Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World

Edited by
Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin
& Robert Armstrong

Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World

This page intentionally left blank

Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World

Edited by

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin
Senior Lecturer, University College Dublin, Ireland

and

Robert Armstrong
Associate Professor, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

palgrave
macmillan

In Memoriam
Anastasia O'Neill and Éamonn Ó hAnnracháin

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Illustrations and Tables

Illustrations

Tables

Acknowledgements

Contributors

Robert Armstrong is Associate Professor of History at Trinity College Dublin.

Lloyd Bowen is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern and Welsh History at Cardiff University.

Bernadette Cunningham is Deputy Librarian at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Raymond Gillespie is Professor of History at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

Madeleine Gray is Reader in History at the University of South Wales.

Sìm Innes is Lecturer in Celtic and Gaelic at the University of Glasgow.

David Ceri Jones is Lecturer in History at Aberystwyth University.

Iain G. MacDonald is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow in History at the University of Glasgow.

Martin MacGregor is Lecturer in History at the University of Glasgow.

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin is Senior Lecturer in History at University College Dublin.

Katherine K. Olson is Lecturer in Medieval and Early Modern History at Bangor University.

Salvador Ryan is Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St Patrick's College, Maynooth.

Alexandra Walsham is Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BOCD	*Book of the O'Conor Don*
Corpus	*A Corpus of Medieval Scottish Parish Churches* <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/~cmas/index.php> (accessed 27 February 2011)
CPL	W. H. Bliss et al. (eds), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*: *Papal Letters*, 20 vols (London and Dublin, 1893–)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DIB	*Dictionary of Irish Biography,* eds James McGuire and James Quinn, 9 vols (Cambridge, 2009)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
IR	*Innes Review*
ISOS	Irish Script On Screen <http://www.isos.dias.ie/> (accessed 9 April 2014)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
Oxford DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)
RCAHMS	*Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1971–92)
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
STC	Short Title Catalogue
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London
WGAS	West Glamorgan Archive Service

Note on Nomenclature

It is extraordinarily difficult to adopt uniform practice towards the names of speakers of Celtic languages in the late medieval and early modern periods. Both in contemporary documents and in modern historical writing significant variants in nomenclature are visible. Take, for example, the author of the first printed book in Irish who is commonly known as John Carswell in English but whose first name can be rendered as Eòin in Scots Gaelic or Seón, Seaán, Seán or Eóin in Irish texts, with his surname as Carsuel. While phonetic and orthographical similarities exist between the Gaelicized and Anglicized forms of these names, such is not always the case. The Franciscan Archbishop of Tuam, Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, is widely referred to in English-language historiography as Florence Conry; the later Archbishop of Armagh, Aodh Mac Aingil, as Hugh MacCaughwell; and their Franciscan confrère, Aodh Mac an Bhaird, as Hugh Ward. The situation can be further complicated when a figure such as Giolla Bríghde (or Giollabrighde) Ó hEódhusa took a different name in religion, becoming Bonaventure (or Bonaventura).

In the absence of a clear academic consensus concerning the best resolution of this problem, the contributors to the volume have adopted what they consider the most logical form of nomenclature according to the subject matter and the customary practices of historiography in their various national domains. This is generally the most commonly used form of any given name. In the interests of clarity, however, the editors of the volume have supplied in parentheses commonly used variants in nomenclature immediately following the first usage of a name in a chapter. The various versions of the names are then cross-referenced in the index to the volume.

Introduction: Religious Acculturation and Affiliation in Early Modern Gaelic Scotland, Gaelic Ireland, Wales and Cornwall

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin

The period 1500–1800 was one of markedly increased political integration within Britain and Ireland. At the beginning of this timeframe, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were not merely habitually at war but neither exercised anything close to secure control throughout the lands over which they claimed dominion. The kingdom of England was by far the most centralized political unit in the islands but had been racked by a series of ruinous civil wars, the last of which had recently brought a usurper to the throne through a rebellion drawing substantially on Welsh support. The English kings held the title of Lord of Ireland but most of the island lay outside their control in the hands of the king's 'Irish enemies', the same ethnic/linguistic population that dominated the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and over which the influence of the Kings of Scots was at best limited. The Welsh Act of Union of 1536, the Irish Kingship Act of 1541, which recognized the entire population of that island as the king's subjects, and then the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 were major milestones in the establishment of one, largely uncontested, monarchical authority throughout the archipelago. In the 1650s the successful English rebels of the Interregnum, through military conquest of the Three Kingdoms and Wales, created for the first time a unitary parliamentary institution for the two islands. Although this was dissolved with the royal restoration of 1660, the process was eventually replicated with the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and the Irish Act of Union in 1801.[1] These processes of political integration created an unstoppable momentum of Anglicization.[2] While in 1500 the majority of the land surface of both Scotland and Ireland harboured Gaelic-speaking societies, Welsh dominated the territory of modern Wales, and even in England itself the Celtic vernacular of Cornish still marked off the extreme south-west of the kingdom as in some senses a foreign country, by 1800 English was the dominant language of the social elite everywhere in the archipelago, an indispensable medium of communication in the fields of politics, commerce and law, Cornish had disappeared as a living language and the stage was set for the further decline of the remaining three Celtic vernaculars over the next century.

Ironically, however, these conjoint currents of Anglicization and political centralization were paralleled not by the disappearance but by the proliferation of

religious heterogeneity throughout the two islands. In 1500, with the exception of a small population of Lollards scattered through several English regions and in south-west Scotland, and a tiny Jewish presence in London, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of both islands were members of the same Church. It is true that in 1500 the clerical establishments of both the Scottish Lowlands and the English Pale in Ireland looked with disfavour at the religious practice of the Gaelic world yet religion actually formed something of a bridge between these culturally disparate peoples, centred on a common liturgical language, a shared conception of sin and the means of acquiring grace, seven recognized sacraments and an acknowledgement of papal and episcopal authority. In Ireland, for instance, despite spanning both the English Pale and the lordship of the O'Neills, the institutions of the Archbishopric of Armagh managed to provide a functioning and variegated ministry across the ethnic divide.[3] By 1800, even in centralized England, much of the population did not conform to the established, state-supported Church, which actually differed markedly from the recognized state Church to the north in Scotland. In Ireland the Anglican Church faced a significant rival in terms of numbers of adherents from dissenters, particularly Presbyterians in the north, and even together the various Protestant denominations in the island amounted to barely a quarter of the population. In Wales also the stage had been set for the spectacular growth in non-conformity during the nineteenth century.

In the era of *cuius regio, eius religio* this marked the archipelago off as unusual. It differed not only from monarchies such as France and the Scandinavian Lutheran kingdoms but also from the European dominions of Spain where Catholicism assumed a position of unchallengeable dominance in Castile, Aragon, Granada, Naples and Milan. Even in the Habsburg multiple monarchy of Austria, repeatedly threatened by invasion both from the north and the south, the confession patronized by the rulers had emerged as the majority religion of the inhabitants of the empire's three chief constituent components, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, by the end of the eighteenth century.

It has been the goal of the Insular Christianity Project, of which this book is the second publication,[4] to investigate these complex patterns of religious change in early modern Britain and Ireland. The focus of the current volume is on the religious culture of the speakers of Celtic languages within the archipelago. Its objective is neither to try to isolate some putatively 'Celtic' Christianity nor imagine that any such essentialist construct existed. Rather late medieval Christianity was deeply rooted in four areas within the archipelago where Celtic vernaculars held sway. While certain institutions and practices can be seen as common across these societies, most notably expanding kin lineages imposing downward social mobility on more marginal groupings, chiefly because of relaxed attitudes towards sexuality and extra-marital illegitimacy, and the ubiquitous presence of a bardic caste, there was no unified 'Celtic' world.[5] Indeed, ironically one of the factors which was to confer a certain unity on these Celtic societies in the early modern period was their common interaction with a much more centralized 'English' culture whose elites tended to regard all manifestations of Celtic difference as

evidence of barbarism. The scope of this chapter is to sketch some areas of contrast and similarity in the common, but not necessarily shared, experience of Gaelic Ireland, Gaelic Scotland, Wales and Cornwall in participating in the acute religious changes of the early modern period.

In 1500 the Gaelic world stretched from the outer Hebrides in the north to the extreme south-west of Ireland. Two powerful currents of religious reform, one Calvinist and centred in Scotland and the other Catholic and primarily Irish, occurred within this area during the course of the early modern period. The geographical fault-line between these movements still exists today in the Scottish Hebrides. Three factors, however, have conspired to reduce not only the visibility of the actual processes of change but also, in particular, their cognate elements on both sides of the narrow sea. First, the movements of reform, while significant, suffered certain limitations and were also notably affected by later disruptions. In Ireland, for instance, the demographic and political impact of the Cromwellian conquest played particular havoc with the institutional structures of the Catholic Church and greatly eroded the progress of the previous decades.[6] Second, both Scottish Gaelic Calvinism and Irish Gaelic Catholicism developed at a time of equally rapid religious change within the English- and Scots-speaking populations of both kingdoms. In each instance, the English/Scots version of religious change was in many respects closer to contemporaneous European developments, and thus there has been a tendency to see Gaelic reform movements as merely an attenuated and incomplete version of what was happening in the more 'mainstream' Anglo-Scots populations.[7] Such a historiographical tendency has arguably been influenced by, and somewhat uncritically reflects, the assumptions of early modern English and Scots religious reformers. Both Lowland Scots Calvinists and Old English Catholics in Ireland were convinced of their own community's greater civility vis-à-vis their Gaelic co-religionists and naturally assumed that their version of a new religious culture was inherently superior to that which obtained in Gaelic-speaking areas.[8] Third, as Stephen Ellis has noted, the early modern period also witnessed an increasing bifurcation of the Gàidhealtachd/Gaedhealtacht into separate Irish and Scottish spheres, a process accentuated by the different currents of religious change which created new bridges and possibilities of shared identity between the Gaedhil and Gaill of both kingdoms while interposing confessional barriers between Scottish and Irish Gaeldom.[9] Given the importance of religion in underpinning group identities throughout early modern Europe this had enormous implications for the cultural unity of the Gaelic world. Thus, while in 1450 it is possible (with certain reservations)[10] to speak of an established body of political and cultural assumptions uniting the Irish and Scottish Gàidhealtachd/Gaedhealtacht, the confessional divisions of the Gaelic population into substantially Calvinist in Scotland and overwhelmingly Catholic in Ireland gradually eroded the latter in a manner similar to how the expanding power of the English and Scottish state(s) undermined the distinctiveness of the former.[11] Already by the early seventeenth century, the Irish Franciscan leadership in Louvain were reluctant to take on the task of spearheading Catholic revival in the western Highlands and only after sharp prompting from Rome did

they eventually undertake the mission which brought the modus operandi of the Gaelic Counter-Reformation to a portion of Gaelic Scotland.[12]

A natural result of this national contextualization has been to orientate the study of religious change in the Gaelic world within the confines of the individual historiographies of Scotland and Ireland rather than attempting a composite investigation of the Gàidhealtachd/Gaedhealtacht as a whole. The lack of a wider international perspective has also contributed to this narrowing of focus. The Gaelic-speaking population of the archipelago were by no means unique in producing very different currents of religious reform during the early modern period. The German-speaking peoples of Europe, for instance, gave birth to a great variety of reforming impulses and, heavily influenced by geographical and geo-political factors, ultimately adopted very different confessional positions in different parts of the Continent, as for instance in Brandenburg and Bavaria.[13] Speakers of Hungarian, also, diverged sharply in the course of the post-Reformation period, with particularly strong Calvinist and Catholic tendencies ultimately emerging, both of which attempted to present themselves as the authentic vehicle of the ancient *Magyar* identity.[14] But, while an international perspective has sometimes been brought to bear in attempts to explore the linkages between Scottish and European Calvinism and Irish and European Catholicism,[15] there has been much less emphasis on comparison between the two processes of religious change in a similar cultural and linguistic milieu.

The withering of Scottish Catholicism in the course of the later sixteenth century was a remarkable phenomenon and created notable challenges as well as opportunities for the nascent Kirk. In particular the Scottish Highlands and Islands, with their principally Gaelic-speaking population and large rural and frequently geographically inaccessible parishes, represented potentially difficult terrain for the Reformed faith, lacking as they did the burghs and craft incorporations that provided much of the initial support and enthusiasm for Protestantism in Lowland Scotland.[16] Six of Scotland's eleven mainland dioceses contained large swathes of Highland territory although only Argyll effectively lacked a Lowland portion.[17] Yet the surviving evidence suggests significant success on the part of the Kirk in creating a framework of reformed ministry across a Scottish Gàidhealtachd which spanned practically the entire western half of the country, with the exception of parts of Mar, Moray and Caithness, within a remarkably short space of time. This was as evident in dioceses such as Ross where the see was held by Catholic sympathizers as in dioceses such as Caithness where Bishop Robert Stewart helped to patronize the movement of reform. Within a decade of the Reformation nearly all the parishes of Caithness were hosting the services of the reformed church,[18] while in Ross three ministers and nineteen exhorters and readers shared the work of thirty-five parishes, under the direction of a Gaelic commissioner who seems to have known little or no Scots, and despite an official policy of not filling parishes if no satisfactory candidates were available. By 1574 the commissioner in Ross could count on the support of eight ministers and twenty-five readers, while his counterpart in Caithness had eight ministers and sixteen readers for twenty-four parishes.[19] A similar pattern obtained in Moray and in the Highland portions of

the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane. Within these five dioceses it has been estimated that by 1574 sixty-five ministers and one hundred and fifty-eight readers were serving a combined total of two hundred and fifteen parishes, figures which compared not unfavourably to Scotland as a whole (although of course Highland parishes were generally much larger and more difficult to service adequately). Moreover, it is by no means self-evident that the Kirk's supply of Gaelic-speaking clergy in these early years was greatly lower than its Scots-speaking equivalent.[20] By the early seventeenth century the majority of parishes in the Highlands were occupied by ministers who were university trained in the Lowlands but who generally were able to discharge their pastoral responsibilities in the Gaelic language and to use it as the medium of religious instruction.[21] Although such precise figures relating to the provision of ministers in the early Reformation are not available for the entirely Gaelic dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, there is reason to believe that the former at least was a significant focus for the inculcation of a Gaelic Reformation rather than a tardy outlier in the process. In 1574 it appears that every parish in Lorne, central Argyll and Cowal had the services of stipendiary reformed clergy, whether ministers or readers, and, by the early seventeenth century, the forty-four parishes of the diocese were serviced by thirty-two ministers.[22] Argyll was also the operational centre of John Carswell (Seón/Eòin Carsuel/Carsuail), a pivotal figure in the early Gaelic Reformation.[23] Carswell (*c*.1522-–72) served as Superintendent of Argyll with responsibility also for Kintyre, Lorne, Lochaber and the Southern Isles. In 1565 his appointment as Bishop of the Isles further widened the extent of his influence. While Carswell clearly took his administrative responsibilities as superintendent seriously, his career is most striking as the author of the first printed Gaelic text, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, a version of the *Book of Common Order* which went significantly beyond a literal translation but which looked also to the Latin version of the original Geneva book, and incorporated parts of Calvin's Little Catechism, catechetical passages of his own composition and some traditional prayers.[24] While it is difficult to estimate the actual impact on the ground of this text, composed not in the vernacular but in Classical common Gaelic, which presumably meant that it required a degree of mediation by literate ministers to make it entirely comprehensible to the mass of the people,[25] it is noteworthy that by 1574 all the parishes in Argyll inspected by the Sixth Earl in a chief's circuit apparently possessed a copy of the text, and were making use of it both for worship and for discipline.[26] Perhaps more significantly, the production of the text itself testified to the cultural confidence in the Gaelic milieu around Argyll which was to be central to the wider project of both adapting the Reformation to the Gaelic culture and Gaelic culture to the new religious sensibility of Protestantism.

Carswell's career also neatly encapsulated what were to be two central elements in the adaptation of Protestantism to Highland culture, namely, the importance of the Gaelic learned classes, on the one hand, and the aristocracy, on the other, in leading and diffusing the new religious attitudes and practices. Carswell himself was evidently not entirely untrained in the composition of Gaelic poetry, although he deplored contemporary poetic preoccupations with mythical stories

from the Gaelic past rather than a concentration of their talents on the word of God.[27] The success of the Scottish Reformation in harnessing the talents of the traditional learned families with a tradition of clerical service within the ministry of the new Church was to be of critical importance to its success.[28] Carswell's own career was also critically defined by his relationship with his patron, the Fifth Earl of Argyll, Archibald (Gilleasbuig) Campbell. Argyll had been brought up a convinced Protestant and proved to be an extraordinarily influential individual in terms of spearheading the entrance of Protestantism into Gaelic Scotland. The Campbells were the most important clan in Western Scotland and, with the exception of the Seventh Earl who converted to Catholicism, the leading branch of the family proved to be committed and vital supporters of the new religion over the course of a century. The sheer extent of Campbell power and their control of religious patronage meant that their confessional alignment was of profound significance, but their role as patrons and facilitators of reform was mirrored also by other kindreds such as the MacKenzies, the Rosses, the Munros, the MacLeans of Duart and the MacLeods of Harris and Skye.[29] (By contrast, in those areas where Catholicism was able to acquire something of a foothold within Gaelic Scotland the support of native aristocrats was also crucial, in particular Clanranald in South Uist and Glengarry and the McNeills of Barra, and to a degree the confessional alignment of these clans was influenced by their hostility to Campbell power.)[30] The commitment of these two essential groupings within the native elite to the reformed religion in their role as 'multipliers' was an essential ingredient in its success,[31] a process further consolidated by the emergence of cadet branches of leading clans such as the Campbells, MacGregors and MacLeans as important sources of ministers within the Highland Reformation.[32]

Catholic renewal in Ireland operated in a different institutional environment, and according to a very different conception of its relationship with pre-Reformation church structures, but some critical similarities with the success of Gaelic Calvinism are markedly evident. Once again the role of the learned orders was central. Although plantation Ulster indicated, for instance, that many members of traditional clerical families were prepared to conform to the Established Church when it established an institutional presence in the province,[33] in sharp contrast to Scotland where MacPhails, Omeys, MacLachlans, MacEwans, MacKinnons, MacKinnons and MacQueens helped to staff the seventeenth-century ministry, this momentum was not maintained.[34] In Ireland, on the contrary, it was overwhelmingly the Catholic Church which proved able to draw on clerical and other branches of the traditional learned classes to staff the mission of Counter-Reformation. Figures such as Bonaventure O'Hussey (Giolla Bríghde Ó hEoghusa), Hugh Ward (Aodh Mac an Bhaird) and Florence Conry (Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire) symbolized a creative engagement between the cadres of traditional learning and a new Catholic religious culture which revolutionized the Irish Gaedhealtacht at the turn of the seventeenth century.[35] In a cognate fashion to Carswell these figures deplored some features of the bardic elite's ancient preoccupations while maintaining a healthy respect for their learning. The role of the aristocracy in promoting Catholic reform in Gaelic Ireland was also significant although the

effects of the Tudor conquest undermined much of the independent power of the Gaelic dynasts. In late sixteenth-century Ulster, however, the quasi-independent lordships of the North-West played an important part in maintaining a continuity of episcopal succession in the island,[36] and at the dawn of the seventeenth century there was already evidence of significant hostility to the Established Church among the Gaelic nobility.[37] Post-1603 the wealthy Gaelic elite in the localities patronized the mission of the Catholic Church in Irish-speaking areas and were particularly important in providing safe havens and residences for the resident episcopacy after its re-establishment in 1618. As in Scotland, branches of the Gaelic aristocracy also colonized the structures of the new church, most notably in the case of bishops such as Archbishop Hugh O'Reilly of Armagh and Edmund O'Dempsey of Leighlin.[38] The preservation of continuities with aspects of traditional practice undoubtedly contributed to the success of the movement of Gaelic reform. The renowned sixteenth-century preacher Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh, for instance, had the custom of providing a poetic summary of the main points of his sermons to assist his audience in remembering them, a practice of which Bonaventura O'Hussey also made use in his published catechism. Confession was both a formidable tool of a new conception of Catholicism and a bridge to the traditional configuration of seven sacraments. Denied by Protestants and requiring a priest for its ministration, it neatly foregrounded the differences between the confessions while offering enormous spiritual rewards. Gaelic anti-Protestant polemic drew also on a traditional respect for asceticism of life within the Gaelic world and produced a picture of the chief reformers as greedy and carnal men.[39]

If strong structural similarities are detectable between the different currents of religious reform in early modern Scotland and Ireland then the remarkably different outcomes in both areas become even more striking. In this regard the political context of Protestant reform in sixteenth-century Ireland is of inescapable importance. From 1534 to the end of Elizabeth's reign the expansion of the Tudor state in Ireland was marked by an escalating series of confrontations with the power of the Gaelic and Gaelicized lordships. Not only did this erode native sympathy with all aspects of Tudor innovation in government, including religious reform, but also the government's financial difficulties in the face of endemic rebellion leached away the resources necessary to underpin any significant evangelization of the native population. The first printed text for use in Protestant worship was not produced in Ireland until 1571 and may have been partially motivated by the need to forestall Carswell's *Foirm*, which he had clearly intended for use in Ireland as well as Gaelic Scotland.[40] A Book of Common Prayer and New Testament did not follow until the early seventeenth century and there is little evidence that they enjoyed much currency. Indeed, a telling indication of the lack of traction which such texts produced was the apparent complete lack of concern on the part of Irish Catholic exiles to produce a Catholic version of the Scriptures. In much of northern Europe, the impulse to produce Catholic vernacular Bibles essentially derived from the need to prevent the faithful from turning to Protestant editions, but the significant literary and printing endeavours of continentally based Irish Catholics in the course of the seventeenth century were orientated towards

hagiography, catechesis and devotional works rather than towards the production of a Gaelic Catholic Bible, which was only finally produced in the wake of the Second Vatican Council.

Even more critical than the provision of texts was the lack of a Gaelic graduate ministry. The failure to found a Dublin university in the early years of Elizabeth's reign meant that decades were squandered before the final establishment of Trinity in 1592 when it immediately faced competition from Catholic continental colleges. While Trinity was somewhat more successful in attracting Gaelic than Old English students in its early years,[41] the pronounced Anglo-centric bias of the Established Church undermined the provision of effective Gaelic ministry. Despite the efforts of isolated figures like the Caroline bishop of Kilmore, William Bedell, who railed against the prevailing tendency to assume that Gaelic parishes were *sine cura* for Protestant clerics and for whom the Pauline dictate to 'rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I should teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue' should form the basis of ministry, preaching ability in Irish was given scant attention in the assignment of parishes with Gaelic populations.[42] This was in marked contrast to Scotland where the need to create an effective preaching ministry became a hallmark of the Kirk's endeavours in the Highlands as well as in the Lowlands. Intrinsic to this process was the successful forging of linkages between Lowland universities and Gaelic-speaking clerics who returned to parishes in the Highlands with both the doctrinal training and linguistic competence necessary to discharge their ministry.[43]

The lack of magnate support also undermined the progress of the Irish Gaelic Reformation. Despite certain exceptions such as the main line of the O'Briens of Thomond, remarkably few magnate families wholeheartedly embraced the state religion. While this is probably less surprising in the case of purely Gaelic clans such as the O'Neills, O'Donnells or MacCarthys, who arguably lacked a sophisticated understanding of the working of the English governmental system in Ireland, or the wider FitzGerald factional alliance which ultimately engaged in ruinous confrontation with the Crown, and thus naturally gravitated towards the rhetoric and practice of Catholic resistance, the strangely passive role of the Butler affinity is of interest. Similarly to the Campbells of Argyll in Scotland, the Butlers of Ormond straddled the two worlds of sixteenth-century Ireland as both English magnates and a traditional power within the feuding universe of Gaelic lordships. Yet even Black Tom of Ormond, Elizabeth's cousin and favourite, proved a cautious accommodator with the new religion rather than a figure who detected advantages in vigorously establishing it in his domains in the manner of some Scottish magnates.[44]

The significance of the Franciscan order must also be assessed in considering the different outcomes of reform in both Scotland and Ireland. In Ireland the order undoubtedly played a role of profound importance in terms of the stabilization and elaboration of a Gaelic Catholic identity. As Raymond Gillespie notes in his chapter of the current volume, the fifteenth century witnessed a dramatic expansion and efflorescence of the mendicant orders in Ireland. Over forty houses of the Franciscan Third Order Regular were established in the island in the late medieval

period,[45] which also witnessed the establishment of numerous independent observant congregations as well as the frequent acceptance of a stricter interpretation of the rule by older houses. This process was most marked in the Gaelic and Gaelicized areas of the island where the friars also dominated the study of theology.[46] The friars rapidly emerged as key opponents of the Irish Reformations, as Carswell himself noted in a prefatory poem to the *Foirm*.[47] It was Gaelic Franciscans who were to be at the centre of the Catholic literary activity in the Irish language in the seventeenth century, particularly centred on St Anthony's College in Louvain. In terms of numbers they dwarfed all other orders at work in early modern Ireland. In 1618 Donncha Ó Maonaigh (Donatus Mooney) counted the numbers of Irish Franciscans at 160, but by the 1640s the papal envoy Carlo Invernizzi believed that the order had a thousand members in Ireland.[48] The Franciscans do not appear to have had anything close to the same salience in late medieval Scotland,[49] and the lack of a vigorous movement of observant reform may help explain the receptivity of Gaelic Scotland to Protestantism, in particular when the reformed Kirk set itself to provide services in areas where previously so much of the parochial revenues had been leeched off to support the higher clergy.[50] Significantly it was to be Irish Franciscans who enjoyed most success as Catholic missionaries in Scotland in the course of the seventeenth century, but, despite the cultural intelligibility of their endeavours, their achievements were limited by lack of numbers and finance.

Yet although the Franciscans proved hugely important actors within Gaelic Catholicism, it is important to stress that ultimately the organization of the Catholic Church within Gaelic Ireland continued to revolve around a diocesan system in which the lead organizational role was played by ordinary ecclesiastical authority rather than the religious orders. From the early seventeenth century Rome re-organized the Irish Church, first instituting a system of vicars apostolic and then after 1618 moving to create a resident episcopal hierarchy. Contrary to sometimes received wisdom, the majority of these bishops operating in Gaelic areas were not regular clergy although the conflict between the bishops and the regulars seems to have been less pronounced in the Gaedhealtacht areas.[51] By 1641 this model had become entrenched throughout the island. In the predominantly Gaelic Diocese of Artfert and Achadoe, for instance, during the 1630s it was reported that there were fifty-two secular priests of whom nine held doctorates in theology or canon law, and thirty-one friars with a solid basis of learning.[52] In similarly Gaelic Elphin the (Franciscan) bishop reported that the number of priests had grown from thirteen parish priests in 1625 to forty-two in 1637, and he reported a weekly practice of catechesis and provision of sacraments throughout the diocese.[53] In Gaelic Ireland, therefore, like Gaelic Scotland, a key element in entrenching the culture of religious reform was the creation of functioning structures of authority, visitation and oversight within a national church structure which united both English- or Scots-speaking and Gaelic populations of the two kingdoms.

If the commonality of language and culture between the two areas makes more urgent the need to explicate the differences between Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic

Scotland then it is the commonality of the English state as patrons of religious reform which renders the comparison between Wales and Ireland particularly interesting. The failure of the Catholic Church in Wales to mount an effective Counter-Reformation mission was not necessarily because of a deep popular attachment to the new faith. Rather, religious conservatism remained a substantial barrier to the embedding of new beliefs and practice in Wales, as recent scholarship has demonstrated was the case in England as well. In her incisive contribution to the current volume, Katherine Olson also argues cogently that the new religious dispensation which emerged in Wales was for much of the population the product of a complex pattern of negotiation between the traditional and the new, in which reverence for saints, for the sacred landscape and popular belief in spirits continued to figure, rather than a clear victory of a new and sharply defined Protestantism. Nevertheless, the contrast between the fate of the Established Church in Ireland and Wales, two areas of the archipelago which largely lacked any indigenous impulse towards reform, remains significant. In essence, the majority of the Welsh population conformed to the Elizabethan settlement while only a small minority of the existing Old English and Gaelic populations did so in Ireland.

In this regard, despite significant English prejudices against the Welsh language and an aspiration to see the principality anglicized, the Tudor Church showed a much greater willingness to countenance the use of the vernacular in Wales than in Ireland, a development in which figures such as William Salesbury, Richard Davies and William Morgan played a key role. Wales's relative political quiescence was presumably a factor in this turn of events. The comparatively limited area of Ireland under the direct control of the English state in the early Reformation period was naturally the part of the island where the English language exercised most sway. Even after the Kingship Act of 1541 turned the king's Irish enemies into subjects, it was clear that much of the Gaelic-speaking population simply lay outside the borders of the English state. Evangelization was a distant priority behind the achievement of effective political and military measures to allow for the absorption of the outlying lordships. In Wales, from the beginning of the Reformation it was evident that, however barbarous their tongue, the great mass of the Welsh population were natural subjects of their (Welsh) royal house.[54] Moreover, there was no substantial English-speaking population which offered itself as a potential nucleus for a new Anglicized and Protestant identity. The status of the Tudors as a Welsh dynasty has also been taken as a factor in ensuring the loyal conformity of the Principality's population towards the new religious dispensation. Certainly the Welsh character of the Tudor dynasty was a theme much emphasized by Elizabethan Welsh writers.[55] Yet the parallel process of Gaelic enthusiasm for the House of Stuart in both Scotland and Ireland suggests that dynastic attachment did not necessarily equate to religious fidelity. Irish poetic enthusiasm for James VI and I's Gaelic origins was certainly a feature of the political culture of early seventeenth-century Ireland, and may, for instance, have contributed to Aodh Mac Aingil's remarkable presentation of the king as practically a Catholic, but it did little to create momentum for the acceptance of the

state religion.[56] In Gaelic Scotland, also, the strong pull of the dynasty was evident throughout the crises of the seventeenth century but this was a politically rather than a religiously inflected royalism. More significantly perhaps than emotional identification with the dynasty in Tudor Wales, the political control exerted by the Crown helped convince the Welsh gentry that rich dividends would be available from the process of religious change, and the cooperation of the local elite immeasurably strengthened the movement of reform.[57] This local participation also contributed to the higher priority eventually accorded to evangelization in the vernacular of the people. In 1547 the first printed book in Welsh appeared. By 1567 a Welsh Prayer Book and New Testament were both available, a complete Bible was published in the year of the Armada, followed by a book of homilies in 1606, and a translation of the Authorised Version of the Bible duly made its entrance in 1620.[58] No fewer than four additional versions of the Prayer Book had appeared by 1630, at which time the momentous step of an affordable five-shilling version of the complete Bible in Welsh also occurred. The following year saw a metrical translation of the Psalms, a telling indication of the embedding of a wider Protestant culture.[59] From the 1590s such core texts were supplemented by a growing literature of devotional and improving works, much of it translated from English. While popular adherence to the new religion was slower to develop, the work of these scholars and antiquaries played a vital function in securing its ultimate reception.[60] The embedding of the Established Church as the majority confession in Wales was also promoted by the advancement of Welshmen to Welsh bishoprics. Thirteen of the sixteen Elizabethan bishops were natives of the principality, and the notion that Welsh-speaking clergy were a fundamental necessity to serve the *cura animarum* of the Welsh populace became steadily embedded in the fabric of the Church.[61]

Wales was arguably the least rebellious part of the entire archipelago during the early modern period and this further allowed for the consolidation of the ministry of the Established Church. In addition, the short-comings of its Catholic rival was a factor. Neither the Henrician nor Edwardian reformations had benefited from much popular support. While the religious conservatism of the principality should have offered rich material for the missionaries of the Counter-Reformation Church in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign – the evidence of bardic poetry, for instance, suggests a continued lack of enthusiasm for religious change[62] – it seems that relatively greater resources were devoted to the less promising south and east of England than to Wales or to Yorkshire. By 1603 only 803 avowed recusants were discovered in a survey of Wales's four dioceses.[63] As Katherine Olson's article demonstrates, these figures can mask as much as they reveal about the true state of religious conviction and belief within the general population, but again the contrast with Ireland, where the 1590s were a decade of major advances for the Catholic Church and where a distinct hardening against conformity was witnessed, is striking. The Bishop of Cork, William Lyon, for instance, noted in 1596 that where previously five hundred had been willing to take communion in the Church now there were not three who would come forward and not a single woman would appear either for divine service or communion.[64] A measure of

Catholic decline in Wales is also given by the fact that in the Diocese of Llandaff, for example, the four decades after Elizabeth's death saw barely a quarter of the ordinations to the priesthood which had occurred during her reign.[65]

As Lloyd Bowen demonstrates convincingly in his chapter in this volume, Welsh Protestantism also managed to craft a potent narrative of an imagined historical past which allowed the reformed religion to be presented as the rediscovery of an original pristine faith and the new vernacular Welsh Scriptures as the recovery of the ancestral inheritance of the Welsh Church. Scots reformers also found a newly usable past in the history of the ancient Celtic Church as different from and purer than the corrupted Roman confession,[66] but in Wales this took on an even more central role. The contrast with Ireland is again instructive. William Daniel's preface to the Irish translation of the Book of Common Prayer, for instance, represented a particularly creative attempt on the part of a deeply committed Gaelic reformer to present the Irish as a decayed civility fallen from past glories, which included the gift of letters to the Anglo-Saxons, through the corruption of Rome, which now had the opportunity of sharing in a common Protestant renewal. In contradistinction to Wales, however, the social and political conditions were not such as to create a receptive environment, either within the Established Church or among the general populace, for such notions and ultimately conceptions of the glories of the Gaelic past proved of far greater utility to Catholic reformers than to figures such as Daniel.[67]

By the mid-sixteenth century Cornish was incomparably the weakest of the Celtic vernaculars and, in a similar fashion to the Gaelic of the Isle of Man,[68] the language did not serve as a comprehensive vehicle for the embedding of the acute religious changes of the early modern period in the extreme south-west of England. As Alex Walsham demonstrates in her chapter, however, the part often assumed to have been played by the Reformation in helping to extinguish the language is not necessarily so self-evident. Aspects of the new religion were undoubtedly disseminated orally in Cornish for those who knew no English, and a certain number of scribally written texts in Cornish have also survived. Ultimately, however, it seems to have been the local gentry's disinterest in maintaining the language which ensured that the new religious culture did not take on fully Cornish habiliments. As Walsham argues, nonetheless, a sense of nostalgia for a lost past and a transmutated memory of sacred personages and landscapes continued to inflect aspects of the new religious culture which spread into the area in the wake of the Reformation, although such a particular Cornish micro-Christendom does not equate necessarily to an ethnically distinctive religious culture.

If even the English state, the most centralized political unit in the archipelago, failed to adopt a consistent policy towards the use of Celtic vernaculars in worship in the areas under its dominion, it is no surprise that there was no consistency of response throughout Gaelic Ireland, Gaelic Scotland, Wales and Cornwall to the period of intense religious ferment which characterized the late medieval and early modern period. In Gaelic Scotland it was the presbyteries of the Kirk which played a critical role in adapting the religious traditions of the Highlands

and the Islands to a new culture of the sacred. In Wales the same function was to be served by the peculiar, in European terms, church of the Elizabethan settlement, while in Ireland it was to be post-Tridentine Catholicism which acted as the principal agent of change within the devotional practices and beliefs of the Gaelic population. As the essays of this book demonstrate certain themes certainly resonated in more than one area of the archipelago. The concern to validate and legitimize the identity of their linguistic community through readings of the past, the importance of local elite engagement to the process of religious affiliation, and the negotiated and permeable religious identities which developed were not confined to one community of speakers of a Celtic language. Ultimately, however, this is testimony much less to shared ethnic identity traits than to the common participation of these linguistic communities in a wider European process of religious ferment and development at the dawn of the modern era.

Part I
Traditional Religion and Reformation Change

1
The Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation

Iain G. MacDonald

Historians investigating the state of the medieval Church in Gaelic Scotland have not had their problems to seek. Scholarship has been traditionally weighted towards the early medieval period, where the search for the elusive 'Celtic' brand of Christianity dwarfs anything published for the period after 1100. Late medievalists have tended to contrast the Church in the Gaelic Highlands unfavourably with the ecclesiastical organization and religious sophistication of Lowland society, and some have dismissed it as a little more than a superficial and extraneous appendage grafted onto society. In one especially dismissive passage Gordon Donaldson argued:

> The facts provide but a slender foundation on which to build the romantic picture of a pious Catholic populace who maintained their faith uncontaminated by the reformation. The truth is that the Highlands never had adequate spiritual ministrations until the nineteenth century, when the Free Kirk took the task in hand.[1]

In recent years scholars have challenged the sharp dichotomy between the Highlands and Lowlands and the cultural homogeneity of the Gàidhealtachd itself, but in the ecclesiastical sphere certain distinguishing traits, chiefly around institutional provision and the sexual and religious mores of the clergy and laity, remain uncontested.[2] This paper seeks to flesh out some of these issues and to examine the performance of the Church within the context of Gaelic society and wider Christendom. In the course of doing so we will discuss whether these features demonstrated the superficiality of Christianity in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, or pointed to a church which was already heavily integrated with secular society.

Criticism of institutional provision

The most frequently repeated and perhaps most damaging criticism concerns the chequered fortunes of the West-Highland bishops of Argyll and of Sodor (the Isles) and their cathedrals of Lismore and Snizort. They are usually depicted as weak,

underdeveloped and ineffective institutions in comparison with other Highland bishoprics.[3] Historians commonly make reference to the long episcopal vacancies in Sodor and Argyll during the sixteenth century, and to James V's complaints to Rome regarding the state of religion in Argyll and the Hebrides. In November 1529 he wrote:

> It is now the seventeenth year since the see of the Hebrides became vacant. During that period those born in the more remote isles have not had baptism or other sacrament – not to speak of Christian teaching – and are not likely to have it unless a bishop be appointed.[4]

Three years later James further asserted that 'very few' desired to hold the bishopric of Argyll. Not only were its rents small but also its location, 'adjacent to Ireland and the Isles, at the very back of the realm' made it 'hard to preserve ecclesiastical discipline among a lawless folk'.[5] The situation appears hopeless, but this was really hyperbole propagated by a Stewart government anxious to acquire a favourable response from the papacy. It would be more accurate to say that few Lowlanders wanted the bishopric; there were plenty of ambitious local churchmen, but the Stewart kings were anxious to avoid individuals from Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Domhnaill acquiring an episcopate on their home turf. Royal ecclesiastical policy instead favoured men who would 'keep the people in obedience to the crown'.[6] Yet even when a see was *sede vacante* business would have carried on as usual; vicar generals collated newly beneficed clergy and the cathedral chapter would act as ordinary authority.[7] The cathedral chapter of Argyll had been in existence since at least the late fourteenth century, and the succession of capitular dignitaries, although incomplete, is generally impressive.[8] True, the bishops governed from Dunoon rather than Lismore, but this was in response to political and economic trends, and was not the straightforward retreat from Highland inhospitality so often supposed.[9] The status of the late medieval cathedral clergy of Snizort is far more obscure, but the annexation of Iona Abbey in 1499 transformed the situation, providing the Bishop of Sodor with a new home and the funds to create a fully constituted cathedral chapter. In 1549 there was a flurry of supplications regarding vacancies in the deanery, treasurership, chancellorship and subdeanery of Sodor, all offices which had evidently been in existence for at least a generation.[10] Further annexations to the episcopal *mensa* of the two sees doubtless helped to finance the commissaries and the new network of rural deans of Christianity, which (re)appear in the early sixteenth century.[11] This was clearly a period of unqualified improvement for the organization of the Church in Argyll and Sodor, which makes it all the more ironic that it coincided with the loudest complaints about poverty and the poor quality of episcopal supervision.

Other traditional criticisms of perceived structural deficiencies of the Church in the sixteenth-century Gàidhealtachd have focused upon the large size of parishes – which made it impossible for distant communities to attend the parish church regularly – and the skeletal number of collegiate churches, friaries and hospitals in comparison with the Lowlands.[12] As Martin MacGregor has argued, however,

such an approach discounts the possibility that Gaelic society developed its own means of fulfilling the ideals underlying these institutions without resorting to the institution itself.[13]

As in Ireland, parish formation in Gaelic Scotland originated from a pre-parochial ecclesiastical system modelled upon the political and economic units of secular lordships.[14] There is some evidence that bishops were willing to divide parishes in response to demographic change, but entrenched allegiance to particular churches and their titular saints may have discouraged much reform of this kind.[15] Amalgamations occurred more regularly (especially in the west), probably an indication of the financial pressures which made it hard for late medieval clergy to sustain themselves from the fruits of a single benefice.[16] In the Highlands, however, as in the similarly large upland parishes in England, distant communities could access the sacraments via dependent chapels.[17] The Gàidhealtachd possessed a rich ecclesiastical heritage of chapels, but proving the operation of the majority of them is often impossible. Raitts and Dunachton in Badenoch, Cille Choirill in Lochaber and Branwo in Glen Lyon, however, were all functioning chapels in the later Middles Ages (the latter two officially as dependent chapels).[18] Foundations like these were hugely important for the *cura animarum* in the large parishes of the mountainous interior, although they were probably not always permanently staffed: 'Bambrow' was endowed with a new resident chaplain in 1500 because the parish of Fortingall was too large for the vicar to minister on his own.[19] One may envisage some flexibility in response to changing local conditions: chapels semi-retired after the Black Death possibly enjoying a new lease of life as the population began to recover. However, new chapels founded for divine worship were popping up too – St Catherines near Loch Fyne, St Ninians of *Strotholwe* in Argyll and St Ninians near Ardstinchar Castle in Carrick are among the chance few to be documented.[20] Study of the Gaelic parishes in Atholl and Breadalbane indicates that they were frequently supported by a network of dependent chapels to serve outlying communities,[21] while the forty-eight parish churches of late medieval Argyll were supplemented by an impressive twenty-six functioning chapels, some of which exceeded parish churches in their size and ostentation.[22] Similarly, numerous other chapels in Islay, Argyll and the Lennox were endowed with specific lands for supporting a resident priest.[23] The baptismal fonts, pre-Reformation burials and religious sculpture unearthed at these sites imply that these were important and thriving foundations. They, rather than the parish church itself, served as the typical place of worship for many Scottish Gaels from cradle to grave.[24] Private noble chapels were also accessible: John Major's 1521 history suggests that ordinary parishioners attended divine service even in private manorial chapels, regardless of whether they were officially dependent or not.[25]

Indeed, the importance of certain churches was reinforced by their close association with particular clans who acted as founders, patrons or users of the burial ground – ties which may have rendered collegiate churches less relevant in the Gàidhealtachd.[26] John Bannerman identified several churches along the western seaboard which functioned as mausoleums for major Gaelic kindreds,

where ties were strengthened further by the local nobility's heavy investment in monumental funerary and religious sculpture.[27] This sculpture demonstrated that the West-Highland elite shared the same anxieties about damnation as contemporaries who erected collegiate foundations.[28] Indeed, one recent survey has conjectured that the concentration of surviving West-Highland medieval funerary and commemorative sculpture is heavier than anywhere else in Europe.[29] Free-standing crosses commissioned 'in honour of God and the Saints, and for the salvation of their souls and those of other members of their families' were frequently erected in or around graveyards by individuals whose kindred possessed close ties with that church and saint; some even asked for prayers in their inscriptions.[30] They also functioned as outward signs of benefaction: the late fifteenth-century cross of Cailean MacEachairn of Killellan in the graveyard of Kilkerran parish church was probably erected to mark the recent mortification of some of his lands to its altar.[31] The crosses frequently depicted crucifixion scenes, and it has been suggested that this compensated for the apparent lack of Christian symbolism and exhortations for prayers on many grave-slabs.[32] Yet funerary sculpture would also, by its very form, have reminded the living of those buried underneath and their need for prayers. One imagines that they struck a powerful chord at churches frequented by kin members. A few of the more sophisticated surviving examples from the late fifteenth century are also adorned with representations of the Virgin and Michael the Archangel, who were venerated as powerful intercessors at judgement and in purgatory in late medieval society.[33] The image of St Michael holding the scales of justice above the tomb of Alasdair MacLeòid of Dunvegan was a typical representation of the archangel who escorted souls from purgatory to heaven.[34] Similarly, the carving of a cadaver at the centre of the MacDubhghaill grave-slab in Ardchattan Priory illustrated that the nobility were attuned to the latest developments in Christian culture.[35]

Beyond the West Highlands, salvation also occupied the final thoughts of Seumas Grannd (Grant) of Freuchie in 1553. Bequeathing his soul to Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, he warned his son and executor to ensure that he was honourably interred, and to act for the welfare of his father's soul, adding that he would answer before the highest judge on Judgement Day.[36] The entombments of successive chiefs of Clann Fhriseil (the Frasers) and Clann Choinnich (the MacKenzies) in Beauly Priory and of the chiefs of Clann Mhic an Tòisich (the Mackintoshes) in the Dominican friary of Inverness were all demonstrative not only of benefaction but also of their expectation that prayers and masses given therein would hasten their delivery from purgatory.[37] Incidentally, this may help explain why some of these chiefs were customarily buried outside the clan *dùthchas*.[38] Certainly, in Argyll and the Hebrides it was not unknown for individuals also to be buried in places of considerable sanctity.[39] Could it also be a demonstration of political allegiances? This also had parallels in the west, where the alleged burials of some principal Hebridean leaders in Reilig Odhŕain on Iona may have represented a conscious demonstration of affinity with the Lords of the Isles, who employed St Oran's chapel as their own mortuary chapel.[40] The burial

location of chiefs across the Gàidhealtachd is an area which warrants further investigation.

Relevant documentary sources specifying prayers for the dead are scarce, but the late medieval chronicle of Fortingall was probably compiled with the intention of saying prayers and obits (yearly masses said for a person's soul) in local parish churches in Dunkeld and Argyll.[41] Other annalistic compilations (no longer extant) were the original sources for many of the obituaries of the clan elite preserved in the seventeenth-century genealogical histories; the author of the history of Clann Fhriseil utilized the ecclesiastical records of Beauly Priory, which contained 'the deat [date] of our lords buried and interred within their church and charnels, of which they kept bills of mortality'.[42] The inclusion of obituaries of individuals of local and national significance was consistent with the late medieval belief that the 'sins of one segment of the community could bring God's wrath down upon the whole nation'.[43] The MicGriogair compilers of the Fortingall Chronicle continued to record the interments of their clan chiefs in neighbouring Argyll, however, despite their location in Perthshire. Ties of kinship may therefore have continued to exercise a profound influence over prayer and remembrance among the priestly classes in the Gàidhealtachd, even if they themselves lived well beyond the original clan territory.[44]

Another related aspect is the religious role of bardic poetry. Sìm Innes's investigations of Marian devotion in Classical Gaelic poetry has opened new vistas in this direction, but one which deserves fuller elaboration is whether funeral elegies served not only to celebrate the life of clan chiefs but also to encourage future generations to pray for them after their death.[45] 'A Phaidrín do dhúisg mo dhéar' ('Thou rosary that hast waked my tear') is perhaps the most famous example, although the elegy 'Parrthas toraidh an Díseart' ('A paradise of fruit is the Hermitage') incorporated a description of the funeral and burial of a Clann Ghriogair noble at their traditional burial-ground of Clachan Dysart.[46] In any case, it is undeniable that salvation and prayer for the souls of the dead were highly conspicuous features of religious devotion in late medieval Gaelic Scotland.

What of charity? There were hardly any hospitals or friaries in Gaelic Scotland. They were predominantly urban institutions so one might argue that we should not expect them in a region devoid of burghs. Yet they were popular in rural Gaelic Ireland, so their small number in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd demands further attention.[47] Some provision for the poor and sick was provided through ties of kinship, though to what extent is unclear. Scottish Gaelic verse laid great stress upon the social responsibility of the clan chief to shelter the needy and most vulnerable in society, from widows and orphans to the homeless and disabled.[48] Fifteenth-century petitions from Iona and other parochial clergy in Argyllshire suggest that in these areas the monasteries and parish churches were also expected to shoulder the burden.[49] Monastic hospitality was not unusual at all, but the assertion that parochial churchmen were obliged to provide customary hospitality to all comers (even unwillingly) has no real parallels elsewhere in mainland Britain and was well beyond the expectations of canon law.[50] It bears obvious similarities to contemporary supplications from Gaelic Irish clergy, however, where

the culture of clerical hospitality was shaped by the traditional expectations of secular society as well as the Christian duty of charity to one's neighbour.[51] These West-Highland clergymen were probably roughly equivalent to the Irish *bíatach* or 'general hospitaller' who maintained guesthouses for travellers, strangers and pilgrims and the poor. As in Ireland, this hospitality could also be exploited. In the early 1500s the Crown repeatedly warned West-Highland chiefs against the oppressive use of 'sorning' (Gaelic *sorthan*) and other exactions on church land and property.[52] How widespread the culture of customary hospitality was among the Scottish Gaelic clergy in our period remains unresolved, though it was a key theme of Scottish Gaelic poetry in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*.[53] Indeed, the appearance in the early sixteenth century of a prebendary of Alyth in Perthshire who kept 'open house in the highland fashion' suggests this was not simply a West-Highland phenomenon. Further north in Ross-shire a contemporary prebendary of Roskeen also reputedly 'kept an open house' and 'livd splendidly, more like a bishop then a mean chaplen'.[54] Nevertheless, the burden was probably heaviest for West-Highland incumbents as they were also required to pay a proportion of their tithes to their bishop on top of synodal and other episcopal dues.

Christian charity also found expression in other enterprises. Indulgences were offered for individuals who built and repaired bridges over the Highlands' many rivers and gorges, and more frequently for those who made donations for the rebuilding of parish churches or the founding of chapels.[55] In 1525 Hector Boece observed that churches in Gaelic Scotland lacked the magnificence and decoration of those in the Lowlands, and the shells of surviving churches do suggest that most, as in Ireland, were simple, unicameral structures.[56] Modern archaeological inventories of Argyll, the Hebrides and Highland Perthshire reveal, however, the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a period of considerable investment in, and regeneration and augmentation of, church buildings. This trend, which accorded with contemporary building programmes in Ireland and Europe, ranged across the spectrum, from major foundations like Lismore, Iona, Ardchattan and Oronsay, to parish churches like Rodel in Harris or Blair in Atholl, or even Finlarig chapel near Loch Tay.[57] Some were reputedly rebuilt by clan chiefs as penance for earlier misdemeanours, but the construction of new burial aisles and tomb recesses would have been the logical occasion for most rebuilding and repair. Public displays of liberality to the Church would – like feasting – have won chiefs some kudos in wider society, so there may perhaps have been a political dimension to some of this activity. Yet it would be unwise to underestimate the sincerity or piety of clan chiefs in undertaking such investment, and one could argue that it showed their satisfaction with the standard of pastoral care on offer.[58]

Mendicant friars were also popular choices for charitable bequests from clan chiefs during the later Middle Ages. The formerly close ties that existed between the Bishopric of Argyll, Clann Dubhghaill and the Dominicans had petered out by the early fifteenth century, and although clan chiefs continued to make donations to the order's urban houses there is no evidence that a substantive recruitment of Gaelic personnel or preaching activity developed out of these relationships.[59] Only a handful of the Scottish Dominicans on record between 1450 and 1560

were of likely Gaelic origin, mostly at the Inverness Friary.[60] Indeed, the only mendicant foundation on record in Gaelic Scotland was the Carmelite friary at Kingussie in Badenoch, established sometime before 1475 by the Gordon Earls of Huntly.[61]

The history of Kingussie Friary is shrouded in obscurity, and the results of the brothers' pastoral labours are unknown. However, its foundation heralded similar measures to employ friars to minister and preach in other areas of the Gàidhealtachd. In Dunkeld diocese Bishop George Brown (1483–1515) licensed Dominicans and Franciscan friars who were well acquainted with the 'Irish' (i.e. Gaelic) tongue to 'preach at least once a year in the upper parts of the diocese and hear confessions'.[62] There is far less evidence of such organized measures in the West Highlands, although in 1518 the Bishop and the Earl of Argyll jointly agreed to 'caus sum man of knaulege' who would be supported and accomodated at the earl's expense 'to pas in the cuntre and prech and tech the pepill to leif [live] rych-tuislie [righteously]'.[63] The description of the observant Pàdraig O'Feidhil (d.1505) as 'a distinguished, honoured preacher in Ireland and in Scotland' was probably formulaic, but the possibility that Irish mendicants occasionally extended their ministry into the West Highlands and Islands may not be without foundation.[64] Yet while this renewed emphasis upon preaching was in tune with reforms elsewhere in Scotland and wider Europe, it nevertheless underlined the apparent dearth of native friars in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd.[65] Unlike Gaelic Ireland, the mendicant presence often seems to have been a temporary measure initiated by outside or ruling agencies and was not grounded in local society. Why this was so still remains unresolved.

