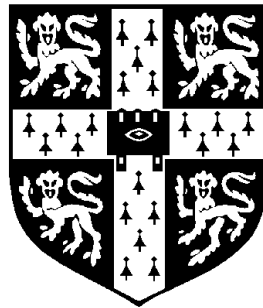


KATHLEEN HUGHES MEMORIAL LECTURES 9

MARIE THERESE FLANAGAN

Reform in the Twelfth-century Irish Church:
A Revolution of Outlook?



HUGHES HALL
&
DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Hughes Hall was founded in 1885 as the Cambridge Training College (CTC) for graduate women schoolteachers. It is therefore Cambridge's oldest Graduate College, consisting currently of around 50 Fellows and some 400 student members, men and women, who study for doctoral or M.Phil. degrees or for the postgraduate diplomas and certificates offered by the University. We also have an increasing number of mature undergraduates in a variety of subjects. As a result, the academic community of Hughes Hall is now extremely diverse, including students of over 60 nationalities and representing almost all the disciplines of the University. Enquiries about entry as a student are always welcome and should be addressed initially to the Admissions Tutor, Hughes Hall, Cambridge, CB1 2EW, U.K. (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>).

An important step in this transformation came with the granting of Cambridge degrees to women in 1948: the CTC was then given the status of a 'Recognised Institution', the crucial first move towards integration with the University proper. The College took the name of CTC's charismatic first Principal, the celebrated women's educationist, Elizabeth Phillips Hughes. Apart from Miss Hughes's Welsh heritage, there is no known connection between the College and the scholar now commemorated in this series of lectures.

Kathleen Winifred Hughes (1926-77) was the first and only Nora Chadwick Reader in Celtic Studies in the University of Cambridge. Previously (1958-76) she had held the Lectureship in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles which had been created for Nora Chadwick in 1950. She was a Fellow of Newnham College (and Director of Studies in both History and Anglo-Saxon), 1955-77. Her responsibilities in the Department of Anglo-Saxon & Kindred Studies, subsequently the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, were in the fields of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh history of the early and central Middle Ages. Her achievements in respect of Gaelic history have been widely celebrated, notably in the memorial volume *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, published in 1982. The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures both acknowledge her achievements and seek to provide an annual forum for advancing the subject. Each year's lecture will be published as a pamphlet by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic on behalf of Hughes Hall.

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Reform in the Twelfth-century Irish Church: A Revolution of Outlook?

© Professor Marie Therese Flanagan

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PREFACE

The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture was initiated as an annual event by Hughes Hall as the result of an anonymous benefaction in her memory and to mark the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. This benefaction came to the College as a result of an initiative taken by our Fellow, Dr Michael J. Franklin, Director of Studies in History and in Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic.

Each lecture will be published, both on the College's web-site (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>) and as a printed pamphlet, to coincide with the following year's lecture. Hughes Hall is grateful to the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic for acting as hard-copy publisher.

Hughes Hall hopes that this academic initiative will make a significant scholarly contribution in those areas which fall within the research interests of Kathleen Hughes, and that the series will continue for many years. We are pleased that it continues to be a fixed point in the College's calendar.

Sarah Squire
President
Hughes Hall

ABBREVIATIONS

- AClon* Murphy, D. (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to AD 1408 translated into English A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan* (Dublin, 1896).
- AFM* O'Donovan, J. (ed. and trans.), *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, 7 vols (Dublin 1845–51).
- AI* Mac Airt, S. (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B 503)* (Dublin, 1951).
- ALC* Hennessy, W. M. (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1871).
- AT* Stokes, W. (ed. and trans.), 'The Annals of Tigernach', *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895), pp. 374–419; 17 (1896), pp. 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), pp. 9–59, 150–97, 267–303; reprinted in two vols (Felinfach, 1993).
- AU²* Mac Airt, S. and Mac Niocaill, G. (eds and trans.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131), Part I, Text and Translation* (Dublin, 1983).
- CS* Hennessy, W. M. (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the Earliest Times to AD 1135; with a Supplement Containing the Events from 1141 to 1150*, Rolls Series (London, 1866).
- Keating, *Foras Feasa* Keating, G., *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland*; ed. D. Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, 4 vols, Irish Texts Society, 4 (1901); 8 (1905); 9 (1906); 15 (1913) (London, 1902–14).

REFORM IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY IRISH CHURCH: A REVOLUTION OF OUTLOOK?

It is an especial privilege and pleasure to have been afforded the opportunity to pay tribute to the memory of the scholarship of Kathleen Hughes.¹ Her book, *The Church in Early Irish Society*, which I first encountered as a second-year undergraduate, had a defining influence in determining that I became a historian of medieval Ireland. It was the first hardback history book that I felt impelled to buy: both its subject matter and its admirably lucid style immediately engaged my attention in a way that was matched only by Richard Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages*. Having enrolled in my first year for modern history courses, once I had encountered Kathleen Hughes's book, I switched thereafter to as many medieval options as possible and with a focus on Ireland.²

The Irish church, whose history Kathleen Hughes had traced from its foundations in the fifth century with such clarity and empathy, was to be restructured in the twelfth century by a reform movement that was a regional manifestation of a wider pan-European phenomenon. In the final chapter of *The Church in Early Irish Society* Kathleen Hughes briefly described 'the metamorphosis of the Irish church' in the twelfth century,³ one of the enduring consequences of which was the acceptance of an island-wide episcopal hierarchy with fixed diocesan boundaries that was programmatically inaugurated at a synod held at Cashel in 1101. In her concise treatment of the major changes wrought in the twelfth century she offered no value judgement on those changes. Not all historians, however, have been so dispassionate. There has been a degree of nostalgia for 'the passing of the old order',⁴ most frequently interpreted as a shift from a predominantly monastic culture to a hierarchically governed episcopal church. It is evidenced, for example, in Peter Harbison's assessment that 'the old monasteries must have viewed the

¹ I am grateful to Mrs Sarah Squire, President of Hughes College, for the invitation to give the Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture in April 2010. The lecture was delivered before the publication of M. T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century*, Studies in Celtic History 29 (Woodbridge, 2010), chapter 2 of which covers some of the ground that is discussed here.

² R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953).

³ K. Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966), pp. 263–74. The chapter is titled 'Reformation and Revolution'.

⁴ The phrase is borrowed from the assessment of the impact of Viking intrusions on Irish society by D. A. Binchy, 'The Passing of the Old Order' in B. Ó Cuiv (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies held in Dublin, 6–10 July 1959* (Dublin, 1962), pp. 119–32.

reform movement with growing worry and contempt, seeing in it a threat to their very livelihood. But they must also have believed that it was their duty to stay in existence because they were the only and true inheritors of the best of Irish culture and literature, which would be lost if they went into liquidation'.⁵ Harbison relates that perspective to what he discerns as a conserving tendency on the part of established monasteries that is reflected in metalwork production, notably of reliquaries, in the twelfth century. In other words, Harbison may be said to adopt a 'nativist' as opposed to a 'normalist' or universalist position.⁶ In similar vein, Donnchadh Ó Corráin argued that 'on the whole, the reform was a triumph for the administrator and a disaster for Irish literature and general culture. The reformers destroyed the social, economic and cultural base of Irish learning. Nothing replaced the greater monasteries with their schools of learned cadres, now robbed of their resources and status'.⁷ Nostalgia for the pre-twelfth-century Irish church is largely unconsciously based on an idealized golden age of 'saints of scholars' which, insofar as it existed, can best be located chronologically before AD 800, while at the same time it elides inevitable changes that would have occurred in the Irish church over the subsequent three hundred years, irrespective of whatever impact might have resulted from Viking intrusions from the late eighth century onwards.

A more idiosyncratic perspective has been taken by Francis John Byrne, arguing as an apologist for Clann Sínaig, the hereditarily entrenched family which dominated ecclesiastical offices at the church of Armagh from the 980s until the 1120s. Clann Sínaig was described by Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Life of St Malachy of Armagh* as an 'evil and adulterous' lineage which had entrenched itself at Armagh by 'depraved custom'.⁸ Byrne's more benign assessment posits that to Clann Sínaig is owed the preservation of the *Annals of Ulster*; and, more cryptically, that Clann Sínaig 'saved Armagh from subordination to blatant political

⁵ P. Harbison, 'Church Reform and Irish Monastic Culture in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 52 (2000), pp. 2–12 at p. 3. 'The backward look in the nature and style of reliquaries, together with the monastic emphasis on preserving old Irish culture in the face of what was probably perceived as a 'philistine' Cistercian approach to it ... gave Irish art of the twelfth century its own particular flavour': *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ For the differing perspectives of 'nativists' and 'normalists', see P. Wormald, 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship: Some Further Thoughts' in P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins (eds), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture* (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 151–83.

⁷ D. Ó Corráin, 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland' in R. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1–53 at p. 44.

⁸ *Et eousque firmaverat sibi ius pravam ... generatio mala et adultera: Vita Malachiae* § 19 in J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H.-M. Rochais (eds), *S. Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols in 9 (Rome, 1957–77), iii, pp. 329–30.

interests, and in this respect their record compares favourably with that of the papacy between 896 and 1046'.⁹ Byrne was alluding to the control of the see of Rome by competing family factions within the city which resulted in a series of anti-popes and even the occasional murder of rival candidates during that period. Bernard of Clairvaux certainly did not consider Clann Sínaig literacy, the reality of which he acknowledged, as lessening the scandal of hereditary succession at Armagh;¹⁰ but then Bernard of Clairvaux has not found much favour either in Irish circles. Bernard's *Life of Malachy* has been described by Donnchadh Ó Corráin as a 'tedious and tendentious hagiography', 'brimming with pious platitudes, heavy with biblical ballast' and 'full of windy rhetoric and self-contradictions'.¹¹

Melancholy regret for 'the passing of the old order' has also been accompanied by cynicism towards the very notion of reform. Emphasis has been placed on the self-serving attitude of kings who are deemed to have used ecclesiastical restructuring instrumentally so as to strengthen their political positions by manipulating diocesan boundaries to reflect the largest possible territorial correlation with their own kingdoms, thereby seeking to stabilize expanding political frontiers, and by installing their own placemen as bishops. Writing of the Ua Briain kings of Munster, and their association with the diocese of Killaloe, Ó Corráin described 'the new territorial bishopric as a matter of high politics, as is indicated by the care taken by the dynasty in controlling it, but that its institution indicated any revolution of outlook, or any change in ecclesiastical personnel or its recruitment, is much to be doubted'.¹² Highlighting that a number of Killaloe's bishops were drawn from long-established ecclesiastical families, Ó Corráin posed the rhetorical question: 'is this reform ... or is it agile professional adaptation to changing circumstances and new styles'? Daibhí Ó Cróinín has alluded to 'the so-called twelfth-century reform – a largely superficial

⁹ F. J. Byrne, 'Church and Politics, c. 750–1100' in D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 656–79 at pp. 675–6.

¹⁰ *Viri uxorati et absque ordinibus, litterati tamen* ('married men and without orders but, nevertheless, literate'): *Vita Malachiae* § 19 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, p. 330.

¹¹ D. Ó Corráin, 'From Sanctity to Depravity: Church and Society in Medieval Ireland' in N. Ó Ciosáin (ed.), *Explaining Change in Cultural History*, Historical Studies 23 (Cork, 2005), pp. 140–62 at pp. 142–3; cf. F. J. Byrne's description of Bernard as 'the censorious Cistercian': 'Church and Politics', p. 675.

¹² D. Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais: Church and Dynasty', *Ériu* 24 (1973), pp. 52–63 at p. 62. Cf. P. MacCotter, *Colmán of Cloyne: A Study* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 103–9 with references to the 'reformed' see/diocese of Cloyne (pp. 103, 104) and 'the so-called "reformed" period' (p. 104) and *passim*.

transformation',¹³ while the notion of reform was also questioned in the volume of essays titled *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, the proceedings of a conference held in 2001 to commemorate the synod of Cashel in 1101. A case was argued by Martin Holland against interpreting the synod of Cashel as a reformist initiative.¹⁴ More emphatically, Anthony Candon suggested that at the synod of Cashel, 'the Irish church was thumbing its nose at Rome'.¹⁵ It is right to highlight that by 2004 Ó Corráin had reassessed the process of change in the twelfth-century Irish church. Writing on the decrees of the 1101 synod of Cashel he argued that Cashel was not to be viewed 'as the proceedings of conservative and isolated Irish clergy who had just woken up to the Gregorian reform and were blinking in the new light of a papally directed reorganisation of the western church and moving somewhat bumblingly to make ameliorative adjustments to their own eccentric Irish ecclesiastical establishment'.¹⁶ Rather, Ó Corráin propounded that the decrees at Cashel reflected the recent legislation of a series of continental synods and papal councils and did indeed demonstrate that Irish clergy were aware of, and in touch with, contemporary developments. This contrasts with his earlier cynicism towards the very notion of reform, although ironically his 2004 essay on the synod of Cashel was overlooked in the 2006 volume of commemorative essays.

From these brief historiographical examples, it will be evident that a consensus on how change in the twelfth-century Irish church is to be interpreted, and an assessment of its impact on Irish society, has yet to be achieved. I wish to argue a case for a genuine 'revolution of outlook' that went beyond agile professional adaptation to changing circumstances on the part of at least one Irish bishop by considering the early twelfth-century reformist treatise written in Latin by Bishop Gillebertus of Limerick, whose diocese of Limerick, like that of the adjoining diocese of Killaloe, was located within the political sphere of influence of the Ua Briain kings for whom Ó Corráin emphasized the overriding importance of high politics. Gillebertus's treatise, the subject matter of which is the

¹³ D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200*, Longman History of Ireland (London, 1995), p. 316. Cf. the description of Muirchertach Ua Briain as a 'would-be reformer': *ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁴ M. Holland, 'Were Early Irish Church Establishments under Lay Control?' in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 128–42.

