

## X.—*An Inquiry as to the Birthplace of St. Patrick.*

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“Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et cognatos meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere verba animæ meæ.

“Testem Deum habeo, quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis.”—*St. Patrick's Confession.*

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In the following observations, which are submitted with great deference to the judgment of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, I cannot flatter myself that I have succeeded in removing all the doubts and clearing up all the difficulties that beset the question they discuss, belonging as it does to a period which, for Scotchmen, is already one of remote antiquity. They may, however, go some way towards settling a controversy which, within the present generation, has been warmly debated, and which offers as legitimate a subject of interest as any other. Since the days when nine cities of Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, men have always been proud to be able to claim kindred with the great of old; and the times and places of birth of distinguished heroes, statesmen, poets, and hierarchs, have sometimes offered matter for obstinate and minute inquiry. It cannot be indifferent to know to what country or clime we are to refer the birth of a man who has been deservedly styled the Apostle of Ireland, and who, if we may judge by the records of his actions that have come down to us, was undoubtedly a true successor of the apostles. I am aware that the very existence of such a personage has been called in question, but to me it appears to be as clearly established as that of Napoleon Bonaparte,

although historic doubts have been started in both cases. It is not the non-existence of such a personage, but the actual existence of more than one saint or apostolical missionary of the same name, which can present any real difficulties in this case to the inquirer.

The personality, birthplace, and mission of St. Patrick constitute a link between ourselves and the sister island, appealing to the dearest sympathies of religion and consanguinity, which I should be loath to see dissevered, and which I hope, therefore, may resist the rudest assaults of sceptical criticism, although this and every other consideration must give way to the voice of truth, if that should be found opposed. But it is impossible that all which has been handed down to us as to the existence and actions of such a personage should be a mere fiction; that a nation should have been deceived as to the most important event of its history—the introduction of Christianity, and the man who was the principal instrument in the work; or that it should have made itself, either voluntarily or involuntarily, the agent of deception. St. Patrick, too, is still something more to us than a name. Even St. Ninian himself is little more than a shadow, although we know him as the apostle of Scotland, and the missionary of Galloway and the tribes beyond the Wall. But St. Patrick is still a living power, whose memory is fresh in the hearts of millions throughout the world; and with his spirit we may still hold communion through the literary remains, scanty as they are, which he has bequeathed to us.

Up to our own age the unanimous tradition of Christendom represented the apostle of Ireland as having been born amongst the Britons of Strathclyde, or Clydesdale, in south-western Scotland. There were indeed some who, as Usher takes notice in his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, supposed him to have been born in Wales, or even in Ireland itself; but their names are so obscure that it requires much research to discover them, and they did not for a moment disturb the general conviction. The first to do so, and to trouble the stream of ancient tradition, was Dr. Lanigan, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, published in the year 1829, who had, previously to his writing that work, been for some years professor in the University of Padua. His theory, as explained therein, is that St. Patrick was a native of the French or Gallican town now known to us as Boulogne.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Moore, in his *History of Ireland* (i. 211), blindly follows Lanigan.

In this view he has been followed by Mr. Cashel Hoey (the author of an essay on this question, which is included in a volume of treatises published under the auspices of Dr. Manning, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster), who, however, adds nothing to the arguments of his predecessor. It is certain that both religious and national feelings have been unwarrantably enlisted in this matter within our own times, but I should be the last to seek to imitate the bad example which has been set. I regard such a mode of proceeding as fatal to the interests of truth. Such a question ought to be approached, if at all, with the calm and unbiassed temper appropriate to the investigation of scientific problems. It is only by such a method, and by casting aside all spirit of partisanship, that we can hope to arrive at the determination of truth, and to see the results of our inquiries acknowledged and embraced by others. In order to the attainment of this end, it appears to me that the best and most expedient course will be to cite and examine in the first instance the statements of the most ancient authorities, which I shall proceed accordingly to do without further preface.

I.—*The Existence of St. Patrick not doubtful—His own statements about himself.*

From what has been already said, it will be seen that I consider the existence of this saint to be as well established as any fact of history. He never achieved, like Augustine and Jerome, or Athanasius and Chrysostom, a great literary or polemical reputation; hence it would be vain to expect to find abundant notices of his sayings and doings in the contemporary literature of continental Europe. He laboured in a remote and barbarous country, the very name of which was hardly known in the polished cities of Italy and the Byzantine Empire.

The earliest notice of St. Patrick seems to be contained in the letter on the Paschal controversy addressed by the Irish theologian Cummin<sup>1</sup> to Segen or Segian, Abbot of Iona, about the year 630, in which he is styled "Sanctus Patricius Papa noster." Another early attestation of his personality, the more valuable as being itself placed beyond the reach of suspicion, is that

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<sup>1</sup> Cumineus or Cumnianus. This epistle was published by Usher from the Cottonian manuscript, in the *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, Dublin, 1632. Segenus or Segianus was Abbot of Iona from A.D. 622 to 652. Usher states that Cummin is mentioned by Bede, but his name is not to be found in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

of Adamnan in his "Life of St Columba." He mentions in the *Præfatio Secunda*, "Quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii Episcopi discipulus, Maucteus<sup>1</sup> nomine." This is the testimony of one who wrote only 200 years after the saint's death, when his memory had not yet become a subject of doubt or dispute, and was cherished with religious veneration by all the foremost men of the church he founded. There can be no reason for throwing discredit upon it, and it must therefore be accepted as a great fact in hagiology. Of the same age with Adamnan, though less known to fame, was Maccuthenius, or Muirehu Maccumachtene, the author of the Life of St. Patrick preserved in the Book of Armagh, which has supplied the groundwork of most of those subsequently written. This was composed from the dictation of Aedh, Bishop of Sletty, who is believed to be the same with an anchorite mentioned by the Four Masters as having died in 698.<sup>2</sup> The Annotations of Tirechan, preserved in the same collection, which was formed about A.D. 800, were taken from the mouth of Ultan, a bishop who flourished at the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> Ledwich, in his Irish Antiquities, published at the close of the last century, may be regarded as the chief of the sceptics who have called in question the existence of St. Patrick. His doubts were based chiefly on the fact of no mention of the saint being made by Bede in the Ecclesiastical History; but for this it is easy to account. Bede commemorates only those foreign missionaries or other ecclesiastics who were brought into contact with the Anglo-Saxons, or who influenced directly or indirectly the development of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Of these St. Patrick was not one; and even St. Columba is mentioned by Bede only in the most cursory way, though he speaks in detail of his followers Colman and Aidan. This supposed ground of difficulty, there-

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<sup>1</sup> This Maucteus was probably St. Mochta of Lughnagh or Louth, who died in 534, as mentioned in the Annals of Ulster under that year: "Dormitatio Mauchteii, discipuli Patricii, xvi. Cal. Sept. Sic ipse scripsit in epistola sua; Mocteus peccator presbiter, Sancti Patricii discipulus." This entry is important for the chronology of St. Patrick's life.

<sup>2</sup> Todd, Life of St. Patrick, p. 314, note. The first four leaves of the MS. of Maccuthenius are now lost, though they existed in the time of Usher, and were seen by him.