Opportunities for religious or charitable foundations were, however, probably quite restricted. Many parish churches were already annexed to support cathedrals, and those benefices which remained independent were generally lower in value than those in the Lowlands. Moreover, aside from the greatest clan chiefs few noble kindreds held the patronage of a sufficient number of churches to sustain new religious houses. Temporary annexations may have been popular for this reason; several parish churches were annexed to Argyll Cathedral as *ad vitam* prebends and recent study of the landholding structure of Iona Abbey has suggested that some lands were granted only for the lifetime of a monk before reverting back to his family after death.[66] Although annexations of this type were not unknown elsewhere, their likely presence in the western Gàidhealtachd may suggest there was little capacity for new establishments.

This may also be suggested by the treatment of some existing church property. Land was the key economic resource in the Highlands where the exercise of power depended upon a large military following and 'customary' exactions to sustain them.[67] Although the poetic ideal espoused protection of the Church, it is evident that it was not immune. In June 1506 the government commanded local chiefs not to interfere with church rents and profits, but observe its freedoms and privileges as from the first foundation without any 'scatt (exaction), stent (levy), taxation, or extortion to be maid in tyme cuming'.[68] Three years later the MicGhill-Eathain lords of Duart and Lochbuie, and Raghnall mac Ailéin, Chief of Clann

Raghnaill were expressly warned against making impositions upon Iona nunnery against its will.[69] Interestingly, Raghnall's father, Ailéin mac Ruaidrhí, had been the subject of a ferocious satirical poem accusing him of impiously harrying and spoiling Iona.[70] The instability and feuding which followed the forfeiture of Clann Domhnaill in 1493 were doubtless responsible for some of these abuses, but they were not unprecedented. During the mid-to-late fourteenth century the bishop of Moray's lands in Badenoch had also been subject to exactions, while there were a couple of complaints of secular interference with the rents and lands of the bishopric of Argyll and Iona Abbey in 1411 and 1428, respectively.[71] Indeed, some Argyllshire and Hebridean chiefs still possessed episcopal and monastic lands illegally in the mid-sixteenth century.[72] The trigger for the flurry of sixteenth-century complaints was probably the annexation of Iona Abbey in 1499, which consolidated episcopal and monastic lands under the sole authority of the Bishop of Sodor, who subsequently led government efforts to eradicate sorning in the Statutes of Iona in 1609. The possibility that church lands along the western sea-board were often exploited to maintain warriors may help explain the formidable military power of the Lords of the Isles and other West-Highland clans.

Clergy and laity

While the structural organization of the Church in pre-Reformation Gaelic Scotland was sounder than historians have hitherto appreciated, it was the clergy who staffed the Church who were critical to its success or failure. Recent exami-nation of the social origins of West-Highland clergy supports the belief that a career in the Church was highly prized in Gaelic society. The vast majority were Gaels indigenous to the locality if not the actual parish, with a substantial num-ber recruited from the landowning *daoin'-uaisle* class and a smaller number from the ruling lineage. Members of the learned *aos dána* (at least in Argyll and the Hebrides) were less numerous than previously supposed, but those few who did join the clerical ranks appear to have established ecclesiastical lineages. It was an enviable profession to join, and not just an overspill for individuals who failed to find employment in their own hereditary occupation.[73]

The overwhelming majority of beneficed churchmen were Scottish. There were hardly any Irish clergy, despite the close cultural affinity that the West Highlands and Islands shared with Gaelic Ireland. There was, however, a substantial cohort of Lowland clergymen occupying cathedral and parochial benefices in Argyll dur-ing the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This was probably also true of the northern, eastern and southern Gàidhealtachd where royal presentations and the succession of prelates and cathedral dignitaries support the impression that a size-able number of the benefices were occupied by Lowlanders.[74]

The presence of Lowland clergy offered positive benefits for Gaelic society and the Scottish kingdom at large. It opened up new avenues for communication and integration with the Church in the Lowlands and economic support for ecclesias-tics involved in new institutions of government. Contribution in the educational sphere was also significant. Although a privileged minority of Gaelic clergy had

customarily received education on the Continent, the foundation of Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495) universities enabled greater numbers to pursue academic studies than they had done previously. Indeed, both establishments were created with this purpose in mind.[75]

The spiritual benefits accruing from Lowland clergy are less obvious. It perhaps promoted greater uniformity of liturgical worship throughout the kingdom, although the Use of Sarum had long been predominant throughout Gaelic Scotland.[76] A large proportion of these clergy were undoubtedly incapable of preaching and administering the sacraments in Gaelic, though the number of complaints to Rome was not on the scale of Ireland. Only in Argyll did this become a serious issue, in large part because clan chiefs (particularly Clann Chaimbeul) found it a useful political stratagem to extend their power over benefices.[77] In most cases, local, resident priests who were conversant in the native vernacular would have been employed as substitutes. They did not enjoy the full tithes of the parish to which their duties entitled them, but they would seem to have averted any serious consequences for the *cura animarum*.

Such men also provided cover for non-resident, pluralist clergy. Fifteenth-century papal supplications furnish some instances of clergy who allegedly failed either to maintain the fabric of the chancel or to allow some parishioners to die without the sacraments, but their infrequency suggests that local expectations were generally satisfied. In contrast, the recruitment of friars to preach and hear confessions could suggest that the lack of pastoral care was becoming an issue of increasing concern in Gaelic Scotland. Indeed, the agreement of 1518 included a stipulation to ensure Argyll churchmen maintain their churches, which was a classic symptom of absenteeism.[78] Allegations concerning non-ordained clergy were a more prominent feature of West-Highland supplications to Rome in the fifteenth century and perhaps suggest that ordination ceremonies were more irregular in Argyll and Sodor than in more accessible (and wealthier) dioceses of the Lowlands. It was probably also a sign of the desire of chiefly patrons to retain family control of benefices (and their property) by installing kinsmen who had no intention of proceeding to holy orders. Yet this should not be taken as a sign of indifference towards the priesthood; ecclesiastical effigies, which commonly portray the priest in mass vestments bearing a chalice, point to a society where the ministry of the altar was highly esteemed.[79] There is nothing in the careers of Gaelic churchmen which heavily distinguished them from their colleagues elsewhere in Western Europe.

What of their origins? The formation of ecclesiastical lineages is regarded as one of the most significant features of the local clergy in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, and of the influence of a society which was structured into hereditary castes.[80] Given the proliferation of illegitimate priest-sons among the beneficed, however, the actual number of concrete examples of father-to-son succession is unimpressive. Only a handful of instances have been identified so far (mainly in the West Highlands), none of which appears to have endured more than two generations.[81] During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries dispensations were frequently requested by illegitimate Irish (and some Lowland Scots)

priest-sons to succeed their father in a benefice, but none emerged from the Scottish Gàidhealtachd, leading one to wonder whether direct filial succession was less prevalent here than in Ireland.[82] Some cases were undoubtedly masked – there is at least one allegation of 'sandwiching' in a fictitious possessor – while others are strongly suggestive, but it is more usual to find members of lineages working in a number of different parish churches located in the same deanery or lordship.[83] Rome-running for benefices by rival clergy on both sides of the North Channel created a fierce competitive environment which must have made it far harder for sons to succeed their father directly.[84] It may, in turn, explain the more substantial evidence for the transmission of benefices to other male family members, often by resigning the benefice and reserving it to a named kinsman. This arrangement was not proscribed by canon law, and became a popular method of maintaining family control among both Gaelic and Lowland clergy in the early to mid-sixteenth centuries, though even here benefices were never exclusively monopolized by one lineage for any significant length of time.[85]

It also seems unlikely that the clergy embraced Gaelic customs regarding sex and polygamy practised in secular society.[86] Petitions against concubinary priests were dwarfed by the numbers of priest-sons seeking dispensation, which supports the belief in a widespread acceptance of the practice among the clergy. However, neither the scale of clerical illegitimacy nor the relaxed attitudes towards clerical concubinage appear that far removed from their colleagues in other regions such as Catalonia and Scandinavia.[87] Similarly, it is debateable whether we should draw any great distinction between the noble concubines of prelates in Ireland and Iona and the high-status female partners of some of the leading bishops in Lowland Scotland; the social status of the concubine was probably commensurate with the class and income of the cleric, although I am unaware of any equivalent to the dower found in Gaelic cases.[88] Late medieval Argyll also provided no instances of priest-sons born of adulterous relationships. If it can be accepted as roughly representative, this suggests that unchaste clergy in the Gàidhealtachd, as in Ireland and other Western countries, probably favoured monogamous, quasi-marital relationships with unmarried concubines.[89]

Nevertheless, while the sexual behaviour of the Gaelic clergy was not as exceptional as supposed, they were unable to reform the polygamous activities of the clan chiefs, and some were compromised by kin loyalties. In Dunkeld individuals accused of incest, adultery and fornication believed they would be treated leniently because they were kinsmen of the commissary general, who belonged to a 'noble Highland house'.[90] The assumption proved incorrect on this occasion, but the episode gives an indication of the pressure that ties of kinship could exert upon Gaelic churchmen. They almost certainly swayed Aonghas, the MacDomhnaill bishop of Sodor, who consistently favoured his kinsman, Eoin, Lord of the Isles, in his dispute with his wife Elizabeth Livingston, regardless of the clan chief's serial adultery.[91] If blood-ties could prove decisive for senior prelates, then it is little wonder that ordinary parish priests, who frequently owed their livelihood to chiefly patrons, turned a blind eye.

Nothing much of contemporary evidence survives which can tell us of the religious piety of those below the higher echelons of society. In 1532 James V vividly described the people of the Isles as a folk:

> tenacious of old custom, traditional manners and rites: they cannot tolerate the introduction of anything which menaces ancestral practice, and if any man, above all a religious, fails in a matter of accepted custom, they consider it an imperfection or it fills them with aversion and contempt.[92]

The king's purpose was to secure papal authorization for the bishop of Sodor to wear the rochet, a linen vestment which he claimed the Hebrideans recognized as the 'distinctive mark of the bishop' and which would help persuade them to pay episcopal dues.[93] This was again perhaps hyperbole, but there is no reason to doubt that religious beliefs in the Hebrides were anything other than conventional and sincerely held. In his description of the Hebrides in *circa* 1549, Donald Monro, Archdeacon of Sodor, only singled out the isolated communities of St Kilda and North Rona for their 'scant' religious knowledge; this was presumably an indication that he was generally satisfied with the state of Christianity elsewhere in the diocese.[94] Indeed, in another remarkable account from Eigg in August 1625 an eighty-year-old lady reproached the Irish Franciscan Conchobar Mac an Bhaird (Cornelius Ward) after Mass for omitting to give the pax to the people to kiss, which had been the custom at the Masses she had attended in her youth. Even in the largely illiterate society of pre-Reformation Gaelic Scotland there may have been considerably more knowledge and understanding than scholars give credit for, and certainly there seems little basis for assuming that they were any less steadfast in their devotion to the faith than their clergy.[95] The impression is that the laity maintained a strictly traditional approach to religious worship, and that their understanding of the faith was informed by visual imagery and observed practice.

The veneration of local 'Celtic' saints is habitually marked out as a distinctive feature, yet it was hardly unique to ordinary Gaels and can be paralleled with numerous European saint cults which were unknown outside their own locality.[96] It is also likely that ruling kindreds appropriated and promulgated certain cults as a means of cementing their own local authority – the promotion of Saint Brendan by the Stewarts and Saint Munnu by Clann Chaimbeul are two examples which have been identified.[97]

Carmina Gadelica, the collection of charms, prayers and incantations gathered by Alexander Carmichael from the Outer Hebrides in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, may well retain elements of medieval religious belief, and some have detected evidence of residual paganism within them. Their *raison d'être* was essentially the same as those recited in other medieval and pre-industrial European societies, however, where both laity and clergy routinely invoked divine intervention for their own well-being and that of the wider community.[98] Indeed, it was only in the fifteenth century that ecclesiastical authorities were beginning to turn against them and even then they were motivated less by concern over 'paganism'

than by their fear that the laity could inadvertently summon up demonic powers. Such a possibility doubtless seemed nonsensical to ordinary folk, who presumably believed that the biblical and liturgical quotations which permeate these prayers and charms (including those in *Carmina Gadelica*) left little room for doubt as to whose aid they were invoking.[99] Indeed, it could be argued that the capacity of medieval Christianity to assimilate originally 'pagan' practices which were not contrary to its vision was actually a great strength and a basic reason for its remarkable success.[100]

Much of the foregoing analysis in this brief survey is built upon research on the Church and clergy in the late medieval West Highlands. More detailed work is required before we start making judgements about the state of the Church in the northern, eastern and southern parts of the Gàidhealtachd. It remains a challenge to scholars to detect whether cultural differences between Gaelic-speaking regions had any practical consequences in the religious sphere. Yet what little has been achieved so far is already overturning many of the old tenets regarding the Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation. The greater clan chiefs wielded considerable power over many aspects of the Church, not only as patrons but also through their position in the social order. The Church did not conform in all its facets to the institutional organization found in Lowland Scotland, but it could not be considered unusual by European standards. Mechanisms for the provision of worship, welfare and personnel clearly existed and were knitted into the very fabric of Gaelic society, although given that the Church had been present for a millennium this could hardly be considered surprising. The abiding impression is that people were generally content with the performance of the local church and were willing to invest in it their hopes for salvation.[101]

2
Traditional Religion in Sixteenth-Century Gaelic Ireland

Raymond Gillespie

Writing of the world of pre-Reformation English Catholicism, Eamon Duffy has described traditional religion as 'indicating something of the richness and complexity of the religious system by which men and women structured their experience of the world and their hopes and aspirations within and beyond it'.[1] This characterization of traditional religion as a system of symbols and beliefs, focused on the points where the natural world of the sixteenth century met the timeless one of heaven, has much to recommend it in an Irish context. However, it requires both contextualization and expansion to allow it to work in this particular context. It is important, for example, to realize that the religious system was not itself systematic. Most of those who lived in sixteenth-century Ireland had little interest in carefully formulated theological propositions or discussable philosophical systems. Their interest was in practical religion that, on the basis of experience, worked. In particular they looked for religious solutions to the problems of the everyday world, such as disease or misfortune, and to ensure salvation in the world that was to come and whose presence they could sense in their own society.

There are, of course, dangers in such a view of traditional religion. The first is that belief can be collapsed into a fragmented set of practices that are unique in time and space: the sort of alternative nature-loving Celtic Christianity that some have conjured out of earlier evidence. In the sixteenth century that was not the case. Ireland was set firmly in the world of European Christianity. Rome, all admitted, was the locus of authority and the journey to Rome for study or relic acquisition was an important motif in contemporary hagiography. In the later Middle Ages many Irishmen, both clerical and lay, made their way to Rome either for purposes of devotion or for the procurement of ecclesiastical office. In 1510–11 Hugh O'Donnell (Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill), the Lord of Tír Chonaill in Ulster had gone on pilgrimage to Rome as his near neighbour Maguire (Maguidhir) had done a few years earlier.[2] Indeed there is also a strong possibility that the maker of the Mayo manuscript known as the Seanchas Búrcach in the 1570s had also recently been in Rome, for one of the illustrations in that work shows an unusual image of an 'Ecce Homo' figure descending a set of stairs, which could be interpreted as the stairs of Pilate's house, then the Scala Sancta in the Lateran Palace in

Rome.[3] Rome's position of authority in Irish-speaking Ireland was clear as it came under attack in the early stages of the Reformation. In 1577, for instance, one Irish scribe, Corc óg Ó Cadhla working on a medical manuscript in Laois noted in the margin of his work, 'The English say that she [Queen Elizabeth] is invested also with the Supremacy of Religion but in that they assert an untruth. For we are convinced that the head of the holy Catholic Church is the pope.'[4] Gaelic Ireland shared, with some variation, in the liturgical practices and doctrines of western Christendom. Indeed many were glad of that for it meant that they were excused the heavy theological lifting that led to problems elsewhere. As one Wexford boatman, Mathew Lamport, put it to his inquisitors in the wake of the Baltinglass rising in 1580, 'I do not know how to debate these things with you. I only want you to know that I am a Catholic and that I believe in the faith of my holy mother the Catholic Church.'[5] However, it is equally possible to overstress the degree of uniformity in religious life. In the early sixteenth century church-men in the Pale saw themselves as superior to the apparently ecclesiastically more unorthodox world of Gaelic Ireland where signs of civility, such as canon law, were regularly flouted.[6] Such boundaries were certainly real but they were also permeable and ideas moved across them with ease.[7] Again in the seventeenth century European Catholic reformers, such as the papal nuncio Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, despaired of the state of religious practice in Ireland and sought to mould it to a Tridentine model.[8] It is the balance between such local imperatives and international dictates that gave local religion in Gaelic Ireland its own distinctive character.

The second danger in viewing traditional religion as a system is that it becomes a static entity, displaying few signs of change from within or of adaption to changing circumstances over time. In most early modern societies the social reproduction of religious ideas was slow but in a world where the principal validator of those ideas was tradition the evolution of religious practice is even more difficult to detect.[9] This problem is compounded with difficulties over sources. Gaelic Ireland in the sixteenth century was primarily an oral world. Ownership of land, for instance, was determined by tradition rather than documents and lordly power was expressed in poetry rather than political treatises or charters. This situation is made worse by the fact that even those who did write took their religious assumptions so much for granted that they rarely articulated them on paper and we are usually left with indirect indications of belief rather than clearly formulated statements. The final evidential problem lies in the absence of religious conflict which might have forced at least some of the inhabitants of Gaelic Ireland in the sixteenth century to articulate their beliefs more clearly. Neither Lollardy nor witchcraft manifested itself in the sixteenth century and, despite an attempt in the Diocese of Clogher in 1553, the Inquisition never established itself in Ireland where it might have recorded some of the stranger ideas of its inhabitants.

All this ensures that reconstructing the unsystematic traditional religious system of sixteenth-century Gaelic Ireland is not an easy task. As both Catholic and Protestant reformers discovered, Irish religion had its own logic that was

difficult to understand and which could only be contained by dismissing much of what was observed as superstition. For the historian, perhaps the place to start is not with the traditional divisions of elite and popular belief, which are both conceptually problematic and evidentially weak, but to focus on what might be described as brokers within the system of the sacred. While the power of God might be seen everywhere, tradition and doctrine told the inhabitants of sixteenth-century Ireland that its density was not even. God could be most clearly seen in special places and at particular times. Thus the Laois scribe, Corc óg Ó Cadhla, who defended papal power, condemned heresy in England because 'there is neither abstinence nor fast nor Ember day nor holiday which God hath ordered to be observed, neither is there respect or honour given to any holy house'.[10] Times of feasting or fasting and visiting churches or pilgrimages were clearly central to the religiosity of this society. Equally there were powerful figures who could act as gatekeepers to the sacred and these were lynchpins in this system. Two figures, in particular, stand out. The first was the physically present person of the priest in his parish, who had control over liturgy and sacraments and the second was the absent, but everywhere accessible, figure of the saint. By focusing on these crucial figures this essay will attempt to reconstruct something of the system of traditional religion in sixteenth-century Gaelic Ireland.

The priest

One of the most striking features of priests in Gaelic Ireland in the sixteenth century is how little is known about them. The near complete absence of bishops' registers, for instance, means that relatively little can be said about the composition of the clerical world, although pioneering work for the Archdiocese of Armagh has suggested some possibilities.[11] As with the learned orders many clergy came from families who had been associated with the Church as the coarbial or erenagh families who had responsibility for holding and managing church land at a local level. In the Irish part of the Archdiocese of Armagh in the early sixteenth century most clergy over a number of generations were drawn from this sort of background. The local nature of the clergy meant that their training was probably limited. Ireland had no university and much training was probably carried on through a local apprenticeship system with local priests acting as masters. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Bishop Montgomery of Derry encountered some Catholic clergy from north-west Ireland who had gone to Glasgow for their education, but there were only small numbers of these and the practice was probably not widespread.[12] Apart from any other reason the cost of such education would have been significant and, while this was often defrayed by providing a benefice for a student to generate an income while training, clerical income for much of Ulster was so low in the early sixteenth century that it would not have matched the cost of any prolonged period in university.[13] In some cases clergy might have been educated at home by the Franciscans or other religious orders who deployed the resources of their local houses as *studia* for clerical formation.[14]

As a result clerical behaviour, particularly in the areas of celibacy, illegitimacy and dynastic succession to benefices, was far from what canon law might require, but the extent of the divergence between theory and practice is difficult to measure accurately.[15] Something of the diverse quality of the clergy was perhaps captured by Edmund Campion in his sixteenth-century description of Ireland when he observed 'the lewder sort, both clerks and lay, are sensual and loose … the same being virtuously bred up or reformed are such mirrors of holiness and austerity that other nations retain but a shadow of devotion in comparison of them'.[16]

By the end of the sixteenth century Gaelic Ireland was served by a network of parishes that had evolved over the previous two centuries. In the Pale such parishes were well-defined quasi-judicial units that had a corporate identity and a governmental structure of churchwardens, or proctors, who managed parish resources. Outside that area the situation is less clear. In the early seventeenth century the origin stories told of parishes were not about territories but about saints. The attorney general, Sir John Davies, recorded that he was told that a parish was founded

> When any lord or gentleman had direction to build a church he did first dedicate some good portion of land to some saint or other whom he chose to be his patron; then he founded the church and called it by the name of that saint and then gave land to some clerk not being in orders, and to his heirs forever with this intent that he should keep the church clean and well repaired, keep hospitality and give alms to the poor for the soul's health of the founder.[17]

Similar stories were told to those who surveyed the state of the Church at the eve of the Ulster Plantation, recounting the origin of coarb and erenagh families. Again local lists of church dedications in the dioceses of Kilmore and Clogher at the beginning of the seventeenth century suggest a great variety of local saints as patrons of churches rather than biblical or more universal figures, though the cult of Patrick is well represented in both cases.[18] Such saints had particular local roles, not least of which was the protection of their local churches. This situation gave a sense of the parish not as a corporate unit, as in the Pale, but rather a group of people held together by devotion to a local saint whose presence in the parish was often marked by a holy well or other cult site as well as the parochial dedication. This sense of a common bond was reinforced by the fact that parishes probably originated in the lands held by a particular family, or tuath, and many of these families espoused family saints as a way of bonding themselves together.[19]

The main function of these parish clergy was the administration of the sacraments within the context of the parish church. If anything the physical condition of the parish church in Gaelic Ireland had improved in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as part of the building boom of that century. There is evidence that, in parts of Ulster at least, most churches were equipped with the necessary ornaments for the celebration of Mass. What is more difficult to ascertain is, however, the nature of the lay understanding of what went on in the churches. Some

insight is provided by a tract on the fourteen virtues of the Mass which seems to have circulated fairly widely in Gaelic Ireland. It occurs in the fifteenth-century *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* as well as in the book of penitential texts compiled for the Donegal woman Máire Mac Suibhne in 1513. The text may derive from a Latin source and was certainly well known in fifteenth-century England as well as in Ireland. In return for hearing Mass from beginning to end it promised fourteen rewards. Some of these were spiritual benefits, including forgiveness of sins, protection from evil spirits, a holy death and remission of time to be spent in purgatory. Others promised physical gains such as guarding against loss of sight, temporary protection from aging and protection from sudden death that day. One other promised benefit linked Mass attendance directly to worldly prosperity.[20] Mass attendance was not purely a spiritual exercise and motives for attending were usually mixed.

Of the other sacraments the evidence is more scattered. The usual formula of obituaries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century annals, that the deceased died after 'unction and penance', may reflect that the last rites were normally available at least at the upper social levels. Certainly given the awareness of the reality of judgement after death depicted in Irish literature it is certainly a sacrament that many would wish to have availed themselves of.[21] At the other end of life baptism had not only a theological significance but a social one also as fictive kinships such a godparenthood were created that could be of political significance later in life. Perhaps not surprisingly therefore the liturgy was adapted to local circumstances as customs such as baptism in milk appear to have grown up and were certainly criticized by contemporary commentators on Gaelic Irish society.[22] Marriage too was subject to local pressures, most especially at the level of the greater lords where political alliances were effected through marriage connections that did not always survive the diplomatic pressures imposed on them.

Given the backgrounds from which secular clergy sprang and the social pressures applied to them many parish clergy were probably ill-equipped to deal with the more challenging roles that parochial life presented. Preaching, for example, required a level of education that many did not possess. Some sixteenth-century commentators delighted in the more outlandish sermons. Edmund Campion recorded that one priest 'needing of money was able to persuade his parish that St Patrick in striving with St Peter to let an Irish gallowglass into heaven had his head broken with the keys, for whose relief he obtained a collation'.[23] In some parts of the country, however, assistance was at hand in the shape of the religious orders. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the numbers of clergy in religious orders in Ireland appears to have grown significantly. The number of Franciscan houses in particular expanded considerably, especially in the west of Ireland.[24] With no parish duties to undertake, the Franciscans focused on pastoral mission, particularly in the areas of preaching and confession, and established for themselves a reputation as considerable preachers, as did the Dominicans.[25] It is almost impossible to reconstruct what Franciscan or Dominican preachers may have said in the pulpit and it clearly varied a good deal according to local circumstance. However, they were not beyond using the pulpit for political as well

as for devotional reasons. One Galway merchant, Thomas Lynch, reported from Donegal in 1539 that the friars

> do preach daily that every man ought, for the salvation of his soul, fight and make war against our sovereign lord the king's majesty and his true subjects and if any of them which so shall fight against his said majesty, or his subjects, die in the quarrel his soul, that shall be dead, shall go to heaven as the soul of St Peter, Paul and others which suffered death and martyrdom for God's sake.

Lynch, disagreeing, was duly branded a heretic.[26]

The influence of the clergy, either secular or regular, at parish level was undoubtedly important in shaping lay religious attitudes at most social levels. At the upper end of the social order this might be supplemented by other devotions, particularly devotional reading. A number of religious manuscript miscellanies owned by some of the most powerful figures in sixteenth-century Ireland provide some insight into the religious ideas to which they were exposed. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Earls of Desmond, for instance, had acquired two such substantial manuscript miscellanies, now British Library Add MS 30512 and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud Misc 610. Both works contain a diverse range of religious materials from saints' lives (both Irish and early Church figures) to patristic works, prayers, sermons and items of Marian devotion. Some texts were clearly drawn from an insular context, such as the description of the virtues needed to overcome the eight deadly sins and *Félire Óengusso*, but others were drawn from standard late medieval works such as the Golden Legend and the writings of St Bernard. In both cases the manuscripts are not entirely religious in their content and religious works were intermixed with genealogies and secular texts suggesting that religion was not something separate from everyday life but deeply embedded in it.[27] Another example of such a devotional aid is provided by the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, a fifteenth-century manuscript probably from Roscommon that contained apocryphal works as well as devotional tracts, some of which were Irish translations of Latin works, presumably for spiritual reading either by one individual or to be read to a group.[28] One particularly good example of this sort of work is the 'book of piety' commissioned by Máire Mac Suibhne in Donegal containing not only the history of the family but also lives of women saints and other devotional tracts, some translated into Irish from elsewhere.[29] These were bespoke manuscripts, put together for particular patrons and reflecting their own religious and gender perspective. Despite this tendency to fragmentation these compilations do possess a number of works in common, which suggest widespread devotions that many wished to share. The 'Inventio Sanctae Crucis' for example was clearly a widespread cult since it appears in a number of manuscript miscellanies from the early sixteenth century as do the sixteen conditions of confessions and a treatise on the Eucharist. None of these are, of course, particularly 'Celtic' cults and, apart from the language, such texts might have been at home almost anywhere in Christian Europe. Again, some of the lives of the saints recorded

in such miscellanies were not Irish, Margaret, Catherine and Alexius being the most common.[30]

The saint

If the priest was an ever present physical reminder of the power of God in the world then the saint was, in a corporal sense at least, absent. Saints were, almost by definition, dead and their power derived from being in the heavenly court where they could act as direct intercessors for those who prayed to them. As Edmund Campion put it in his sixteenth-century history of Ireland saints were 'God's friends'.[31] For those in Gaelic Ireland who were familiar with the idea of a protecting lord of people rather than a landlord, as in the Pale, this was a familiar idea. However, the most immediate difficulty was to decide who was a saint and who was not. In the 1630s the Franciscan historian Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (Michael O'Clery) when compiling the work later known as the Annals of the Four Masters recorded a story under the year 1545. He noted that

> A part of Christ's Church in Dublin was broken down for some purpose and a stone coffin was discovered in which was found the body of a bishop in his Episcopal dress with gold rings on his ten fingers and a gold mass chalice standing beside his neck. The body lay in a hollow so cut in the stone by a chisel as to fit the shape of a body; and it was taken up all the parts adhering together and placed in a standing position supported against the altar and left there for some time. No part of the dress had faded or rotted and this was a great sign of sanctity.[32]

Such discoveries were not common but they do highlight the problem of recognizing sanctity. In this case propping up the body on the altar to await either miraculous intervention or to see if a cult might form around the body if a name could be attached to it was a pragmatic strategy. Rome, of course, had been grappling with the problem of identifying saints for some time, and by the thirteenth century had devised a process of canonization to ensure at least some measure of sanctity among those deemed to be part of the holy company of heaven. Unfortunately, Ireland had not been drawn into this process and between 1198 and 1431 only two Irishmen, Richard Fitzralph and Lorcán Ua Tuathail (Lawrence O'Toole), had been brought into the papal process in 1225 and 1399 respectively, though only Ua Tuathail had succeeded.[33] The Gaelic Irish had identified other ways of recognizing sanctity, and the most important of those was popular tradition. In the early seventeenth century this lack of formal documentation would prove of considerable embarrassment to the Irish Franciscans in Louvain who, determined that Irish saints should match the new demands of the Vatican for authentication, moved to collect such materials as they could to construct large volumes of hagiographical works, most notably those by John Colgan (Seán Mac Colgáin), to European hagiographical standards.

The traditional nature of the saints of Gaelic Ireland, as elsewhere, meant that cult was more important than historical accuracy in creating a sense of who these

friends of God were and how their power might be appropriated to local families. Thus in the early seventeenth century John Colgan, the Franciscan hagiographer in Louvain, found accounts of 12 St Brigids, 14 St Brendans and 120 St Colemans each with different birthplaces and family connections.[34] It is not difficult to understand how this situation had arisen. One way was that individual families in search of powerful patrons appropriated cults and adjusted genealogies to provide the saints with a local context. A second possible mechanism for cult splitting was the migration of ecclesiastical families, which brought cults from one part of the country to another. Pádraig Ó Riain, for instance, has suggested that such a process may have been at work in north-west Ireland.[35] Another example of the same phenomenon may be the cult of Náile of Kinawley in the Diocese of Kilmore. The sixteenth-century life of the saint provides him with a Munster pedigree and the cult was probably well established at Kilenaule, near Cashel, by the middle of the thirteenth century as evidenced by the place name. One late seventeenth-century genealogical account suggests that there was a movement of learned families from Cashel into Breifne and if this preserves a memory of a real event it may explain the appearance of the Ó Droma as the erenagh family of Náile's church at Kinawley by 1373 according to an entry in the Annals of Ulster.[36]

Contemporaries remembered saints in a number of ways. Liturgical celebrations of the cult on feast and patronal days were certainly one feature. Saints might also be encountered in other ways, however, especially through the things they left behind them. Bodily relics were relatively rare in Gaelic Ireland although they were needed to consecrate an altar. Thus in the 1580s at Rosclogher in Leitrim one survivor of the Armada noted that the church had not only the required ornaments but also 'one or two relics'.[37] More normal relics were not corporal ones but the possessions of saints that remained in the lands of the church families and were enshrined by them. Bells and crosiers, for instance, were particularly favoured for cursing and cures, and existed in some numbers at traditional sites.[38] One particularly important group of relics were manuscripts said to have been written by saints, and saints' lives usually provided legends about their miraculous origins and properties. Thus in Donegal the Uí Dhomhnaill (O'Donnells) had enshrined a psalter said to have been written by Colm Cille, and in his 1532 life of the saint Manus O'Donnell (Maghnas Ó Domhnaill)) not only described the origins of the book, which he traced back to the battle of Cúl Dreibhne, but also added

> The *Cathach* for a sooth is the name of that book by reason whereof the battle was fought. And it is covered with silver under gold. And to open it is not lawful. And if it is borne thrice sunwise round the host of the clan of Conall when they go into battle, they come back safe in triumph. And it is in the bosom of a successor or a cleric that is so far as it may be without mortal sin, that the Cathach should be borne around the hold.[39]

This, of course was not the only miraculous manuscript left by Colm Cille. In 1627 the Westmeath annalist Conall MacGeoghegan (Conall Mac Eochagáin) noted of Colm Cille as scribe that the manuscripts left by him

have a strange property which is that if they or any of them had sunk to the bottom of the deepest waters they would not lose one letter, sign or character of them, which I have seen partly myself of that book of them which is in Durrow in the K[ings] county, for I saw an ignorant man that had the same in his custody when sickness came upon cattle for their remedy put water on the book and suffered it to rest there a while, and saw also cattle return thereby to their former or pristine state and the book to receive no loss.[40]

The traces of saints might also be encountered in the landscape, and the lives of the saints recorded episodes in which the actions of the saints had created holy wells or had left the marks of their feet in rock.[41] These holy places inevitably inspired devotion and the legends of miraculous origins created local pilgrimage sites. Perhaps the most famous of these was Lough Derg, in County Donegal, which, in the Middle Ages, drew pilgrims from across Europe to enter the cave of purgatory that was situated on an island in the lake. Most sites, however, were more modest, attracting mainly local pilgrims. The early sixteenth-century life of St Farannán of the parish of Easkey in north Sligo, for instance, described how local people visited the waterfall in which the saint had mortified himself. Removing their clothes they bathed in the waterfall to be cured of diseases and made offerings to the family that controlled the site. Failure to do this would result in the curse of the saint descending on them.[42] However, the traces of the sacred provided by such holy things and places was not restricted to local cults. International cults, such as that of Mary, were localized by the provision of holy things, such as statues which became the focus of local pilgrimages. Bishop Montgomery, for instance, reported that at Agivey in his Diocese of Derry there was an 'image of the Blessed Mary to which there was a frequent pilgrimage', and such localized experiences were supported by a substantial corpus of Marian verse and prose.[43]

While relics and landscapes ensured that people spent their lives surrounded by traces of saints it was through the stories that were told of the individual saint that his or her significance was realized. Many of these stories existed purely in the oral tradition. Traces of some of these can be detected in later written lives that contain stories with folkloric affinities, or a hagiographer might identify his source as an oral one, as in the early sixteenth-century life of St Maedoc that incorporated what 'the learned men of the district say'.[44] More commonly stories about saints came from more formally structured lives. These came in a number of forms. Some were of considerable antiquity. The Book of Lismore, a substantial Irish language codex from the second half of the fifteenth century, for instance, contains a large collection of saints' lives from a variety of dates and probably derived from different sources. It is thought these hagiographical texts are mostly transcripts from earlier exemplars with limited changes. New lives continued to be composed into the early sixteenth century, however, by making substantial additions to older lives or writing new works. One group of such new lives was written in a relatively restricted area of north-west Ireland comprising the dioceses of Raphoe, Kilmore and Clogher in the early sixteenth century and provide a unique insight into perceptions of the saint. That this area should

have produced such a hagiographical spring in the early sixteenth century does not appear to be an accident of manuscript survival since this is also the area from which all the known reliquaries of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries originated. Five long narratives, with a number of shorter ones, can be identified as being composed in this area in the early sixteenth century. A life of Molaisse of Devenish was written probably in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and certainly no later than 1520 when it is referred to in the register of Clogher; a life of Caillín written at Fenagh in 1516; a life of Colm Cille written under the direction of Manus O'Donnell in 1532; a life of Maedoc written at Drumlane in County Cavan probably *c*.1536; and finally a life of Náile probably written for the church at Kinawley *c*.1550.[45]

By any standards this is a significant output of hagiographical work in a relatively small area over a narrow time range. The reasons why this particular region of Celtic Christianity should have begun to think carefully about its hagiographical tradition are far from clear. One possible explanation may lie in attempts to introduce religious reform. In the register of Clogher, a document compiled in the 1520s by the Archdeacon of Clogher on the instructions of the bishop there is a Life of one of the patrons of the diocese, St Macartan, with the note,

> The above written office was here redacted by the Revd Patrick Cullinn, bishop of Clogher, for the general use of the church of Clogher, carefully transcribed out of the ancient books of the order of St Augustine, and arranged and reformed for the better according to the Roman Use. The superfluities being abridged and the shorter parts expanded and perfectly amended, AD 1528.[46]

Cullinn was an Augustinian friar with a reforming agenda, of which the assembling of documents about his diocese and the construction of the register was part, although his impact on the diocese was limited as he was dead by 1534.[47] Cuillin's hagiographical efforts bear clear signs of his reforming agenda although it is difficult to be dogmatic as to precisely how Bishop Cullinn revised the Life of Macartan since we do not have the exemplar from which he was working. However, the life as it was revised follows closely the only copy of the Life of Macartan to have survived, contained in the *Codex Salmanticensis*.[48] Unfortunately little is known about the history of this manuscript but Pádraig Ó Riain has plausibly suggested that it is to be associated with the Augustinian house at Clogher, which acted as the cathedral for the diocese.[49] This, together with the strong verbal correspondence between the *Codex* life and that in the Register, suggests that if the *Codex* text was not the exemplar it was a text identical to it in places at least. The fact that the *Codex* life is missing sections at the beginning, and probably at the end, since the Register has a different ending to the *Codex*, suggests that we are dealing with an exemplar similar but perhaps not identical with the *Codex* life. If that is so then it is possible to be more precise about how Cullinn revised his exemplar. Assuming that the long ending was present in his exemplar, then the changes he made mainly took the form of excisions. The overall character of the excisions is of interest because their effect is to make the work much less

obviously a hagiographical text and more of a historical one. Thus, for instance, the biblical allusions in the text to Pharaoh and to the Israelites in the desert were removed as were some of the linking phrases appropriate to a sermon life. The most striking change that Cullinn made is the excision from his life of a description of the relics contained in the principal reliquary of the diocese, the *Domnach Airgid*. The *Codex* life contained a story of how St Patrick had given a collection of relics to his companion Macartan, including relics of the Apostles, part of the Virgin Mary's hair and part of the true cross as well as other relics, but all this is removed from the Register life. The motives for this are not clear but given the other indications of attempts to historicize the life that factor may be at work here also. The life as given in the Register is much closer to the episode as it is recorded in the ninth-century Patrician *Vita Tripartita*. Cullinn would probably have not known this text but he was certainly familiar with the Latin life of St Patrick by Jocelin of Furness written in the 1180s since it is quoted at a number of points in the Register. The text of the story about the meeting of Macartan and Patrick here makes no mention of the contents of the reliquary.[50] It is possible that Cullinn attempted to verify the story about the contents of the reliquary and failed to do so and removed the story from the life. If that is so it suggests an attitude to historical evidence that in another context could certainly be dubbed humanistic and certainly reforming.

A second possible reason for the excision of the story may revolve around doubts about the relics that were listed as being lodged in the shrine. A case in point may be the relic of the Blessed Virgin Mary's hair said in the *Codex* text to have been one of the relics involved. The tradition of hair from the Virgin Mary can certainly be traced in Ireland in a Columban context from an early date. It appears in an Old Irish poem listing the relics in a schoolboy's satchel for instance.[51] In the sixteenth century the tradition continued and the relic appears in a Columban context, mentioned in the sixteenth-century life of Colum Cille as being enshrined by the saint in Donegal. By the sixteenth century, however, others were claiming possession of at least part of the relic as part of a well-known process of genuine or fake relic splitting. The early sixteenth-century life of Molaisse, probably written at Devenish, in the diocese of Clogher, claimed that part of Mary's hair was there. Not to be outdone, the mid-sixteenth-century life of Maedoc claimed that it was at the Augustinian house at Drumlane in the diocese of Kilmore.[52] Such claims and counter-claims, especially within one diocese, were clearly unedifying and given the humanist reservations about relics Cullinn may well have thought the best way to deal with the problem was to drop the claims of Clogher at the expense of a possible reduction in status for the cathedral.

Religious contexts were not the only ones in which such lives were made. In 1516, the coarb of Fenagh, Tadhg O'Roddy (Tadhg Ó Rodaigh), decided that a new life of St Caillín of Fenagh was necessary. The problem was, however, that the coarbial family or the wider parish (in north Connacht, now Co. Leitrim) had nothing resembling a formal piece of hagiography celebrating their patron. They had what was described as an old book, the vellum of which had decayed, but thought to have originated with Caillín himself.[53] This source, a colophon in the

newly written life records, contained only poetry. In fact, the collection of poems preserved in the early sixteenth-century Book of Fenagh was probably no older than the thirteenth century, although it has been recently argued that they may have older roots. A second problem is that the poems are not really about Caillín as such but rather are concerned with the political and territorial claims of the O'Donnells in the north of their lordship.[54] It is with this rather unpromising material that Muirgeas O'Mulconry (Muirgheas Ó Maoil Chonaire), the scribe of the new Book of Fenagh, went to work, drawing on what was clearly his own collection of manuscripts. First, to turn the political into the hagiographical, he extracted the homiletic preface from the life of St Berach, a Roscommon saint from near O'Mulconry's home. Second, he added another requisite element of a saint's life – a genealogy. He then inserted a short section on relics, drawn from his own knowledge, before resorting to his library again for a volume of genealogies and a copy of the Book of Invasions to set the saint in historical time. Having done this, he selected the poems from the 'old book' that referred most frequently to Caillín and included prose summaries of the poems before returning again to the life of St Berach to plagiarize the homiletical conclusion to that life and apply it to St Caillín. The result was hardly edifying hagiography, being concerned with origin myths of Fenagh and its rights and dues, but it was a triumph in the fabrication of the manuscript life of a saint. A more secular context can be posited for the making of the Life of St Maedoc in the 1530s. The immediate context of this work appears to be in the inauguration of Brian O'Rourke (Brian Ó Ruairc) in 1536, and the incumbent of the parish of Rossinver seems to have taken the opportunity to expand the influence of his family and church by commissioning a life of St Maedoc and attaching him to the parish. While using older material he also invented a substantial portion of the new text including the creation of an inauguration ritual, which has no other parallel in known inaugurations, involving the use of a reliquary that was probably at Rossinver, the Breac Maedoc. The messages from the life about the distribution of political power in the lordship were all too easy to see but much more difficult to refute.[55]

Such murky political contexts indicate that hagiography was not simply a pious pursuit and saints were not desiccated individuals from the past but were expected to intervene in practical ways to support their devotees. However, this should not detract from the genuine religious devotion that lay behind the making of new lives. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Máire Mac Suibhne from Donegal had made for her a 'book of piety' consisting of a number of saints' lives and other devotional works. As the scribe noted in the manuscript he was working on 'and everyone who shall read or listen to or memorise it [the life of St Catherine] will gain heaven for himself and three others he most likes *et reliquae*'.[56]

Conclusions

Traditional religion in Gaelic Ireland in the sixteenth century was something of an enigma. At one level it can easily be recognized as part of a wider European pattern. European cults, such as that of the Five Wounds of Christ, are relatively

easy to identify in both material survivals and in the literary evidence.[57] However, people in Gaelic Ireland did manage to give an Irish flavour to these ideas from a wider world. The system that they created with the priest and saint as gatekeepers to the sacred was, as sixteenth-century observers noted, at once both familiar and strange. It was the way in which contemporaries moulded these two important religious symbols that gave traditional religion much of its force. In particular, the vibrant hagiographical tradition in north-west Ireland in the early sixteenth century demonstrated how creative contemporaries could be in reimagining cults to shape a changing world and in making use of them for ends as diverse as politics and devotion. Such devotional energy is surely testimony to the fact that traditional religion in Gaelic Ireland was indeed a rich and complex system that helped men and women to structure their world and to aspire to another beyond that.

3

'The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time': The Pre-Reformation Church in Wales[1]

Madeleine Gray

In his seminal article 'Wales and the Reformation' Glanmor Williams famously described the Reformation as 'the dog that hasn't barked'.[2] In this reference to the 'curious incident' in the Sherlock Holmes short story 'Silver Blaze', Glanmor was of course pursuing his life-long battle against the idea (prevalent among Welsh historians of the earlier twentieth century) of the Anglican church in Wales as a failure and of the period since the Reformation as one dominated by the heroic figures of recusancy and Protestant nonconformity. Their view was most powerfully articulated by O. M. Edwards: 'Mute, suffering Wales, apathetic while the world around was awakening to a brighter morning, suspected by rulers who thought that its very patriotism was tinged with a smouldering rebellion, betrayed by the reformers whose selfishness and insolence had brought the spirit of the Reformation in a degraded form to its mountains.'[3]

It is of course no longer true that, as far as Wales is concerned, the Reformation is 'the dog that hasn't barked'. Glanmor Williams had already published extensively on the sixteenth-century church, including articles on the Reformation in several Welsh counties and dioceses, studies of William Salesbury and Bishop Richard Davies and of the Elizabethan settlement in Wales.[4] 'Wales and the Reformation' was followed by a series of further articles and several books,[5] culminating in his magisterial *Wales and the Reformation*. The trail he blazed has been followed by many others.

It might still be true to say, though, that as far as the Reformation was concerned Wales was the dog that didn't bark. The conventional view among Welsh historians is now that the late medieval Church in Wales was both popular and effective. Paradoxically, though, the conventional view is also that the Reformation when it came was readily accepted. In this, Wales has often been contrasted with the experience of Ireland.[6] There is no necessary conflict between these interpretations. In his essay 'Counting Sheep, Counting Shepherds', Alec Ryrie has suggested that, while the beliefs and practices of late medieval religion may have been both popular and well rooted, the ideas of the reformers, once articulated, had a seductive charm.[7] While removing much of the scope for ordinary lay people to become involved in the activities of the Church, the Reformation offered considerable power to landowners and the local elite. Money saved on decorating the church

and providing for innumerable services for the souls of the dead could be spent on the poor, but was more likely to remain in the estates of the wealthier members of the local community. Ryrie cites Patrick Collinson's analogy between the abolition of purgatory and the forcible closure of hospices for the terminally ill.[8] However, we could also perhaps consider as an analogy the Thatcherite attacks on the public sector in the UK in the 1980s. Arguments for 'care in the community' sounded convincing, but they were also used to reduce the tax bill.

Before accepting the paradox, though, we do need to be sure that the traditional interpretations are rooted in the evidence. The popularity of the late medieval Church in Wales is certainly writ large in the surviving medieval fabric of church buildings. Admittedly, much of the late medieval (re)building is equally evidence for a period of decay during the crisis of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the extent to which Welsh churches were extended, added to and virtually rebuilt during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries testifies to the esteem in which the institution was held.[9] Towers and porches were added, and many of the Denbighshire churches owe their characteristic double-nave shape to extensions in the fifteenth century. To take just a few examples from different regions: the Cardiff townspeople's chapel of ease, St John's, was completely rebuilt with a lavishly crocketed tower, producing what John Newman has described as a 'swagger town church'.[10] Llanengan in Llŷn was rebuilt in stages in the 1520s and 1530s, and Gresford, in the north-east, was completely rebuilt in the late Perpendicular style in the 1490s, a project usually credited to the Stanley family but clearly supported by other local landowners and merchants as well.[11]

Rebuilding in the Perpendicular style is most clearly evidenced in the refenestration of so many churches, on a scale which gave scope for elaborate schemes of stained glass. The churches of north-east Wales in particular glow with late medieval windows, much of the glass deriving from the York workshops though some was clearly produced locally.[12] Much of this now survives only in fragments made into the 'crazy quilt' windows of which the Victorians were so fond. Nevertheless, there is enough to enable us to envisage what has been lost. As well as the traditional depictions of the crucifixion and the saints (both the saints of Wales and those of the international tradition), there were more complex theological statements: several Trees of Jesse, versions of the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacrament window at Llandyrnog and the remarkable east window at Gresford with its profound meditation on the mystery of the Incarnation.

Stone carving and stained glass needed extensive funds. While the finished artwork was available to all, we may suspect that the wealthy were able to dictate priorities and iconographical schemes. For art initiated by ordinary people we may do better to look at wall paintings. Wales has lost much of its vernacular medieval art; ironically, it was preserved by whitewashing after the Reformation but destroyed by the Victorian preference for bare stone walls. What survives, though, is evidence for a surprisingly complex spirituality. The church of St Teilo at Llandeilo Talybont (Glamorgan), now (re)built at the National History Museum in St Fagan's, Cardiff, had a remarkable sequence of early sixteenth-century paintings which reflect on the story of the Crucifixion through the Instruments of the

Passion. The wall paintings, furthermore, incorporated a surprising amount of text. As well as captions and speech scrolls, a sequence of prayers functioned as a litany, guiding the viewer around an early version of the Stations of the Cross. The fact that the majority of those who saw the paintings (and who presumably raised the money for their installation) could not read the texts without help does not seem to have been seen as a problem.[13]

The traditional view of later medieval 'popular' religion is that it was dominated by superstition, ritual and an unthinking belief in the often bizarre legends of the saints. The term 'popular religion' is of course a notoriously slippery one, implying as it does a divorce between an 'elite' spirituality, sophisticated and refined, and a 'popular' culture of gross credulity and ritualism. This is not borne out by the evidence. While there is plenty to suggest 'popular' veneration of the saints – the last medieval sequence of wall paintings at Llandeilo Talybont included a prominent painting of the giant-saint Christopher, and paintings of St Margaret with the dragon and St Roche with his plague sore – these beliefs were shared by the élite as well. Some of the most extravagantly apocryphal stories of the Virgin Mary and the martyrs were depicted in churches like Gresford and Hope which came under the patronage of the devout and aristocratic Margaret Beaufort, cousin and mother of kings and founder of two Cambridge colleges.

Furthermore, by the early sixteenth century the main focus of visual imagery, in humble parish churches as well as in the churches favoured by the wealthy and sophisticated, was placed squarely on the central doctrine of the redemptive sacrifice. Virtually every church was dominated by a rood screen surmounted by a depiction of the crucifixion. At its simplest this showed Christ on the cross, with his mother and St John. One such carving of the crucifix survived the Reformation, walled into the rood loft stairs at Kemeys Inferior (Monmouthshire): it is now in the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff. More complex sequences of carving could include the other figures from the story: the great Golden Rood of Brecon in its finished form probably included the symbols of the four Evangelists as well as Christ, the Virgin Mary, St John the Evangelist and the two thieves.[14]

Poetry to the rood at Llangynwyd (Glamorgan) suggests that it may also have showed the figures of the two thieves.[15] Later medieval literary sources placed a considerable emphasis on the narrative of the good thief who was told, 'This day you will be with me in Paradise.' He features in the one surviving Welsh text of a mystery play of the crucifixion.[16] His importance may be related to the fact that he was depicted in one of the standard woodcuts of the *Ars Moriendi*, alongside St Peter, St Paul and St Mary Magdalene, as saints whose great sins had been forgiven and who could therefore encourage the dying not to despair. Very rarely, as at Llanbeblig (the parish church for the Borough of Caernarfon), the figures on the rood depicted not the crucifixion but the Trinity[17] – but, as Gruffydd Fain's poem makes clear, the late medieval depiction of the Trinity, with God the Father cradling his crucified Son in his arms, foregrounded the redemptive sacrifice almost as effectively as the crucifix alone. Gruffydd Fain's poem also looks forward to the Last Judgement when Christ will appear seated on a rainbow – an image which may have been inspired by a painting of the Last Judgement either

immediately behind the screen or actually on it (as at Llanelian-yn-Rhos near Colwyn Bay).[18]

Welsh rood screens are typically solid and boxy, with large sturdy rood lofts which could be used in the liturgy. The rood loft at Llandderfel (Merioneth) could accommodate sixty people, and the wainscot to the east of the loft was pierced so that people kneeling in the loft could see the altar.[19] Most screens were of course destroyed, during the sixteenth century or later: the loft at Welshpool survived until the 1730s when it was taken down to prevent 'the very common sorte of people' sitting in it, dominating the psalm singing when they were not misbehaving.[20] Good examples nevertheless survive – Partrishow (Breconshire), for example, Llananno (Montgomeryshire), Llangwm and Bettws Newydd (Monmouthshire), and a particularly finely carved screen in the little upland church of Llanegryn (Merioneth). What is clear from all these is that, while the screen did obstruct the view of the altar from the nave, it also added to it. Carved with vine-trails and grapes (recalling the wine of the Eucharist and the biblical metaphors of the true vine and the winepress), corn sheaves (an obvious reference to the bread of the Host) and oak leaves with the acorns which the poets likened to the beads of the rosary, the screens provided an interpretative framing for the central mystery of the Eucharist. While some Welsh screens were known to have been painted, their intricate tracery would have left little room for figurative painting. Many have piercings through and below the dado rail, so that even parishioners kneeling near the screen could see through them.