¹⁵ A. Candon, 'Power, Politics and Polygamy: Women and Marriage in Late Pre-Norman Ireland' in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe*, pp. 106–27.

¹⁶ D. Ó Corráin, 'The Synod of Cashel, 1101: Conservative or Innovative?' in D. Edwards (ed.), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650: Essays for Kenneth Nicholls* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 13–19.

seven canonical grades of clergy, is the only extant reformist statement to have survived from the pen of a twelfth-century Irish bishop.¹⁷ Gillebertus had a notably long episcopacy from around 1107 until his death in 1145; and for an unknown length of time he also held the office of *legatus natus*, or resident papal legate, in Ireland; and in that capacity he presided over the synod of Ráith Bressail, conventionally dated to 1111, which legislated for the two archiepiscopal provinces of Armagh and Cashel with primacy accorded to Armagh. Coupled with the likely support in the early years of his episcopate from Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and aspirant to the high-kingship of Ireland, who maintained a residence within the city of Limerick, Gillebertus may be presumed to have been an influential figure in the twelfth-century Irish church.

Before turning to Gillebertus's treatise, it is essential to highlight the severe limitations of the primary source materials for charting change in the twelfth-century Irish church. The sparse evidence has to be pieced together from a variety of disparate, and partial sources; and this at a time when elsewhere in Europe both the quantity and quality of evidence relating to ecclesiastical structures and personnel was increasing dramatically. The long-established genre of Irish annals remain a very important resource, providing the names, mostly in the form of death-notices, for individual bishops, yet their value is greatly reduced by substantial gaps in the twelfth-century coverage of the principal collections.¹⁸ Regional coverage is also uneven, with no set of annals surviving from Leinster, a key area of political and ecclesiastical changes during the eleventh and twelfth centuries that was especially receptive to external influences through the east coast Hiberno-Norse port towns. There are therefore notable gaps even in episcopal succession lists for individual sees.

¹⁷ For a not wholly satisfactory edition and translation, see J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001). Reformist ideology is increasingly coming to be recognized in a range of vernacular texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that have traditionally been the preserve of linguists or literary scholars. There remains much to be learnt from those texts. For a recent example, see the discussion of an eschatological text that is preserved uniquely in the early twelfth-century manuscript, *Lebor na hUidre*: E. Boyle, 'Eschatological Justice in *Scéla Laí Bretha*', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 59 (2010), pp. 39–54.

¹⁸ There are lacunae in *AU* (1131–55), *AI* (1131–58), *ALC* (1139–69), while *CS* terminates in 1150 (the entries between 1136 and 1140 are also missing), and coverage in *AT* ends in 1176. See further, G. Mac Niocaill, *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1975); D. P. McCarthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History* (Dublin, 2008); N. Evans, *The Present and the Past in Medieval Irish Chronicles*, *Studies in Celtic History* 27 (Woodbridge, 2010).

Church councils or synods constitute the clearest evidence for a programmatic reform agenda under episcopal leadership, but the sources for such synods are equally poor. At least twelve national, or provincial, synods are recorded in the annals between 1101 and 1179, for the majority of which, however, there is only a one-line sentence noting their meeting.¹⁹ Very little extant legislation survives from those synods; and in instances where it does, the textual transmission is quite late with key texts occurring in translated versions in manuscripts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date. For the synod held at Cashel in 1101, which may be taken as inaugurating programmatic change under episcopal leadership, a very inadequate record of its decrees is embedded in two eighteenth-century genealogical compilations relating to descendants of the Munster king, Brian Bóruma, *Seanchas Síil Bhriain*, ‘The History of the Descendants of Brian’, and *Leabhar Muimhneach*, ‘The Book of Munster’.²⁰ Although the decrees of the synod of Cashel are now transmitted in Irish, the original version would have been formulated in Latin. Similarly, the most detailed account of the synod of Ráith Bressail is preserved in Geoffrey Keating’s seventeenth-century narrative history, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, ‘The Basis of Knowledge about Ireland’. The latter also, uniquely in a source of Irish provenance, recorded Gillebertus of Limerick as having presided at that synod as papal legate.²¹

In general, the paucity of reformist writings renders frustratingly obscure both the sources of inspiration for the movement of renewal in the Irish church as well as the modes of implementation of change. Yet it would be rash to interpret a lack of evidence as endorsing a view that there was no ‘revolution of outlook’ among Irish churchmen. In light of the limitations of sources for synodal activity, which barely go beyond lists of episcopal sees, it is scarcely surprising that historians have tended to focus on the setting up of territorially-delimited dioceses as the most substantive development of the first half of the twelfth century. Little attention has been devoted to the careers of individual bishops, with the notable exceptions of St Malachy (Máel Máedóc Ua Morgair) of Armagh (d. 1148) and St Laurence O’Toole (Lorcán Ua Tuathail), archbishop of

¹⁹ D. Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 3 (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 38–9, provides a convenient list.

²⁰ T. Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maron le suim aguisíní* (Dublin, [1944]), p. 341; S. H. O’Grady and R. Flower, (eds and trans.), *Caithréim Thoirdhealbháigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society 26, 27 (London, 1929), i, pp. 174–5, ii, pp. 185–6; Ó Corráin, ‘Synod of Cashel’, p. 15.

²¹ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 298–307; J. Mac Erlean, ‘Synod of Ráith Bressail: Boundaries of the Dioceses of Ireland [A.D. 1110 or 1118]’, *Archivium Hibernicum* 3 (1914), pp. 1–33, provides an edition based on ten manuscripts of *Foras Feasa*.

Dublin (d. 1180), a circumstance that is chiefly owing to the fact that these two bishops died on the Continent and thereby secured the services of continental biographers, or more precisely hagiographers, who wrote in support of their canonization.²² There is also an apparent mismatch between the survival of sources in Latin and in the Irish language, not least because different techniques of analysis have often been applied to the two bodies of evidence. The material evidence for change in the twelfth-century Irish church arguably is less problematic. The early twelfth-century architectural complex on the rock of Cashel which includes Cormac's chapel, consecrated in 1134, or the remains of Cistercian monasteries, such as Mellifont (co. Louth), the building of which commenced in 1142, offer visual testimonies for external influences reaching the twelfth-century Irish church.²³

In addition to the regularization of territorially fixed dioceses, the other development in the twelfth-century Irish church that has received sustained attention has been links with archbishops of Canterbury and their consecration of bishops for the Hiberno-Norse sees, four from Dublin, one from Waterford, and one from Limerick.²⁴ The professions of obedience of those bishops sworn on the occasion of their consecration were recorded on profession rolls kept at Canterbury.²⁵ As in the case of the setting up of territorially delimited dioceses, the focus on the Canterbury connection, has been determined by a body of material that was preserved at Canterbury, which had a very active recording strategy in support of its claims to primacy. Letters written to Irish bishops and

²² Malachy died at Clairvaux on 2 November 1148 in the presence of Bernard of Clairvaux, who before his own death in 1153 had completed the writing of his *Vita Malachiae*. Under the impetus of the community of Clairvaux Malachy was canonized in 1190: M. P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland 640–1261*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1962–5), i, no. 23. Laurence died on 14 November 1180 in the Augustinian abbey of St Mary at Eu in Normandy which secured his canonization in 1225. For his *vita*, written at Eu, see C. Plummer, 'Vie et Miracles de S. Laurent, Archevêque de Dublin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914), pp 121–86. For his canonization, see Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, ii, no. 170.

²³ For an important recent study that spans from the fifth century to the early stages of the Romanesque around 1100 but stops short of treating the changes that developed in the course of the twelfth century, see T. Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2010). On the progress of Romanesque, see T. O'Keefe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2003).

²⁴ There is a substantial literature. See most recently, M. Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective on Church Reform and Ireland, 1070–1115' in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe*, pp. 13–35.

²⁵ M. Richter (ed.), *Canterbury Professions*, Canterbury and York Society 67 (Torquay, 1973), nos. 36, 42, 51, 54, 69, 81.

kings by Archbishops Lanfranc (1070–89) and Anselm (1093–1109), as well as letters received by them from a number of Irish correspondents, also owe their preservation to Canterbury collections of the letters of these two archbishops.²⁶

The Canterbury-preserved sources may have skewed the evidence relating to external influences reaching the Irish church during a ‘long twelfth century’. A notable example is the influence attributed to Canterbury in the development of the bishopric of Dublin, for which four successive bishops were consecrated by archbishops of Canterbury between 1074 and 1121. Recent work by Ragnall Ó Floinn on the medieval relics of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Dublin²⁷ and by Pádraig Ó Riain on its martyrological tradition, has drawn attention to an eleventh-century association between Holy Trinity and the church of Cologne that predates the first securely attested connection between the see of Dublin and Canterbury which dates from the episcopal consecration of Patricius (Gilla Pátraic) in 1074.²⁸ Persuasive evidence is afforded by the list of relics which were recorded to have been acquired during the episcopate of the first known bishop of Dublin, Donatus, or Dúnán (d. 1074).²⁹ Reflective of a Cologne association are relics of St Heribert, bishop of Cologne, who died in 1021, relics of the 11,000 virgins, and a relic of St Pinosa. These cults were little known outside Cologne. Crucial is that the relics were acquired during the episcopate of Dublin’s first bishop, Dúnán, that is, before the consecration in 1074 by Lanfranc of Bishop Dúnán’s successor, Patricius (Gilla Pátraic). German sources provide evidence for two communities of Irish monks in Cologne during the eleventh century at Groß Sankt Martin and St Pantaleon. That these Cologne communities had some impact in Ireland is reflected in the notice in Irish annals of the death in 1042 of Elias, otherwise Ailill,

²⁶ H. Clover and M. Gibson (eds and trans.), *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1979), nos. 10, 49, and p. 184 (d) = C. R. Elrington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D. with a Life of the Author and an Account of his Writings*, 17 vols (Dublin, 1847–64), iv, pp. 488–9; F. S. Schmitt (ed.), *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, 6 vols (Seckau, Rome, Edinburgh, 1938–61), iv, nos. 198, 201, 202, 207, 277, 278; v, nos. 426–9, 435.

²⁷ R. Ó Floinn, ‘The Foundation Relics of Christ Church Cathedral and the Origins of the Diocese of Dublin’ in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VII: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2005* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 89–102. Holy Trinity subsequently became known as Christ Church.

²⁸ P. Ó Riain, ‘Dublin’s Oldest Book? A List of Saints “Made in Germany”’ in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin, V: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2003* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 52–72.

²⁹ P. Ó Riain (ed.), *A Martyrology of Four Cities: Metz, Cologne, Dublin, Lund*, Henry Bradshaw Society 118 (London 2008), pp. 130–1.

originally from Mucknoe (co. Monaghan), who was described as ‘head of the monks of the Irish in Cologne’.³⁰ Ailill had become abbot of Groß Sankt Martin in 1009 to which he added the headship of St Pantaleon in 1019 which he exercised until his death in 1042. Incidental references to Cologne in eleventh-century Irish annalistic notices suggest connections with Leinster and Brega (in co. Meath). Donnchad mac Gilla Mochonna, abbot of Dunshaughlin, is recorded to have died at Cologne in 1027, Broen, a former king of Leinster, died at Cologne in 1052,³¹ while details of a shortage of food and of devastation in Cologne in 1045 found its way into the Annals of Tigernach.³²

Among entries in the martyrology of Holy Trinity which provide evidence for the acquisition of a text that originated in Cologne are the translation of the relics of St Pantaleon and Quirinus (6 February), patrons of St Pantaleon in Cologne, the translation of the relics of Albinus (16 April), which are known to have been taken from Rome to Cologne between 983 and 991, an entry for 15 November, ‘St Benedict in Cologne’, which commemorates the founding of St Pantaleon by Archbishop Bruno of Cologne (d. 965), the entry commemorating the discovery in 966 of the relics of Maurinus (10 June) which repeats, almost verbatim, the wording of an account of the discovery that was written around AD 990 by a monk of the St Pantaleon community, and the feast of St Adalbert of Prague (23 April) whose cult was well known in Germany.³³ Furthermore, in light of the absence of entries relating to other cults that became significant in Cologne in the course of the eleventh century, Ó Riain has dated the acquisition by the cathedral church of Dublin of a martyrology from Cologne to before 1050. In 1028 King Sitric, Hiberno-Norse king of Dublin, and reputed founder of Holy Trinity, Dublin, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome in the company of a number of other Irish kings.³⁴ Sitric may have travelled through *Colonia Sancta*, Cologne, where Ailill, abbot of St Pantaleon, would have been well placed to secure relics for him, as well as a copy of Cologne’s martyrology.³⁵ The former are likely to have constituted the foundation relics of the new cathedral which was established following Sitric’s return

³⁰ *Ailill Mucnoma, cenn mhanach na nGoeidhel in Colonia quievit. AU² 1042.7; cf. AFM 1042.2.* (The entry numbers are those of CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts at <http://celt.ucc.ie/published.html>).

³¹ *AU² 1027.8, 1052.3; AFM 1052.13.*

³² *AT 1045.2.*

³³ Ó Riain, *Martyrology of Four Cities*, pp. 6–9, 45, 75, 79, 103, 199.