<sup>3</sup> These make mention of St. Patrick's Canticum Scotticum, the Gaelic hymn still extant, in which he prays to be protected against the spells of women, smiths, and Druids; Petrie, Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, p. 109; in the 18th volume of Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

fore, disappears the moment it is seriously examined. But though not mentioned in the History, the name of St. Patrick occurs in two passages of Bede's other works. In the Martyrologium Poeticum, a short metrical composition of which the authenticity is unhappily questioned, his death is commemorated, under March, in the following line—

Patricius Domini servus conscendit ad aulam,

or, as we may render it,

Patrick, God's servant, mounted to the skies.

In the Martyrologia, as printed by the Bollandist editor Henschenius, who discovered the remnants of the manuscript codex, we have the following entry—"xvi Cal. Apr. In Scotia Sti. Patricii Confessoris."<sup>1</sup>

This may suffice as to Bede's knowledge of the existence of St. Patrick.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the Cologne version of the Martyrology, which appears to have undergone alteration and interpolation by later hands, the entry is—"In Scotia natale Sti. Patricii Episcopi et Confessoris, qui primus Christum ibidem evangelizavit." Here *natale* is used as of the second birth, the day of the saint's decease. This or something else misled Hussey, the Oxford Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in his edition of Bede published in 1846, to describe St. Patrick as born in Ireland (p. 26, note). The Martyrologium is supposed by some to be, at least in part, the work of Florus, a monk of the Abbey of St. Trond, near Liège, who lived rather more than a century after Bede. He also made insertions in the Martyrologia, which are known as the Auctarium. It does not of course follow that interpolations of this kind were made with any dishonest intention.

<sup>2</sup> Marianus Scotus in the eleventh century, and Sigebert of Gemblours in the early part of the next (he died in 1112), both refer to St. Patrick, and both speak of him as a native of Britain. The Chronicle of Marianus, under the year 394, which in his chronology is equivalent to the year 372 of the ordinary notation, has the following entry:—"Stus. Patricius nascitur in Britannia insula ex patre nomine Calpuirn. Mater Conchess soror sancti Martini." On this we may remark, that if Conchess or Concessa were St. Martin's sister, she could not have been a Gallic or Gaulish woman, as so often stated by the biographers, for St. Martin was a native of Pannonia or Hungary. Sigebert, under the year 394, has—"Stus. Patricius Scottus in Hibernia cum suis sororibus venditur," where Scottus is evidently used for a native of North Britain. This entry is given as taken from Marianus, though it is not to be found in the text of that writer. Again, Marianus, under the year 453, = 431 of the ordinary notation, has "Sanctus Patricius genere Brittus." Sigebert, at the year 432, has the following—"S. Patricius genere Britto, filius Conches sororis S. Martini Turonensis." This passage also professes to be taken from Marianus, and agrees with his entry under the year 394 above given. Whether the entry in Marianus, then, be by the writer himself, or by some other, a point on which Waitz, his late editor, expresses doubt, though without assigning a

I have said enough upon a point which has no claim to be regarded in any other light than that of a mere sceptical crotchet. We must speak very differently of the theory first suggested by the lamented Dr. Petrie in his *Essay on the Antiquities of Tara*, relative to the existence of more than one St. Patrick. It must be said that the theory is not developed very fully or distinctly, and to examine it minutely is not within the scope of the present inquiry, but there appear to be grounds sufficient to warrant us in receiving it as probable, if not as certainly established. The *Annals of Tighernach* record under the year 341 the birth of Patrick, and under the year 357 his abduction into captivity in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> This goes far to identify him with the author of the Confession, as in one of the most remarkable passages of that venerable document<sup>2</sup> the writer speaks of himself as being carried captive into Ireland in his sixteenth year. It is believed that the Patrick here mentioned died about the year 460, whereas the year ordinarily assigned for the death of St. Patrick is 492,<sup>3</sup> and for his birth that of 372.

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reason, Sigebert must have had it before him when compiling his Chronicle. Marianus may be consulted in the 5th volume of Pertz's collection, *Monument. Germ. Hist. Scriptorum*, or in Migne's *Patrologia*.

<sup>1</sup> Tighernach is considered the most accurate and trustworthy of the ancient Irish annalists. The entries in his *Annals* are—"A.D. 341. Patricius nunc natus est;" "A.D. 357. Patricius captivus in Hiberniam ductus est." The *Annals of Ulster* place the death of Patricius in 457, or in 461 according to other statements, which last date would make him 120 years old, agreeably with the ordinary statement. At the year 461 the *Annals of Tighernach* are defective, but the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* is believed to have been copied from them. A subsequent entry in Tighernach confirms this. Under the year 664 he mentions the outbreak of a pestilence 203 years from the death of St. Patrick, which would thus have happened in 461. What Patrick can this be but the great St. Patrick?

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Reeves states (note to *Adamnan*, p. 6) that the Confession of St. Patrick was transcribed into the *Book of Armagh*, about the year 800, from the autograph of the saint himself, then partly illegible. Either this cannot be true, or the Confession as we now have it must be quite *untrustworthy*, since the author describes himself as unable to read, much more to write (see c. iii.).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptorum*, t. i. ps. ii. p. cviii.) places the birth of St. Patrick in 372, and his abduction in 388, when Britain was ravaged by an Irish fleet. Dr. Todd (in the *Life*) does not attempt to fix the year of his birth, and considers Usher to have been right in placing his death in 493. Dr. Lanigan (*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, i. 137) makes him to have been born in 387, and led captive in 403, when Nial of the Nine Hostages, King of Ireland, after having ravaged the coasts of Great Britain, was plundering the maritime districts of Gaul. According to the same author, he died in 465.

I can afford here only a cursory allusion to this difficult and abstruse question, which it is not necessary for my present purpose to discuss at length, but I shall assume that the statements which will be examined in a subsequent portion of my essay relate to the first or elder St. Patrick, however the true chronology of his life may be settled. Some of the old Irish chroniclers mention a Patricius Junior, who is described as nephew of the elder of the same name.<sup>1</sup> It may well be that the great saint, the true apostle of Ireland, died in the year 461, as stated by the best authority, and that his nephew died in 492. There arises thus a strong probability that the acts of two distinguished preachers of Christianity have been blended together, and the ingenious and learned antiquary who first suggested this was of opinion, that this furnishes the real explanation of the apparent contradictions or conflicting statements to be found in the old biographies, and which may be regarded as the result of an anxiety to ascribe the honour of the conversion of Ireland to one individual. But, for the object I have in view, this matter is subsidiary and of minor importance, and therefore can receive only incidental mention. It is time now to turn to the language of the original documents themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> Could Patricius Junior have been a figment which sprang from the existence of Seachnal (latinised Secundinus), *nephew of St. Patrick*? Yet if so, the Annals of Ulster place the death of Seachnal in 448, when he is said to have been aged seventy-five, having been born in the same year with St. Patrick. It is to be regretted that Dr. Todd, in his *Life of the saint*, has not examined or even adverted to this question. Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*, c. xvii. vol. vi. p. 458 of the *Whole Works*, Dublin, 1847) quotes the *Annals of Connaught* for the death of St. Patrick Senior in 454—"Anno ccccliii. Dormitatio sancti senis Patricii Episcopi Glosoniensis Ecclesie;"—and the *Life of St. Dunstan* by a contemporary writer, which records the devotion of Irish pilgrims at the tomb of Patricius Senior. William of Malmesbury, in his book "*De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesie*," makes him first Abbot of Glastonbury; born in 361, died in 472. Dr. Petrie further supposed that the second Patricius Archiepiscopus et Apostolus was identical with Palladius. This, however, cannot be admitted, as irreconcilable with the authentic tradition regarding Palladius, who is well known to have died in the territory of the Albanian Picts at Fordun in the Mearns. The whole subject of the chronology of St. Patrick's life is complicated by the date of the mission of Palladius (in 429 or 430), and the assumption that his labours in Ireland did not commence until after those of Palladius. But this is altogether doubtful. Why may we not suppose that St. Patrick had been actively engaged as a missionary many years before the nomination of Palladius? As to the age of 120 years ascribed to St. Patrick, it should be recollected that several of the early bishops, amongst them Osius of Cordova, lived to 100 or upwards.

