

Cataldus Rachav

A Study in the Early History of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland

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IN my article *St. Albert, Patron of Cashel*,¹ I proposed to study the tradition of Irish archbishop-Saints in mediaeval continental literature as an expression of Irish-continental consciousness of the establishment of the metropolitan system in Ireland. The *Vita sti. Albarti* illustrates the setting up of Cashel as the second metropolitan see, besides Armagh, and the influence exercised by England on the establishment of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland. In the present paper, I propose to show that the tradition of St. Cataldus illustrates two other aspects of the early history of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland, namely the origin of the see of Cashel from a donation made to the Church by the King and the subsequent subdivision of (each of) the (two) archbishopric(s) of Ireland into twelve bishoprics.

With regard to the continental tradition of Irish archbishop-Saints in general,² and of St. Cataldus in particular, we have to proceed from the negative criticism of the mediaeval tradition of Irish associations of local patrons on the Continent to a positive appreciation of the significance, indirect though historical, of these associations. The chief obstacle in this undertaking is not so much the absence of reliable sources as the maze of misunderstandings which has grown up since the original meaning of those associations was no longer perceived. Disentangling those misunderstandings and tracing them back to their origin, we may throw some light on the connection between Irish and continental hagiographical traditions and on the development of Ireland's place in continental hagiography.

Geographically speaking, the tradition of St. Cataldus, patron of Taranto, is one of the remotest ramifications of the continental tradition of Irish Saints. The tradition of St. Cataldus is remarkable also for its extraordinary corruption.

In the case of both St. Albartus and St. Cataldus, the influence of 17th century hagiography, both Irish and continental, which so far has been mainly obstructive, must be turned into a beneficial, if provocative, influence. Up to the re-publication, in 1913, of the 12th century *Vita sti. Albarti*, the tradition of this "archbishop of Cashel" could not be traced back beyond the 16th century. In the tradition of St. Cataldus,³ it still holds good, as Constanzi wrote in 1779,⁴

¹ *Mediaeval Studies* VII (1945), 21 ff.

² See the lives of Saints Livinus (J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* [New York, 1929] no. 310), Rumold (Kenney, no. 333) and Forannan (Kenney, no. 429; between 1130 and 1145), all quoted in my article on St. Albert.

³ The bibliography given by Kenney, no. 41 is not very satisfactory (see also below p. 226). Algoritiis' Office contains no account of the life of the Saint. Sirletto's Office (see below p. 219) is not mentioned. The Italian translation of Moroni's work (and Colgan's notes) by Gregorio Costanzi, Oratorian at Rome (Naples, 1779) goes back to the Latin original (Rome, 1614) and is bound together with a valuable survey of the history of St. Cataldus' cultus by Giacomo da Christiano (Naples, 1780).

Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* (1st ed. 1643-1662, 2nd ed. 1717-1722) is unoriginal. Cataldo Agostino Cassinelli, Canon of the Cathedral of Taranto, *Vita e Memoria di S. Cataldo* (Naples, 1717) is not mentioned, nor any of the numerous discussions of the tradition of St. Cataldus by Irish writers since Colgan. If Lo Jodice's *Memorie* was mentioned, Mgr. O'Riordan's *St. Cathal of Lismore* (C.T.S.I., 1905), the only book exclusively dealing with the Saint ever published outside Italy, should have been listed too.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 143. On Petrus see Du Pin, *Histoire des Controverses du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1701), p. 283, and Kirsch in *Catholic Encyclop.* XI, p. 784. J. Grammack (*Dictionary of Christian Biography* I, pp. 421 ff.) calls Petrus' account "the first short life of Cathaldus".

that Petrus de Natalibus was *il primo che abbia disteso con ordine una leggenda del uomo santo*, in so far as the short account of St. Cataldus in Petrus' *Catalogus Sanctorum* (1382) is the earliest account of the life of that Saint hitherto published.⁵

The very nature of Petrus' *Catalogus* is compilatory. How clumsily Petrus used his sources may be seen at that point in the tradition of St. Cataldus which is of special importance to us. He says that Cataldus was granted *ducatum ducis illius defuncti*, though this duke was not mentioned before. Costanzi suggested that Petrus wrote from *sicura memoria* of oral tradition and/or from ancient records, which however have never been produced. Petrus compiled his work for devotional rather than historical purposes. He omitted almost all the proper names and place-names which we find in the later tradition of St. Cataldus. For example in the record of the donation made to Cataldus, Joannes Juvenis, whose account of Cataldus in his *De antiquitate et fortuna Tarentina* (1568)⁶ is our next source after Petrus, omits the word *illius*, adding however the sentence: *Erat dux ille Meltridis Dominus*. We shall see, that wherever the later tradition gives definite place-names or proper names, these are not new inventions but go back to the source(s) on which Petrus had drawn and/or to accounts other than Petrus' based on those sources.

Until those sources are produced, it is impossible to say whether Colgan⁷ was right in suggesting that, when saying that Cataldus

omnibus recte dispositis in pace quievit (in Ireland) cuius corpus a Drogone Archiepiscopo (in Taranto) repertum (est),

Petrus omitted the story found in the later tradition of Cataldus' pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his becoming, on his return, archbishop of Taranto. This story establishes the link between the account of Cataldus' life in Ireland and his tradition in Taranto. Stories of such pilgrimages were a natural expedient to establish in the biography of a saint a connection between Ireland and some remote part of the Continent, as is obvious in the tradition of Saints Erhard and Albert. With regard to Taranto, the tradition of the Saint's pilgrimage to the Holy Land would have been quite credible, but for the fantastic chronology of St. Cataldus to which I shall refer presently. While there is ample evidence for Irishmen travelling to the Eternal City,⁸ the only Irish pilgrim to the Holy Land whose continental tradition seems to be historical, is St. Colman, patron of Lower Austria, a late and curious specimen of Irishmen whose veneration as Saints originated on the Continent.⁹

The ancient idea, peculiar to Irish monasticism, of *peregrinatio pro Christo*,¹⁰

⁵ First published 1502. I used the edition Lugdun., 1542, and Colgan's reprint (*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Louvain, 1645), pp. 542 ff.). *Il primo à scrivere de S. Cataldo fosse archivescovo ed erigesse vescovadi sotto la sua Metropolitana*, Cassinelli says of Petrus (*op. cit.*, p. 43).

⁶ Naples; reprinted Frankfurt on Main, 1600, xiii, ii.

⁷ *Dux ille Moeltulus vocabitur (Vita sti. Carthagi, Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae I (Oxford, 1910), p. 172, a parallel of special interest with regard to the numerous other analogies between the traditions of Saints Carthage and Cataldus.*

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁹ Pilgrims from Rome brought the news of St. Endeus' sanctity to Ireland (Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

¹⁰ In 1021, but his cultus and life are products of the 12th century. O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints X*, pp. 207 ff; Hogan, *Irish Eccl. Record*, III, xv, 673; MGH, SS IV, pp. 675 ff.; Gougaud, *Les Saints irlandais hors de l'Irlande* (Louvain, 1936), pp. 47 ff., and my article 'Irish Saints in Central Europe', *Irish Eccl. Record* (1942), 186.

¹¹ See Plummer's edition of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1896), II, p. 170 and Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 488. St. Fridolin, Pirmin and others were regarded as Irish merely from the synonymy of the words *peregrinus* and *Scot(t)us* (Kenney, p. 532). In Italy an interesting illustration for this is the tradition of S. Pellegrino (Margaret Stokes, *Six Months in the Apennines* [London, 1892], pp. 201 ff.)

namely on the wild Continent, produced few bishop-Saints on the Continent. Saints Columbanus, Gall, Fiacre, Fursey and their companions (whose tradition became the historical basis for the continental tradition of *the Island of Saints*) successfully refused promotion to the episcopate. The later Celtic migrant bishops were not only opposed during their lifetime by the Roman episcopal system promoted in Central Europe by St. Boniface,¹¹ but even long after their death by the later continental tradition, chiefly laid down in the lives of Irish archbishop-Saints, relating to the establishment of that system in Ireland.

Whether Petrus omitted something or whether he represents the older tradition which left it unexplained how Cataldus' body came to Taranto, he certainly shows us that Cataldus' activities in Ireland figured prominently in the tradition on which he drew. In fact, apart from the usual list of miracles, little more is said, even in the later accounts of Cataldus' activities in Taranto, than that he was archbishop there. Though I shall not concern myself in this paper with the accounts and the tradition of St. Cataldus' activities after his departure from Ireland, I must mention that the tradition of his archiepiscopate at Taranto, in conjunction with the fantastic chronology, is expressive of the tendency to give Southern Italy an ecclesiastical tradition comparable to that of other parts of the country. Cataldus was assigned to a period which made it possible to regard this stranger as the first archbishop of Taranto after the direct disciples of the Apostles. Similarly, one of the sources for the misunderstanding by modern Irish writers of the meaning of the account of Cataldus' archiepiscopate in Ireland was Colgan's unwillingness to admit that the diocesan episcopacy and the metropolitan system in Ireland were not set up until the 12th century under Anglo-continental influence.¹²

Petrus de Natalibus said that Cataldus died on May 8th, a mistake for March 8th, his *natale* in Taranto. This mistake permits us to trace a continental tradition of St. Cataldus, based on Petrus rather than on the Taranto sources. In the first literary reference to St. Cataldus outside Italy, the *Martirologe in Englysshe* (1526),¹³ we read that May 8th was *in yrelond y^e feest of saynt Catald a bysshop of many notable myracles*, (then follows a list of his miracles, without reference to place-names). This entry is found among the *addycions* made by the author of the *Martirologe*, many of which were taken from Petrus' *Catalogus*. Also the entries relating to St. Cataldus under May 8th in the *Martyrologium* of St. Peter Canisius (1562)¹⁴ and in the Carthusian Martyrology, quoted by Colgan, are clearly taken from Petrus. None of these entries refers to the tradition of Cataldus' pilgrimage.¹⁵

When, in the middle of the 16th century, the Breviary of Taranto was *restitutum iuxta ritum Romanae Ecclesiae*, an Office for the feast of the translation of St. Cataldus' relics (May 10th) by Joannes Bapt. de Algoritiis was published.¹⁶ In 1580 Cardinal Sirletto compiled an Office for the *natale* of the Saint on March 8th. The publication, in 1607, of Sirletto's Office prompted Bona-

¹¹ See below note 119.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 211 and 217 ff., also Hugh Ward, *Acta S. Rumoldi* (Louvain 1662), pp. 151 ff. Fleming (*Collectanea Sacra* [Louvain, 1667] p. 270) at least doubted whether the use of the pallium was known in Ireland before the Synod of Kells.

¹³ Henry Bradshaw Society (henceforth abbreviated B.S.) III, p. 71.

¹⁴ Dillingen. Quoted by de Sollier in his edition of *Martyrol. Usuard, AA SS Boll.* June VI (1866) p. 237, and Costanzi, *op. cit.* p. 187. That St. Peter Canisius had a clearer

historical sense than the Bollandists admitted, is shown by the fact that he is one of the few writers who gave due prominence to the curious tradition of Cataldus' archiepiscopate and the subdivision of his archbishopric into twelve suffragan bishoprics (see my article on 'St. Peter Canisius and Ireland', *The Irish Monthly*, March 1946, 129 ff.).

¹⁵ See below note 27.

¹⁶ Reprinted by the Bollandists *AA SS*, May II (1866), p. 577.

ventura Moroni to write his *Cataldiadis*, and his brother Bartholomeo to add his *Vita* of St. Cataldus, compiled *ex vetustissimis codicibus Tarentinae Ecclesiae manuscriptis*. Speaking of the tradition of St. Cataldus' archiepiscopate at Taranto, Joannes Juvenis said that

scriptura nulla extat, qua dignoscere possumus, quot annos cum Tarentinis suis vitam duxerit.

He goes on to state that, according to the former Office which used to be read by the clergy, the Saint foretold the circumstances of his own death,—a tradition referred to in Algoritiis' Office which deals only with the life of Cataldus after his departure from Ireland.

It seems that the early tradition of St. Cataldus was first of all concerned with his relics, in consequence of their translation in 1151.¹⁷ The Roman Martyrology commemorates only the translation of St. Cataldus, though in his annotated edition Baronius made a note referring also to his *natale*. Accordingly, the Bollandists dealt with St. Cataldus only under May 10th and confined themselves to records of that translation.

It has never been claimed, in fact it has been implicitly disclaimed, that there was any tradition of St. Cataldus previous to the finding of his relics in 1071. Evidence of his *cultus* is not found prior to the translation of these relics in 1151.¹⁸ During the late 12th century the Benedictines and the Normans spread devotion to St. Cataldus through practically all parts of Central and Southern Italy. Cataldus appears among the Saints painted on the pillars of the Basilica of the Nativity, under Raoul, the Anglo-Norman bishop, at Bethlehem, a fact of some interest with regard to the tradition of the Saint's pilgrimage to the Holy Land. St. Cataldus' picture is found there among those of Saints Bartholomew,¹⁹ Leonard²⁰ and Olaf, Saints most popular with the Normans, even in Ireland. It has been assumed that St. Cataldus is identical with St. Cartaud or Catas venerated at Sens and Auxerre in France.²¹

The Taranto Office formed the basis for the Office which in 1751 Thomas de Burgo O.P., after his return from Rome, proposed for the feast of St. Cataldus in Ireland, which had been first granted four years before.²² The decree granting the first liturgical calendar for All Ireland had ruled that the Offices and Masses for the feasts now officially sanctioned should be taken from approved liturgical text-books. As most of the Saints whose names were included in the first liturgical calendar for All Ireland were those who had laboured, whose *cultus* originated and, in many cases, whose Irish associations had been established, on the Continent, the liturgical text-books from which the first *Officia propria Hiberniae* were drawn were all continental. De Burgo's unofficial compilation had to be withdrawn on account of the severe criticism leveled at it by the Irish Colleges on the Continent, who were more experienced than de Burgo in the strict rules laid down during the 17th century for the compilation of new Offices. The historical lessons proposed by de Burgo for the feast of St. Cataldus on March 8th were, as he said, taken from Sirletto's Office, but de Burgo deviated from it in decisive points, thus promoting the

¹⁷ Francis Porter, *Compendium Annalium Regum Hiberniae* (Rome, 1690), p. 195 says even: 1170.