³⁴ *AU² 1028.7; AI 1028.5; AT 1028.2; ALC 1028.5; AFM 1028.13.*

³⁵ Cologne is depicted on the map of Europe that accompanies the Irish works of Giraldus Cambrensis and which, it has been argued, reflects pilgrim routes from the British Isles to Rome: T. O’Loughlin, ‘An Early Thirteenth Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis’, *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999), pp. 24–39.

to Dublin. Allowance should therefore be made for formative influences on the foundation of Dublin Cathedral other than those of the church of Canterbury. It is indeed possible that Dublin's first bishop, Dúnán, could himself have had some direct connection with Cologne, that he may have been a member of one of the Irish communities there before his elevation to the see of Dublin around 1028. That Dúnán merited a death-notice in the chronicle of Marianus Scottus, otherwise Máel Brígte, who entered the monastic life in Cologne on 1 August 1056, is suggestive of such a likelihood.³⁶ Equally, it is possible that Dúnán's immediate successor, Gilla Pátraic, who was consecrated by Lanfranc in 1074, was sent to him directly from Dublin and had not, as has been posited, previously trained as a monk at Worcester.³⁷

There were also Irish connections with Regensburg in Bavaria that are attested from no later than the 1070s and were sufficiently substantive to occasion the foundation in the early twelfth century of a congregation of monasteries which came to be known as *Schottenklöster*—monasteries of *Scotti*, a term for the Irish in continental usage—so called because the communities drew their recruits directly from Ireland. The *Schottenklöster* generated a range of texts that shed indirect light on the twelfth-century Irish church. Necrologies for liturgical commemoration of the dead included a series of Irish bishops and royal patrons of the *Schottenklöster*, while death-notice of Irish clergy and kings were inserted into annals kept at the Vienna *Schottenstift*, which even recorded details that are not to be found in any of the extant Irish annals.³⁸ Both offer evidence for continuous links with Ireland through the twelfth century and lasting into at least the mid-thirteenth century. At least eleven Irish bishops were commemorated in the necrology of the Regensburg *Schottenkloster*, two of whom were bishops of Limerick.³⁹ While the

³⁶ G. Waitz (ed.), 'Mariani Scotti Chronicon' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, v (Hanover, 1844), p. 561 (1096=1074).

³⁷ Brett, 'Canterbury's Perspective', pp. 33–5.

³⁸ D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna', *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 125–36. The killer of Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, in 1185 is uniquely named as Geoffrey de Cogan in the annals of the Vienna *Schottenstift*: *ibid.*, p. 132.

³⁹ Archbishop Malachias, that is, Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire, bishop of Waterford and subsequently translated to the archbishopric of Cashel (d. 1135), St Malachy of Armagh (d. 1148), Muiredach Ua Dubthaig, archbishop of Tuam (d. 1150), Bishop Nehemias of Cloyne (d. 1149), Erolb, bishop of Limerick (d. 1151), Bishop Isaac of Roscrea (d. 1161), Bishop Edanus of Inis Cathaig (d. 1188), Bishop Reginoldus of Cork (d. 1187–8), Bishop Briccius of Limerick (d. 1187), Diarmait Ua Conaing, bishop of Killaloe (d. 1195): D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Das Nekrolog der Irischen Schottenklöster: Edition der Handschrift Vat. Lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster', *Beiträge zur*

majority were associated with Munster, a notable exception is Senior, ‘archbishop of Ireland’ (*archiepiscopus Hybernie*), who may be identified with Senóir mac Máele Molua, variously described in Irish annals at his death in advanced old age in 1095 as ‘chief anchorite (*primánchara*) of Ireland’ (*AI* 1095.7), ‘chief senior (*ardsenoir*) of Ireland’ (*AU*² 1095.3) and ‘chief soul friend (*anmchara*) of Ireland’ (*AFM* 1095.2).⁴⁰ It is typical of the paucity of Irish sources that no information other than his date of death can be recovered. His inclusion in the Regensburg necrology suggests, however, that he may have played some part in initiating religious renewal at Armagh which predated the accession of Celsus (Cellach) in 1105 to whom Bernard of Clairvaux attributed that role.⁴¹ There can be little doubt that these necrological entries resulted from traffic between Ireland and southern Germany, yet there is virtually no matching evidence of Irish provenance for such interaction.

From 1112 dates the foundation of the monastery of St Jakob in Regensburg, which became the mother-house of a congregation of south German *Schottenklöster*: in that year the St Jakob community received a charter of protection from the German emperor, Henry V.⁴² In 1089 an earlier group of *Scottigenae* at the church of Weih Sankt Peter in

Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg 26 (1992), pp. 7–119 at pp. 27, 59, 61, 63, 64, 75, 76; D. Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘Irish Kings and Bishops in the *Memoria* of the German *Schottenklöster*’ in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 390–403. Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire, who had been consecrated as bishop of Waterford in 1096 by Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, was also known to Bernard of Clairvaux: *Vita Malachiae* § 8 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, pp. 316–17.

⁴⁰ Ó Riain-Raedel, ‘Das Nekrolog’, p. 64. The association of Senóir with Armagh depends on matching this entry with the commemoration under 11 April of Senóir, which is glossed as ‘Senóir mac Maoil da-Lua, priomaidh Arda Macha’, in the Martyrology of Gorman, that is, on the same date as in the Regensburg necrology. See W. Stokes, (ed. and trans.), *Félire Húi Gormáin: The Martyrology of Gorman*, Henry Bradshaw Society 9 (London, 1895), pp. 74–5. Cf. the gloss in the Martyrology of Oengus attached to 11 April where Senóir is described as ‘archbishop of Ireland’: W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, Henry Bradshaw Society 29 (London, 1905; reprinted Dublin, 1984), pp. 106–7, 110–11. His name is omitted from the list of Armagh ecclesiastics in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, ix (Oxford, 1984), pp. 238–40, and in H. Pettiau, ‘The Officials of the Church of Armagh in the Early and Central Middle Ages, to A. D. 1200’ in A. J. Hughes and W. Nolan (eds), *Armagh, History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 121–86.

⁴¹ *Vita Malachiae* § 19–21, 33 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, pp. 328–32, 340.

⁴² H. Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster: Irische Benediktinerkonvente im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, Quellen und Forschungen aus der Gebiet der Geschichte, Neue Folge 18 (Paderborn, 1995), pp. 87–90.

Regensburg had received a charter from the emperor, Henry IV.⁴³ Certainly by the 1070s, and probably by no later than the 1060s, a significant Irish presence was to be found at Regensburg, as evidenced by a series of extant manuscripts written by Irish scribes.⁴⁴ Such was their reputation that some Irishmen were recruited into the German imperial chancery or writing office. A single folio of a Regensburg martyrology that was recovered from a bookbinding, which covers the ten days between 15 and 25 April, includes commemorations for six insular saints, Tassach, Ruadán of Lorrha in Tipperary, Donnan of Eigg in Argyll, Laisrian of Leighlin, Máel Ruba of Bangor, and Ibar of Begéire in co. Wexford.⁴⁵ On palaeographical evidence, the fragment dates from the second third of the eleventh century. Given that the fragment covers only ten days between 15 and 25 April, it has an impressive series of entries for lesser known insular saints. It suggests that already before the foundation of Weih Sankt Peter in 1089 there were significant numbers of *Scottigenae* to be found at Regensburg.⁴⁶ Sources either generated, or preserved, outside Ireland are therefore of vital importance for the history of the twelfth-century Irish church. Evidence surviving from Cologne and from Regensburg and its affiliated monastic communities is testimony to the activities of Irish churchmen abroad and indirectly of external influences that must have reached the Irish church, even though there is little or no corroborating evidence in Irish sources. We can only speculate about possible external influences on those Irish bishops who were accorded death-notice in *Schottenklöster* sources.

The scarcity of extant episcopal writings ought more plausibly be attributed to the vagaries of source survival rather than being interpreted as evidence of a parlous episcopal culture. In the case of Gillebertus of Limerick's treatise, it is noteworthy that it survives only in two late

⁴³ D. von Gladiss (ed.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV*, ii, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 6 (Berlin, 1941), no. 403, pp. 533–4; Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster*, pp. 80–2.

⁴⁴ H. Hoffmann, 'Irische Schreiber in Deutschland im 11. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003), pp. 97–120.

⁴⁵ E. Hochholzer, 'Ein Martyrologfragment aus Regensburg mit Irischen Heiligen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 116 (2005), pp. 33–66; P. Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies*, Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia Hagiographica 86 (Brussels, 2006), pp. 232–7.

⁴⁶ Also noteworthy is a fragment of a litany from a twelfth-century Regensburg manuscript that was acquired in 2009 by the library of University College Cork, which includes invocations to Sts Patrick, Brendan, Columba, Finnian, Crónán, Ailbe, Senán, Crídán, Carthach, Flannán, Mochuille, Molua, Laichtín, and Brigit, showing a strong Munster bias: UCC MS U. 331.

twelfth-century manuscripts of English provenance, one from Durham,⁴⁷ the other a manuscript from the library of the Cistercian abbey of Sawley (Lancs.), but originally also most likely produced at Durham.⁴⁸ The text of Gillebertus's treatise in the two surviving manuscripts is very close, apart from some scribal errors, indicating that the copies were derived from a common source. A diagram illustrating the hierarchical structure of the church is present in both versions. That this was an original element of the treatise, and not an addition by a later copyist, is evidenced by allusion to the diagram within the body of the treatise. Furthermore, both versions refer to a second page of the diagram which contained an illustration of another primatial church, suggesting that the original source had depicted the illustration across two pages and that it was

⁴⁷ D(urham) C(hapter) L(ibrary) MS B.II.35 folios 36v–38r. It includes the diagram (folio 36v) of the hierarchical structure of the church and the text of the treatise but not the prologue. The manuscript contains a variety of historical materials. The diagram and treatise were written on two singletons which were added at the beginning of the manuscript and completed on the recto of the first folio of the first quire of a copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. See R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 41–2.

⁴⁸ C(orpus) C(hristi) C(ollege) C(ambridge) MS 66 p. 98 and C(ambridge) U(niversity) L(ibrary) Ff. 127, pp. 51–8. This compound manuscript is palaeographically of twelfth-century date and was acquired by Archbishop Matthew Parker and divided by him into two parts. That it formerly belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Sawley (Lancs.) is evidenced by an *Ex libris* in MS CCCC 66, p. 2, *Liber Sancte Marie de Salleia*. It is more likely, however, to have been produced at Durham than at Sawley. See C. Norton, 'History, Wisdom and Illumination' in D. Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, Studies in North-Eastern History 1 (Stamford, 1998), pp. 61–105; more hesitantly, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 118, 256–7, who also considers Fountains Abbey as a possibility. Sawley was founded in 1148 as a daughter house of Newminster (Northumberland) and belonged to the family of Fountains Abbey. As argued by Norton, Parker gave one portion to the University Library, while the library of Corpus Christi College acquired the second part. Only the *Prologus libelli Gille episcopi Lumnicensis de usu ecclesiastico* is found in CCCC MS 66, p. 98 (image available at http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/thumbnail_view.do?size=basic&ms_no=66&page=98). For a full description of the manuscript contents, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 137–42. The prologue occurs again together with the diagram and text of the treatise in the final quire of CUL MS. Ff. 127, pp. 239–42. The quire contains the same genealogies of the kings of Britain, Israel, Persia, and the Chaldees as also found in DCL MS B II 35.

subsequently compressed into one illustration.⁴⁹ The two extant copies are therefore unlikely to be too far removed from a common original.

How Gillebertus's text was acquired by the monks of Durham remains unknown. The Jesuit scholar, Aubrey Gwynn, the foremost historian of the twelfth-century Irish church, speculated whether a monk of Durham might have made his copy in Limerick or from a copy taken from Limerick to Durham.⁵⁰ It is worth bearing in mind that St Malachy of Armagh on his journeys to the papal curia in 1139 and 1148 had travelled via the north of England. As recorded by Bernard of Clairvaux, in 1139 Malachy passed through York where he met Waltheof, at that time prior of the regular canons at Kirkham, later to become abbot of Melrose, while in 1148 Malachy stopped at the Augustinian community of Guisborough (Yorks.).⁵¹ Gillebertus was personally known to Malachy: it was Gillebertus who had urged Malachy to accept the see of Armagh following the death of Cellach in 1132 and it may be inferred that it was Malachy who in 1139 conveyed to the pope Gillebertus's wish to resign the office of papal legate on grounds of age and infirmity.⁵² In 1152, the papal legate, Cardinal John Paparo, travelling to Ireland and taking a route via Scotland which was similar to that of Malachy, was received with honour by William, bishop of Durham (1143–52).⁵³ The Durham historian, Symeon, recounted that Paparo had an Irish bishop in his company, who is named in the Cistercian Annals of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, as Christianus (Gilla Críst Ua Connairche), bishop of Lismore and papal legate of all Ireland,⁵⁴ previously the first abbot of the first Cistercian foundation in Ireland at Mellifont in 1142.

Durham was an important centre of manuscript production in the twelfth century and there was considerable exchange and circulation of texts and collaborative enterprise between the religious houses of Northumbria, one indication of which is that the Cistercian house of Sawley appears to have acquired its copy of Gillebertus's treatise from the Durham scriptorium. The Durham scriptorium can be shown to have had access to a range of texts of Irish provenance in the twelfth century. In the 1130s Laurence of Durham wrote a Life of St Brigit that was based

⁴⁹ *Eodem quoque modo alteri primati in secunda pagina*: Fleming, *Gille*, p. 151 (line 73 in the English translation).

⁵⁰ A. Gwynn, *The Twelfth-Century Reform*, A History of Irish Catholicism 2 (Dublin, 1968), p. 68.

⁵¹ *Vita Malachiae* §§ 35, 69 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, pp. 341–2, 373.

⁵² *Vita Malachiae* §§ 20, 38 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, pp. 331, 344.

⁵³ T. Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1885), ii, pp. 326–7.