The only writings of undoubted authenticity ascribable to St. Patrick are the "Confessio" (supposed to have been framed in his seventy-seventh year), and the "Epistola ad Coroticum," with respect to both of which there is a general assent of the learned. Against them not a single name of any respectability can be quoted, and it is hardly worth while to advert to the objection some have brought, from the inelegance or rusticity of their Latin style. We know nothing of the circumstances of St. Patrick's early life except what he has himself told us, and it is therefore impossible to say whether he had the opportunity of cultivating a correct Latinity. Although he was the son of a cleric, it is sufficiently well known that the clergy of those early times included many ignorant and illiterate, as well as many highly learned and cultivated persons. But more than this, it will appear from what follows (and this has not yet been noticed by any one), that his Confession at least was not written by himself, but dictated, and translated for him by some one else. In neither of the above-mentioned documents does he specify the exact place of his birth. All that he has told us on this point is that his father was Calpurnius, a deacon, son of Potitus a priest, who was of the town of Bonaven or Bonavem Taberniæ. The original passage with which the Confession opens is as follows:—"Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, patrem habui Calpurnium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ; villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim." The most important remark that suggests itself upon this passage is, that it leaves us uncertain whether it was his father or his grandfather who belonged to the town of Bonaven. According to the known rule of Latin syntax, the *qui* must be referred to the immediate antecedent, which in this case is his grandfather Potitus. Yet it is always stated that it was his father Calpurnius. It is no doubt possible that he may have meant to speak of his father, but we must take the statement as it stands, and if we do not, we may as well give up any attempt to find out the truth at all.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Bollandist editors, Henschen and Papebroche, give an important various reading from a very old codex—"Qui fuit *e* vico Bonavem Taberniæ." If this be accepted, the meaning would be, "who *came out of* the town of Bonavem," not who belonged to or was resident in it, for if the latter were intended, the Latin would be, or at least ought to be, "qui fuit *de* vico." There is a second various reading which is more doubtful—"villulam *enim* prope



I hold the statements of the saint himself in the Confession, taken in connection with those in the Epistle, to establish clearly two points:—

1. That St. Patrick was born in the island of Britain. In chapter x. of the former, he says that, after having spent several years in servitude in Ireland, he was in Britain with his parents, who received him like a son—“*Iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt.*” Again, in chap. xix., he adds that he would have wished to revisit Britain, his native country, and his parents, and afterwards to go *as far as* Gaul—“*Pergens in Britannias et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum, sed eram usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei.*” It is most important to observe that he speaks of the Britains, “*Britanniæ*,” not *Britannia*. Had he used the singular, it might be supposed that he meant Brittany in Gaul; but those who wish to make out that he was born in the latter country must show that *Britanniæ* can here mean anything else than the island of Britain, or that the plural appellative was commonly applied to Brittany of Gaul. This has not been done, and I will add confidently that it cannot be done. In the above cited passage he also uses the plural when mentioning Gaul. *Britanniæ* and *Galliæ* are evidently placed in contradistinction, and nothing but the paltriest cavillation can put any other construction on the saint’s language.<sup>1</sup>

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habuit.” But as the latter is immaterial, I may content myself with merely mentioning it. If *Enon* be the correct reading, it is, of course, the name of the villa or farm-house of his father or grandfather, and would mean, etymologically, the *inn* or lodge on the water. *Ænon* is a scriptural name: “John also was baptising in *Ænon* near to Salim, because there was much water there.” John iii. 23. The *Opuscula* of St. Patrick may be read either in the *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum* for March, vol. ii., or in O’Conor’s *Scriptores*, vol. i., or in Migne’s *Patrologia*, vol. liii. I cannot forbear quoting here the judicious remark of Migne or his editor—“*Restant quidem, demptis etiam fabulis, multa in vitæ ejus narratione, quorum fidem argumentis firmis probari desideres, quo tota ejus ad transmarinas provincias peregrinatio, et Cœlestini hac in re partes, referri debent. Sed cave, ne arbitrario nimis traditionum domesticarum fidem elevés.*” liii. 796, note.

<sup>1</sup> The westernmost corner of Gaul began to be styled *Britannia* after the time of Maximus, whose death took place in 384. See Daru, *Histoire de Bretagne*, i. 40–54. The propriety of the plural appellative in reference to the British Islands is evident. Gregory of Tours, who died at the end of the sixth century, uses the plural appellative to designate Brittany in a single passage, quoted in a subsequent note. *Britannia Gallicana*, *Minor*, *Citerior*, *Cismarina*, are the terms used by Eginhard and other early writers.

Again, in the Epistle to Coroticus, a British prince, whose name we have no difficulty in recognising as a variation of Caractacus, Caradoc, or Carataic, he speaks of the subjects of that potentate as his fellow-citizens or countrymen. His words are (sec. 1)—“*Inter barbaros habito proselytus et profuga, . . . . pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes, et animam meam usque ad mortem, si dignus sum. . . . Scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda et tradenda militibus mittenda Corotico, non dico civibus meis, neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum, ob mala opera ipsorum. In morte vivunt socii Scottorum atque Pictorum.*” He will not call them his fellow-citizens, nor fellow-citizens of Rome, but of the demons, on account of their evil deeds. They have allied themselves with the *Scots* and with the *Picts*. In another passage he applies to the latter the epithet of “apostates,” which seems to intimate that they had fallen away from the teaching of St. Ninian, or perhaps (if the time intended were before the mission of St. Ninian) from the teaching of those earlier apostles who, according to Tertullian, had in the second century carried the Word of God into places of Britain unapproached by the arms of Rome. I submit that all this demonstrates the truth of my first proposition, that St. Patrick was born in the island of Britain.<sup>1</sup>

2. That St. Patrick's native tongue was not Latin, but Celtic. This may be certainly proved, like my first proposition, from his own expressions. In chap. iii. of the Confession he speaks of himself as unable to read, and

