 b.*—*Ed.*

<sup>m</sup> *Wratislaw*.—Pez, *Thes. Anecd.*, vi., i. 291; *Boeczek, Cod. Diplom. Morav. i. 184*; *Erben, Regesta Bohemiae, i. 81*. This latter seems to be of the date of the year 1090, and was probably written *sede vacante*, whence we conclude that some talk of a removal had taken place already before Domnus, who perhaps only completed the erection of the building. Another letter is written by the abbot Benedict, probably predecessor of Domnus, but he does not style himself yet "of St. James's."

<sup>n</sup> *Göttweich*.—In Latin *Cottovicum*, a mountain in Lower Austria, on the Danube, opposite Stein and Krems. A monastery was founded here by St. Altmann, in the latter part of the eleventh century.—*Ed.*

<sup>o</sup> *Recluse*.—*Vita Altmanni, c. 88. Mon. Germ. SS. xii. 241*. [*"Tempore venerandi Antistitis venit in montem Kotwisch presbyter quidam natione Scotus, professione monachus, conversatione religiosus. Congruebat ei nomen quod habe-*

Candidus, went to Jerusalem. Thus, we find everywhere confirmed, what had been remarked by a monk of St. Gall of the ninth century, that their habit of wandering had almost become second nature to these Scots.<sup>p</sup>

Whilst the building of the monastery of St. James was in progress, one of the monks pursued his journey, accompanied only by a boy, till he reached Kiev, then the residence of the King of Russia. Here the King and his nobles made him rich presents, so that he loaded several waggons with very valuable furs, to the amount of a hundred silver marks, and arrived at home in safety, accompanied by some merchants of Regensburg. For at that time Russia was not so isolated as she is now; and Regensburg, in particular, kept up a very lively commercial intercourse with Kiev, a city whose splendour Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, described in the beginning of the eleventh century in vivid colours. Our Scots seem especially to have known how to profit by these mercantile relations, for in the fifth century we shall see that the people of Vienna blamed their Scottish monks for their remarkable exertions in the fur trade.

Now, when this monk, of whom we have spoken, returned home, abbot Domnus had already built the monastery in honour of St. James and St. Gertrude. The wealthy citizens of Regensburg had provided the monks with victuals, and paid the masons, so that the abbot, who had begun his work in 1090, was enabled to finish it himself. Yet, in consequence of the great haste, it was neither handsome nor durable. The money obtained by the sale of the furs was turned to account, and with it the buildings belonging to the monastery were erected, and the roof put on the church. Bishop Hartwich is stated to have consecrated the church in the year 1111. On the 26th of March, 1112, the Emperor Henry the Fifth granted a privilege to the institution; and in 1120 it received a letter of protection from Pope Calixtus. It is stated, however, that the high altar was not consecrated till the year 1122, and that the monastery was not completed till then; for that was the time, as is supposed, when the interior of the edifice received the finishing hand.

Christianus,<sup>q</sup> the successor of Domnus, went to Rome, where he was ordained by Pope

bat, dicebatur enim Joannes, quod sonat Gratia Dei. Dilexit hanc gratiam in eo Antistes Altmannus; et ut liberius ille secum habitaret, quodam arcto habitaculo, juxta ecclesiam B. Mariæ, pro desiderio et petitione sua eum conclusit." Acta SS., Aug. 8, tom. ii., p. 387 a. "In this venerable bishop's time there came a priest to Mount Kotwicz, by nation a Scot, in profession a monk, in conversation religious. The name he bore, which was John, signifying 'God's grace,' was in accordance with his disposition. Bishop Altmann loved this grace which was in him; and that he might the more readily abide with him, a narrow cell was assigned him beside the church of the Blessed Mary, in which, agreeably to his wish and solicitation, he was immured."—*Ed.*]

<sup>p</sup> Scots.—"Quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa est." Mirac. S. Galli, Mon. Germ. SS. ii. 30. Compare Martyrium Arnoldi, in Böhmer's *Fontes Rer. Germ.* iii. 271.

<sup>q</sup> Christianus.—A Latin form of the Irish *Gilla-Christ*. Stephen White had in his possession an old chronicle of the Scotie monastery at Ratisbon, from which he made some extracts that are printed by Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*. In this record, Isaac and Gervase, two Irishmen of noble birth, accompanied Conrad Carpenter, and William, two other Scots, who were sent to Ireland by Dionisius, abbot of St. Peter's at Ratisbon, where they were kindly received by Conchobhar O'Brien, surnamed *Slaparsalach*;

Innocent II., and received a Bull, in which the Pope declared that he would take the institution under his protection.