The crucifixion was central to other decorative schemes and media. At Llangadwaladr (Anglesey), the stained glass depicts the crucified Christ with his bones visible through his flesh. This would have triggered reflection on Psalm 22, the 'crucifixion psalm' –

> My God, my God, why have you forsaken me …
> I am poured out like water
> and all my bones are out of joint …
> they have pierced my hands and feet –
> I can count all my bones.

This psalm would have been familiar as one of those used at Mass on Palm Sunday; John Mirk referred to it obliquely in his Good Friday sermon, one of the ones for which a Welsh translation survives.[21] Interestingly, the Welsh 'translation' is in fact a free improvisation around Mirk's text at this point, with much more detail of Christ's sufferings.

As well as these graphic depictions of the crucifixion story, it was epitomized in numerous representations of the *Arma Christi*, the Instruments of the Passion and the Five Wounds. These can be found on fonts and tombs, on angel roofs and rood screens. Their appearance on two carved wooden chests at Coety (Glamorgan) and Bedwellty (Monmouthshire) suggests that the chests were used as part of the ritual of the Easter Sepulchre. They also appear in secular contexts: the frieze now at Cefn Tila (Monmouthshire) and once believed to have been commissioned

by Usk Priory was more probably originally installed in the Great Hall at Raglan Castle. It depicts the Five Wounds and the Instruments of the Passion as part of a sequence of secular and religious imagery – coats of arms, portraits, grotesques and a wounded hart.[22]

The Instruments and the Five Wounds were the structuring principle behind the sequence of wall paintings at Llandeilo Talybont and were depicted in the background to two other wall paintings in the church, the reflections on the Redemptive Sacrifice known as the Bound Christ and the Image of Pity.[23] These, too, appeared elsewhere and in other media, one of the most striking examples being the so-called 'Mostyn Christ' now housed in Bangor Cathedral. This life-size carving of Christ just before the Crucifixion may originally have been commissioned by the friars of Rhuddlan and was probably rescued by a local recusant family, the Mostyns.[24] The Bound Christ from the rood screen at Betws Gwerful Goch (Merioneth) is flanked by panels depicting the column and whip, the crown of thorns, the nails and pincers, and the spear.

Much of this rebuilding and adornment was funded by the increasing popularity of pilgrimage to both local and national shrines. Llandeilo Talybont was on the route across south Wales to St David's, as were two other churches extended and rebuilt in the fifteenth century, Llandeilo Abercywyn and Llanfihangel Abercywyn. Llanengan was one of many churches of Llŷn which benefited from the pilgrimage route to Bardsey. Gresford owes much of its present splendour to the Stanley family, but a petition of 1542 claimed that the church had been 'strong and beautyfullye made erecte and buylded' and furnished with 'all manner of ornaments and other necessaryes' as a result of the offerings of pilgrims.[25] Perhaps the most spectacular example is the well chamber and chapel of St Winifred at Holywell. Variously credited to William or Thomas Stanley, Lady Margaret Beaufort and Abbot Pennant of Basingwerk, it now seems from the dendrochronology of the roof timbers to have been completed at the end of the 1520s, possibly as a memorial to one or more of its suggested patrons.[26] Pilgrimage contributed to the local economy: a substantial settlement developed around the remote upland shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys in the Rhondda valleys of Glamorgan, catering to the needs of the pilgrims who (according to the poet Lewys Morgannwg) came 'hyd mor a thir', over sea and land, to venerate the image of the Virgin and bathe in the water of the holy well.[27]

What of the clergy who supervised these churches and (presumably) guided their congregations? Here the traditional view is rather more ambiguous. There were undeniably problems at all levels. The Church in Wales was desperately underfunded: the Welsh dioceses were without exception the poorest in the province of Canterbury, and many (possibly a majority) of the active clergy at parochial level were on less than the suggested clerical minimum of £5 a year. Most of the bishops were absentees; many were heads of religious houses in England, treating their Welsh dioceses as honorifics and as sources of additional income. Of course, many English bishops of the period were largely absent from their dioceses on government business, but more recent studies indicate that figures like Richard Fox of Winchester, Robert Sherburne of Chichester and

John Fisher of Rochester were nevertheless energetic and conscientious pastoral leaders.[28]

There seems to have been no-one of this calibre in Wales. Redman of St Asaph, Skeffington of Bangor, Marshall and Salley of Llandaff made much-needed contributions to building work on their cathedrals, but we can say little or nothing about their spiritual leadership.[29] Diocesan administration was equally weak. Neither Llandaff nor St David's had a dean, the chapters being presided over by the precentor of the cathedral. This could strengthen the hand of a determined bishop (as when William Barlow embarked on his campaign of reform in St David's in 1536), but under an absentee bishop it deprived the diocese of an alternative focus for leadership. It did, however, offer scope for Welsh clergy to take positions of authority. All the precentors of St David's were Welsh after 1437, and so were most of the chancellors. St Asaph also had a succession of Welsh deans and chancellors.[30]

Beneath this level, there were groups of educated clergy forming diocesan elites. At Llandaff the clergy associated with the cathedral in the earlier part of the sixteenth century included Hugh Jones, the future bishop, and Henry Morgan, younger son of the Tredegar family, who may have helped with the compilation of the Llandaff return for *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.[31] These men were university graduates and highly literate, and there is some evidence to suggest that their influence spread through the diocese. In his will in 1543, Henry Morgan left his Bible commentary and all his divinity books to the vicar of Usk, as well as the copy of Polydore Virgil's *Historia* and all his other books which he left to 'Master Hughes' of Tredynog (probably a mistranscription for Hugh Jones).[32]

At the parochial level, though, very few of the clergy had more than the basic level of education that could be provided by a monastic foundation or a parish or chantry priest. Wales had no formally constituted grammar schools before the foundations of the 1540s. The stories of a Welsh university at the Cistercian abbey of Neath in the years before the Dissolution are just that, stories. We do know that the monasteries were still being entrusted with the upbringing and supervision of children, but how well those children were educated we cannot even guess.[33] There is also some evidence for schools run by chantry priests: in Cardiff, for example, the David Mathew service in Llandaff paid a priest £5 14s 10d a year to teach twenty poor children.[34] The north Wales chantry certificates even give us a little detail about the curriculum these priests were expected to teach. The trustees of the fraternity of our Lady at Montgomery paid a priest to keep a free school in the town but noted that the present schoolmaster Sir William Ilkes had only taught the young beginners to write and sing and to read so far as the *accidens* rule: he had done no grammar with them since Michaelmas.[35]

Historians like Glanmor Williams have assumed, therefore, that intellectual levels among the ordinary parish clergy were low and they failed to educate their congregations.[36] Wales produced a considerable body of vernacular religious poetry in the later medieval period. Praise poetry to saints and shrines was written in the traditional and complex *cynghanedd* with its webs of alliteration and assonance, but by the fifteenth century poems called *cwndidau* were

being written in free metre.[37] Written on a range of religious subjects, simply expressed in colloquial and dialect Welsh, such poems, Williams suggested, 'may well have been intended to make good the shortcomings of the priests as preachers'.[38] As T. J. Prichard has pointed out with reference to the *cwndidau* written in the eastern uplands of Glamorgan, however, they do not provide basic instruction: they assume a wide knowledge of Scripture and apocryphal literature and a familiarity with the key concepts of the Seven Deadly Sins, the Corporal Acts of Mercy and the Three Enemies of the Soul. Their main theme (like that of the visual evidence) is the redemptive sacrifice.[39] Further west, in the western Vale of Glamorgan, Iorwerth Fynglwyd of St Brides Major, writing a poem in honour of the patron saint of his parish, deliberately conflated her with St Brigid of Sweden. This allowed him to refer to the famous meditation on Christ's sufferings traditionally attributed to Brigid of Sweden, the 'Fifteen Oes'. But he did this in a way which made it clear that he expected his audience to be well acquainted with the prayers and to need only a passing reference to call them to mind. (The prayers were well known in Wales: translations survive in several manuscripts.)[40]

As well as the parish clergy, there were chantry priests and canons serving hospitals and almshouses. Wales had few of the perpetual chantries which were such a feature of late medieval devotional life in England, but this was probably an indication of agrarian poverty and limited urbanization rather than reluctance to endow institutions for intercessory prayer.[41] While it is difficult to give exact figures, the chantry certificates for Wales and the Welsh estates of the Duchy of Lancaster list just over eighty chantries, services and stipendiary priests. Some of these, though, were very slenderly endowed – the stipendiary priest at Amlwch received only 5s a year; some of these smaller chantries should perhaps be classed as obits. There were also a number of lesser endowments for occasional prayers and masses, and some larger foundations – the colleges of St Peter's Ruthin (Denbighshire), Clynnog Fawr (Caernarvonshire), Holyhead (Anglesey), St David's (Pembrokeshire), Brecon, and Kidwelly and Llanddewi-brefi (Carmarthenshire); and a much larger number of free chapels, some of them with endowed priests.[42] Most of these were probably endowed with a view to including prayer for the dead among their functions. Chantries were usually endowed for the recently dead but could also be explicitly for those whose identity was no longer known. An inquisition into concealed lands in 1576 identified property managed by the bailiffs and aldermen of Brecon to provide a priest to say the Mass of St Michael in the town charnel house.[43]

Wales also had remarkably few hospitals and charitable foundations, and even fewer that were fully functioning by the 1530s.[44] The Knights Hospitaller were credited with establishing hospices to accommodate pilgrims, but not all the *ysbyty* place names can be proved to derive from them and they were in any case no longer functioning by the early sixteenth century. The establishment of the Knights at Dolgynwal (Ysbyty Ifan) and its summer retreat at Hafod-ysbyty above Blaenau Ffestiniog were even said to be the haunt of brigands who used the Knights' privilege of sanctuary to evade the law.[45]

It is possible, however, that there were less formal establishments that have escaped record. Rhisiart ap Rhys's elegy to Elspeth Matthew of Radur near Cardiff centres around her devotion to the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys and her care of sick pilgrims: 'Parlwr gan fŵr niferoedd / i fêls draw fal ostri oedd' ('her parlour was to many invalids like a hostelry').[46] This may well have been an establishment like the small informal *maisons Dieu* documented by Gilchrist and Oliva in wealthier areas of England.[47] There is no reference in the poem to Elspeth ever having visited Penrhys herself, so it is even possible that she regarded herself as having taken a vow of enclosure.

Wales also had communities of most of the major religious orders. The Normans had established small alien Benedictine priories in their boroughs and lordships as they spread across south Wales. A little later, the Cistercians became the order of choice for both Welsh rulers and marcher lords. Some of the surviving pre-conquest Welsh monastic foundations adopted the Augustinian rule, and there were also houses of Cluniacs and Tironians, Premonstratensian canons and a range of friaries. All these communities had suffered during the crisis of the fourteenth century and the civil wars of the early fifteenth: destruction of property, loss of rents, the collapse of recruitment. The Cistercians in particular had been unable to recruit lay brothers and had been forced to rent out their grange lands. There is some evidence for the beginnings of a revival in the early sixteenth century. Evidence from wills testifies to bequests for rebuilding and improvement. The little community at Abergavenny (Monmouthshire) invested in some spectacularly beautiful choir stalls which still survive. The Golden Rood of Brecon was in a monastic church and the community at Basingwerk was credited with at least some of the work on the well chapel at Holywell.[48] Even in the difficult years of the fifteenth century, religious communities had retained their political significance. Richard Duke of York's gift of a set of stained glass windows to the community of Cistercian women at Llanllugan in 1453 must surely be seen as part of his bid for power: he needed their prayers as much as he needed political support and military force.[49]

We have so little evidence for monastic estate administration that it is difficult to draw valid conclusions for the whole country. A surviving survey of estates formerly belonging to the Cistercian abbey of Llantarnam (Monmouthshire) suggests that even in the mountains of south Wales the farming economy was emerging from crisis by the end of the fifteenth century. The monks sensibly (as it must have seemed at the time) responded to this by trying to relet vacant tenements for the longest terms they could negotiate, letting mill sites in return for building work and controlling access to resources like woodlands. It is even possible that the monastic estate administrators invested in rebuilding farmhouses to make tenements more attractive.[50] They were subsequently criticized for offering long leases which prevented their successors as landowners from raising rents in a period of unusual inflation, but in 1500 long leases clearly made financial sense.

Meanwhile, monastic communities continued to be popular places for burial and were entrusted with the care of children and the management of estates. With the religious orders, therefore, as with the expression of piety in church buildings,

wills and other sources, we are left with the puzzle of a popular religious tradition which nevertheless seems to have collapsed with surprising ease.

Some light may be thrown on this conundrum by the evidence for changing perceptions of death and the status of the dead. It has become something of a truism among historians concerned with the sixteenth century that attitudes to death and commemoration underwent radical change in the course of the Reformation. Most historians identify as the key to these changes the Reformers' denial of the existence of purgatory – described by Eamon Duffy as '*the* defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism'.[51] David Cressy described the effect of the repudiation of the doctrine of purgatory as being 'to sever the relationship between the dead and the living'.[52] Of equal importance was the reformers' critique of the validity of the whole religious culture of indulgences and intercessory prayer for the dead which led A. N. Galpern to describe late medieval Catholicism as 'a cult of the living in the service of the dead'.[53] Ralph Houlbrooke described the combined impact of these changes as 'one of the great unchartable revolutions of English history'.[54]

The impact on Wales was of course equally powerful, but took some time to take effect. Bequests in wills are admittedly a crude measure of change, but they provide one of the few consistent sources for early sixteenth-century Wales. Virtually all medieval wills left money for prayers for the soul of the testator. For medieval Wales we have only the wills of the elite proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Of a total of 105 surviving Welsh wills before 1530, only 13 (12 per cent of the total) made no provision for post-mortem prayer, and most of those were clearly wills made in haste and leaving the bulk of the estate to the discretion of executors. And of the others, nearly half left the residue of the estate for the health of the testator's soul as well as making specific provision for intercessory prayer. Thereafter, the number making no provision for post-mortem prayer rose steadily but slowly. Two-thirds of testators in the earlier 1540s made provision for their souls and even in the reign of Edward VI a quarter of all Welsh wills left something, either asking for specific prayers or leaving the residue of the estate. Confidence was, however, slow to return in Mary's reign; ironically, in some counties, there were more bequests for prayer for the dead in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign than in Mary's.

These figures need to be treated with considerable caution. It is more than likely that many endowments for prayer were made without a formal written record, especially after the practice came under official disfavour. When Sir William Morgan of Pencoed (Monmouthshire) made his will in 1541, he made no explicit provision for his funeral and commemoration, leaving them 'as I have declared my mynde to my executrice'.[55] To judge by her own will, his widow and executrix Florence was conservative in her inclinations. Among other things, she left a gown of crimson velvet to make a cope and chasuble for the family chapel, and her own silver pax, candlesticks and cruets for the altar there. We can probably assume therefore that Sir William's dying instructions included provision for prayer for his soul and that she would have carried these out conscientiously. In her own will she made no specific provision for intercessions but left the residue

of her goods to her son 'to have and use them, my funeralles done, decently to use them for the wealthe of my soule'.[56]

Nevertheless, while the numbers are too small for any reliable conclusions to be drawn from them, there may be some significance in the distribution of wills giving detailed instructions for the disposal of the estate but making no provision for post-mortem prayer. There is, for example, a small but potentially significant cluster of early refuseniks in Knighton and Presteign, two border market towns which were key nodes in the cattle and wool trades. Only four wills survive from Glamorgan in the 1520s but, of those, only two made any provision for prayer.[57] Other early wills which made detailed bequests but left nothing for prayer came from as far afield as Beaumaris (Anglesey) and Llanarmon-yn-Iâl (Denbighshire).[58]

These crude statistics tell only part of the story. In a study of patterns of commemoration in south Wales, focusing mainly on effigy tombs in Glamorgan but considering other forms of evidence from the other counties of south Wales, Rhianydd Biebrach has remarked on the comparatively low sums left for intercessory prayer.[59] There were few permanent chantries: £5 for a year of prayer was virtually the standard bequest. Some testators left money for trentals, specific sequences of votive masses, but there were few of these in comparison with English wills of the period. Biebrach also remarks on the low level of provision of minor endowments – lights, prayers, individual Masses and obits.

Declining provision for prayer – what Lutton has termed 'parsimonious piety'[60] – is one of the few ways in which we can track the spread of Lollard influence in southern England before the 1520s. In the absence of any other evidence for Lollard activity in Wales it would be difficult to argue that the 'tranquility' which Biebrach has found in the face of death is evidence of religous radicalism: but it may suggest that, while Wales was conservative in this as in so much else, there was not the same fervour and readiness to resist change that provoked (for example) the Prayer Book Rebellion.

There are some further hints of change before the official repudiation of purgatory in 1536. The main purpose of a tomb in the medieval church was to elicit prayer for the souls of the dead. Virtually all surviving Welsh tombs with any evidence of an inscription bore the injunction to pray for the soul of the deceased or the prayer 'on whose soul may God have mercy': but very few tombs have surviving inscriptions. There are also two memorials, both brasses, from towns in north Wales where the omission of any reference to prayer for the dead seems to have been deliberate. One is the memorial of Richard Foxwist, a Caernarfon scrivener, and his wife Joan, dated from some time after 1500; the other is the memorial of a Beaumaris merchant, Richard Bulkely, and his wife Elizabeth, dated around 1530. On the one hand, both are entirely traditional in their visual imagery. Richard Foxwist is depicted on his deathbed, clutching a shield with the emblems of the Five Wounds of Christ. The Beaumaris couple are shown kneeling in prayer before the images of the Trinity, the Virgin and Child and St John the Evangelist, with speech scrolls quoting from the Sarum Mass. On the other hand, both have elaborate inscriptions in floridly neo-classical Latin which conspicuously omit any mention of prayer or of the fate of the souls of the deceased.[61]

It may even be that we have been looking in the wrong place for the commemoration of the dead in pre-Reformation Wales. Like Ireland, medieval Wales had a long-standing tradition of praise poetry. The dead were commemorated by *marwnadau*, elegies in complex traditional verse forms, as much as by tombs, chantries and obits. And while the main purpose of tombs and funerals was to elicit prayer for the dead, the main purpose of elegiac poetry was to praise their achievements while living. The poets might ask for prayer, but many did not, and it was rarely if ever the main ostensible purpose of a *marwnad*. Traditional Welsh praise poetry is thus surprisingly close in tone to the 'new' Renaissance cult of fame, which, Peter Sherlock suggests, 'filled the void left by the Reformation's removal of intercession for the dead'.[62] But Wales already had a culture of praising the dead for lineage, piety and charity, military valour and service to the state.

None of this has anything to do with ideas about purgatory and intercessory prayer. Nor were the two forms of commemoration exclusive. Sir William Mathew of Radur (Glamorgan), for example, was praised for his valour and hospitality in a poem by Lewys Morgannwg,[63] but his tomb in Llandaff Cathedral still made the traditional request for prayer for his soul. Nevertheless, the Welsh preference for praising the dead as well as begging for prayer for their souls may have contributed to a mindset in which a challenge to traditional Catholic doctrine became possible. As Ryrie points out, one did not become a committed evangelical by accepting one aspect of their ideas, for practical or cultural reasons. By accepting one aspect of their thinking, however, 'one aligned one's life with those who were preaching in defence of what you had done, and against those who had denounced it'.[64] The paucity of evidence for commemorative tombs and intercessory foundations in late medieval Wales may be evidence of paucity, after all, and it may contribute to our understanding of the trajectory of the Reformation in Wales.[65]

Part of the answer to our conundrum may also lie in the title chosen for this chapter. The reason why the dog in Conan Doyle's story failed to bark was that it had heard not a stranger but a member of the household. The Reformation in Wales was largely introduced by familiar parish priests and diocesan administrators. There was, not surprisingly, some discontinuity at the top. The Bishop of Llandaff in 1536 was George de Athequa, Katherine of Aragon's personal confessor. He spoke neither English nor Welsh and visited his diocese once only, when he was trying to flee the realm after Catherine's death. He was replaced first by Robert Holgate, former master of the Gilbertines and Lord President of the Council of the North, then by another former abbot, Anthony Kitchin. Kitchin has received much criticism for his compliance with the regimes of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth and for leasing out so much of the property of the diocese, but he did at least provide the diocese with much-needed continuity, a resident bishop and a gradualist approach to reform.[66] Anne Boleyn's protégé William Barlow was appointed to St Asaph early in 1536 and rapidly moved to St David's, possibly even before his formal consecration. There he soon fell out with his conservative cathedral chapter and even began planning to move the headquarters of the diocese to Carmarthen.[67]

At parish level, though, there was considerable continuity. Hugh Jones, who became Bishop of Llandaff in 1567, had served parishes in the diocese since at least 1535, and of the clergy of the diocese listed in 1563 eleven were in post by the 1530s. Similar figures would be found in St Asaph, the other Welsh diocese for which we have full lists in 1563.[68] There was a period of upheaval during Mary's reign, but this reflected the fact that many if not most of the Welsh clergy were married. Tacit acceptance of this up to the 1540s and legalization of clerical marriage during Edward's reign was replaced by a determined purge under Mary.[69] As well as the continuity in church personnel, the Reformation in Wales was primarily managed not by strangers but by the leaders of the local community. The surveyors and monastic visitors of 1535, the dissolution commissioners in 1536–40 and the chantry commissioners in 1545 and 1547 all included local landowners. William Herbert, whose demolition of the shrine at Penrhys is discussed in Kate Olson's chapter, was a leading landowner in Newport, and Ellis Price, who seized the statue of Derfel Gadarn, was a son of the family of Plas Iolyn and Foelas near Corwen.[70]

This was clearly a deliberate policy, and one which Thomas Cromwell adhered to in the face of some criticism. As Felicity Heal has suggested, the empowerment of the gentry by the first of the 'Acts of Union' was probably crucial in securing their support for religious change.[71] The Act of 1536 was not a radical departure but a more systematic gearing-up of a policy of gradual empowerment.[72] In the spring of 1536 Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and hardline President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, wrote to express his concern about Cromwell's plans to appoint Welsh justices of the peace:

> I think it not expedient to have justices of the peace and gaol delivery in Wales, for there are very few Welsh above Brecknock who have 10 pounds land, and their discretion is less than their land. As yet there is some bearing of the thieves by gentlemen; if this statute go forward, you will have no other but bearing, and little justice … [73]

The story of the Foelas and Plas Iolyn family stands as an emblem for many of these changes.[74] Several of the family tombs are in the parish church of Ysbyty Ifan (Denbighshire), which was originally the church of the Knights of St John. Rhys ap Maredudd of Foelas raised troops for Henry Tudor in 1485 and was his standard-bearer at the Battle of Bosworth. His younger son Robert ap Rhys was one of the king's chaplains and went on to become Cardinal Wolsey's chaplain and cross-bearer.[75] He was also chancellor and vicar-general of his home diocese of St Asaph and served with perfect equanimity under Wolsey's sworn enemy Bishop Henry Standish. But he was also married, to Mared daughter of Rhys Llwyd of Llanfor (Merioneth), who bore him at least sixteen children.

Two of Robert's sons served as successive abbots of Aberconwy, and a third was abbot of Strata Marcella. He and his family were administrators and tenants of huge areas of monastic land in the Conwy valley. Robert's second son Elis took the surname Price from his father's patronymic; he was also nicknamed 'The Red Doctor',

possibly because he shared the red hair of the so-called 'Red Bandits of Dinas Mawddwy'.[76] Though he held a number of church appointments, he was never actually ordained. He was also married, though that was no bar to ecclesiastical preferment in pre-Reformation Wales. It has surprised some historians that Cromwell chose him as his representative to conduct a visitation of the north Wales clergy: a visitation that involved an enquiry into their observance of their vows of chastity. His fellow commissioner Adam Becansaw complained that Price was bringing the commission into disrepute by 'riding about openly with his concubine' (presumably his wife, Ellyw, who was herself a daughter of the parsonage: her father was Owain Pool, incumbent of Llandecwyn, Meir). Becansaw's hostility may have had more to do with the tangled politics of the Diocese of St Asaph: Henry Standish had just died and the manoeuvring to succeed him was intense. (Robert ap Rhys might have been a candidate but had himself died at the beginning of the year.) Ellis was briefly removed from the commission but in 1538 Cromwell appointed him commissary-general and chancellor of the Diocese of St Asaph.

At first sight this looks like a squalid tale of political faction and hypocrisy. It is worth remembering, though, that Robert ap Rhys and Thomas Cromwell had been close colleagues in Wolsey's household. Cromwell knew the family well, and was capable of a dispassionate assessment of Ellis's abilities and potential. And of course he knew that his colleague was married and made no secret of his large family. In sending a son of the north Wales priesthood to inspect the clergy of north Wales was he actually sending a coded message of encouragement?

The Knights of St John have had a bad press in Wales: the accusations against their hospice at Dolgynwal and its summer base at Hafod-ysbyty are mentioned above.[77] The fact that someone with the national status of Rhys ap Maredudd chose to be buried in their church, and that Robert ap Rhys left money for prayers for his soul to be said there, suggests another side to the story – and it is worth remembering that the accusation that the Knights provided a haven for thieves was an implicit attack on Robert's family by the rival Wyn family of Dolwyddelan.[78] But the family's respect for the Knights did not prevent them from investing heavily in monastic property after the Dissolution. In this as in so much else, they were followed by the other landowners of Wales. It is yet another of the paradoxes of Welsh history in this period that families like the Morgans of Llantarnam and the Gunters of Abergavenny established themselves as leading landowners as a result of investing in former monastic property, then used their status to defend and promote the Catholic faith. For all the devotion evinced by their wills, the Welsh gentry seem to have been as pragmatic about the changes of the Reformation as they had been about the civil wars of the fifteenth century – and indeed as many of them would prove in the civil war of the seventeenth.

4

Gaelic Christianity? The Church in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland before and after the Reformation

Martin MacGregor

This paper applies the two research questions posed by this strand of the Insular Christianity Project to western Gaelic Scotland: the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles from the thirteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, with the emphasis on the decades on either side of the official inauguration of the Scottish Reformation in 1560. Did this Gaelic speech community avow a Christianity rendered distinctive in any shape or form by its language? Did it possess or provide a usable Christian past? The two questions can be read as one, positing the issue of difference with reference to separate timeframes. Consequential subsidiary questions rapidly identify themselves. If distinctiveness there was, did it have a basis in substance or perception? Did it reside in the consciousness of its own community, or of those outside it? This last prompts the sounding of a cautionary alarm bell, lest these questions be fruits either of an archipelagic cultural mindset within which the Celts play their accustomed role of aberrant foils to Anglophone orthodoxy; or of occasional hints within Celtic scholarship that Christianity was little more than a veneer tacked on to Celtic society, and irrelevant to its deepest and truest instincts.[1] Yet, to speak plainly, why should language alone have been sufficient to render Gaelic Scotland different from any other part of either a pre-Reformation Western Christendom which embraced a multitude of tongues, or a post-Reformation Europe which elevated the vernacular into a tenet of faith?

The historiography of Gaelic Scotland in general in this era remains poorly developed compared to either Lowland Scotland or Gaelic Ireland, and religion takes its place alongside other fundamental themes such as economic life, lordship, militarism and gender studies where our knowledge base is alarmingly fragmentary. The region which has fared best to date is the one considered here, a natural consequence of scholarly interest in the greatest secular success stories of late medieval and early modern Gaelic Scotland, the lordships created by the MacDonalds of the Isles and the Campbells of Argyll. These developed initially on a largely complementary and non-confrontational basis which steadily gave way during the sixteenth century to rivalry and enmity, as MacDonald unity and power imploded, and Campbell ambitions expanded in all directions, westwards included. In terms

of its ecclesiastical history, this same region has seen notable recent doctoral work on the pre-Reformation era,[2] while the centrality of the Campbells to the story of the Scottish and indeed 'British' Reformation has been highlighted in recent studies by Donald Meek and Jane Dawson.[3] Along with James Kirk, Jane Dawson has also contributed to a revisionist literature on the Reformation in Gaelic Scotland, challenging the older mantra of very limited impact down to the death of James VI and I with a far more positive picture.[4]

Argyll and the Isles was the part of Gaelic Scotland most demonstrably in contact with Gaelic Ireland at various levels – military, social, economic, cultural – in the period in question. This is the zone where we find the presence both of practitioners of high Gaelic culture whose origins lay in Ireland and of the greatest concentration of production of manuscripts in the literary dialect.[5] One school of thought, associated primarily with Irish scholars, has elevated the relationship into a polity: a late medieval Greater Gaeldom extending across the North Channel, and offering a genuine alternative to development of kingdoms or states along conventional Irish or Scottish lines.[6] Scottish scholarship has emphasized the existence of just such a Scottish dynamic, noting divergences in the ideological rhetoric of high literary culture, where uniformity would be most readily assumed; and in the practice of warfare, and the implications this carries for further and potentially far-reaching distinctiveness in the economic organization and social structure of the two Gaeldoms.[7] What of the ecclesiastical dimension to this debate? If there was a 'Gaelic Christianity', did it manifest itself in terms of continuities or connections of Christian faith and practice across the 'Gaelic world'? The Reformation is of course as central to an exploration of this question as it is to the two posed at the outset, but even more important to what follows, and a striking continuity across the era of Reformation in western Gaelic Scotland, is the legacy of Iona: the struggle for possession both of the spiritual authority first wielded by Colum Cille or Columba, and the material wealth of the monastery he founded.[8]

The natural starting point is the early medieval Kingdom of the Isles, a product of the Scandinavian impact upon Scotland and mainland Britain's western litoral. At its greatest extent, this kingdom consisted of the isles from Man in the south to Lewis in the north, and the province of Argyll which occupied the greater part of the adjacent mainland. The Isles and Argyll had distinct identities and were capable of being ruled separately. A measure of greater integration, political and otherwise, was achieved by the great Gaelic dynast Somerled or Somhairle (d.1164) and his descendants, the most enduring and influential of whom were Clann Dòmhnaill or the MacDonalds, and Clann Dubhghaill, the MacDougalls. Even then, the centre of gravity of MacDonald lordship was insular, in Islay and what contemporaries regarded as the 'isle' of Kintyre; while the MacDougalls, followed later by the Campbells, came to dominate Argyll. Ultimate political sovereignty over this kingdom was also divided between islands and mainland, and exercised by the kings of Norway and Scotland respectively, until the Treaty of Perth in 1266, and the formal transfer of the Isles from Norwegian to Scottish possession.

Thirty years later in 1296, the outbreak of war between Scotland and England inaugurated an enmity which endured across the later Middle Ages until the era

of the Reformation. Weakening or fluctuating English lordship over Ireland, and embryonic Scottish dominion over the Isles, ensured that the 'Irish Sea World' became a strategically crucial geo-political theatre where these two sovereignties met and clashed, as each party looked to the west to gain advantage over the other. Equally, the putative existence of an alternative sovereignty in the shape of 'Greater Gaeldom' gains notional legitimacy from what one historian has likened to the knocking out of the Scandinavian wedge, and the opportunity for renewed and deepened Gaelic communion across the North Channel.[9] In the wake of regal union in 1603, the events of 1609 – Plantation in Ulster, and the Statutes of Iona as applied to most of the Isles and adjacent mainland territories – can then be readily interpreted as a joint British project directed at the heart of 'Greater Gaeldom', and seeking to supplant it with a streamlined and uninterrupted Stewart *imperium*.[10] From the viewpoint of western Gaelic Scotland, a far more straightforward proposition would be that, in the later medieval and early modern era, authority here continued to be wielded most successfully at the level of regional lordship, the greatest exponents of which were the MacDonalds. Their fall, following Crown forfeiture in 1475 and 1493, and the death of the last legitimate and serious MacDonald claimant to the headship of the Lordship of the Isles in 1545, triggered competition, most notably between Campbells and MacKenzies, to replace Clann Dòmhnaill as regional rulers; but they no less than imperial Stewart monarchy proved incapable of recreating or emulating MacDonald hegemony.[11]

Unsurprisingly, there are substantial parallels between this political narrative and its ecclesiastical counterpart. The Diocese of Argyll may have been largely carved out of the overlarge and unwieldy Diocese of Dunkeld, probably in 1188/9. Although the western ambitions of the kings of Scots stood to gain from this addition to the ranks of the *ecclesia Scoticana,* and the opportunity it afforded for the appointment of sympathetically minded bishops, a more likely catalyst for change seems to have been the successful establishment of regional lordship over Argyll by the kindred of Somerled, with his son Dubhghall, progenitor of the MacDougalls, arguably the moving spirit in the formation of the new diocese.[12] The Diocese of Sodor or the Isles was a Norse creation, with its see at Peel in the Isle of Man, and its metropolitan in Trondheim. In 1266 the patronage of the Bishopric of the Isles was transferred to the Scottish Crown. Although metropolitan status technically remained with Trondheim until 1472 and the elevation of St Andrews to an archbishopric, Norse influence over the Diocese of the Isles effectively lapsed after 1331, with the Pope acting as metropolitan, and bishops-elect going to Rome or Avignon for confirmation. During the Great Schism, moreover, the stance of the bishops towards the papacy was consistent with that of their patrons rather than their nominal metropolitan. For the Isles, therefore, 1472 was merely long overdue confirmation that the Scottish Church was the ecclesiastical polity to which they properly belonged.[13]

Scotocentrism also left the Isle of Man as an increasingly anachronistic and unsatisfactory location for the bishop's see, even setting aside its problematic status as an Anglo-Scottish political football across the later Middle Ages.[14] Snizort in the Isle of Skye may have come to prominence as a northern makeweight to Man, but

the fact that the bishop was petitioning the papacy in 1433 to have his see transferred from Snizort 'to some honest place within the diocese' may suggest that it was no less ideal.[15] The bishop's problem was that the logistical epicentre of his diocese was already home to a separate foundation, the Benedictine abbey of Iona. The abbey, moreover, was endowed with lands and churches throughout the diocese, while ambiguity attached to the issue of whether the abbot, already possessed of the authority vested in the successor of Colum Cille, should acknowledge the Bishop of the Isles as his ordinary, with either the Pope or the Bishop of Dunkeld also fulfilling this role at points across the later Middle Ages.[16] It has been suggested that divided or disputed political sovereignty over the western Scottish seaboard – first between Norway and Scotland, and later between the crowned heads of Scotland and England – redounded to the benefit of the autonomy of regional dynasts, latterly the MacDonald lord of the Isles; and the same may have applied to the abbot of Iona in terms of ecclesiastical freedom.[17] Lay patronage of the abbey came to rest with the MacDonald lords, and either they or others of the descendants of Somerled were founders and patrons of the four other monastic houses within late medieval Argyll and the Isles, all of which seem to have been spiritually and culturally active institutions. The temptation exists to draw contrasts between a dynamic regular church, with the abbot of Iona and the MacDonald lord of the Isles as its presiding personalities, and a moribund and poverty-stricken diocesan structure, with an ineffectual bishop and the King of Scots at its apex.[18]

That the contrast was as much political as it was religious seems to be explicitly confirmed in 1498, when Gilleasbuig (Archibald) Campbell, Second Earl of Argyll, and a key figure in James IV's administration, petitioned Rome to make Iona the cathedral of the Isles, thereby amalgamating abbey and bishopric.[19] The petition was almost certainly consequent upon the death of Eoin MacKinnon, Abbot of Iona.[20] Although the papal response, in 1499, only went so far as to grant the abbey *in commendam* to the bishop, and stipulated that 'the accustomed number of monks be in no way diminished',[21] the elimination of the abbot nevertheless sits neatly alongside 1493, the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, and the toppling of the last Lord, as a decisive blow against regional autonomy. Connections can readily be made with 1507 and James IV's successful petition to have Saddell Abbey in Kintyre – a Cistercian house also under MacDonald lay patronage – annexed to the Bishopric of Argyll. The bishop was granted the abbey lands as the free barony of Saddell, along with the right to build castles for its defence. Saddell Castle was completed by 1512 as an apparent symbol of royal authority and regime change in the west, although the King's attempt that same year to move the Cathedral of Argyll from Lismore to Saddell proved unsuccessful.[22]

The location of his see, in fact, had become a problem for the Bishop of Argyll no less than the Bishop of the Isles during the fifteenth century, but it is with this point that we can begin to build an alternative and arguably deeper reading of the evidence, for in Argyll the bishop was far less obviously encumbered by an ecclesiastical 'other'. It is true that the medieval cathedral on the isle of Lismore was not far removed from the Valliscaulian priory of Ardchattan, founded in 1230 or 1231 by the MacDougall branch of the kindred of Somerled. The MacDougalls

were the dominant clan in Argyll until the fourteenth century, and remained highly important at the grass roots thereafter. They maintained a very close relationship with Ardchattan throughout its lifetime and beyond: as lay patrons; providers of clergy, including priors; occupants and ultimately owners of lands belonging to its temporality, and users of the priory for the burial of their chiefs and others of prominence within the kindred.[23] Nevertheless, it would be wrongheaded to present the relationship between prior and bishop as one of natural tension and rivalry, when monastery and see were conceivably both MacDougall foundations, with the building of the first cathedral of Lismore and the priory of Ardchattan as key elements in an ambitious programme of ecclesiastical renewal sponsored by the kindred in the mid-thirteenth century.[24] Furthermore, it was Lismore which vaunted the more impressive ecclesiastical pedigree, reaching back to the era of the Columban church itself. As Moluag's successor, the bishop ought to have been the beneficiary of his saintly cult and relics which remained vital in the later Middle Ages. Indeed, it has been recently suggested that in this era the MacDhuinnshlèibhe or Livingstone lineage, which acted as hereditary custodians of the *bachall mòr* or pastoral staff of St Moluag, may have employed it in the collection of the tithes and dues belonging to the bishop.[25] The decanting of the bishop's residence and centre of operations southwards from Lismore to Dunoon and Dumbarton during the episcopate of George Lauder (1427–73/5) was no more motivated by a need to escape from the shadow of Ardchattan than it was proof that 'he and his clerks had been unable securely to establish themselves within the local ecclesiastical structure'.[26] Rather, it was a logical ecclesiastical response to the shift in the political and economic centre of gravity of Argyll towards the Firth of Clyde, as Campbell lordship superseded that of the MacDougalls; and part of the campaign waged by Lauder throughout his episcopate to assert the status and rights of the bishop in the face of entrenched regional secular power.[27]

This last, in fact, was the most important form of earthly authority governing the history of the Church in Argyll and the Isles across the later Middle Ages and the Reformation, even as it dominated the exercise of sovereignty and jurisdiction in the political realm. It is represented in the available evidence to a far more significant and consistent degree than those other lines of interpretation given space thus far, namely, the bishops of these dioceses as agents or ciphers for Stewart sovereignty; and the related idea of a secular church orientated towards Crown and centre existing in opposition to 'nativist' monastic institutions. No less than the Crown, the Church – whether regular or secular, Catholic or Protestant – had to negotiate with, and ultimately accept the primacy of, lay lordship as embodied in the territorial kindred or clan, at the regional but perhaps even more especially at the local level. To what extent this can be adduced as an aspect of Celtic Christianity is beyond the scope of either this paper or the expertise of its author to answer, but the theme is ubiquitous, and demands exploration in some depth.

A beneficent context was doubtless provided by the growing secularization of the Church between the early fifteenth century and the Reformation, as evinced by the increase in commendatorships and the 'scramble for benefices'.[28] Parameters were also set by other sources of authority. Ecclesiastics or laymen who

sought to exercise power over the Church had to take account of papal jurisdiction, particularly once the introduction of the system of papal provisions from the 1380s onwards established the papacy as a higher court of appeal.[29] Crown influence was also a factor across the period, but intermittently, within limits, and usually as a consequence of the particular political agenda of a particular monarch. The election of *Martinus* or Gille-Màrtainn as bishop of Argyll *c*.1342, at the expense of David II's preferred candidate, serves as an apt illustration.[30] Gille-Màrtainn had the backing of Edward III, and the dispute reflected the continuing struggle for the Scottish throne between Bruce and Balliol parties in the aftermath of David II's return from exile in 1341. More importantly, Gille-Màrtainn may have enjoyed MacDougall support and belonged to that kindred. The MacDougalls had been exiled and forfeited after 1308 for their adherence to the Balliol cause, but it would take more than this to loosen their grip on Argyll. As we shall see, James I's return from exile in England in 1424 triggered a parallel course of events centred upon the figure of George Lauder, bishop of Argyll, while James II also sought to use Lauder to bolster royal authority on the Firth of Clyde, with economic motives probably to the fore.[31]

More impressive and sustained was the programme of ecclesiastical reform pursued by James IV as a means of furthering his integrationist political agenda in the west. This involved the strategic enhancement of the resource base of the bishops of Argyll and of the Isles, respectively David Hamilton and Eoin Campbell, with at least the former of whom the King had a demonstrably close working relationship.[32] A century later, in the wake of regal union and his successful restoration of a reformed diocesan episcopacy, it has been suggested that James VI and I may have sought to utilize two non-native bishops of Argyll and the Isles, Andrew Boyd and Andrew Knox, in similar fashion, 'as trusted servants whose primary allegiance lay with king and kirk'.[33] In Knox's case this involved a truly spectacular augmentation of episcopal resources, including not only the return of church lands lost to private hands since the Reformation but also the permanent annexation to the see of both Iona and Ardchattan. It also entailed simultaneous advancement to the Bishopric of Raphoe in Ulster, following in the footsteps of another Scot, the much more explicitly colonialist – and less successful – George Montgomery.[34] One of Knox's successors as bishop of the Isles, John Leslie, took the same career path.

A case has been made, however, for seeing Knox as no mere front for royal authority, but as a skilled and hard-headed politician who understood that diocesan renewal in the Isles could only succeed at the expense of Campbell power in the region, and who sought to persuade his king to act accordingly. By 1635 the game was lost, and the Bishop of the Isles was a Campbell and Campbell client, guaranteeing this kindred-preferred access to diocesan resources.[35] In Argyll, Andrew Boyd may have been no less dependent upon Campbell support, whatever his initial intentions.[36] Other and earlier pieces of evidence conform to a reading of the Campbells as regional dynasts first and foremost, who can never be assumed to have been acting merely in the interests of the Crown. It was the Earl of Argyll rather than James IV who took the initiative in petitioning the papacy 'for the erection of the abbacy of Colmkill in the bischoppis sete of the Ilis' in 1498, and this

at an early stage in a phase, lasting until around 1530, when Campbell political ambitions to supplant the MacDonalds as lords of the Isles resonated in the ecclesiastical sphere, with Campbells as bishops or bishops elect of the Isles, and a likely succession of Campbell priors of Iona.[37] A papal supplication of 1461 sought to take from Bishop Lauder the parish church of Dunoon, by then the location of the episcopal headquarters of Argyll. Although the petition ran in the name of James III, the moving spirit was probably the First Earl of Argyll, who had already taken advantage of the sudden death of James II in 1460 and the ensuing royal minority to assert himself vis-à-vis the bishop on the Firth of Clyde.[38]

In a papal petition of his own in 1462, Lauder gave the reason for his move to Dunoon as 'strife raging between temporal lords and other magnates of his diocese, and the tumults of wars and dangers arising therefrom'.[39] The allusion may be to the tensions arising from the clashing regional ambitions of the Campbells and Dòmhnall Ballach, contemporary war leader and leading light of Clann Dòmhnaill. These came to a head during the minority of James III, in tandem with crises at the head of both the MacDougall lineage and that of the Stewart lords of Lorn in north Argyll.[40] In a petition of 1411, a predecessor of Lauder's had complained against the 'nobles and powerful men' who had unlawfully appropriated 'the rents and profits pertaining to the episcopal table of Argyll'.[41] With these petitions we can compare a Crown precept of 1506 to ten of the leading men of the Isles, 'chargeand thaim that thai have na intrometting nor disponying with ony kirkis, fermez, malis nor proffittis pertenand to Johne, bischop of Ylis and commenditare of Ycolmekill'.[42] The stark reality was that in Argyll and the Isles, the bishops' authority and wealth was fundamentally restricted not so much by their counterparts in monastic institutions as by secular lords who provided only limited endowments, who appropriated church lands, rents and revenues, including tithes, and who dominated ecclesiastical patronage. In the face of this constant pressure, the Crown provided only intermittent support and relief. The scale of the lay stranglehold over Argyll is particularly breathtaking, extending to all six canonries and prebends, the four cathedral dignitaries (treasurer, chancellor, dean, precentor) and twenty-four of the forty-three parish churches within the diocese (there were forty-eight in total) for which evidence exists.[43]

The principle can be extended in two ways. First, and in further demonstration of the danger of creating a false dichotomy between a 'nativist' regular and 'non-nativist' secular church, 'the personnel of any given ecclesiastical institution would tend to be drawn from the ranks of the secular kindred which enjoyed political ascendancy within that area at that time'.[44] This applied with equal force to both regular and secular Church, and across the ecclesiastical hierarchy. High office at the monastery and nunnery of Iona was dominated successively by MacKinnons, Campbells and MacLeans; among the late medieval bishops of Argyll and of the Isles were high-ranking MacDougalls, MacDonalds and Campbells. It was inevitable that such a scenario should give rise to patterns of hereditary succession, and the formation of castes or lineages which looked to the Church as their vocation. Second, particular churches came to be indelibly associated with the predominant local kindred, 'whether as founders,

patrons or users of the burial ground'.[45] Examples are legion: the MacDougalls at Ardchattan; the MacDufffies at Oronsay; the MacLeods of Dunvegan at Rodel; the MacNeills of Gigha at Keills (Knapdale); the MacMillans of Knapdale at Kilmory; Clan Murachie at Knapdale and Kilberry; the MacEacherns of Kilellan in Kintyre and Kilkerran; the MacGregors at Clachan an Dìseirt (Dalmally).[46]

Perhaps the best demonstration of all of how much kindred mattered is provided by Iona. Here, the most powerful local clans between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries were the MacKinnons, succeeded by the MacLeans. The entrenched position each enjoyed at Iona presented a formidable challenge to those lords who enjoyed regional dominance within the same era, the MacDonalds and Campbells respectively. For all their might, which included the lay patronage of the monastery, the MacDonald lords of the Isles struggled to free Iona's buildings, offices and lands from the grip of the MacKinnon lineage descended from the notorious Finguine, abbot from *c.*1357 to *c.*1408. The MacDonald lord was even brought to the point of threatening to remove elsewhere 'the relics and bones of his progenitors who are buried therein, and the precious things which have been given thereto'; and ultimately joined forces with the King of Scots to petition the papacy for redress. The fifteenth century nonetheless ended as it began, with a MacKinnon abbot of Iona, albeit of different ancestry from his predecessor; while the contemporary prior was also a MacKinnon.[47] Following an interlude of Campbell ascendancy down to *c.*1530, the MacLeans then came to the fore as the natural heirs to the MacKinnons. Overcoming initial opposition from Campbells and Crown, MacLeans largely monopolized the office of bishop of the Isles until *c.*1565.[48] Thereafter they continued 'to look upon the possessions and revenues of the bishopric of the Isles and of the abbey of Iona as their personal property',[49] even succeeding in having their possession of church lands belonging to Iona confirmed to their chief by the Crown in 1587.[50] By the later sixteenth century the MacLeans may have been firmly established as Campbell clients, yet this did not preclude fierce competition between the kindreds over the right to the resources of Iona. 'Successive MacLean chiefs used the rents of the abbey to provide security for loans',[51] while Eoin Campbell, who belonged to the Campbells of Cawdor and who succeeded Eoin or John Carswell as bishop of the Isles in 1572, was so hampered by the MacLeans and their adherents in his attempts to uplift his revenues and travel freely in his diocese that he was even compelled to 'leave the country' for a time.[52]

The careers of arguably the four outstanding churchmen to hold office in Argyll and the Isles between 1400 and the early seventeenth century were united by their efforts to achieve a better working relationship with local secular authority. Dominicus or Maol-Dòmhnaich mac Ghille-Coinnich, Abbot of Iona from 1421 to *c.*1465, succeeded in reversing the decline in the monastery's physical and spiritual well-being brought about by Abbot Finguine and his progeny. To do so, he enlisted the support of Stewart kings and MacDonald lords of the Isles in persuading the papacy to ban members of the secular nobility from entry to the community 'by reason of succession than from devotion' and 'without the unanimous consent of the abbot and convent'. As Bannerman concludes, 'that

such a ban should ever have been entertained, let alone enforced, in a highly aristocratic society is remarkable'.[53] A close contemporary was George Lauder, Bishop of Argyll from 1427 until 1473/5, who took to an altogether different level the efforts of some of his predecessors to assert episcopal rights in the face of a lay stranglehold over patronage and resources.[54] Lauder was a non-Gael and Crown appointee, with no existing personal ties in the west. His initial advancement of his own candidates – sometimes of non-Gaelic origin like himself – to parochial benefices in Argyll, against the interests of Campbells and then of MacDonalds, can readily be interpreted as the ecclesiastical corollary of James I's strategy to curb the regional power of these kindreds. The king's assassination in 1437 brought a predictable local backlash against the bishop and his men.

Yet the remainder of his long episcopate proved Lauder to be no mere Crown dependant. He displayed courage and tenacity in his attempts to uphold and augment what was due to the bishop in terms of jurisdiction, patronage and wealth, sometimes through the reactivation of claims long since set aside or fallen into desuetude. There were inevitable clashes with burgeoning Campbell lordship, notably over the risk of diversion of diocesan resources towards Kilmun, the collegiate church founded by Donnchadh Campbell Lord of Loch Awe in 1442. In a series of papal supplications across several decades the Campbells played the Gaelic card against the bishop's men, charging them with unsuitability to serve the cure on the grounds of lack of the vernacular language. These supplications have been linked in turn to both the attack on Lauder by some of his own cathedral clergy on Lismore in 1452 and to his relocation to Dunoon, to paint a portrait of a bishop who was out of his depth and unable to cope in an alien environment.[55] More recently, Iain MacDonald has argued convincingly that underlying the veneer of ethnicity and language was an ongoing power struggle between Lauder and secular magnates, in the course of which the bishop achieved viable accommodations with both the MacDonald lords of the Isles – who possessed significant lay patronage in Argyll – and the Campbells. In Lauder's time at least his ability to exercise effective episcopal governance throughout his diocese – both in the parishes and at his cathedral – was not compromised by the removal to Dunoon, although the loss of the association with Lismore and Moluag may have held damaging longer term consequences for the bishops of Argyll.[56]

Eoin Carswell moved from the ambit of the MacDonalds to that of the Campbells, and from the treasurership of the pre-Reformation Diocese of Argyll to becoming its post-Reformation superintendent, as well as Protestant bishop of the Isles from 1567 (de facto from 1565) until his death in 1572. Indeed, for a time he possessed both bishoprics and their related commendatorships of Saddell and Iona.[57] His ecclesiastical jurisdiction therefore encompassed both Argyll and the Isles, but his horizons did not end there. In 1567 he published *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, his version of John Knox's translation of the Protestant liturgy *The Book of Common Order,* and the first book to issue from the printing press in Gaelic in either Scotland or Ireland. In his two introductory epistles, Carswell revealed that his vision was nothing less than the reformation of all Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland. Fulfilment of the vision would entail much more than the

translation of the Word. Protestantism would need to adapt so as to ensure its compatibility with the most powerful institutions operative within Gaelic society. In turn, these institutions – secular chiefship or lordship, and the native learned classes – would need to reform themselves if they were to act as the instruments of Reformation and retain their social primacy within a Protestant world.