¹⁸ Tommassini, *Irish Saints in Italy* (London, 1932), pp. 401 ff. and 185; adversely reviewed by Fr. Grosjean in *Analecta Bolland.* LI (1933), 420 ff.

¹⁹ St. Bartholomew is the only minor Apostle who has a place in Irish folklore (see S. O'Suilleabhain, *A Handbook of*

Irish Folklore (Dublin, 1942), p. 343).

²⁰ See my article on 'St. Leonard in Ireland', in *Louth Archaeological Journal* X, (1945), 297 ff.

²¹ See Albers's article on Cat(h)aldus in Buchberger's *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* II (Freiburg, 1931), p. 790.

²² See the beginning of my article on St. Albert (above note 1) and the literature listed there.

corruption of the historical meaning of the tradition of St. Cataldus' archiepiscopate in Ireland.²³

After the rejection of de Burgo's *Officia*, in contrast to other feasts, that of St. Cataldus was not given new lessons;—which could have been easily obtained by just undoing de Burgo's deviations from the Taranto Office. Albert and Cataldus were the only Saints reputed to be of Irish descent and introduced from the Continent, whose feasts, though inserted in the liturgical calendar for Ireland during the 18th century, remained without proper texts, in particular, without historical lessons, up to 1903. In the case of St. Albert, this was due to the fact that, only in Ireland owing to his being adopted as patron of Cashel, was he granted a liturgical *cultus* independent of that of his friend (or brother) St. Erhard, patron of Ratisbon. In the case of St. Cataldus, the reason was that the late 18th and 19th century students of Irish church history were not sufficiently sure of the Italian tradition of the Saint. Compiled as they were by or under the influence of John Healy,²⁴ the historical lessons prescribed in 1903 for the feasts of St. Albert, St. Cataldus and many local Saints of Ireland were based on modern historical deduction rather than on liturgical tradition.

In 1916, the feast of St. Cataldus was united with that of St. Conleth, patron of the diocese of Kildare, and assigned to May 10th. Thus, on the one hand, the feast of St. Cataldus was removed from the season of Lent, in compliance with the tradition then newly enforced, that Lent should be kept as free as possible from feasts of Saints. On the other hand, assigned as it now was to the octave of its traditional date, the feast of St. Conleth clashed no longer with that of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Moreover, May 10th is also the date of the oldest feast observed in honour of St. Cataldus. Like other double feasts instituted on this occasion in Ireland (or in other parts of the Church, in compliance with the reform of 1913), the feast of Saints Conleth and Catald was given the Office of 'several Bishops and Confessors' (recently approved for such new double feasts) with syncopated historical lessons. The first two of these lessons deal with St. Conleth, the third deals with St. Cataldus. This syncopated lesson is to be regarded as the latest official summary of the tradition of St. Cataldus in Ireland. It marks the complete triumph of speculation over the historical facts.

The earliest Irish writer to mention St. Cataldus was Stephen White,²⁵ whose reference to *Cataldus episcopus primus in sua patria Ibernia, deinde Tarenti in Italia* seems to be based on the Taranto Office. The spelling *Cataldus* suggests that White wrote this passage before Henry Fitzsimmons,²⁶ another of the early Irish Jesuit hagiologists, introduced in 1611 the Hibernised spelling *Cathaldus*, when he compiled his *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae* from the manuscript of Richard Fleming S.J. This spelling was adopted by Beare O'Sullivan²⁷ and

²³ See below pp. 240-241.

²⁴ John Healy devoted to *S. Cathald* a chapter in his *Insula Sanctorum* (Dublin, 1890), pp. 457-466. It starts with the characteristic statement: *The life of S.C. has been written by the brothers Moroni; Petrus de Natalibus and the whole tradition of Cataldus' archiepiscopate and the subdivision of the archbishopric into twelve bishoprics are neglected.*

²⁵ White's work was not published until 1849 (*Dublin*), p. 37.

²⁶ See Corkery in *Studies* XXXII (1943), 265. An annotated edition of Fitzsimmons' *Catalogue* by Fr. Grosjean is found in *Féil-Sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Neill* (Dublin, 1940), p. 345. In his *Catholike Refutation* (Roan,

1608), Fitzsimmons does not mention Cataldus (or Albartus) but Frigidian (see below p. 227) and Hildulph (Albert's reputed brother). Cataldus' name is not found either in the list of Irish patron-Saints on the Continent in the *Panegyricus S. Patricii* by Guillelmus Thyraeus, a Cork priest (Douai, 1617), p. 207.

²⁷ *Historiae Iberniae Catholicae Compendium* (Lisbon, 1621), ed. M. Kelly (Dublin, 1851), pp. 47 and 50. The spelling *Cathaldus* is also found in the manuscript martyrology by Hermann Greven who entered the Saint under May 8th (de Sollier, *op. cit.*, p. 233). His entry, like those of the *Martirologe* and of Canisius' *Martyrologium* (above notes 13 ff.), begins with the words *In Hibernia*.

extended also to his own list of Irish patron Saints on the Continent, where he entered *Cathaldus episc. et patron. Tarentin.* under May 5th. Fitzsimons had May 8th, though he added a reference to Petrus de Natalibus l. 4, c. 142; the figure "142" was corrected into "145" by Ussher, which shows that neither O'Sullivan²⁸ nor Francis Porter,²⁹ who reprinted Fitzsimon's list, looked up Petrus' *Catalogus*. White wrote in Bavaria, Fitzsimons in France, O'Sullivan in Portugal, Porter in Rome. Other Irish writers on the Continent such as Petrus Redanus,³⁰ John Colgan,³¹ Anthony Bruodin³² and John Lynch³³ spread the fame of St. Cat(h)aldus still further afield. Ware³⁴ and Ussher³⁵ were the first to publish accounts of St. Cataldus in his reputed native country. The tradition of "reasoning" on the tradition of St. Cataldus was started by Colgan, continued by Lanigan³⁶ and O'Hanlon³⁷ and finally summed up in a popular pamphlet (the only book on St. Cataldus ever published in Ireland) by the Rev. Michael O'Riordan.³⁸ Thus, the tradition of St. Cataldus is a typical cross-section of the history of Irish hagiography.

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Berlanger of Taranto³⁹ stated that in 1071 archbishop Drogo of Taranto found among the bodily remains in a marble sarcophagus unearthed at the building of the new cathedral *crucem auream nomen sancti Latinis litteris designantem*. This cross and the inscription CATALDUS have been assigned by a modern archaeologist to the 7th or 8th century, and the existence at Taranto of a clerk of some importance bearing that name at that time is therefore regarded as *a fact more or less certainly established*. Joannes Juvenis says that that cross contained *nomen C. T. Latinis duabus literis significantem*, but the Office added in 1615 to Sirletto's Office for the feast of the invention of the relics of St. Cataldus⁴⁰ says that on this cross *sancti Praesulis nomen erat descriptum*. I do not know whether it has been investigated if the letters C and T in that inscription are older than the rest.⁴⁰ Fitzsimmons's spelling *Cathaldus* was justified by Colgan⁴¹ saying that

Cataldus Hibernice Cathal vocatur, et hunc juxta vocis etymon. Cathaldus debet scribi non Cataldus.

²⁸ Grosjean, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁰ *Commentaria in I Machabaeorum* (Lugd., 1651), Dedicatio §19: Cataldus.

³¹ See above note 5.

³² *Propugnaculum Veritatis* (Prague, 1669), see below note 74.

³³ *Cambrensis Eversus* (1662) ed. M. Kelly (Dublin, 1848-1852), II, pp. 646 and 650, and *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* (1672) ed. J. F. O'Doherty (Dublin, 1944) II, p. 215.

³⁴ *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae*, I, i, Harris' ed. of *Works* I (Dublin, 1739), p. 549.

³⁵ *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, XVI = *Whole Works* VI (Dublin, 1869), pp. 300 ff.

³⁶ *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* III (Dublin, 1822), pp. 122 ff.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, III (1873), pp. 262 ff. and V, pp. 185 ff.

³⁸ See above note 3.

³⁹ *AA SS Boll.* May II, p. 569.

⁴⁰ O'Riordan, *op. cit.*, p. 15 says that the Office of 1580/1607 was used for both the *natale* and the *translatio*, since 1851 also for the new feast of the Patronage of St. Catal-

dus (January 10). In 1892, however, distinct Offices were prescribed for the two ancient feasts, while the old Office was retained only for the *patrocinium*.

The frontispiece of the Office of 1615 is the same as that in Moroni's *Cataldiadis*. One of the scenes depicted in it shows the Saint's departure from Ireland, standing in the rear of the boat and blessing the people on the shore.

⁴¹ O'Riordan says (*op. cit.*, p. 14), that he was informed by the present archbishop of Taranto that this cross bears the inscription *Cataldus, Famulus Christi, Episcopus Tarentinus*.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. 545 ff. Right from the title of his book, O'Riordan speaks of the Saint as *Cathal*. Colgan did not tell us how to dispose of the ending *-aldus*; Joannes Juvenis says that this ending is frequent *in ea insula, ut Mogaldus, Dualdus, Osaldus, Helbaldus, Haraldus, Arcibaldus*. We shall see that the 12th century writers knew more of Celtic philology than the 17th century writers.

Colgan was so sure of this that, in his reprint of Moroni's *Vita*, he changed the spelling on his own authority. It is curious that among the numerous Cathals mentioned in the Irish Annals⁴² between the 8th and 11th centuries there is not one whose name was entered into the Irish lists of "Saints". Colgan boldly adopts the Latinised form *Cathaldus* when he speaks of some of those Cathals,⁴³ and John Lynch⁴⁴ follows him in this usage. Perhaps Colgan's spelling was also influenced by the words *Cathlaido peregrino* in the *Vita Tripartita sti. Patricii* which he rendered by *peregrinum nomine Cathaldum*.⁴⁵ In his article *St. Cataldus or Cathaldus*, O'Hanlon⁴⁶ went so far as to give even the name of St. Cataldus' reputed birthplace in Ireland the form of *Cathandum*. In modern literature, Albers headed his article on our Saint *Cat(h)aldus*, while Dr. Kenney adopted the spelling *Cathaldus*.⁴⁷

It appears that at later elevations of the relics of St. Cataldus, the inscription on "his" pectoral cross was further amplified.⁴⁸ In the late 11th or early 12th century the letters RA and in the late 12th century the letters CHAV were added. We do not know to whom Moroni refers when he says that

patriam ejus *nonnulli* Rachau fuisse affirmant, in Numeniae partibus quondam non obscuri nominis urbem, moti fortasse quod *in multis libris* Cataldus Rachau scriptum requiritur.

Moroni himself adhered to the tradition that Catandum was Cataldus' birthplace, Rachau his (archiepiscopal) see. His note makes it clear that he did not see the golden cross, which for some time was attached to a statue of the Saint; apparently he did not even realise that what he found *in many books* was taken from that cross.

My contention is that there is an internal connection between the inscription of the word *Rachau* and the Irish associations attributed to St. Cathaldus. As the word *Rachau* does not occur in Petrus' account it is hard to say whether the inscription produced those Irish associations or vice versa. With their usual acrimony in matters of Irish Saints, the Bollandists said that those Irish associations were invented

a vago quodam Hiberno praetextu pietatis, dictata ex iis quae passim de Hibernicis narrantur (by the Bollandists) pro genio nationis poetarum suorum fabellis facile credulae.

In the cases of both St. Albert and St. Cataldus it can be shown that even if

⁴² See the indices to the *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan) and the *Annals of Ulster* (ed. Hennessy). Canon P. Power in his *Waterford and Lismore* (Cork, 1937), pp. 5 ff.) said that Cataldus' name is found in Irish martyrologies. Did he mean Fitzsimon's, or O'Clery's in which the entry for May 10th *Cataldus epscop, Tairant i Lethuibh* (Italy) is *by a more recent hand* (*The Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin 1864), p. 125)?

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 629 and 298 with regard to the abbot of Kildare and the son of Roderic, whose obits the Four Masters have under A.D. 747 and 1043.

⁴⁴ *De Praesulibus*, II, pp. 104 and 305 with regard to *Cathail Martir airchinneach Corcaighe* and Cathal McCormac, the successor of St. Brendan, whose obits the Four Masters have under A.D. 1034 and 961. The earlier Protestant writers (Usher and

Ware) have Cataldus, presumably derived from Dempster, whose attempt to claim our Saint for Scotland need not be discussed.

⁴⁵ W. Stokes' ed. (1887), 68 (*Rawlins*, 512) and 356 (*Book of Armagh*) = Colgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 and 363, note: *Jocelino Cathladius, forte is qui aliis Cathubius vocatur et colitur* April 8 (see *Martyrology of Tallaght*, B.S., lxviii, 31; *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 554).

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 185 and 189. Grammack (*Dict. of Christian Biography* I, p. 421) speaks of *Cathaldus, Cathal*.

⁴⁷ See above note 3. This spelling was also adopted by the Irish Office of 1916, while the Litany of Irish Saints (approved by the Holy See in 1921) has *Cataldus* (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, V, xviii (1921), 434)!