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Todd remarks that a subsequent passage of the Epistle has been understood as if it asserted that St. Patrick was a native of Ireland, which would be in manifest contradiction not only with all other ancient authorities, but with the saint's own repeated and explicit declarations above quoted. The text of the passage is obviously so corrupt that no inference can possibly be drawn from it, and I allude to it only as showing to what shifts the advocates of this innovating theory have been reduced. The Epistle to Coroticus was written in rebuke and deprecation of the ravages and cruelties exercised by a British prince on the natives of Hibernia or Ireland. It is evident, therefore, that by the *Scoti* with whom the piratical Britons allied themselves, natives of or dwellers in Ireland cannot be meant. We have thus a clear and very early instance in which the word is used for the inhabitants of North Britain. Compare this with the passage of Bede quoted in a subsequent note. So little foundation is there for the confident statements lately made by mere Irish scholars upon this head! One would be tempted to think, from this and other circumstances which will be adverted to in the course of our inquiry, that they had never read through the very brief literary remains of St. Patrick, to whom they so frequently and fondly refer.

alludes to the good fortune of those who are educated and imbibe knowledge without having to change their language ;<sup>1</sup> and at the beginning of chap. iv. he adds that his own words had been translated into another (*i.e.*, the Latin) tongue : “*Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in alienam linguam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva scripturæ meæ.*” This must leave it very doubtful whether St. Patrick understood Latin at all. It is obvious to remark, that if he had been born at Gessoriacum, the modern Boulogne, then a Roman settlement of nearly 400 years standing, the Latin tongue must have been familiar to him. Clearly the theory which makes him to have been so born must have originated only in grossly careless reading of his remains, or in an utter perversion of the truth. It is further very unlikely that, unless St. Patrick were a native of North Britain, its Gaelic population would be familiar with his father’s name, as Mr. Maclauchlan (in his work on the Early Scottish Church) informs us that they are. In their designation of him as Patrick MacAlpine, the Alpin (or rather Calpin) represents the Calpurnius of the old Latin texts.

## II.—*Statements contained in the Old Biographies.*

From a detailed examination of the various inconsistent statements in the old biographies, to which allusion has been made above, the limited scope of the present essay happily relieves me. Nor can I venture to adjust the due precedence of the conflicting claims which may be advanced on behalf of each of the seven lives of St. Patrick included in the vast repertory of Colgan.<sup>2</sup> It must suffice to observe that, however the existing versions may have been disfigured by interpolation, they are the only exponents or representatives of ancient opinion on the subject which we possess, and there is a general agreement to receive them as founded on the entire and original

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<sup>1</sup> The expressions of the original are—“*Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum ; et quia non legi, sicut cæteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras litteras utroque pari modo combiberunt, et sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt.*” The *utroque pari modo* evidently alludes to those who were instructed in both the Celtic and Latin tongues.

<sup>2</sup> The *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Lovanii, 1645, in two volumes folio. The second volume contains the *Trias Thaumaturga*, or collection of ancient Lives of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba. Colgan’s (or Callaghan’s) notes embrace a mass of information upon the old topography and nomenclature of Celtic Ireland, in which modern scholars have found little to rectify.

documents. I have to do here only with their statements regarding the birthplace of the saint, which I shall now adduce.

1. The *Vita Prima*, or First Life, is the Gaelic hymn which bears the name of St. Fiëc or Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, a disciple of Dubhtach, who was one of the first converts of St. Patrick. It contains an allusion to an event which took place in 563, the desolation of Tara, and this proves that it cannot have been written until towards the close of the sixth century. The statement apposite to our present purpose is contained in the first line, which runs "*Genair Patraic i Nemthur*," or, according to the Latin version, "*Natus est Patricius Nemturri*." Unfortunately the second line subjoins, "*ut refertur in historiis*," which seems hardly compatible with so early a date as that above assigned. The second stanza tells us that Succat was his tribal or family name. This may well have been so, the name of Patricius being bestowed in confirmation, according to the custom of the early Church, which is followed to this day by the Church of Rome. The Scholiast on the hymn, whose date cannot be assigned with certainty earlier than the eleventh century, informs us that Nemthur was Alcluid, which we know from Bede to have been the ancient name of the present castle of Dumbarton. He further explains the name of Succat as meaning, in the ancient British tongue, *deus belli* or *fortis*,<sup>1</sup> and states that Calpurnius and his family

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Todd supposes *sui* to be a dialectic variety of the Welsh *duw*, deus. It would rather appear that the etymology of the word, as long since suggested by Dr. O'Connor, is now to be found in the Gaelic *suaigh*, prosperous, successful, and *cath*, war. The latter word is still found in the Welsh; the former may have existed in the Cymric of the eleventh or earlier centuries, though it has now disappeared. It has been supposed that the name Succat might have some reference to that of a well-known estate in the present Dumbartonshire. But this is Succoth, the Hebrew word (meaning cattle-stalls) used in the Scriptural book of Exodus (c. xii. v. 37) to denote the first resting-place of the children of Israel in their departure from Egypt, and the name was no doubt adopted in days comparatively modern. Dr. Lanigan (Eccles. Hist., i. 141) insists upon explaining *succat* from *succa*, the Latin name of a tunic or close-fitting cassock, which was ordered by several conciliar decrees to be worn by bishops and canons. He supposes that St. Patrick was so called from the circumstance of the vestment being quite new to the Irish people of that day. It is sufficient to observe upon this, that the explanation is quite at variance with the statement of the old writers as given in the text. Another explanation of Succat, which has not wanted favourers, is from the Gaelic *v. suath*, to stir, &c., and *s. cath*, seeds, husks, St. Patrick being supposed to have been employed in winnowing corn. But I prefer to adhere to the explanation above given, which has the

migrated from the Britons of Strathclyde to those of Letha<sup>1</sup> or Armorican Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

2. The *Vita Secunda*, or Second Life, was wrongly attributed by Colgan to Patricius Junior, the real or supposititious nephew of St. Patrick. The author, according to Dr. Todd, had the Book of Armagh before him, and cannot have lived earlier than the eighth century. This and the Third Life begin abruptly, with hardly any variation in their language, stating St Patrick to have been born in the town of Nemthor, in the district of Taburne, which was so called from the Roman army of the country having once encamped or pitched its tents there. "Natus est igitur in illo oppido, Nemthor nomine. . . . Patricius natus est in campo Taburne. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus, eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore ibi statuerunt hyemali frigore." These are the opening words, and something is evidently wanting.

3. The Fourth Life supplies the proem, or initiatory part of the passage defective in the two preceding. It begins by stating that the family of the saint were Armorican Britons, who were driven out by the Romans, and, on the dispersion of their community, removed to the country of Strato-Clyde, or Strathclyde, where St. Patrick was born. "In qua terra conceptus et natus est Patricius, in oppido Nemthor nomine, quod turris cœlestis Latine interpretari potest" (chap. i.).

4. I shall next, for convenience, take the Seventh Life, the *Vita Tripartita*, as it is generally called, because divided into three parts. It is highly commended by its first editor Colgan, and considered by many

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sanction of ancient authority. The Scholia on St. Fiëc's Hymn were published by Colgan in a Latin version; but the original Gaelic manuscript is still extant in St. Isidore's College at Rome, where it was seen by Dr. Todd.