Henceforth the Gaelic lord would need to be guided by Scripture rather than by hereditary practice, and look to the Old Testament rather than his own lineal ancestors for appropriate role models. Military prowess should be channelled into iconoclasm and against enemies of the true religion; protection and welfare should be offered to those who professed the faith and suffered for it. Commitment to the godly life in thought and deed would alone confer legitimacy and immortality upon the godly prince. The learned classes should continue to support the lord in his earthly mission, but patronage should now be founded upon a shared belief in the truth freely available in the Bible, not upon commerce and lies; and their gifts should be directed towards the promulgation of the word of God rather than the vanities of worldly literature:

> And to whomever God has given the gift of being learned in the correct writing and diction and speaking of Gaelic, so much the greater is his obligation to spend this gift that he has received from God in cherishing and exalting the truth which is in God's gospel, rather than to spend it in cherishing falsehood or injustice or error against that gospel.[58]

The archetypes of the godly master and his godly servitor were already present in the person of Gilleasbuig Campbell Fifth Earl of Argyll, a key agent in implementing the Scottish Reformation, and Eoin Carswell himself. James Kirk has pointed out the several and significant ways in which Carswell adjusted or departed from accepted Protestant doctrine in order to minimise the active role of the congregation and church elders vis-à-vis the secular lord – the 'civil magistrate' – and minister.[59] Most dramatically, where Knox's base text stated, 'I acknowlage to belonge to this church a politicall Magistrate', Carswell wrote:

> The church ought to have a lord or secular noble over it, called in Latin, *magistratus civilis*, and that magistrate ought to deal fairly with all men, in such matters as giving honour and protection to the good and in punishing the bad; and the church ought to render obedience and honour to those nobles in anything that does not conflict with the will or command of God.[60]

In the light of the central argument of this paper, Carswell's stance makes perfect sense. If Gaelic Scotland ever spawned a Celtic Christianity on either side of the Reformation, it was the Gaelic Protestantism of *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*. But, in its pan-Gaelic aspect at least, the vision of Eoin Carswell failed to translate from the page.[61]

Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles from 1605 until 1618, was no less a visionary than Carswell, if one accepts the view that the Statues of Iona of 1609 represented

a coherent and considered programme of social, economic and spiritual reform devised by Knox in co-operation with the Hebridean elite rather than a colonial edict which he foisted upon them.[62] His non-Gaelic background seems to have been no impediment to his ability to minister effectively and sympathetically to Gaelic-speaking peoples, both in the Isles and Donegal. Like Carswell, Knox saw local secular authority as the indispensable guarantor of Reformation, and the Statutes were designed to consolidate chiefly status in a time of transition. Simultaneously, and again with echoes of Carswell, they sought to shift the basis of the elite's legitimacy away from 'the traditional chiefly functions to its status as government agents and overseers of a new legal and economic order'.[63] At root, Knox wanted to ensure that wealth and resources were both maximized and more evenly and rationally distributed, to the benefit of all parties including Crown and kirk. In his determination to secure the bishop's rightful share and to make the elite address its responsibilities to him by building churches and paying ministerial stipends, Knox bears comparison with George Lauder. As with Lauder, and in sharpest contrast to Carswell, Knox's greatest challenge was posed by Campbell power, and, despite remarkable short-term successes in his mission to create a Campbell-free future for the Isles in order to improve their secular and ecclesiastical governance, the task ultimately proved to be beyond him.

Before the era of Reformation and regal union, Scottish literati were beholden to a version of Scottish secular origins which emphasized separateness from England, and freedom from English pretensions to sovereignty over Scotland and Greater Britain. They did so by giving centrality to the Dalridian and thus Gaelic identity of the Scots, as evidenced by origin legend and monarchy: the ancient and unbroken succession of the native dynastic line. Necessarily, however, the history of the Church in Scotland ran somewhat differently. There was the same need to demonstrate antiquity and autonomy, in terms of conversion certainly no later and ideally earlier than England, and subsequent successful resistance to the claims of York and Canterbury. Equally, ecclesiastical liberty meant that Scotland was 'from the outset catholic and free',[64] acknowledging none but papal authority – at least until the fifteenth century and the formulation of the doctrine of imperial monarchy, which held that the King of Scots exercised absolute jurisdiction within the bounds of his own realm. The official narrative sought to demonstrate that Scottish Christianity had always enjoyed a special relationship with Rome, highlighting Andrew as the brother of Peter, and the establishment of orthodox episcopal Roman Christianity through the mission of Bishop Palladius, emissary of Pope Celestine I, in AD 430, long before St Augustine set foot in England.[65]

Loyalty to Rome meant strict doctrinal adherence to Roman Christianity. Hence the downplaying in pre-Reformation Scottish historiography of anything that smacked of Celtic Christianity as having flourished in Scotland, lest this give leverage to those who would seek to undermine Scottish sovereignty via accusations of religious particularism and peculiarity. If the writers of classical antiquity associated pagan characteristics with the ancient Scots, these were quietly suppressed. The stereotype developed of their contemporary representatives, late medieval Gaelic Scots, portrayed their primitivism and moral failings in purely

secular terms, not extending to charges of heathenism or heresy.[66] Problematic subject matter such as the Synod of Whitby and the Céli Dé or Culdees was largely sidelined, and, while Columba might be accorded distinctiveness as an Irishman and monk, his profile was nonetheless limited. Indeed, it could be argued that in pre-Reformation and non-Gaelic contexts, the ideological significance of Iona and the West Highlands lay, not in any putative status they possessed as the cradle of Scottish Christianity, but as the cradle of the secular nation, especially Iona's role as the burial place of the Kings of Scots of old. Such is the emphasis in the reference by Hector Boece to Bishop William Elphinstone's researches in the west while working on his great patriotic liturgical project, the *Aberdeen Breviary,* published in 1510: 'the history of the antiquities of the Scottish nation, especially in the Hebrides, where also are preserved the sepulchres of our ancient kings and the ancient monuments of our race, he examined with great care and labour'.[67] A similar chord is struck by James V, writing to the Pope in 1529: 'The Isles formed the greatest part of the Scottish kingdom at the first: they received the faith with alacrity, and have maintained it consistently.'[68]

Twenty years later Dòmhnall Monro toured the Isles as the newly appointed archdeacon of the diocese. Yet his account of Iona in his famous *Description* is overwhelmingly concerned with its role as a mausoleum for lay nobility and royalty: 'the sepulture of the best men of all the Iles, and als of our Kingis … because it wes the maist honourable and ancient place that wes in Scotland on those dayis, as we reid'.[69] Within the sanctuary of Reilig Odhráin, Monro describes three tombs, those of the kings of Ireland and of Norway flanking *Tumulus Regum Scotiae*:

> that is to say, the Tomb or the Grave of the Scottis Kings. Within this Tomb, according to our Scottis and Irish Chronicles, their lyis 48 crownit Scottis Kings, throw the quhilk this Ile has been richly dotit be the Scottis Kings, as we have hard.[70]

Monro's figure is consistent with the numbers of kings of Scots enumerated in the chronicles from the dynasty's supposed arrival from Ireland in the sixth century down to 1093, when Dunfermline began to be used for royal interment. Steve Boardman has suggested, however, that Monro may be bearing witness to nothing more than

> an interesting piece of retrospective monumental commemoration … [i]f Monro did actually see the three 'royal' tombs with their attached inscriptions, then the community at Iona had, at an unknown point prior to 1549, and in the obvious absence of extant individual graves for any of the kings supposedly buried there, erected these communal memorials.[71]

The year 1549 also saw the publication of a work which emphatically celebrated Iona not as 'vetus Scotorum Regum sepulchrum', but for its sanctity and the legacy of Columba.[72] This was the book of Latin verse published at Rome

by Ruairi MacLean, Bishop of the Isles, who reworked the first two books of the *Life* of Columba by Adomnán into a celebration of the saint 'in no fewer than sixteen different metrical forms, most of them following the model of the classical poet Horace'.[73] As Richard Sharpe has pointed out, in scale and scholarly ambition MacLean's initiative can hardly be compared with the great Columban project recently sponsored in Ireland by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, Lord of Tír Chonaill. Rather, it was personal and political in intent, demonstrating the spiritual importance of his see, and his own fitness for office in the face of opposition which seems to have been strong enough to force him into exile.

In his introductory poem to the reader, MacLean alluded to Protestantism, now an active force in Scotland: 'We compose these verses such as they are for Columba as our patronal duty; you sing better if you are able, but beware, do not let the terrible poisons of fashionable Minerva shift you from your ancient piety.'[74] Perhaps the earliest Gaelic Scot with Protestant sympathies of whose views we have record was John Elder, a churchman and native of Caithness. On the basis of certain aspects of his letter to Henry VIII, written sometime after the death of James V in late 1542, Elder has sometimes been cast as an eccentric.[75] Yet his known authored corpus bears out his own comments on the quality of his education, received, like that of Ruairi MacLean, both in the Isles and at university; and it is conceivable that the intelligence he provided opened the door for the intensive negotiations which took place between the English Crown and the Islesmen in the mid-1540s. Certainly, Henry thought enough of him to award him a pension, while Elder accompanied the English army which invaded Scotland in September 1545.[76] Along with his letter to Henry he sent a 'plotte' or map of Scotland, now sadly lost, and accompanying key or guidebook, as a means of assisting English military conquest. The letter itself argued for Anglo-Scottish dynastic union with a Protestant foundation. Elder thus followed in the pioneering footsteps of John Mair or Major, whose *Historia Maioris Britannie tam Angliae quam Scotiae*, published in 1521, had broken with the late medieval Scottish historiographical orthodoxy in calling for just such a union, although on different grounds that did not include religion.[77]

According to Elder's letter, the success of Henrician policy in Ireland meant that he was assured of widespread support among the 'Irish' or Gaelic lords of Scotland: 'they heire and vnderstand, how mercifully, how graciously, and how liberally your noble Grace hath vsed, orderide, and dealide with the lordes of Irland, ther nyghboures'.[78] Elder's political and religious leanings saw him reject the version of independent Scottish origins via Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, in favour of the competing Brutus myth, used to justify English suzerainty over Scotland and Greater Britain. This left him with the problem of explaining how and when the Gaels came to Scotland, the very constituency of whose loyalty and utility he was seeking to convince Henry. His response was to Gaelicize Scotland's aboriginal inhabitants, the Picts; and to give a Gaelic gloss to the impact of Albanactus upon Scotland, leading in turn to a novel presentation of Columba:

> The Yrische lordes of Scotland [are] commonly callit the Reddshanckes, and
> by historiographouris, Pictis … Scotland, a part of your Highnes empyre of

> England, bifor the incummynge of Albanactus, Brutus secound sonne, was inhabitede, as we reide in auncient Yrische storeis, with gyauntes and wylde people, without ordour, civilitie, or maners, and spake none other language but Yrische, and was then called Eyryn veagg, that is to say little Irland; and the people were callit Eyrynghe, that is to say, Irlande men. But after the incummynge of Albanactus, he reducynge theame to ordour and civilitie, they changed the forsaid name, Eyryn veagg, and callid it Albon, and their owne names also, and callid theame Albonyghe; which too Yrische words, Albon, that is to say, Scotland, and Albonyghe, that is to say, Scottische men, be drywyne from Albanactus, our first governour and kynge … Sanctus Columba, a Pict and a busshep, who in prechinge of Goddis worde syncerly in Eyrische, in followinge of the holy apostlis in godlie imitacion, doctryne, and pouertie, excellid then our proude Romische Cardinall, and his bussheps now adaies in Scotlande … [79]

Bishop he may be, yet Columba here exemplifies an older and wiser Christian faith than that currently practised by the Roman Catholic Church, upon whose corrupted clergy, from the pope downwards, Elder heaps unbridled scorn.

John Elder is a harbinger of the ideological pull which 'Celtic Christianity' came to exert in post-Reformation Scotland, where the dual orthodoxy of secular opposition to England and doctrinal adherence to Rome no longer dominated. Its value was further enhanced because, while Elder's vision of dynastic union did indeed come to pass, religion did not follow suit. Whether presbyterian or episcopalian, Scottish Protestantism turned to the distinctiveness provided by the Gaelic religious past to justify itself, and to distance itself both from Rome and from Anglicanism, and Stewart attempts to impose religious conformity upon the three kingdoms. The Synod of Whitby and the Céli Dé or Culdees, once suppressed, now took centre stage, with the latter of particular importance to Presbyterian propagandists as proving that the Scottish Church had in its earliest and purest phase operated along non-episcopal, non-hierarchical lines.[80]

Adding to the plurality and complexity of perception in the post-Reformation world, for the first time a rhetoric of paganism began to be applied by government and church authorities to Gaelic Scots, notably in the Isles, as a means of justifying assimilationist or neo-colonial action against 'these vnhallowed people with that vnchristiane language'.[81] By the same token, Catholic apologists such as Bishop John Leslie held up Gaelic Scots as staunch defenders of the faith: 'in the catholic religion far less thay defecte, and far fewar than vtheris of the mair politick sorte amang vs'.[82] The Isles came to be regarded as a potential springboard for a Scottish counter-Reformation. Eoin Muideartach, chief of the Clanranald branch of Clann Dòmhnaill, was converted to Catholicism in 1624 by the Irish Franciscan missionaries then active in the Isles. In his letter of 1626 to Urban VIII, he requests external military support for those such as himself who would wage holy war in Scotland. In effect, Eoin Muideartach provides a Catholic mirror image of John Elder's appeal to Henry VIII, and his arguments combine the tropes of the pre-Reformation era – rejection of English

overlordship, and historic Scottish freedom founded on martial prowess – with a strong pan-Gaelicism:

> All the Gaelic-speaking Scots and the greater part of the Irish chieftains joined to us by ties of friendship, from whom we once received the faith (in which we still glory) from whose stock we first sprang, will begin war each in his own district to the glory of God … we who after the example of our forefathers have always been expert in arms when necessity arose, so that freed from the power of slavery and our enemies we may be faithful to one God in holiness and in justice constantly, for ever.[83]

The Gaelic Catholicism of Eoin Muideartach, like the Gaelic Protestantism of Eoin Carswell, remained aspirational, and ultimately religion offers little substantive succour to the case for a Greater Gaeldom spanning the North Channel in the eras before and immediately after the Reformation. Bonds of language and culture meant that a devotional art form such as Gaelic religious panegyric verse could travel freely between Scotland and Ireland. Yet on the evidence of Argyll and the Isles, the same most certainly did not apply to the Gaelic clergy of each country, whose service to the Church divided along national lines.[84] The education of the clergy of Argyll and the Isles clergy might begin locally, but end at university in Scotland or elsewhere, alongside their Scottish or continental peers. Evidence for what they in their turn preached and taught is sparse, but it is hard to point to explicit instances of departure from doctrinal norms other than that of Carswell, or to think of good reasons for assuming that these norms would not apply. The need for competence in Gaelic was an obvious factor in clerical preferment, but when disputes arose they tended to be driven by ecclesiastical politics rather than ethnicity. A likely lack of Gaelic speech or fluency did not prevent George Lauder and Andrew Knox from functioning well in this environment. The topography of Argyll and the Isles, coupled to large parish size, presented a logistical challenge to which the active role of subsidiary chapels may have provided at least a partial answer.[85]

Across this region and timeframe, the Church was engaged in a struggle for resources – not because these did not exist but because of difficulties in securing and maintaining its due share, even when this should have been guaranteed by law or custom. These difficulties stemmed from the kin dynamic at the heart of its host society, and resultant characteristics such as inter-clan competitiveness and conflict at the local and regional levels, the viewing of land rights and tenure through the prism of kinship, and the complex of practice linked to the giving of hospitality. This last meant the onus to provide support or sustenance in kind when this was sought or demanded, for example through the billeting of the Lord's personal retinue and military retainers. Whether experienced through the exercise of lay patronage, the influence of the kindred upon the identity of clerical personnel, or the appropriation or annexation of ecclesiastical lands, endowments and revenues, the implications for the Church were profound and inescapable.

According to Dòmhnall Monro in 1549, the islands of Raasay and Rona belonged to the bishop of the Isles in heritage, but to MacGille-Chaluim, chief of a branch of the MacLeods of Lewis, by force or the sword.[86] Some fifty years earlier, in the wake of the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, a poet had eulogized the MacDonalds as 'a clan that made no war on church', an interesting choice of words.[87] In common with all parties seeking to exercise authority over Argyll and the Isles, whether popes, monarchs or regional dynasts, the Church had to wrestle with the fact that, within this society, kindred was king.[88]

5

Antiquities Cornu-Brittanick: Language, Memory and Landscape in Early Modern Cornwall

Alexandra Walsham[1]

In 1916, Thomas Taylor, vicar of St Breward and Honorary Canon of Truro Cathedral, published a series of 'sketches and studies' entitled *The Celtic Christianity of Cornwall*. These examined the 'druidical' religion that preceded the arrival of the Christian faith in the south-western peninsula of the British Isles and identified the late seventh and early eighth centuries as a 'golden age' of indigenous missionary saints whose cults had left a lasting imprint on the landscape in the form of standing crosses, holy wells and stone chapels. Later chapters explored the monastic character of Cornish ecclesiastical organization, its ancient religious houses and hermits, its tradition of miracle plays (or 'gwaries') and the history of its most famous pilgrimage shrine, St Michael's Mount. Taylor stressed the kinship between Christianity in Cornwall and its Celtic neighbours of Wales, Ireland and Brittany, and underlined their mutual independence from Rome and spirited resistance to Saxon subjugation prior to AD 1000. Although born in Derbyshire, Taylor enthusiastically embraced the heritage of his adopted county and was made a bard at the inaugural Gorseth Kernow in 1928, where he took the name 'Gwas Ust' ('Servant of St Just').[2]

Taylor's book coincided with the beginnings of the Cornish revival inaugurated by the publication, twelve years earlier, of Henry Jenner's practical manual designed to resuscitate Cornwall's nearly extinct vernacular language, together with an essay making the case for its status as 'a Celtic nation'.[3] In turn, both Taylor and Jenner's work reflected the wave of interest in Celtic studies associated with the establishment of an Oxford chair in the subject in 1877 and stimulated by the many historical, philological and ethnographic interventions of its first incumbent, Sir John Rhys.[4] They were byproducts of an intellectual movement that had its roots in nineteenth-century Romanticism and its disillusionment with the philistine materialism of post-industrial modernity, and which combined with emergent racial theory to promote assumptions about ethnic and religious particularism. Part of a revolt against Enlightenment rationalism, the quest to recover Celtic Christianity was a quest to recover the lineaments of a civilization that had retained its purity over the centuries precisely because it had been pushed to the periphery.[5]

Over the last few decades, these sentiments have experienced a vigorous resurgence and given rise to a veritable industry of popular and scholarly writing. Searching for a simpler and more mystical spirituality in tune with nature, untrammeled by rigid institutional structures and untainted by rampant capitalist consumerism, Esther de Waal, Ian Bradley, Philip Sheldrake, Timothy Joyce and others have delineated a 'vision of hope' designed to combat the moral and religious malaise which they perceive pervades postmodern Britain. They have sought to rejuvenate a 'sacred tradition' rooted in the ancient Celtic past, the chief hallmarks of which are tolerance and Trinitarianism, ecumenism, ecological consciousness and (in some cases) creative assimilation of strands drawn from paganism. In the context of Cornwall, the most prominent recent exponent of this theology of presence and place is Andy Philips, vicar of Newlyn, and author of *Lan Kernow*.[6]

This latest phase of Celtic revivalism has, of course, been the target of fierce criticism. While he continues to believe that its 'distinctive voice' speaks across the ages, Ian Bradley himself has described 'Celtic Christianity' as 'less an actual phenomenon defined in historical and geographical terms than an artificial construct created out of wishful thinking, romantic nostalgia and the projection of all kinds of dreams about what should and might be'. An even more vehement assault has been launched by Donald Meek, Professor of Celtic at the University of Aberdeen. He not merely dismisses it as 'a trendy global fad' and 'a spiritual Shangri La … overflowing with wisdom for our postmodern age' but (pointing to the fact that its leading protagonists are English) also sees it as an insidious form of neo-imperialism: as a means by which 'well-heeled modern descendants of the conquerors come to terms with their own and their forefathers' misdeeds', and as 'an aromatic salve' for post-colonial consciences. Finding little evidence for a pan-Celtic spiritual outlook formed within a cultural vacuum and untainted by international currents, he charts the process by which it became 'an ecclesiastical comforter' for communities in pursuit of a pedigree and 'a fig leaf to conceal both novelty and disjunction'. Bradley and Meek have helped to illuminate the 'mists', 'clouds' and 'fogs' of legend and preconception out of which the notion of Celtic Christianity emerged.[7] They have built upon Patrick Sims-Williams's incisive analyses of the origins of 'Celtomania' and reinforced the work of Kathleen Hughes and Wendy Davies, who have vigorously disputed the very existence of a Celtic Church in the Middle Ages and viewed the concept as a seductive, 'marketable' and 'positively harmful' myth.[8] Nevertheless, the idea that cultures with 'Celtic' lineage exhibit common patterns of belief, practice and sensibility has proved extremely tenacious and continued to exert considerable historiographical influence.[9]

Colin Kidd has persuasively questioned claims about the fundamental significance of ethnicity in shaping British identities before 1800, stressing instead the situational and negotiated quality of this analytical category and its subordination to other ideological and cultural priorities throughout the period.[10] Yet many historians remain convinced of its critical importance. The thesis that the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inhabitants of the county were bound together by a

'unique and distinctive identity' has received sophisticated scholarly treatment in Mark Stoyle's *West Britons*. Reacting against the Anglocentric approach embodied in the work of A. L. Rowse, Stoyle interprets Tudor and Stuart Cornwall as 'a separate thread within the tapestry of the new British history' and stresses that the tumultuous events of the era cannot be explained without reference to a shared contemporary sense that it was a 'land set apart'.[11]

This essay engages in dialogue with Stoyle's analysis and with the themes of this volume by focusing upon three particular dimensions of a larger story: the relationship between the advent of Protestantism and the demise of the Cornish language; the degree to which the adherents of competing confessional communities invoked the memory of the early Christian and pre-Christian past; and the evolution of traditions and observances associated with mysterious and hallowed sites in the natural and man-made environment. It proceeds from the assumption that it is exceptionally difficult to disentangle an uncontaminated entity called 'Celtic Christianity' from the sources in which it is embedded. It concentrates instead on evaluating the direct and indirect part that the Reformation played in engendering the preoccupations that underpin this perennial phenomenon, and on exploring how these preoccupations have coloured accounts of Cornwall's religious culture in the centuries since.

1   Catholic Cornwall

The early history of Christianity in the ancient kingdom known as Dumnonia is poorly documented. When and by whom the faith was planted here are questions that remain shrouded in uncertainty and enswathed in the fabric of later foundation myths. The archaeological evidence of inscribed monuments suggests it had begun to penetrate the region by the end of the fifth century. Traditionally it was attributed to itinerant evangelists from Wales and Ireland, but more recent work has pointed towards other, supplementary sources of influence, including late Roman Britain and communication with continental Europe, and emphasized the points of continuity and overlap between ecclesiastical organization in Cornwall and its neighbours Devon and the later kingdom of Wessex. According to Thomas Charles-Edwards, the fact that people in 'Celtic' regions spoke related languages had 'no intrinsic relationship' with the character of the Christian belief and practice they espoused in the early medieval period, though the contrasts with the English do appear to have intensified after the Synod of Whitby in 664 and the squabbles over the dating of Easter.[12] John Blair writes of 'a basic continuum in the local cult practices of Brittonic and English societies' and Sam Turner has similarly qualified the longstanding tendency to see Cornish Christianity as *sui generis*, presenting it as simply another example of the multiple 'micro-Christendoms' that came into being in the early medieval period.[13] Patterns of veneration and church dedication that seem of early provenance may, moreover, prove deceptive and be the product of 'deliberate imitation' and fabrication in later periods.[14]

Nevertheless, the devotional cultures and ecclesiastical structures in place in Cornwall both before and after its subjugation to Saxon rule in 937 did have

distinguishing features. As Oliver Padel has shown, the cults of local saints were more dense, prevalent and tenacious here than in other parts of England. Over time these were complemented and displaced by universal saints, but the process was slower and patchier than elsewhere and complicated by rival tendencies.[15] Moreover, the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries seem to have witnessed a spirited resurgence of religious interest in figures such as Neot, Meriasek and Ke, as attested by surviving traces of art, architecture, hagiography and drama. The extant manuscripts of the latter in the Cornish language were scribal products of the college of secular canons at Glasney near Penryn, established in 1267. This late medieval efflorescence of Cornwall's ancient Christian heritage might be described as its first Celtic revival.[16] At the same time Cornish piety on the eve of the Reformation was also strongly influenced by international influences. Nicholas Orme concludes that it is misleading to characterize it as 'Celtic' and prefers the adjective 'Catholic'.[17]

Since the publication of Robert Whiting's *The Blind Devotion of the People* in 1989, assessments of the impact of Protestantism in Cornwall have been dominated by the view that commitment to traditional religion collapsed rapidly in the 1530s, '40s and '50s and that the apparent compliance of the populace with official changes disguised a descent into apathy, passivity and indifference.[18] Administered by bishops based in the distant city of Exeter, deprived of a cohort of committed Protestant preachers and ministers and comparatively neglected by the priests of Counter-Reformation mission, the Cornish allegedly lapsed into a form of religious survivalism from which they were only rescued in the eighteenth century by the arrival of Methodism.

Such views echo the dispiriting rhetoric of Elizabethan and early Stuart churchmen. Damning episcopal assessments of the backwardness of the clergy in the 1560s and '70s were strongly endorsed by a comprehensive Puritan survey of the ministry in 1586, which identified it as a notorious haven of 'double-beneficed men' and non-residents and described particular incumbents as 'idle ruffians', 'pot companions', 'verie worldlings', 'whoremasters' and 'massmongers'. Jerman More, rector of Dentheock, was 'as badde a curate as may be' and John Beale, vicar of Lanteglos, was 'a common gamster' and the 'best Wrastler in Cornewall'.[19] Godly Protestantism eventually made some inroads in the east of the county, assisted by zealous ministers like Charles Fitzgeffrey and Hannibal Gamon,[20] but a statement from Bishop William Cotton in 1600 drew attention to the 'dangerous increase of papists' and 'profane atheists' in the county, as well as a range of extraordinary disorders and abuses, including 'a ridiculous and profane marriage of a goose and a gander', the baptism of a horse's head in Launceston, and the allegation that one beleaguered minister had been made to kiss the buttocks of one of his parishioners. Only a special commission, Cotton insisted, could bring amendment to 'the intolerable wildness and wickedness' of the far western parts of his diocese.[21] By the seventeenth century it was a commonplace to describe it as one of the 'dark corners of the land' inhabited by a godless populace. The parliamentary propagandist John Vicars wrote of 'heathenish, I had almost said Hellish, Cornwall' in 1646 and in a discourse about the propagation of the gospel

published in 1652 Roger Williams declared that there were 'Indians' in Cornwall, as well as in Wales, Ireland and the New World.[22] Albeit from a hostile perspective, such polemic helped to sow the seeds of Celtic and Cornish exceptionalism.

2 Language

One of the reasons why English commentators disparaged the early modern inhabitants of Cornwall was because some of them spoke a branch of the family of languages technically known as Brythonic. Knowledge and use of the Cornish vernacular had steadily contracted westwards in the course of the later Middle Ages and the hundreds closest to the Devon border were already almost completely anglophone some two hundred years before the Reformation. Travellers to the furthest reaches of the county, however, encountered people who conversed in an alien tongue. Andrew Boorde's *Boke of the introduction of knowledge* of 1542, possibly the first foreign phrasebook, said that 'in Cor[n]wall is two speeches, the one is naughty englyshe, and the other is Cornyshe speche' and incorporated the basics for visitors who wished to communicate with the natives.[23] Half a century later the cartographer John Norden was commenting that even in the west the majority of the populace were bilingual and predicting that the language would soon be completely abandoned. By 1602, when Richard Carew of Antony published his celebrated *Survey* of the county, English had encroached so much that Cornish was confined 'to the uttermost skirts of the shire', where there were some who 'affected' to strangers that they could not speak 'Saxonage'.[24] Its survival on the coastal edges of the county may partly be explained by continuing contact with Breton fishermen and seafarers, whose own regional tongue was closely related to Cornish and intelligible to its inhabitants.[25] Sir John Doderidge's *History* of the Duchy of 1630 said that the language was 'now much worn out of use', and in the 1660s the pioneering linguistic scholar John Ray observed that few children had been taught it 'so that the language is like in a short time to be quite lost'.[26] Restricted to the elderly and uneducated, it was increasingly regarded as inferior and barbarous by cultured Cornish gentlemen no less than their English counterparts.

This gradual process of erosion helps to explain why, by contrast with their fellow Brittonic and Gaelic speakers in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the Cornish failed to secure a version of the liturgy in their own vernacular, let alone a translation of the Bible. Elsewhere, the Erasmian and Protestant ideal that all people should have service books and Scripture in their own tongue was able to outweigh two competing imperatives: the instinct to use English as an instrument for imposing political control and religious uniformity and the assumption that such languages were too rude and uncivil to function as a fitting vehicle for the transmission of God's word.[27] In Cornwall Protestantism apparently passed up the opportunity to harness Cornish as an evangelical tool. As a consequence, according to a long succession of commentators, the Reformation sounded its death knell and struck it a fatal blow.[28] This seems, however, to have been something of a self-inflicted wound. The rebels against the Edwardian Prayer Book who marched on Exeter in

1549 denounced 'the newe servyce' as 'a Christmas game' and (noting that some of their number understood no English) demanded that the Mass, matins and evensong be said in Latin 'as it was before'. But, as the government spokesman Philip Nichols retorted in his reply to their articles, why didn't they just ask the pious young monarch for a version of the liturgy in their own tongue? 'I doubt not but the King … would have tendered your request, and provided for the accomplishment of your desires'.[29] Writing an account of the causes of the decay of Cornish which he called his 'Antiquities Cornu-Britannick … [or] Memorials of … the Primitive Speech of Cornwall' in the late 1670s, the antiquary William Scawen blamed the fact that 'the like Care was not taken for us as for our Brethren in Wales' on his own countrymen. 'Our People, As I have heard, in Qu. Elizabeth's Time' wished that Common Prayer should be in English, 'A Tongue to which they were, for Novelty Affected', a language that was no more than 'a Stepmother to us'.[30] Mark Stoyle has seen this as inherently implausible and speculated that the real reason for what he calls a 'more or less deliberate act of … glotticide' was the determination of the gentry to shake off the reputation for sedition and disobedience that Cornwall had acquired since the uprising of 1497. They sacrificed the vernacular spoken by a substantial minority of their compatriots in order to rid themselves of the disfiguring image of rebellion and disloyalty.[31]

However, the preference of the county's elite for English may merely be a symptom of the social and linguistic polarization that was proceeding apace. It may just reflect an independent process of anglicization that was marginalizing regional languages and dialects. Driven by utilitarian considerations and by the desire for political advancement, this had the gradual effect of driving a cultural wedge between the 'meaner' and 'better sorts of people' in this and other regions.[32] Laughed at by the rich, who sought to disguise their ignorance, the poor probably abandoned the source of their embarrassment. Gentlemen eager to trace their genealogical descent from French and Norman families, meanwhile, were quietly shedding signs of their Cornish heredity and diluting it by marrying outside the county.[33] Against this backdrop, printing a liturgy in Cornish was economically unviable: the market for it was simply too small to justify such an initiative.

Furthermore, the absence of a vernacular liturgy should not blind us to the continuing use of Cornish as a medium of verbal instruction. It is surely significant that a Puritan petition of 1560 requested permission for Cornish children who could speak no English to learn the 'Praemises' of the catechism in their own tongue.[34] This was simply a continuation of a long-standing tradition of reciting the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Commandments which, according to Carew, had been followed 'beyond all remembrance', and probably continued after the Reformation.[35] As Felicity Heal remarks, Bishop Veysey's order of 1538 that the Epistle and Gospel, as well as these formulae, be taught in Cornish is unlikely to have represented a deviation from past practice.[36] As in Scotland, where a complete Gaelic Bible was not available until 1801 and where Protestantism adeptly exploited a traditional culture of oral literacy, the absence of printed translations may not necessarily have operated as an obstacle to dissemination of the gospel.[37] In the 1640s, in St Feock (where Cornish 'resisted the scythe of time so long'), the

vicar William Jackman administered the sacraments to his aged communicants in their ancient tongue, and it is reported that the rector of Landewednak, Francis Robinson, preached in it in 1678.[38] These may have been the exceptions that prove the rule, but such ad hoc initiatives were entirely in keeping with the priorities of a culture that regarded hearing as an art and the voice as a charismatic organ of conversion.[39] The Reformation's responsibility for the death of Cornish has perhaps been exaggerated.

Three tantalizing pieces of evidence add weight to this suggestion. The first is *Gwreans an bys,* a play about the Creation of the World, which survives in a transcription completed by William Jordan of Helston in August 1611, but which appears from internal evidence to have been composed in the mid-sixteenth century. Although this scriptural production has much in common with late medieval Cornish, its tone and themes are by no means incompatible with early Reformed theology and, moreover, bear a striking resemblance to those of a play on the same topic written by Jacob Ruff in Zwingli's Zurich in 1550. Could this text be a Protestant interlude – a Cornish example of the early Reformation's eagerness to hijack the theatre as a tool of evangelical persuasion?[40] Second, when the lexicographer Dr John Davies published *Llyfr y Resolusion*, a Welsh translation of a Protestant adaptation of Robert Persons's famous *Book of Christian exercise* in 1632, he incorporated Cornish versions of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, the earliest specimens that are still extant.[41] The third is the form for Matins in Cornish which William Scawen was told could be found in the library of Dr Joseph Maynard, which no longer seems to survive.[42] It looks very much as if Protestantism was disseminated in Cornish via a body of scribally copied texts.

All this said, the lack of a reformed liturgy in print can only have hastened the terminal decline of the Cornish language. By the 1690s it was 'almost quite driven out of the Country, being spoken only by the vulgar in two or three Parishes at the Lands-end', and when the renowned Welsh antiquary and keeper of Oxford's Ashmolean Museum, Edward Lhuyd, visited the county early the following century, he found it in use in just fourteen districts within the hundreds of Penwith and Kerrier.[43] In the 1760s the small remaining cluster of Cornish speakers seems to have centred on Penzance. The 87-year-old fisherman's daughter Dolly Pentreath of Mousehole was already a curiosity and partly made a living by 'gabbling' in her native tongue to inquisitive visitors. Dying in 1778 at the age of 102, she is (probably erroneously) reputed to be the last person to have been able to speak it from birth.[44] By then, though, the language was clearly on its last legs, though familiarity with it persisted in the guise of placenames, especially in the west of the county.

One of the curious side effects of the demise of Cornish was the growth of antiquarian interest in preserving its disappearing traces. Carew recorded a few snippets around 1600, but more important were the initiatives of the aforementioned William Scawen, William Gwavas and members of the Boson family in the second half of the seventeenth and first quarter of the eighteenth centuries. John Boson wrote a short treatise on the topic, lamenting that it would soon wither into oblivion, while Scawen castigated himself for not starting to gather its remnants

much earlier, remarking on the 'discouragements' he had received from those who thought it 'ridiculous for one to go about the restoring of that tongue which he himself could not speak nor understand truly when spoken'.[45] It is to these men that Cornwall owes the survival of a sparse and fragmentary but remarkable body of late medieval literature and drama – notably the narrative Poem of the Passion, the cycle of three plays about the Creation, Temptation of Christ and the Resurrection known as the Ordinalia, and the Life of St Meraisek.[46] In the light of the argument developed in the previous paragraphs, it is suggestive that the Lords's Prayer and Creed, together with short biblical passages and a translation of the Hundredth Psalm from the Sternhold and Hopkins version, feature among the precious 'relics' and 'last sparks' of this dying language which these antiquaries sought to save for posterity.[47] It was against this backdrop that Edward Lhuyd published the first volume of his *Archaeologia Britannica* in 1707, a scholarly landmark which first recognized the family relationship between the various Celtic languages.[48] Containing a Cornish grammar and vocabulary, it helped to lay the foundations for the initiatives of Thomas Tonkin and Richard Polwhele and for the studied efforts of Jenner to revive the vernacular at the turn of the twentieth century. And it was these antiquarian writers who first articulated the idea that the Reformation was responsible for killing the Cornish tongue and who sowed the seeds of the notion that an English prayer book had been imposed upon the populace as an act of 'tyranny' and 'gross barbarity'.[49]

As we have seen, the agency of Protestantism in this process is at best ambiguous. It might, moreover, be argued that the Reformation assisted in stimulating the antiquarian instincts that fostered the early modern phase of Celtic revivalism and that led eventually to attempts to reignite knowledge of Cornwall's ancient tongue. To adapt an important insight of Margaret Aston, it nurtured a sense of nostalgia and loss about the casualties of the reform process that paradoxically paved the way for efforts to recover and rehabilitate them.[50]

3   Memory

The third part of this essay is about memory. How far did contemporaries on both sides of the Reformation divide remember and reinvent the Christian and pre-Christian Cornish past? To what extent was it invoked in the struggles of Protestants and Catholics to claim for their churches the sanction of antiquity? There is no clear evidence from the sixteenth century that the Cornish developed their own version of the empowering historical thesis that the original British inhabitants of these islands practised a proto-Protestant form of Christianity. The Welsh were precocious in cultivating the notion that the Reformation was not a foreign implant but simply the restoration of the apostolic faith once practised by their distant ancestors, a faith brought to the British Isles in the first century AD and free of the Antichristian corruptions that followed the arrival of the pope's envoy Augustine in 597. Wales had heroically resisted the tide of Romanist superstition and idolatry that swept over the rest of England in the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest period and was superior to it in its purity. Bishop Richard Davies's

preface to his 1567 translation of the New Testament into Welsh is the classic statement of this incipient myth of a primitive British Church, but versions of it also evolved in Scotland and Ireland. In the case of the former, it largely emerged in the seventeenth century and was complicated by the conflicts between supporters of episcopacy and presbyterianism such as John Spottiswoode and David Calderwood, who were both desperate to find proof that their ecclesiological views corresponded with those of the first planters of Scottish Christianity. The most eloquent Irish variation on this theme was written by Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh, whose *Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and the British* (1623) articulated the idea that Protestantism was the same religion as that professed by Ireland's ancient priests, monks and Christians. English churchmen themselves appropriated elements of this legend of the British precursors of the Church of England, especially John Bale, John Foxe and other propagandists who were part of the antiquarian circle that crystallized around the figure of Matthew Parker. They traced the origins of the Protestant faith to the arrival of Christ's own disciple Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury *c.* AD 62.[51]

It is not until 1602 that I can find any trace that Protestant Cornishmen assimilated their own religious history to this template. Hints of it are embedded in Carew's *Survey of Cornwall,* which declared 'that the light of the Gospell tooke not his originall shining into these parts, from the Romish Bishop' and 'that the Cornish (like their cousins the Welsh) could not bee soone or easily induced to acknowledge his jurisdiction'.[52] This is not to say that such views had not existed hitherto, but simply that they have left little impression on the historical record.

More striking is the extended discussion of this subject in Scawen's manuscipt tract on *Antiquities Cornu-Britannick,* completed *c.*1685. His pride in his British blood is transparent and his book delineated a vision of 'a primordial British Eden' only gradually undermined by the passing of time and the encroachment of 'ruder' nations. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the parts of England east of the Tamar had quickly succumbed to paganism and then to Romanism. Denying claims that Augustine was responsible for the first conversion and highlighting the ecclesiastical independence of the Dumnonian kingdom, he believed that the Britons had 'embraced Christianity … very Early after the Sun of Righteousness had ascended up unto his Throne of Glory, even near the Apostles times' and preserved it from being 'blotted out' and 'altogether lost'. Scawen credited the druidical priesthood with preparing them for 'the attaining afterward of a more full, and Caelestial, knowledge' and making them

> more Capable of enjoying a greater [light], when the bright star of Righteousness of the East should arise in his Humanity, yet Divinity then also appearing. Against this Light (though but small) the Ancient People of this Land did not shut their Eyes, but, be it spoken to their honour, that for their safety they opened them as far as those their Instructers could direct them.

Despite the elements of error and superstition in their religion, the druids had functioned in the guise of 'a School Master to bring them to Christ'. 'Under such

gracious Dispensations of the Divine Providence, and Goodness were the People of old planted here by God in a good Land.' Scawen gave thanks 'that our Ancestors here, and our brethren in Wales, Retained in a good measure Christianity, when those then Unchristen'd Nations oppressed it, and us'.[53]

In this respect Scawen's discussion of the religion of the druids anticipated the views articulated in the 1740s by William Stukeley, for whom it was so akin to Christianity (and latitudinarian Anglican Christianity at that) that 'in effect it differ'd from it only in this: they believed in a Messiah who was to come into the world, as we believe in him that is come'. And it was Stukeley, of course, who believed that the Trinity was a Celtic invention.[54] Scawen's ideas are more fully developed and given an additional twist in the work of a Cornish antiquary of the next generation, Richard Polwhele (1760–1838). Polwhele attributed the beginnings of Christianity in Cornwall to the missionary endeavours of Irish saints, especially St Petroc, excoriated the heathen Saxons for laying 'our religion almost in ruins', and celebrated the tenacity of the Britons in adhering to their own traditions, chiefly, the dating of Easter. 'The zeal of our forefathers', he wrote, 'was at one time blazing out like a meteor, in romantic adventure.'[55]

The positive evaluation of Cornwall's 'aboriginal' religion that emerges from the work of Scawen and Polwhele contrasts with the much more unsavoury picture painted by the rector of Ludgvan and St Just, William Borlase (1696–1772). His *Observations on the antiquities historical and monumental of the County of Cornwall,* first published in 1754, devoted twenty chapters to describing the 'Druid-superstition' that had prevailed in the county in 'remote antiquity'. According to Borlase, the druids were guilty of barbarous rites of blood sacrifice. The material remains of their heinous crimes of idolatry were littered across the countryside, notably in the guise of artificial rock basins that the druids had crafted to serve their gruesome ritual purposes (Fig. 5.1) and the logan (or rocking) stones which they manipulated as a device for instilling fear in the credulous populace. Echoing the deist John Toland's *History of the Druids,* he condemned them for exploiting the landscape as a hegemonic tool.[56] It was for this reason that Stukeley could not subscribe to Borlase's views: he could not allow that druidism had 'deviated one step from the old Patriarchal Religion' that he believed was the glorious prototype of the brand of Protestantism to which he adhered.[57] Other contemporaries also suspected Borlase's 'druidical and Celtic history of Cornwall' was skewed and that his 'warm love' of its antiquities had 'lead … his eyes to deceive him'.[58]

Borlase's influential discussion of ancient Cornish religion is a salutary reminder that not all natives of the county (even those from its far western hundreds) saw it through the rose-coloured spectacles of the pious Protestant myth of British history that the Reformation had brought into being. His less than complimentary account of Celtic Christianity qualifies the evidence that Mark Stoyle finds in the writings of William Scawen of a 'subversive counter-tradition' of embryonic Cornish nationalism: beneath the hemline of Scawen's text Stoyle discerns 'the cloven hoof of Anglophobia'. If Scawen's work bespeaks 'the voice of a vanished people whispering to us across the centuries', Borlase's warns against overstating the significance and representativeness of these views.[59]
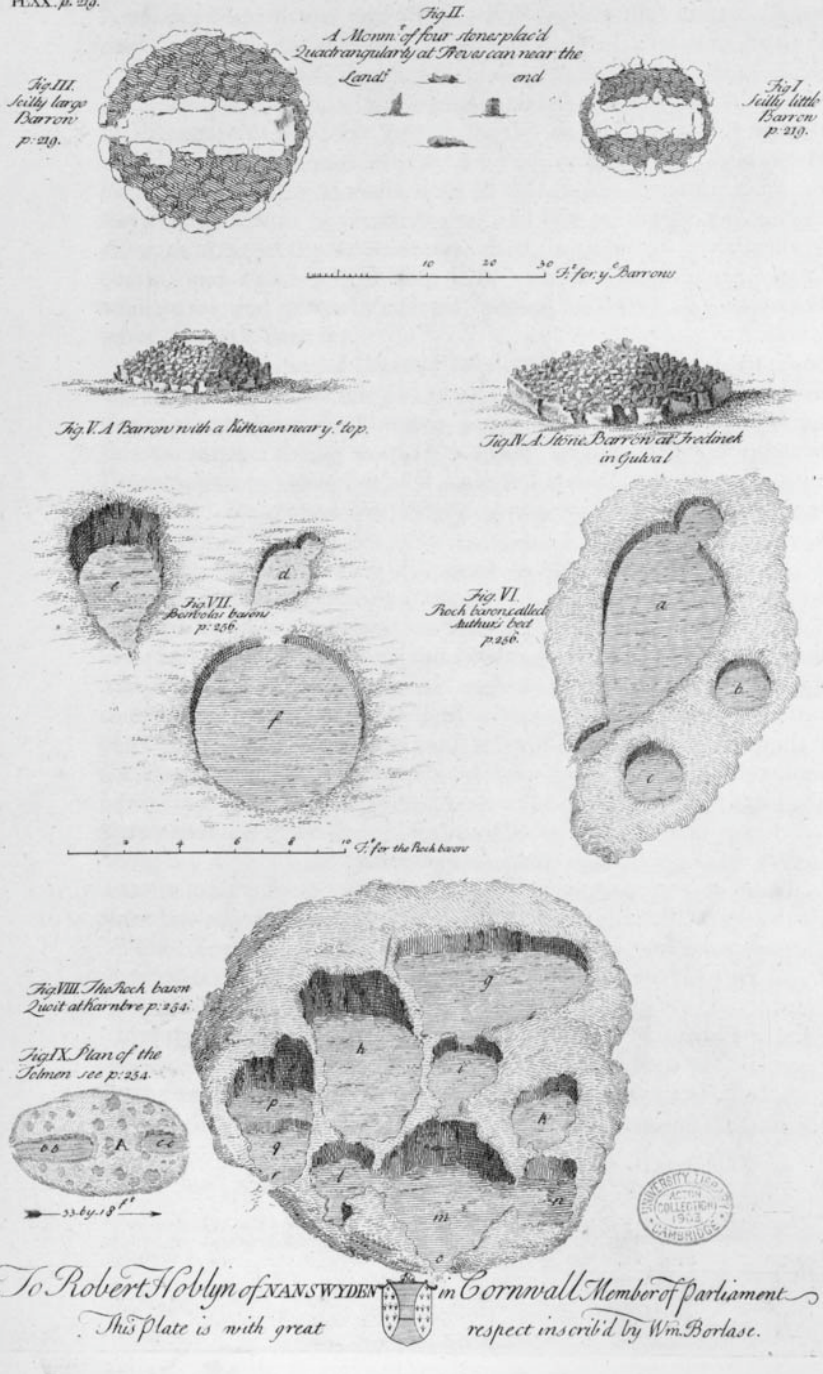
Figure 5.1 Rock basins: druid constructions for blood sacrifice?: William Borlase, *Observations on the Antiquities Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1754; revised edn 1769), plate XX, facing p. 219. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Shelfmark Acton a.25.170.

How far was the energetic exploration of Cornwall's religious past by early modern Protestants replicated by their confessional enemies? Did the missionaries who laboured to sustain the faith of Cornish Catholics and convert heretics take advantage of the county's rich hagiographical and historical heritage – a heritage preserved (to an unusual degree) in place names, church dedications and architectural features? Nicholas Roscarrock's unpublished 'Alphebitt of Saintes' is the best evidence that the recusant community in Cornwall actively sought to resuscitate the memory of saints' cults which the advent of Protestantism had placed in grave jeopardy. Largely compiled during his long residence in the Northumberland home of his friend William Howard, Roscarrock's voluminous catalogue incorporates many lives of Celtic holy men and women who had been revered by the Cornish before the Reformation: from St Brychan and St Levan, to St Agnes, St Nectan and St Endellion. He foresaw that some readers would think many things he recounted about the life of St Piran and 'other britten sa[i]nts' were 'incredible' and censure him for 'too much Credulousnes', but left it to the diligence of others to make further enquiries and 'perfitt, that which I have not throughlye performed'. Roscarrock admitted that not all of these had been formally canonized, but defended his decision to include them 'being Charitablie perswaded of there approbation, in respect of the Custom of reverencing them in such sort without Contradiction', by provincial prelates or the pope. He claimed, moreover, that in so doing he followed in the footsteps of the great Jesuit controversialist Robert Bellarmine.[60]

Roscarrock's catalogue was not a throwback to the medieval world Cornish Catholics had lost; it was informed by the most up-to-date Counter-Reformation scholarship, including Cesare Baronius's revised Roman martyrology and the writings of leading post-Tridentine hagiographers such as Lorenzo Surio, Pedro de Ribadeneyra and Antonio de Yepes, much of it acquired and borrowed from Howard's collections at Naworth Castle.[61] It also had an aggressive anti-Protestant edge, lashing out against the 'pevishe pseudo marters' that John Foxe had inserted in 'that huge and vayne volume of his Monuments'. This had been fully denounced by Robert Persons in his *Treatise of Three Conversions,* which gave Roscarrock licence to omit 'such like Chaff' from his own text. It castigated the irreverence in which Carew, Camden and Lambarde indulged in their own accounts of the saints, declaring that such 'dogged Snarlinges at the holies of God' disgraced their works.[62] Simultaneously, reflecting the residence of local tradition within early modern Catholicism, Roscarrock's 'Alphebitt' also drew on sources much closer to home. One of these was a legend of the virgin St Columba, which he had 'taken out of an olde Cornish Rymthe' and had translated by a physician called Mr Williams who lived in the parish bearing her name. 'Howe Authentick it is I dare not saye, being loath to comptrowle that which I cannot correct.'[63]

Roscarrock thus contributed to a cross-confessional enterprise of historical myth-making that was catalyzed by the determination of its protagonists to find an imprimatur for the brand of Christianity they espoused in the past. The Cornish flavour of his hagiography should not, though, obscure the fact that his

book is an affirmation of the British Isles in their entirety as a nursery of illustrious saints.[64] In this regard, Roscarrock's manuscript foreshadows later works like Serenus Cressy's *Church History of Brittany* (1668) and Richard Challoner's *Britannia Sancta* (1745), both of which set out to claim, in direct contravention of Protestant historians, that 'the present Roman-Catholick Religion hath from the Beginning, without interruption or change been professed in this our Island' and that it was 'most conformable' to the 'Primitive Apostolical doctrines and practises' of Christianity. Weapons in a war designed to undermine the Protestant idea of an invisible and hidden Church that had survived underground until the Reformation, Cornish saints like St Piran and St Keyne found a place in these books alongside Welsh, Irish, Scottish and Anglo-Saxon ones. Roscarrock, Cressy and Challoner were not the proponents of Celtic particularism. Rather they projected a vision of Catholicism in which loyalties transcended the national, ethnic, geographical and linguistic boundaries of Britain's three insular kingdoms, four nations and five peoples. It was nevertheless a vision within which local cults and identities still had space to exist.[65]

It is significant that when the Spanish king Philip III and his consort Queen Margaret visited the English college at Valladolid in July 1600 to participate in a reception and festival in honour of the 'image of Our Lady [of Cadiz] maltreated by the heretics' one of the orations delivered in their presence was a sermon on Psalm 21.7 in Cornish, by Richard Pentrey.[66] This incident hints at the possibility that Catholicism sought to harness the embattled Cornish language to the Counter-Reformation cause. It augments the evidence contained in a manuscript translation into Cornish of the twelve homilies published alongside Edmund Bonner's *A profitable and necessary doctryne* prepared by John Tregear, vicar of St Allen, on the eve of Elizabeth's accession in 1558. A collection of quotations on the disputed sacrament of the Eucharist in Cornish and Latin in a different hand has been attributed to Thomas Stephyn, formerly curate of Newlyn East, and dated to 1576. Stephyn, who was probably a recusant priest, may have intended it as a tool for teaching young men who might enter the seminaries and train to become missionaries. Both men had connections with Glasney College, the late medieval headquarters of Cornish literary production. The Tregear MS suggests that the needs of Cornish speakers were by no means ignored during the years of Catholic restoration and renewal under Queen Mary, or by those who covertly sustained the faith in the decades after her death.[67]

Signs that the Tridentine seminary-trained priests who returned to Cornwall from the 1570s onwards endeavoured to revive the memory of saints from the golden age of early medieval Christianity are more challenging to find. Whereas in Ireland St Patrick was eagerly embraced as a Catholic icon and in Wales the figure of St Winifred became a defiant symbol of Counter-Reformation belligerence,[68] suggestions of a similar strategy of polemical resurrection in the Cornish peninsula are thin on the ground. I have discovered nothing comparable to the vigorous revival of the cults of Breton saints such as St Corentin and St Paul Aurélian that accompanied the rural missions of the Jesuits in Brittany, which Liz Tingle has examined in such illuminating detail. Julian Manoir and his colleagues

actively promoted Brittany as 'a special zone of evangelism, with a pure and distinctive Church', reconsecrating sacred sites in the landscape associated with their ancient predecessors that had been neglected and transforming them into focal points for reformed Catholic devotion. Here Albert Le Grand's grand hagiographical enterprise, *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne Armorique,* gave expression to a distinctive (and politically aggressive) Breton identity.[69] However, a faint and passing reference in William Borlase's 'Parochial Memoranda' (*c*.1740) suggests that Cornish Catholics may have been particularly dedicated to the most famous of the saints that came to the kingdom from Ireland, St Piran. He noted that 'many Papists resort with prayers and offerings in these days' to a well consecrated to his name, which was arched over with a stone covering, and a hundred years previously his relics had still been held in great veneration.[70] As late as 1558 these had been carried around the parish of Perranzabuloe at Rogationtide.[71] It looks as if this cult was re-channelled underground after the Elizabethan settlement. To argue that St Piran became a mascot for Cornish Catholics, as he has latterly become for the cause of Cornish independence, however, would be unwarranted on the basis of the evidence uncovered so far.[72]

Nor can Lisa McClain's claim that Catholicism in early modern Cornwall had a distinctively 'Celtic' complexion and was marked by its autonomy from Rome be endorsed.[73] An intriguing note in an unpublished 1593 treatise about the sufferings of Francis Tregian, the recusant gentleman of Golden who spent much of his life in prison for religion, describes him as descended on his father's side from 'the natural race and remain of the ancient Britons'. But alongside this expression of Cornish patriotism sits the life of Cuthbert Mayne, the proto-martyr of the mission, who was condemned to death for bringing into the realm *agnus dei* and a papal bull proclaiming jubilee indulgence and preferring Roman power, and executed at Launceston in 1577.[74] This episode sits uncomfortably with McLain's interpretation of 'Katholik Kernow', which rests largely on inference and is perhaps a measure of how far the idea of Celtic exceptionalism still inflects historical interpretation.