⁴⁸ G. Blandamura, *Un cimelio del secolo vii esistente nel Duomo de Taranto* (Lecce, 1917), quoted by Tommassini.

an Irishman took a hand in establishing their Irish associations, this was due to the desire for Irish associations, characteristic of 12th century continental hagiography, rather than to Irish megalomania.⁴⁹

When we compare the word *Rachau* with other place-names located in Ireland in the literature contemporary with that inscription such as the tradition of *Artinacha*—*Archamacha*—*Archimomska* in the German *Tundalus*⁵⁰ and *Domnachmor* in the *Vita sti. Foranani* (where this place-name is expressly described as characteristic of *barbarica sermocinatio*,⁵¹ we may realise that the guttural sound of *Rachau* is expressive of continental ideas of the sound of the Irish language.⁵² According to Petrus de Natalibus and Joannes Juvenis, the names of Cataldus' parents were *Eucho* and *Athena* (=Ethne?). Moroni has obviously the older tradition, saying that the names were *Echo* and *Achlena*, which were, as Colgan⁵³ stated, well-known names in ancient Irish hagiography. Moroni also added the name of *Dicho*,⁵⁴ a prophet who educated Cataldus. Each of these proper names contains a guttural, which in the case of *Achlena* and *Echo* (Irish: *Eochaidh*) is hard as in *Rachau*.

The Hellenisation of these last two names is expressive of the classical tendency, which can be observed both in Irish literature and in continental

⁴⁹ No other Irish Saint, perhaps not even St. Columbanus, is the object of a cult so widespread over Italy as St. Cathald, venerated under the name of San Cataldo as a prodigious wonderworker, throughout the country from Lombardy to Sicily. The historical figure of the man has until recently been wrapt in mist (Tomassini in Cleary's translation, pp. 401 ff.). The tradition of St. Cataldus is a most important chapter in the history of Ireland's place in Italian hagiography (see my article on 'The Literary Tradition of Irish Saints in the Order of Canons Regular of the Lateran' *Comparative Literature Studies* XVII/XVIII (1945), 20 ff. and XIX (1946), 17 ff. Pico della Mirandola wrote verses on him (O'Hanlon, p. 197). Bonaventura Moroni's *Cataldiadis* is an interesting example of late Renaissance poetry. J. G. Kohl, the globe-trotter, in his *Reisen in Irland* (1843), I, p. 390 quoted the line, frequently referred to in the tradition of the Saint: Gaude, felix Hibernia, de qua proles alma progreditur!

(auf dem Grab des berühmten Irländers Cataldus, der in Tarent in Italien starb).

The tradition of St. Cataldus was frequently linked up with that of St. Donatus of Lecce (Tomassini, p. 410), who is either described as his father or as his brother (Montalembert, *Les Moines de l'Occident* III (1866), pp. 314 ff.). This Donatus is perhaps identical with his namesake at Fiesole (Kenney, No. 421), as both are commemorated on October 22nd. In Ireland, this is only the feast of the latter; since 1747 St. Donatus' feast has remained without historical lessons, though the tradition of this Saint is exceptionally good.

Warren (*Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* [1881], p. 26) and Gougaud (*Christianity in Celtic Lands* [1931], p. 159) obviously regarded the tradition of Cataldus' activities in Ireland as negligible; In Gougaud's *Les Saints irlandais*, however, the rich tradition of St. Cataldus in Italy is not referred to.

⁵⁰ See my article on St. Albert, note 41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, note 63b, and above note 2.

⁵² As Curtis (*Studies* VIII [1919], 254) noted, Lynch (above note 33) said that Irish equalled if it did not surpass the German itself in inspiring terror. Compare Goethe's description of the *unbändige Lachen* provoked by the barbarian sound of *Hibernisch* at the celebrations of the Epiphany at the Propaganda in Rome (*Briefe*, Weimar edition XXXIV, p. 153). Dietrich Hegewisch, professor in Kiel, the author of the first German history of Ireland (*Uebersicht der irländischen Geschichte* (Altona, 1806) says that one of the reasons why Irish history had been so much neglected on the Continent, was that Irish names were so difficult: Sie sind schwer auszusprechen, schwer zu behalten und beleidigen das Ohr statt es zu bezaubern. Wenn wir in der griechischen Geschichte statt Aristides, Themistokles, Leonidas, Epaminondas, lauter Namen find würden wie Phelim O'Neal, Mac Dermot, Mac Murragh, ich weiss nicht, ob nicht sehr viel von dem Reiz der griechischen Geschichte verschwinden würde...

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 452. For *Eochaidh* see Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910; henceforth abbreviated V.S.H.), II, p. 357. The story of St. Patrick's baptising King Echo is contained in the 12th century German poem *Patricius* (see my article on 'Early References to Irish Saints in German Literature', to appear soon in *Speculum*). Regarding *Achlena*, Colgan says that it was the name of the mothers of Saints Fintan and Lugadius; however in V.S.H. II, pp. 96 and 207 and Colgan's *Acta*, p. 452, the mothers of these Saints are given different names; O'Hanlon, p. 185, says that Colgan's statement was derived from Oengus' list of the mothers of Saints.

⁵⁴ This name is definitely Irish; a Saint of that name was among St. Patrick's disciples (J. P. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick* (London, 1905), pp. 85 ff. and the index to Stokes' ed. of *Vita Tripartita*).

biographies of Irish Saints at the time of the Othonian renaissance.⁵⁵ There is an obvious relationship in the casts between the tradition of St. Cataldus and the *Vita* of St. Livinus,⁵⁶ another Irish-continental archbishop-Saint:

Cataldus	Livinus
Echo or Eucho	Theagnius
Achlena or Athena	Agalinia (or -unia)
Dicho	Menalchius (L.'s predecessor as archbishop)
Meltridis	Colomagus (king).

When we add the names of Helimas and Sympronius, *energumeni*, and of *Abdias Scotigena*⁵⁷ *paralyticus*, the proper-names in the *Vita sti. Livini* appear to be more thoroughly hellenised than those in the tradition of St. Cataldus. On the other hand, Foillanus and Killianus Livinus' disciples at whose request, Bonifatius says, the *Vita sti. Livini* was written, are Irish, while the names of Cataldus' companions on his pilgrimage, Euprepus and Baronophrius, are Graeco-Italian.⁵⁸ The hellenising tendency in the proper-names of the tradition of St. Cataldus may be an explanation of the attempt made by the Bollandists to identify Rachau with Ragusa.

Colgan has offered several suggestions regarding places in Ireland to be identified with Rachau. One of his suggestions was Rathen, now Rahen in South Meath (Co. Offaly). We shall see that the tradition of St. Cataldus' being trained at Lismore induced Colgan to assign him to a period after the life-time of St. Carthagus, the founder of the school of Lismore.⁵⁹ Before coming to Lismore, St. Carthagus had been established at Rathen, a place from which he was called *Carthach Raithin*,⁶⁰ an expression which bears a striking

⁵⁵ E. G. Cox, 'The Classical Tendencies in Mediaeval Irish Literature', *Philological Quarterly*, III (1924), 267 ff. This tendency is a derivation from the synchronisation of Irish and Greek history since the 8th century (McNeill in *Proc. of the Royal Irish Academy* 1910, C, 147). Compare, for contrast, the list of proper names in the *Vita sti. Fursaei* (Kenney, No. 296). The Hellenisation of proper-names in 12th (and later) century Irish and Irish-continental hagiography was confined to the Latin texts.

⁵⁶ See above note 2, and my article on St. Albert, 35 ff.

⁵⁷ Where the Taranto Office of 1580 says that *Galli, Angli, Scoti et Theutonae* were among Cataldus' disciples at Lismore, Joannes Juvenis speaks of *Francigenae, Angli, Theutonisci et Scotigenae*. For *Anglicus* see my article on St. Albert note 23b. For *Theutonae* see below p. 229 and note 78.

⁵⁸ Colgan, p. 556.

⁵⁹ The later writers took full advantage of this statement. According to Lynch (see above note 33) and Butler (see below note 68) Cataldus was the immediate successor of Carthagus (see above note 44). Margaret Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 202 discovered that "Cathaldus was born in Waterford about the year 617". It is futile to list all the speculations on the chronology of St. Cataldus; one only wonders whether one should describe them as brazen or naïve.

⁶⁰ Not only in the *Vita sti. Carthagi* (V.S.H. I, pp. 170 ff.) but already in *Félire Oengusso* (B.S. XIX, p. 124) the manuscripts have *raithin, rathin, rathain* and *rothain*. Manuscript F's margin note (*ibid.*, p. 132)

to the word *Carthaig: i. Mocuta Lissmoir* is apparently based on the entry in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* (B.S. LXVIII, 42): *Carthagi i. Mochutu Lis Moir*. In the (later) Gaelic version of the *Vita* (*Irish Text Soc.* XVI (1914), p. 91) we have *Mocuda Raithin*. In the tradition of St. Colmain mac Luachain (see below note 110) Carthagus is called *Mochuta Lis Moir* (Kuno Meyer's ed., p. 20). The parallel between this close connection between Lismore and Rathen in the tradition of St. Carthagus and the association between Lismore and Rachau in the tradition of St. Cataldus is striking. However right from the name of the Saint, this parallel is based on the Latin tradition (see below pp. 229 and 234).

Carthagus completely eclipsed the ancient founder of Raithen, St. Camelacus (Kenney, no. 88 and pp. 451 ff.; O'Clery's *Martyrology of Donegal* has *Caomlach O Raithin*).

Félire Oengusso commemorates on March 11th (*ed. cit.*, p. 81) *Constantin ri Rathin*. Manuscript R² has a long note on him (*ibid.*, p. 93 ff.) saying that this *comarba* (in this case really: first successor) *Mocuta Rathain a nDelbna Ethra i Midi* was a king of Britain who came on a pilgrimage to Rathen at the time of Mochutu. He sold the goodness of the earth for pilgrimage in order to gain heaven. He gave himself to manual labor like any monk a-serving God, and 'tis he that marked out (*dororainn*) *chill i. Raithin*, and dug its dyke and bettered *cepach Cusantin* south of Rathen. (See below pp. 230-231 the tradition of St. Cataldus' building the church of Rachau).

resemblance to the inscription of the cross in Taranto, especially when we assume with the Office prescribed in 1903 for St. Carthagus' feast that Rathen should be spelt *Rachan*.⁶¹ O'Hanlon⁶² had prepared the way for the assimilation of Rachau with Rathen when *suggesting* (in order to make Colgan's surmise more acceptable) that 'for Rachau we should read Rachen'. Indeed there is a parallel to this in the change from the ancient place-name of Rachlinn to the modern form of Rathlinn.⁶³ The most important point in Colgan's suggestion was that, if it was accepted, Cataldus might be regarded as a monastic bishop of Lismore and that the tradition of his subdividing the *archiepiscopatus Rachau* into twelve suffragan bishoprics might be interpreted as a corrupted version of the ordination under "Cathal" at Raithin of twelve other bishops.

The official tradition, however, has adopted another suggestion of Colgan's according to which Rachau is Shanrahan or Old-Raghan, a townland in South Tipperary, just outside the borders of the dioceses of Waterford and Cork. O'Riordan⁶⁴ has suggested that Shanrahan was an old diocese which was later absorbed as e.g. the diocese of Kilmacduagh was absorbed by Galway. O'Hanlon gave greater weight to Colgan's suggestion by adding to his article on St. Cataldus an illustration of the ruins of Shanrahan!⁶⁵ Shanrahan has the advantage of being not so far from Lismore as Rahen; the Irish students of the tradition of St. Cataldus invariably assumed that the statement made by Moroni that Catandum was not far from Lismore, should be applied automatically to Rachau.⁶⁶ The Office of 1903 definitely speaks of his episcopal see *in loco hodie Shanrahan nuncupato* and the syncopated lesson of 1916 raises Shanrahan to the rank of a diocese. When in 1931 an Irish bishop published *The Roman Missal* with the supplement for Ireland, he stated that *St. Cathald for some time ruled the Church in the ancient diocese of Shanrahan*. Unfortunately, Dr. Kenney's summary of the tradition of St. Cathaldus has done but little to clear up this maze of misunderstandings.⁶⁷

Of his existence, as bishop of Tarentum in the 7th century, there can be little doubt, but the circumstantial account of his career in late sources, which makes him an Irishman, a monk at Lismore⁶⁸ . . . is manifestly fictitious.

⁶¹ For the transition from Rathen to Rachen compare the transition from Athena to Achlena, also from Arthimacha to Archamacha (above p. 224).

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 195. Lanigan has occasionally *Raschau*, a misprint?

⁶³ *Irische Texte*, IV, 1 (Leipzig, 1900), p. 371. DeBurgo speaks of diocese *Rathaensis*, while Ughelli and Lynch have *Rachnensis*.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

⁶⁵ In *Waterford Archaeological Journal* XI (1905), 53, the foundations of St. Cathal's church at Shanrahan are referred to.

⁶⁶ According to Healy this is "quite evident from the Saint's Life" (see above note 24). Healy reasoned himself out of the association between Meath and Munster by saying that after Carthage's expulsion from Meath, "it could not have been tolerated that a Munster prince (!) should be appointed to any part of Meath (*op. cit.*, p. 462). Lynch (*De Praesulibus*, II, p. 125) said that Cathaldus was bishop *non* (*ut ego quidem existimo*) *in Rachnensi diocesi nullus enim locus nomen illud ferens in Hibernia existit, in regione quidem Desiorum in qua Lismoria collocatur, pagus est Rathen*

dictus, sed tam obscurus ut episcopi titulum numquam tulisse traditur. Carthagus was a non-resident bishop of Lismore. (Lynch, like Healy, refers only to Moroni). The corruption of the tradition may be seen from O'Riordan's statement: "When Lismore was in its glory, *it is said*, that Raghan was a place of importance, but it passed through its decline and has become the name of a townland" (*loc. cit.*).