<sup>1</sup> This word is the Cymric *llydaw* (L. *littus*), applied by the Welsh bards to the coasts of both Gaul and Britain. Out of this Letha, by which is clearly meant Armorica, some biographers have made Latium or Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Petrie was of opinion (Essay on Tara, p. 95) that the Scholia on St. Fiëc's Hymn could not be later than the eighth century, from the circumstance of their being preserved in the Liber Hymnorum. I can offer no opinion on the question of the age of that manuscript, but both the learned Bollandist editors, and in modern times Dr. Lanigan, appear to have come to the conclusion stated in the text from the internal evidence of the Scholia themselves. The Scholiast calls our saint Patric Mac Calpuirn, which agrees with a conjecture stated in the text.

modern critics the most reliable of the whole. It appears to have been compiled in the tenth century from older writings, or at least to have been then interpolated, as shown by an examination of its contents. Kinaetus, son of Fergal, Prince of Meath, who is known to have died in 868, is spoken of as a historical personage, and Kinngegan, King of Cashel, who died in 897, is mentioned. It states that St. Patrick was sprung from the Britons of Strathclyde, and that Nemthur was the place or district of his birth. "De Britannis Alcludensibus originem duxit Sanctus Patricius. Nemthur, quod ex vocis etymo coelestem turrim denotat, patria, et nativitatis locus erat" (chap. i.).

5. The Sixth Life is Jocelyn's, assigned to the year 1183, and, as is well known, agrees with the others in stating that St. Patrick was born in Nemthur of Strathclyde. I have taken the Fifth Life last in order, because it contains some remarkable statements, and by some writers, especially Dr. Lanigan, has been preferred to all the rest, principally on the ground of its being a reproduction of Maccuthenius. Its author was Probus, whom he supposes to have been the same with Coneachair, who was chief lecturer in the school of Slane, and was burned to death in the tower of that place by the Danes in the year 950.<sup>1</sup> He states that St. Patrick was born in Britain, in the town of Bannaue in Nentria. Before proceeding further, it is expedient to observe that four of the five perfect lives explicitly state that St. Patrick was born in Britain; three of them add, in the district of Strathclyde. It is hard to imagine how any one could be so audacious as to reject such a weight of ancient testimonies, yet it will be seen before we close that such an adventurous knight has been found. I will here add that five of the seven lives call Nemthur a town or place, but that on which we are now engaged describes it as a province. The words of Probus, however, are so remarkable, that they must be minutely considered, and I will first quote them as follows:—"Sanctus Patricius, qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito fuit

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<sup>1</sup> Lanigan supposes Probus to be the Latin equivalent of Coneachair, but the word means, not honest or righteous, but prosperous or affluent. *Conach* or *connach*, the substantive from which it comes, is explained both by O'Reilly and Armstrong to mean prosperity, affluence. This, however, is only one of several instances which show that Lanigan's parade of Celtic learning was merely delusive. Probus (l. i. c. 10) mentions Normannia, which has been generally understood to mean Normandy in France; but it may mean, with equal propriety, Northumberland, or the Danish portion of Ireland.

natione ; in qua etiam multa adversa in adolescentia perpessus, omni genti suæ ac patriæ factus est in salutem. Hic in Britannis natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono, qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri ; et mater Concessa nomine ; de vico Bannaue Tiburniæ regionis, haud procul a mari occidentali ; quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse Nentriæ provinciæ, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur" (Cap. i.)

I despair of being able to localise with certainty either Bannaue (the Bonaven of the saint's Confession), or Tiburnia, the Taburnia or Taburne of the other lives. But, as Scotchmen acquainted with the topography of the west country, we can be at no loss to indicate localities in plenty, of which one may have been intended. Bannaue<sup>1</sup> would answer admirably to denote the mouth of the Leven, where it joins the Clyde, and Taburnia or Tiburnia is a designation most appropriate for a river-district, or a *ross* placed between two streams.<sup>2</sup> The most probable site for the Bonaven of St. Patrick is the confluence of the river Aven or Avon with the main stream of the Clyde, near which the present town of Hamilton stands. A more exact correspondence of locality with the name as it has been transmitted to us could not be desired. Tabernia or Taburnia would thus be the present district of Strathaven,<sup>3</sup> or the upper course of the Clyde itself, which might well be so desig-

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<sup>1</sup> Of all existing names in western Scotland, Bunaw is that which most closely represents—is in fact identical with—the Bannaue of Probus. It has not yet been explained, so far as I am aware, that the prefix *bun* is properly *buinne*, at present used in the sense of tap or spout, also wave or rapid current. The first sense gives us its topographical meaning, whether primitive or derivative—the mouth or efflux of a stream. Bunaw is the mouth of the Awe, where it falls into Loch Etive ; the word Awe is well known as the general name of rivers, whether in the Celtic or Suio-Gothic dialects. Banavie in Lochaber may be the clear stream, as explained by Colonel Robertson (Gaelic Topography of Scotland, p. 57), from *ban-abh*. But in the Bonaven of the Confession, *bon* or *bun* is in all probability *buinne*.

<sup>2</sup> From Gaelic *taibh* and *tobar*, gen. *tobair*, water ; Cymric, *dwfr*. The *n* may be easily accounted for, from the assumption of the Gc. *aon*, country or district, as the conjoined word, *tobair-aon*. Eliding *ao*, and adding an appropriate termination, the result is Tabernia, the appellative. It must always be borne in mind, in discussing Celtic etymologies of ancient place-names, that words or forms now found in one of the dialects only were in all probability at first common to both. In respect to many the fact is ascertained. Compare the name Tabernia with that of Moray, from Gaelic *muir*, sea. The explanation of it by the monkish writers of the Lives as "the field of tents," *campus tabernaculorum*, is a mere paragram.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient parish of Torrance, now forming part of the parish of East Kilbride, contained not long back some very remarkable remains. Mounds are still visible ; and, about the

nated in reference to the Falls, presenting certainly one of the most striking combinations of beauty and grandeur of natural scenery contained within the bounds of our island. The tradition as to Kilpatrick in Dumbartonshire being the locality of the saint's birth, though no one now insists upon it, could never have arisen unless the belief in his being a native of the district had been strongly rooted in the minds of the population. But the most difficult problem is to determine the true character of Nemthur, whether a town or a district. It may mean etymologically, as remarked by the old biographers, the heavenly or holy tower, but it may also mean the vaulted tower, or the tower of Nen, and the heavenly or holy mount.<sup>1</sup> If the name was properly the designation of a district or province, it is easy to perceive how it may have come to be mistaken for that of a town by persons who were not themselves acquainted with the localities, and who were misled by a plausible and obvious etymology of the word. But it is especially to the closing words of the passage above cited that I wish to invite attention. It may seem at first sight labour lost to endeavour to extract a definite meaning from a statement which appears merely ludicrous, but that it has such a meaning I entertain no doubt. I am much mistaken if the words, "which giants are said formerly to have inhabited," do not contain an allusion to the Attacots

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middle of last century, an extensive ruin with a subterranean vault was removed. See Ure's History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride, p. 148, ed. 1793.