4 Landscape

The final section of this essay turns to the Cornish landscape. The notion that the ancient Celts had a peculiarly intimate relationship with the natural environment is one of the hallmarks of the modern movement promoting 'Celtic' spirituality and this sense of affinity, together with the tenet that many formerly pagan sites were loosely Christianized, has often been read backwards into medieval sources.[75] Hilltop chapels and hermitages, holy wells, standing crosses and prehistoric monuments are certainly more widespread in Cornwall than in other parts of England, though this may partly reflect its rural economy, remoteness and rugged terrain. Elsewhere urbanization and industrialization may have taken a heavier toll of such sites over time. On the eve of the Reformation the Cornish landscape seems to have been densely vegetated with sacred places, some of which did perhaps have a continuous history back to the pre-Christian era. Many attracted

pilgrims, eager to benefit from miracles and come into closer proximity with the divine. Some of these local shrines were temporarily revived under Mary: in 1558, for instance, a will bequeathed a gift of 8d to the footprint St Agnes had reputedly left in a rock on the cliff near Chapel Porth.[76] Roscarrock's hagiographical catalogue preserved the memory of many of these hallowed locations, including the red lane in St Columb Major said to commemorate the saint's martyrdom, the green path between St Endellion and St Ilick traversed by these saints, the holy chairs at St Mawes and St Michael's Mount, as well as various hallowed trees and springs.[77] What happened to these sites and the traditions and practices that clustered around them after Protestantism became the country's official religion?

In some cases, the Reformers evidently took steps to suppress them. In the course of his itineraries in the 1540s, John Leland recorded several chapels in Cornwall which were 'now profanid' and which no longer attracted pious visitors, such as Our Lady in the Park near Liskeard and the sepulchre of St Elidius on the Scilly Isles 'wher yn tymes past … was gret superstition'.[78] If some withered under the hostile gaze of the Protestant authorities, others were apparently the victims of vigilante violence and iconoclasm. A tree overhanging the well of St Illick was cut down during Elizabeth's reign and the gentlewoman Mistress Borlase carried off the hallowed stone on which St Nectan's relics had been displayed before the Reformation and converted it for use as a cheese press, though Roscarrock recorded that she later repented of this blatant act of sacrilege.[79]

During the revolutionary decades of the 1640s and '50s, when the definition of intolerable idolatry was considerably expanded, a number of sacred sites in the wider Cornish landscape came under attack by Parliamentary forces. As Borlase reported in the 1740s, 'in the late civil wars it was reckon'd very good religion to raze all … Chapels' to the ground. He described how a chapel consecrated to St Mary Magdalene in the parish of St Wen was demolished by a certain lieutenant Best, who also cut down a grove of oak trees surrounding it.[80] Another target of military vandals was the rocking stone of Main Amber, a great Cornish 'wonder' some associated with the British ruler Ambrosius (Fig. 5.2). This was apparently 'because the vulgar used to resort to this place at particular times of the year, and paid to this stone more respect than was thought becoming [of] true Christians'.[81] The Royalist writer Thomas Fuller deplored its destruction in his *Church History* of 1662, 'no more then the Stamping and Pulverzing of the brasen Serpent by King Hezekiah': 'let them sink in Obscurity, that hope to swim in Credit by such mis-atchievements'. He had no sympathy with the extreme antipathy of the hottest sort of Protestants to surviving remnants of heathen idolatry.[82] According to Scawen the top-stone was dislodged 'in the time of Oliver's usurpation, when all monumental things became despicable', by the governor of Pendennis Castle, 'one Shrubsall … to the great grief of the country'. He himself had heard Shrubsall 'boast of this act, being a prisoner then under him'. To Scawen this Cromwellian atrocity was a scandalous assault upon Cornwall's ancient heritage.[83] Other incidents provoked resentment, including the order of a Protestant 'way-warden' to use an ancient stone monument to mend a hole in the road, to which one man retorted in Cornish 'that it was a Holy Cross, and if it was good before, it is good
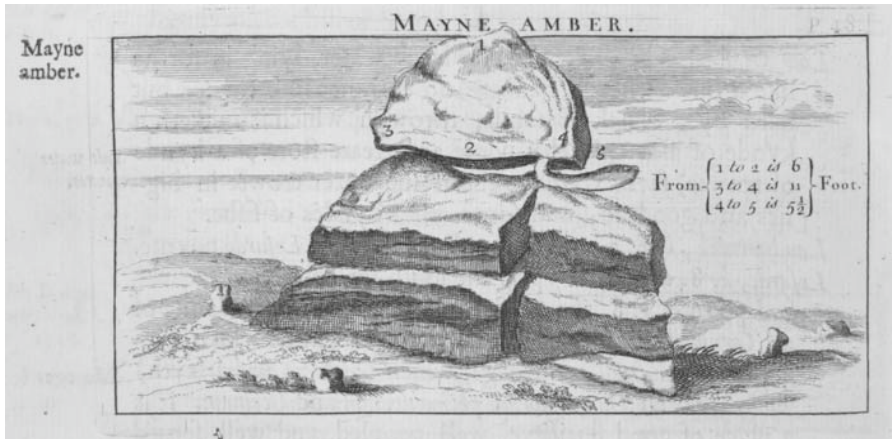
Figure 5.2   The rocking stone Main Amber, 'unwondered' in the 1640s: John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars. A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728), p. 94. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Shelfmark S696.b.72.1.

now'. Whether this should be seen, as Mark Stoyle suggests, as evidence of ethnic sentiment is, however, less clear.[84]

Attention should also be paid to the continuing circulation, and subtle transmutation, of traditions about the origin of topographical features in the wake of the Reformation. Early Protestant antiquaries did not completely disdain hagiographical tales explaining strange landscape features. Balancing their instinct to smother 'superstition' in silence with their desire to preserve such folklore for posterity, they retold them sarcastically and turned them into jokes. The comical verses about the Cornish well dedicated to St Keyne ('No over-holy Saint') Carew included in his *Survey* were probably written by himself and his 'irreligious scorning' of other popish traditions irritated his friend Nicholas Roscarrock, who wished he would imitate the more neutral tone adopted by William Camden.[85]

Over time, some tales of this type lost their Catholic overtones: by the 1850s and '60s St Agnes's well was known as Giant's Well, in memory of the giant who lived there, drank at the fountain and left his thumbprints and footprints in the vicinity, while St Nun's well had been rechristened Piskie's Well.[86] Robert Hunt's *Popular Romances of the West of England* (1865; revised and expanded 1881) described St Neot as tiny in stature, akin to a fairy, into which the saint seems to have degenerated in the collective imagination.[87] In other cases, however, post-Reformation antiquaries were themselves responsible for inventing saints in their fanciful attempts to account for place names: the historian William Hals surmised that one of the patrons of Mevagissey was a certain 'St Giggy, a holy judge' rather than an equally obscure female called Issey, Iti or Idi.[88] This is ironic in view of his suspicion that other saints who appeared in the historical record, such as St Feock, were 'fictious' and 'imaginary, made by the Courtesy of the Inhabitants'.[89]

Nor did Protestant historians always pour cold water on legends about the origin of prehistoric monuments like the circle of stones in the parish of St Cleer
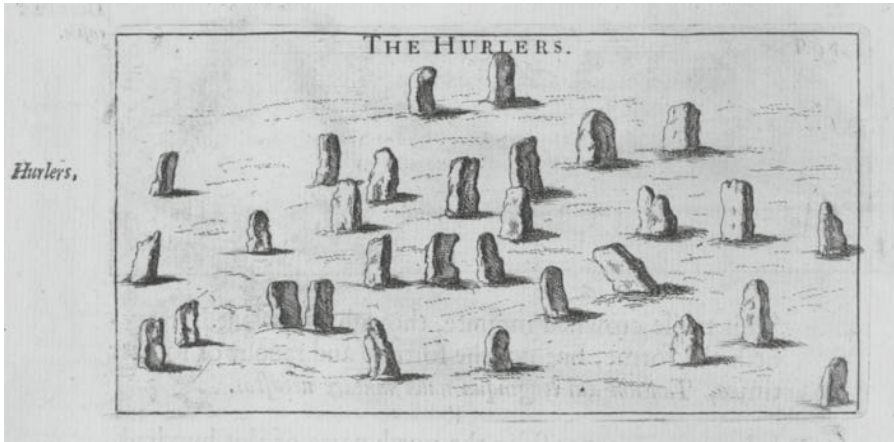
Figure 5.3 The stone circle known as the Hurlers: John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars. A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728), p. 48. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Shelfmark S696.b.72.1.

known as the Hurlers (Fig. 5.3). The belief of the country people that these were men petrified for playing the Cornish sport of hurling on the Sabbath survived the Reformation.[90] Camden thought it 'a devout and godly error' and Fuller conceded that it taught the useful lesson that 'boisterous Exercises' of this kind were 'utterly inconsistent with the conscientious keeping' of the Lord's day and deserved 'heavy Punishments'.[91] Later writers were more sceptical about such 'old wives tales' and concluded that the cromlech was a memorial or a group of boundary stones, but they continued to recount the traditions that still circulated among the 'vulgar'.[92] Protestant sabbatarianism may partly explain the survival of this story down to modern times, together with a sense of pride in Cornwall's own distinctive version of football.[93]

Some sites consecrated to the saints remained the focus for ritual observances long after the Reformation. The practices of dipping sick children in hallowed springs and engaging in divinatory rites involving observation of the movements of pebbles and sticks in the water persisted for centuries, though not without undergoing some alteration (Fig. 5.4). The famous well at Madron, for instance, was still being frequented by people hoping for cures in the 1740s and '50s, despite the fact that the adjacent chapel had been destroyed by order of a certain Major Ceely 'during the Usurpation of Cromwell'. Indeed the spring probably became a surrogate focus of devotion after the dismantling of the building. Many who laboured 'under pains, aches, and stiffness of limbs' came there in expectation that their suffering would be alleviated. William Borlase attributed this to 'cold and limpid nature' since the spring lacked any 'perceivable mineral impregnation'. He also observed people dropping pins into the well and surmising from the bubbles that rose to the surface the answer to certain 'idle' doubts and enquiries.[94]

ST. CLEER.

Figure 5.4   St Cleer holy well in the nineteenth century: Robert Charles Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England including Rivers, Lakes, Fountains, and Springs* (London, 1893), p. 26. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Shelfmark MH.22.35.

It would be wrong to see this as crypto-Catholic survivalism: one of the most celebrated cures wrought by the well in the post-Reformation period was that of the cripple John Trelille in the late 1630s, who was restored to health after being commanded to go to the spring in a dream, washing in it, and then sleeping overnight in the saint's nearby turf 'bed'. The Franciscan controversialist Francis Coventry described the case in some detail in a Latin tract, ascribing Trelille's recovery to the intercession of the saint, but the case was also investigated by the Protestant bishop of Exeter, Joseph Hall, who concluded that this was a miracle performed by God and recorded the story in his book on the *Invisible World*.[95] Protestantism was quite capable of accommodating the concept of providential intervention and of a form of sacred healing, though the reporters of such cures stressed that this had nothing to do with their erstwhile celestial patrons.

It is also worth noting that visits to Madron seem to have fallen into temporary and partial abeyance in the first half century after its onset: in the 1590s, John Norden noted mockingly that 'of late' the saint had denied his clients 'pristine ayde' and as 'he is coye of his Cures, so now are men coye of cominge to his

conjured well; yet soom a daye resorte'.[96] Two hundred and fifty years later it enjoyed considerable fame, and attracted many visitors, especially on the first three Wednesdays in May. Overseen by an old dame called An (aunt) Katty, who lived off the tips given by travellers to it: the spring had apparently lost any link with the sixth-century monk to whom it had originally been consecrated. She had never heard anyone call it by that name except 'the new gentry'.[97] Created by a dynamic process of engagement between the educated elites who recorded them and the common people who were the object of their investigations, these solemn practices were in large part invented traditions of the post-Reformation.

Nor should it be assumed that the people who inscribed their initials on the walls of St Agnes's well in Chapel Porth in the 1740s and '50s were all confirmed papists: graffiti of this kind was evidently left by individuals of all religious persuasions.[98] The same observation may be made about the curious holed stone called the Men-an-tol at Lanyon (Fig. 5.5), to which mothers continued to bring their rickety infants at particular times of the year and ritually pass them through it. Those afflicted with rheumatism were also known to frequent it, hence its alternative name 'the Crick Stone'. When Borlase went there in 1749, he was shown two pins carefully arranged on the top edge, apparently to help the 'over-curious … resolve upon some material incident of Love or Fortune'. He considered the monument evidence of the 'lucrative juggles of the Druids', but his view was not shared by local villagers.[99] In the 1880s, these customs were 'not yet extinct'. Adults with lumbago, sciatica and other back problems were still coming to it in pursuit of cures, and scrofulous children were drawn naked through the hole three times and drawn on the grass three times against the sun.[100]

Despite the presuppositions of antiquaries and ethnographers, such rituals were not 'relics of the childhood of our race', remnants of a primitive Celtic religion that stubbornly reasserted itself in the face of aggressive acculturation by successive waves of invaders.[101] The forms they took when they were recorded bore the imprint of the theological, social and cultural changes to which Cornwall had been subject over the course of the intervening centuries. Filtered through the lenses of their intellectual preconceptions, they were also subject to the whims of the Cornishmen and women who found themselves under scrutiny. If some complied willingly and told these early oral historians what they wanted to hear, others were mischievous and added fanciful embellishments.[102] And some were downright surly and uncooperative. It is indicative that when Edward Lhuyd and his companions travelled about the county wearing knapsacks in the early 1700s, they were arrested as suspected thieves and brought before a Justice of the Peace.[103]

Diligent Victorian folklorists such as Thomas Quiller-Couch and serious Edwardian scholars like Sir John Rhys and W. Y. Evans Wentz believed that they were salvaging for posterity traces of an ancient faith that was vanishing fast in the face of mass education, railways and industrialization, not to mention the 'earlier outbreak of Philistinism' that was the Reformation.[104] But the mosaic of artefacts of the Cornish past they collected ultimately tells us more about their own Celtophilia than the traits of the cultures under analysis. Absorbed into more
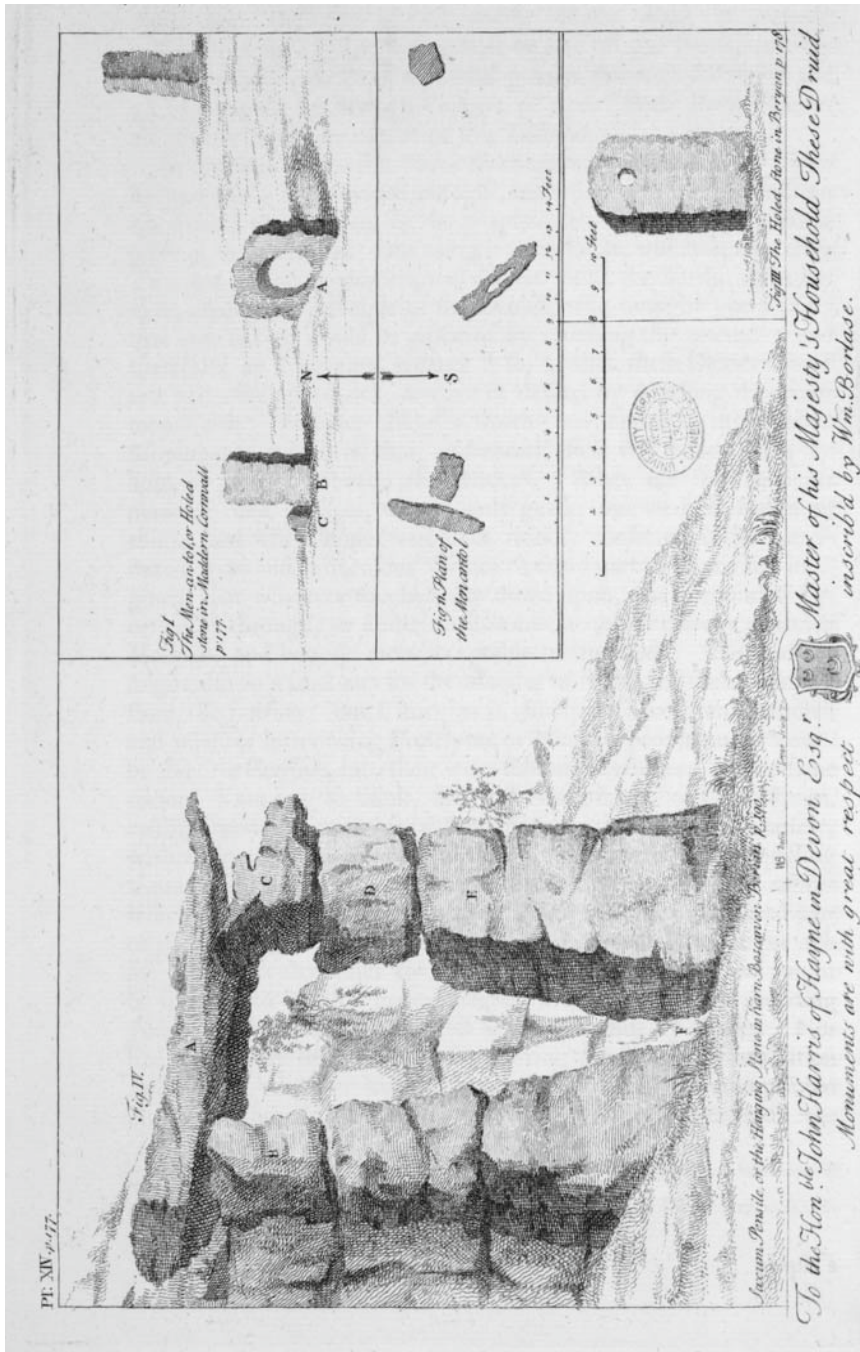
Figure 5.5 The Men-an-tol: William Borlase, *Observations on the Antiquities Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1754; revised edn 1769), plate XIV, facing p. 177. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. Shelfmark Acton a.25.170.

recent pamphlets on these subjects which have appeared under the banner of 'Earth mysteries' and the imprint of 'Oakmagic Publications', they are now fuelling a further phase of Celtic revivalism.[105]

The first of my conclusions is that there are simply too many gaps, distortions, silences and treacherous minefields lurking in the evidence to support the contention that there was anything culturally let alone ethnically distinctive about either pre- or post-Reformation religion in Cornwall. To speak of 'Celtic Christianity' in this sense is deeply misleading. Nevertheless, we must be wary of throwing the proverbial baby out with the bathwater. As we have seen, there are grounds for questioning the commonplace that Protestantism signed the death warrant of the Cornish vernacular. There are also some suggestions that reformers on both sides of the confessional divide sought to harness indigenous devotional traditions and invoke the seductive notion of a pristine British past. What the history of language, memory and landscape in early modern Cornwall underlines is the immense resilience of what William Christian has called 'local religion' and its capacity to adapt itself creatively to change without completely effacing its original identity. It is one example of the multiple micro-Christendoms that comprised the early modern world, and of the continuing power of the particular to resist effacement by the official and universal.[106] More importantly, this essay has sought to illuminate how, unintentionally and somewhat paradoxically, the Reformation fostered the obsessions that lie at the centre of the controversial concept of 'Celtic Christianity' and which continue to exert such magnetic influence in our postmodern age. I hope that it has cast a shaft of light into the 'beguiling cave of mirrors' that is pursuit of the Celtic way.[107]

6

'Slow and Cold in the True Service of God': Popular Beliefs and Practices, Conformity and Reformation in Wales, *c*.1530–*c*.1600

Katharine K. Olson

In 1570 Nicholas Robinson, the Bishop of Bangor, reported that a 'disordered' funeral service and 'vain ceremonies' had occurred after the death of one Lewis Roberts in the town of Beaumaris on Anglesey. At his burial, psalms were sung by the parish clerks and curates accompanied by singing boys, and candles burnt around the corpse. This had occurred not only in defiance of the English Book of Common Prayer but also, indeed, the new Welsh-language version, the *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin,* which had been published in 1567 specifically to aid in enforcing the Reformation in Wales. The local mayor, Roger Bulkeley, explained this as 'mere ignorance and a folishe custome there used', and swift action was promised.[1] Yet this incident and others like it highlight some of the difficulties and complexities faced by the state and Church in implementing Reformation changes in Wales, not the least of which were the roles played by the local gentry and the Welsh language. Certainly in Wales as in much of Scotland, however, the Reformation has commonly been deemed a success, and one generally thought to have been ensured by 1603.

How and why the Reformation apparently thrived in Wales, unlike Ireland, is a question which has been addressed to some extent in existing historiography. Nicholas Canny among others has pointed to the early recognition of the English authorities that 'the religious reform of Wales could be effected only in Welsh and with support of the existing elite'.[2] The experience of Wales, where obstacles posed by its 'intellectual isolation, cultural traditionalism and remoteness from the centre of government' were overcome with the help of the local elite and a new sense of British identity was forged, has been taken as a counterpoint to Reformation failure in Ireland, where 'the Tudor revolution in church and state … marks paradoxically the moment at which the island's assimilation within the multinational conglomerate of the modern United Kingdom was pre-empted'.[3] In particular, the remarkable efforts of the late great Sir Glanmor Williams to build a modern framework for our knowledge of the Reformation in Wales, culminating in his *Wales and the Reformation*, form the basis for much of what we know of the Reformation's progress and ultimate success in Wales. Williams's vision was one of the decline and decay of the pre-Reformation Church and religious life brought to an end with an inevitable and positive Reformation which took gradual root

among the people of Wales despite the challenges faced by the Anglican Church, with Protestantism ensured of its success by the end of the sixteenth century.[4] Its triumph rested on the successful linking of Welsh patriotism and identity to the Tudors and in the nature of the Tudor government and its use of local gentry to implement the Reformation in Wales. Likewise, he particularly emphasized the role and the importance of the 1588 Welsh Bible as 'an outstanding milestone on the road to reform', and argued that by 1603 the Reformation was 'ensured' and 'bearing fruit', 'at least among the educated and literate minority'.[5] At the same time, he acknowledged that 'the task of transforming the "collective Christians" of the Middle Ages into individual believers had hardly begun',[6] but, despite this unfinished transformation of the Welsh populace into Protestants, its ultimate success was to his mind in no doubt. In addition the work of others, notably that of J. Gwynfor Jones on the Welsh gentry and bishops, D. Aneurin Thomas on Welsh Elizabethan Catholic martyrs, and Richard Suggett on witchcraft and magic, has served to bring other aspects of religious life and beliefs in early modern Wales into further focus.[7]

Yet there is also truth to Alec Ryrie's recent observation that the history of the Reformation in Wales remains the 'the most drastically curtailed' in Britain and Ireland, pointing to the fact that it remains dominated by the work of Williams.[8] While the Reformation may no longer be 'the dog that hasn't barked',[9] scholarship concerning the Reformation in Wales still lags behind that on England, Scotland and Ireland both in quantity and in the range of topics explored, and has not reached its full potential in understanding the complexities of religious change and of responses to the Reformation in Wales from *c*.1530 up to *c*.1600 and beyond. There is still much scope for further scholarly work, particularly from perspectives other than those of the institutional Church and educated elite, which addresses the unresolved problem of these 'collective Christians', among other questions. Likewise, it is also important to emphasize that neither confession should be seen as a comprehensive, undifferentiated whole as sometimes supposed in past scholarship on Wales; each contained a broad spectrum of beliefs, and not a few divisions and disagreements. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I will focus broadly on the thorny question of religious change among the Welsh laity during the reign of Elizabeth and query the extent to which religious beliefs, practices and behaviour had altered in Wales by 1600, and the contexts in which developments occurred. It also examines the considerable challenges faced by the political and ecclesiastical authorities in implementing the Reformation, and what this meant for the nature of its enforcement. While the evidence for change at a popular level during the reigns of Henry, Edward and Mary is briefly considered, this contribution focuses on the experience of Elizabethan Wales.

The period from *c*.1530 to 1600 brought various alterations to the familiar physical world, organization and liturgy of the late medieval Catholic Church in Wales, as elsewhere in early modern Britain and Europe. While not static during this time, the religious beliefs, practices and behaviour of the majority of the Welsh laity, however, unsurprisingly changed at a more gradual pace. The dissolution of the monasteries in 1536–40 witnessed the end of monastic life, patronage

and hospitality in Wales, though admittedly by the later Middle Ages the monasteries' role in lay piety and religious life had already declined in popularity, to an extent in Wales as in England, though a minority continued to patronize and request burial in them.[10] The transfer of shrines to lay ownership and their dismantling and destruction after the 1538 injunctions to the clergy saw many of the most popular places of pilgrimage affected, as the authorities took action against the 'develish delusyon' of 'fayned reliques for to allure the people to … antichristian supersticion'.[11] Among these were the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys in the Rhondda Valley and the wooden image (statue) of Derfel Gadarn at Llandderfel in Merioneth, discussed below. The Edwardian Reformation likewise witnessed the dissolution of chantries, colleges and guilds, the destruction of images in glass, wood and stone.

The changes wrought by the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations prompted no armed resistance in Wales, unlike like the Pilgrimage of Grace in northern England or the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549. Certainly the Welsh appear to have responded to initial Tudor changes to their parish churches and chapels, and the destruction of many of the most prominent Welsh shrines, images and relics without much fuss. It has been suggested that Welsh apathy towards religion, anticlericalism, loyalty to the Tudor dynasty and economic opportunities for the Welsh gentry may have played a role in this.[12] So, too, memories of the devastation caused by the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Wales (1400–15) may have remained fresh, as even a century later areas of Wales remained affected by the destruction of the revolt, some still unoccupied or in ruin.[13] Other significant reasons for the lack of violent resistance during the Tudor upheavals in religion may have included the means of implementation: many of the most contentious decisions taken were enforced by the local gentry, as discussed below.[14] It was also the case that considerable continuities in church personnel (especially among the lower clergy) may also have played a part. Men like the Ruabon vicar Sir Dafydd ap Edward ap Dafydd in the diocese of St Asaph, who served the cure of souls there for more than thirty years – through the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, until his eventual death in 1570 – were not so unusual.[15] Indeed, most of the considerable number of deprivations of clergy in Mary's reign appear to have been more concerned with the issue of clerical marriage than with fiery Protestant sentiments.[16]

A careful reading of the evidence may, however, suggest that the initial destruction of shrines and images during the Henrician Reformation did engender some popular discontent and negotiation at a local level, in certain cases. It has been proposed, for example, that dismantling of the very popular shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys by William Herbert, a Newport gentleman, 'was not so straightforward as Herbert wished Cromwell to believe' on the basis of the substantial delay between Cromwell's letter of 18 August 1538 and Herbert's report of his actions (14 September), and its possible implications, including the making of a replacement image for destruction.[17] Indeed, it is worth remembering too that the cases of Llandderfel, Penrhys, the taper of Our Lady at Cardigan, and other shrines, relics and images in Wales destroyed in the late 1530s and afterwards

were generally higher profile ones which had been brought to the attention of the authorities. Many remained, though further action was taken during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. Doubtless in some parish churches, too, official injunctions were dutifully carried out in time. In Ruabon (Denbighshire), for example, we know that a pulpit was built in 1548, the mass discontinued in 1549, and the altar taken down in 1550.[18]

The speed of implementation and its nature, however, seems to have varied by parish or locality to some degree. Credible reports well into the reign of Elizabeth attest to the 'images and altars standing in churches undefaced', candles burnt in honour of the saints, relics, and the concealing of 'images, roodlofts, and altars' in some parishes.[19] Indeed, occasional late medieval rood screens remained in place, like those at Llanrwst (Conwy), Llanegryn (Merioneth) and Llanelieu (Powys). Some images, hidden for safekeeping, survived both the Reformation and the Civil War a century later. The beautiful Jesse window at Llanrhaiadr-yng-Nghinmeirch (Denbighshire) is believed to have endured the ravages of time as a result of its having been carefully taken apart and hidden in the parish chest by parishioners. An 1867 discovery in the church in Mochdre (Montgomeryshire) revealed a figure of Christ and another, possibly depicting the Virgin Mary, concealed in the wall-plate. Likewise, in the parish church of St Mary's in Mold (Flintshire), a strange image was discovered in the tower wall in 1768. It has been suggested this may have been *Y Ddelw fyw* ('The Living Image'), a likely mechanized image which was a late medieval focus of pilgrimage there, as attested by Welsh poets including Tudur Penllyn. A range of other pre-Reformation survivals is also known.[20]

Contemporary evidence also betrays a sense of confusion among the laity in the wake of changes to the physical world of the sacred and to official doctrine, and the persistence of the traditional. Welsh conservatism in belief, practice and behaviour is underscored, for example, by the testimony given in 1551 by various witnesses, many drawn from among the laity, during an inquiry in Carmarthen concerning the ardent Protestant bishop of St David's from 1548, Robert Farrar (d.1555), arising from a bitter dispute between Farrar and the precentor and canons of St David's. One witness, David Rice, an alderman and justice of the peace in the town of Carmarthen, reported that, at the time of Holy Communion in his parish church, the quire and chancel were full of people

> kneelinge and knockinge their brestes, and that without contradiccon or reformacion of the said bisshopp or his officers. And that the comen people yn all other churches within his dioces yn whiche [he] … hath ben … doth use the same fashion … [and] dyvers people within the towne of Carmarthen dothe use their beades yn their hands yn the churche … and [he] never heard [of] anye of theym corrected or punished … [and] hath seen … corpses with a greate nombre of lightes upon them … [21]

The testimony of a range of other witnesses of various degrees survives, echoing these particulars and offering others concerning worship and belief in the Diocese of St David's; the Carmarthen merchant Humfrey Toy testified that in defiance of

official policies and doctrine, in the parish church of Carmarthen light was set upon dead corpses, and there were also 'people offringe moneye to the priest to praye for the sowles of the deadde'.[22] Whether or not the Bishop of St David's himself was to blame for the state of religion in the diocese, as this inquiry sought to establish, the testimony of laymen drawn from varying places in the diocese and of varying socio-economic status underscores the as yet superficial effect of changed doctrine and official policies, as well as widespread confusion and caution regarding the new.

Indeed, more generally, Protestantism had yet to gain much of a foothold in most areas of Wales. The extant evidence indicates, as Williams has previously argued, that the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations enjoyed limited popular success in Wales, and consequently had little effect on the beliefs, devotion and related practices of the majority of the population. Certainly, the responses of men like William Barlow, the reform-minded Protestant Bishop of St David's (1536–48) who campaigned against pilgrimages, veneration of the saints and their relics, were enthusiastic. Likewise, the poet Lewis Morgannwg who earlier had so fulsomely praised the rood at Llangynwyd and the shrine of Our Lady at Penrhys congratulated Henry VIII for his newfound supremacy over the 'bishop of Rome', and condemned the deceit of the 'false monks', perhaps in line with the sentiments of his gentry patrons, the Herberts.[23] However, other contemporary responses were less enthusiastic. The poet Siôn ap Rhisiart took the English to task for the dissolution and driving the monks from their houses, comparing them with Caesar on the basis of their honeyed language and greed.[24] The book written in 1542–54/5 by the layman Ieuan ap William ap Dafydd ap Einws of the parish of Ruabon (Denbighshire), a sometime local official of comparatively modest socio-economic status, also provides an interesting window on religious identities in Wales at this time. He recorded the destruction of images and how the dissolution of the monasteries 'took their life' in his remarkable private devotional compilation. While holding new Welsh humanist sympathies and aware of the changes to the physical world and liturgy in his local parish church as well as some wider changes, his devotional world also strongly reflects the continued strength of many aspects of late medieval piety and its devotional trends.[25]

Mary's reign was welcomed by poets like Siôn Brwynog, who celebrated her descent from Owain ap Maredudd and her right to the crown, the restoration of the 'true faith' with its 'old masses' and the 'privilege of the saints', and sang that her reign brought a 'new Troy'.[26] Few Welshmen would appear to have gone into Marian exile like William Davies, and, despite the number of English Protestants executed for their faith, Marian martyrs were rare in Wales; only three can be confidently identified as resident in Wales, of which two were laymen: Rawlins White of Cardiff and William Nichol of Haverfordwest. Only a small but vocal and literate minority appear to have accepted the new faith with great enthusiasm by this point. This was comprised mainly of university men, those who had been at the inns of court, early Protestant humanists like William Salesbury, and clerics with conspicuous Protestant opinions like Hugh ap Robert, rector of Dolgellau and Newborough.[27] There was a high rate of deprivations in the dioceses of Bangor

and St David's, but, as Williams has noted, this was more often than not linked to the issue of clerical marriage, already commonplace in Wales before the 1530s.[28] New Protestant sentiments also appear to have made some headway with literate townspeople like merchants who had a good knowledge of the English tongue (especially in the Cardiff area), as well as among some of the gentry, like the 'Red Doctor' Ellis Price (Prys) of the Price family of Plas Iolyn and Foelas (d.1594) and the Perrott, Dwn and Devereux families, though they accepted Mary's rule.[29] The majority of the Welsh gentry appear to have served Henry and Edward with a cautious acquiescence rather than a deep religious enthusiasm. But at the same time, the many gentry families who had been enriched by former monastic possessions, including staunch Catholics like Carnes of Ewenni and Morgans of Llantarnam, showed no desire to surrender these during Mary's reign despite serving their new queen faithfully.

With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 and the religious settlement which followed, the church by law established in Wales faced considerable obstacles, many of which were not fully resolved during her reign. One of the most obvious was language. The majority of Wales was populated by monoglot Welsh speakers; the 1551 statement of a husbandman of Abergwily, resident just a mile from the English town of Carmarthen, that when the bishop preached in Abergwily in English '[he] … did not understand, nor none of the audience except 3 or four'[30] underscores the nature of the problem. This issue was recognized early on by Welsh humanists like William Salesbury (d.c.1580) and Sir John Prise (d.1555) who sought to provide Welsh translations of some basic materials for religious instruction and practice. It was only in 1563, however, that official support was secured for the translations of the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible in the form of a statute specifying that the Book of Common Prayer and Bible be translated into the Welsh tongue and their use in public worship.

Elizabeth backed translations of Scripture into both Welsh and Irish in the 1560s in an attempt to bolster the spread of Protestantism in those areas where the English tongue was not prevalent; the Irish New Testament only appeared in print in 1603 and Book of Common Prayer in 1609 respectively. Welsh translations fared better; the Prayer Book (*Llyfr Gweddi Cyffredin*) and New Testament (*Y Testament Newydd*) were published in 1567, though the translation of the entire Bible was not completed by William Morgan until 1588. The last of these has received particular notice by Williams for its role in ensuring the success of Protestantism in Wales and was indeed a remarkable and readable achievement of erudition. While its significance is undeniable, however, it is also true that it was too expensive for most of the Welsh laity to buy for private use, and too unwieldy as well; it was meant for use in public worship in parish churches. The more affordable five shilling *beibl bach* ('little bible') of 1630 was much more suited to family and private use.

Other serious problems for the implementation of the 'godly reformation' remained. A 1578 account of the state of Wales named the 'ignorance of Goddes worde, Pety thefts Idlenes and extreme poverty' as the chief problems facing the Welsh people.[31] Indeed, the poverty of the Welsh Church meant that many of

the most qualified clergy looked for livings elsewhere. The cure of souls was held by many men who assumed multiple livings, and services could be quite irregular, or held by hired replacements who ranged from acceptable to very ill-qualified. More generally, a lack of qualified preachers was in evidence well into the reign of Elizabeth and beyond. In 1561, the whole Diocese of Bangor had only two men able to preach, while there were five men in the Diocese of St Asaph. In the south, the Diocese of Llandaff also had only five men who could preach, while the Diocese of St David's had just ten by 1570, and fourteen by 1583. It was only in the 1590s that more competent preachers are in evidence: 18 of 155 in Llandaff, 43 of 154 in Bangor, and 54 of 144 in St Asaph.[32] This did not necessarily mean, however, that they could preach in the Welsh tongue. The problem of providing the Welsh laity, the majority of whom were illiterate, with competent Welsh-speaking clergy and religious instruction remained a substantial one during the reign of Elizabeth and beyond. While the availability of Welsh translations of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer was highly significant, their efficacy remained curtailed until clerical standards and provision improved and they could be used actively and on a regular basis.

Therefore, the question of the religion and beliefs of the Welsh laity during the reign of Elizabeth is a thorny one. Williams, as previously mentioned, thought the great mass of the people still to be 'collective Christians of the Middle Ages' rather than having evolved sufficiently to be distinguished as 'individual believers'. Yet what even these 'individual believers' held to be true is not necessarily clear in all respects. The Anglican Church itself was not a fixed entity in terms of rituals, doctrine, beliefs or practices during the period up to 1600. It was undergoing a process of development during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as recent scholarship has ably demonstrated. Likewise, responses and degrees of conformity ranged widely, as Walsham has reminded us in the context of adherents to the Church of Rome, for example.[33] Nor did conformity to the Elizabethan settlement of religion and a revised liturgy, for example, in itself indicate changed beliefs. Father Augustine Baker, a Monmouthshire man, later explained how his own parents had come to conform:

> for some years after the said change made by Queen Elizabeth the greatest part even of those who in their judgements and affections before had been Catholics did not well discern any great fault, novelty, or difference from the former religion … save only the change in language … in the which difference they conceived nothing of substance or essence to be. And so easily digested the new religion and accommodated themselves thereto … [34]

It is evident in a Welsh context that the range of responses, both individual and communal, to the Elizabethan settlement of religion and the Reformation in Wales more generally need to be brought into further focus.

What is clear is that the numbers of recusants proposed in the diocesan reports of the Elizabethan bishops are misleading; the confident claim of the Bishop of St Asaph, William Hughes, in 1577, to Archbishop Whitgift that he knew of none

who either refused or neglected to attend church is a case in point.[35] Recusant rolls and other returns give an indication of numbers, though still not an accurate one. Out of 212,450 communicants, the returns for Welsh dioceses in 1603 provide a total of 808 recusants.[36] Of these, as Glanmor Williams has worked out, 32 recusants are noted in the diocese of Bangor (0.082%), 381 in Llandaff (1.026%), 145 in St David's (0.174%), and finally 250 (0.470%) in St Asaph.[37] On the basis of further adjustments for church papists, inefficiency in collation, and numbers of children, he came up with a total estimate of 3,500 for recusants in Wales. Further, he noted that in the number of recusants by parish, the Welsh dioceses of Llandaff and St Asaph ranked only behind those of Chester and Durham, while Llandaff had the distinction of housing the highest proportion of recusants to Anglican communicants of any diocese in England and Wales.[38]

Yet did the supposed conformity to the Elizabethan settlement of the remainder of the churchgoing populace in Wales (208,950), beyond this estimate of 3,500 (1.647%), and the nominal assumption of a Protestant identity necessarily imply that the beliefs, behaviour and practices of the communicants in question fully followed all the particulars of Anglican doctrine and practice as set out by the Elizabethan religious settlement by 1603? The relationship between belief and religion is not a direct one, as other studies of confessional identity in early modern Europe have shown. In an Irish context, Raymond Gillespie has wisely reminded us that

> individuals shaped their religious outlook by taking confessional positions into account whilst measuring that against experience, especially the experience of the unexplained. As a result, the firm confessional boundaries beloved of earlier historians, can now, on occasion, seem to be negotiable and even permeable … [39]

This process of negotiation is also clear in Elizabethan Wales, and perhaps most visible on the level of the Welsh gentry. The particular role of the local gentry in exerting an influence over the religious leanings of their neighbourhood and tenants was widely recognized by both contemporary Welsh Catholics and Protestants as well as the English authorities. From early on, the Tudor authorities had adopted a policy of using the local gentry to implement and enforce new policies. But this also had its limitations. The multi-faceted loyalties of the Welsh gentry and their varied responses to the delegation of enforcement to them did have an impact on the sluggish and piecemeal progress of the Reformation in Elizabethan Wales and its implementation, including the power that the gentry wielded over the churchwardens of the parishes, charged with identifying and presenting those who were absent from church or otherwise did not follow the Queen's injunctions.

It was ultimately among the gentry of lower status that some of the staunchest and often less ambiguous support for Catholicism was found during the reign of Elizabeth: families like the Morgans of Llantarnam, Owens of Plas

Du, Carnes of Ewenni, Pughs of Penrhyn Creuddyn, Turbervilles of Pen-llin (Glamorgan) and the Edwardses of Chirk. Among those of higher status some, like the Herberts of Powys Castle or the Somersets of Raglan, earls of Worcester, remained prominent in their adherence to Catholicism, but it is notable that, by the 1580s, most of the Welsh gentry of the highest rank publically adhered to the Elizabethan settlement, among them Sir Edward Stradling, Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni, Sir Maurice Wynn and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, and the Perrotts of Haroldston – though Stradling and the Wynns offered generous patronage to Catholic writers. It has been noted also that the events of 1586–7, particularly the executions of the young Welsh squires Thomas Salusbury and Edward Jones for their part in the 1586 Babington Plot, 'fatally shook the faith of many Catholic waverers,' and caused them to abandon the old religion.[40]

Religious conformity and service to the Crown should not, however, be taken as directly representative of the personal beliefs or hardened confessional positions of the gentry. A wide spectrum of responses is evident. The actions of men like Sir Thomas Mostyn of Gloddaeth, who was accused of being 'a man not very rigid against Catholics', but one that at the same time 'complied with the times',[41] hint at the types of negotiation and accommodation happening during the later years` of Elizabeth's reign among gentry of regional and local standing. Their enforcement and degree of conformity or lack thereof appear to have been conditioned by a complex and sometimes contradictory web of beliefs, personal piety, practice, loyalties, customs, priorities, expectations, personal experience, geography and realism. At the same time, it would be a mistake to see the gentry as unique in this experience. Some similar considerations and processes also appear to have played a part more generally in the range of responses encountered with respect to local communities, families and individuals in Wales.

The beliefs and practices of the uneducated Welsh laity have been viewed by historians as habitual and superstitious semi-pagan survivals which obstructed both the growth of Protestantism and Counter-Reformation efforts at renewal.[42] Central to this perception, and frequently noted by contemporaries, is the supposedly ignorant, superstitious behaviour of the people, as seen in customs relating, for example, to pilgrimages, holy wells, vigils, rosary beads, relics, devotions to the saints. Certainly, this speaks both to their continuation of such practices as well as the anxieties of ecclesiastical and governmental authorities who saw this type of behaviour as symptomatic of the backwards spiritual state of the Welsh laity. The continuation of pilgrimage and devotions to the saints were common complaint of Elizabethan bishops in Wales. Richard Davies (d.1581), Bishop of St David's from 1561, noted his intent to:

> punish pilgrimages to wells, and watchings in chapels and desert places. To call before them the supporters and bearers of superstition and idolatry, and generally to do all things that may prefer god's glory true religion and virtuous life, and to punish and extinguish the contrary.[43]

The power of the word in the vernacular would, of course, ultimately bring light to even the darkest places. Typical of this perspective is the 1567 description by Nicholas Robinson, the Bishop of Bangor, of the people of his diocese as 'a poore people not obstinate to hear, nor dull to understand, neither careless in that he knoweth, but for want of knowledge now a long time seduced'. He prayed God to take them from this 'dark vail [so that] … they may see and behold to their health the light of the glorious gospel of Christ'.[44] Yet Protestants were not alone in worrying about the spiritual state of the people of Wales. The author of *Y Drych Kristnogawl* (1586/7) secretly printed in a cave near Rhiwledyn on the Little Orme, near Llandudno, related that he had heard that

> there are many places in Wales, yes, whole shires without one Christian living in them living like animals, the greater part of them knowing nothing of goodness/virtue, except that they keep the name of Christ in their memory, and know hardly more of what Christ is than animals do. And in those places where some of them are Christians, only a few poor common people follow Christ.[45]

Putting aside these polemical verdicts on the religious state of the Welsh laity for the moment, what other evidence do we have for popular beliefs and practices during the reign of Elizabeth? On a basic level, the celebration of Christian festivals of universal importance in the calendars of both Welsh Catholics and Protestants remained central to shared understandings of sacred time. In particular, Holy Week, Easter and Christmas, linked with Christ's final days, Passion, Resurrection and Incarnation, appear to have drawn substantial crowds in Welsh parish churches as well as prompting private celebrations in the houses both of gentry families like the Salusburies of Lleweni and the Wynns of Gwydir, and the much humbler abodes of husbandmen, smallholders, merchants and tradesmen. As had been the case for medieval Christians, subsequent to the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in Elizabethan Wales, Easter drew the largest number of people; unsurprisingly, perhaps, as not receiving communion at Easter was an important basis for suspicion of recusancy.[46] At St Mary's church in Swansea (Glamorgan), in anticipation of a much more substantial congregation than normal, a considerable amount was expended in preparation for the Easter service there: from the cleaning of the church, churchyard and surplices to the repair of the bells, pews, the buying of special bread and more.[47] Catholic masses were known to be said at private houses in Denbighshire and elsewhere at Christmastime and also during Lent and Holy Week,[48] and drew not just the recusant gentry, but weavers, spinsters, widows, labourers, husbandmen, servants, professional men and others. At the same time, a spectrum of varying views, beliefs and practices in relation to the celebration of feast days and holidays is apparent. This arose not just between Welsh adherents of the Church of Rome and practice as specified by the Elizabethan settlement but among Welsh Protestants themselves – clergy, gentry and laymen.

Rites and customs associated with the lifecycle betray a spectrum of belief and practice in response to birth, marriage and death, and indicate some cross-confessional similarities. Many christenings were undertaken openly in parish

churches by local clerics, as indicated by surviving registers. Some chose to convert domestic space into ritual space, and had their children christened inside private houses or gardens by Catholic priests, as in England, with holy oil and spittle as needed. Alternately, pre-Reformation sacred places which had in some cases escaped destruction served for such rites. One such instance occurred in August 1591, when the priest Morgan Clynnog's christening of an infant happened in a chapel on land which had formerly belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Margam (Glamorgan).[49] Others opted to perform rites which may not have been not in step with Anglican doctrine or practice in the familiar setting of the parish church, but at times that ensured they did not have a hostile audience or unwanted onlookers. Well chapels and the natural world also were settings for Catholic devotions and rituals such as clandestine marriage rites; Holywell (Flintshire) indeed served as a particular focal point for Catholics in Wales and beyond. Likewise, on the route that many pilgrims took between Holywell and the grave of Gwenfrewi at Gwytherin, the popular well-chapel of Ffynnon Fair at Wigwair (Denbighshire) was a site where clandestine recusant marriages were conducted, though it appears that Anglican clerics also performed marriage rites there, sometimes on days of particular import. This seems to have been the circumstance on 15 August 1613, for example, when a Mr Gwyn, one of the vicars choral at the well-chapel of Ffynnon Fair married one Dafydd ap Thomas Gruffydd ap Grigor and Grace ferch Ieuan, a widow, 'it being then the wake day there'.[50]

The greater quantity of evidence connected to death and related rituals and practices is also suggestive both of the range of beliefs and practices and accommodations made for these. While wills can be an imprecise gauge of the sentiments of the individual testator – particularly in the case of Catholics as Eamon Duffy has reminded us – careful and comparative analysis may yield some indications. Wills mentioning Mary and the blessed company of heaven and requesting for prayers for the dead, obits and month-minds continue to be found into the1570s and, exceptionally, beyond, though in much reduced numbers, alongside wills from the same parishes with more neutral preambles and those that indicate strong Protestant sentiments, penned by the same men. Yet in other Welsh parishes, wills are carefully neutral. Indeed, the cautionary case of Monmouthshire, home to a significant Catholic minority, demonstrates the limitations of such an approach; perhaps because of the politically charged atmosphere of the later years of Elizabeth's reign, the wills of many of those known to have Catholic sympathies like William Vaughan of Welsh Bicknor, who died in 1601, were carefully devoid of any suspect statements or bequests.[51] Doubtless additional requests were privately made to the executors, family and others on many occasions.

Funerals and burials in particular are suggestive of the long life of certain customs and practices, the introduction and negotiation of the new, as well as a degree of flexibility and pragmatic accommodation of a spectrum of contemporary belief and practice made on the part of some communities, individuals, families, local officials, churchwardens and clergy, if grudging at times. Incidents like the one mentioned at Beaumaris speak to the piecemeal enforcement of the Elizabethan settlement, the tension between old and new, as well as the ways in which they co-existed or were

combined or negotiated. It is clear from visitation articles and injunctions as well as other contemporary evidence that funerals in particular continued to attract a range of traditional practices and beliefs (even alongside and combined with the new) despite the disgust and condemnation of some contemporaries. These included customary doles at funerals given in hope of prayers for the souls of the dead, the use of lights, tapers and crosses, the continuous pealing of bells, and kneeling, knocking and crossing by the corpse of the departed, offering prayers for his or her soul, and further ones after a month, twelve months and more generally.