⁵⁴ J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii, p. 263.

on the anonymous Latin Life of Brigit (the so-called *Vita Prima*) of Irish provenance, a version of which had been supplied to Laurence by the Cistercian, Ailred of Rievaulx, which, in turn, had been given to Ailred by his father, Eilaf, the last hereditary priest of Hexham, who had ended his days as a monk of Durham.⁵⁵ Although Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* did not apparently reach Northumbria during Bede's lifetime, a copy was available to Reginald of Durham by around 1165 when he was writing his Life of Oswald.⁵⁶ In the preface to a treatise edited under the title, *Libellus de nativitate S. Cuthberti de historiis Hiberniensium exceptus et translatus*, which expounds an Irish origin for St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, the anonymous author, almost certainly a cleric of the church of Durham, and possibly Reginald of Durham who compiled an extensive collection of Cuthbert's miracles, explained that he had had access to a *quaterniuncula*, a small quire, that recounted Saint Cuthbert's birth in Ireland, as well as other written texts from Ireland, and that his sources were also corroborated by the oral testimonies of a series of Irish bishops, including St Malachy, Archbishop Matthaëus, and Bishops Gilibertus and Alanus and Eugenius of Ardmore.⁵⁷ This suggests that Malachy, like

⁵⁵ W. W. Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Olim Salmanticensi Nunc Bruxellensi* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 1–37. The beginning of the text is not present in this manuscript. The prefatory letter from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 668, is edited by A. Hoste, 'A Survey of the Unedited Work of Laurence of Durham with an Edition of his Letter to Aelred of Rievaulx', *Sacris Erudiri* 11 (1960), pp. 249–65.

⁵⁶ A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson (eds and trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, 2nd edn, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1991), p. lvi. This manuscript is not listed in Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*.

⁵⁷ *Post cujus relationem et aliorum veridicam attestacionem, videlicet Matthiae Archiepiscopi et Sancti Malachiae et Giliberti et Alani, Episcoporum et nonnullorum veteranorum de Hybernia sacerdotum, nec non et monachorum predicti Sancti Malachiae Archiepiscopi discipulorum manus securius apposuimus*: J. Raine (ed.), *Miscellanea Biographica: Oswinus, rex Northumbriae, Cuthbertus, episcopus Lindisfarnensis, Eata, episcopus Haugustaldensis*, Surtees Society 8 (London, 1838), p. 64. In the concluding chapter the author repeats that he had heard a number of Irish bishops expound on the Irish birth of St Cuthbert, that St Malachy had told King David of Scotland about it, and that Malachy's successor, Maurilius, as well as Eugenius, bishop of Ardmore, also confirmed it, as had also two other Irish bishops whose names were now forgotten, and their companions, priests, and clerks at various times: *Haec de Scottorum paginis et scriptis exscripsimus, sed quia seriatim exponente interprete verba singula liquidius transferre nequivimus, sensibus explicandis operam dedimus et in linguam istam transtulimus. Quia maximis viris et nonnullis Hyberniensium episcopis perorantibus de Beati Cuthberti natalibus praeclara quaedam audivimus, illa prout decuit in hoc libello inseruimus, et unius corporis effigiem de compage artuum diversa compegimus. Quae enim sancti pontifices in lingua sua et terra de tanto puero legerant omnino silentio sepeleri non debuerant .. sanctus equidem Malachias regi David Scottorum quam plurima de hiis*

Paparo and his entourage in 1152, had passed through Durham on his journeys to the continent. And might indeed Bishop ‘Gilibertus’ be none other than Gillebertus of Limerick?⁵⁸

Gillebertus could himself have been responsible for the transmission of a copy of his treatise since his presence is attested in England. The Canterbury historian, Eadmer, recorded that on 19 September 1115 Gillebertus attended the consecration in the church of St Peter, Westminster, of Bernard as bishop of St Davids by Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury.⁵⁹ Either during that visit, or possibly on a subsequent occasion between 1115 and 1118, Gillebertus was in the company of Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, at London when he was

retulit, et Maurilius successor ejus Archiepiscopus eadem postmodum confidenter astruxit quibus Eugenius Hardmoniae Episcopus quaedam distinctius annexuit; sed et duo alii episcopi quorum jam nomina exciderunt, una cum sociis ipsorum presbyteris et clericis sub diverso tempore nostris uberius in auribus infuderunt. *ibid.*, pp. 86–7. Cf. R. Sharpe, ‘Were the Irish Annals Known to a Twelfth-Century Northumbrian Writer?’, *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 137–9, who suggests that Reginald of Durham may have been the author of the *Libellus*; R. Bartlett, ‘Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England’ in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 67–97 at pp. 72–3. Eugenius, bishop of Ardmore, is attested acting as suffragan bishop between 3 September and 28 December 1184 in the diocese of Lichfield. M. J. Franklin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta, 17: Coventry and Lichfield, 1183–1208* (Oxford, 1998), pp. xxvii–xxviii. The sole evidence for Eugenius in an Irish source is his witnessing of a charter issued by Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, 1167×1192: M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), p. 334. Other texts of Irish provenance that were circulating in twelfth-century England, include Lives of St Patrick and the late eleventh-century Life of St Monenna of Killeve (co. Armagh) by Conchubranus which formed the basis of a Life of St Modwenna written by Abbot Geoffrey of Burton in the 1120s or 1130s. See M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (eds), *William of Malmesbury: Saints’ Lives, Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002); R. Bartlett (ed.), *Geoffrey of Burton: Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002).

⁵⁸ The identities of Matthaëus, Maurilius, and Alanus remain unknown. Archbishop Matthaëus may be Muirgés Ua hÉnna, archbishop of Cashel, (a. 1185–1206) for whom this Latinized form is attested: Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, pp. 310–12. Other Irish bishops occurring in English sources without corroborating evidence from Irish sources include Mauricius, ‘a former bishop of Ireland’, Marcus, bishop of Cloyne, Patricius, consecrated as bishop of Limerick in 1140: Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 52; M. T. Flanagan, ‘A Twelfth-Century Indulgence Granted by an Irish Bishop at Bath Priory’ in F. Edmonds and P. Russell (eds), *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, *Studies in Celtic History* 31 (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 103–14.

⁵⁹ M. Rule (ed.), *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Rolls Series (London, 1884), p. 236, where Eadmer implies that Gillebertus was a suffragan of Canterbury, which, however, is likely to be Eadmer’s elaboration.

summoned to the great Benedictine abbey of St Albans to dedicate chapels to St Nicholas and Sts Cosmas and Damien, as well as the church of St Stephen in the town of St Albans.⁶⁰ The St Albans chronicler even claimed that Gillebertus had issued a charter confirming the dedication of the church of St Stephen though regrettably he quoted only ‘Ego, etc’. Gillebertus on the same occasion ordained a hermit, Roger, as subdeacon, and blessed a large cross that was installed at the south portion of the monastery. The first point of entry of Gillebertus’s treatise into England need not necessarily therefore have been Durham.

By contrast with these notices in English sources, there is a dearth of evidence relating to Gillebertus’s episcopal career in sources of Irish provenance. Apart from the unique mention in Geoffrey Keating’s seventeenth-century history that Gillebertus had presided as papal legate at the synod of Ráith Bressail, there is only one other reference to him in an Irish source, namely a notice of his death in 1145 at an unspecified location, which is recorded uniquely in *Chronicum Scotorum*.⁶¹ Nothing else can be gleaned from Irish sources about his career: where he might have received his religious formation, and by whom, or when, he was consecrated as bishop of Limerick.⁶² Keating’s account of Gillebertus’s presence at the synod of Ráith Bressail raises a series of problems. Keating’s chief focus was on listing those churches that were designated as episcopal sees for territorially delimited dioceses which he derived from, as he variously described it, *Leabhar Fionntain Chluana hEidhneach* (‘The Book of Fintan of Clonenagh’) and *Seinleabhar Annálach Eaglaise Chluana hEidhneach Fionntain i Laoighis* (‘The Old Book of Annals of the Church of Clonenagh of Fintan in Laois’).⁶³ Keating was inclined to emphasize those aspects of the past that he

⁶⁰ Matthew Paris, *Liber Additamentorum*, incorporated into the *Gesta Abbatum*: H. T. Riley (ed.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani a Thoma Walsingham, Regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiae Praeceptore, Compilata*, 3 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1867–69), i, p. 184; Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 51.

⁶¹ CS 1145.9. The place of his death is not given in *Chronicum Scotorum*, notwithstanding claims that he died in the monastery of Bangor (co. Down). See further Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 54.

⁶² Aubrey Gwynn suggested that Gillebertus was consecrated as bishop of Limerick around 1106 by Cellach of Armagh on the occasion of a visit to Munster by Cellach which is recorded in an annalistic entry in that year, or possibly by Bishop Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin: A. Gwynn, ‘The Diocese of Limerick in the Twelfth Century’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 5 (1946–7), pp. 35–48 at p. 36. From the letter that Gillebertus wrote to Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury announcing that he was bishop of Limerick it is clear that he had not been consecrated by Anselm: Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera*, v, no. 428, pp. 374–5; Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 166–7. The letter is preserved owing to its inclusion in Anselm’s letter-collection compiled at Canterbury.

⁶³ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 32–3, 298–9, 314–15.

perceived to be most pertinent to his contemporary situation. As a secular Catholic priest writing in the seventeenth century, he had a greater interest in the formation of dioceses than, for example, his Franciscan contemporaries who focussed their scholarly attentions on hagiography.⁶⁴ Keating's account of the synod of Ráith Bressail needs to be considered alongside that of the synod of Kells since, as he stated, he had derived both from the same source. As in the case of Ráith Bressail, Keating's coverage of the synod of Kells, which met in 1152, also concentrated on providing a list of episcopal sees and of bishops who were in attendance at that synod. Both contain Latin phrases, in the case of Kells more than for Ráith Bressail.⁶⁵ A wholly Latin account of the synod of Kells was copied for the seventeenth-century antiquarian, Sir James Ware, from 'an ancient manuscript belonging to the learned Flannanus mac Aegain'.⁶⁶ There was a very active circle of Mac Aodhagáin scholars in the early seventeenth century, and one of their number, Flann mac Cairbre, may be identified with Flannanus of the Ware transcript.⁶⁷ Among the manuscripts from which Keating stated he had drawn information were *Leabhar Ruadh Mic Aodhagáin* ('The Red Book of the Meic Aodhagáin') and *Leabhar Breac Mic Aodhagáin* ('The Speckled Book of the Meic Aodhagáin'), which suggests that he had connections with the Mac Aodhagáin circle.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ B. Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 240–3.

⁶⁵ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 315–17.

⁶⁶ 'Ex Ms Libro vetust. D. Flannani mac Aegain', edited by M. Holland, 'The Synod of Kells in MS BL, Add. 4783', *Peritia* 19 (2005), pp. 164–72. It was suggested by S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1926–1953), iii, p. 9, that this item might be in the hand of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, but this has been rejected by N. Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–61): His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 93, 274, 382.

⁶⁷ Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, pp. 63–4, 93. Joan Radner has argued that material that derived from a copy made by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh from a vellum manuscript belonging to Gilla na Naemh Mac Aodhagáin, may have been derived from the Annals of Cluain Eidhneach: J. N. Radner (ed. and trans.), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), pp. vii–viii, xxvi. Flann Mac Aodhagáin had well documented contacts with the Franciscan scholar, Míchéal Ó Cléirigh: Cunningham, *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 247–55. This would indicate that the Mac Aodhagáin scholars, including Flann(anus), would have had access to the Annals of Cluain Eidhneach in some form. Since neither Ware nor Keating appear to have had more than extracts, and since those annals were not listed among the sources consulted by the Four Masters, they would appear to have been accessible only in fragmentary form by the 1630s. Flann Mac Aodhagáin acted as one of the approbators of the Annals of the Four Masters: *AFM*, i, pp. lxviii–lxix.

⁶⁸ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 25–6, 48–9, 108–9, 294–5, 362–3.

There are verbal similarities between Keating's Latin phrases in his otherwise Irish version of the synod of Kells in 1152, and the Latin account of Flannanus mac Aegain that was copied for Sir James Ware, and a short entry relating to the synod of Kells in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster. All three describe Kells as a *nobile concilium* and Cardinal Paparo as *praesidens*.⁶⁹ The entry in the Book of Leinster affords tantalizing evidence for a Latin account of Kells that existed in the twelfth century. Indirect evidence for a Latin version is also afforded by the English chronicler, John of Salisbury, who in his *Historia Pontificalis*, or *Memoirs of the Papal Court*, referred to canons of the synod of Kells that were preserved both in Ireland 'and in the archives of the apostolic see'.⁷⁰ Evidently, John had access to the decrees of Kells in the papal archives since he was able to detail a decree that the abbesses of St Brigit (that is, of Kildare) should no longer take precedence over bishops in public assemblies. It may be assumed that the papal legate, John Paparo, would have transmitted a copy of the Kells decrees to the Roman curia. Indeed, there survives a list of churches confirmed as episcopal sees at Kells in a late twelfth-century manuscript from the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy.⁷¹ Paparo had Cistercian associations: in a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux his merits as a papal legate are contrasted with the reprehensible behaviour of another cardinal legate, Jordanus de Ursinis.⁷² Paparo, as already noted, had been accompanied to Ireland in 1152 by the first Cistercian abbot of Mellifont, Christianus (Gilla Críst Ua Connairche), bishop of Lismore, who had been trained at Clairvaux and who was appointed native papal legate in 1152. It is highly likely that a Latin version of the decrees of Ráith Bressail would also have been transmitted to the papal curia, especially if Gillebertus of Limerick presided at that synod as papal legate. By analogy therefore with the surviving evidence for a Latin account of the synod of Kells, Keating's account of Ráith Bressail, which was derived from the same source as his account of the synod of Kells, may have been originally in Latin.

⁶⁹ *Senad Cenannsa ubi Johannes Cardinalis praesidens interfuit. Millesimo .c.^{mo} l.^{mo} secundo. celebratum fuit istud nobile concilium*: R. I. Best et al. (eds), *The Book of Leinster Formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1956–83), i, p. 99. See further, below, note 90. *Celebratum* emphasizes the liturgical dimension of the synod.