<sup>1</sup> The old Gaelic *noem*, modern *noam*, is holy; *neam* or *neamh* is heaven; the Cymric *nen*, which was probably the word on which the name was formed, means a vault, and hence, metaphorically, heaven, the corresponding adjective being *nenni*. But Nenn, Nann, and Nem were all of them Celtic proper names. Ninias or Ninian, the name of the great apostle of the Picts, and the most popular of Scottish saints under his cognomen of St. Ringan, is the same with Nennius; and both names mean heavenly. The Cymric *tor* is either a pointed hill (like the Tors of Devonshire), or a tower. Hence the name Nentria or Nemthur is susceptible of various explanations, as stated in the text. Some have been disposed to identify Nemthur with Nemphlar, an ancient township or village close to the burgh of Lanark. Of this latter name the second syllable seems to be the Cymric *fle*, an inclosure. Undoubtedly the name might have undergone such a change in the lapse of time, since we now find a Nenthorn in Berwickshire, which was formerly *Naithan's thirn*. In the Upper Ward we find the river Nethan, a tributary of the Clyde, which may even have given name to the district, though I prefer the suggestion in the text. (Remark that the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, in the seventh century, gives Memanturum as one of several names of places in North Britain. If we suppose the initial M to have been substituted for N, this would be the Latinisation of Nemthur. But the authority of this work is very uncertain.)



or Attacotti, who were undoubtedly inhabitants of western Scotland, "not far from the western sea." The name of this tribe in its original Gaelic form of Athaich-coilteach, may signify either "inhabitants of the woods," or "giants of the woods;" and it would seem that Probus, having heard or read of the Attacots as a tribe distinguished for prowess in arms and ferocity, like the Anakim or giants of the Old Testament Scriptures, chose to interpret the name in its latter sense, and to suppose that they were a tribe whose physical stature corresponded to their moral character.<sup>1</sup> It appears to me that this must be the true explanation of his words, and, if I am not mistaken in thinking so, we have here the situation of Nentria, the native district of St. Patrick, defined beyond doubt or cavil. Nentria I believe to be the primal or archetypal name of the district of Strathclyde, and as a provincial name it is easy of explanation. It was probably derived from the Cymric *nant*, a valley, and *dwr*, water, and the literal meaning would thus be "the valley of the stream," Strathclyde being the valley of the Clyde.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Gaelic *athach*, pl. *athaich*, means giant, monster, champion, but it may also mean inhabitant, from *ath*, a district. It is explained in the latter sense by Macpherson in one of his notes to Ossian, and I have little doubt that this was its real meaning in the name Attacots, though it was open to any one to understand it in its other sense of *giant*. The very different meanings attached with equal justice, though we can hardly say with equal propriety, to the same word, are a constant source of confusion and misunderstanding in all languages. The second part of the word, *coilteach*, is the adjective of *coille*, a forest. That there were extensive forests in North Britain in ancient days we may be certain, since so recently as the age of Richard II. John of Gaunt employed an English army of 40,000 men for many days in cutting them down. The Attacots are the tribe of whom St. Jerome declares that he had seen some, whilst stationed in Gaul as auxiliary troops of the imperial army, engaged in the actual practice of cannibalism. Much doubt and some ridicule have been thrown upon this statement, but these might have been spared had the sceptics reflected that less than four centuries before, the Gauls themselves, in the very district of Treves where St. Jerome was resident, were addicted to this custom. In the age of Augustus, and in a work written about the commencement of the Christian era, the historian Diodorus Siculus informs us (l. v. c. 32) that the most savage of the Gauls were those who dwelt in the north-eastern quarter, and that they were addicted to cannibalism, like those of the Britons who inhabited Ireland—*Αγρωτατων δε οντων των υπο τας αρκτους κατοικουντων, και των τη Σκυθια πλησιοχωρων, φασι τους ανθρωπους εσχειν, ωσπερ και των Βρεττανων τους κατοικουντας την ονομαζομενην Ιριν.*

<sup>2</sup> The name of Nentria, taken in this sense, has a peculiar appropriateness as applied to the territory of Strathclyde. *Nant* signifies properly a ravine hollowed out by water, and the Clyde, along the greater part of its course, flows in a dale between chains of hills through

It is in this way that I interpret the statement of Probus, that St. Patrick was born in the town or hamlet of Bannaue, in the district of Tiburnia, in the province of Nentria, and in the island of Britain. If my interpretation should be approved by the learned and distinguished Society whom I have the honour to address in this paper, I shall consider that the problem proposed in the outset has been solved.

III.—*Examination of Dr. Lanigan's Theory. Remarks on the Art of Hagioclepsy.*

It remains to consider the theory of Dr. Lanigan as to the Gallican extraction of St. Patrick, to which I adverted at the beginning of this paper. I have anticipated, in what I have already said, some of the most fatal objections to it, but for a complete view of the subject it is proper to consider what its author has alleged in its support. His main propositions are—  
1. That St. Patrick was born in Gaul, in the town of Bonavem; and,  
2. That Bonavem is the present town of Boulogne.

In support of the first proposition Dr. Lanigan has absolutely nothing to adduce that deserves the name of an argument. We have seen that it is in flat contradiction to the statements of the saint himself, who of all others must have been best informed on the subject of his birthplace. He cites the passage given in the first section of this essay from the "Confession," and he assumes that because the father or grandfather of the saint—for it is not certain which—was resident in the town of Bonavem at some period not distinctly specified, therefore the family had long been settled there, and St. Patrick himself was born there! It is a literal fact, that one of the most deliberate attempts ever made to set aside the voice of tradition and the verdict of history took its rise in the mere misapprehension of the force of a

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which it appears to have formed a channel for its current. The word enters into many names of places or districts, as stated by Dr. Pughe the Welsh lexicographer. Dr. Reeves, in one of his notes to Adamnan (at p. 395), gives Arecluta as a Latinised name for Strathclyde, used, it may be presumed, by the Irish annalists. This would be derived from Gaelic *ar* or *aire*, meaning land or region. Taburnia and Nentria as above explained will agree with Buchanan's character of the "regio Glottiana: amnes nobiliores fundit" (Hist. i. 20). Possibly the latter name may have been given in allusion to the inundations to which the valley of the Clyde has always been subject, the river, in time of *spate*, overflowing its banks at some points for miles.

Latin text, and that misapprehension so gross as to imply an amount of carelessness which seems hardly credible. We are reduced either to this conclusion, or to the far more painful one of supposing what would amount to absolute and audacious imposture. Other evidence, of course, than that of the passage so flagrantly misconstrued, there is none; for I have adduced all that exists on the subject, with the exception of the Life by Maccuthenius, which, when it appears, may impart additional confirmation to the thesis here maintained. With regard to the second proposition, Dr. Lanigan has been able to adduce nothing in its support beyond what is equally applicable to showing the identity of Bonavem with Cardross or Alclyde. He states that the name was applied to the ancient Gessoriacum in the fifth century, when the latter appellation was discontinued, and he explains Taberne or Tabernia as T erouanne, a town near Boulogne, and conjoined with it for the formation of a bishopric, the proper ancient name for which is Tarabanna or Tarvanna.<sup>1</sup> He further states that the north-western district of Gaul was occupied by the Britanni, a people mentioned as there settled by Pliny,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> T erouanne was laid in ruins by the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. Its ancient name is supposed to be derived from that of a Roman propr etor. But Dr. Lanigan does not attempt to show that it was ever used for the name of a district, as Tabernia is in the "Confession."