⁶⁷ One of the most popular accounts of St. Cataldus is that in Alban Butler's *Lives of Saints*. Thurston's note (in the London, 1936 edition, V, p. 122) says that this is another case where we know next to nothing of the life of the Saint, but have long accounts of the veneration paid to what were believed to be his relics" (sources: Bollandists and Ughelli!) A portion of these relics is owned by St. Isidore's, the Irish Franciscan College at Rome (Gregory Cleary, *Luke Wedding* (Rome, 1925), p. 223).

⁶⁸ Already Montalembert stated: "Il avait présidé à la grande école monastique de Lismore. Grâce à son zèle et à son succès cette école était devenue une sorte d'uni-

Except for saying that Cataldus was *ex partibus Hiberniae oppido quod dicitur Cataldum*, Petrus de Natalibus mentions no Irish place-names. Joannes Juvenis uses the same expression but apart from giving the name of the town as Catandum, adds that it was *Numeniae*. Moroni in his list of *errata* corrected *Numenia* into *Mononia*, a correction which was adopted by the Roman reprint of Sirletto's Office in 1615. Colgan corrected *Mononia* into *Momononia*. The spelling *Mumenia* is quite common in 12th century Irish hagiographical literature,⁶⁹ and the misspelling *Numenia* may be compared with the misspelling of *Artinacha* for *Artimacha*, which was of great importance for the tradition of St. Albert. The identification of *Numenia* with Munster is obvious from the only place-name mentioned in the tradition of St. Cataldus, the identification of which offers no difficulties, namely that of Lismore.

That Moroni was the first to mention *Lesmoriam* as the place where young Cataldus *studiorum causa degebat*, is another sign of his drawing from the sources. Outside the tradition of St. Cataldus, the first works of continental literature to mention the name of Lismore are St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy*⁷⁰ and the *Vita sti. Albarti*.⁷¹ The introduction on a large scale of Irish place-names is a characteristic of 12th century works of continental literature whose scene is laid in Ireland. As the most interesting parallel in this respect to the tradition of St. Cataldus, I mention the earliest *Vita* of St. Fridianus of Lucca, where we hear that after being educated in *Candida* (Whiterne) in England this son of the king of *Ulaid* went back in *Hiberniam et in loco qui vocatur Machili habitum religionis sumpsit*. Colgan's suggestion that Fridianus of Lucca is identical with Finnian of Moville is chiefly based on his remark that

mendose in exemplari quo usus sum, legebatur Machili pro Macbile, cum nullo in Hibernia Ecclesia Machili dicta.⁷²

While it is not the purpose of this paper to examine this suggestion, it may be noted that *Machili* is another Irish place-name with a hard guttural. The earliest *Vita* of St. Fridianus is posterior to 1171, that is the same period when the *Vita sti. Albarti* originated.

Prior to Colgan's suggestion that, on account of the reference to Lismore, Cataldus should be assigned to the 7th century, Antonius Carraciolus, an early 17th century Neapolitan historian, had pointed out that the tradition of Cataldus' pilgrimage to the Holy Land made it clear that the Saint could not have lived before the Gothic invasions.⁷³ Nevertheless the tradition assigning

versité". (*loc. cit.*). Butler, *loc. cit.* said that he was "a learned Irish monk who for some time was regent of (Thurston changed: presided over) the great school of Lismore after the death of its founder St. Carthach".

It is hardly necessary to refute the Bollandists' suggestion that Rachau is identical with Raphoe (*op. cit.*, p. 576). The Bollandists add the despondent remark that before the Synod of Kells the subdivision of dioceses in Ireland was so obscure that the only thing one might reasonably assume is that when leaving Ireland, Cataldus was *episcopus in aliquo loco*.

⁶⁹ V.S.H. II, p. 336. Of particular interest is the phrase in *partibus Muminensium quas iam fide Christiana repleverat* in *Vita IV S. Patricii* (Esposito in *Hermathena* No. 50 1937), p. 140). See below pp. 228-229. The

reference most widely spread on the Continent to *regio Muminensium* (12th cent. Leipzig manuscript: *Muminensium*, Jubinal: *Mimensium*) is found in the beginning of the *Navigatio S. Brendani* (Kenney, No. 203, NB1). The Italian version replaces the mysterious reference to *Stagnili* in that district by a locality in Northern Italy.

⁷⁰ See the list of place-names prefacing Lawlor's edition (New York, 1920).

⁷¹ See my article on St. Albert, p. 26 and note 36d.

⁷² Kenney, no. 40, that is, the chapter just preceding that on St. Cataldus.

⁷³ Thurston, *loc. cit.*, suggested that the tradition of Cataldus' bringing the faith to Taranto (in reality, the tradition expressly states that Cataldus is told by an angel that Taranto has already been Christianised by

Cataldus to the middle of the second century survived in Italy and among the Irish writers. Of Joannes Juvenis' statement that Cataldus lived at the time of Adrian, it has been suggested that the first Pope of that name rather than the Roman Emperor might be meant. Of Moroni's statement that Cataldus lived in CLXVI, the Bollandists suggested it might be a misreading for DLXVI. Anthony Bruodin synchronised Cathaldus's episcopate at Taranto with the reign of *Carolus Magnus* (*Cathoir Mór*) in Ireland (A.D. 119-125).⁷⁴ All this is sheer speculation, which shows merely the gradual fading out of the significance which the chronological data had in the original tradition.

In the Irish tradition of St. Cataldus, the misunderstanding of the account given in the sources of the Saint's archiepiscopate in Rachau started with Colgan. To Petrus' statement that Cataldus *totam insulam convertit*, Colgan noted: *Rectius in Officio ejus lect. V. legitur: universam provinciam Rachau. Rectius*, because whether Cataldus lived in the 2nd or 7th century, no Irishman would credit him with more than promoting Christianity in a part of Ireland. However, in the 12th century *Vita sti. Albei*,⁷⁵ we read that this *Mummensium preses*

circumibat totam Hiberniam . . . et multos ibi convertit ad fidem, sed non omnes quia voluit Dominus ut beatus Patricius episcopus qui post Albeum in Hiberniam venit, converterit omnes ad fidem Hibernences.⁷⁶

The *Vita sti. Albei* like the *Vita sti. Albarti* illustrates the tendency of Munstermen during the 12th century to elevate the archiepiscopal see of Munster at the expense of Armagh. Both works speak of Armagh as an episcopal see, while they lay great stress on the archiepiscopal rank of the see in Munster. The *Vita sti. Albei* points out that the see in Munster has an older tradition than Armagh can claim and that it was only by voluntary submission to Divine dispensation that Albeus left to Patrick the rank of Apostle of Ireland; in fact, the (later) manuscript *S* of the *Vita sti. Albei* called Patrick

St. Mark) means that he brought there the Roman rite. We shall see that this explanation could be applied rather to the tradition of St. Cataldus' archiepiscopate in Ireland. It is amusing to see how Irish and Italian authors have exchanged their arguments in reinforcing their speculations on Cataldus' place in the 7th century, without regard to the sources.

A typical example on the Irish side is J. H. Todd's *St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1864), pp. 196 ff.: Cathaldus of Taranto has undoubted claim to be considered an Irishman . . . The ancient manuscript of his Life (note: published by Colgan) preserved in the archives of the Church of Taranto, tells us that he was just born before the death of the emperor Trajan . . . The truth, however, leaks out in the Life just referred to, where we read that Cathaldus, before he left Ireland, was a teacher in the school of Lismore. Therefore Cathaldus cannot have left Ireland much before the middle of the 7th century. He belonged to the second order of Saints . . .

In his paper 'On Ancient Literary Frauds and Forgeries in Spain and Italy and their Bearing on Events Recorded in Irish and other Celtic Annals' (*Proc. R. Irish Academy*, VIII [1863], 363), R. R. Madden discussed the prediction connected with the discovery

of the relics of *S. Cataldus* or *Cathaldus*, bishop of Ratheney (the church of Raheny, Co. Dublin, which however bears the ancient and unique dedication to one St. Assan. J. H.) according to the *Geniales Dies* III, p. 15 by Alexander ab Alexandris. Alexander died in 1529, his work was printed in Frankfurt 1591; I used the edition Leiden, 1673, where the passage in question is found in I, p. 734. Alexander says implicitly that Cataldus lived in the second century.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 879.

⁷⁵ *V.S.H.* I, pp. 54 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* on St. Patrick's meeting the king in *civitate regali Casel. Ibi vero accepit Patricius magistrum suum* (Ailbe; the Irish text says: as his confessor), *quia erat valde humilis. Tunc Rex Engus et Patricius* (see below pp. 233 ff.) *ordinaverunt ut in civitate et cathedra sancti Albei esset archiepiscopi omnium Memonensium semper. Ms. S: Tunc Patricius obtulit Albeo omnes viros Muminensium, ut esset eorum pater, et regem Engussum in manum Albei. Ms. R.: Tradidit potestatem suam Helueo super Momonenses, sicut ipse receperat a papa super omnes Hibernenses* (compare *Vita sti. Declani*, *V.S.H.* II, p. 45). On this *oblatio* see below pp. 235 ff.

totius Hiberniae insulae secundus patronus. In view of the fact that he was writing for people who knew next to nothing of Irish church history, the author of the tradition of St. Cataldus could afford to represent the Saint as the one who converted all Ireland, to suppress the mention of any other archiepiscopal see in Ireland besides that established by him, and to trace back the tradition of that see to the second century, induced, certainly, by the desire of the people for whom he wrote, to establish an ancient tradition for the see of Taranto.

Joannes Juvenis said that Cataldus' fame spread among the nations outside Ireland. This is almost a stock phrase in Irish hagiography;⁷⁷ the relationship with the *Vita sti. Carthagi* seems to be the most obvious:

*Fama ejus totam Hiberniam et Britanniam insulam implevit et multa e diversis provinchiis ad eum venerunt . . . viri religiosi ex omni parte Hiberniae et non solum, sed ex Anglia et Britannia.*⁷⁸

I mention parenthetically, that a comparative study of the Latin and Irish lives of Irish Saints would show that the former were written for foreign consumption rather than for Ireland, and the spreading of the manuscripts of those lives as far as Austria and Italy shows that the writers succeeded in their aim. The reference to Ireland as an island, which we find also in Petrus' account of Cataldus, always betrays the continental view-point.⁷⁹ The reference to the foreign nations induced Colgan to assume that Cataldus could not have lived before the school of St. Carthage had attained an international reputation, a considerable time after its foundation.⁷⁹ In reality, the tradition of St. Cataldus seems to be an attempt to trace the tradition of Lismore further back than the time of St. Carthage. While in tracing the tradition of the archiepiscopal see of Munster the names of St. Patrick or Armagh were not mentioned, in tracing the tradition of Lismore St. Carthage's name is not mentioned, though in this case it is not suggested that Cataldus was the founder.⁸⁰

Of the references made by Joannes Juvenis to foreigners attending Cataldus' school, that to *Theutones* is the most remarkable. However, even with regard to this reference we may trace a parallel. In the *Vita sti. Boecii* (Buite) we read: *Fama ejus . . . divulgata iunxerunt se ei quidam viri sancti de Germania . . .*⁸¹ I assume that these references to Germans studying in ancient Ireland were made in order to strengthen the position of the congregation of Irish monasteries at that time established in Central Europe under the leadership of St. James' Ratisbon.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Vita sti. Fursaei* (Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 77): *Religiosis undique viris ad eum confluentibus. Vita sti. Berachi* (V.S.H. I, p. 86): *Fama sanctitatis ejus per provinciam (!) Hibernie diffusa, ecce ad eum ex diversis terre partibus confluant.*

⁷⁸ See above note 57; V.S.H. I, pp. 178 and 197, also in the (later) Gaelic version, ed. Power in *Early Irish Text Soc.* XVI (1914), p. 93. Compare: *Non solum Scotica gens, verum quoque Britanni et Hibernienses populi et circumquaque regionum finitimi cum suis principibus admirabantur ejus laudis praeconia* (*Vita sti. Livini*, PL 87, 338). The reference to the international reputation of Cataldus is almost the only link which the present-day Irish Office for May 10th still has with the Taranto tradition.

^{78b} See e.g. the beginning of Moroni's

Cataldiedi (above p. 220): *Oceani, Divum Hesperii, Phoebique cadenti, Immortale decus, nulli pietate secunda Glacialis Ibernia.*

⁷⁹ See above note 59.

⁸⁰ Just as in the tradition of St. Albert it was implied that he was not the first archbishop of Cashel. And as in the tradition of St. Albert no mention is made of St. Ailbe, so in the tradition of St. Cataldus no reference is made to Carthagus (the equation *Albeus: Albartus = Carthagus: Cataldus* is striking). In both traditions it is implied that the scene is laid in very ancient times, up to then not yet treated by historians.

⁸¹ V.S.H. I, p. 88; Kenney, no. 163.

⁸² See my article on 'Irish Monastic Activities in Eastern Europe', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* VI, lxx (1945), 394-400.