⁷⁰ *In archiuis apostolice sedis*: M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury* (London, 1956), p. 72.

⁷¹ H. J. Lawlor, 'A Fresh Authority for the Synod of Kells, 1152', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36C (1921–24), pp. 16–22; Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 2–3.

⁷² *S. Bernardi Opera*, viii, p. 207.

It is difficult to gauge how Keating deployed his original source, or sources, and to what extent he may have omitted certain elements or elaborated on others. On the basis of evidence elsewhere in his work, Keating could have augmented the account that he found in the Book of Clonenagh with other material. In relation to the consecration by archbishops of Canterbury of bishops for the Hiberno-Norse sees of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, Keating alluded to Meredith Hanmer's *Chronicle of Ireland* (1571) and to Archbishop James Ussher's *Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British* (1622).⁷³ Undoubtedly, other decisions, in addition to the location of episcopal sees, were taken at Ráith Bressail. Keating mentioned incidentally that it was at this synod that 'the churches of Ireland' (*cealla Eireann*), were given up entirely to the bishops, free for ever from 'authority and rent' (*cur ná cíos*) 'by lay lords' (*ag flaithibh tuaithe*).⁷⁴ What kinds of churches were given over to the jurisdiction of bishops is not specified. The freeing of churches from *cíos* occurs in the early twelfth-century *notitiae* inserted into the Book of Kells.⁷⁵ The use of four compass points to define the boundaries of the dioceses, as given in Keating, is also a feature of boundary clauses in the Kells *notitiae*.⁷⁶ So too is the liturgical malediction on those who would breach the decisions of that synod, which concludes Keating's account of Ráith Bressail.⁷⁷ The granting of immunity from *cíos* to churches was not, of course, a feature that obtained for the first time at Ráith Bressail. Annalistic notices of the granting of immunities from lay dues to churches occur well before 1111, although the qualification can be made that generally such immunities referred to individual churches and to specific circumstances, often as recompense by named individuals for offences they had committed against a particular church.⁷⁸ A more general granting of immunity is recorded in 1096, in the context of panic generated by the feast of the beheading of St John the Baptist (29 August) falling on a Friday, when the head of the church of Armagh took the initiative in ordering a period of fast and abstinence and the kings of Ireland gave 'freedom' (*saoire*) to many churches that were in difficulty.⁷⁹ According to Conall Mac Geoghegan, in his seventeenth-century English translation of a now-lost set of annals

⁷³ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 300–1.

⁷⁴ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 298–9.

⁷⁵ G. Mac Niocaill, 'The Irish "Charters" in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College, Dublin 6–9 September 1992* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 153–65 at pp. 156–7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 155–8.

⁷⁸ Cf. *AFM* 1044.11, 1072.5.

⁷⁹ *CS* 1092=1096; cf. *AU*² 1096.1; *ALC* 1096.4; *AFM* 1096.9.

associated with the church of Clonmacnois, the period of fasting was also accompanied by the granting of ‘great immunityes and freedom to churches that were then before charged with Cess and other extraordinary contry-charges’.⁸⁰ Similarly, a decree of the synod of Cashel, 1101, had ordered that ‘neither king nor lord is entitled to levy rent or tax on the church in Ireland (*gan cíos ná cáin do rígh ná do thaoiseach ón eaglais i nÉirinn go bráth*)’.⁸¹ Ráith Bressail therefore was not the first occasion on which a general freeing of churches from lay dues was decreed: what is notable is the emphasis on their being placed under episcopal authority (assuming that this was not added by Keating).

Towards the end of Keating’s account of Ráith Bressail there occurs the phrase ‘and there are many other good decrees of this holy synod which we have not set down here for brevity’ (*et multa alia bona statuta sunt in hanc sancta synodo quae hic non scripsimus propter brevitatem*).⁸² As tersely recorded in *Chronicum Scotorum* of the synod of Fiad mac nAengusa, 1111, ‘numerous rules were decided on in that synod’ (*Ro cinnedh tra riagla imdha isin senadh sin*), while other annals refer to ‘rules and good conduct’ (*riaghla 7 sobesa*)’ a catchphrase that occurs also in annalistic notices relating to other synods.⁸³ One other indirect piece of evidence relating to Ráith Bressail in Keating’s account is the admonition issued to each of the twenty-five bishops present that they should let no Easter pass without consecrating oil.⁸⁴ Holy oils and chrism were blessed by a bishop on Holy Thursday and distributed to the priests under his jurisdiction for use in baptism, consecration, and the last rites. There is an indirect allusion here to the link between bishops and secular clergy ministering to the laity in parochial churches since it is on Holy Thursday that secular clergy of a diocese must go to the cathedral church and concelebrate the mass at which the chrism oil is distributed.

The presence of Gillebertus as papal legate at Ráith Bressail, as mentioned in Keating’s account, is supported by the concluding benediction, ‘the blessing of the Lord, and of Peter the apostle, and of St Patrick’, and the subscriptions, or signed crosses of those present, which are headed by ‘the cross of the *comhorba* of Peter and of his legate, that

⁸⁰ *AClon*, p. 187. ‘Contry’ is equivalent to *tuath* as in Keating’s *ag flaithibh tuaithe*.

⁸¹ Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Muimhneach*, p. 341; O’Grady and Flower, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, i, p. 175, ii, p. 185; Ó Corráin, ‘Synod of Cashel’, p. 16.

⁸² Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 306–7.

⁸³ CS 1107.5=1111; AU 1111.8, 1126.8, 1129.3, 1158.3, 1162.3; ALC 1111.6; 1126.8, 1129.1; *ro cinned riagla imdha isin tshenadh sin* in AT 1111.6.

⁸⁴ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 306–7.

is, Giolla Espuig, bishop of Limerick'.⁸⁵ As papal legate Gillebertus would have taken precedence even over the archbishop of Armagh as primate, a primacy that was endorsed at Ráith Bressail; indeed, the word primate occurs three times in Keating's account, though whether that reflects the usage of his source or his own emphasis is difficult to judge. A further link between Gillebertus and Ráith Bressail is the fact that in Keating's text the boundaries of the see of Limerick are defined in greater detail than for any other diocese with twelve boundary locations named, in contrast with the four compass points provided for the other dioceses; and the church of St Mary of Limerick is named as the principal church within the diocese (the only cathedral church for which a dedication is given); and there is a separate malediction clause at this point: 'Whoever shall go against these boundaries goes against the Lord, and Peter the apostle, and Patrick and his successors, and the Christian church'.⁸⁶ This implicitly alludes to papal validation for the boundaries of the see of Limerick with the added warning that an attack on the diocese of Limerick was also an attack on St Peter.

The major difficulty with Keating's account is that the precedence accorded to Gillebertus at Ráith Bressail cannot be reconciled with the annals which have no explicit notice of a synod of Ráith Bressail, although entries relating to the synod of Fiad mac nAengusa have been taken by scholars to be identical with Ráith Bressail. Two distinct groups of annalistic entries relating to Fiad mac nAengusa may be identified. What may be termed a northern group comprising the Annals of Ulster, Annals of Loch Cé, and the Annals of Four Masters, accord precedence to Cellach of Armagh, while the Annals of Tigernach, *Chronicum Scotorum*, and the Annals of Inisfallen give precedence to Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin, described as 'bishop of Munster' (*ardspoc Muman*), in the Annals of Tigernach and as 'archbishop of Ireland' (*ardebiscop hErend*) in *Chronicum Scotorum* and the Annals of Inisfallen. There is no mention of Gillebertus of Limerick in these annalistic notices. In 1997 David Dumville proposed overcoming dichotomies between the annal entries and Keating's account by positing two separate synods, one which met at

⁸⁵ *Beannacht an Choimthe is Pheadair apstail is Naomh Pádraig; + chomhorba Peadair is a leagáide .i. Giolla Easpuig easpog Luimnigh*: *ibid.* The name-form Giolla Easpuig is unique to Keating where Cellach of Armagh also occurs uniquely as Giolla Ceallaigh. Cf. the individual subscriptions *manibus propriis roborantes* in the letter sent by the clergy and people of Waterford to Anselm in 1096 requesting the consecration of Malchus (Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire) as bishop of Waterford: Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Opera*, iv, no. 201.

⁸⁶ *Gibé tí tar na teorannaibh-se is tar sárughadh an Choimthe is Pheadair apstail is Naomh Pádraig is a chomhorba is na heagailse Críostaidhe thig sé*: Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 304–5.

Fiad mac nAengusa, the location mentioned in the annals, and another at Ráith Bressail, as named in Keating's account. In Dumville's words, 'the view that Fiad mac nAengusa and Ráith Bressail were the same place at which only one council was held, in 1111, seems to me to be fundamentally mistaken'.⁸⁷ Keating recorded a synod at Fiad mac nAengusa which he dated to around 1106 at which were present Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin, 'archbishop of Munster', and Cellach son of Áed, 'coarb of Patrick', described as 'vicar-general of the primate'.⁸⁸ Keating evidently had access to a set of annals that referred to the synod of Fiad mac mAengusa and which accorded precedence to Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin. Probably because of difficulties in reconciling his sources Keating presented Fiad mac nAengusa as distinct from Ráith Bressail. However, the fact that in the twelfth-century manuscript of the Annals of Inisfallen, Fiad mac nAengusa is glossed as Ráith Bressail in the hand of the main scribe and further that there is a marginal quatrain which mentions Ráith Bressail, also in the hand of the main scribe, argues in favour of a concurrence.⁸⁹ Also to be noted is a short text in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster which places 'the synod of Ráith Bressail' chronologically between the battle of Mag Coba in 1103 and the battle of Dublin in 1115.⁹⁰ At the very least, this offers another reassuring

⁸⁷ Dumville, *Councils and Synods*, p. 38, proposed the year 1118. Confusion arises from the fact that various annals refer to the synod of Fiad mac nAengusa in 1111: *AI* 1111.3; *ALC* 1111.6; *AT* 1111.6; *AU*² 1111.8; *CS* 1111.6.

⁸⁸ *Biocáire gearálta an phríomáidh*: Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 296–7. Both 'vicar general' and 'primate' may have been terms that were introduced by Keating. Keating's chronology is confused: he dates the synod of Cashel in 1101 to 1106, the synod of Fiad mac nAengusa to the same year, and immediately follows it with an account of Ráith Bressail dated to 1100: *ibid.*, pp. 298–9.

⁸⁹ Image available at

<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb503 fo. 33r>.

⁹⁰ The text is headed *Incipit do flaithesaib ocus amseraib Herenn iar cretim* ('Here begins concerning the reigns and times of Ireland after the faith') and has an entry, *Senad Rátha Bresail*: Best, *Book of Leinster*, i, p. 99, line 3179. The events recorded are mostly without dates (an exception is the synod of Kells, the date of which is given in Latin as 1152, as above, note 69). The entries immediately preceding *Senad Rátha Bresail* are *Cath Maige Coba*; *Magnus rí Lochlann do marbad in Ultaib* ('The battle of Mag Coba'; 'Magnus, king of Norway, was slain in Ulster'). Both events are assigned in all other annalistic compilations to 1103: *AU*² 1103.5, 6; *AI* 1103.3, 4, 5; *AT* 1103.3, 4, 5; *CS* 1099.2=1103; *ALC* 1103.3, 5; *AFM* 1103.10, 11. The entries immediately succeeding *Senad Rátha Bresail* are *Cath eter Dondchad mac Murchada 7 claind Domnaill. Mebaid for Claind Domnaill. Cath Átha Cliath. Mebaid iarum for Laignib in quod Dondchad mac Murchada 7 Conchobor hua Conchobuir interfecti sunt* ('Battle between Donnchad mac Murchada and Clann Domnaill. Clann Domnaill were defeated. The battle of Dublin. Defeat was inflicted on the Leinstermen in which Donnchad mac Murchada and Conchobor ua Conchobuir were killed'). The 'battle of Dublin' and the killing of Donnchad mac Murchada and

contemporary independent reference to the synod of Ráith Bressail to set alongside that of the gloss in the Annals of Inisfallen manuscript.

Why there should be alternative name-forms, Fiad mac nAengusa and Ráith Bressail, both unidentified locations, and a non-match of evidence with Keating's account of Gillebertus presiding at a synod as papal legate, are just two of many uncertainties. It is conceivable that an initial meeting was convened at Fiad mac nAengusa at which a hierarchical structure for the Irish episcopate was outlined; and that it was Gillebertus of Limerick who then went, possibly under the auspices of his royal patron, Muirchertach Ua Briain, to the papal curia to seek endorsement. There is no doubt that Máel Muire Ua Dúnáin, who is described in some of the annalistic entries as presiding at Fiad mac nAengusa, was a very influential ecclesiastic who by 1111 was attached to the court circle of Muirchertach Ua Briain. On the basis of Máel Muire's age, as recorded in his death-notice in 1117,⁹¹ he would have been around seventy years old in 1111, and arguably too elderly to undertake a journey to the papal court. It may therefore have been Gillebertus who was despatched to the papal curia and who returned to Ireland, having been appointed by the pope as *legatus natus*; and in that capacity he may have convened, or reconvened, an adjourned synod that met at Ráith Bressail and endorsed with papal approbation the list of episcopal sees which is now preserved only in Keating's *Foras Feasa*.