<sup>2</sup> Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansici, juncti pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur, *Britanni*, Ambiani. Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 31. In c. 37 he mentions the portum Morinorum Britannicum. From this it is clear that even so early as the days of Pliny the name of the Britanni of Gaul was restricted to one of several contiguous tribes, though it is highly probable that these were the descendants of the population which furnished the original colonists of Britain. Compare on this subject the language of Bede and Tacitus. The former says, in the first chapter of his history—*Britannia, oceani insula, cui quondam nomen Albion fuit. In primis h ec insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armorico, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes vindicarunt.* The latter (V. Agric. c. 11) says—*In universum tamen estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est.* Britain, therefore, according to Bede, derived its name from the Britons, whose appellation is easily explained as identical with the Cymric *brython*, warriors, or men of *bree*. That this is the real meaning of our ancestral name I have no doubt, and it corresponds with the explanation of Gauls or Galli from *gal*, an old word found in several languages, with the various senses of animal vigour (Gr. *γαλα*), gale or tempest, noise (Teut. *galen*), ostentation (Sp. *gala*), which is completely illustrative of their national character. The Oromansici of Pliny are the people bordering on the Channel (Ge. *oir*, Gr. *opos*, and L. *ora*, limit, border, coast; Gael. *muinch*, L. *manica*, Fr. *manche*, a sleeve—the modern name of the Channel). Bonavem, as already explained, is the mouth of a stream, and Gessoriacum may have been so called, as Dr

and whom we may infer to have sent over the first colonists of our own island ; that this country was called Britannia, of which he has been able to produce a single, but not very conclusive instance ;<sup>1</sup> and that we may also suppose it to have been styled Britannia, a hypothesis for which he offers no reasons whatever.<sup>2</sup> This is the substance of his thesis, and I have only to

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Lanigan states, or rather suggests, in the fifth century, although not in the fourth. But he has omitted to observe that Bede in the eighth century still speaks of Gessoriacum Morinorum gentis (c. 1).

<sup>1</sup> The old *Vita Sti. Fursæi*, published in Colgan's Collection under January 16th, and ascribed to Arnulph, Abbot of Lagny, has the following passage in narrating the saint's progress from Ireland to Rome — "In Britanniam provinciam, quæ a modernis Normannia nuncupatur, pervenit. Veniens autem per Pontivum pagum in possessionem quamdam Haymonis ducis." The writer appears to use Britannia and Normannia as equivalent appellations, but he is certainly in error in making Ponthieu, or the pagus Pontivus, a portion of Normandy, and he may have been equally wrong in his application of the term Britannia. The pagus Pontivus was part of the territory of the Morini or sea-coast tribe (Gc. *muir*), whose name, as we have seen in the note immediately preceding this, was not extinct even in the eighth century. It was erected into a county by the Frankish sovereigns of the Merovingian line about the middle of the seventh century, and the line of Counts of Ponthieu continued unbroken until the year 1220, when the history becomes more complicated. The chief town was Abbeville, and the Counts of Ponthieu ranked with those of Boulogne as semi-independent potentates, immediate feudatories of the French Crown. Guy, the robber count, whose history is so strangely and direfully mixed up with that of Harold, the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings of South Britain, would not have called himself a Norman, and acknowledged no obedience or liege homage to William, Count of the Normans or Duke of Normandy. This digression was unavoidable to illustrate the point at issue, but I may add that the use of a term by a single writer cannot in any case be held to prove its general acceptance.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. 16) uses both Britannia and Britannia to designate Brittany, but he confines the term strictly to Gallia Lugdunensis Secunda and Tertia, including the peninsular territory to the south of the Seine. Now the Morini and adjacent tribes belonged to the Germania Secunda of the imperial demarcation. The use of the plural terms Britannia and Gallia is as old as the most flourishing age of Latin literature, as we may see from the line of Catullus—

Hunc Gallia timent, timent Britannia.

In this passage, as by St. Patrick himself, they are used in contradistinction, and it is futile to pretend, as Lanigan does, that any one wishing to go from a part of Gaul where Celtic only was spoken (if there were really any such part), to one where Latin was spoken, would have talked of going from the Britannia to the Gallia. He further attempts (*ibid.* pp. 116, 117) to show that Belgic Gaul, in which the Britanni dwelt, was quite distinct from the real and properly called Gaul, which comprised the country of the Celts, whom the Romans styled Galli.

remark upon it, that those who are content to accept St. Patrick's own account of himself as it has come down to us, are not concerned to deny any of these statements. Some of them are unfounded and others doubtful, but we might admit them all without having to apprehend the slightest injury to our own position. That St. Patrick's family was connected with Armorica, that it may even have been Armorican in its origin, is not improbable, as will have been seen from the passages quoted in a former page. We may admit that Bonavem is Boulogne, and that St. Patrick himself resided there for some years of his life, but this affords no ground for asserting that he was born there. I must not conclude this section of my inquiry without stating that there appears to be some ground for supposing that St. Patrick was actually resident in Boulogne, and that Dr. Lanigan is entitled to the credit of having drawn attention to this point.<sup>1</sup> But I must add that I believe the

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To this it is sufficient to oppose the words of Cæsar, whose authority he admits is decisive on these subjects—*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. The proper name of maritime Gaul has been Armorica since the days of Julius Cæsar. *Universæ civitates quæ oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur* (B. G., vii. 75). *Cæteræ civitates positæ in ultimis Galliæ finibus, oceano conjunctæ, quæ Armoricæ appellantur* (viii. 31).

<sup>1</sup> Malbranck, the annalist of the Morini, a writer of the seventeenth century, records the ancient tradition of the country as to St. Patrick having officiated as bishop or priest at Boulogne, in support of which he refers to the Catalogue of the Bishops of Boulogne, the *Chronicon Morinense*, and the *Life of St. Arnulph of Soissons*. *De Morinis et Morinorum rebus. Tornaci Nerviorum, 1649–1653* (Tournay, 3 vols. 4to). St. Patrick, he states, is included in the Catalogue as bishop suffragan or coadjutor to the regular bishop of the see, and officiated in that capacity for eight years. He makes no attempt, however, to identify the *Patricius* of the Catalogue with our saint, and as to other matters he follows *Jocelyn's Life*. *Patricius ad Morinos quidem accessit Episcopus, sed non eam sibi desponsavit ecclesiam. Idcirco Catalogi Episcoporum Morinensium non eum recta includunt serie, sed ad latus adsciscunt episcopum* (i. 171 and 149). All this we may admit in the fullest extent without the smallest infraction of the grounds on which our thesis rests. That St. Patrick was a bishop appears from his own statement in the first sentence of the *Epistola ad Coroticum*—“*Hiberione constitutum episcopum me esse fateor*.” Nothing to the contrary can be inferred from his being entered in old martyrologies as *presbyter*, for every bishop, of course, is a priest. But this is a point of very minor consequence, though it is not uninteresting to observe that, if he received episcopal consecration in Ireland, that country must have contained at least one bishop at the time. To confer episcopal orders, the canons uniformly prescribe the attendance of three bishops, though allowing one to act in case of necessity. Could St. Patrick have been ordained bishop by Palladius, the Archdeacon of the Roman See, who no doubt had a plenary dispensation? It seems most probable that this was so, and that the date of 431 or

annals of antiquarian or historical research record no more discreditable failure than his attempt to identify Nemthur with Neustria.<sup>1</sup>