The same abbot also obtained a second Bull from Pope Eugenius, on the 29th of November, 1148, and then made a journey home to Ireland, where he was splendidly received, and obtained in presents to the amount of 200 marks, which he carried back with him to Regensburg, and there expended the money in purchasing estates. Besides these Irish donations, the monastery received very rich presents, both in money and value, in consideration of its excellent character. Accordingly, as we always find in similar cases, a restoration of the fabric took place.

Abbot Christianus died when on a second journey to Ireland.<sup>1</sup> He had consigned the administration to Gregory, the prior, who succeeded him—that is, *after* the year 1148, and *before* the 19th of March, 1157, on which day Pope Adrian IV.'s Bull to the abbot Gregory<sup>2</sup> is dated. This abbot pulled down the old church which had been so hastily built, and which was already in ruins,

and having been loaded with rich presents, were sent back to Germany. With the money obtained from Ireland a more commodious site for a monastery was purchased on the western side of Ratisbon, and a building erected which the chronicle describes in glowing terms:—"Now, be it known, that neither before nor since was there a monastery equal to this in the beauty of its towers, columns, and vaultings, erected and completed in so short a time, because the plenteousness of riches and of money bestowed by the king and princes of Ireland was without bound."

Christian, abbot of the Irish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon, who was descended from the MacCarthys in Ireland, finding that the treasures sent by the King of Ireland to Ratisbon were exhausted, and being unable to obtain help elsewhere, at the request of his brethren, undertook a journey to his native country, Ireland, to seek the aid of Donnchadh O'Brien, as Conchobhar O'Brien, the founder of Consecrated St. Peter's, was now dead. He was very successful in his mission; and having received great treasures, was preparing to return, when he sickened and died, and was buried before St. Patrick's altar, in the cathedral of Cashel. There are some anachronisms in this record, but still it is interesting as supplementary to the other. Stephen White says, that some zealous person, finding in it the expression "ex Scotia seu Hibernia insula," had endeavoured to erase the three last words, in order that North Britain might have the credit of the transaction. *Cambr. Evers*, cap. xxi. p. 163, or vol. ii., pp. 394-407, reprint. A copy of White's tract is still preserved, and Dr. Wattenbach will be pleased to learn

that is to be found in the Royal Library of Brussels, No. 5313, commencing: "Circa hoc tempus multi in Scotia."—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ireland*.—The Ratisbon Chronicle mentions only one journey. See last note.—*Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> *Abbot Gregory*.—The Ratisbon Chronicle says of him: "Vir magnæ virtutis genere Hibernus nomine Gregorius ex ordine Regularium Canonicorum S. Augustini impetravit a Christiano admitti in ordinem S. Benedicti, qui Christiano extincto apud Jacobi Ratisbonæ in Abbatibus munere suffectus, Romam ab Adriano papa consecrandus petiit." And it adds: "That in the meantime, a distinguished Irish ecclesiastic named Marianus had entered the monastery, a most learned man, who had for a long time taught the Seven Liberal and other Arts at Paris, and had been the preceptor of Adrian, who then filled the papal chair. When Gregory was admitted to an audience at Rome, Pope Adrian inquired, among other things, after his old preceptor at Paris. 'Master Marianus is well,' replied Gregory, 'and is now living a monk among us at Ratisbon.' 'God be praised,' exclaimed the Pope; 'I know not in the Catholic Church an abbot who has under him a man as excellent in wisdom, discretion, genius, eloquence, good morals, benevolence, judgment, and other divine gifts, as my Master Marianus.' Gregory returned to Ratisbon, and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where he received the money which had been collected by Christianus, with considerable additions; wherewith he purchased lands, sumptuously rebuilt the church, and added cloisters to it."—*Ed.*

with the exception of the towers; and rebuilt it from the foundations with hewn stone, and covered the roof with lead, and the floor with flags. He improved the church also by the addition of cloisters with an aqueduct in them,<sup>t</sup> which reminds us of the Cistercian monasteries erected in Austria at that time, in the cloisters of which we find an ornamental fountain projecting into the inner court.

This abbot Gregory is stated to have died on the 6th of October, 1204.<sup>u</sup> His name appears so lately as in a charter of 1204. But, as the writer of the *Vita Mariani* describes the building as already finished, we are obliged to place the period of its construction between 1150 and 1184, that is, somewhat earlier than is done by Herr v. Quast, in his Essay on the structures and buildings of the middle ages in Regensburg;<sup>v</sup> but in every other point, his conclusions are perfectly borne out by our historical data.