Gillebertus certainly had prior experience of travel to the Continent, as evidenced in his correspondence with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, which referred to the fact that the two men had met at Rouen on some occasion before Gillebertus was consecrated as bishop of Limerick. The circumstances of their meeting remains obscure, although from the known chronology of Anselm's career it is most likely that Gillebertus encountered Anselm at Rouen in 1106.⁹² At Rouen Gillebertus would have come into contact with the latest reform currents; it is even possible that he may have received some of his clerical formation on the continent. By analogy with the appointment as papal legate in 1140 of St Malachy, and in 1152 of Christianus (Gilla Críst Ua Connairche), bishop of Lismore, and in 1179 of Laurentius (Lorcán Ua Tuathail), archbishop of Dublin, Gillebertus's appointment as papal

Conchobor Ua Conchobuir, king of Uí Failgi, are dated to 1115 in other annals: *AI* 1115.8; *AT* 1115.4; *CS* 1111.6=1115; *AU*² 1115.4; *ALC* 1115.4; *AFM* 1115.5.

⁹¹ He died on 24 December: *AU*² 1117.7; *AI* 1117.4; *AT* 1117.2 (at Clonard); *CS* 1113.4=1117 (at Clonard).

⁹² Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 49–50.

legate presupposes a visit to the papal curia.⁹³ A continental training might more readily account for Gillebertus's appointment as papal legate, a circumstance that is known not only from Keating's account of the synod of Ráith Bressail but also from Bernard of Clairvaux's *Life of Malachy*, which he began writing in 1148, that is, within three years of Gillebertus's death in 1145. Bernard described Gillebertus as the first papal legate appointed to the Irish church.⁹⁴ Accepting Keating's account of Gillebertus presiding at Ráith Bressail as accurate, he would have owed his legatine appointment to Paschal II (1099–1118).⁹⁵ On the evidence of Bernard of Clairvaux, Gillebertus was papal legate in 1139 when he resigned that office on the eve of Malachy's departure for the continent. A papal legation normally lapsed with the death of the pope who had made the appointment. Therefore, Gillebertus's legateship would have to have been renewed by at least one, and possibly more than one, of Paschal II's successors. His legateship and its renewal must have occasioned continental contacts that may have impacted on Irish churchmen which are otherwise unattested. Given the length of Gillebertus's episcopate of almost forty years duration and a papal legateship that was renewed at least once after 1118 and could possibly have spanned as long as twenty-eight years, it is particularly frustrating that there is so little Irish evidence for his career, and therefore also for the context in which he wrote his treatise.

The ecclesiastical province of Rouen where Gillebertus met Anselm was in the forefront of reforming initiatives on the continent. A series of provincial councils had met from 1040 onwards and its archbishops had issued decrees on a wide range of issues, including clerical discipline, liturgical rites, and marriage.⁹⁶ A Rouen council of 1096 reiterated the decisions of Pope Urban II's great council of

⁹³ See A. Gwynn, 'Six Irish Papal Legates, 1101–98' in A. Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*; ed. G. O'Brien (Dublin, 1992), pp. 116–54.

⁹⁴ *Vita Malachiae* § 20 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, p. 331. Bernard does, however, add the qualification *qui aiunt*, 'they say'. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 344.

⁹⁵ It is significant that a death-notice for Paschal occurs in Irish annals: *Paschalis comarba Petair seruus relegiosus cum dilexione Dei et proximi ad Christum migravit* ('Paschal, successor of Peter, a religious servant, migrated to Christ with love of God and of neighbour'): *AU*² 1118.4; *ALC* 1118.4. In the same year pilgrims returning to Ireland described a great earthquake in the Alps that razed many cities and killed many: *AU*² 1118.7; *ALC* 1118.8.

⁹⁶ R. Foreville, 'The Synod of the Province of Rouen in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' in C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin, and D. Owen (eds), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C. R. Cheney on his 70th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 19–39.

Clermont that had met in November 1095. The council of Clermont is best known for Urban's preaching of the first crusade, but Clermont also produced a substantial body of reformist legislation, possibly as many as sixty decrees. Decrees from Clermont are reflected in those of the synod of Cashel in 1101.⁹⁷ It is unfortunate that the Clermont decrees do not survive in a complete or authoritative form.⁹⁸ Equally regrettable, as already noted, the extant acts of Cashel survive only in a modern Irish translation.

Notwithstanding the source limitations for both Clermont and Cashel, analogies between decrees passed at Clermont in 1095 and Cashel in 1101 can be identified. The decree at Cashel enjoining clerical celibacy is reminiscent of acts passed at Clermont that prescribed celibacy for the higher clerical grades of priest, deacon, and subdeacon.⁹⁹ The same distinction between higher celibate and lower non-celibate clergy is made by Gillebertus of Limerick in his treatise.¹⁰⁰ Clermont legislated against a cleric holding two titles in two churches, or two honours in one church. In similar vein, the fourth decree at Cashel enacted 'that there shall not be two superiors in one church, except in a church where two provinces march',¹⁰¹ arguably the best indication of analogies between the synods of Clermont and Cashel.

Should a link be drawn between the deliberations of the synod of Ráith Bressail and Gillebertus's treatise?¹⁰² In the dedicatory prologue Gillebertus describes himself simply as *praesul Lumnicensis*, not as papal legate. The view that Gillebertus wrote his treatise as a discussion document for the synod of Ráith Bressail in 1111 rests chiefly on the accompanying diagram depicting the hierarchical structure of the church. The synod of Ráith Bressail endorsed just such a hierarchical structure

⁹⁷ Although Clermont is highlighted here, it should be borne in mind that Urban II convened as many as ten councils, including a council at Piacenza in March 1095, with reiteration of earlier decrees: R. Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–4. Cf. canon 15 of the council of Piacenza which forbade entitlement in two churches which was to be repeated at Clermont: *ibid.*, pp. 100, 114.

⁹⁸ Their textual transmission has been described as chaotic: R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II, Vol. 1: Decreta Claromontensia*, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum Supplementum 1* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 80.

⁹⁹ Ó Corráin, 'Synod of Cashel', p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 152–3.

¹⁰¹ [*Gan*] *dá oircheannach do bheith i n-aenchill acht ar in gcill do bheith i gcomhrac dá chóigeadh*: Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Muimhneach*, p. 341; O'Grady and Flower, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, i, p. 175, ii, p. 185; Ó Corráin, 'Synod of Cashel', p. 16.

¹⁰² For scholars who have drawn such a link, see Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 55.

comprising two archiepiscopal provinces of Armagh and Cashel, with primacy accorded to Armagh. In Gillebertus's diagram, the foundational pyramids of the hierarchical church comprise the parish under its priest and the monastery under its abbot. The next tier is episcopal dioceses which, as explained in Gillebertus's text, should contain at least ten, and no more than one thousand, of the basic units of parish and monastery.¹⁰³ The succeeding level, the archiepiscopal dioceses, should be formed from no fewer than three and no more than twenty suffragan bishoprics. Above the archbishoprics is the primatial tier. A primate should have at least one archbishopric and not more than six under him. At the apex of the diagrammatic hierarchy stands the emperor, the pope, and Noah alongside each other, and above them, Christ. In medieval typological exegesis, the ark built by Noah prefigured the church, the flood prefigured baptism, and Noah prefigured Christ. Just as Noah built the ark, so did Christ establish the church as the only means of salvation. Gillebertus's inclusion of Noah and his reference to the pyramidal shape of the church suggests his acquaintance with the pre-twelfth-century iconographic representation of Noah's ark as a truncated pyramid, based on the exegesis of Origin and Tertullian, which was to be superseded in the course of the twelfth century by the house-shaped ark placed on the hull of a ship that was popularized by Hugh of St Victor.¹⁰⁴

Gillebertus's supposition that an archbishop is subject to a primate displays the influence of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals compiled in the mid-ninth century, but which had only limited influence before the eleventh century.¹⁰⁵ Certainly, Gillebertus's treatise would have been useful in informing decisions at Ráith Bressail in relation to the relative status of the archiepiscopal sees of Armagh and Cashel and the formal recognition of primacy to Armagh. The first serious attempts by aspirant primates to claim jurisdictional primatial authority date from the last quarter of the eleventh century; and, not surprisingly, they were to prove highly contentious since many archbishops proved reluctant to accept primatial oversight and vigorously disputed such claims.¹⁰⁶ The Pseudo-Isidorean reflex evidenced at Ráith Bressail affords some insight into the

¹⁰³ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 151–2.

¹⁰⁴ For the typological analogy between the ark and the hierarchical sacramental church, see G. Zinn, 'Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look', *Church History* 40 (1971), pp. 261–72 at p. 267.

¹⁰⁵ Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 56–8.

¹⁰⁶ For a recent discussion, see F. Delivré, 'The Foundations of Primatial Claims in the Western Church (Eleventh—Thirteenth Centuries)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 59 (2008), pp. 383–406, which includes a brief treatment of the primacy of Armagh.

preparations which must have preceded that synod and the consensus which must have been negotiated in advance that Armagh would be acknowledged as the primatial see. From a Pseudo-Isidorean perspective, the church of Armagh required the creation of the archiepiscopal see of Cashel in order to validate its own primacy. In other words, in accordance with Pseudo-Isidore, Armagh had to have at least one archbishopric that acknowledged its primacy. That consideration must form an important backdrop to the rapprochement between the church of Armagh and the Munster king, Muirchertach Ua Briain, that resulted in the acknowledgement at Ráith Bressail of the archiepiscopal status of Armagh and Cashel, with primacy accorded to Armagh. Awareness for the requirement of at least one other archiepiscopal see in order to validate Armagh's primacy is implicit in Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of Malachy when he attributed to Celsus (Cellach) of Armagh the restoration of 'another metropolitan see' that was to be subject to the archbishop of Armagh 'as primate (*tamquam primati*)'.¹⁰⁷

An archiepiscopal province, according to Gillebertus's treatise, should comprise no fewer than three and no more than twenty dioceses. In fact, the synod of Ráith Bressail allocated twelve episcopal sees to each archiepiscopal province. This more closely accorded with a Pseudo-Isidorean view that the ideal archiepiscopal province should consist of between ten and twelve episcopal sees.¹⁰⁸ Evidence for the influence and implementation of the view that an archiepiscopal see should comprise twelve dioceses is largely continental. To give just one example, in 1094 when Pope Urban II (1088–99) reconstituted the bishopric of Arras and assigned it as the twelfth see to the metropolitan province of Rheims, the pope justified his decision on the basis that an ecclesiastical province should consist of twelve sees.¹⁰⁹ The Pseudo-Isidorean decretals were the sole source in the entire corpus of canon law which suggested an ideal number of sees for an ecclesiastical province. The synod of Ráith Bressail therefore accorded more closely with a Pseudo-Isidorean view of an archiepiscopal province comprising between ten and twelve dioceses than with Gillebertus of Limerick's treatise which advocated a number of no fewer than three and no more than twenty. This suggests that texts other than Gillebertus's treatise informed decisions at Ráith Bressail.

Geoffrey Keating offered an explanation for the allocation of twelve sees to the two provinces of Armagh and Cashel. He stated that

¹⁰⁷ *Vita Malachiae* § 33 in *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, p. 340, line 13.

¹⁰⁸ H. Fuhrmann, 'Provincia constat duodecim episcopatibus: zum Patriarchsplan Erzbischof Adalberts von Hamburg-Bremen', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), pp. 391–404.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 401–2.

‘just as twelve bishops were fixed under Canterbury in the south of England, and twelve bishops in the north under the city of York, a similar arrangement was made at the synod of Raith Bresail in Ireland, namely twelve bishops in Leath Mogha and twelve bishops in Leath Cuinn, and also two bishops in Meath’.¹¹⁰ Keating’s analogy was not one that could have been derived from the twelfth-century reality in the English church. In the case of the ecclesiastical province of York, for example, it would have been difficult even to identify Gillebertus’s minimum requirement of three suffragan bishops. Although by the time Keating was writing in the seventeenth century, a number of post-Reformation English dioceses had been created, such as Bristol, Chester, Gloucester and Oxford, the numbers were still far from approximating to twelve sees in either the province of Canterbury or York.¹¹¹

The view that the English church comprised two provinces, each containing twelve episcopal sees, may be traced to Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. As recorded by Bede, Pope Gregory I, writing to the missionary, Augustine, in 601, had advised him to constitute metropolitan bishoprics at London and at York, under each of which twelve bishoprics were to be consecrated.¹¹² In 734 Bede, writing to Egbert, newly consecrated bishop of York, and citing Pope Gregory’s advice to Augustine, urged Egbert to strive to set up twelve subject bishoprics under York.¹¹³ It has been suggested that Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History*, completed around 731, in part, to prepare the ground for a northern metropolitan see at York which was to parallel that of Canterbury in the south in accordance with Pope Gregory I’s proposed scheme for episcopal organization in Britain.¹¹⁴ In Bede’s estimation, bishops were so keen on their revenues that dioceses were kept too large to permit regular pastoral visits to remote locations. Egbert received Bede’s letter admonishing him on his episcopal office early in his pontificate, yet there is no evidence of his having heeded Bede’s advice

¹¹⁰ *Amhail do horduigheadh dá easpóg dhéag san leith theas do Shacraibh um Chanterburie, is dá easpóg dhéag san leith thuaidh um chathir Eborach, is mar sin do horduigheadh i Seanadh Rátha Breasail i nÉirinn, mar atá dá easpóg dhéag i Leith Mogha is dá easpóg dhéag i Leith Cuinn, is fós dá easpóg san Mhidhe*: Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 298–9.

¹¹¹ Cf. F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edn (London, 1961), pp. 207–8, 215, 227–8, 224–5.

¹¹² B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds and trans.), *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), pp. 104–5.

¹¹³ C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), i, pp. 405–23.

¹¹⁴ H. Mayr-Harting, ‘Ecgerht (d. 766)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8580>, accessed 3 April 2012]

nor having made any attempt to divide his own unwieldy diocese of York. By the early twelfth century York still constituted a geographically extensive archiepiscopal province with very few suffragan bishops.