The statements made in the preceding part of this essay, and the evidence adduced in support of them, will enable us to estimate the true value of the theory of Lanigan, which a late biographer of St. Patrick has highly praised for its ingenuity and plausibility. A countryman of Lanigan and Todd, to whom archeologists are indebted for an excellent edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, has complained bitterly of the attempts made to defraud Ireland of her saints by Dempster, the author of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Scotorum*, whom he designates repeatedly as the hagioclept. I cannot help thinking that, if Dr. Reeves had reflected upon the difficulties under which Dempster wrote, in the absence of documentary treasures, and the perplexities created by the confusion arising out of the double sense of the words *Scoti* and *Scotia*,<sup>2</sup> he would not have applied such an epithet to

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432, which has been generally accounted the commencement of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland, was in reality that of his episcopate.

<sup>1</sup> The process by which this feat is accomplished is the following:—The proper pronunciation of Nemthur (according to Lanigan) is Nevthur, the true Gaelic word being Neamh-tur. In support of this theory he prints *Nevtriæ provinciae*, in what he pretends to be a quotation from Probus, although the word in the old text as printed by Colgan is clearly *Nentria*, and not *Nevtria* (Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 102, note). With regard to *Nemtur*, I believe there is no doubt, according to the view of the best Gaelic scholars, that this was the ancient pronunciation, though at the present day it would be aspirated into *Nemhtur* or *Nevtur*. I have shown in a former note that the word is in all probability Cymric and not Gaelic, whatever the true meaning may be, the Cymric form *nen* coming nearest to the *Nentria* of Probus. Having obtained *Nevtria*, by what I regret to be obliged to designate as a falsification, the change into *Neustria* is easily enough made. Although the name of *Neustria* cannot be older than the sixth century,—the word having originated with the Franks, who employed it to designate the north-western portion of France, as *Austria* or *Austrasia* designated the north-eastern,—we may allow that Irish writers of the seventh century would speak of *Neustria*, but they would certainly not have converted *Neustria* into *Nemthur*. The name is, of course, derived from the Latin *Notus*, as *Austria* is from *Auster*. Lanigan ventures to assert, but without giving a single instance, that *Neustria* was often called *Neptricum* or *Neptria*, names which were probably never heard of except in his own pages (*ibid.*, i. 101). The following passage from the *Historia Francorum* of Aimoin, is given by Ducange, as showing the origin of the names—*Has omnes provincias dum Franci occupavissent, illam regionem, quæ Septentrionem versus tenditur, et inter Mosam et Rhenum est, Austriam; illam autem, quæ a Mosa ad Ligerim usque pertingit, Neustriam vocaverunt.*

<sup>2</sup> I must maintain, in opposition to the theory which has lately gained ground, that the

that unfortunate writer. Whatever the sins of Dempster may have been, no doubt can now remain that his achievements have been far surpassed by those of Lanigan, who attempted to deprive North Britain, not of obscure worthies like St. Fursey, St. Muloch, or St. Mowrie, but of the glorious St. Patrick, of whose apostolical labours, and the success which crowned them, she has long been proud. I regret to have to add that this is by no means the first instance of hagioclepsy which can be brought home with fatal distinctness to Irish hagiologists. In the seventeenth century Colgan, a man far superior to Lanigan in knowledge of Celtic antiquity and philology, made an attempt equally daring, and quite as successful, to deprive South Britain of St. Cuthbert.<sup>1</sup> The progress of time, however, has consigned it to merited obscurity, and I feel confident that the same fate will attend the efforts which have been made in our own times to undermine the true position of North Britain or Scotland in the history of the Christian Church.<sup>2</sup> A

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use of Scoti in reference to the early inhabitants of North Britain is as legitimate as it is in reference to those of Ireland. A passage of Bede, hitherto overlooked, is decisive of the question. The great Anglo-Saxon historian states (l. ii. c. 5) that Oswy, King of Northumberland, in great part subdued the nations of the Picts and Scots, inhabiting the northern division of Britain—"Pictorum atque Scottorum gentes, quæ septentrionales Britannia fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit." Whether the statement of the historical fact be accurate or not, the words of Bede can leave no doubt as to whom he understood by Picts and Scots. They agree also with those of St. Patrick in his Epistle to Coroticus, as likewise with the well-known passages of Ammianus Marcellinus and other writers who couple the two nations or tribes. I cannot adduce any passage equally conclusive as to the application of the territorial name Scotia.

<sup>1</sup> I subjoin from the Proemium to Bede's Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert the lines which decisively establish that St. Cuthbert, like St. Patrick, was born in Britain—

"Nec jam orbis contenta sinu, trans æquora lampas  
Spargitur effulgens, hujusque Britannia consors  
*Temporibus genuit fulgur venerabile nostris,*  
Aurea quæ Cuthbertus agens per sidera vitam,  
Scandere celsa suis docuit jam passibus Anglos.  
Hunc virtutis honor, jam *primo in limite vite,*  
Ætheriumque decus signis comitatur apertis."

<sup>2</sup> As a last specimen of Dr. Lanigan's proficiency in classical and archeological research, I may adduce the following (E. H. i. 125):—"I believe it would be difficult for the sticklers for St. Patrick's birth in North Britain to find a curia or decurions in Kilpatrick, or any place near it, in the fourth century." Evidently he had little idea of the condition of Britain about

country which has ever venerated the name and memory of its apostle St. Ninian, and which has given birth to St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, may afford to regard them with undisturbed serenity.

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NOTE ON GESSORIANUM AND BONAVEN.

What is the meaning of the name Gessoriac(um)? Probably it may be explained as "the field or place of spearmen." *Gais*, a javelin, was the favourite weapon of the ancient Gauls, and *gaisair* would be a person so armed (like *cathair*, from *cath*), which the Roman writer Latinised into *gæsata*. The ordinary custom of the Romans, in the countries occupied by them, unless when they wished to honour one of their own great men by naming a place after him, was to adopt the names given to places by the aboriginal inhabitants, adding a Latin termination.

Boulogne, like Bologna in Italy, comes probably from Bononia, a Latinised form of Bonaven or Bonen, the stream being known as the Enne.

It is not unworthy of notice that at the confluence of the Clyde and Avon, near which, I suppose, St. Patrick's Bonaven to have been situated, there exists on the eastern bank of the latter stream a considerable hillock or mound, which has rather an artificial than a natural appearance. Its real character will probably be ascertained by excavation before any long period elapses, the intention of building on it having been entertained for some years past.

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the time when Theodosius re-established the Roman power amongst the southern Picts, and created his province of Valentia between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. Had he suspected the existence of those remarkable evidences of Roman presence and power, the stones of Antonine's wall, preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, and since so admirably described and represented in the *Caledonia Romana* of Stuart, he could never have been betrayed into such absurdities. I might add further evidences to the same effect, but I have already sufficiently tried the patience of the reader.