The *Vita sti. Carthagi* was written at Lismore in the early 12th century and is an early specimen of the numerous Latin lives of Irish Saints which contain valuable material for the ecclesiastical history and topography of the 12th century rather than the earlier period of which they (pretend to) treat. It is in particular by comparison with the contemporary continental lives of Saints reputed to be of Irish descent that it appears that those lives are a valuable source of 12th century Irish history. Apart from the Irish and Latin lives of St. Carthage there exist some smaller Irish texts of the same period relating to this Saint.⁸⁵ One of these emphasizes the duties of the laity towards the local church, another one traces the history of Rathen down to 1156, a third describes St. Carthage's expulsion from Rathen, which in 12th century proverbs was commemorated as one of the meanest things ever done in Munster history⁸⁴ and as one of the 'three worst counsels that were done through the counsels of saints'.⁸⁵

The date 1156 is remarkable. St. Bernard's *Life of St. Malachy* and the *Visio Tundali*⁸⁶ were written shortly before the middle of the 12th century. The tradition of St. Cataldus starts with the translation of his relics in 1151. The *Vita sti. Albarti* is dependent on the *Visio Tundali* and was written probably during the sixties of the 12th century. The tradition of St. Livinus illustrates the early history of the archbishopric of Dublin, a topical subject at that period in connection with the events leading to the Synod of Kells.

To appreciate the position held amidst these works by the tradition of St. Cataldus we will have to study two points in it: (1) the grant made to Cataldus by the king of Ireland of a vacant duchy; (2) the erection of an archbishopric and the establishment of twelve suffragan bishoprics. The first point seems to connect the tradition of St. Cataldus with the 12th century tradition of St. Carthage and to be a reflection of the Synod of Cashel in 1101. The second point seems to connect the tradition of St. Cataldus with the *Visio Tundali* and the *Vita sti. Albarti* and to be a reflection of the development of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland between the Synods of Rathbrassail (1111) and Kells.⁸⁷

In the tradition of St. Cataldus the accounts relating to these two points are attached to the story of miracles wrought by the Saint. One of these miracles, the raising from the dead of a boy, was connected with a church built by Cataldus. Regarding this church, Petrus de Natalibus said that Cataldus *concives suos ad fabricandam ecclesiam provocavit*. According to the Office and Moroni, however, the Saint built this church with his own hands, and the miracle on the boy was worked *dum in limo erat fundamenti Ecclesiae, quae fabricabatur*. Joannes Juvenis simply speaks of *ecclesia quae tunc erigebatur* and Ughelli⁸⁸ says that *ecclesiae construendae praeearat*. The version given by the Office and Moroni may reflect the fact that in the ancient Irish Church the title of *noemh* (usually translated by *Saint*) was given practically to every cleric who per-

⁸⁵ Kenney, no. 234 ff. All these are examples of the mercenary spirit in 12th century Irish hagiography (see Felim O Briain, in *Measgra i gCúimhe Mhíchil uí Chléirigh* [Dublin, 1944] p. 130), in this case coupled with dissatisfaction with the new diocesan system.

⁸⁴ *Bethada naem nEreann I* (Oxford, 1922), ed. Plummer (henceforth abbreviated B.N.E.), p. 305.

⁸⁵ In the 15th century Ms. F of *Féilire Oengusso*, B.S. XXIX, p. 204. A little noticed parallel to the expulsion of St. Carthage from Rathen is found in the *Vita S. Tiger-*

naci (Kenney, no. 179, V.S.H. II, p. 266): Rex Eochodus sancti episcopi Maenchatimi dignitatem ac sedem Clochorensensem scilicet monasterium eidem optulit (see above note 76) seque praefatum episcopum a suis finibus expulsurum (almost literally the expression employed by Petrus de Natalibus with regard to Cataldus, see below page 239) promisit.

⁸⁶ Kenney, nos. 652 and 619.

⁸⁷ Kenney, no. 653, and Orpen and Seymour in *History of the Church of Ireland*, ed. Phillips (London, 1934), ii.

⁸⁸ See above note 3.

petuated his memory by building a church.⁸⁹ In fact, of many Irish "Saints" listed in the Irish "martyrologies", we know nothing but that there existed a church bearing their name. Discussing the possibilities of identifying Catandum, Cataldus' reputed birth-place, Colgan pointed to some places in Ireland whose name enshrines the word Cathal. Cill Cathail is mentioned in an account of St. Brendan's request for "three estates in Desmond to serve my successors after me".⁹⁰

A "Saint" was often reputed to have not only founded but actually built the church bearing his name. Indeed, of many Irish Saints we know that they were craftsmen, and the size of some of the monastic "cells" makes it not unlikely that they were built by one person. The expression *in limo fundamenti* may suggest a more elaborate structure, the more so as, according to Petrus de Natalibus, it was in the church built by him that Cataldus was elected archbishop. The Office of 1607 says that the boy, whom Cataldus raised from the dead, had been killed *in aedificatione*; this suggests that Cataldus employed workmen in the building of his church, a suggestion which is rather curious, since in the same connection Moroni describes Cataldus as *sanctus iuuenis* who was only a deacon. The Office and Moroni, moreover, add that Cataldus built this church in honour of the Blessed Virgin. The Celtic Church did not know votive dedications and certainly not dedications of churches, as a modern Irish author put it, "to over-sea Saints such as St. Mary"⁹¹ Dedications to the Blessed Virgin, St. Michael, the Holy Cross, an Evangelist or Apostle are generally expressive of Norman or continental influence in Ireland.

Moroni seems to assume that that church built by Cataldus was at Lismore, for he says that the news of the miracle attracted to Lismore a great multitude of people. All the sources agree that also the King of Ireland (Petrus: *rex insule*) heard of it and that he attributed it to magic art either on his own authority or, as Moroni says, at the intimation of a *Dux Meltridis qui regis animum contra innocentissimum virum saepe numero concitaverat*. At any rate the ruler(s) of the country reacted to the Saint unfavourably in contrast to their people.

The king came by ship, to Lismore (Moroni), to expel the Saint *de suis finibus* (Petrus).⁹² According to the Office and Moroni, he ordered the Saint to be put in chains and prison. At the intimation of an Angel, however, and at the death of Meltridis *Ducatum illius* (Joannes: *ducis provinciam*) *in perpetuo concessit* to the church built by Cataldus. Petrus says that in that church

Cataldus post breve tempus archiepiscopus electus est qui laudabiliter vivens duodecim sibi suffraganeos episcopos constituit: et totam insulam (convertit).

Joannes Juvenis however says that by distributing the province into twelve bishoprics, Cataldus raised his episcopate (how he obtained this episcopate, Joannes does not say) to the rank of an archiepiscopate and that he was named *Rachau archiepiscopus*. Algoritiis' Office starts with a reference to Cataldus' *praesulatus dignitas in provincia Rachau*.

Moroni has a more elaborate account of these happenings. When receiving the Angel's intimation that, instead of persecuting Cataldus, he should appoint him successor to Duke Meltridis, the king was greatly troubled and convoked

⁸⁹ See my article on 'A feast of All the Saints of Europe', *Speculum* XXI (1946), 47-62.

⁹⁰ B.N.E., I, p. 13.

⁹¹ C. P. Curran, St. Laurence O'Toole in *The Irish Way* (London, 1932), p. 127.

⁹² See above note 85.

his *senatores et reliquos principes civitatis*.⁹³ At that convocation he received the message of Meltridis' sudden death and of the desire of the whole province that the king should appoint a successor. Thus the king *designavit*⁹⁴ Cataldus duke in the place of the deceased Meltridis, but, as the Saint did not wish to change the service of God for the royal insignia, he was elected bishop, though then still a deacon.⁹⁵ The king approved of this election wholeheartedly and

ducatum Meltridis in perpetuo Ecclesiae concessit: quem duodecim episcopis Cataldus distribuens, episcopalem suam sedem in archiepiscopalem evexit.

According to Moroni, Cataldus, before departing from Ireland, convoked these twelve bishops and entrusted them with the care of his flock. The Office has a shorter version of this account. It says that the king asked Cataldus to accept the *episcopatus Rachau* and gave him the duchy of Meltridis. Instead of *evexit*,⁹⁶ the Office says *fecit*. The Offices of both 1555 and 1580 conclude with a reference to Cataldus' converting *universam Rachau provinciam*.

My contention is that Petrus has the oldest account according to which the grant made to Cataldus, his elevation to the archiepiscopate and the appointment of twelve suffragan bishops were three different acts and that the later accounts are merely attempts to explain the internal relationship between them. Joannes Juvenis wondered how Cataldus could immediately attain to the archiepiscopal dignity, so he made him a bishop first, and inverting the historical order of the last two acts, suggests that the distribution of the grant made to bishop Cataldus among twelve bishops automatically produced the elevation to the archiepiscopal rank. The Office explains how Cataldus became a bishop, saying that he received the episcopate Rachau and Meltridis' duchy at the same time. Moroni finally explains how that could be done, since we did not hear of the episcopate's being vacant as well. He was raised to the rank of a bishop, so as to permit him to join his ecclesiastical life with his new secular power.

It is hard to say whether there are any historical reminiscences in these later suggestions, whether, perhaps, they enshrine something of the older tradition that Petrus did not record. Joannes' association between the episcopate and ducal dignity may, e.g., enshrine some memory of the union frequently found in ancient Ireland between the royal and the episcopal dignity. The Office omits the reference made in the other sources to an election of Cataldus; this may be a reflection of the pre-reform conditions when canonical election in Ireland was rare. Of particular interest is the reference made by Moroni to the part played by the *senatores* and *principes civitatis* and by the people of the province. We may compare the *Vita sti. Livini*⁹⁷

⁹³The reference to *senatores* is another illustration of the classical tendency (see above note 55). *Senatores* are mentioned—as the most common adversaries of bishops—in the Hibernensis (Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 225). The expression *senatores et reliquos principes civitatis* seems to be the exact equivalent to the *landbarüne* and *des landes cumpanjeine* in the description of the court of the king at Wexford in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, 9704 and 9765 ff. For *principes* see below note 124, for *civitas* (= German land) see notes 97 and 132.

⁹⁴Compare the reference to the king's part in the ordination of St. Ailbe above note 76.

⁹⁵I cannot imagine that Moroni invented this point. It is interesting that Cataldus

built a church while still being a deacon. The long interval between the last two major orders is a characteristic feature in the lives of Irish Saints. Livinus, e.g., was apparently trained in Ireland only up to his deaconate; for his final training he goes for several years to England. In 1121 the people of Dublin requested the archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate their bishop-elect, who was merely a subdeacon (Kenney, no. 647).

⁹⁶See below notes 102 and 144.

⁹⁷PL 87, 335. Comparing this reference to the acclamative part played by the people in the making of an archbishop and the reference made by Moroni to the far more decisive part taken by the people in the appointment of a new duke, I feel it is obvious that Moroni must have had a good

palatinorum choro cum subaulicis totiusque regionis illius conclamante Rex beatum in cathedra archiepiscopatus debito honore collocavit.

The *Vita sti. Albarti*,⁹⁸ the earliest life of an Irish Saint to refer to the bi-metropolitan system, attributes a more active part to the people:

Incole civitatis (Casselensis) sanctum Albartum unanimo voto sibi metropolitanum exceperunt. Ipse vero Albartus fuit archiepiscopus.

Similarly St. Hildegard's *Vita sti. Disibodi*⁹⁹ speaks of an episcopal election by *conventus populi tam minorum quam majorum secundum consuetudinem*. The custom referred to in this instance and in the expression *debito honore* in the *Vita sti. Livini* is obviously not the *consuetudo sacrosanctae ecclesiae* of the *itaque*-formula of the canons of the Synod of Cashel.¹⁰⁰ The adoption by the Irish Church of the Roman *consuetudo* is more clearly referred to by the *Vita sti. Wironis*¹⁰¹ when after speaking of the Saint's "designation to the pastoral office" it says:

Moris erat apud incolas ejusdem insulae, primo pastorem inter eos eligere, tum electum Roman dirigere, Apostolicis manibus ordinandum.¹⁰²

None of our sources says who elected Cataldus (*archi*)*episcopus*. The most interesting parallel to the account of Cataldus' election is found in the *Vita sti. Forannani* by Robert of Waulsort:¹⁰³

A populorum caterva electus in civitate Domnachmor quae est metropolis totius Hiberniae et in basilica Gentricis Dei quam propriis ex redditibus possessionibus fundaverat, sublimiter in Pontificali collocatus est cathedra.

We have seen that the later tradition of St. Cataldus said that he had dedicated the church built by him to the Blessed Virgin and that by endowing his see he raised it to the archiepiscopal rank.

The prominence given to *senatores*, *palatini*, *subaulici*, *proceres*, *milites*, *comites* and *duces* is a characteristic of 12th century (and later) Irish hagiography.¹⁰⁴ We shall see presently what a prominent part *duces* and *principes* play in the *Vita sti. Carthagi*, which is the more remarkable as there is nothing corresponding to those references in the Irish version. The introduction of those terms is expressive not only of the classical tendency but also of the desire

source for his statement. In contrast to the tradition of the king's disposing of a vacant duchy (see below p. 237), this is not a feature which could be derived from continental feudalism. As for the relationship between *civitas* (=German *land*), *regio* and *provincia* see below notes 122 and 132.

⁹⁸ MGH SS Rer. Merov. VI, p. 21.

⁹⁹ Kenney, no. 318, AA SS Boll. July II, p. 589.

¹⁰⁰ A.D. 1171, see J. F. O'Doherty, *Laurence O'Toole* (Diss., München, 1933), pp. 14 ff.

¹⁰¹ Kenney, no. 311, i, AA SS Boll. May II, p. 313. On Irish episcopal elections in the 12th century see J. McCaffrey in his introduction to *The Black Book of Limerick* (Dublin, 1907), p. xxiii.