In Elizabethan Wales, the continued celebration of traditional Catholic rites and practices and the burial of Catholics in what were now Protestant spaces also reflects a complex mix of accommodation, realism, and social, local and familial allegiances on the part of both the local authorities and individuals, as well as a desire to pre-serve peace and order in individual communities. One prominent example may be found in the case of the gentleman John Edwards of Plas Newydd, Chirk, a justice of the peace for Denbighshire, who was a known recusant, and indeed imprisoned in 1579 for continuing to have masses said at his house in Chirk. While his 1583 will, made ahead of his eventual death in 1585, demonstrates clear Catholic sentiments including mentions of Mary and the blessed company of heaven and appointing five poor men to pray for his soul every Sunday for ten years, it also speaks to some accommodation and pragmatism on his part both in its wording, stipulations, the naming of his executors and burial instructions. He asked to be buried in Christian burial where it pleased God to assign, 'if it maie be within the parish Churche of Chirke where my father was buried'.[52] That he wished to be buried in what was now a profaned Protestant sacred space speaks to a reluctance to give up the traditional space of his local parish church as well as an accommodation and flexibility on his part to the changed religious situation, perhaps linked to his loyalties to the parish as it was to familial ones, not unlike what Gillespie has found in the case of Kilkenny.[53] Indeed, for staunch Catholics, such burials in now Protestant churches and churchyards also 'teetered on the boundary between rightful enjoyment of a Catholic patrimony, and the temptations of conformity and schism'. While some opted for burial in the Catholic burial grounds which were established in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Peter Marshall has also argued in an English context, however, 'this was almost invariably because of exclusion from parochial cemeteries'.[54] Catholics who ranged in socio-economic status from the gentry to humble weavers and labourers continued to ask for burial beside avowed Protestants in parish churches that now followed a changed Anglican liturgy, despite being warned by Catholic priests such as Robert Gwyn (c.1540–1604?) that even listening to changed Anglican services crafted by 'traitors' would 'kill the Soul'.[55] Frequent reports of illicit services conducted at churches under cover of darkness – whether at night, or very early in the morning – are suggestive of this type of clandestine activity in some cases, and the quiet admission of the bodies of Catholics to churches and churchyards at times on the part of local authorities and others. More contentious disputes over these (relatively infrequent on the whole in Elizabethan Wales) speak to the myriad pressures of co-existence and the

complexity of confessional relations that local communities, families and individuals faced in the negotiation of death and burial in the later sixteenth century and beyond.

With respect to popular beliefs and practices among the Welsh laity, the many places, times and objects associated with saints of local, regional, national and universal importance remained sacred in the eyes of many contemporaries, and also took on new meaning and significance for both Protestants and Catholics in the later sixteenth century and beyond. Alexandra Walsham has eloquently demonstrated the 'deep attachment' of Catholics to the sacred landscape in early modern Britain and Europe and its relevance for both clergy and laity to Catholic renewal.[56] In Abergavenny (Monmouthshire), for example, on the hill of Skirrid Fawr, the chapel of St Michael escaped destruction and remained a place of pilgrimage, perhaps due in large part to the substantial number of Monmouthshire recusants, and the power of families like the Morgans of Llantarnam. As late as 1603, two priests are alleged to have said a weekly mass there, and indeed into the late seventeenth century and well beyond it continued to be a popular focus for Catholic worship and sermons.[57] Yet the significance of the sacred landscape in Wales as elsewhere in Europe also transcended confessional boundaries; Walsham has also pointed to its importance for 'collective Protestant activity' and 'intimate encounters with the divine', for example.[58]

Certainly, the Welsh landscape provided the people of Wales with constant reminders of its sacred past. Each parish and district was populated with streams, trees, stones, lakes, caves, and a variety of other places and features bearing the names of the saints, and particularly patron saints, providing a focus for local identity and lore. The celebration of the feasts of the saints, and the places associated with them and their power, miracles, and lives, and other natural features, appear to have significance as a means of interacting with and recolonizing the sacred in Elizabethan Wales and beyond. In 1589, Ellis Price of Plas Iolyn reported to the English authorities that superstitious practices were still ongoing in the parish of Clynnog Fawr in Caernarvonshire. Pilgrimage there was immensely popular for the feast of St Beuno, who was reputed to have successfully raised the dead; bullocks were sacrificed in his honour and there was a continued belief that Beuno's land was sacred and his animals distinguished by a particular mark, a slit in the ears. He warned of the power of the saints and idols in every parish:

> The people of every particular parish have the Saint or Idol (after the which that church is named) in such ostentation as that in their extremities they do pray unto him for help. For when some sudden danger do befall them: they do usually say Beuno, Cybi, or Brothen, as the name is of that Saint or Idol after the which the parish (where they dwell) is called.[59]

The continued popularity of St Beuno as emphasized in his account, along with that of other Welsh saints, though reported so as to bring official condemnation to bear on such practices, is borne out by additional evidence. Beuno's well

(Ffynnon Beuno), located a short walk up the road from the church of Clynnog Fawr, was long associated with the healing of the sick, particularly 'rickety and epileptic children'.[60] In a wider sense, in common with other areas of Britain and Europe, holy wells connected to particular saints appear to have been a significant focus for pilgrimages and healing into the seventeenth century and beyond, though their uses did not remain static over time.[61] Among the most popular in a regional and wider context was Holywell in Flintshire, at the heart of Catholic efforts at renewal. It was looked upon with great suspicion by the Elizabethan authorities. Certainly, in the nearby county of Denbighshire, the articles to examine churchwardens regarding recusants specifically asked whether they knew of any of their parishioners 'that did or useth to go to Haliwell [Holywell]'.[62] A Welsh manuscript of the reign of Elizabeth described how even in the time since the 'false new faith came to the kingdom of England' it was the case that 'There are many living today who can recount great miracles that they saw with their [own] eyes at Gwenfrewi's water'.[63]

Even when places or objects had suffered abuse, displacement or destruction, they continued to hold a popular appeal, though not a static one. The place where Capel Meugan in Pembrokeshire had stood, despite its destruction, continued to draw pilgrims to the nearby lake. Likewise, the image of Derfel Gadarn (mentioned above) had sat upon a horse-like wooden animal which was left behind in Llandderfel, an indication of animal mastery that was perhaps significant, as the saint was particularly associated with the healing of animals. Along with other pre-Reformation survivals, this one continued to be used by locals, though its sacred meaning and ritual significance appear to have changed over time. Until the mid-eighteenth century it stood by the church communion rails, and until the following century was both used in parish games and venerated.[64] In this it was not alone; later antiquarians note the survival of pre-Reformation relics which were used for a variety of old and new purposes. Some were taken to private houses and passed down through successive generations for safekeeping. Near a ruined chapel dedicated to Beuno, in a house called Tre'r Drew on Anglesey, a certain copper bell called *cloch velen Veuno* (the 'yellow bell of Beuno') was still to be found, 'religiously preserved', in the early eighteenth century, according to Henry Rowlands in his *Antiquitates Parochiales* (1703–10).[65]

While renewal of the landscape was associated with post-Tridentine Catholicism, it is clear, however, that the celebration of saints' days, calling upon their assistance in charms and prayers and when *in extremis*, customary use of their surviving relics, and pilgrimages should not be seen strictly either as a Catholic phenomenon or mere backwards pre-Reformation survivalism among illiterate rustics. The appeal of the universal and native saints and other related practices remained popular in a wider sense for those with both Catholic and Protestant sympathies; indeed, the Welsh Protestantism which ultimately emerged accommodated their popularity to an extent. Such customs were rooted in the beliefs, practices, traditions and rhythms of both daily life and local traditions, many passed down through oral tradition and from parent to child. God, Mary and the saints were invoked in prayers and charms recited for love, protection, healing

and deliverance together with a range of ritual beliefs and practices. A Great Sessions case against Hugh Bryghan of Pentrefelin in 1570 reveals that he used a crystal stone to find stolen items, invoking the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit as he recited charms or prayers, making the sign of the cross,[66] while Gwen ferch Ellis in 1595 called upon 'God the father, the son, and the holy spirit of God / And the three Marys, and the three consecrated altars / And the blessed son of grace', in a witchcraft case that involved the Mostyns and the Conways, two influential families in North Wales.[67]

Indeed, the power of the spoken word was thought to have tangible effects for good or ill. This is unsurprising in what was still a predominately oral culture which, like Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, put great emphasis on the power of the spoken word in praise or blame, the poet's satire was traditionally thought to have some very unpleasant physical effects, including blisters and even death. In relation to beliefs about witchcraft and magic, Richard Suggett has convincingly argued for the significance of individual blessing and cursing in an early modern Welsh context, and demonstrated how suspected cases of witchcraft in Wales from 1550 to 1750 revolved around formal cursing, usually involving female suspects and their neighbours.[68] The concept of the witch as a threat to her neighbours, however, was not native to Wales but appears to have come to Wales from England in the sixteenth century; native Welsh concepts involved the evil eye and fairies, as in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, for example. Indeed, Wales has a comparatively small number of witchcraft cases which survive among the incomplete records of the Court of Great Sessions (32 cases in total, involving 37 suspects between 1568 and 1698) and these also have a late chronology.[69] Accusations of cursing and scolding often found their way into slander cases but, as Suggett has found, Welsh communities appear to have been much more concerned with finding and punishing thieves than witches.

In relation to this, popular beliefs in spirits, the fantastic, the miraculous and the horrible as signs of God's power and will are also apparent, along with a variety of popular traditions concerned with the landscape and connected to the mythical Welsh past and the supernatural. Robert Parry of Eriviatt, Denbighshire (1563–1613?), recorded in his diary the presence of a variety of spirits and apparitions, including the sighting of two or three thousand armed men on horseback one evening, as well as possession by evil spirits. He noted that in the same year (1602) 'in this country was seen many such apparitions & walking spirits by which sights & conferences with the same spirits many were brought to their graves'.[70] Both the hand of God and the intervention of evil spirits were seen as responsible for a variety of misfortunes and freak accidents. God's divine visitation and misfortune were thought to blame for a variety of deaths, whether Joyce verch Ieuan ap Bedo's fall from the river footbridge at Dolfor, Montgomeryshire, and the piece of timber that struck John ap David ap Howell at Dolforwyn in 1580, or a range of unspecified but mortal illnesses that both struck with speed or lingered.[71]

A related interest in understanding such events and the wonders of the natural world in the context both of the Welsh past and the supernatural world is apparent. Contemporary Welsh antiquaries sought to explain the landscape through the recording of onomastic lore and oral traditions, many connected to the mythical

Welsh past. A wider examination of beliefs about the landscape reveals a plethora of popular traditions, including those connected with Arthurian lore, saints and fairies. Giants, for example, had populated the Welsh landscape and left tangible physical reminders of their presence. An account of Welsh giants written *c.*1590 explains that whosoever slept overnight in 'Idris's bed' on the mountain of Cadair Idris in Merioneth would either become a remarkable poet or descend into madness.[72] The unexplained was also connected to the supernatural, and appeared as evil spirits causing great noises and unexplained lights, or taking the form of animals and birds.[73] Other places linked with supernatural beings such as ghosts, hobgoblins, and fairies are also in evidence throughout Elizabethan Wales, from Cwm Ellyllon in Radnorshire to Ffynnon y Pwca in Mynyddislwyn.[74] Remedies against these types of beings (as well as witches) would appear to have included a range of counter-magic, such as the recitation of particular prayers, charms and blessings and other remedies.

Williams has argued that by the end of Elizabeth's reign the Reformation's success was ensured if unfinished among 'collective Christians' in Wales. The progress of Protestantism in Wales was, however, gradual and tortuous. The majority of the Welsh populace conformed to the Elizabethan religious settlement in varying degrees in terms negotiated by local communities, families and individuals. Some from among the laity – some gentry families and those of lesser rank, including merchants and tradesmen – clearly had embraced strong Protestant beliefs by the end of Elizabeth's reign. Calvinism began to gain an early foothold in Wales from the 1590s, though it was not to become truly 'popular' for some decades.[75] Some Catholics remained stubbornly opposed to the new religion, while others sought to engage with it within the context of the Anglican Church, in varying degrees. At the same time, varying popular beliefs and practices in Wales, in their persistence and draw, transcended categorization strictly by confessional identity, and their strength is very much in evidence during the reign of Elizabeth and beyond. Ultimately, the true success of Protestantism in Wales depended on its flexibility and that of its adherents to accommodate many of these practices and beliefs, if sometimes grudgingly. The superficial enforcement of the Reformation at the hands of many of the Welsh gentry families and its slow and piecemeal implementation meant that the Protestantism that successfully emerged during the Long Reformation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Wales was particularly tinged by beliefs in the power of the saints, oral culture and the supernatural world.

Part II
Culture and Belief in Celtic Britain and Ireland

7

Gaelic Religious Poetry in Scotland: The *Book of the Dean of Lismore*[1]

Sìm Innes

Towards the end of a bardic poem on St Katherine of Alexandria we are presented with a curious list of Gaelic saints, including a stanza on St Brigit, in which she is described as 'Brighid Éireann agus Alban, ógh na n-oiléan' ('Brigit of Ireland and Scotland, Virgin of the Isles').[2] The bardic poem is anonymous but the sources for the poem rather fittingly include both a Gaelic manuscript from Ireland and a Gaelic manuscript from Scotland. These manuscripts are both dated to the early sixteenth century and are *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 24 P 25) and the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, NLS MS Adv. 72.1.37). The way in which St Brigit is here described is suggestive of a later medieval pan-Gaelic piety, common to both Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. This chapter will consider if the rest of the religious poetry from the Scottish *Book of the Dean of Lismore* is as representative of such a pan-Gaelic piety. We will explore the context of Gaelic manuscript compilation before concentrating on the *Book of the Dean*'s collection of religious poetry. The main aim is to detail the poems which are found therein and investigate which poems are unique to Scotland and which are common to Scotland and Ireland. Further, since Gaelic manuscripts often show antiquarian tendencies we will also focus on when the *Book of the Dean* religious poetry was composed and how this impacts on our notions of later medieval piety. This chapter will conclude by introducing some of the major themes of its religious poetry.

The recording of Gaelic poetry and prose, first composed often hundreds of years previously, was a practice common to scribes in both Scotland and Ireland. We interpret the practice, during the later Middle Ages, as forming part of a 'Gaelic Revival' or 'Gaelic Resurgence'.[3] This resurgence manifested itself in a number of ways; for instance, it is famously recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1387 that Néill Óg Ó Néill built a house at Emhain Macha, in order to 'pose as a new Cú Chulainn'.[4] A key element of the native resurgence, again in an Irish context, was a 'literary revival' that saw the compilation of a number of manuscripts during the period 1370–1500, often containing much older Gaelic texts and 'comparatively little that was contemporary'.[5] In Irish historiography the literary revival during this period is associated with the shrinking of the Pale and the growth in power of the Gaelic Irish and sections of the Anglo-Irish who were well

disposed to Gaelic literary activity. In Gaelic Scotland the 'cultural dynamism' of the Scottish Highlands, or at least parts of it, during the period in question has also been studied.[6] For instance, the literati or learned orders of Gaelic Scotland made use of the Irish literary high-register standard of written Gaelic, known to linguists as Early Modern Irish, or more usually in Scotland as Classical Gaelic.[7] The manuscript evidence from Gaelic Scotland is much more limited, however, and the implications of this have also been remarked upon.[8] 'Demented anti-quarianism'[9] continued into the sixteenth century in both Scotland and Ireland, although a number of scholars have on occasion tentatively sought slightly different motivation for such tendencies in the sixteenth century; for instance, attention has been brought to the 'enthusiasm for sources characteristic of the Renaissance'.[10] Further, the practice was again particularly widespread among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scribes and is seen to be a largely antiquarian enterprise.[11] This chapter will not consider further the motivation for such anti-quarianism, but we may want to consider the impact on later medieval piety, or indeed the piety during other periods, of much earlier religious texts continuing to be in circulation.

It should be remembered that during the later Middle Ages and into the early modern period this continued interest in a Gaelic past did not mean that Gaelic Scotland and Ireland were closed to outside influence. Translations from other languages and some more recent secular and religious texts in Gaelic are also to be found in contemporaneous manuscripts.[12] The interest in older texts did not nec-essarily mean an end to contemporary creativity. In addition, scholars have quite rightly endeavoured to demonstrate that Gaelic religious poetry, in particular, could quite quickly show the influence of trends in wider European devotion.[13] Salvador Ryan compared the religious material found in Máire Ní Mháille's *leabar díadacht* ('book of piety') with a number of other later medieval Irish manu-scripts.[14] Máire was the daughter of Eoghan Ó Máille, son of Diarmaid Bacach; her *leabar díadacht*, dated to 1513, was compiled in the year of her father's death and forms the first section of *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*. She was married to Ruaidhrí, Mac Suibhne of Fanad (d.1518). Ryan's approach not only allowed for the study of the devotional choices of the owner but also provided valuable insights into the popularity of certain texts during different periods and in different geographi-cal regions. Ryan concluded that this Donegal collection 'rather than taking an insular approach, reveals a concern for some of the most popular elements of late medieval western European spirituality'.[15] Yet even *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* does include a small number of items which we might see as antiquarian and/or insu-lar, such as: the ninth-century *Cáin Domhnaigh* ('The Law of Sunday'); an adapta-tion of part of the Rennes version of *An Tenga Bithnua* ('The Evernew Tongue') which is a later rendering of a text that goes back to the tenth century and is 'an apocryphon peculiar to Ireland';[16] early lives of Columba and Patrick; *Pennaid Adaim* ('The Penance of Adam'), which is a prose redaction ultimately based on the tenth-century *Saltair na Rann*.[17] Further, there are some fascinating textual histories behind some of the items. For instance, we might ask if it is meaningful that the Irish translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* found in *Leabhar Chlainne*

Suibhne is based on a translation originally carried out 'slightly later' than the twelfth century.[18] Therefore, while it is important that we recognize the European context of later medieval Gaelic piety it is crucial that this is not at the expense of the *Gaelic* context of Gaelic piety. It seems that Máire Ní Mháille's *leabar díadacht*, and presumably her spiritual life more generally, made use of texts belonging to both the local Gaelic and the wider European context and drew on a mix of recent and much older texts.

Across the span of the medieval and into the early modern period we find that the majority of Gaelic manuscripts are miscellanies. They contain secular and religious material of a 'mixed character';[19] a mix of older and more recent. What are the implications of the mixed character of religious material in manuscripts such as *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*? How was the devotional world of the Gaelic nobility, such as that of Máire Ní Mháille, affected by the interplay between older and more recent texts and between Gaelic and widespread European devotional fashions? Further, what does 'local Gaelic' mean in this instance? Does it mean local to Gaelic Scotland and Ireland or local only to specific areas? This chapter seeks to lay some of the groundwork which will allow for such questions to be considered. In order to do so we will examine the religious bardic poetry in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore/Leabhar Deadhan Lios Mòir*, which takes its modern title from a scribal note that appears upside down on page 27: 'Liber domini jacobi m^cgregor decani lissmoren'.[20] Not only did much religious poetry composed in Ireland circulate in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* but Scottish Gaels also composed devotional poetry in the Gaelic syllabic metres. In order to further understand the piety presented to us by Gaelic bardic poetry we can work at a number of different levels, including but not limited to: individual religious poems; the corpus of poetry attributed to a particular poet; a particular theme as it is presented to us by the corpus of bardic poetry as a whole; the religious poetry present in a particular manuscript source. As we have just seen in our discussion of *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, the study of particular manuscripts allows us to consider issues such as transmission and reception of the material contained therein.

This approach is useful since the notion that all of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland 'formed a single culture-province'[21] is increasingly under scrutiny.[22] The 'classical' Gaelic manuscripts held by the National Library of Scotland are testament to the links between the learned orders of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, many of the manuscripts having originated in Ireland and then been added to, at a later date in Scotland.[23] We have to admit, however, that we cannot always be sure which components of later medieval Gaelic culture, including devotional and secular literature, which are known to us from Ireland, might have been familiar to the Gaels of Scotland, since the manuscript evidence is much more abundant in Ireland. Therefore, the *Book of the Dean* is particularly important in this regard as it records not only a number of religious poems composed by Scottish poets but also a number of poems of Irish provenance.[24] It is thought that this Scottish manuscript miscellany was compiled between 1511 and 1542 by this Dean of Lismore, Seumas MacGriogair, and his brother Donnchadh.[25] It may also be that another

brother Griogair and their father Dubhghall Maol mac Eòin Riabhaich began collecting the poetry.[26] The family belonged to Fortingall (Fairtirchill) in Perthshire.

The orthography employed by the scribes of the *Book of the Dean* is not the system traditionally used to represent Gaelic. Rather, it is a spelling system based on Scots, occasionally described as semi-phonetic.[27] This results in an extra layer of extremely difficult linguistic work for any potential editor of a text from the manuscript. The text of a poem must not only be transcribed but also transliterated before other editorial work and translation into English can take place. For instance, given 'dyn woeyr' the editor must choose from a range of possibilities including: *don mháthair* ('to the mother'); *don mheadhair* ('to the speech/mirth'); *don mheabhair* ('to the reason') and so on. The rules of syllabic poetry can often be used to assist the editor in deciding and, of course, if the same poem is found in other manuscripts besides the *Book of the Dean* the task becomes easier. As a result of these editorial difficulties, however, a number of poems remain unedited. Furthermore, since W. J. Watson's great work *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (1937) contains most of the Scottish material but not all, and further omits any of the Irish material, it can be difficult to get a full sense of the contents of the *Book of the Dean*. All of these factors combined have resulted in the occasional discussion and even published edition of a religious bardic poem which has not taken the *Book of the Dean* into account, despite the fact that often the *Book of the Dean* is the earliest manuscript witness for a poem. The *Book of the Dean* has been digitized and can be viewed on the website of the Irish Script On Screen project.[28] It is accompanied by Ronald Black's detailed catalogue description of the manuscript. Another vital tool for those with an interest in religious bardic poetry is Katharine Simms's *Bardic Poetry Database*.[29] This online database allows the user to investigate other sources for the text of a poem, among a range of other important features of the poetry, and it includes the *Book of the Dean*. The summary that follows has been greatly facilitated by both of those resources.

While the focus of this chapter is on the religious bardic poetry from the *Book of the Dean*, it should be made clear that religious poetry is certainly not the driving force of the contents of the manuscript. There are around 250 poems in the collection, some of which are only fragments. Of these 250 only around 20 are of a religious nature. There are more heroic/Fenian ballads, more courtly/panegyric poems and more merry/bawdy poems than there are those of a religious nature. A question remains as to whether we should see any coherence in the collection. The poem 'Duanaire na Sracaire' ('Songbook of the Pillagers') attributed to Fionnlagh Mac an Aba calls for all of his audience to contribute any item in their possession to a *duanaire* ('poem-book') and it has been thought that this may refer to the *Book of the Dean* itself. The contents are markedly miscellaneous although one modern commentator has said the following when referring specifically to the material of Irish provenance:

> It is not always clear how or why particular Irish poems came to Scotland, or came to be copied and recopied there; some may have been exemplars preserved from bardic training in Ireland, some may have been favoured for more

personal or aesthetic reasons. Certainly predilection seems to have been the ultimate guiding force for inclusion in the Book of the Dean.[30]

If we accept this notion – that personal choice was a major factor – and extend it to include not only the Irish material but also the Scottish, it means that we can study the religious poetry as a collection. In doing so we might learn about the devotional interests, choices and preferences of the compilers or indeed of a possible benefactor, as we saw with Máire Ní Mháille's collection. This methodology allows us to learn more about the interplay of the specifically local with more widespread European trends in theology and devotional practice in this area of the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* before the middle of the sixteenth century, as presented to us in poetry. It also allows us to consider whether and to what extent Gaelic Scotland shared the antiquarian tastes of their Irish neighbours, and if so what made it to Scotland and what was being preserved.

Donald Meek studied the corpus of heroic ballads ('twenty-seven ballads in total, one sizable fragment, and some stray quatrains')[31] found in the *Book of the Dean* and compared the contents with *Duanaire Finn*, a manuscript collection of Fenian lays compiled by Aodh Ó Dochartaigh (Don Hugo Doharty) in Ostend early in 1627 for Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill (Sorley MacDonnell) of the Glens of Antrim, who was a mercenary in the Spanish Netherlands at the time.[32] *Duanaire Finn* preserves many early (1200–1400) Fenian ballads. Meek noted that there was in fact only a 'small degree of overlap' between the two collections; he pointed out that there was greater similarity between the heroic ballads of the *Book of the Dean* and later (eighteenth- and nineteenth-century) Irish *duanaireadha* ('poem-books'). He concluded that

> We should not be looking for identical matching between the collections; the evidence suggests strongly that Ireland and Scotland enjoyed a complementary relationship in their ballad traditions. A shared inheritance does not mean an identical inheritance on both sides.[33]

Further, Meek pointed out that

> The scribes of the Book of the Dean were not offering a selection of 'golden oldies' when they compiled their ballad sample; they were producing a sample of relatively recent material, which was created by a wave of ballad composition in which both Ireland and Scotland participated at the end of the Middle Ages. This wave of composition helped to determine the later complexion of the ballad tradition in both Ireland and Scotland.[34]

It seems then, that whereas Aodh Ó Dochartaigh collected many much older pieces for *Duanaire Finn* in the seventeenth century, the compilers of the *Book of the Dean* in the sixteenth century liked their Fenian ballads to be a bit more modern. We might profitably compare the religious material contained in the *Book of the Dean* with the religious poetry contained in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*, another

manuscript compiled by Aodh Ó Dochartaigh for Captain Somhairle at Ostend in 1631.[35] It seems that while the overlap between the heroic ballads in the *Book of the Dean* and *Duanaire Finn* was small, the overlap between the religious material in the *Book of the Dean* and the *Book of the O'Conor Don* is greater. Although there were only four shared heroic items there are seven shared religious items.[36] Thus, around a third of the religious poems found in the *Book of the Dean* are also to be found in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*. It is noticeable also that these shared items may all be of Irish provenance; that is to say that a significant number of the religious bardic poems in the *Book of the Dean* thought to have been composed by Irish

Table 7.1   Religious poetry in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* thought to be of Irish provenance also in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*

Poem	Attribution in *Book of the Dean of Lismore*	Attribution in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*	Probable date of composition of poem
'Triúr rí tháinig go teach nDé' ('Three Kings came to the house of God')	None	None	Before the end of the 12th century
'Marthain duit, a chroch an Choimdheadh' ('Hail to thee, o Cross of the Lord')[1]	Muireadhach Albanach [Ó Dálaigh]	Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh	13th century?
'Fuigheall beannacht brú Mhuire'[2] ('Overflowing of blessings is Mary's womb')	Tadhg Óg [Ó hUiginn]	None	13th century
'Mairg mheallas muirn an tsaoghail' ('Alas for him whom the world's joy deceives')	Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh	Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh	14th century
'Cairt a síothchána ag síol Ádhaimh' ('Adam's race has a peace-charter')	Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn	None	15th century
'Iomdha sgéal maith ar Mhuire' ('Many the good tale of Mary')	Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn	None	15th century
'A-táid trí comhraig im chionn' ('Three fights await me')	Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn	Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (non-scribal hand)	15th century

Notes:
[1] If we accept the *Book of the Dean* ascription to Muireadhach Albanach then we could consider this poem in Table 7.3 which deals with his poetry.
[2] I have included this poem in this table despite the fact that recent scholars attribute it to a thirteenth-century Scottish poet Giolla Brighde Albanach. See, for instance, Katharine Simms, 'Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh and the Classical Revolution', in Ian Brown, Thomas Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, 1: *From Columba to the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 89. I do not see any reason why we cannot accept Giolla Brighde Albanach as the author but the compilers of the *Book of the Dean* thought that it was by the Irish poet Tadhg Óg.

poets are also found in the *Book of the O' Conor Don*. Table 7.1 details the religious poems which are shared by both manuscripts, including attributions and dating.[37] In addition, there are four further religious poems in the *Book of the Dean* which are likely to be Irish, most of which are found in Irish manuscripts as well as the *Book of the Dean*, but not the *Book of the O' Conor Don*. These are detailed in Table 7.2.

We noted previously that the *Book of the Dean* was compiled early in the sixteenth century, with the possibility of collection having started at the end of the fifteenth. The religious poetry attributed to Irish poets contained in the *Book of the Dean* is, therefore, an almost equal mix of 'relatively recent material' (1400–1500) and some popular 'golden oldies' (1200–1400).[38] It is noteworthy that the poetry in the *Book of the Dean* which is attributed to renowned and prolific Irish poets is usually to be found also in Irish manuscripts. This appears to be true of both the religious and secular poetry. William Gillies pointed out that the majority of the poems in the *Book of the Dean* composed by the '"big names" of early classical verse … are also found in Irish sources such as the Yellow Book of Lecan, the Book of Fermoy, the Book of Uí Mhaine or the Book of O' Conor Don'.[39]

Table 7.2 Religious poetry in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* thought to be of Irish provenance not found in the B*ook of the O'Conor Don*

Poem	Attribution in *Book of the Dean of Lismore*	Appearance in Irish manuscripts	Probable date of composition of poem
'Garbh éirghe iodhan bhrátha' ('Rough approach the pangs of Doom')	[Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh][1]	Yes, the earliest being the fifteenth-century Book of Fermoy.[2]	13th century
'Trí hingheana rug Anna' ('Anne bore three daughters')	None	Yes, although all of the other manuscript sources are late.	14th or 15th century?
'Réadla na Cruinne Caitir Fhíona' ('Star of the world Catherine')	None	Yes, including *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* which is contemporaneous with the *Book of the Dean*.	15th century?
'Maith ataoi an sin, a Néill' ('You are all right there, Neil')[3]	None	None	?

Notes:

[1] This ascription is no longer visible in the manuscript.

[2] Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 E 29, available on ISOS.

[3] This poem has received little attention until very recently: William Gillies notes that it is a fable on almsgiving concerning a man 'do-chuaidh a hÉirinn uann' ('left from here in Ireland'). See William Gillies, 'The Book of the Dean of Lismore: The Literary Perspective', in Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derick McClure (eds), *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), p. 196.

There are a significant number of religious poems in the *Book of the Dean* attributed to the thirteenth-century poet Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh. The titles of these, and their appearance or otherwise in Irish manuscripts are shown in Table 7.3 – note that none of these are found in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*. It is well known that Muireadhach is thought to have been an Irish poet who continued to compose poetry in Scotland following his forced exile from Ireland.[40] Gillies has previously suggested that the existence of a large number of poems attributed to Muireadhach in the *Book of the Dean,* which are not found in Irish sources, means that we can 'postulate a particular source (presumably Scottish) with a special interest in Muireadhach Albanach … The persons most likely to fulfill these conditions would be members of the Mac Mhuirich bardic family founded by Muireadhach.'[41] There are seven poems and one stray quatrain attributed to Muireadhach in the *Book of the Dean*.[42] These seven are: an elegy on his wife Maol Mheadha, 'M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir' ('My soul parted from me last night'); a petition-poem to Richard Fitz William de Burgh of Connacht, 'Créd agaibh aoidhigh a gcéin' ('Whence comes it you have guests from afar'); and the five religious poems listed in Tables 7.1 and 7.3. It seems

Table 7.3 Religious poetry in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* attributed to Muireadhach Albanach[1]

Poem	Appearance in Irish manuscripts
'Mithidh domh triall go toigh Pharrthais' ('It is time for me to travel to the hall of Paradise')	None
'Réidhigh an croidhe, a mheic Dhé' ('Pacify the heart, o son of God')	None
'Déana mo theagasg, a Thríonóid' ('Do Thou Teach me, o Trinity')	Yes, it is found in the 14th-century *Book of Uí Mhaine* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D ii 1 (1225), and in a number of other Irish manuscripts. However, a study is needed of the relationships between the *Book of the Dean* version and the Irish versions as there are great differences.[2]
'Éistidh riomsa, a Mhuire mhór' ('Listen to me, o great Mary')	Quotes from the poem appear in the Irish grammatical tracts used by bardic poets. Also, it seems that something of the poem appears in a fragment which is part of Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS D i 1.[3]

Notes:
[1] As noted above, the poem 'Marthain duit, a chroch an Choimdheadh' is also attributed to Muireadhach in the *Book of the Dean* and appears in the *Book of the O'Conor Don*. See Table 7.1.
[2] William Gillies, 'A Death-Bed Poem Ascribed to Muireadhach Albanach', *Celtica* 21 (1990), p. 158, n. 14.
[3] See Thomas F. O'Rahilly et al., *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 vols (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1926–70), Fasciculi XXVI–XXVII, 3428–9. This manuscript is also available online at ISOS but I have so far been unable to locate the text.

noteworthy that five of the seven poems are religious and might suggest that Muireadhach's religious poems, which represent the spirituality of an earlier period (if by him), were thought to be particularly worthy of inclusion in the *Book of the Dean*.

It remains to detail the religious poetry attributed to Scottish poets. It is noteworthy that none of the religious poems attributed to Scottish poets in the *Book of the Dean* are found in the *Book of the O' Conor Don*.[43] In fact, as we will see in more detail in Table 7.4, the vast majority of the Scottish religious poems found

Table 7.4 Religious poetry in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* attributed to Scottish poets

Poem	Attribution in *Book of the Dean of Lismore*	Appearance in Irish manuscripts	Probable date of composition of poem
'Binn labhras leabhar Muire' ('Eloquently speaks the book of Mary')	Giolla-Críost Táilléar	None	15th century?
'Adhbhar bróin bruadar bailc' ('A powerful dream was a cause of sorrow')	Giolla-Críost Táilléar	None	15th century?
'Réadla na cruinne corp Críost' ('Star of the world, the Body of Christ')	Giolla-Críost Táilléar	None	15th century?
'Gearr go gcobhra Rí na ríogh' ('The King of Kings will soon succour')	Roibéard Mac Laghmainn Ascaig[1]	None	15th century?
'Foillsigh do chumhachta, a Choid'[2] ('Reveal your power, o Coid')	An Bárd Mac an tSaoir	none	15th century?
'Ná léig mo mhealladh, a Mhuire' ('Do not allow me to be deceived, o Mary')	Maol-Domhnaigh mac Mhaghnais Mhuileadhaigh	None	15th century?
'Seacht saighde atá ar mo thí' ('Seven Arrows Pursue Me')	Donnchadh Óg	Yes, although they are nineteenth-century manuscripts.	15th century?

Notes:
[1] The *Book of the Dean* gives the poet as 'Robert Mc Laymon a gassgaik' or maybe 'a ghassgaik'. This is understood by Black on ISOS as 'Robert Lamont of Ascog'. T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Indexes to the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4 (1934–5), p. 43, transliterated to 'an gaisgeadhach' ('the warrior').
[2] This poem has recently been edited and translated by William Gillies and will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Scottish Gaelic Studies*.

in the *Book of the Dean* seem to be unique to this manuscript and appear either to have not been known at all in Ireland or to have not survived in any Irish sources.

To recap, none of the Scottish religious bardic poems in the *Book of the Dean* appear in the *Book of the O'Conor Don* and they were unknown it seems in Ireland: 'Seacht saighde atá ar mo thí' is the only exception. It seems that this is true generally of the Scottish poetry in the *Book of the Dean*: the vast majority is only preserved in the *Book of the Dean*.[44] It is difficult to date the Scottish poetry given that so little is known about the poets, although it has been suggested, for instance, that Giolla-Críost Táilléar may have been poet to the fifteenth-century Stewarts of Rannoch.[45] We might tentatively conclude that all of this Scottish religious material falls into the relatively recent category.

To sum up so far, this exercise has listed all of the religious poetry from the *Book of the Dean* in the tables and shown that the manuscript contains a mix of religious bardic poetry. I have divided the material into three categories. The first category comprises material of Irish provenance which it has been shown is a mix of early 'golden oldies' (1200–1400) and relatively recent (1400–1500). The second category consists of the poetry attributed to Muireadhach Albanach which has possibly come to the compilers of the *Book of the Dean* via the MacMhuirich bardic family. Muireadhach is something of a liminal character and for that reason has been considered separately here. Into the third category fall the religious poems attributed to Scottish poets and almost all of these are unknown in the Irish manuscript tradition and might be described as relatively recent. If, for the moment, we were to accept that all of the religious poetry attributed to Muireadhach Albanach in the *Book of the Dean* is indeed by him, then we would be considering a body of poetry which dates to the thirteenth century. We could then group his poetry together with the (Irish) 'golden oldies' and this would give us a total of around nine or ten religious poems in the manuscript which date to before 1400. The remaining twelve or thirteen religious poems we might put into the 'relatively recent' category of post-1400. Therefore, we see slightly more 'relatively recent' (post-1400) than 'golden oldies' (1200–1400). The relatively recent poems can be further split up as being an almost equal mix of Irish and Scottish poems. Therefore, we see that in terms of religious poetry the compilers of the *Book of Dean* have preserved a healthy balance of the antiquarian and more recent, and in this regard the manuscript is quite representative of the 'mixed character' of Gaelic manuscripts discussed earlier. The comparison of the *Book of the Dean* with *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* is not entirely satisfactory, since the latter contains mostly devotional material in prose whereas the former contains religious poetry. It is noticeable, however, that, as regards religious material, the *Book of the Dean* does not contain anything quite as antiquarian as *An Tenga Bithnua* or the *Cáin Domhnaigh* which we saw earlier are to be found in *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*.

This essay has so far not provided any detail on the subject matter of the religious poems in the *Book of the Dean* and therefore a very brief overview is

offered below. It might be asked how the Gaelic cultural resurgence of the later Middle Ages impacts on the imagery, theology and sources of the poetry in both Scotland and Ireland. As a corpus, Gaelic bardic poetry is often looked to as providing evidence of a 'demotic religious expression'.[46] There are certainly striking themes and images in the religious poetry which have been borrowed from native Gaelic culture. For instance, Lambert McKenna, the editor of a large part of this type of verse, points to a poem attributed to Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh in which the Virgin Mary is referred to as '*an t-eo fis'* ('the salmon of knowledge').[47] The salmon of knowledge is associated with Fionn Mac Cumhaill.[48] Themes linked to native law and native social structures also occur in the poetry and are seen as further examples of ways in which the religious poetry is seen to be particularly culturally specific.[49] However, much analysis of the poetry remains to be done. As noted above, Ryan has shown that changes in medieval and early modern devotional practice across Europe are often reflected in Gaelic bardic poetry.[50] Apocrypha and *exempla* collections which are again known Europe-wide often appear to provide many of the themes or motifs found within the poetry. Therefore, where possible each individual poem can be analysed in order to place it into its historical/devotional context, perhaps local Gaelic or common European or both. Despite bardic poetry being a poetry of convention with re-occurring stock motifs, it has been noted that, 'The bardic poets who composed religious verse between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries were certainly not all of one "religious mind", no more than were their patrons.'[51] Many bardic poems await scrutiny at the level of the individual poem.

Returning to Scotland and the *Book of the Dean*, we might ask to what extent the religious poetry attributed to Scots represents this interplay between local Gaelic and common European, if there are features of the poetry attributed to Scottish Gaels which differentiate them from Irish poems in any way. Were the compilers of the *Book of the Dean* fond of a particular type of Irish religious poem and, if so, which? None of these questions can yet be fully answered until all of the religious poems from the *Book of the Dean* have been edited. However, some brief preliminary observations are offered below. It can be difficult to sum up the subject of a religious bardic poem succinctly since a number of themes may be covered. For instance, in the *Book of the Dean*, the poem 'Marthain duit a chroch an Choimdheadh' recounts the tale of *Seath mac Ádhaimh* (Seth son of Adam) before referring to the Harrowing of Hell and ending with the personal plea of the poet for salvation.[52]

Other poems in the collection are more simple and didactic such as the unedited 'Gearr go gcobhra Rí na ríogh' which appears to recommend various actions, such as the paying of tithes or 'Seacht saighde atá ar mo thí' which is based on the seven deadly sins.[53] The poem 'Garbh éirghe iodhan bhrátha' on the signs before Judgement Day is particularly powerful and includes a section in which it is foretold that humankind will cry out to Christ, asking why he maintains that we have refused him. His reply includes the stanzas:

Mé an bocht do bhí san doras	I am the poor man who was at your door
i n-íotain 's i n-ocaras	thirsty and hungry,
gan luagh ar mhír ná ar dhigh dhamh	no mention of a bite or drink for me
do bhínn is sibh go seasgar.	while you were in comfort.
Mé gach fear do bhí go bocht	I was every man who was poor
mé an bhan-sgál do bhí tar-nocht	I was the woman who was bare
mé gach aon-bhocht do b'fhíor dáibh	I was each pauper – they were truthful –
do bhíodh taobh-nocht gan tógbháil.	who was naked and lacking assistance.[54]

Poetry concerning the Virgin Mary is strongly represented in the collection.[55] The two thirteenth-century Marian pieces 'Éistidh riomsa, a Mhuire mhór' and 'Fuigheall beannacht brú Mhuire' are both long, forty stanzas and thirty-seven respectively, but they differ somewhat from each other. 'Éistidh riomsa, a Mhuire mhór' is more strictly an encomium to the Virgin and contains few narrative sections. 'Fuigheall beannacht brú Mhuire', in contrast, contains more on episodes from the life of the Virgin including much apocryphal material. The three other Marian poems in the *Book of the Dean* are 'Ná léig mo mhealladh, a Mhuire', 'Binn labhras leabhar Muire' and 'Iomdha sgéal maith ar Mhuire', all of which appear to belong to the fifteenth century and all of which are narrative poems which tell of miracles performed for her often sinful devotees. Indeed narrative poems, poems based on common medieval exempla and miracle tales are another popular genre of religious poetry in the *Book of the Dean*. As well as 'Binn labhras leabhar Muire' the poet Giolla-Críost Táilléar has another two such poems in the collection: 'Réalta na Cruinne Corp Críost' and 'Adhbhar bróin bruadar bailc'. None of his religious narrative poems have so far been edited in print. 'Adhbhar bróin bruadar bailc' focuses on the very common medieval exemplum of a man fleeing from a unicorn.[56] He climbs a tree to escape, where he encounters new dangers and, despite all of this, he succumbs to the earthly pleasures of the fruits of the tree. 'Réalta na Cruinne Corp Críost' appears to focus on a woman who steals the Host in order to use it for magical purposes. This leads to the miraculous appearance of the crying Infant in her home. Exempla concerning the misuse of the Host were also widespread during the later Middle Ages.

Female saints have a relatively strong representation in the collection, since as well as the five Marian pieces we have 'Réadla na cruinne Caitir Fhíona' which, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, is a poem to St Katherine of Alexandria, and 'Trí hingheana rug Anna', which concerns the relationship of St Anne to the Three Marys and their sons, although only a fragment of the poem remains in the *Book of the Dean*. A further female saint, St Helena, makes a short appearance in 'Cairt a síothchána ag síol Ádhaimh', since the poem includes a number of stanzas on the Invention of the True Cross, although she is not the main focus of the poem. The only male saint who has his own poem in the *Book of the Dean* is a Gaelic saint; 'Foillsigh do chumhachta, a Choid' has been recently edited by William Gillies and addresses Cóeti/Coid, a seventh/eighth-century abbot of Iona who it seems was culted in the area of Fortingall.[57] The fact that a poem has

survived on a very local Gaelic saint is extremely significant since native saints appear not to have been a very common subject of bardic poetry.[58]

Further analysis of individual religious poems from the *Book of the Dean* will allow us to understand them in both their Gaelic and wider European context. This brief overview of the subject matter has shown an intriguing combination of religious eulogy, didacticism, exempla, apocrypha and local Gaelic tradition. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the *Book of the Dean* appears to have recorded a snapshot of some of the most popular Irish religious bardic poems, old and new. The Irish poems which we might describe as 'golden oldies' are mostly either thirteenth or fourteenth century in date. As far as religious poetry is concerned, the *Book of the Dean* does not record anything quite as antiquarian as some Gaelic manuscripts. Nonetheless, it is surely significant that thirteenth-century Gaelic religious poetry was still in circulation early in the sixteenth century. To these Irish poems the compilers have added a number of Scottish religious bardic poems. We can speculate on the meaning of their absence from Irish manuscripts and what that tells us about the cultural histories of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. Clearly, the notion of one 'pan-Gaelic' later medieval religious literature is less than satisfactory and requires further investigation. Of one thing we can be certain: those of us with an interest in Gaelic literature should be thankful to the much-maligned James MacPherson (d.1796) who collected the manuscript known as the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, which ultimately led to it finding its way to the National Library of Scotland.

8

Penance and the Privateer: Handling Sin in the Bardic Religious Verse of the *Book of the O'Conor Don* (1631)

Salvador Ryan

The *Book of the O'Conor Don* (*BOCD*), housed at the O'Conor-Nash family home of Clonalis, County Roscommon, is without doubt one of the most important extant collections of Irish bardic poetry, comprising some 340 poems, which represent about 17 per cent of the surviving corpus of bardic poetry from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.[1] Its significance is heightened when one considers that over 20 per cent of the 84 religious poems are exclusive to this collection, occurring in no other manuscript discovered to date.[2] This compendium was compiled at Ostend between January and September 1631 and was written in the main by Aodh Ó Dochartaigh (although the work of at least two other hands has been identified in the manuscript) for Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill (Sorley MacDonnell, *c*.1592–1632?), son of Sir James of Dunluce, County Antrim.[3] Mac Domhnaill had had a rather varied career up to this point; having been dispossessed of family lands in Ulster, Mac Domhnaill plotted a rebellion in Ulster in 1615 and participated in the rebellion of his cousin, Sir James McDonnell of Knockrinsay on Islay. When this failed, he became a privateer, operating out of Rathlin Island in early 1616.[4] By late 1616 he was being actively pursued by the planter, Sir Thomas Phillips, whose ship he had previously seized, and, after some time on the run, he ended up joining the *tercio* or military unit of his cousin John O'Neill (Seán Ó Néill) in Flanders, which three years earlier had been acknowledged as 'the very best in the king of Spain's service' by King James I's ambassador to the Lowlands, William Trumbull.[5] Mac Domhnaill would go on to participate in one of the most famous encounters of the Thirty Years War, the Battle of the White Mountain (*Bila Gora*) of 1620.[6] The *BOCD* of 1631 was not the first compendium that Somhairle Mac Domhnaill had commissioned. Five years earlier, Aodh Ó Dochartaigh had compiled a collection of heroic Fenian ballads for Mac Domhnaill, comprising some 200 tales and poems dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, a work which has since become known as *Duanaire Finn* and is preserved as Franciscan MS A 20 (b) in University College Dublin.[7] In addition, he worked partially on *Agallamh na Seanórach*, which is found in Franciscan MS A 20 (a); in this instance, however, the greater part was written by a second scribe, Niall Gruamdha Ó Catháin, who may well have been a Franciscan (for at the bottom of

f.64v he implores the intercession of his patron, St Francis, on his feast day) and who admits to working on *Agallamh na Seanórach* both in Ostend and in Louvain, where the Irish Franciscans were located.[8]

This chapter has as its subject the second of Mac Domhnaill's compendia, the *BOCD*, and focuses in particular on its collection of religious verse – some eighty-four bardic religious poems, and more specifically still on the topic of sin and penance within this corpus of verse.[9] In keeping with the broad themes of this volume, it addresses questions of continuity and change: for instance, how much of the late medieval devotional world is evidenced in the religious poems incorporated into the seventeenth-century *BOCD* anthology? Second, to what extent does the collection reflect insular expressions of religious devotion within the broader context of what might be termed 'universal' Christian themes found more widely across the European continent.

As in the case of *Duanaire Finn* before it, the religious verse of *BOCD* spans several hundred years, including, for the most part, compositions ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and also one or two which are earlier in origin. The poem-book itself is suitably arranged into secular and religious verse. The religious poems begin at f.43r through to f.125v of the *BOCD* manuscript.[10] What should be noted, however, is that the first six of these curiously appear in duplicate at the beginning of the manuscript from ff.1r to 11v; therefore the manuscript opens with strictly religious poems before deviating from these into some miscellanea and then resuming at f.43r with the first six poems once again. I have argued in an earlier study that the religious poems themselves are arranged quite carefully in an ordered fashion, in places along thematic lines (e.g. poems dedicated to the cross of Christ, the Virgin Mary and so on) and in other instances grouped together on the basis of a particular poet (e.g. Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, who was a contemporary of Somhairle Mac Domhnaill).[11] This, therefore, is no arbitrary collection.[12]

The *BOCD* and the variety of poems it contains is perhaps best understood against the background of the composition of new kinds of poem-book collections particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. Pádraig Ó Macháin has identified National Library of Ireland G992 otherwise known as *Duanaire na Nuinseannach* (or the Nugent Poem-Book), and compiled in 1577 for William Nugent (*c*.1550–1625) of Delvin, as one such example.[13] He contrasts this with earlier poem collections – here one might consider, for example, Trinity College Dublin MS 1318 (the so-called 'Yellow Book of Lecan'), which is dominated by the Ó hUiginn poets – Tadhg Óg (d.1448), Tuathal and Cormac Ruadh – and even later sixteenth-century collections such as the Book of the O'Hara, compiled in 1597 and also predominantly involving representatives of the Ó hUiginn school such as Tadhg Dall and Tadhg Óg, son of Maolmhuire Ó hUiginn. The difference is that the Nugent poem-book takes the form of a general anthology; it does not concern itself with the praise of one family group; nor is it dominated by one family of poets. As is the case with *BOCD*, the Nugent manuscript's poems range in date from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Although statistical comparisons for collections of bardic verse are necessarily inexact

given the problems of dating individual poems, an impressionistic comparison of the Nugent poems and the *BOCD* poems may, nevertheless, be worthwhile. Ó Macháin surmises that out of forty-nine datable poems in the Nugent manuscript, six belong to the thirteenth century, seven to the fourteenth, eight to the fifteenth and twenty-three are contemporary or near contemporary.[14] Based on my own list of religious poems from the *BOCD*[15] (and with posited dates in line with Katharine Simms's Bardic Poetry Database)[16] the following pattern emerges: out of fifty-two dateable poems, six belong to the thirteenth century, one to the fourteenth century, fifteen to the fifteenth century, six to the sixteenth century and twenty-two are contemporary or near-contemporary. There are some interesting parallels here, however insufficient the exactitude of the data.

While Katharine Simms suggests that the inclusion of older poems may be attributed partly to their use as models to be copied in the bardic schools, owing to their recognition as masterpieces, she also points to the possible influence of scholarly connections such as that between William Nugent and Giolla Brighde (later Bonaventure) Ó hEoghusa (O'Hussey) who became a Franciscan at St Anthony's College, Louvain, and may have had access to Nugent's poems before leaving for the Continent. The two men had spent some time studying together in Meath and perhaps even at the nearby Ó Cobhthaigh bardic school in Rathconrath.[17] If the latter was the case, however, it is curious that none of the Ó Cobhthaigh religious poems, so prominent in the Nugent poem-book, made their way into the *BOCD*. The Irish Franciscan community at Louvain's connection with the compilation of the *BOCD* and with Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill is much more assured. A poem on the brevity of life, 'A dhuine chuirios an crann', is attributed to Giolla Brighde (Bonaventure) Ó hEoghusa; another, 'A chroinn ar ar toirling Dia', which treats of the stigmata of Francis, is attributed to his confrere, Aodh Mac Aingil (Hugh MacCaughwell), and there are eleven devotional poems written by the Donegal poet, Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, who was given lodging at St Anthony's College, Louvain, by the college's founder, Flaithrí Ó Maoilchonaire (Florence Conry), and composed a body of poetry while resident there, his collection of religious verse most likely commissioned by the friars themselves.[18] Two of Somhairle Mac Domhnaill's company chaplains were Irish Franciscans based in Louvain: Bernard Conny and Hugh Ward (Aodh Mac an Bhaird). He had known Ward for some time: Ward's name appears as a witness to a legal document drawn up in Spain in 1617 concerning Mac Domhnaill's pension.[19] Furthermore, two of Mac Domhnaill's cousins were friars in St Anthony's at the time.[20] It is also worth noting that Somhairle Mac Domhnaill himself owed 150 florins to St Anthony's College in 1632, the year in which he is believed to have died.[21] It is thought that his donation of the *Duanaire Finn* manuscript to St Anthony's may also have constituted an effort to settle some debts.[22]

When one comes to discussing the religious poems in *BOCD*, one immediate question that arises is why these particular eighty-four religious poems were chosen for the collection and, indeed, who was responsible for deciding which poems were included. To put this into its proper context, it should be noted that out of roughly two thousand bardic religious poems surviving today, some four

hundred or so (roughly 20%) have a religious theme.[23] Was the choice of poems which appear in the *BOCD* based solely on what material was readily available, or did other criteria play their part in the process? If so, what were these criteria? In essence, then, our task is to discover whether the poems themselves tell us as much about the seventeenth-century concerns of Mac Domhnaill and the wider Irish Catholic community in the Spanish Netherlands as they do about the periods in which they had their origin. If this is the case (and there is much reason to believe that it is), then these poems may be seen to represent a degree of continuity from late medieval devotional concerns. Aodh Mac Aingil in the preface to his 1618 work on the Sacrament of Penance, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*, admits as much with regard to the message that he himself wished to convey: 'I do not give you new teaching but (instead) the old tune of repentance that Patrick played and that came before to saints in our land with deed and word; this is (the tune) I play.'[24]

It might be added, however, that while many of the devotional 'tunes' continued to be played in seventeenth-century Ireland and Europe, they were nevertheless being played in a new key.