For this reason, and because the church of St. James belongs to the most remarkable remains of the Romanesque style in Germany, I have dwelt rather long on this subject, and shall only add a sketch of what befel the building in later times.<sup>w</sup>

Conflagrations repeatedly consumed all that was destructible by fire; but Gregory's square stone building, with the almost too richly decorated portal of the church, stood out firmly against every assault. Until the year 1293, the monastery was situated outside the town, and thereby escaped from several conflagrations which desolated Regensburg. Yet a record of the 7th of June, 1278, from which Ried (p. 16) gives extracts, informs us that it was then completely burned, so that there remained no more than the naked walls. In consequence of this, the faithful were called upon for pious contributions.

Once more, according to Paricius (p. 308), namely, in the year 1453, a sad calamity happened to the monastery of St. James, of this city, as it was entirely consumed by a great fire, which likewise destroyed the church, that had been built in a very costly manner, along with several other houses.

A century later, the fatal imperial Diet of 1546 (the beginning of the Smalcaldic war) again

<sup>t</sup> *Aqueduct*.—With the above account the Ratisbon Chronicle minutely agrees. Cambr. Evers. *ubi supra*, p. 402.—*Ed.*

<sup>u</sup> *October 1204*.—Ried, p. 10.

<sup>v</sup> *Regensburg*.—Deutsches Kunstblatt ["German Art. Journal"], 1852, No. 22.

<sup>w</sup> *Later times*.—A charter of the Emperor Sigismund, 1422, reciting and confirming a charter of Frederic II., 1212, which was communicated by Viguleus Hundius to Hugh Ward, is printed *in extenso* in his *Rumoldus*, pp. 295-298. The earlier record mentions Matthew as the abbot of St. James's, opposite the west gate of Ratisbon, to which was subject the

church in Wißen S. Petri, in the eastern suburb of the city. It recites the names of seventy denominations of land, notices seven mills, ten vineyards, three fisheries, four chapels, eight manses, besides woods, pasturages, and gardens. It is attested by one archbishop, six bishops, one king, one landgrave, two dukes, one marquis, and two earls. The earlier charter speaks only of the occupying Scoti, but the "*Inspeximus*" of 1422 called it the "*Monasterium Scotorum et Ibernicorum de majori Scotia in Ratisbona*." Ward contends that the *et* is not to be understood copulatively, but *expositively*. (*Rumold*, p. 298.)—*Ed.*

brought ruin upon this monastery, and half of it was destroyed by fire. Indeed, as Paricius (p. 319) states, this happened through the fault and carelessness of the servants of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who was then staying at Regensburg holding the Diet. During the period of the Thirty-years' war, the monastery was in ruins, but was rebuilt under abbot Alexander Baillie, in 1649-1655, and the church was likewise restored by him,—“templo nitide ornato,” as the words of his epitaph state in Paricius (p. 330). But at last, in the year 1678, as the same author informs us, the abbot Placidus Fleming “renovated the church in a very superior manner, and ornamented it with beautiful altars, and partly enlarged and partly repaired the monastery as it now stands. His epitaph says that the church which he so greatly embellished bears testimony to his works, insomuch that he may be regarded as almost its founder.”

(The sequel in next Number.)

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### CHIEFS OF THE ANTRIM MACDONNELLS PRIOR TO SORLEY BOY.

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THE MacDonnells of Antrim represent one branch of a race that, in former times, supplied kings to Ireland and lords to the Isles and Highlands of Scotland. This fact is admitted in the Letters Patent issued by James I. of England, for the investiture of Randal Mac Donnell with the dignity of a Peer, in 1617, and is asserted, indeed, as one principal reason for the distinction thus conferred. O'Flaherty, in his dedication of the *Ogygia Vindicated* to Randal, the fourth earl of Antrim, does not fail to remind that nobleman of the testimony thus borne to his illustrious descent; specifying, at the same time, a few of the leading points in the Mac Donnell pedigree. It will be admitted that the author of the *Ogygia* is no common authority on a question of this nature, and that his statements are at least derived from the best and most reliable Irish genealogists. The latter derive the MacDonnells from *Heremon*, who was the first king of the *Scoti* in Ireland. Colla, termed *Huairish*, or 'the noble,' was the twenty-ninth king of Ireland, in a direct line from Heremon. Twenty-four generations from Colla was *Somhairle*, or Sorley, thane of Argyle, whose grandson, Domhnall, or Donnell, was the chief from whom the MacDonnells, in all their family ramifications, derive their surname. Besides the Antrim family, there are many branches of Domhnall's descendants in Scotland; among whom may be principally mentioned the MacDonnells of Glengarry, the Mac Donnells of Muidert, the MacDonnells of Morer, the MacDonnells of Keppock, the MacDonnells of Slate, the MacDonnells of Glencoe, and the MacDonnells of Loop.

The Domhnall or Donnell above mentioned left a son called Angus *More*, generally known as Angus “of *Islay and Kintyre*.” This chief's son, named Angus *Oge*, married Agnes O'Cahan,