¹⁰² With regard to my notes 12 and 76, the fewness of references to the Pope in the Irish and Irish-continental accounts of (arch)-bishops is remarkable. From the Patrician tradition (see also below note 144) it appears that the later decay of the

archiepiscopal dignity to a mere nominal honour was chiefly due to the absence of Papal sanction. In the late tradition of St. Sezny concocted by Albert Le Grand (Kenney, nos. 38, 14) we read that it was by order of the Pope that the Saint's monastery was raised to an episcopal see (see above note 85, Plummer, V.S.H. I, p. cxiii, note 1 said that the reference in the *Vita sti. Tigernaci* was the only one speaking of a monastery's being *sedes episcopi*). Le Grand's words *qui eius monasterium in sedem episcopalem everit* are of interest as the word *everit* occurs also in the tradition of St. Cataldus (see above note 96). That, writing in Italy, the author of the tradition of St. Cataldus could pass in silence over the necessity of consulting the Pope in the establishment of a new archiepiscopate, is indeed curious (see note 135).

¹⁰³ See above note 2; AA SS Boll. April III, p. 818B.

¹⁰⁴ See below note 124.

to describe the social order in Ireland as parallel to that on the Continent. This idea was most clearly expressed in Gilbert's *De Statu Ecclesiae*¹⁰⁵ where the principles of ecclesiastical reform are illustrated by a parallelism between the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies. While the Pope is compared to the Emperor and the Primate to the King, the duke, *comes* and *miles* are compared to archbishop, bishop and priest. The parallelism between archbishop and duke is also found in the tradition of St. Maedoc.¹⁰⁶ It may be mentioned that outside the hagiographical literature the first reference to a definite *dux* in Irish history is that to *Dermeth dux frater regis Hiberniae* in a letter written in 1096 by the people of Waterford to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, an important document in the early history of the reform in Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Of that *rex Hiberniae* we shall hear more presently.

Whether the writers of the continental lives of Irish archbishop-Saints were Irish or continental, they naturally introduced into their accounts of conditions in Ireland ideas familiar to the public for whom they wrote. I assume that the idea that the king of Ireland could make a grant of a duchy or a subordinate kingdom simply because it was vacant is purely feudal,¹⁰⁸ and yet it seems to enshrine a memory of an important event in early 12th century Irish church history. In the *Annals of the Four Masters* for 1101 we read

A meeting of Leath Mogha was held at Cashel by Muirheartach Ua Briain with the chiefs of the laity, and Ua Dunian, noble bishop and chief senior of Ireland, with the chiefs of the clergy, and on this occasion Muirheartach made a grant such as no king had ever made before, namely, he presented Cashel of the kings to religious without any claim of laymen or clergymen upon it, but the religious (*craibhdich*) of Ireland in general.

The extraordinary and new feature in this grant was neither its extent nor its freedom from any claim. The numerous land grants which, according to the *Vita sti. Carthagi*, were made to the Saint by kings, princes and dukes in both Meath and Munster were hardly less extensive. One of these grants enabled Carthage to provide twelve of his faithful disciples with land to support them in their old age. When granting to Carthage the field, in which he had founded his church, the *dux Melochtric* expressly says that *hic magnus locus* (the church = *domnach mor*) *non potest esse in angusto loco*; this grant led to the foundation of Lismore.¹⁰⁹ Of grants "free from tax of chiefs and tribes" we hear repeatedly in the Life of St. Colmán mac Lúacháin, another 12th century life of a 7th century Saint.¹¹⁰ Such grants were usually the material basis for a monastic community. The distinctive point in the grant made at the meeting at Cashel was that it was not made to a particular monastic *familia* or its founder-Saint, but to the Church in general. This grant was an important step in the reform of the organisation of the Irish church. The 12th century lives of Irish Saints, especially those written in Irish, still reflect the local structure of the Irish Church under the monastic system. Just about the time of the Synod of

¹⁰⁵ PL 159, 999; Kenney, no. 651.

¹⁰⁶ V.S.H. II, p. 251.

¹⁰⁷ Kenney, no. 640.

¹⁰⁸ For this point I am indebted to the advice and the article on 'Papal Legates in Ireland', *Irish Eccles. Record* LXIII (1945), 365 by the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn S. J. See also John Ryan S.J., 'The O'Briens in Munster after Clontarf', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* (1942), 16.

¹⁰⁹ Plummer's ed. in V.S.H. I, §xxxiv, xxxix, and lxii ff. I refer to the paragraphs

as they are shorter than the pages.

¹¹⁰ Kenney, no. 238; Kuno Meyer's ed., pp. 34 ff., 38, 40 and 45. See above note 83. O'Donovan's notes to the entry of the Four Masters show that he did not see the significance of the grant made at Cashel (1) with regard to the establishment of the Church, (2) with regard to the elevation of Cashel to the metropolitan rank. For O'Donovan's reference to the royal grant of Kells see below note 143.

Cashel, the *comarb* of St. Patrick tried, by means of circuits through All Ireland, to re-assert his primatial rank in a more real way than had been done during the previous centuries. The royal grant for the first time recognised the Church of Ireland as a legal unit, capable of receiving such a grant.¹¹¹

The grant made to the church built by St. Cataldus, however, was still in the ancient monastic tradition. According to the tradition, its outstanding characteristics were its perpetuity and its extent. Outside the tradition of St. Cataldus, expressions denoting perpetuity occur mostly in Irish accounts of land-grants when connected with oblations, by which princes, tribes and monastic communities adopted the patronage of a Saint. Carthagus senior offered himself with his church and his *parochia Deo et tibi* (Carthagus junior), and induced by this example

Dux Moeltulus se ipsum cum genere suo post se semper Mochutae (the Irish name of Carthage) obtulit.¹¹²

After young Barre's saintliness had become famous the king surrendered (*dorath*) himself and his seed to him for ever (*tré bithe*).¹¹³ A particularly interesting account of such an offering connected with a land-grant is found in the *Vita ste. Ite*:¹¹⁴

Gens Huaconaill cum suo duce omnem agrum qui erat in circuitu cella S. Ithae sibi et Deo¹¹⁵ in aeternum donavit. Famula autem Domini nolens curiosa esse in secularibus curis (as St. Cataldus), quatuor juga in usu hortorum accepit.

This is one of the rare cases where the actual measurements of a monastic land-grant are given.¹¹⁶ After Ita's death

tota gens Huaconaill S. Itam in matronam suam hic et in futurum accepit. Sancta virgo eandem gentem et terram suam multis benedictionibus benedixit.

We may compare the strictly spiritual character of this latter patronage with

¹¹¹ We shall see that the reference made to Cataldus' converting *totam insulam* is expressive of the idea that the mono-metropolitan system was the most suitable for Ireland. St. Forannan (above note 103) is described as metropolitan *totius Hiberniae*. The *Chronicon Scotorum* (ed. Hennessy, 1866) describes *sub* A.D. 1148 St. Malachy as *archiepiscopus, caput religionis totius Hiberniae*. The earliest reference to *metropolis insulae Hiberniae* is found in the letter of the people of Dublin to Lanfranc A.D. 1074 (Kenney, no. 635), after the death of Dunan, whom the *Annals of Ulster* call "archbishop of the foreigners".

¹¹² §xiii ff; compare the oblation of Munster to Ailbe by St. Patrick (*Ms. S.*, in contrast to the tradition of Ailbe's formal ordination, above note 76).

¹¹³ *B.N.E.*, I, p. 17.

¹¹⁴ Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 677.

¹¹⁵ The expression *Deo et Sancto N.* which occurs frequently in descriptions of such patronage-oblations, is also found in early church "dedications" in Ireland (see above note 90). The chief difference between such dedications in Ireland and the continental votive dedications of churches is that in Ireland (1) the term "Saint" was applied to

a person already during his life-time, namely chiefly in virtue of his having founded a church (e.g. *S. Cuannachus patronus et abbas loci*; Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 250) and (2) that this dedication rested on a material basis, the Saint having also obtained the land on which the church was built.

¹¹⁶ *Melochtrig dux na n-Desi* gave (§lxii) to Carthagus *illum locum cum agro propinquo ubi est hodie magna villa quae dicitur Aird Finayn cum maxima parochia in circuito in honore sancti* (i.e. as an acknowledgement of the fact that he was a Saint). *Brehon Law Tracts V* (1901), p. 266, say that as a compensation for the loss incurred through his expulsion from Raithen, Carthagus was granted "everything which the co-arb of Mochuta (that is the Irish name for Carthagus) could find upon the road of Adamar, the day he assumed the abbotship of Lismore, because his right, and it was so perpetually". In *Brehon Law Tracts IV* (1879), p. 229 the "precincts of a saint, bishop, hermit or pilgrim" are determined as "one thousand paces if it be in a plain, and two thousand paces for the precincts of every noble cathedral (*do gach cathair ataigh uais*).

the merely spiritual supremacy exercised by the primatial see of Armagh in the pre-reform organisation of the Irish Church. In both respects the tradition of St. Cataldus shows a definite advance towards the more realistic attitude of the reform. One of the few cases where I could trace an expression denoting perpetuity with a grant as such is in the *Vita sti. Fechini*¹¹⁷ where we hear of a lake, into which the Saint had thrust a monster, being offered to him *in perpetuum*.

Two grants mentioned in the *Vita sti. Carthagi* are of special interest with regard to the tradition of St. Cataldus: (1) Honoured by kings, princes and dukes with land and other offerings, Carthagus *a multis sanctis episcopus consecratus est, et visitabat aliquando parochiam suam*.¹¹⁸ This is an illustration of the loose usage of the word *sanctus* in the ancient Irish church; in this instance the word clearly means not more than our word: Reverend. The clerics who consecrated Carthagus bishop were not necessarily bishops themselves, and of his election there is no mention whatsoever. One of the reasons for his being chosen to be the bearer of the episcopal dignity in the monastic community was obviously the preference shown to him by secular rulers. As a bishop, Carthagus did not reside in his *parochia*, a point of some importance for the interpretation of Cataldus' *archiepiscopatus Rachau*.¹¹⁹ (2) *Rex arcem suam . . .* (and several other places) *Deo et sancto Carthago obtulit in aeternum*. This grant enabled Carthagus to establish a monastery for three of his disciples and twelve brothers.¹²⁰ These were three of the twelve disciples which Carthagus had in his monastery at Raithen. Eventually he set up for all the twelve of them *cellas* that they might have some comfort in their old age.¹²⁰ While this is not the place to follow up the significance of this system of monastic pensioning, I may mention here that the number of Carthagus' brothers and disciples is of interest in regard to the number of suffragan bishops set up by Cataldus.

The extent of the grant made to Cataldus is clearly expressed by the terms *ducatus* and *provincia*. Since, according to Gilbert of Limerick, *rex* corresponds to *primatus* and *dux* to *archiepiscopus*, we may assume that *ducatus* in this case is an under-kingdom. Apart from Gilbert's parallelism between *comes* and *episcopus*,¹²¹ we do not hear of "counts" in 12th century Irish literature but it is curious that the territory corresponding to a *dux* should be *provincia*,¹²² which naturally suggests that the territory corresponding to a *comes* should be a county.¹²³ What territories correspond to the *magnati*, *proceres* and *principes* is not clear; the word *princeps* seems to be in the older Latin-Irish literature the equivalent for what the 12th century literature rather described as *dux*.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹¹⁸ §xx.

¹¹⁹ Though some Irish authors, like Lynch, described Cataldus as a non-resident bishop, of the ancient monastic type, known on the Continent as vagrant bishops (above pp. 218-219), the tradition (Healy etc.) held that Rachau must have been near Lismore.

^{120a} §ix.

¹²⁰ Above note 109.

¹²¹ Above note 105.

¹²² See above note 77 for the use of the word *provincia* with regard to the whole of Ireland. Joannes applies this word to the *ducatus*, the Offices of 1555 and 1580 to the *archiepiscopatus Rachau*. The connection between the secular and ecclesiastical use of the word *provincia* is of special interest in Ireland, see below pp. 239 f. and 242. The

Rule of St. Patrick prescribed that one *primescop* should be for every chief state (*prim tuath*) of Ireland. See below note 146.

The word *provincia* sometimes appears as synonymous with *regio*. (see below note 132). At his expulsion from Rathen, Carthagus was told: *De hac civitate et de ista regione vade et quere tibi locum in alia provincia* (*Vita* §liii). The more definite secular use of the word *provincia* is referred to in §lxi where *provinciae aquilonis* are distinguished from *septentrionis provinciae*. See below p. 242.

¹²³ The expression *barony* is foreshadowed by Gottfried's speaking of the *landbarüne* of Ireland (see above note 93).

¹²⁴ *Magnati*, *primati* and *duces* occur in the *Vita sti. Fursaei*; *duces* and *proceres* attending the *rex Hiberniae* in the *Vita sti*.

It was a curious point in the grant made by Muirchertach that it was made out of the patrimony of his adversaries the MacCarthy, rather than out of his own, the O'Briain possessions.¹²⁵ Whether the MacCarthy gave their consent to this transfer (as the building in the next generation of Cormac's chapel at Cashel by a MacCarthy king would suggest) or whether this was an act of usurpation by Muirchertach O'Briain,¹²⁶ it must have puzzled the contemporaries.

The significance of the grant of Cashel is clearly expressed by the Four Masters' saying that, given as it was to the religious of Ireland in general, no laymen or clergymen had any claim upon it. The tradition of St. Carthage's expulsion from Raithen offered a striking illustration of laymen and clergy conspiring together to obtain possession of land granted to a certain monastic community.¹²⁷ The grant of Cashel aimed first of all at giving the Church that material security which was the basis of reform. It merely set an example which was to be followed up by the superseding of monastic episcopacy by diocesan episcopacy under a definite metropolitan system. May we assume that the MacCarthy family consented to Muirchertach's action in the interest of the reform?