Was the analogy drawn by Keating between the two ecclesiastical provinces in the English church and the twelve sees allocated to Armagh and Cashel one that was actually referred to at Ráith Bressail, or might it simply have been Keating's interpretation, derived from his own reading of Bede? Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* had long been translated into Irish and Keating's knowledge of Bede is evident.¹¹⁵ Keating certainly did his own research on Ráith Bressail, as evidenced not only in his references to the printed works of Meredith Hanmer and James Ussher, but also in the personal judgement that he offered: 'I think that although the old book does not so state, it was six bishops that were in Munster and six in Leinster, with the archbishop of Cashel over them all as chief prelate of Leath Mogha after the manner of temporal sovereignty as we have said above in treating of this matter in the reign of Laoghaire'.¹¹⁶ Keating therefore regarded the political spheres of influence in twelfth-century Ireland a more likely determinant of the two ecclesiastical provinces.

A notable feature of Gillebertus's schematic portrayal of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is that he provided parallel secular rankings, in which he linked pope with emperor, king with primate, duke with archbishop (in this instance *archipontifex* though elsewhere he used *archiepiscopus*), count with bishop, and *miles* or soldier with priest.¹¹⁷ It has been suggested that Gillebertus drew on Walahfrid Strabo, the ninth-century abbot of Reichenau (838–42) who, in a work titled *De exordiis*, offered an analogy between ecclesiastical and secular offices.¹¹⁸ In fact, however, Gillebertus's only explicit comparison with Walahfrid is an equivalence between pope and emperor. In every other respect, Walahfrid's text exhibits many more archaicizing tendencies in the terms deployed for secular rankings; and, in any case, the manuscript history of Walahfrid's text indicates a very restricted circulation and limited

¹¹⁵ See B. Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 83, 92–4.

¹¹⁶ *Measaim, ma tá nach cuireann an seinleabhar síos é, gurab seisear easpog do bhí san Mumhain, is seisear i Laighnibh is Airdeaspog Caisil ós a gcionn uile mar airdphréaláid ós cionn Leithe Mogha ar lorg an ardfhlaitheas temporálta, amhail adhubhramar thuas ag labhairt as an ní-se i bhflaitheas Laoghaire*: Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 300–1.

¹¹⁷ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 150–1.

¹¹⁸ M. Richter, 'Gilbert of Limerick Revisited' in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 341–7 at p. 346.

influence which is a further reason for discounting it as Gillebertus's source.¹¹⁹

The parallel ecclesiastical and secular rank hierarchies may be viewed as an exotic borrowing—notably the allusion to the emperor—which Gillebertus took from some source that had no direct relevance to the twelfth-century Irish polity. Yet early Irish law texts on status had long drawn analogies between ecclesiastical and secular rankings, so this feature of Gillebertus's text was certainly not unique in an Irish context, although admittedly vernacular status texts, such as *Crith Gablach*, *Uraicecht Becc*, and *Uraicecht na Ríar*, were of earlier date (c. AD 650–750).¹²⁰ A genealogical text in the fourteenth-century Book of Lecan that almost certainly dates to the early twelfth century, that is, to around the time when Gillebertus was writing, advanced the claim that kings of Munster should be inaugurated after the manner of the German emperors.¹²¹ Irish monks in the Regensburg *Schottenklöster* and its affiliates were well familiar with the role of the German emperors from whom they had received privileges of protection not to mention that Irish scribes were employed in the imperial chancery.¹²² A charter of Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond, 1167×1175, echoed German imperial diplomatic in its royal style, *divina favente clementia rex*,¹²³ while twelfth-century Latin charters issued by Irish kings that pre-date Anglo-Norman intervention made use in their general addresses of the titles *dux* and *comes* in relation to the secular hierarchy, the same terms as used by Gillebertus in his treatise.¹²⁴

Gillebertus's diagrammatically illustrated episcopal hierarchy with parallel secular rankings is an arresting feature of his treatise, though, in fact, these rankings merit only brief treatment in the text. The diagram has had the unfortunate consequence of deflecting attention away from the main thrust of Gillebertus's treatise, the greater part of which is actually concerned with detailing the seven grades of secular clergy and their duties, but more especially the priest of a 'parochial church', its constituent elements and the essential equipment that such a church should have, including vestments and church furnishings. Gillebertus's

¹¹⁹ Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 59.

¹²⁰ For details, see F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin, 1988), pp. 267–8.

¹²¹ D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence' in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel, *Ireland and Europe*, pp. 176–217 at p. 176; cf. Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 60, 75–6, 92, 180.

¹²² Above, notes 42, 43.

¹²³ Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, pp. 177, 334–5.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 254–5, 265–6, 284–5, 292–3. For *miles* in a charter of Domnall Ua Briain, king of Thomond, 1168×1185, see *ibid.*, pp. 308–9.

very use of the terms *ecclesia parochialis* and *parochia* can be interpreted as a ‘revolution of outlook’.¹²⁵ *Parochia*, or in its Hiberno-Latin form, *paruchia*, had had different meanings in the pre-twelfth-century Irish church embodying pastoral jurisdiction, control of property, and a monastic dimension side by side.¹²⁶ Gillebertus’s usage of *parochialis* to refer to a church led by a secular priest ministering to a lay population, which had been referred to in earlier Irish sources as *plebs*, is a clear indication of his familiarity with contemporary developments.

Gillebertus detailed seven grades of clergy: door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and priest, justifying the number by analogy with the sevenfold graces of the Holy Spirit, the same explication for seven clerical grades as given by the near contemporary canonist, Ivo of Chartres, in his *De Excellentia Sacrorum Ordinum*.¹²⁷ Gillebertus named only one source, Amalarius, to whom he referred twice, on each occasion in order to disagree with his views.¹²⁸ It may be assumed that Gillebertus was referring to the scholar of the church of Metz who around AD 821 wrote a work titled *Liber Officialis* that was intended to instruct Carolingian clergy in liturgical ritual. Gillebertus’s allusions to Amalarius have been described as ‘rather backward-looking’, and the ‘general tone of the treatise sounds of an earlier age than the more developed legal treatises that the Gregorian reform had called into production elsewhere’.¹²⁹ In fact, the use of Amalarius is so ubiquitous in the twelfth century that it would be hard to localize it to any particular region. Amalarius, according to Gillebertus, reckoned nine ecclesiastical grades by including the psalmist and the bishop, whereas actually, Amalarius had named the same seven grades as Gillebertus. Gillebertus confidently justified his rejection of Amalarius by opining that the bishop should not be included as a separate grade since every bishop was also a priest; and, since any individual could be authorized by a priest to sing or intone a psalm, the psalmist or cantor ought not to be reckoned as a distinct ecclesiastical grade. Not only did Amalarius not include the psalmist and the bishop, he categorically stated ‘priest and bishop are virtually the same office’ (*episcopi et sacerdotis pene unum est officium*).¹³⁰ It is likely

¹²⁵ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–51, 158–9.

¹²⁶ C. Etchingam, ‘The Implications of *Paruchia*’, *Ériu* 44 (1993), pp. 139–62; T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 244–7.

¹²⁷ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 152–5; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–91), clxii, p. 514b.

¹²⁸ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9, 158–9.

¹²⁹ Richter, ‘Gilbert of Limerick Revisited’, p. 344; J. A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, revised edn (Dublin, 1998), p. 12.

¹³⁰ J. M. Hannsens (ed.), *Amalarii Episocopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi* 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948), ii, p. 251.

therefore that Gillebertus drew not directly on Amalarius but on one of the many epitomizing sources that circulated under his name during the twelfth century.¹³¹

In relation to the subdeacon, Gillebertus comments on the symbolism of the maniple worn by the subdeacon on his left arm (*manus*) that it should touch the altar lightly like a broom because it symbolizes that the subdeacon is to carry the burden of the Lord lightly. Gillebertus is in line here with the reformist position that the order of subdeacon, which until the eleventh century had been an *ordo incertus*, belonged to the restricted category of the higher orders of clergy; and therefore, says Gillebertus, ‘subdeacons must be chaste’ (*et idcirco castos esse*).¹³² Gillebertus was also prepared to allow the duty of reading the epistle to subdeacons, a practice of which Amalarius disapproved since he accorded an inferior role to the subdeacon. Noteworthy is Gillebertus’s term for the maniple worn by the subdeacon: he calls it *fannon*, a form derived from Old French, rather than the more widely attested Latin *manipulus* or *mappula*. Bearing in mind that Gillebertus had met Anselm at Rouen before his elevation to the see of Limerick, it is eminently possible that Gillebertus drew on a source derived from that region. In an anonymous tract, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, on ecclesiastical offices and liturgical vestments that was once attributed to Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1117), but which has since been identified as the work of an epitomizer who drew, among other sources, on a text of John, bishop of Avranches (1054–67) and later archbishop of Rouen (1067–79), the maniple is described as ‘the maniple which we call the fanon’ (*mapula quam fanonem appellamus*).¹³³ Usage of *fan(n)on* therefore is attested in late eleventh-century Normandy, a region in which liturgical studies constituted an important element of a reform agenda concerned to promote authentic Roman practice. Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury corresponded with John of Avranches as archbishop of Rouen, concerning the vesting of the subdeacon at ordination with the maniple. Lanfranc sought clarification from the archbishop of Rouen as to where he had found that ruling, since Lanfranc believed the maniple was common to all clerical orders:

¹³¹ Cf. R. W. Pfaff, ‘The “*Abbreuatio Amalarii*” of William of Malmesbury’, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 17 (1980), pp. 77–113, 18 (1981), pp. 128–71; C. A. Jones (ed.), *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS. 154*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 2 (London, 2001).

¹³² Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 152–3; Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 63–4.

¹³³ See R. J. Zawilla, ‘The *Sententia Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi De Divinis Officiis*, the “Norman School” and Liturgical Scholarship: Study and Edition’, *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), pp. 124–51 (quotation at p. 150).

On another point, you took the view that when holy orders are conferred the maniple is given only to the subdeacon. Please send me a note of where you found this ruling. I hear that it is the practice in some quarters, but I cannot recall whether it is prescribed in canon law. It is widely held that the maniple is an ornament that is common to all orders, like the alb and amice.¹³⁴

This is an echo of contemporary concerns about vestments that were specific to each clerical grade at a time when those grades were being defined with greater precision. Gillebertus, in his identification of the maniple as a signifier of the grade of subdeacon at ordination, reflected contemporary views.

Gillebertus divides the essential equipment of a priest in a parochial church into two categories: items that required consecration by a bishop and items which did not. The items that had to be consecrated by a bishop are detailed as the church precinct (*atrium*), the church itself, the altar and altar table, altar cloths, liturgical vestments, the chalice, paten, corporal, the vessels for distribution of communion, the chrism oil and the container for chrism, the censer and incense, the baptismal font, the shrine for relics, the altar canopy, the cross, the handbell (*tintinabulum*), and the judicial iron (*ferrum iudiciale*), used in the liturgical rite of an ordeal by hot iron.¹³⁵ Gillebertus's listing of those objects that had to be consecrated by a bishop affords evidence of another type of source upon which he drew, namely a pontifical. Pontificals were liturgical service books that contained rites and blessings which were exclusive to, and compiled specifically for, the use of bishops. The most widely diffused pontifical by the early twelfth century was the so-called Romano-Germanic pontifical, a text conventionally attributed to the church of Mainz in the mid-tenth century, and which gradually gained wide diffusion and acceptance. The Romano-Germanic pontifical contains liturgical rites for the blessing of virtually all the items listed by Gillebertus.¹³⁶ A telling detail that Gillebertus was drawing on a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type is his description of the altar canopy as *cimbarium id est altaris umbraculum*. The form *cimbarium* for altar

¹³⁴ Porro quod in dandis ordinibus soli subdiacono dari manipulum perhibuistis, ubi hoc acceperitis rogo me uestris litteris instruatis. A quibusdam enim id fieri audio, sed utrum id fieri sacris auctoritatibus precipiatur meminisse non valeo. Plerique autumant manipulum commune esse ornamentum omnium ordinum, sicut albam et amictam: Clover and Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 86–7.

¹³⁵ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 161–2.

¹³⁶ C. Vogel and R. Elze (eds), *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi* 226, 227, 269 (Rome, 1963–72), i, pp. 123–80, 190–1, ii, pp. 380–1.

canopy is unique to Gillebertus, suggesting that he may have been unfamiliar with it. The usual word was *ciborium* and it occurs in that form in the Romano-Germanic pontifical; and crucially the altar canopy is otherwise described in the selfsame phrase as used by Gillebertus, namely *ciborium id est altaris umbraculum*.¹³⁷

That Gillebertus had access to a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type would not be surprising. A letter sent by the citizens of Dublin in 1074 to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, requesting the consecration of Patricius (Gilla Pátraic) as their bishop was couched in the form of a *decretum* as it occurs in the Romano-Germanic pontifical.¹³⁸ It might be argued that the *decretum* was drafted at Canterbury so as to conform with canon law procedures, but there is no reason to doubt that a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type would not have been available to Irish churchmen by 1074; it could, for example, have been acquired by Dublin's first bishop, Dúnán, along with relics and a martyrology via Cologne.¹³⁹ It is highly likely that Gillebertus, bearing in mind that he was resident papal legate, would have had a copy of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type.

Regrettably, there are no surviving pontificals from the twelfth-century Irish church even though, in the context of a renewal of episcopal leadership, the numbers are likely to have been substantial. There are, however, three liturgical missals of Irish provenance that have been dated on palaeographical grounds to the late eleventh or twelfth centuries, each of which show the influence of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type.¹⁴⁰ All three missals owe their preservation to their removal from Ireland. The Corpus missal was acquired in unknown circumstances by Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the Drummond missal, which takes its name from its former location at Drummond Castle in Perthshire, was

¹³⁷ Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, i, pp. 165–6; Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 65–6.

¹³⁸ This was first pointed out by M. Philpott, 'Some Interactions between the English and Irish Churches', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1998), pp. 187–204 at pp. 195–6.