The religious poems of the *BOCD* reflect broadly the concerns of late medieval piety: as one might expect, the passion and death of Christ features prominently in the collection and also fear of the Day of Judgement, when human beings would be expected to be held to account for the sufferings inflicted upon their saviour. Yet these common themes were often expressed in terms which owed much to the prescriptions enshrined in native Irish or Brehon law. For instance, it was common in bardic poems to refer to the necessity of paying the *éiric* or blood-fine in respect of Christ's killing. The *éiric* (or *éraic*) was a provision for compensation within native Irish law, whereby a payment would be made to the kin-group or *derbfhine* of a murdered individual. Conversely, the kin-group might also become responsible for the deeds of one of its members. In the preface to his history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, a work contemporaneous with the *BOCD*, the priest-scholar Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn) explains how in cases where a felon escapes to a neighbouring territory and the *éiric* cannot be imposed, it reverts to his own kin-group who are held responsible for paying the fine.[25] The killing of Christ was considered to be particularly horrendous, being classified as early as Blathmac's poetry in the eighth century as *fingal* (kin-slaying) on account of the fact that the Jews were regarded as Christ's maternal kin.[26] In the *BOCD* poem 'Tús na heagna omhan Dé' ('Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom'), which is a seventeenth-century composition, Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh remarks that on Doomsday 'ye shall pay the *éiric* of his sharp wounds and that blood beyond ransom! On Doomsday, alas, ye shall know the value of the cruel wounding of God's Son.'[27] In early Irish law, the honour price that needed to be paid depended on the status of the offended person and thus the payment due for the killing of God's Son was likely to be considerable indeed. Of course, native Irish law had much in common with Germanic legal systems. It has been argued that Anselm of Canterbury's idea that satisfaction needed to be made for humanity's offence to God's 'honour' has strong roots in Anglo-Saxon law and, in particular,

its analogous system of fines in payment for criminal offences, including murder. The amount to be paid (or *wergild*) depended, as in Ireland, on the social status of the injured party.[28]

The popularity of the Five Wounds devotion in medieval Europe and the invocation of the wounds of Christ as protective shields against condemnation on the Last Day have long been recognized.[29] In the anonymous *BOCD* poem, 'Maithim durra dána acht Dia', this devotion becomes couched in terms immediately recognizable in the world of the professional Gaelic Irish poet. The Five Wounds are described as the poet-band accompanying the professional versifier. The wounds in Christ's hands, feet and side go ahead of the poet as his attendants on the road. Even one of the instruments of the passion (*arma Christi*), the lance of Longinus, is included as attendant. The role of *reacaire* or reciter of the poet's verse is given to Christ's heart-blood, always considered the most efficacious of Christ's wounds. The poet asks Christ's heart-blood to speak to God the creator (the poet's patron) on his behalf. Equating Christ's heart-blood with God's love, the poet expresses confidence that its merits are inexhaustible and thus his petition cannot fail.[30]

In a *BOCD* poem entitled 'Múin aitridhe dhamh a Dhé', which is ascribed therein to the fifteenth-century poet Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn, the emphasis is, however, not on the difficulty of making satisfaction for sin but rather on the modality by which satisfaction is offered. Here that satisfaction comes in the form of the bestowal of love: 'thou must have my heart's love as *éiric* of the heart that was crushed in blood and in one day saved thy race'.[31] This poem underlines the teaching that true repentance and sincere confession of sins, accompanied by tears, can wipe away even the most horrific of crimes.[32] In order to press this point home, the poet relates the story of a woman who cuts the throat of her illegitimate child, after which three bloodstains remain permanently on her hand and cannot be removed by the most vigorous of washing. Only the tears of repentance shed within the sacrament of penance succeed in washing them away.[33] In stanza 8 of the poem, a direct link is made between the blood shed by Christ on Calvary and the teardrops shed by the penitent: 'many the drops of thy blood thou sheddest to save me. 'Twere shame for me not to shed the tears of my eyes.' This acceptance of tears at face value as an indicator of true repentance was common in the Middle Ages, tears being seen, in the words of William Reddy, as 'marks of sincerity, of clues to an interior state'.[34] In the context of the sacrament of penance, tears constituted the physical and visible sign par excellence of internal contrition, and recalled biblical exemplars of sincere contrition such as Mary Magdalene and Peter the chief apostle, both of whom repented with bitter tears (this tearful pair feature in the above poem at stanzas 10 and 11).[35] Yet, such identifiable markers were not universally accepted as de facto proofs of contrition. Aodh Mac Aingil in his *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* of 1618 argued that tears of themselves were not a prerequisite for true contrition.[36] While they can illustrate the depth of sorrow experienced by a penitent, Mac Aingil stated that God was nevertheless satisfied when he recognized true contrition in the heart. In this way he emphasized the sufficiency of interior contrition devoid of visible signs. After all, the dilemma famously faced by Shakespeare's Claudius

in the near-contemporary play, *Hamlet*, was his inability to match external words with interior transformation: 'My words fly up, my thoughts remain below. Words without thoughts never to heaven go' (Act 3, scene 3). In this *BOCD* poem, 'Múin aitridhe dhamh a Dhé', the poet admits that he did not seek religious instruction until late in life, that it had been difficult to teach him his catechism in his youth, and that, even now, it is difficult to bend a bough on an old tree.[37] It is not difficult to imagine the sentiments in these verses resonating with a figure such as Mac Domhnaill in 1631, especially if he was in poor health (which may have been the case if he did happen to die within a year or so of the manuscript's compilation). Alas, we most likely will never know.

In the *BOCD* poem 'Atáid trí comraic am chionn', also ascribed to Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (and which, incidentally, can also be found in the sixteenth-century Scottish *Book of the Dean of Lismore*),[38] the poet speaks of the *éiric* in the context of Adam and Eve, and makes the following observation: 'he [God] would have asked of them only penance as *éiric*; he would have pardoned, had they only asked him, that couple's breach of the commandments' (stanza 26). Here Adam and Eve are being held up as examples of how *not* to react after sin; rather than denying their sin, had they sought forgiveness, it would have been forthcoming. It is little surprise that older poems such as this example were considered useful as catechetical tools in the heightened atmosphere of Catholic Reformation Europe. Anachronistic as Adam and Eve's neglect of the Ten Commandments might appear, the message to the tale's hearers was clear: reluctance to admit one's guilt would lead to banishment from paradise. In the section on the sacrament of penance in Bonaventure Ó hEoghusa's catechism *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, published from St Anthony's College, Louvain, in 1614, the reader is reminded that three things are necessary for the sacrament: contrition for sin, confession of sin and the performance of satisfaction. Readers were encouraged to examine their conscience with the aid of the Ten Commandments and instructed to consider that their sins were greater than the sin of Adam which consisted of 'the eating of a small apple in breach of God's command and through which the human race was consigned to hell for five thousand years'.[39]

The theme of penance looms large across the collection of religious poems chosen for inclusion in *BOCD*. As seen above, this is often accompanied by admonition for those who prefer to delay approaching the sacrament of penance or who do not confess openly or honestly. Concern with the manner in which people approached confession, of course, was not new. Since the promulgation of canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 it was enjoined upon all Christians to confess their sins to their parish priest at least once a year. This requirement would necessitate a programme of catechesis on how best to avail oneself of the sacrament, and thus at various periods throughout the later Middle Ages efforts were made to inculcate the most desirable means of confessing sin.[40] One of the most well known is the 'sixteen conditions for a good confession', which was promoted by figures such as Antoninus of Florence and Angelus de Clavassio. This list, which also features in a number of Irish manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[41] called for the confession of sins to be 'whole',[42] leaving nothing out.

This concern with full disclosure also appears in an early poem (thirteenth century) included in *BOCD* and entitled 'Crand do chuir amach naoi nár'. In imaginative fashion, the poet speaks of the work of the ploughman who turns the soil. He points out that while an upturned clod with its grass-side showing might be more aesthetically pleasing to the eye, nevertheless no new seed can grow from it. Likewise with confession: unless one is willing to reveal the darker side of oneself, in its entirety, no new growth can begin:

> The loamy upper sod is confession that conceals nothing; the green, grassy, overgrown thicket is the complacent and loud-mouthed man …
>
> Confession with its grass showing is a creation pleasing to the eye but fraught with filth; the craftsman of the elements is displeased with it when the earth-side is not uppermost.
>
> Let us throw up the brown earth, let us hide the side of the grass, fair to look upon; let us, moreover, plant seed – what point would there be in ploughing without that?[43]

Later in the poem, the poet refers to having being wounded by the eight sins of the world. He promises not to 'hide the erupting virulent abscess in my heart', asking that 'the coulter come to my swelling to burst it open, O King of Heaven'.[44] Here the poet continues the imagery of ploughing but also treats of sin as a wound that needs to be healed. This idea is related to the common depiction of Christ as a physician in the sacrament of penance, healing the wounds inflicted by sin, an image that was hugely popular in native Irish literature, both religious and secular in which the term *liaigh* ('physician') was often used as shorthand for a competent ruler.[45]

The reference to the eight sins of the world might also be noted here. Their development from the eight evil thoughts of Evagrius of Pontus through the eight principal vices of John Cassian, which were then reformulated by Gregory the Great as a list of seven (in which vainglory and pride were fused into pride, sorrow and acedia were rolled into the sin of sloth and the sin of envy was added) is well known. The eightfold scheme of John Cassian would remain influential, however, in the development of the early Irish penitentials and, indeed, for centuries afterwards.[46] In fact, in a sixteenth-century poem entitled 'Ag so an t-easlán dar-íribh' by Maolmhuire Mac an Bhaird and included in *BOCD*, the seven deadly sins and the eight principal vices sit side by side in stanzas 7 and 8, respectively. These are described as wounds inflicted on the soul and in stanza 9 the bodily senses are likened to dark, closed doors that will not allow access to Christ the physician who, in stanza 10, is identified as the healing herb. In a pithy but beautifully crafted petition in stanza 13, the poet simply asks: 'Open my closed doors.'[47] A further *BOCD* poem, dated by Simms to the sixteenth/early seventeenth century and entitled 'Dá chuireadh ar chloinn Ádhaimh', also refers to both the seven deadly sins and the eight principal vices, this time in a single stanza (26).[48] It also incorporates a traditional *lorica*-style prayer into its concluding stanzas, in which the poet asks the King of Heaven to come into his chamber and to remain there, to be beneath

him and above him, before him and around him, never to leave him and to stay behind him to protect him.[49]

When comparing the verse of the bardic poets in *BOCD* with works from St Anthony's College such as *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe* of 1614 and Antoin Gearnon's later catechism-cum-prayer-book, *Parrthas an Anma* of 1645, it should be noted that the deadly sins are usually cited as seven in the catechetical literature (as opposed to the accretionary mélange of seven/eight exhibited by the poets). The five senses do appear in these catechetical works, though, and are listed as sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch in Gearnon's work, their purpose being to 'enable us to offer God worthy service'.[50] In Ó hEoghusa's catechism, they appear at the very end in verse form. Readers are instructed to keep guard of their senses for fear of death visiting their houses and these are listed as taste, touch, smell, hearing and sight.[51] The penultimate religious poem in *BOCD*, 'Gabh comhairle a Chríosdaidhe', is almost a miniature catechism in verse, in which the hearer is instructed to believe the twelve articles of the creed, to pray the Our Father, to keep the Ten Commandments and to love one's neighbour 'for the sake of the Father of all'. In addition, the poet speaks of the Church as 'the Bride of Christ and our Mother' and goes on to list the seven sacraments and the four cardinal virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the five precepts of the Church. Keeping these five precepts, it is claimed, will ensure that the Day of Judgement will be pleasant. In addition, it is recommended that the hearer becomes acquainted with the works of mercy and the virtues, to take care of the bodily senses and to avoid the seven (deadly) sins. The final verse states that if one wishes to enjoy the eternal and blessed life of heaven, which is outlined in the catechism, one should follow the advice given through the words of this poem.[52]

The idea of a dualistic struggle between body and soul, which preoccupied many in the later Middle Ages, looms large in the religious poetry found in the *BOCD* right from the opening seventeenth-century religious poem, 'Glac a chompáin comhairle', which describes the body as a 'vessel of rottenness' and the thirteenth-century poem following ('Lóchrann soilsi ag síol Ádhaimh'), which terms the body a 'mad dog', and in another thirteenth-century composition, 'Ort do sheiseacht a shaoghail', where it is referred to as a 'deceitful tricky bitch'.[53] In the poem 'Fada atú i n-aghaidh m'anma', ascribed to Diarmuid Mac an Bhaird and possibly a seventeenth-century composition, the poet hints that the soul commits adultery with 'its paramour', the body, an act which grieves 'Mary's Son'. This is a device that was much used by Franciscans such as Aodh Mac Aingil in tracts on penance.[54] But there are also other striking parallels between religious poems in the *BOCD* and the Irish Franciscan material being produced at Louvain. In the anonymous poem 'Do mheallais meise, a cholann', which asks the hearer to consider the brevity of life – the grave, judgement and the prospect of hell (and which identifies the body as a grave in itself) – the poet also encourages a mental excursus of affective identification with Christ's experience on earth. He asks that the hearer consider Christ's Incarnation, his poverty in the womb of a woman and what he inherited from our evil-doing; that the hearer think of every element of his passion, on the wounds he suffered and, in particular, the bitterness of the Five Wounds which are the

'highways of the Child-King'. He then recalls the coldness of the stable and how Christ lowered himself (and his status) in order to confine himself to a narrow body.[55] This emphasis on Christ's *kenosis* or self-emptying, an idea based largely on a passage in Philippians 2.6–11, has a close parallel in Aodh Mac Aingil's *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* where, in one place, he exclaims,

> Lord, you lowered yourself to raise me up, you weakened yourself to fortify me, you made yourself poor to make me rich, you diminished yourself to strengthen me, you made yourself of earth to make me of heaven, you made yourself human to make me divine, you belittled yourself to exalt me, you died that I might live, you suffered that I might be glorified, you stripped yourself that I might have increase … [56]

Although a small number of *BOCD*'s poems were originally composed in the thirteenth century, many of their preoccupations were certainly both current and timely in the context of Irish Franciscan religious instruction aimed first at the Irish community in seventeenth-century Flanders and, second, their compatriots at home. To take the example of full and open acknowledgment of guilt, for instance, as detailed in the sixteen conditions necessary for a proper confession which were laid out by St Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologica* and which was encouraged by the poem above, this also figures as a common preoccupation of writers of catechetical tracts of the Catholic Reformation; Aodh Mac Aingil, for one, in his *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* of 1618, makes several references to what he perceives to be a lack of admission of sinfulness and devotes a number of pages to the question of people who conceal some sins in confession out of shame in which, with the aid of ever more lurid tales, he warns against imperilling one's eternal salvation.[57] He describes how some people approach confession in the same way as they might entertain with a story, without showing any sign of remorse or repentance.[58] They often seem more interested in telling other people's sins, recounting their own good deeds or indeed spending time storytelling without any regard for details relevant to the subject.[59] Mac Aingil recalls how he often spent half an hour or an hour listening to stories in which not one sin was confessed, 'on account of the ignorance of the sinner'.[60] But there was also quite a serious side to concealing sin, and this was emphasized by Mac Aingil in the same work in the words:

> It is certain that whoever fails to confess a mortal sin, however terrible, out of shame, will not [only] forfeit the benefit of confession but will add a new mortal sin to the sin, which was on him, before coming to confession.[61]

In the *BOCD* poem 'Atáid trí comraic am chionn' quoted above, there is a further verse concerning Adam and Eve which states unequivocally that 'they denied their guilt, though Jesus saw their heart; yet, escape were easy for both by confessing their sins' (stanza 26). There can be little doubt but that Somhairle Mac Domhnaill was familiar with religious instruction of this kind; after all, in 1613 the Irish Franciscans at Louvain had received permission from the Franciscan Minister

General to appoint preachers and confessors to the Irish military units in the service of Spain.[62] Mac Domhnaill's company of musketeers, according to Benjamin Hazard, retained three Franciscan priests as chaplains.[63] Mac Aingil, himself, had acted as chief chaplain to the Irish regiment in Flanders, which was under the command of his friend Henry O' Neill.[64] The Franciscan refrain of 'confess early and often', then, would not have been unfamiliar to Mac Domhnaill. Does this explain the inclusion of a number of poems which repeatedly make this point (albeit sometimes from a more temporally remote vantage point) in the *BOCD*?

This 'old tune of repentance', which Aodh Mac Aingil spoke of 'playing' in his tract on penance, was also being played by others ministering in Ireland itself. The Tipperary diocesan priest, Geoffrey Keating, was writing his *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an bháis* or *Three Shafts of Death* around the same time as the *BOCD* was being compiled. He, too, occupies himself with these familiar concerns, making use of material from medieval *exempla* which resembles that found in the poems of *BOCD*. One instructive example is his recounting of a story which he borrows from the *Speculum exemplorum* (originally published in 1481).[65]

Another miraculous story, which is recorded in the book that is known as *Speculum exemplorum*, [can be] read on this [subject]; that there was once a certain grave sinner, who was approaching the end of his life, and exhibited no sign of moving towards repentance. And it happened that Christ showed himself to him, through His great mercy, and displayed His wounds to him, in order to encourage him to repent. However, he remained stubbornly incorrigible, refusing to repent. When Christ saw his ingratitude He became angry and, with that, placed His hand in his red side and drew out some of His own blood from His side and shook it upon the sinner, saying "Let that blood be a witness to your lawful damnation" And, with that, Christ disappeared from everyone's sight, and the crowd that were gathered around the patient began to wash his face to remove the blood from it. However, they could not, and it remained [there] as a testimony of his wickedness until his death.[66]

In contrast to the woman who managed to remove the bloodstains from her hand with tears of repentance, as seen in the *BOCD* poem above, in this example, no repentance was forthcoming, and the indictment of Christ's blood remained. As if to confirm that material found in bardic religious verse was considered to be of some value still for the edification of Christian audiences, Geoffrey Keating often employed religious verse from the Irish bardic tradition in *Trí Bior-Ghaoithe an bháis* to make his point.[67] In doing this, Keating was not shy about selecting material from the works of thirteenth-century poets in addition to later examples. This is an important point, for it indicates that the material selected for inclusion in the *BOCD* was more likely to have been regarded as having current value in its own day rather than being envisaged as something of a 'collector's item', a store of native Irish heritage to be preserved during uncertain times.

The co-existence of the old and the new in Irish devotional collections can be seen in the case of British Library MS Sloane 3567, written in Clanawley in County

Fermanagh, in 1664–5. Here we find a medieval account of the revelation of the number of Christ's wounds to St Elizabeth of Hungary and St Bridget of Sweden with a long indulgence attached in addition to a version of the medieval prayers, the Fifteen Oes of Christ's passion. There are also three poems which feature in Mac Domhnaill's *BOCD* collection – 'Mairg dar compánach an colann', 'Glac a compain comhairle' and 'Do mheallais misi a cholann'. In addition, there are also other, more recent works, which appear in this collection: namely, extracts from the published catechism of Irish Franciscan Antoin Gearnon, *Parrthas an Anma* (1645), but which had by then entered the still-vibrant Irish manuscript tradition.[68] In the main, these extracts were comprised of prayers – litanies, prayers when greeting a cross etc., and also explanations of the meaning of priests' vestments at Mass. When one examines other seventeenth-century manuscripts a similar pattern emerges. The medieval *merita missae* or 'Merits of the Mass' text can be found in the Roscommon manuscript known as Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (Royal Irish Academy MS 476 / 23 O 48, *c.*1437–40) and also in a manuscript owned by Cormac Mac Parrthaláin of Breifne (British Library Egerton MS 136), which was compiled in the year 1630, some two hundred years later. The same can be said for the Leabhar Breac homily on the Ten Commandments.[69]

Katharine Olson has argued a similar point regarding Wales, demonstrating the longevity of many medieval devotional themes through the mid-sixteenth century (evidenced, for instance, in compilations like that of the Book of Ieuan ap William ap Dafydd ap Einws, assembled and written in 1554) and beyond.[70] Certainly from an Irish perspective, it seems very clear that the 'new wine' of seventeenth-century instruction was still being largely delivered in the older wineskins of the late medieval world.[71] This is why the corpus of religious poetry found in *BOCD* and the subject matter treated therein is best regarded as having a real currency value for figures such as Mac Domhnaill in seventeenth-century Flanders. Many of the themes and motifs and much of the language which it contained were still in everyday use by the Irish Franciscan preachers, confessors and chaplains. These were reminiscent also of what might have been heard from the lips of a preacher such as Geoffrey Keating in early 1630s Ireland. If we take these assumptions seriously, then the compilation of a collection such as *BOCD* is of great significance, and can tell us much more about the early seventeenth-century religious mind than we might care to admit.

9

The Battle of Britain: History and Reformation in Early Modern Wales

Lloyd Bowen

The Welsh of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were proverbially proud of their history. They saw themselves as the descendants of the Ancient Britons who had dominion over these islands long before the arrival of the Romans. This Welsh heritage itself had a long lineage by the time the Tudors came to the throne, appearing in one form in the *Armes Prydain* ('The Prophecy of Britain') in the early tenth century. It was most successfully synthesized by one of their own, Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*c*.1136) encapsulated both the majesty of the Welsh people's distant past and foretold their restitution to former glories by the *mab darogan* ('son of prophecy') who would deliver them from Saxon bondage and restore their authority over Britain. The Welsh became the staunchest and most vociferous supporters of the whole corpus of the Galfridian tradition (i.e., the cluster of historical ideas and texts that supported Geoffrey's narrative) after it came under attack by humanist scholars such as Polydore Vergil and Hector Boece in the early sixteenth century.[1] They were obsessed with a particular vision of the past, and this was to prove an important vehicle for conveying the Protestant Reformation to them. The story of the Reformation in Wales is bound up with issues of state building and the country's incorporation within the English polity, but it is also a narrative of cultural accommodation on the part both of the Welsh and the Crown. This accommodation took the form of translation of the Scriptures and Prayer Book into Welsh, but this vernacularization was inflected with another element designed to inculturate the Reformation in Wales – the identification of Protestantism with the Welsh past.

   Much of the secondary literature dealing with these issues has shown how different readings of early Church history were used in doctrinal and theological defences of the Church of England, but few have recognized the centrality of early British history to contemporary notions of Welshness.[2] They have also largely failed to explore how the Reformation was particularly successful in blending Welshness, Britishness and the primitive Church as a rediscovery of a lost Welsh faith. This essay offers a discussion of how religious history was employed and disputed within a Welsh context in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It will show how, in many respects, the Reformation in Wales was particularly historical in nature and drew upon considerable reserves of patriotic capital there. It will also discuss how Welsh Catholics and Puritans, like their 'Anglican' counterparts, attempted to appropriate the early history of the Welsh Church to

support their claims to authority and legitimacy. The chapter also reflects on the continued potency of such sacred history in Wales when it had largely been forgotten or discredited in England.

The progress of the Reformation in Wales was slow, halting and tortuous. There was no rebellion against the religious changes there, no Pilgrimage of Grace, but neither was there any real sign of enthusiasm for the new faith, and contemporaries were acutely aware of the discontented grumblings and Catholic sympathies which remained strong throughout the sixteenth century.[3] Hostile Catholic powers saw Wales as a potential ally in any move against its Protestant prince, and more than once it was mooted by foreign agents as a possible invasion site. In 1571 a papal agent wrote that Wales was 'a stronghold of the Catholics', while an exiled Welsh Catholic, Morys Clynnog, could inform the pope in 1575 that '[Wales is] most devoted to the Catholic faith, and most inclined to welcome aid from abroad for the restoration of religion.'[4] Despite their indifference to the new faith, the Welsh acquiesced in the religious changes of the 1530s and 1540s in no small measure because of the contemporaneous benefits the local gentry obtained by incorporation with England through the Acts of Union (1536–43).[5] There was indulgence of Catholicism on the part of most governors rather than any zeal for religious change. Indeed, the Bishop of St Davids, Richard Davies, was scathing about the indifferent lead the Welsh gentry had given the people in his funeral sermon for the Earl of Essex at Carmarthen in 1577.[6] Davies's irritation stemmed from the glacial pace of reform in the principality which troubled both lay and ecclesiastical officials. In a report on the diocese of Bangor three decades after the break with Rome, the bishop, Nicholas Robinson, described the pervasive 'ignorance' there and spoke of 'the dregs of superstition', with images and altars undefaced, vigils and pilgrimages continuing 'and all the country full of knots and beads'.[7] The situation was similar in the three other Welsh dioceses.

The need for security against Catholic invasion and the nature of the union settlement meant that it was essential that the unresponsiveness of the Welsh towards the new faith be addressed. The nature of the problem facing central government and local reformers encouraged them to consider framing particularist solutions which took account of Welsh cultural distinctiveness. English Protestantism was presented to the Welsh in a language as incomprehensible as Latin, closed up 'from the people in an unknown tongue', while it was also perceived by many as a foreign imposition by the old enemy, *y ffydd Saeson* ('the faith of the Saxons'), as the Glamorgan bard Thomas ab Ieuan ap Rhys put it.[8] From comparatively early on, then, Welsh reformers emphasized the need to translate the Scriptures and Prayer Book into Welsh, but running parallel with this was an attempt to naturalize Protestantism in Wales through patriotic appeals to their cherished history. Indeed, it is perhaps artificial to separate the two as Welsh reformers, like many of their colleagues in England, believed that the early Britons had possessed all of holy Scripture in their own language, Welsh, before the coming of Roman corruptions.[9] Translation, then, would not only be a means of communicating Protestantism to the people but also an exercise in linguistic archaeology and an

imaginative restoration of a lost historical text. This combined appeal to language and history is a continuing theme of religious reform in early modern Wales.

Some excellent work has appeared on the uses of early British history in the English Reformation.[10] This has developed subtle readings of the uses to which history was put in defending and justifying the reformed church in England. Central to this story has been the ways in which reformers utilized the history of the primitive British Church to underpin arguments for the continuity and purity of the Church of England. Establishing the apostolic primacy of the reformed church was vital to counter the Catholic argument that the Reformation was a new fangled heresy, a creation of man rather than the work of God. Drawing on authorities like Gildas, Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Protestant scholars like John Bale developed a narrative of the early British Church which emphasized its independence and uncorrupted purity. One strand gave particular prominence to the conversion of King Lucius in the second century, after which there developed a pristine church with metropolitans at London, York and Caerleon. Another dwelt on the mission of Joseph of Arimathea who introduced the uncorrupted Christian faith to the Britons only decades after Christ's death and Resurrection. These narratives demonstrated how Augustine's mission to Kent in 597 did not represent the conversion of the British but rather the introduction of Roman corruptions by the Saxons. It was only as the Romanized Saxons gained dominion over the Britons, the genealogical and spiritual forefathers of the Welsh, that they fell into error and darkness. The Reformation was presented as showing the way *back* to the pure faith which was once universal. Such a tale cast the Saxon progenitors of the English as the villains of the piece, while the ancestors of the Welsh were the heroes keeping the flame of the true gospel alive until wickedness and treachery did for them. Given the history of Welsh subjugation by the Anglo-Normans and English, the appeal of such a model for the Welsh of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was obvious.

The English Reformation was deeply historical, but the Reformation in Wales was perhaps even more so, and its people were particularly primed to respond to such appeals.[11] The legend of Britain was a potentially fruitful agent for carrying the Reformation forward in Wales as it touched on cherished ideas about identity, historicity, precedence and renewal, and the most influential reformers in the principality sought to incorporate a patriotic vision of religious history alongside their lobbying efforts for the vernacularization of the Scriptures. A central figure in this was William Salesbury (*c.*1520–80), a towering Renaissance scholar and polemicist who had command of Welsh, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German 'and other languages'.[12] Salesbury was an indefatigable campaigner for the need to address the spiritual needs of his countrymen.[13] He wrote a number of tracts in the mid-sixteenth century which showed his commitment to reform and his loyalty to the Crown. In 1547 he produced *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembro Ygyd* ('The Whole Sense of a Welshman's Head') which collected the proverbs of Gruffudd Hiraethog, a notable Welsh bard and a friend of Salesbury. Salesbury's introduction to this work dwelt on the necessity of translating the Bible into Welsh. Alongside this plea,

however, he also touched on an issue which resonated with many of his listeners – the history of Welsh faith. His was a polemical argument which married the cause of reform with a genuine sense of Welsh patriotism. Salesbury appealed to his readers to persuade the king to allow translation of the Scriptures, arguing 'unless you wish utterly to depart from the faith of Christ … obtain the holy scripture in your tongue as your fortunate ancestors, the ancient British had it'.[14] Once the Welsh had lost the faith of their ancestors, so their language degraded and God 'caused them to be called alien and foreign in the land of their birth'. Salesbury rendered this fate as 'the remains of God's curse since the time of Cadwaladr the Blessed'. This was, then, a Galfridian trajectory, drawing on the passage in the *Historia* where an angel revealed to Cadwaladr that the Britons (the modern Welsh) would lose their kingdom, but also the prophecy which foretold of rebirth and regeneration when, 'as a reward for its faithfulness, the British people would occupy the island again'.[15] Indeed, it is telling that the material in *Oll Synnwyr* was reprinted in a publication of 1567 along with *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* ('Triads of the Island of Britain'), medieval Welsh poems which dilated on the country's ancient heroes, and which had some overlap with Geoffrey's *Historia*.[16]

Geoffrey's model propagated a potentially anti-English discourse, with the Welsh being vanquished by Saxon invaders from their rightful land – indeed, Owain Glyndwr had used this tradition to rally Welsh sentiment against the English.[17] There are echoes of this in Salesbury's reference to the Welsh being called foreigners in their own land.[18] The word 'Welsh' was derived from the Old English *Wealh* which meant 'foreigners', and Salesbury here seems to be trying deliberately to invoke such familiar threads of the Galfridian tale.[19] The oppositional element of this rhetoric was reconfigured into one of spiritual unification and recovery, however, as the Reformation was really a rediscovery of the faith of the Britons. The route back to belonging was through the true religion in their native tongue: 'if you wish to renounce that ancient and long-standing curse … Make a bare-footed pilgrimage to His Grace the King and his Council to pray for permission to obtain the holy scripture in your own tongue'. This synthesis of history, religion and national identity was forcefully summarized in Salesbury's conclusion that if the Welsh people did not honour God by obtaining the Scriptures in Welsh 'none of you can claim connection with British patriotism, nor be related to its various achievements and its good qualities'.[20]

This was a message designed to appeal to popular sentiment in Wales. Salesbury placed it in a book of proverbs from one of the most famous poets of his day; he wrote it in the vernacular and the book was in the accessible black-letter typeface. The message regarding the particular historicity of the Welsh faith was made authoritatively in prose suffused with passion and pride, and which was intimately connected with issues of language, culture and nationhood. Salesbury believed that there was polemical and rhetorical mileage in fusing the British History of the Welsh with the reformed faith, and evidently considered this to be a popular perspective.

There is certainly evidence to support the view that Welsh history was a route into the popular consciousness, and contemporaries acknowledged that forms

of the Welsh Galfridian tradition enjoyed a currency outside academic circles. In Carmarthen in April 1550, for example, the Bishop of St Davids, Robert Ferrar, 'p[er]ceyvinge hym self to be evell beloved yn that countrey and utterly owte of credence with the people there', looked to flatter them by invoking their history. He claimed that the Welsh were more gentle than the English 'and no marvayle for sumtyme ye wer[e] Britaines and had this realme yn govern[an]ce, and yf the prophesye of Merlyn be true, ye shall so have it agayne'.[21] In October 1600 Lodowic Lloyd could write to Secretary Robert Cecil that 'the old Romans were not as addicted to their sybils, the Egyptians to the priests of Memphis, nor the Frenchmen to their superstitious druids as many in my country are given to the prophecies of Merlin'.[22] The sense of a distinctive history which swirled in a rather inchoate way around the cardinal points of Geoffrey's *Historia* seems to have been present at all levels of Welsh society. Salesbury's invocation of the Ancient Britons in the context of a reforming message was designed to connect these elements together in a way that appealed to the cultural predispositions of his readers and auditors.

In 1551 Salesbury produced a Welsh version of the epistles and Gospel readings authorized by the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, *Kynniver Llith a Ban* ('As Many Lessons and Articles'), which represented an important step on the path to his ultimate goal of obtaining official sanction to translate the Bible into Welsh. He was probably part of the team which successfully lobbied for the Act of Parliament of 1563 which authorized this work – a milestone in the inculturation of the Reformation in Wales. Salesbury was one of the translators who worked on this project along with Richard Davies, Bishop of St Davids. The work proceeded more slowly than hoped, and by 1567 the pair had produced translations of the Prayer Book and New Testament only. Nevertheless, this was a considerable achievement, and one which once more illustrates the centrality of appeals to particularist history as a way of selling the new faith to a suspicious and obdurate Welsh public.

   Davies and Salesbury were plugged into the antiquarian network centred on Archbishop Matthew Parker, whose researches into Church history were designed to show how the Protestant faith 'is no new reformation of things lately begonne which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the pristine state of olde conformitie'.[23] Although Parker was principally concerned with the Anglo-Saxon roots of the Church, he was also deeply interested in the British past.[24] Davies and Salesbury were closely involved with the Welsh dimension to Parker's project, and corresponded with the Archbishop about their antiquarian researches while they were engaged in the business of translating the Bible and liturgy. Davies wrote to Parker in March 1566 about some of the fruits of his historical labours, describing the 'conynewall warre … bytwext the Brettayns (then inhabitauntes of the realme) and the Saxons, the Bryttayns beyng Christians and the Saxons pagans'. He indicated that the Britons and Saxons would eat and drink together when they parleyed about peace, but that after Augustine's mission the Saxons' Christianity was of such a sort as the Britons refused to dine with them 'bycause they corrupted with susp[er]sticion, ymages and ydolatrye

the true religion of Christe, whyche the Bryttayns had reserved pure among them from the tyme of Kyng Lucius'.[25] This message about the corruption of (implicitly English) Catholicism and the purity of the (implicitly Welsh) brave Britons would resurface in perhaps the most powerful and effective amalgamation of Welsh historical polemic and reformist argument, Davies's *Epistol at y Cembru* ('A Letter to the Welsh People') which prefaced the translation of the New Testament that appeared in 1567.

Davies's lengthy epistle was a text fashioned for more than one audience. It mixed some abstruse historical research and theological argument, designed perhaps with ministers and curates in mind, with direct addresses to the Welsh people about their splendid past, the perfidy of the English and the necessity of recovering their lost faith. It was redolent of the Galfridian tradition so beloved of the Welsh, and recalled the earlier scholarship of reformers like John Bale. It added a further layer of Welsh patriotic gloss to Geoffrey's narrative, but eschewed the medieval chronicler's broadly secular approach to focus on the religious antiquity and prestige of the Welsh.

The opening of the *Epistol* is a remarkable piece of prose which addresses the country directly: 'Awake thou now lovely Wales … do not denationalize thyself, do not be indifferent, do not look down, but gaze upwards to the place thou dost belong'.[26] The immediacy of the address and the imploring appeal to national sentiment is striking, and recalls Salesbury's use of a similar mode in *Oll Synnwyr* two decades earlier. Indeed, there is evidence from contemporary marginalia on a copy of the New Testament in the Parker collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that this passage along with some others in the *Epistol* were in fact the work of Salesbury rather than Davies.[27] When writing in the vernacular, Davies and Salesbury seem to have employed this direct, apostrophizing technique to achieve a sense of intimacy and a connection between author and reader/auditor. In this they were seeking to create communities among their readers and listeners who were bound together not only by a common language and history but also by a common faith. This was an attempt to graft a confessional dimension onto a linguistic and historical community to create a Protestant Wales. There is also in Davies's (or perhaps Salesbury's) lines a pressing sense of urgency and necessity, a sense that souls were being lost without the benison of the translated Scriptures. He ranged across millennia of the past to urge immediate action in the present.

The allied messages of national pride and spiritual renewal run through the *Epistol* as Davies provided the Welsh with a nationally glossed version of the early British Church and lauded the dignity and prowess of the Ancient Britons. Prominent here is the mission of Joseph of Arimathea which brought the message of Christ to the Britons from the fountainhead. Davies observed that Christianity did not gain general acceptance among the people, however, until the conversion of King Lucius in AD 180. Significantly, Lucius is presented in a Welsh milieu as 'Llês, son of Coel'.[28] Invoking Coel is also worthy of comment as Geoffrey of Monmouth had Coel's daughter, Helen (or Elen), marrying Constantius and giving birth to Constantine the Great. The 'Act in Restraint of Appeals' and the Henrician claim to empire were, in part, based upon an imperial lineage which ran back to the first Christian Roman

emperor, who was also king of Britain.[29] Although Davies acknowledged the variant scholarly interpretations about Lucius and the degree to which Rome had been involved in the Christianization of Britain, he emphasized the core point common to all and which was particularly important for a Welsh audience: 'that the Britons received the undefiled and perfect religion of Christ'.[30]

Davies went on to detail the antagonism between the Britons and the Saxons and the latter's Romish corruption by Augustine which he had described in his letter to Parker.[31] Over time 'the edge of the sword' coerced the Britons into adopting the Saxon faith and departing from 'their own customary Christianity'. Davies emphasized the Britons' 'meanness and humiliation … oppression and servitude' at the hands of the Saxons, drawing on the long-established anti-English discourse which again was designed to broaden the appeal of his message. However, the redemptive trajectory of the *Historia* and the Welsh *Brut* tradition was followed when Davies revealed to the Welsh the path to ultimate triumph and vindication which lay with the Welsh Tudors. This native line had reunified Britain by the Acts of Union and recovered the undefiled faith with the break from Rome. Drawing on contemporary ideas of cyclical revolutions in history, Davies again addressed his reader/auditor directly in passages which are worth quoting at length:

> I have shown to thee thy pre-eminence and thy privilege of old, and thy humiliation and thy deprivation afterwards. Therefore, by proper meditation and recognition of thine own self thou shouldest be glad, and frequent thy thanksgiving to God, to her grace the Queen and to the Lords and Commons of the kingdom who are renewing thy privilege and honour … Take it [the New Testament] in thy hand, grasp it and read it. Here shall thou see thy former condition, here wilt thou acquaint thyself with thy old faith, and the praiseworthy Christianity thou hadst before. Here wilt thou find the faith thou didst defend unto fire and sword, and for which thy religious and thy learned men were martyred long ago in the persecution.[32]

This was a compelling combination of nationalist history, monarchism and reformed faith which had a profound impact on the nature and fortunes of Protestantism in Wales.

It is difficult to untangle the significance of this view of Welsh history from other social and political factors in advancing the reformed cause, yet the very fact that Davies and Salesbury thought such an extended exercise in historicizing of the faith for the people in an accessible manner was worthwhile suggests that they were making capital from an idea of the Welsh past which had general currency among parishioners, and not just their ministers. It is also worth reflecting on the fact that this interpretation of history was not presented in an esoteric work of academic debate. It was placed at the opening of the New Testament itself, as a kind of contextualizing primer for the Welsh better to understand the meaning of what followed. This historicizing polemic would be present in all parish churches in Wales, and would have been accessible to the literate, but also, surely, promulgated by ministers as part of their readings and sermons. The closest parallel to

this in England was Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, but we may wonder whether Davies's message was not even more central to Welsh understandings of the reformed faith than Foxe's work was for English ones.

There is evidence that the positioning of the Welsh Church in this long histori-cal context elicited a positive response. The preface to Maurice Kyffin's 1595 trans-lation of John Jewel's *Apologia* made particular reference to the utility of Davies's *Epistol*, describing it as a 'godly, learned letter to the Welsh' which led them to a 'renewal of the old Catholic faith and the light of Christ's Gospel'. Kyffin praised Davies's eloquence, adding that the letter 'undoubtedly … would do great benefit for every Welshman that read it'.[33] Importantly, Davies's 'Address' itself went on to be reprinted in a Welsh translation of Jewel's *Apologia* in 1671, and was later published separately, going into a third edition by the 1770s.[34] Evidently this was a standalone text and was almost certainly used as a didactic device. Yet perhaps the *Epistol*'s significance lies not in the fact that such reinterpretation of history formed a separate strand of Reformation in Wales, but rather that it was placed at the heart of the translators' message. They produced an amalgam of history, faith, language and unalloyed patriotism which seems to have had a demotic as well as scholarly appeal.

Glanmor Williams has described how Protestantism made incremental but inexo-rable gains in Wales in the later sixteenth century, buoyed by the translations of Davies and Salesbury and their historical reframing.[35] The publication of the complete Bible in translation by William Morgan in 1588 was a significant stage in this process. However, his magisterial volume did not possess the historical glosses of Davies's *Epistol*, although his Latin address to the Queen consistently referred to the Welsh as 'British' and the Welsh language as 'the British tongue'.[36] Nevertheless, the close association between the Church in Welsh and the Ancient Britons continued to be propagated in Welsh Protestant literature throughout the early modern period. For example, Maurice Kyffin's translation of Jewel's *Apologia*, *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr*, referred in its preface to the ancient faith of the Britons, while the work it translated was itself partly an exercise in uncovering the ancient British roots of the Church of England. 'We have planted no new reli-gion', wrote Jewel, 'but only have renewed the old', a sentiment which perhaps suggests why this became one of the earliest theological works beside the Bible and Prayer Book to have been translated into Welsh.[37] Kyffin, who was associated with antiquarians such as John Dee, William Camden and David Powel, had ear-lier produced a laudatory poem for Elizabeth entitled *The Blessednes of Brytaine.* This praised Elizabeth as a 'blessed branch of Brutus Royall race', in the same stanza in which it thanked her for 'Graunting Christs Gospel in their country speche'. The close relationship between Welsh history and Welsh faith is once more prominent. A marginal note glossed this passage as 'Her maiestie princesse of Wales, where the inhabitants enioy Gods worde in their own language through the meere grace & goodnes of her highnes'.[38]

In his panegyric to Elizabeth, Kyffin called on Welsh poets to praise the Queen 'with waightie words used in King Arthurs daies', and the bardic material offers

some suggestive evidence that ideas about the historicity of the Welsh Protestant Church entered popular culture.[39] Thomas Jones of Llandeilo Bertholau, Monmouthshire, for example, composed a poem at Christmas 1588 to give thanks for the full translation of the Bible. His composition drew on Davies's presentation of the early British Church, rehearsing many of the themes found in the *Epistol*. These included the baleful influence of Augustine on the primitive Church, and the 'power of the Saxons' which suppressed the 'great schools of the Welshman' (*Drwy nerth Saeson torrai lawr / Ysgolion mawr y Cymro*).[40] Similarly, Huw Machno's poem to William Morgan of 1595 described how the true faith had been given to the Britons in their old language before it was lost to a long, cold blindness of Catholic error. Yet through the efforts of Morgan and the approbation of a queen of Welsh descent, God had provided for a restoration of the things once lost, and had delivered them from Roman darkness by the light of the vernacular gospel.[41]

This Welsh language material underlines the importance of language and history in the cultural adaptation of the Reformation in Wales, yet we should recall that the ancient British Church underwrote the historical arguments for the English Reformation also. English Protestant scholars from the early days of the break with Rome seized on the traces of the primitive Church in Britain to defend the Reformation from allegations of novelty. This also proved to be a powerful and durable argument upon which the English Church was based. Yet there was a potential problem of contemporary identities to deal with here in that English scholars were appropriating the Church of a people whom they acknowledged had been cast into Wales and Cornwall by their Saxon ancestors, ancestors who had ultimately succumbed to Catholic error. The principal means of addressing this paradox seems to have been by ignoring it altogether and focusing rather on attacking papists. Even a work with a title such as *Albion's England* confronted the Catholics by conflating them with Augustine's Saxons who slaughtered the British monks at Bangor. The latter were described as 'Welsh-Britons' whose gospel was 'the primitive church-practise of the trew faith'.[42] Apparently the 'Welsh-Britons' could be presented fairly unproblematically as the spiritual ancestors of the English. Similarly, William Burghley's tract, 'England Triumphans', was, in fact, an antiquarian argument for spiritual independence from Rome based on the essential elements of the *Brut* including Brutus himself, the mission of Joseph of Arimathea, King Lucius and Queen Helena and the power, pre-eminence and glory of Britain. Burghley recognized the Welsh as the descendants of the ancient Britons, but elided this silently with English ecclesiastical independence under Elizabeth.[43] Thomas Norton's historical exegesis, 'The V Periodes', often refers to Britain and England, but with little sense that these were problematic categories. Anthony Martin has shown how Norton saw England and Wales as 'the contemporary political institution of an aboriginal ethnic national identity' with a singular ecclesiastical history.[44] As was the case with nationalized conceptions of history more generally, the English in the sixteenth century largely ignored their Saxon roots, in stark contrast to the Teutonomania of later periods. Tellingly,

outside the circle of Matthew Parker, it was dissident Catholics who were most visible in linking the present English with their Saxon heritage.[45]

Some writers did tackle the tension between ethnic origins and confessional identities. Antiquarians like John Inett and Isaac Basire argued that the partial conquest of Wales by Henry I and the supplication of the British Church under its metropolitan at St Davids to the authority of Canterbury, along with the political incorporation of Wales into England under the Tudors, had 'united the British to the English church'.[46] In Thomas Norton's schema, a remnant of the true British culture survives in Wales, and it is a 'saviour chosen out of British stock' who effects both the reunification of the old polity and the recovery of the old religion.[47] Political union was sufficient in most instances to gloss over national or ethnic discontinuity, and the fabrication of a common political identity accompanied the rediscovery of a British Church in the sixteenth century. As the Shrewsbury poet Arthur Kelton put it shortly after the union, 'Now is it England, sometime called Wales', while imperial advocates like Protector Somerset in the 1540s could claim that the English had become Britons – a construction used to underwrite the project of enforced union with Scotland in the 'Rough Wooing', which had gained ideological momentum from the recent Anglo-Welsh union.[48] This erasure of any separate Welsh element of the new faith seems to be a feature of most English polemics on the subject. As Colin Kidd has observed, the mechanisms whereby a British past became an English present were rarely spelled out, yet 'somehow the English clersiy squared contradictory accounts of a predominantly Saxon nationhood with a British pedigree for the *ecclesia anglicana*'.[49]

Although issues of language and nationality bulk large in the narrative of the Church of England in early modern Wales, these were also bound up with doctrinal and theological struggle, as Catholic and Puritan elements sought to appropriate and deploy their vision of the history of the Church in Wales for particular ends. The corpus of contemporary Catholic literature on this subject is comparatively small, but it is clear that they too laid claim to the long pedigree of the Welsh to argue for the primacy of their faith and to denigrate the claims of antiquity by 'the new men' (*y gwŷr newydd*). Welsh Catholic exile Morys Clynnog reflected on the strength of Catholicism among the Welsh in a planned invasion project of 1575, maintaining that the 'consent and constancy in the true faith and religion of this Welsh nation is of very great antiquity, and is not to be despised for it may be proved from the writings of ancient and more recent authors'.[50]

A major problem for the Catholics in countering Protestant views of Church history, of course, was that their access to the public sphere was highly circumscribed. They could not easily publish their treatises, and the problems caused by a lack of Catholic literature was commented on by Clynnog in 1568, when he claimed that the main cause of a falling away from the Catholic faith in Wales was 'the lack of books'.[51] Nevertheless, it is clear that Catholics believed that they had a superior claim to the Welsh past, and viewed the Protestant liberties with their history as a heinous perversion. Owen Lewis, originally of Llangadwaladr in Anglesey but an exile who became bishop of Cassano in Naples, told Mary Stuart's

envoy that the Welsh and Scots needed to 'stick together, for we are the old and true inhibiters and owners of the isle of Britanny; these others be but usurpers and mere possessors'.[52] Clynnog argued for a different kind of religious continuity to the Welsh Protestants in a letter to Pope Gregory. He attributed the strength of Catholicism in Wales simply to the fact that the Welsh were 'the original inhabitants of that island, a people who retain … the Catholic faith of their fathers'.[53] Similarly, Richard White, the Welsh seminary priest martyred at Wrexham in 1584, was said to have died for his 'constancy for the faith of the old Britons, their [the Welsh's] dear progenitors'.[54]

It is interesting in this regard to parallel these appeals with the claims made for the precedence of Irish Catholicism by Geoffrey Keating in the seventeenth century. Like many Welsh Catholics, Keating chose the 'native' language, in his case Gaelic, for his historical treatise of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn*. Although ethnically of Old English descent, Keating saw the Catholic religion as the adhesive which bound the multifarious components of Irishness together. As with Welsh polemicists like White or Clynnog, he was most interested in establishing continuities with a distant past for his fellow believers in the present day.[55] Catholicism, the aboriginal faith of Ireland, was thus the mark of genuine Irishness in the early modern period. For Catholics from both sides of the Irish Sea, it seems, history and faith formed a powerful amalgam that ultimately defined and identified a people, regardless of matters like political repression or exile. The latter could be presented as transitory problems rather than fundamental breaches when placed against such a long context of devotion to the native soil and its native faith.

Perhaps the most interesting deployment of Welsh history for Catholic ends was to be found in *Y Drych Cristnogawl* ('The Christian's Mirror') (1586–7). This was the first book to be printed on Welsh soil, although it had to be done clandestinely in a cave near Llandudno. Scholarship favours its author as Robert Gwyn of Llŷn, although the grammarian Gruffydd Robert and Sion Dafydd Rhys have also been mentioned. It is a discussion of the Four Last Things: death, judgement, hell and heaven, but is framed in accessible language 'in order to enable simple folk to understand the book and benefit from it'.[56] What is intriguing for our purposes is the way in which the opening section of the book echoes Richard Davies's *Epistol*.[57] This section is addressed to 'the kind Welsh', and adopts a similar kind of direct engagement with the reader to that of Salesbury and Davies, and also rehearses the nature of early Welsh Christianity.

The preface shows some striking similarities with the Protestant vision of the Welsh confessional past, and the repetition of key themes between the two suggests a common understanding of Welsh religious history with a broad popular resonance. The author refers to the mission of Joseph of Arimathea to Britain, where he was said to have converted many of the inhabitants. As might be expected, however, here we find a much more active role for the papacy in fostering learning and piety among the early Britons. Prominence is given to the agency of Pope Elutherius who, having received entreaties from Lês (Lucius) son of Coel, sent two 'apostles of the Welsh', Fagan and Wervan, to assist in the Christianizing effort. The author of the *Drych* also appropriates Emperor Constantine, and his

mother Elen, for the cause of the Church of Rome. He goes on to upbraid the Welsh for losing their faith and their language, principally blaming the angliciz-ing gentry class in a polemic designed to wound the Protestant Church in Wales through the gentry's sides.

There is evidence that ordinary Welsh Catholics as well as exiled polemicists saw their faith as historically rooted in Welsh soil. One interesting survival is an *awdl*, a poem in traditional strict metre, which circulated in 1600–1. The author condemned the Protestants and the persecution of his co-religionists. He called for action against 'the spurious priesthood' and 'unlearned Scripturists', and ges-tured towards the historical underpinnings of the true faith as a justification for national conflict:

> Rout them [Welsh Protestants] with the sword, you true Welsh of British blood,
> The murder of Jesus lies in the hearts of the Saxons.[58]

One could imagine such speech being placed in the mouth of a seventh-century Briton by a sixteenth-century Protestant apologist!