The tradition of St. Cataldus, I suggest, illustrates the speculations evoked by the grant of Cashel. If we assume that it was compiled by an Irishman, who having been away from home for some time suddenly heard the news of that grant, it seems quite credible that he should explain this transfer of a "duchy" to the Church in terms of continental feudalism. The king, he suggests, was entitled to dispose of (vacant) duchies and he had the sanction of heaven in doing so, as the disposal was made to the advantage of the Church. The distance of the writer from home may explain the fact that the grant of Cashel had assumed for him the dimensions of a whole province. He had apparently not a very lofty opinion of the High-king of Ireland, representing him as a persecutor of Saints, but this picture supplied him with a credible explanation of the grant.¹²⁸ The king had to compensate the Saint for the injuries he had inflicted upon him.¹²⁹ The writer of the tradition of St. Cataldus gives colour to his account by making the king arrive at Lismore "by boat". Exact descriptions of the situation of Lismore as *civitas super ripam australem fluminis Nem*,¹³⁰ *ubi abann mor* (a big river) *in mare exiit*¹³¹ are found in the tradition of St. Carthagus. Incidentally the description of Lismore as *egregia et*

Fechini; *proceres* also in the *Vita sti. Moedoci*; *principes* in *Vita sti. Molaggi*. A fight between two *duces* is mentioned in the *Vita stae. Itae* (Colgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 245, 421, 146 and *V.S.H.* II, 121). For *principatus* see below note 132. Gwynn (*Ir. Eccl. Record*, V, lxvi [1945], 86) suggested that *principes* was the Latin word for *airchinnech* (ruler of a monastery). The First Synod of Cashel provided that laymen should no longer hold this office. In the Irish Annals, Gwynn states, the word *princeps* disappears after the 9th century.

¹²⁵ Compare the offer made by king Eochodus to St. Tigernach (above note 85), also the oblation to St. Ailbe of Munster by St. Patrick (above note 76). Similarly the tradition of St. Cataldus seems to imply that made as it was to the Church, the grant overruled other legal rights of possession.

¹²⁶ See above note 108.

¹²⁷ See above notes 83 and 85. See the expression "a church in *seemly* possession" in the *Expulsion of St. Carthage* (*B.N.E.* II,

p. 299 = I, p. 308).

¹²⁸ A wicked king of Connaught figures in the *Vita sti. Albei*. He planned to kill *quemdam vinctum*. Ailbe sent to him a messenger to obtain his release (Irish version: a bishop of his retinue). The king tried to crucify Ailbe's messenger. The king's son died. Ailbe was called to the king. *Dedit ei rex hominem illum* (oblations extended to human beings) *et agrum ut aedificarentur ibi ecclesie Deo*. Ailbe restored the king's son to life (*V.S.H.* I, p. 59).

¹²⁹ Was this perhaps a figure of speech characteristic of the ideas of the reform? A king who would not endow the Church as the reform demanded, was regarded as sacrilegious.

¹³⁰ Plummer's ed. §lxv. Compare also: *Inter ipsos* (the people of Melochtrig) *et locum erat fluvius quidam impetuosus, qui cum vicini maris aestu redundaret, nullus sine ratibus transitus erat* (*Vita III, AA SS Boll.* May II, 376E).

¹³¹ Margin note in *Féilire Oengusso*, ed. *cit.*, p. 54.

sancta civitas in the *Vita sti. Carthagi* may be compared with the account of the international reputation of Lismore in the tradition of St. Cataldus.¹³²

Colgan already tried to establish a relationship between *dux Melochtric* who gave Carthagus the site of Lismore and *dux Meltridis* whom Cataldus succeeds,¹³³ but he abandoned this parallel because the former is depicted as a friend of the Saint, the latter as the instigator of persecution against Cataldus. Colgan overlooked the fact that it is only in the later tradition that Meltridis appears in this unfavourable light; I suggest that this was an addition to explain the sudden death of the duke.¹³⁴ Meltridis' duchy obviously did not include Lismore, otherwise the archbishopric into which it was transformed would have been called Lismore rather than Rachau, and there would have been no necessity of sending a messenger to the king to inform him of Meltridis' death, but the duke would have attended the meeting between the king and the Saint.

According to Petrus de Natalibus, who mentions neither Lismore nor Rachau, there was no direct connection between the grant of Meltridis' duchy and the elevation to the archiepiscopate. Of the place-names we can be certain that they are not later insertions. The name of Rachau, we know, was connected with the inscription on the pectoral cross, and the name of Lismore appears in 12th century continental literature on Ireland on account of the prominent part played by Lismore in the reform movement, which in itself established a new and strong link between Ireland and the Continent. May we go so far as to connect the author of the story of St. Cataldus with the companions of St. Malachy on his unsuccessful errand to Rome to obtain *pallia* for the metropolitans (then two) of Ireland?¹³⁵ Malachy had been for several years, "for the sake of studies", as the tradition says of St. Cataldus, at Lismore.

The identification, officially recognized by the Offices for Ireland of 1903 and 1916, of Rachau and Shanrahan was due to the assumption that Rachau must be near Lismore, an assumption which in turn is based on the adoption of the later tradition according to which the giving of the grant of the duchy and the elevation of Cataldus to the archiepiscopal dignity were events closely inter-linked or even practically identical. In the old tradition represented by Petrus de Natalibus there is no foundation for this assumption. It implies rather than

¹³² Above note 57, and Plummer *Siii*, Raithen is *civitas posita in medio Hiberniae* (see below note 141) in *regione Midi clara, sed clarior est secunda et major, et magnum principatum tenebit* (see above note 124) *quae vocabitur Leas Mor*. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the meanings of *civitas, urbs, oppidum* (Cataldus, see above pp. 223 and 227) and *villa* (above note 116) in 12th century Irish and Irish-continental hagiography. The frequent use of these words points to the fact that in contrast to the tribal-monastic episcopacy, diocesan episcopacy was fundamentally urban, a point little noticed in the history of the spreading of diocesan episcopacy from the Danish settlements to the rest of Ireland. As on the Continent, the urban basis of diocesan episcopacy made possible a certain democratic influence on episcopal elections (see above pp. 232-233).

¹³³ With regard to the passage quoted above note 116, this relationship induced Healy (*op. cit.*, p. 457) and O'Riordan (*op. cit.*, p. 7) to describe Meltridis as Prince of the Desii, again guided by the assumption that Rachau must be near Lismore. Moeltulus, on the other hand (see above p. 234),

was *dux regni Chiaraigi* (šviii ff.) Was his duchy part of that kingdom or was his territory *regnum*?

¹³⁴ The Life of St. Colman Mac Luachlainn, Carthagus' pupil, gives as the reason for Carthagus' expulsion from Raithen his adoption of the Roman view in the Paschal controversies (Plummer, *V.S.H.* I, xlvi; Kenney, no. 238), another illustration of the influence of the reform of the 12th century tradition of St. Carthagus.

When finally expelled, Carthagus cursed his adversary saying: I will expel thee from the seat in which thou art, and I will rob thee of heaven and earth, so that neither king nor crown-prince (*righ na righ-damhna*) shall be from thee (*Expulsion*: also margin note in *Ms. R²* in *Féilire Oengusso* (see above note 60). Is this a parallel to the dying out of the house of Meltridis and the assumption of his dukedom by Cataldus?

¹³⁵ This would be another explanation of the omission of all references to the Pope in the description of the establishment of the *archiepiscopatus Rachau* (see above note 102).

excludes the possibility that Rachau was far away from Lismore. If we adopt Colgan's suggestion that Rachau was identical with Raithen, the numerous parallels which we established between the traditions of St. Carthage and St. Cataldus would gain in significance and the tradition of the archiepiscopate of Rachau could be interpreted as an attempt to claim for Meath, as the fifth province of Ireland a metropolitan see, as was granted by the Synod of Kells to the other four provinces. This was done by an inversion of the tradition of the successful expulsion of Carthage from Raithen which led to the setting up of Lismore. The attempt to expel (Petrus: *propellere*) Cataldus from Lismore failed, but led to the establishment of the *archiepisopatus Rachau*. In the ecclesiastical subdivision of Ireland, Meath held a peculiar position, owing to its situation right on the border between the archdioceses of Armagh and Cashel.¹³⁶ To this day, Meath is one of the very few dioceses of Ireland the very name of which recalls the fact that the diocesan organisation of Ireland was originally based on the tribes rather than on towns.

The association with Meath may have been suggested also through the fact that Maol Muiru O Dúnáin was from Meath. In the account of the Synod of Cashel he appears as *uasal epscop agus aird shenóir Ereenn*, the unofficial representative of the Primate or perhaps, as Fr. Aubrey Gwynn suggested, the first Papal Legate in Ireland. It is curious that while in the ecclesiastical subdivision of Ireland by the Synod of Rathbrassail Meath was assigned to Armagh, O Dúnáin is frequently described as archbishop of (or in) Munster.¹³⁷ During the years 1101 to 1111 he appears as an advocate of the reform.¹³⁸ During these years he had the support of Muirchertach who was both king of Munster and of all Ireland, though in the North his influence was less pronounced. Similarly, O Dúnáin's jurisdiction was practically confined to Munster, but the Four Masters describe him as something like the ecclesiastical counterpart to the High-King. In the oldest tradition of St. Cataldus it is stated that the Saint exercised influence over the whole island and the king is described as *rex insule*.¹³⁹

It has been suggested that the grant of Cashel to the Church was made with the intention of obtaining the elevation of that *urbs Hybernie regalis* (as the *Vita sti. Albarti* says) to the rank of a metropolitan see. That Malchus of Waterford¹⁴⁰ rather than O Dúnáin was appointed first archbishop of Cashel was an event no less puzzling than the grant of Cashel to the Church. The tradition of St. Cataldus seems to infer that it would have been fitting that O Dúnáin should have been made archbishop of a metropolitan see in the heart of Ireland.¹⁴¹ The setting up of Cashel as a metropolitan see had been expressive of the political situation of the period when the king of Munster was High-king.

¹³⁶ See the pun *medio—Midi* in *Vita sti. Carthagi*, above note 132. *Vade ad Hyberniam ante me, et adi fontem in medio Hyberniae in confinio australium et septentrionalium Hybernensium* (see above note 122), St. Patrick said to St. Ciaran of Saighir (*V.S.H.* I, p. 218). On the central position of Uisneagh in Meath see below note 141.

¹³⁷ The *Annals of Tigernach* (A.D. 1111) and the *Annals of Boyle* (in the obit A.D. 1117) as well as Keating in his entry on the Synod of Cashel (see below) call him *airdescop* or *archiepisopus* of Munster or in Munster. For the relationship between Meath and Munster the *Life of St. Aed* (Kenney, no. 185) offers an illustration of special interest with regard to the tradition of St. Cataldus: *S. Aedus ordinatus est episcopus in Midia et aliquando in Mumonia adhuc conservabatur et cellas. Monasteria in*

utraque parte aedificavit. This Vita also mentions a dur.

¹³⁸ In the letter from the people of Waterford to Anselm of Canterbury (Kenney, no. 640) he is spoken of as *Idunan episcopus Midiae*.

¹³⁹ To this day, the archbishop of Armagh is Primate of All Ireland, while the archbishop of Dublin is Primate of Ireland (see the literature listed by Kenney, p. 319). Dublin in this respect has taken the place of Cashel, a fact most clearly expressed by the fact that since 1839 in the (Protestant) Church of Ireland Cashel has been a mere bishopric under Dublin.

¹⁴⁰ Kenney, p. 765.

¹⁴¹ John Brady, 'The Anglo-Norman Organization of the Diocese of Meath', *Irish Eccl. Rec.*, April 1946, 233 ff.: After O Dunain we know of no other bishop of Meath until

Establishing the parallel between *rex* and *primatus*, Gilbert, a Munsterman, advocated a stricter co-ordination between High-king and Primate. He wrote shortly before the Synod of Rathbrassail set up the bi-metropolitan system, a compromise between tradition (according to which Armagh was the metropolitan see of Ireland) and the political necessities of the time (which demanded that the Primate should be locally connected with the Kingship). After the Synod of Rathbrassail, Munstermen did not give up the claim that Cashel of the Kings should have a higher rank than Armagh. The *Vita sti. Albarti* tried to assert this claim by describing Cashel as an archiepiscopal. Armagh merely as an episcopal see. Being still freer from criticism by persons who knew something of actual conditions in Ireland, the author of the tradition of St. Cataldus gave a picture of what to his mind would have been a more satisfactory compromise than that made by the Synod of Rathbrassail. *Archiepiscopus Rachau*, or Rathen, would have left Ireland a mono-metropolitan system,¹⁴² centralised, politically neutral and with a noble tradition,¹⁴³ which, whether it was that of St. Carthage or that of St. Cataldus, reminded later generations of the evils of the pre-reform age.

Later writers were dissatisfied with the tradition that Cataldus was immediately elevated to the archiepiscopate;¹⁴⁴ this shows that they no longer perceived that the tradition was a reflection of the setting up of Cashel, the only see in Ireland which was, from the first, given metropolitan rank. Had Rathen been made the metropolitan see of Ireland, it too would have been dealt with in the same fashion. That the author of the tradition of St. Cataldus knew the further development of Irish church organisation through the Synod of Rathbrassail is clear from his account of the subdivision of the *archiepiscopus* into twelve suffragan bishoprics. The complete misunderstanding of this tradition by modern Irish authors was summed up by Lanigan:

In the Saint's Life . . . it is ridiculously stated, that, having obtained this wonderful grant of a whole principality, he divided it into twelve bishoprics and raised Rachau to the rank of an archiepiscopal see. Burke (i.e. Thomas de Burgo), perceiving the absurdity of this fable, has, in his

1173, though on the Synod of Rathbrassail Meath was given two bishoprics (see below note 158). Does the tradition of St. Cataldus claim twelve bishoprics for Meath, the fifth province of Ireland? Meath acquired special prominence through the Synod held, perhaps also in 1111, at Uisneagh (Hennessy in his edition of *Chronicon Scotorum* pp. xxxviii, 1 and 314 ff.), where each of the four (!) provinces of Ireland meet (see Todd's note in *The Martyrology of Donegal*, p. xxxiv).