¹³⁹ See M. Holland, 'Decreta of Late Eleventh-Century Irish Bishops-Elect', *Peritia* 21 (2010), pp. 233–54, who argues that the church of Dublin possessed a copy of a pontifical of Romano-Germanic type that was independent of Canterbury.

¹⁴⁰ F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879); H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Edinburgh, 1882); H. J. Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal: An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society 15 (London, 1899).

purchased in 1926 by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York;¹⁴¹ and the Rosslyn missal, so-named from having formerly been kept in the library of the Sinclairs at Rosslyn near Edinburgh, was purchased by the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh in 1699.¹⁴² They await detailed comparative liturgical study.

Gillebertus lists the six clerical grades below that of priest as subject to the authority of the priest in a parish. He also includes within the ‘fold of the parochial church’ (*intra sinum parochialis*), three orders of the faithful, namely, those engaged in praying, in ploughing, and in fighting.¹⁴³ Such a tripartite division of society had become a stock description by the twelfth century, although it is ironic that Gillebertus used the term *aratores*, ‘ploughers’ rather than the more usual *laboratores*, in light of the criticism made by the twelfth-century Cambro-Norman propagandist, Gerald of Wales, that the Irish ‘had not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living’, and that land was little cultivated in Ireland.¹⁴⁴ The conventional three-fold division of society, into those who prayed, those who worked, and those who fought, made no allowance for women, a difficulty that Gillebertus acknowledged: ‘I do not say that it is the role of women to pray, to plough, or most certainly not to fight. However, they are married to and subject to those who pray, and plough, and fight’.¹⁴⁵ Gillebertus’s usage of *conjugatae*, as applied to female *oratores* within the *parish*, can be interpreted as referring to wives of lesser clerical grades that might be non-celibate. As Gillebertus noted, the lower clerical grades of porters, lectors, exorcists, and acolytes could be married.¹⁴⁶ Gillebertus justified the inclusion of women among *oratores* within the parish with an implicit acknowledgement of their worth and contribution: women ‘are not separated from the church on earth, whom Christ places with his mother in heaven’.¹⁴⁷ In light of this Marian explication, and read alongside his

¹⁴¹ For the suggestion that it was taken from Ireland to Scotland in the early thirteenth century, see S. M. Holmes, ‘Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560’, *Innes Review* 62 (2011), pp. 127–212 at p. 137.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 142. It is now at the National Library of Scotland.

¹⁴³ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

¹⁴⁴ *Gens a primo pastoralis vitae vivendi modo non recedens*: J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner (eds), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1861–91), v, p. 151; Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁵ *Nec dico feminarum esse officium orare, arare, aut certe bellare sed tamen his conjugatae sunt atque subserviunt qui orant, et arant, et pugnant*: Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 152–3. On the status of women religious, see Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 70–3.

¹⁴⁷ *Nec se junctas ab ecclesia putamus praesenti quas Christus cum matre sua collocat in coelesti*: Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9, 156–7.

mariological description of the feast of 2 February as the Purification of Mary, rather than the christological Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple, it is worth noting that Gillebertus's own cathedral-church at Limerick was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁸ Arguably, Gillebertus's was the first Irish cathedral church to have a Marian dedication; and in this too he would have reflected contemporary developments in relation to the growing cult of Mary.

Just as the lower clergy and laity were subject to the authority and judgement of the priest in a parochial church, so the priest, in turn, explained Gillebertus, had to be obedient to his bishop. Twice a year, the bishop was to hold a three-day synod to investigate the pastoral ministry of his priests. Gillebertus described those meetings as taking place in summer and in autumn. His suggested timing again supports the view that he was drawing on a version of the Romano-Germanic pontifical, which specifically mentioned the holding of episcopal synods in summer and autumn.¹⁴⁹ Gillebertus did not delineate in any detail the functions of an archbishop or a primate. He briefly attributed to an archbishop the responsibility of consecrating bishops, assisted by other bishops. He described the primate as incorporating the grade of archbishop in his office and he differentiated a primate from an archbishop by the fact that, when other archbishops were present, it was the primate who ordained the king and placed the crown on his head at the three solemn crown-wearing festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun.¹⁵⁰ Gillebertus distinguished between *ordinatio*, the inaugural ceremony of a king assuming royal office, at which the king was crowned for the first time, and *coronatio*, a crown-wearing occasion. Here also, Gillebertus may have been drawing on a pontifical which included rites for the crowning of a king since coronation *ordines* are commonly found in pontificals, including some that are known to have been copied for bishops who would not ever have had the opportunity to crown a king.¹⁵¹

All in all, Gillebertus's treatise reads as a manual that was intended primarily for the instruction of secular clergy. It is not a handbook of episcopal duties: there are no details about diocesan or cathedral administration. If the text had been aimed primarily at an episcopal readership, these might be expected to have received more treatment. And if it had been written as a discussion document for the synod of Ráith

¹⁴⁸ Keating, *Foras Feasa*, iii, pp. 304–5.

¹⁴⁹ *Sancta sinodus bis in anno aecclesiastica decrevit habere concilia, unum estate, aliud tempore autumnii*: Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, i, p. 280, lines 1–2. Synods held during the season of Lent were becoming increasingly common, following the practice of Pope Gregory VII.

¹⁵⁰ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 162–3.

¹⁵¹ Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 75–6.

Bressail in 1111, a fuller exposition of relations between bishop, archbishop, primate, and pope, together with justificatory citations from biblical and canonical texts, could surely have been expected. Gillebertus stated that the pope ruled over the universal church as the successor of Peter, citing the usual biblical justification from Matthew: ‘You are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church’; and in his prologue, alluding to the diagram of the church that accompanied his text, Gillebertus highlighted that all members of the church were placed under and governed by Christ and ‘his vicar, the blessed apostle Peter, the one who presides in the Apostolic See’.¹⁵² However, Gillebertus provided no detail of how the pope might, in practice, interact with a regional church. He did not, for example, elaborate on the appellate jurisdiction of the pope beyond stating in a general way that the pope ‘ordains and judges all’. There is no reference to papal legates, an office that Gillebertus himself held, possibly for a substantial portion of his career. The treatise betrays no trace of a monastic vocabulary. There is no mention of monasticism other than to deny categorically to monks any responsibility for pastoral care of the laity and to emphasize that monks, like secular clergy, were subject to the authority of a bishop: as Gillebertus says, ‘it is not the task of monks to baptise, to give communion, or to minister anything to the laity unless, in case of necessity, they obey the command of the bishop; having left the secular world to be free for prayer, their duty is solely to God’.¹⁵³ Gillebertus’s expectation of episcopal supervision of monasteries, and the denial of a pastoral role to monks, could hardly be more clearly expressed. It cannot be interpreted as other than a ‘revolution of outlook’ which delineated a very clear difference from the predominantly monastic church that Kathleen Hughes had described in *The Church in Early Irish Society*.

Two different titles for Gillebertus’s treatise occur in the manuscripts. *De usu ecclesiastico* is used for the prologue couched in the form of a letter addressed to the bishops and priests of Ireland and *De statu ecclesiae* for the main text.¹⁵⁴ In each case, however, these are likely to be later rubrical insertions and not Gillebertus’s own autograph. An introduction to a treatise in the form of a letter allowed for an expression of personal opinion, such as Gillebertus did indeed articulate: he explained that he had written ‘in order that those diverse and schismatical orders by which almost the whole of Ireland is deluded may yield to the

¹⁵² Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 145–6, 162–3.

¹⁵³ Fleming, *Gille*, pp. 148–9.

¹⁵⁴ *De usu ecclesiastico* heads and ends the prologue in CCCC, folio 98; *De statu eccl[esi]ae* is the rubric for the treatise in DCL MS B.II.35, folio 37r.

one Catholic and Roman office'.¹⁵⁵ The reward he sought was that the bishops and priests of Ireland should 'praise God with one heart and one voice'. This emphasizes uniformity of worship, although the actual content of the treatise contains little or no discussion of liturgical worship. The biblical quotation of praising God in unison is used in the prologue as a metaphor for uniformity. Just as one should have unanimity of liturgical *ordines* (or rites), so the various *ordines* (or grades) in the Irish church should conform to those of the universal church. An *ordo* which was regarded as *doctissimus* (most learned) in Ireland would be regarded as *idiota* (ignorant) and *laicus* (of lay status) in another church. This can only be interpreted as an allusion to the existence of non-clerical office-holders in some Irish churches. Gillebertus says 'Just as the confusion of tongues, owing to pride, was reduced to unity by apostolic humility, so the confusion of orders, which has arisen through negligence and presumption, is now to be led through your study and humility to the consecrated rule of the Roman church'.¹⁵⁶ The meaning shifts from liturgical *ordines* to clerical *ordines*. Gillebertus's highlighting in the prologue that his reason for writing was to ensure that the Irish church should have the same *ordines*, or ranks of clergy, as pertained in the universal church is evidence for a 'revolution of outlook' that had far-reaching implications for the non-celibate heads of Irish churches—such as Clann Sínaig who had controlled the church of Armagh in unbroken succession from 963 until the accession of the reformist bishop, Cellach, in 1105—who could thereafter only be classed as laymen.

Gillebertus's treatise affords a valuable insight into the episcopal pastorate as conceived by one Irish bishop who exercised leadership within the diocese of Limerick for almost forty years and also served as resident papal legate under at least two popes and possibly continuously from 1111 to 1139. Gillebertus must also have drawn influence from his association with Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and claimant to the high-kingship, even if Muirchertach's death in 1119 may have led to some curtailment of Gillebertus's influence. On the evidence of Gillebertus's treatise, at least one Irish bishop was closely engaged in canonical and liturgical reflection which was informed by contemporary theological thought. His attested English associations should not rule out a continental dimension to his career. Admittedly, Rouen, where

¹⁵⁵ *Ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est uni catholico et romano cedant officio*: Fleming, Gille, pp. 144–5.

¹⁵⁶ *Sicut igitur linguarum per superbiam facta dispersio ad unitatem in apostolica humilitate ducta est sic ordinum per negligentiam et praesumptionem exorta confusio ad consecratum romanae ecclesiae regulam per vestrum studium et humilitatem ducenda est*: Fleming, Gille, pp. 144–5.

Gillebertus had met Archbishop Anselm, was the capital of the duchy of Normandy and therefore within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. Yet the circumstances in which Gillebertus was consecrated bishop, was first appointed papal legate, and in which his re-appointment to that office was confirmed by one, or more, popes, remain unknown. More work remains to be undertaken in tracing the sources from which he derived his material.

Cynicism about agile professional adaptation by established ecclesiastical personnel to the territorial bishopric and changing circumstances derives in large part from onomastic and genealogical evidence indicating that churchmen in the twelfth century continued to be drawn from high status families that had long-standing associations with certain churches, without allowing that a genuine 'revolution of outlook' might have taken place among them. The reformer, Malachy, whose father had been a *fer léigind*, or man of ecclesiastical learning, at Armagh, was drawn from just such a background. That Malachy came to understand his vocation in a new way and made a personal commitment to a revitalized interpretation of the episcopal pastorate can hardly be doubted since it would have required a great deal of Irish charm to have deluded Bernard of Clairvaux into writing a saintly portrayal of Malachy. Bernard's *Life of Malachy* constitutes another very important externally generated source for episcopal culture in the twelfth-century Irish church, albeit mediated through the genre of hagiography and Bernard's own conception of episcopal office. It is vital to remain acutely aware of just how much chance survival of evidence, most of it preserved outside Ireland, has conditioned perceptions of the course of the reform movement within the twelfth-century Irish church.

Gillebertus of Limerick's treatise, which was aimed primarily at the instruction of secular clergy ministering in parochial churches, in the absence of other reformist texts, stands in isolation as a source for gauging the priorities of Irish bishops in the twelfth century. The transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century conventionally has been presented as a top-down movement in which reformers first sought to put a hierarchical diocesan structure in place. The implication of Gillebertus's treatise is that concern with the calibre and performance of secular clergy and the organization of parishes at local level was equally important at an early stage. The extant decrees of the synod of Cashel in 1101 in their focus on secular clergy and identifiable reflexes of contemporary papal synods, lend added support to such an interpretation. On the continent, the reform movement had begun with a focus on the secular clergy. Monastic reform, and the elaboration of new monastic observances, emerged during the second phase of reform. Gillebertus's treatise fits into that pattern. Whatever its influence may have been, and

admittedly owing to the lack of other evidence this is difficult to assess, the originality of his undertaking, the contemporaneity of his approach and the material on which he drew and the 'revolution of outlook' that it implied, should not be underestimated.

Returning to the substantial gaps in the source material for the twelfth-century Irish church and the necessary reliance upon externally preserved evidence, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that sources either generated, or preserved, outside Ireland are of crucial importance for the history of the twelfth-century Irish church and that without them it would be very difficult to construct a narrative based only on Irish-transmitted evidence, which in relation to the all-important synodal decrees consists chiefly of lists of episcopal sees and dioceses and unelaborated annalistic notices. It is vital to remain aware of just how much chance survival of evidence has determined our perceptions of the course of the reform movement within the twelfth-century Irish church. The focus on Canterbury and diocesan restructuring for the first phase of the reform movement, and on Malachy and his introduction of continental monastic observances in the second phase, has been dictated largely by the surviving evidence. Gillebertus of Limerick's externally-preserved treatise provides valuable insights into a theoretical representation, if not actual evidence, for episcopal leadership in the twelfth-century Irish church. The governmental structures and seven grades of clergy that he so succinctly outlined came to be accepted by Irish churchmen, resulting in a transformation of the Irish church in the course of the twelfth century which made almost unrecognizable the church whose history Kathleen Hughes had traced from its fifth-century origins up to its 'metamorphosis in the twelfth century'.

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