¹⁴² See above note 111.

¹⁴³ The choice of Kells in Meath for the Synod in 1152, which completed the introduction of the metropolitan system in Ireland, was perhaps due to its being the heir of the glorious tradition of Iona (Kenney, pp. 753 ff.). The grant of *Disert* of Columkille at Kells in 1084 was made to the religious for ever (Kenney, no. 629). In the *Vita sti. Fechini*, Naza is called *regale oppidum* (see above note 132) in Leinster (Colgan, *op. cit.*, p. 136), *regale* on account of its association with the Tara-tradition. In the *Book of Rights* the expression "kings of Tara" is equivalent to that of kings of Meath (Paul Walsh in *Essays and Studies for Eoin McNeill*, p. 508).

¹⁴⁴ *Tunc sanctus Patricius non erat episcopus, set postea a Celestino papa ordinatus est archiepiscopus (Vita sti. Ciarani, V.S.H., I, p. 215, see above note 102). Compare also the use of the word *evexit* in the traditions of St. Cataldus and St. Sezny. De Burgo's complete misunderstanding of the historical significance of this point is clearly expressed by his saying that Cataldus Meltridis' duchy in *episcopatum reduxit*. Lanigan says: The king assigned to him some land for endowing the church of Rachau, of which place Cataldus was immediately appointed bishop. Bellesheim (*Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland* (1896) I, p. 176) sums up his picture of the tradition of St. Cataldus as follows: Vom Landesfürsten mit ausgedehnten Besitzungen beschenkt, baute er eine Kirche, empfing die bischöfliche Weihe, und unternahm eine Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem. So far as I am aware none of the critics of the tradition of St. Cataldus has seen that the individual facts reported in it can be accepted and that their historical significance appears in its full light, if the traditional order in which those facts were presented is preserved and fully appreciated.*

edition of the Office, changed the bishoprics into parishes, and the arch-episcopate into a simple bishopric.

I do not know whether, in reducing the bishoprics to parishes, de Burgo was guided by some memory of the monastic term *parochia*.¹⁴⁵ The reduction of the *archiepiscopatus Rachau* to a mere bishopric was adopted by the Office of 1903 speaking of Shanrahan as *sedes episcopalis*. At this point, the parallel between the traditions of St. Albert and St. Cataldus is most obvious. In the former the failure to understand the significance of the connection between Cashel and *Artinacha* led to regarding Erhard as *Bishop of Ardagh*; in the latter the failure to see the historical significance of the connection between the *archiepiscopatus Rachau* and its subdivision into twelve bishoprics led to regarding Cataldus as Bishop of Shanrahan.

The reform of the episcopal system in Ireland went much deeper than similar reforms on the Continent. It was not concerned merely with the enforcement of canonical elections free from secular interference, but primarily with the raising of the episcopate from a mere monastic or tribal dignity¹⁴⁶ to an independent and leading rank in the hierarchy, and giving it a material foundation by assigning to bishops dioceses with fixed boundaries, fixed sees and a definite legal status. The Irish Litany of Jesus had adopted Amalarius' teaching that in analogy to the nine orders of the Church in heaven (*noi ngrada na heclaise nemdha*) there were nine orders in the church on earth, from the psalmistate to the episcopate (*co hesscubaide*).¹⁴⁷ Dismissing this teaching, Gilbert of Limerick listed bishops and archbishops together with patriarchs and prophets among the *generalis Ecclesiae gradus*.¹⁴⁸ As for the material foundation of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland, the leaders of the Church and of the State co-operated in opposition, if we may say so, to what was believed to be the national tradition. The tendency found in both Irish and continental biographies of Irish Saints of the 12th century of describing Saints of the Golden Age as archbishops aims at establishing an Irish tradition of the continental usage, which, as the Canons of the Synod of Cashel stated, Ireland adopted in imitation of England. At this point again, hagiographical tendencies in Southern Italy and Ireland coincided.¹⁴⁹ By assigning Cataldus to the second century, his tradition testified to the antiquity of an archiepiscopate in both Taranto and Ireland.

The parallelism of the reform in Ireland and England was most clearly expressed in the only detailed account of the rulings of the Synod of Rathbrassail which Keating preserved from the Annals of Clononagh. While other references to this synod merely say that it gave "rules and good morals for all both laity and clergy"¹⁵⁰ (words possibly reflected by Petrus' statement that

¹⁴⁵ E.g. in the *Dublin Annals of Innisfallen* with regard to the Synod of Meath in 1111. See Plummer's notes in his edition of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* (Oxford, 1896), II, pp. 204 and 212).

¹⁴⁶ O'Donovan (*Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (Dublin 1849), I, p. 141, n.) speaks of the coexistence between diocese and tribal land. The tribal boundaries became the boundaries of dioceses, a fact most clearly illustrated by Cataldus' duchy becoming a bishopric, the expression *provincia* being used in this case in both the secular and ecclesiastical sense (see above note 122).

¹⁴⁷ B.S. LXII, p. 30. See also my articles 'De officio psalmistatus' in *Liturgy XI* (1942), 49 ff. and 'The Office of Lector' in *Clergy Review*, 1946.

¹⁴⁸ PL 159, 997.

¹⁴⁹ In this respect the fantastic chronology of St. Cataldus may be compared with that of St. Lucius (see my article in *The Tablet* December 4, 1943).

¹⁵⁰ *Irish Text Society*, III, pp. 298 ff. The Annals of the Four Masters and of Loch Cé refer *sub* A.D. 1111 to a Synod (Kenney, p. 768) at which 50 bishops (most of whom had no diocese) *vel paulo plus* together with Muirchertach attended by his *maith* imposed rules and good customs to all. Regarding these rules and good customs we may also refer to the description given in the *Chronicon Scotorum* (above note III) of Malachy's restoring monastic and canonical rules of the Church of Ireland (*manchine ocus canonach riagulla hecaisi*, all imported words).

laudabiliter vivens Cataldus established twelve suffragan bishops), this account says:

Just as twelve bishops were fixed under Canterbury in the South of England, and twelve bishops in the North under York, a similar arrangement was made at the Synod of Rathbrassail in Ireland, to wit, twelve bishops in Leath Mogha and twelve bishops in Leath Cuinn and also two in Meath (*is fós dá easpog san Midhe*). It was at this synod that the churches of Ireland were given up entirely to the bishops free for ever from the authority and rent of the lay princes.^{150a} It was there also that were regulated the sees or dioceses of the bishops of Ireland . . . Cashel held the archbishop of Leath Mogha with the bishoprics of Lios Mor, Corcach, Raith Maighe Deisceirt etc. In Leath Cuinn six in the province of Ulster (*i gCúigeadh Uladh*), including the primate of all the bishops of Ireland, five in Connaught and in Meath Daimhliag and Cluain Ioraird, this gives twelve bishops in Leath Cuinn, excluding the primate,¹⁵¹ and twelve in Leath Mogha . . .

As Lawlor^{151b} pointed out

neither in 1110 (or 1111) nor in any other year of its history had the Church of England twelve sees under Canterbury and twelve under York. These numbers were taken from Pope Gregory's letter to St. Augustine of Canterbury (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* I, 29; the consecration of twelve suffragans was the condition for Augustine's promotion to the metropolitan dignity. J.H.). The Synod of Rathbrassail adopted the curious principle that what the wisdom of Pope Gregory held to be good for England, would suit Ireland too.

The tradition of St. Cataldus illustrates the fact that it was not so much the strict parallelism with the bi-metropolitan structure of England as the establishment of twelve suffragan bishoprics that was regarded as ideal. The number of twelve may have been derived from Gilbert's *De Statu Ecclesiae*, where it had been stated that an archbishop should have at least three and at the most twenty suffragans; twelve is the arithmetical mean. It is hardly necessary to say that St. Gregory suggested the number twelve with reference to the number of tribes of Juda and of Apostles. The Stowe diptychs¹⁵² and the Litany of Jesus¹⁵³ pointed to the parallelism existing between the number of Apostles and of minor prophets. St. Columba had twelve companions, St. Carthage twelve favorite disciples for whom he built twelve cells. St. Barre built twelve churches (*da cill décc*) before he came to Cork.¹⁵⁴ Twelve Colmans, twelve Coemgens and twelve Fintans accompanied St. Ailbe to Rome.¹⁵⁵ In the 12th century Preface to the *Amra* of St. Columba we read that twelve bishops and twelve kings came to the convention of Druim Ceat (A.D. 575), and at that convention it was ruled that the *ollam* should have in future only twenty-four instead of thirty and the *ánruth* (ranks in the intellectual hierarchy of Ireland) only twelve instead of fifteen followers.¹⁵⁶ The most intellectual

^{150a} Also the first Synod of Cashel ruled that neither to king nor to chief for ever should the Church pay either rent nor tribute (Gwynn, *op. cit.* above, note 124, p. 83).

¹⁵¹ *Life of St. Malachy*, pp. xxxix ff.

^{151b} See below note 158.

¹⁵² *B.S.* XXXII, p. 15, by comparison with the Litany of St. Amand (Delisle, *Mémoire*

sur d'anciens sacramentaires [Paris, 1891], p. 362).

¹⁵³ See above note 147.

¹⁵⁴ *B.N.E.* I, p. 16.

¹⁵⁵ *V.S.H.* I, p. 51.

¹⁵⁶ John Ryan S.J. in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland*, LXXVI (1946), 13.

reference to the number twelve and, in my opinion, like the tradition of St. Cataldus an illustration of the ecclesiastical organisation established at Rathbrassail, is found in Hugo of Saltrey's account of his descent into St. Patrick's Purgatory. At the beginning of his vision he was received by *duo. infusi sacris tanquam archipraesules*, who took him to a hall where he saw a splendid gathering of clergy. Now all the manuscripts of his account say that there were *quindecim viri* in religious garb, the Bamberg manuscript alone, the only one of German origin, says there were *duodecim*, for which reason Mall suggested that this was the oldest manuscript.¹⁵⁷ None of the students of this account has ever mentioned the possibility that the reference to two archbishops and twelve bishops might be an illustration of early 12th century Irish church history. These twelve men had one spokesman, the Bamberg manuscript says *qui aliis praeesse videbatur*; the other manuscripts say *qui tanquam prior et eorum dux videbatur*. Is the use of the word *dux* in this instance reminiscent of the parallelism between archbishops and dukes established through Gilbert of Limerick and the tradition of St. Cataldus?

From the introduction to the *Visio Tundali*, a work closely related to that of Hugo of Saltrey (the heroes in both works are called *miles*, like the father of the boy whom Cataldus raised from the dead), we know that by 1148 the number of suffragan bishoprics under the bi-metropolitan system in Ireland had risen to thirty-four.¹⁵⁸ The ecclesiastical conditions to which the early tradition of St. Cataldus refers are, therefore, those between the Synod of Rathbrassail and the time in which this increase in bishoprics took place. This does not mean that this tradition was actually compiled in the first half of the 12th century. I suggest that the Bollandists were right in assuming that it was the work of a *vagus Hibernus* such as Muiredach Mac Robartaig, the founder of St. James' Ratisbon, the authors of the lives of St. Albert and of St. Silao and Frediano of Lucca. Like the contemporary lives of Saints produced in Ireland, the 12th century continental lives of Irish Saints tell us more of their writers' ideas on Irish history of that time than of their notions of the periods of which they treated. Such indirect sources are always of interest, the more so in a period of which we have but few direct sources. The author of the tradition of St. Cataldus shows definite knowledge of Munster and seems to display interest in Meath. He was thoroughly imbued with the ideas of contemporary Irish hagiology, especially the Munster lives of St. Ailbe and Carthage. He left Ireland apparently in the forties of the 12th century, and wrote before the news of the great change in Irish church organisation by the Synod of Kells had reached him. As his work is probably the result of the elevation and translation of St. Cataldus' relics in 1151, we may assume that it was written in 1151/1152. Reports of the Synod of Kells must have reached Italy fairly quickly, as this Synod was attended by an Italian Papal Legate.

I am fully aware of the fact that my interpretation of the tradition of St. Cataldus rests chiefly on suggestions and analogies. However, I feel that these suggestions are sounder than the speculations to which the tradition of

¹⁵⁷ V. d. Zanden, in *Neophilologus* X (1925), 243 ff.

¹⁵⁸ See my article on St. Albert, p. 28. On the question whether the Synod of Rathbrassail prescribed 24 or 26 (namely 2 for Meath) bishoprics for Ireland see Bruodin, *op. cit.*, p. 932; Hubert Th. Knox, *Notes on the Early History of the Diocese of Tuam* (Dublin, 1904), p. 73 and above all McErlean in *Archiv. Hibernic.* III, 12 and Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 34. In the *Appendix Theatri Abrah.*

Ortelii et Atlantis Gerard. Mercatoris (Antw., 1631) the statement made by Cluverius in his *Introductio ad Universalem Geographiam* (1625) that Armagh is the first, Dublin the second capital of Ireland and that Cashel is the third archiepiscopal see in the country, is amplified by a note saying that *his sunt suppositi episcopi xii*, an illustration of the way in which, even in later centuries and in countries much nearer to Ireland, truth and fiction were mixed up.

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

St. Cataldus has been subjected for more than five hundred years. That my interpretation is absolutely wrong, could be proved only through the production of the sources on which Petrus de Natalibus and the later writers drew. I should be only too glad if this article would prompt an investigator at Taranto to produce those sources if they are still extant.