An interesting sidelight on the Welsh Catholic view of British History can be found in the bitter dispute between the Welsh and English contingents at the English College in Rome during the 1570s.[59] The differences arose largely because of the influence at the college of Morys Clynnog and Owen Lewis, who were seen excessively to favour Welsh students over their English counterparts. The Jesuit Robert Parsons described the split within the college as a 'nationall quarrel (as in colleges and universities is wont to ensue) betwene the Englishe and the Welche'.[60] The Welsh seemed to have had a plan for establishing this as a British College, pos-sibly even without any English students present. They were stymied in their efforts, however, and, after an acrimonious struggle it was the English who were placed firmly in charge and Clynnog and Lewis were overthrown. This split was not just about present-day tensions, however, as national divisions were exacerbated by dif-fering interpretations of sacred history.

This question of historical interpretation and contemporary spiritual identity emerged after the discovery of a tombstone during the reconstruction of St Peter's basilica in the late 1570s. The English Catholics of Rome claimed the stone was that of Caedwalla, King of Wessex, who had died while on pilgrimage in 689, as recorded by Bede. The Welsh exiles, however, maintained that this was the tomb of Cadwaladr the Blessed, the last king of the Britons, and a key character in the Galfridian narrative. He had been given the revelation of the loss of empire by the Britons (and its subsequent recovery), and had abandoned his kingdom to go on pilgrimage to Rome where he had died, also in 689. According to Geoffrey's tale, when Cadwallader's bones were returned to Britain, so the descendants of the Ancient Britons would recover their lost patrimony. The Welshmen of the college were determined to fashion the discovery to fit their own historiographical predilections, as well as their immediate political purposes in claiming authority over the English in the college. They were unsuccessful, but the whole episode is revealing of the claims which Catholics had to the *Brut* tradition and their

passionate defence of it in the face of English scepticism. It is also suggestive of how both Welsh Protestants and Catholics saw the early British Church as an important component of their spiritual identities. The Welsh Catholics located Rome at the heart of their spiritual Britishness, and Cadwaladr's remains were located at the core of the True Church until, through the agency of the pope, they could be returned to their homeland and restore the true British faith of Catholicism to its rightful dominion over the island.

The battle for the spiritual soul of Britishness was not simply waged between Welsh Catholics and Protestants. The small impulse of Puritan sentiment in early modern Wales also sought to bolster its appeals to authority and claims to legitimacy by drawing upon the *Brut* tradition. A fairly lone voice for radical religious reform in Wales during the sixteenth century was John Penry of Breconshire.[61] A Presbyterian with links to the Marprelate pamphleteers, Penry was a passionate advocate for reform in his native Wales, and focused on its stunted reformation in his pamphlets. The first of these, *The Aequity of an Humble Supplication*, was presented to Parliament in 1587 as part of a broader report on the spiritual condition of England and Wales. It was a trenchant attack on the poor state of religion there, with the blame being laid squarely on the shoulders of the bishops. Penry suggested that the spiritual neglect of his countrymen might be a product of prejudice: 'as though we were contemned and not accounted of but as thrown into the most barren corner of the land, so thought unworthy to have the seed of God's word sowen amongst us'. To counter this he looked to place Wales at the centre of British religion through its historical primacy. He averred that it might grieve the Welsh less to be denied the gospel 'unless the same were the inheritance which our forefathers the Cymbrubrittons many hundred years agoe possessed in this lande'. He was invoking an original purity in Wales to underwrite the radical programme of reform he advocated there. Penry claimed that it was 'our divines in Wales' who had bravely resisted the 'proud friar' Augustine and the 'impes of that lifeless and brutish stock of Rome'. He went on to argue that the falling away into Catholic heresy was only a recent occurrence as the Welsh language had no oaths which swore on the Mass, and that they had no words such as 'Candlemas' for holidays but rather 'the holy day of Mary'. From this linguistic evidence it was clear that such ceremonies were 'but yesterday, as it were, known to us', while 'ignorance and idolatry … tooke such deepe roote in England, that it ran over our land also'.[62] This was another markedly national gloss on the traditional British History for decidedly partisan ends. Penry claimed that his petition for reform was thus only the restoration of the 'inheritaunce of our fathers', so he attempted to present a radical call through a framework of patriotic antiquity. The claim of spiritual *restoration* particular to the Welsh was a message familiar from Davies's *Epistol*, but here was made to serve very different ends. As was often the case in early modern political and religious discourse, novelty was made palatable by presenting it in the garb of antiquity.

Penry was executed in 1593 for his increasingly radical opposition to the Church and state, and there was little evidence of Puritan activism in Wales

down to the civil wars of the 1640s. This period, however, saw a flowering of (often quite extreme) Puritan opinion in the principality. As was the case with Penry, some of these Welsh controversialists presented their messages in ways designed to appeal to the historical consciousness of their countrymen. One of the most controversial churchmen to appear in Wales at this time was William Erbery of Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff. Initially a beneficed minister in the Church of England, Erbery's increasingly separatist stance in the 1640s and early 1650s saw him branded as a Seeker. In a publication of 1652 Erbery argued that the Welsh were better gentlemen than the English, 'being pure Britaines', and were accounted by some to descend from the Jews.[63] Rehearsing the litany of Lucius as the first Christian king, Constantine, 'a Britain or Welshman' as the first Christian emperor, and Britain as the first national church, he argued that a new liberty of worship (and the abolition of all church types) would arise in Wales.[64] Erbery had a sense of the Welsh as a chosen people, and although he viewed this primarily in terms of contemporary spirituality, it is suggestive of the continued attractions of the British History that he sometimes presented this with reference to Welsh antiquity and providential destiny. Erbery's was an apocalyptic vision in which the breaking down of established forms as a prelude to the last days would begin in Wales. Such apocalyptic history was in a venerable tradition which reached back to the early Reformation and its Foxean reconfiguration.[65] Because of the comparative absence of a more radical strain in Welsh Protestantism, however, this seems to have the been first incorporation of Wales into such an eschatology.

An associate of Erbery who had links to Quakerism and a mystical millenarian strain of spirituality was Morgan Llwyd of Wrexham. Llwyd differed from many of his Puritan contemporaries in that he wrote in Welsh in an effort to communicate his ideas about freedom of worship and spiritual authority directly to the people. Among his most famous compositions is *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* ('Book of the Three Birds') which offers an allegorical view of Church and state in the early 1650s. In the piece, Llwyd adapted the familiar Galfridian staples to argue for a unique connection between Wales and the early Church which had ramifications for his countrymen's current spiritual plight. Possibly drawing on Davies's *Epistol* (as echoed in *Y Drych Kristnogawl*) he cited the reception of the gospel by 'Llês, the son of Coel', the tradition of Helen and Constantine as Britons, and claimed that 'Britons have been steadfast unto death in behalf of the true faith'.[66] As in so many other cases cited here, Llwyd felt that the Welsh were among God's chosen people; their history had marked them as particularly favoured in the unfolding of the Lord's design on earth. Throughout his work, Llwyd draws on this understanding of the past to echo the conviction that the Welsh would have an important role to play in achieving the New Jerusalem which would rise from the corruption of the Caroline Church, just as Salesbury and Davies had seen the Welsh as key in rescuing the pure religion from the dregs of Catholic corruption. As Llwyd reflected, 'out of the Isle of Britain will go forth, say many, fire and law, and hosts throughout the world'.[67]

The Welsh attachment to a nationalist view of their past produced a remarkably durable attachment to aspects of the Galfridian history which survived the critical attentions of Renaissance humanists. The story in England was somewhat different, with most antiquarians moving away from the British History as the sixteenth century progressed, and drawing a veil of rather embarrassed silence over its shaky (or non-existent) evidential base. This national difference in secular historiography did not map simply onto the approaches taken to religious history, as English Anglicans remained attached to the British foundations of their church into the eighteenth century. Yet it appears that the Welsh remained particularly devoted to their vision of the spiritual past as articulated by Richard Davies, and were less inclined to jettison the unconvincing accretions which fell away in the English context.[68] The blending of Geoffrey and the early British Church seemed particularly attractive to those Welsh men and women of a royalist high church disposition. What was coming to be seen as a rather fabular romance in other circles enjoyed new vitality in Wales through the production of a literary classic in 1716, *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* ('Mirror of the Early Ages') by the churchman, Theophilus Evans. Here was a patriotic defence of the Galfridian tradition in all its naive majesty: Joseph of Arimathea even preached to the Britons in Welsh! Evans acknowledged that his account of the early dissemination of the gospel in Britain was questionable in places, but justified its rehearsal on the basis of tradition and usage. The Welsh rejected the historiographical scepticism of the English and Scots and clung fast to a view of the past which placed them at the centre of epochal developments and afforded them a privileged religious position not matched in the social, economic or political spheres of British life. As Geraint Jenkins has put it, 'Although the historicity of the *Brut* had come under heavy fire from the sixteenth century onwards, Geoffrey's romantic farrago … stubbornly maintained its lustre in Wales.'[69]

Elements of the Galfridian narrative were to remain important for Welsh identity into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries as it became incorporated into the romantic tradition. It might be easy to see this as a 'reinvention' of national identity, a reworking of hoary myths in an age of fabricated antiquities, but this would be to miss the very real polemical service the tradition of the British Church did in Wales during the Reformation. Yet this too was built upon older foundations which stretched back to the vaticinatory traditions of the Dark Ages. Constant in all these recyclings of the *Brut* were the desire to place the Welsh as God's elect at the centre of the narrative, to emphasize the primacy and continuity of their faithfulness, and to provide them with an aspirational trajectory of a return to former glories. Richard Davies and William Salesbury were very effective in moulding and mobilizing these elements for the reformed faith, although moderate Protestantism did not have an unchallenged claim to the Welsh past. Welsh Catholics and nonconformists were also keen to demonstrate the historical foundations upon which their faith was built, but they had only limited access to the machinery needed for popularizing their positions among the wider public. The Protestant establishment in Wales could draw on the resources of the state to spread the message of the historicity of the faith through press and pulpit.

The ancient British Church had a greater patriotic appeal for the Welsh than it did for the English, yet its polemical deployment did not lead to any movement for separation from England, but rather to a closer integration of Wales within the Protestant British state. Such a discourse would continue to have a currency, particularly in Anglican circles, down to the modern era. The editorial of the first edition of *Y Brython* ('The Briton') by the Anglican D. Silvan Evans addressed its readers 'not only as Welshmen, but also as Britishers or Britons, that is as members of the British state, and as members of the British church'.[70] This would have been music to the ears of any Elizabethan Protestant, and was a testament to their success in cementing Wales within the larger polity using the resilient compound of history, faith and patriotism.

10
Catholic Intellectual Culture in Early Modern Ireland

Bernadette Cunningham

Introduction

In 1625, when Robert Rochford OFM prepared a compendium of the lives of Ireland's three principal saints, Patrick, Brigid and Colum Cille, he chose authoritative texts that he believed would be above criticism. His printed book comprised abridged versions of Jocelin's life of Patrick, Cogitosus's life of Brigid, and Adomnán's life of Colum Cille. His choices were deliberate. In his dedicatory epistle, Rochford explicitly stated that

> I meane to produce nothing, but what hath beene delivered from the pens of famous Authors, who either for their antiquity claime veneration, or for their learning deserve credit, or for their sanctity challenge authority. Every author I will alleadge by name, speaking in his genuine sense if not in his proper words'.[1]

He required his saints' lives to be authoritative, because he was using them as historical evidence for Irish Christianity, and as a defence of Catholicism against heresy. Rochford was explicit about his objective. He offered his book to his readers in the hope that 'amidst the swelling billowes of boyling waves of enraged heresy, you may stick fast to the irremovable rock of the Roman Church, by the strong cable of true and ancient religion'.[2]

In the case of the life of Colum Cille, Rochford informed the reader that he had selected Adomnán's work 'whom I have preferred before many other authors, supposing that none will be so impudent as to deny what hath beene delivered from so holy, and innocuous a pen'.[3] Rochford's approach to the hagiographical sources drawn on for his printed work contrasted sharply with the life of Colum Cille compiled by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill (Manus O'Donnell) a century earlier and which is preserved in two vellum manuscript copies.[4] Ó Domhnaill's manuscript, completed in 1532, was a lengthy compendium of miscellaneous hagiographical material on Colum Cille, drawn from folk tradition as well as from a large selection of manuscript sources. This material, both poetry and prose, was woven together to create a new narrative life of the saint that has been described as 'a sort of cross

between what we would describe now as an historical novel and a collection of folk traditions'.[5] Maghnas Ó Domhnaill's purpose was to honour a saint who was patron of his family and whom he regarded as his kinsman. Ó Domhnaill's focus was local and personal; he saw no need to evaluate critically the material he chose to include in the story of the life of Colum Cille. The life was customized to suit Ó Domhnaill's interests and priorities in a pre-Reformation context. His concern was with the relationship between the saint and the O'Donnells, as the eminent patron of a lordly family, rather than that of the saint as an apostle of Ireland, emblem of the values of Roman Catholicism. The intended audience for Maghnas Ó Domhnaill's work was a private, family one, in contrast to Rochford who sought to disseminate the lives of Ireland's three apostles to as wide a public as the print medium would allow.

Maghnas Ó Domhnaill's life of Colum Cille was not an isolated hagiographical work from the early sixteenth century. The life of St Caillín preserved in the Book of Fenagh, compiled in north Leitrim for the coarb of St Caillín, was created by combining older verse sources with new prose sections to create a manifesto for the secular dues and entitlements of the coarbs of St Caillín. Its purpose was neither historical nor didactic; it had a local and contemporary political purpose, within the social context of early sixteenth-century Irish society.[6] Nor was Rochford's contrasting scheme to print Irish hagiographical material unusual in a seventeenth-century context. Rochford was part of a circle of Irish Franciscan scholars on the Continent, many of whom were based at St Anthony's College, Louvain. Lured by the possibilities presented by access to print, and influenced by European example, members of that community, some of them drawn from hereditary Gaelic learned families, embarked on the production of catechisms and devotional texts, the conduct of hagiographical research and the writing of Irish history on an ambitious scale.[7] The scholarly activities of these men each had as one of their points of departure a particular sense of Ireland, its people, its language and its religion. Men from hereditary learned families who had made the pragmatic decision to pursue careers within an ecclesiastical context on the Continent, in the absence of secular patronage, worked to promote the cause of Irish Catholicism through their scholarship. They aimed to reach wide audiences in Europe and in Ireland, so that the scope of their works differs greatly from the works of hagiography, piety or history produced within Ireland in the sixteenth century. Whether or not their work was successfully disseminated in print, their writings provide a window into a world of professional scholarship imbued with Counter-Reformation zeal in the early seventeenth century.

A decline in secular patronage, arising out of the changed political circumstances of the native elite in Ireland, particularly after the Nine Years War (1594–1603), prompted some individuals from prominent hereditary learned families to pursue alternative careers in the Church. While a small number of Gaelic scholars used their talents as translators, creating vernacular texts for use by the Established Church,[8] the majority enjoyed the patronage of the Catholic Church and pursued their scholarship within that context. One example was Tadhg Ó Cléirigh

of the Kilbarron family who were hereditary historians to the O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill. He had trained as a historian in his youth, but by the early 1620s, when he was probably in his thirties, he had left Ireland for mainland Europe and joined the Irish Franciscan community at the college of St Anthony in Louvain. In religious life he took the name Mícheál, and devoted the remainder of his life to scholarly research in hagiography and history.[9] Mícheál Ó Cléirigh was a direct descendant of the renowned Tadhg Cam Ó Cléirigh, whose obituary was included in the Annals of Loch Cé and the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 1492.[10] Despite his pedigree and scholarly credentials, however, it would appear that sufficient secular patronage to sustain a scholarly livelihood was no longer available to such men within the O'Donnell lordship in county Donegal in the seventeenth century. The leadership of the O'Donnell lordship was in disarray following the defeat of the Ulster Irish at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601. The death in Spain of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (Red Hugh O'Donnell) in 1602 was followed by the departure of the Earl of Tyrconnell, Ruairí Ó Domhnaill (Rory O'Donnell), and others from Ireland in 1607 in the event known to historians as the 'Flight of the earls'.[11] Government plans for a plantation of English and Scottish settlers in Ulster, drawn up in the aftermath of the departure of the native elite, included County Donegal within its remit. While some of the native population acquired property under the plantation scheme, the structure of society had altered to such an extent that there was no longer a role for the hereditary propagandist poets and historians who had traditionally been employed by the Gaelic elite.[12] Change came more gradually in other provinces,[13] but by the second decade of the seventeenth century the changing nature of scholarly patronage was clear to all.

Scholarship in the Irish language did not come to an end, but it was transformed. Demand for formal praise poetry with a political message had declined significantly, and other kinds of literature were embarked on instead. One example of a new departure in Irish literature is provided by the major biographical work *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* ('Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell'). This elaborate prose narrative elucidating the career of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill from an Irish perspective was composed by a Donegal historian, Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, after 1616, possibly as late as 1627.[14] Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh had been made *ollamh* to the Uí Dhomhnaill in 1595, and probably held the position of historian to the leading Gaelic family in Donegal for the remainder of his life, though his status within that polity was effectively undermined by the Flight of the earls.[15] Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's polemical biography of the head of the lordship portrays the death in exile of Aodh Ruadh in 1602 as the end of an era. Yet, as Hiram Morgan has shown, Aodh Ruadh was not merely a representative of a declining order.

> He was, like O'Neill, a partly anglicised Counter-Reformation Irishman; a new type of Irish prince who sought foreign assistance and who died in a foreign land. Indeed, for all its anachronising the biography managed to incorporate these modernising aspects. In this respect, like Geoffrey Keating's (Seathrún Céitinn) *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, c.1634 (Compendium of knowledge about

Ireland), it succeeds in making contemporary Catholic Reformation aspirations appear mainstays of tradition.[16]

The religious overtones of the biographical narrative are unequivocal. In recounting one of the successes of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill in the course of the war, the author emphasized the favour shown by God to the Irish. Thus, the opposing English army recognized

> that it was not by force of arms they had been defeated, but that it was Ó Domhnaill's intercession of his Creator that caused it, after receiving the pure mystery of the Body and Blood of Christ in the beginning of that day, and after fasting in honour of the Blessed Mary the day before.[17]

That God was on the side of the Catholic Irish was the clear message. The text was clearly a propagandist one, portraying Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill rather than Aodh Ó Néill (Hugh O'Neill) as the most significant Gaelic leader in the Nine Years War. Its primary intended audience, however, may have been a European rather than an Irish one. Its true purpose, Mícheál Mac Craith has argued, was 'to further the martial career of Aodh Ruadh's nephew, also named Aodh Ó Domhnaill, as head of the Spanish invasion force of 1627'.[18] To this end, the author portrayed the Irish political situation in religious terms. In narrating Aodh Ruadh's 1596 appeal for help from the Spanish king, Ó Cléirigh explained that this was necessary 'to rescue them from the bondage in which they were held by their enemies always taking their patrimony from them and perverting them from the Roman Catholic faith which St Patrick had preached to their elders and ancestors and which they held for long ages'.[19]

Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh was also involved in the poetic dispute known as the 'contention of the bards' between 1616 and 1624, a cultural exercise some regarded as futile in the face of declining patronage.[20] The dispute highlighted differences in outlook between the learned class in Ulster and Munster in the early seventeenth century, reflective of the abrupt political change in the Northern province as against a more gradual transition to a new polity in Munster. In reality, no one doubted that the decline in patronage associated with traditional lordship society was real, and Gaelic lordly patronage of poets and historians had greatly diminished by the 1620s.[21] Other channels of patronage were sought, the most fruitful of them being the Catholic Church.

The careers of individuals such as Bonaventure/Giolla Bríghde Ó hEoghusa (Bonaventure O'Hussey), Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire (Florence Conry), Hugh Ward (Aodh Mac an Bhaird) and Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (Michael O'Clery) illustrate the new paths followed by some members of professional learned families in the years that followed the departure of the Ulster earls. Bonaventure Ó hEoghusa was a professionally trained poet who in his youth had composed poetry in praise of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (d.1602) and Aodh Maguidhir (Hugh Maguire) (d.1600).[22] He left Ireland in the early years of the seventeenth century, joining

the Franciscan order in 1607 and being ordained a priest in 1609 at Malines in Spanish Flanders. Among the tasks he undertook as a Franciscan priest in the newly established college of St Anthony at Louvain was the compilation of an Irish-language catechism. His *Teagasg Críosdaidhe* was first printed by J. Mesius at Antwerp in 1611 and reprinted on the friars' own printing press at Louvain some years later.[23] The special fonts designed for these Irish printings were informed by the Gaelic scribal tradition, a detail that increased the cost and lessened the commercial viability of printing in Irish.[24] Although modelled on the Tridentine catechisms of Robert Bellarmine and Peter Canisius, the Irish author utilized his training as a poet to add some easily memorized verse summaries to the prose text as well as some more elaborate devotional poems.[25] Ó hEoghusa's Irish-language catechism appears to have been used among both Irish soldiers serving in the Spanish Netherlands and the Irish at home.[26] In both locations, the printed copies probably remained in the hands of the clergy rather than the laity, with the contents communicated orally. The context that gave rise to its production was emphasized by the Archbishop of Malines's approbation which asserted that the work would 'oppose the attempts of the heretics who have already published books in this language to pervert the Irish people'.[27] Aside from the New Testament, published in 1602, other religious texts in Irish printed with a view to promoting Protestantism were the Book of Common Prayer (1608) and a Protestant catechism by Seaán Ó Cearnaigh (John Kearney) that had been published in 1571.[28] Whether these protestant works had achieved a level of circulation such as was of real concern to the Irish Franciscans is doubtful. Nonetheless, Ó hEoghusa's catechism, the first Catholic work printed in Irish, can be viewed as a pragmatic Franciscan response to the efforts of the Tudor state to promote the cause of the Reformation in Ireland. It followed an earlier catechetical effort by Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire in 1598 that was disseminated in manuscript form only.[29] Ó Maolchonaire's work, a translation from Spanish, showed no overt sense of a political or religious imperative to counteract Protestantism. Ó hEoghusa's catechism, in contrast, explicitly rejected Luther and Calvin while invoking the memory of St Patrick, who had brought the Christian faith to Ireland, and also alluded to saints Colum Cille, Brigid, Ciaran and Francis.[30]

While it is difficult to evaluate the impact of the Catholic catechetical and devotional works printed by or under the auspices of the Irish Franciscans at St Anthony's College, Louvain, the verse compositions included in Ó hEoghusa's catechism would certainly have facilitated its use among non-literate Irish-speaking communities whether in Ireland or overseas. The verses presented the essential teachings of orthodox Catholicism in a reasonably accessible Irish language form, and were intended to facilitate basic catechesis in that language. Through oral transmission in the course of sermons, Ó hEoghusa's Irish language catechism and its successors may well have helped affirm a connection between Counter-Reformation Catholicism and Irishness that was also nurtured in other literary genres in the same period.[31] Indeed, the Franciscan poet and renowned preacher Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh, writing in Ireland in the late sixteenth century, had earlier adopted a similar methodology of using poetry as a catechetical tool.[32]

It is noteworthy too that Ó Dubhthaigh's work included an explicit assertion that Protestantism was alien to Gaelic Ireland.[33] In his poem, 'A Bhanbha, is trua do chor' ('Ireland, pitiful is your plight'), he depicted the attempt to introduce Protestantism in late sixteenth-century Ireland as a conflict between Luther and Calvin, on the one hand, and St Patrick, on the other.[34] The historical allusion to the saint credited with introducing Christianity to Ireland affirmed a conviction that Irish Catholicism was rooted in Irish historical tradition, whereas Protestantism was portrayed as an alien and hostile presence.

A somewhat similar view was adopted in the political sphere by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald in defending his rebellious actions in 1579, when he asserted that Queen Elizabeth, by virtue of her espousal of heresy, 'has deservedly forfeited her royal authority'.[35] The expression of such sentiments laid the basis for the cultivation of a sense that Catholicism was one of the defining elements of Irishness, an ideology enthusiastically promoted by Irish Catholic writers in the seventeenth century.[36] Perhaps the most coherent and elaborate expression of this view is that found in the historical and theological writings of Geoffrey Keating produced between 1610 and 1634, discussed below, while the polemical writings of Philip O'Sullivan Beare and Peter Lombard, addressed to European audiences, developed some of the same points though lacking the thoroughness of Keating's historical research.[37] The Irish polemicists, Lombard and O'Sullivan Beare, writing in Latin mainly for Spanish audiences, stressed the role of the 'heretic' English in persecuting Irish Catholics, thus anachronistically presenting Irish conflict with the English since the twelfth century in religious terms.[38]

Typical of the devotional writings produced for circulation among the Catholic Irish was Aodh Mac Aingil's (Hugh MacCaughwell) *Scathán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* ('A Mirror to the Sacrament of Penance'), printed at Louvain in 1618.[39] Mac Aingil's devotional text was primarily designed to promote the teachings of the Council of Trent on the sacrament of penance, and to this end he incorporated numerous illustrative examples from the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum* ('The Great Mirror of Examples'), a preacher's compendium of moral tales. But he also imbued the text with a sophisticated political ideology, tailored to the specific needs of Irish Catholics. He advocated the clear rejection of the teachings of Luther and Calvin while simultaneously promoting a politically expedient loyalty to King James I.[40] A similar mindset informed Geoffrey Keating's tract on the Mass, *Eochair-Sgiath an Aifrinn* ('Key to the Defence of the Mass'), which adapted Tridentine teaching on the Mass for Irish audiences. In introducing his tract on the Eucharist, Keating observed that the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were not worth refuting, but that he nonetheless felt it appropriate to defend Catholic teaching on the matter. He also used his introduction to make clear that the Mass was central to Catholic devotion, emphasizing that those who were not loyal to the Mass were heretics.[41] Both these writers made extensive use of medieval exempla in their writings; these traditional preachers' moral tales would already have been familiar to the Irish laity through sermons, and their continued use in these Counter-Reformation writings helped preserve a sense that the ideas being conveyed were reinforcing doctrines that had the authentication of tradition.[42]

Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire's tract, *Desiderius*, also known as *Sgáthán an chrábhaidh* ('Mirror of Piety') (1616), was a loose translation of a devotional work from Spanish into Irish. Ó Maolchonaire was a member of one of the leading learned families in Ireland, who had traditionally been historians to the O'Conor (Ó Conchobhair) and MacDermott (Mac Diarmada) lords in north Connacht, but he pursued an ecclesiastical and diplomatic career on the Continent from the 1590s, in later years as absentee Archbishop of Tuam. His devotional writing incorporated political ideas on the nature of kingship and authority, drawing clear distinctions between temporal and spiritual authority, and encouraging Irish Catholics to remain loyal to their faith in the face of persecution.[43]

The most ambitious element of the research work undertaken by Irish Franciscan scholars at Louvain in the early seventeenth century involved the collection and editing of saints' lives from manuscript sources. Spearheaded initially by Patrick Fleming and Hugh Ward, the project was brought to fruition by John Colgan (Seán Mac Colgáin) in the 1640s when two volumes containing Latin editions of Irish saints' lives were published at Louvain. Colgan's *Acta sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiae seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae*, containing the Lives of Irish saints whose feast days occurred in the months of January, February and March, was published in 1645 while a special 'national' companion volume, the *Triadis thaumaturgae, seu divorum Patricii, Columbae, et Brigidae … acta*, assembling all the various known Lives of Ireland's three patrons, Patrick, Brigid and Colum Cille, followed two years later. These major publications in Latin marked the culmination of a research project begun in the 1620s and, though unfinished, they represented a considerable achievement.[44]

These works, by their sheer scale and the depth of their scholarship, comprehensively refuted the Scottish claims publicized by Thomas Dempster that the early Christian 'Scoti' who had promoted Christianity throughout much of central Europe had been Scottish rather than Irish. Scholars from many nationalities were then compiling 'national biographies' as well as national histories, evidently with a view to asserting their credentials in the historical debates engendered by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements.[45] Aside from the propagandist uses of compilations of saints' lives as making the case for the antiquity and special merits of early Irish Christianity, such works also had didactic potential. Saints were perceived as part of the social order of Irish society, as the genealogical works tracing the origins of individual saints attested.[46] The stories of their virtuous lives could be readily used as the basis of sermons, providing examples of how to live a Christian life. Their pedigree as well as their sanctity made them appropriate models to emulate.

It has been suggested that research and publication of Irish saints' lives by Franciscans and others in the seventeenth century may have had the effect of advancing the cults of specific Irish saints in preference to the better known saints of the Roman Church, though this is impossible to quantify.[47] Indeed, the cult of local saints had long been influential in Irish devotional practice, and the work of seventeenth-century Catholic Reformation editors was building on a

deep-rooted Irish hagiographical tradition.[48] More broadly, it has been argued that the academic context in which older hagiographical texts were given new life in print in the seventeenth century had the unintended effect of perpetuating far-fetched stories of wonder-working saints that did not conform to Catholic Reformation norms. Thus, in 1608, Cardinal Bellarmine had advocated selective hagiography, appropriate to the needs of the devout Christian, rather than the large-scale printing of editions of early texts with bizarre stories of the strange exploits of some early saints.[49] While Bellarmine certainly had a point, stories of wonder-working Irish saints were transmitted in less formal ways also, and Ó hEoghusa's catechism, for example, was among those that perpetuated the claim that St Patrick had expelled snakes from Ireland.[50]

Of greater significance than the marshalling of saints' lives for the use of the intellectual elite was the promotion of the cult of saints as a means of enriching private devotion. Engaging with the stories of saints, and ensuring that doctrinally acceptable versions of those stories were part of the catechetical and homiletic repertoire of the Catholic clergy, proved an effective way of promoting a particular kind of Catholic devotion rooted in local experience. The changing nature of the cult of St Patrick was a case in point. Through the late sixteenth century the image of Patrick as a wonder-working saint was gradually transformed into an image of Patrick as patriarch, on a par with the Fathers of the Church and worthy of the title of apostle of Ireland. To this end, it was necessary to promote the image of a national saint whose life conformed to the tradition of holy men established by Scripture. The dominant image for the saint that emerged was that of the Old Testament patriarch Moses. William Thirry's 1617 sermon on Patrick contained an extensive exposition of the parallels with Moses, while Peter Lombard also noted the parallel between the fasting of Moses and Patrick's forty days on Croagh Patrick, Ireland's holy mountain.[51] The preface to the 1625 edition of Jocelin's Life of Patrick vehemently argued the case for regarding Patrick as being firmly in the Catholic tradition. Attention was drawn to evidence in the Life of Patrick for key Catholic Reformation themes, such as the Mass, penance and relics. The miracle stories and accounts of pilgrimage, together with references to holy water, signs of the cross and other such symbols that would 'sound very harshly in Protestant ears' were cited to argue that St Patrick could not possibly have been a Protestant.

The Franciscan editor insisted that Patrick had followed St James in showing that faith must be accompanied by good works: any other would be 'a dead, and life-lesse faith, nay no faith at all, that in any wise availes towards our finall happinesse'. He continued,

> it was Patricke that planted Ireland a Paradise of pleasures … it was he that beautifyeth her with the stately structures of religious monasteries, garnished her with many miriades of renowned Saints, enriched her with copious treasures of sacred priviledges, so that scarce any corner can be found in Ireland that is not sanctified with some worthy monument of his holy benediction.[52]

Throughout the countryside, local saints were seen as protectors of the people. Thus when Philip O'Sullivan Beare arrived in Ballyvourney, County Cork, in 1602, he paused to make an offering to the local saint, St Gobnait, seeking her protection for the rest of his journey.[53] It was no surprise that the new Irish martyrology, compiled in Donegal in the late 1620s by Mícheál and Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh, contained references to holy wells associated with particular saints. One such example was that at Kinawley, County Fermanagh, dedicated to St Náile, of Inbher Náile, believed to be a contemporary of St Colum Cille.

> It was to him God gave water from the hard stony rock, when great thirst had seized him and Maedhog of Ferns, with the monks of both; when he made a distant cast of his crozier at the hard stony rock, so that a stream of pure spring water gushed therefrom; just as this spring is now to be seen at Cill Náile, according to Náile's own life, chap. 10.[54]

One of Ireland's national saints, Colum Cille, also chief patron of the O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill, was also linked into this story, using material from Maghnas Ó Domhnaill's Life of Colum Cille, composed a century earlier: 'The Life of Colum Cille, chap. 90, states that Náile came into the presence of Colum Cille for the first time at the Inbher, and that Colum Cille and Náile blessed the place, and that it is from Náile the church has been thenceforth named.'[55] With this type of affirmation, it is little wonder that the holy well at Kinawley continued to attract the devout throughout the centuries.[56] Catholic Reformation writers preserved the links with the landscape and the past that could continue to be used to aid local Christian piety and devotion.

While catechetical, devotional and hagiographical writing gave scope to Irish clergy to customize Catholic Reformation doctrines to Irish circumstances, it was through the medium of historical writing that the Irish people were most comprehensively presented with an idea of Ireland and Irishness that was in part defined by loyalty to Catholicism. The learned families that specialized in historical writing in late medieval Ireland generally had as their focus particular local lordships and the territories that adjoined them. Thus, for example, a historical compilation such as the *Seanchas Búrcach*, compiled in the 1570s, was concerned with invoking historical precedent to augment contemporary political jurisdiction within a local framework.[57] While relatively little of their output in the sixteenth century has survived, the more extensive prose chronicles produced by the learned class had a similarly restricted focus. The Annals of Loch Cé, produced for and partly by Brian Mac Diarmada in the late sixteenth century, were perceived by him as an extension of his own family's history.[58] The unique surviving mid-sixteenth-century vellum manuscript of the Annals of Connacht preserves a layered text, much of which was the work of Ó Maolchonaire historians in the late fifteenth century. There was a clear focus on the lordly achievements of the O'Conor family, starting with an obituary for Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobhair (d.1224). The Annals of Connacht preserve an obituary for Urard Ó Maolchonaire

under the year 1482, which read 'Urard Ó Mailchonaire, ollav of Sil Murray in learning and poetry, the chief chronicler of the western world, specially learned in the phases of the moon, translator of a part of the Scriptures from Latin into Irish, died at an advanced age.' Here, the scribe of the latter part of the Annals of Connacht may have been paying special tribute to one of the compilers of the exemplar from which much of this essentially local chronicle derived.[59]

Elsewhere, the Annals of Ulster which reached their present form in the early sixteenth century were the work of Ruaidhrí Ó Casaide (d.1541) and Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín (d.1528), members of learned families from Fermanagh. When the Four Masters, led by the Franciscan Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, came to compile a new set of annals of Irish history in the early seventeenth century, they adapted these older annals to meet the needs of a new generation. In particular, their work differs from the output of earlier chroniclers in that they were informed by a new sense of Irish Catholicism. Accordingly, they reorganized and redrafted the material to give priority to ecclesiastical personages, an editorial strategy that resulted in a version of Irish history in which particular respect was seen to be shown to church leaders.[60] Attention to the detail of individual obituaries of bishops and abbots was one significant element of their methodology of marshalling the record of the past in the cause of the Counter-Reformation, and the prioritizing of such entries at the beginning of each year further enhanced the ecclesiastical flavour of these annals.

A further strand of their methodology involved the insertion of new material on the foundation of Franciscan friaries into what by the fifteenth century was otherwise largely secular material. In doing so, the Four Masters were building on research conducted by others of their Franciscan contemporaries, notably Donagh Mooney (Donncha Ó Maonaigh) and Francis Matthews/O'Mahony.[61] Key information about individual early Christian saints was also included in the Annals of the Four Masters, thereby establishing each particular saint at a fixed point within the chronology of early Irish history.[62] At a broader level, too, the Four Masters version of the story of Ireland, from Noah and the biblical flood down to their own day, integrated their contemporary world-view with the story of the origins of the Irish people. They presented a coherent foundation legend that drew on traditional historical lore, not least the origin legend of the *Leabhar gabhála* ('Book of invasions'), the king lists of the *Réim ríoghraidhe* ('Roll of kings') and the saint lore of the *Naomhsheanchas* ('Lore of saints'), and adopted those various elements of a time-honoured tradition of *seanchas* as the backdrop for a new Catholic kingdom of Ireland in the seventeenth century.[63] The work provided important validation for the hagiographical work of Hugh Ward and John Colgan, providing an indigenous historical interpretive framework into which the lives of Irish saints could be fitted.

Rooted in the topography of the island of Ireland, through recourse to traditional place-lore, Geoffrey Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* independently reaffirmed these saints' cults, but contextualized them within a much broader canvas of Irish religious devotion. While he gave due credit in his history to the contribution

of monasticism in nurturing Irish Christianity, Keating's focus on the twelfth-century Church reform, and particularly on the diocesan framework laid down by the synods of Rathbressail (1111) and Kells (1152), was influenced by his concerns as a secular, diocesan priest, active in Munster in the early seventeenth century. It was not, however, for his account of ecclesiastical structures that Keating's work earned its popularity among contemporaries. His work integrated the origin myths of the people of Ireland and their language in a clearly defined geographical setting, set within the framework of a historical kingdom of Ireland, whose history he recounted. It was, in his own terms, a history that narrated

> the virtues or good qualities of the nobles among the old foreigners and the native Irish who then dwelt in Ireland, such as to write on their valour and on their piety, in the number of abbeys they had founded, and what land and endowments for worship they had bestowed on them … insomuch that it cannot truthfully be said that there ever existed in Europe folk who surpassed them, in their own time, in generosity or in hospitality according to their ability.[64]

The piety of the Irish people and their long and commendable Christian history were core concepts in Keating's historical writing. His writings were an affirmation of Catholicism in a seventeenth-century context, though often relying on older traditions both for his historical sources and his theological interpretations. Aside from his history, Keating's *Eochair Sgiath an Aifrinn*, was typical of the vernacular tracts on the Eucharist produced throughout Europe in the decades after the Council of Trent, and his work became popular as a means of communicating the essentials of Catholic teaching on the Mass to Irish audiences. His later theological tract, *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis* ('Three Shafts of Death'), modelled on contemporary French sermon literature, made extensive use of the kind of exempla that had long been the staple of medieval preachers.[65] The underlying message of Keating's sermons, as communicated in his theological writing, was that people should come to terms with the reality of death and thereby comprehend the meaning of human life. He taught that the life of a Christian involved social and moral obligations to live according to the word of God and in conformity with the teachings of the Catholic Church.[66]

While ownership of manuscript copies of Keating's writings in the seventeenth century would have been the preserve of a tiny, literate minority, it seems that among his readers were other clergy through whom his ideas would have been communicated to the laity in weekly sermons. Keating's theological works were admirably suited to this purpose. Much of his discussion on sin and death in his *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis* took the form of sequences of biblical citations, briefly elucidated with interpretative passages. He also made extensive use of medieval exempla, many of them drawn from a new compendium published in 1603 as *Magnum speculum exemplorum*.[67] The moral code that underpinned Keating's writings was still essentially a medieval one, and he drew on the traditional doctrine of the Seven Deadly Sins rather than the doctrine of the Ten Commandments

modelled on the catechism of the Council of Trent. The sins of pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger and sloth had a strong social aspect, and the teaching conveyed an understanding of sin as an offence against the community as well as a turning away from God. Aodh Mac Aingil, whose *Scáthan Shacramuinte na haithridhe* adopted the framework of the Ten Commandments when offering guidance on examination of conscience, was more innovative in this regard.[68] Yet, the contrast between the two writers should not be overemphasized and Mac Aingil, like Keating, also relied heavily on the illustrative power of medieval exempla, providing evidence of the continuity of tradition within the Catholic Reformation.[69]

Conclusion

The writings of the Louvain Franciscans, together with those of Geoffrey Keating and others, were intended for wide public consumption, and were informed by a sense of Irishness defined in part by Catholicism. This was most evident in the historical texts produced, but a clear sense of an Irish Catholic heritage, in opposition to the religion advocated by the state church, was also evident in the devotional and catechetical works. While the essentials of the religious doctrine they contained may have changed little, the nature of these Counter-Reformation writings contrasts clearly with the more local, more personal, political concerns discernible in early sixteenth-century religious works such as Maghnas Ó Domhnaill's Life of Colum Cille or Tadhg Ó Rodaigh's Book of Fenagh.

While it can be safely assumed that the writings of early seventeenth-century Irish scholars, educated in the doctrines of the Counter-Reformation during time spent in continental seminaries, helped mould confessional identities in early modern Ireland, the evidence is often circumstantial. Yet, given the ephemeral nature of sermons, written works, such as those of Bonaventure Ó hEoghusa, Geoffrey Keating, Aodh Mac Aingil and Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, are the closest approximations we have for the themes and teachings that would have been part of the experience of Irish Catholics who attended Masses and sermons in the early seventeenth century. Keating's tract on sin and death, in particular, written while he was active as a priest in Munster, interpreted the gospel within the context of the immediate social and political concerns of his congregation. The work of Catholic priests did not take place in a political vacuum, however, and, faced with the need to contend with the state religion, their doctrinal teachings became inextricably linked with political perceptions. Thus, Keating warned his listeners that they should not turn their backs on God for the sake of transient earthly friendships, a reference to the temptation to conform to Protestantism for social or political gain. He insisted that the Irish should be prepared to die rather than allow their Catholic faith to be destroyed.[70] Similar sentiments from a Franciscan preacher were recorded in 1613 when Turlogh McCrodyn preached to a large congregation in County Londonderry. An eyewitness recorded that the preacher exhorted the congregation to reform their wicked lives, and warned them not to be tempted to attend Protestant services for the sake of worldly advancement.

'Those were the devil's words, which the English ministers spake, and all should be damned that heard them', he insisted.[71]

In the predominantly oral world of seventeenth-century Ireland, where few could read Irish and there was little market for the printed word in Irish, preachers must have had a significant role in the communication of religious doctrine. There was recognition, of course, of the limited effectiveness of catechesis, and an acknowledgment that not all clergy could match the achievements of the more renowned preachers and educators.[72] Pragmatically, the laity were expected 'to believe that there is only one God, that there are three persons in the Trinity, that Christ came in a human body, that He suffered the Passion, etc.' Beyond that, they were simply to 'be ready to believe all the things that the Church considers fitting to believe'.[73] The approach to implementing Tridentine doctrine focused on providing access to Mass and the sacraments rather than aspiring to a significant level of catechesis. As the channels for the liturgy and the sacraments, Catholic clergy thus had a special place in society. Familiar with the particular circumstances and the expectations of their congregations, yet usually separated from them by their learning which permitted them to speak with authority, clergy came to occupy a leading role, often a politicized one, in a confessionally divided world in which Catholic religious practice could easily be construed as a statement of political disobedience. The engagement of the Irish learned class with the ideology of the Catholic Reformation in the early seventeenth century combined a tradition of Gaelic scholarship with a Counter-Reformation one. Their work had the effect of building confessional allegiances in a public manner and thus politicizing Irish Catholicism in a way that had lasting consequences.

11
Calvinistic Methodism and the Reformed Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Wales

David Ceri Jones

In a book of Welsh language essays, the literary critic Bobi Jones has written that Augustinian and Calvinist theological ideas provided the main highway for Welsh thought from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and possibly even much of the twentieth century as well.[1] Allowing for a measure of hyperbole in this assertion, explained to some degree perhaps by Bobi Jones's own neo-Calvinist perspective,[2] the teachings of John Calvin, and Reformation thought and values more generally, have played a formative role, not only in the religious development of early modern Wales but also on many aspects of its intellectual, political and cultural life. It was an influence mediated at first through a select band of sixteenth-century Protestants, a similarly small and elitist Puritan movement in the seventeenth century, the much more populist evangelical revival which had its origins in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and a nonconformity that, by the mid-nineteenth century, held a dominant influence over much of mainstream Welsh society.

Historical writing on each of these movements has often been keen to stress, sometimes for nationalistic or partisan denominational reasons, the unique and distinctive features of religious developments in Wales.[3] It has often been assumed that Wales's cultural separateness, maintained through much of its history by a predominantly monoglot Welsh-speaking population, produced a series of religious movements that were distinctively Welsh in their nature and that, furthermore, remained that way for much of their existence. Yet many of the most significant religious movements in post-Reformation Wales were neither uniquely nor indigenously Welsh. Protestantism laboured under the suspicion that it was the *ffydd saeson* ('the English faith')[4] for much of the sixteenth century; Puritanism was an English, and largely urban, phenomenon that struggled to gain more than a toehold in a Wales that had few English speakers, no towns of any appreciable size, and no universities, the usual seedbed for Puritan sympathies. The origins of eighteenth-century evangelicalism, of which Methodism was merely one, albeit the most dominant, expression, were firmly rooted in the soil of Germanic pietism.[5] Supported by a complex transnational web of linkages and means of communication, evangelicalism remained almost by definition an international movement.[6] Participants in the Welsh manifestations of each of these movements therefore operated in a context that was far wider than that

proscribed by the geographical borders of Wales itself. In the words of Richard Muller, 'national boundaries did not serve as thought boundaries' in the early modern period.[7] Welsh Protestants, be they Puritans, evangelicals or later non-conformists existed in symbiotic relationship with their counterparts in other countries.[8] In each case a process of appropriation and adaptation of theologies, spiritualities and ecclesiastical forms.

This essay explores this dynamic process through the lens of the eighteenth-century Welsh evangelical interaction with the Reformed theological tradition. It will explore how the Welsh Methodists[9] appropriated John Calvin's theology from a number of sources. Building on the insights of previous generations of Welsh Calvinists, it will argue that their Calvinism was refracted mainly through the lens of certain strands of English Puritan theology, and then further modified by the Enlightenment context of the mid-eighteenth century. In dialogue with some of their contemporaries in the wider evangelical movement, the early Welsh Methodists gave expression to a moderate evangelical Calvinism which, if neither distinctively nor exclusively Welsh, was nonetheless to play a very significant role in the culture and spirituality of Welsh evangelical nonconformity well into the nineteenth century and possibly well beyond.

While the Welsh response to the sixteenth-century Reformation was never enthusiastic, Continental Reformed theology seems to have found its way into Wales at a relatively early date, possibly at the hands of the former Marian exile, Richard Davies. Davies had taken refuge in Frankfurt for much of the 1550s where he drank deeply from the wells of European Reformed Protestantism. Upon his return he became one of the chief apologists for the recently re-established Church of England in Wales, encouraged a translation of the New Testament into Welsh and, in his *Epistol at y Cymry* ('An Epistle to the Welsh') (1567), argued that the Anglican Church was actually a revival of the primitive Celtic Church.[10] But it was the Welsh Separatist John Penry, who read Calvin while at Cambridge, and who translated some of the works of Calvin's Genevan successor, Theodore Beza, into English, who may well have been the first self-conscious Welsh Calvinist.[11] Yet his influence in Wales, at least in the short term, was limited. More persuasive voices were to be found in the Church. There were certainly some among both the English and Welsh-born bishops who advocated Calvinist views, however moderate. Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor between 1616 and 1631, and author of the popular devotional manual *The Practice of Piety* (1613), represented the moderate conformist strain of Calvinism that was to be found in many corners of the Established Church in the early seventeenth century.[12] Similarly Rhys Prichard, whose popular verse did so much to make Protestantism accessible to the Welsh-speaking inhabitants of his Llandovery parish, was committed to an 'unswerving Calvinism'.[13] Yet despite these pockets of Reformed influence, it was the Arminianism of a small, albeit influential, number of Welsh clergy that tended to hold greater sway at this stage.[14]

A recognizable Puritan movement did not coalesce in Wales until the 1630s, but even then the Welsh proved highly resistant to English-inspired attempts to bring

some Protestant light to just about the darkest of all the dark corners of the land.[15] Nonetheless, there were some in Wales who attempted to present Calvinism in Welsh dress. There has been a tendency to regard many of the Welsh Puritans as representative of the left wing of the Puritan movement. While the mystical tendencies of some certainly lent that way, much of Welsh Puritanism was firmly within the mainstream of seventeenth-century Reformed opinion. Vavasor Powell was typical. Influenced by the federal covenantal theology of William Perkins, who himself was heavily indebted to the continental Reformed theologians Wolfgang Musculus and Zachary Ursinus,[16] Powell's *Christ and Moses Excellency, or Sion and Sinai's Glory* (1650) ensured that much of Welsh Reformed thinking would be expressed through the grid of covenantal theology.[17] By the 1650s there also existed a network of thoroughly Calvinistic Baptist congregations in south Wales. It was led by John Myles whose English-language book, *Antidote against the Infection of the Times* (1656), was a passionate defence of Calvinist theology.[18] While the majority were unmoved by the claims of radical Puritan revolutionaries, by the time of the Restoration in 1660 there was already a varied diet of Reformed theologies available in Wales. More moderate Calvinist views, reflecting the Thirty-Nine Articles' positive statements on election, were to be found in some corners of the Anglican Church, while outside its fold more through-going Reformed theologies vied for attention.

Modern scholarship demands that we think in terms of a Reformed tradition rather than a pristine Calvinism from which all other expressions deviated. Even during his lifetime, Calvin was far from being the only exponent of Reformed theology, and following his death in 1564 various schools of Reformed thought emerged, each developing Calvin's theology in important directions.[19] The most substantial challenge from within the Reformed world came, of course, from the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius, and the Synod of Dordt in 1617–18 led to the codification of Calvinism in the well-known five points of total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace and the final perseverance of the saints. While these did not represent a major departure from Calvin's theology in any real sense, they quickly became the standard of Calvinist orthodoxy against which all theologies that regarded themselves as Reformed were judged. For many in the late seventeenth century and still more in the eighteenth century, Calvin himself was a distant memory. Calvinism was the Dordtian five points.[20]

The championing of Arminianism, especially in the Church of England during the reign of Charles I,[21] was counterpoised by what Richard Muller calls the high orthodoxy of Puritan authors of the calibre of John Owen. As they worked out the full implications of Reformed theology in every aspect of biblical interpretation, inevitable intra-Calvinist conflict was the result.[22] Recent scholarship has shown that the decades following the Restoration in 1660 were not years which saw the eclipse of Calvinism, either within the Church of England or among the Dissenters.[23] Rather, various groups grappled with the full range of Reformed interpretations on the various controverted points that existed by this time. But there was a determined effort among some to soften many of the sharper edges of Reformed theology.[24] Predestination was often the first area which came in

for refinement, as some abandoned the stark implications of double predestination in favour of a more benevolent stress on God's decree of eternal election alone. Exponents of what became known as hypothetical universalism were keen to stress both the general and particular applications of the Atonement in a genuine attempt to do justice to divine and human agency in redemption.[25] The rise of Hyper-Calvinism during the 1690s, which killed stone-dead any evangelistic impulse that might still have existed among some of the heirs of the Puritans, led some more moderate Calvinists such as Thomas Boston and the Marrowmen in Scotland and the disciples of Richard Baxter in England[26] to make much greater space for human responsibility in their soteriology. By the end of the seventeenth century the English Reformed tradition ran the full gamut of Calvinist options.

It was a pattern mirrored in Wales. The decades prior to the beginning of the Methodist revival in the mid-1730s have traditionally been regarded as a low-point in the life of Welsh Christian communities, a period of stagnation and even decline. But there were important developments in these decades, far beyond merely the proliferation of Welsh language theological and devotional literature,[27] which prepared the ground for the populist evangelicalism associated with the Methodist awakening. Among these changes the theological diversification that took place within the ever more sophisticated Welsh Reformed tradition was of especial importance. In some ways the position of Calvinism, particularly among the ranks of the Dissenters, was strengthened in the decades following the Restoration. A Welsh translation of the Westminster Shorter Catechism was published in 1717,[28] for example, and much of the devotional literature produced in these decades took a commitment to Calvinism for granted. Yet alongside this there was a refining and, in some quarters, even a questioning of certain aspects of this Reformed heritage taking place.

At Wrexham there was a division in the town's Independent congregation when some of its members began to champion a Baxterian moderate Calvinism.[29] Similarly at Henllan in Carmarthenshire during the opening years of the eighteenth century a bitter and protracted division took place between advocates of stricter and moderate expressions of Calvinism, a division that not even a ministerial synod at Pencader could entirely resolve.[30] Arminianism was also making inroads particularly in south-west Wales and, while the reaction among some was to become still stricter in their avowal of Calvinist orthodoxy, for others, like Phylip Pugh in Cardiganshire, it meant steering a careful course between the Antinomianism so characteristic of strict Calvinism and the tendency to general redemption implicit within Arminianism.[31] Within the Welsh Baptist Association too there were tensions over the extent of the Atonement, with Particular Baptists sticking resolutely to narrower configurations, while others, influenced by the more moderate Bristol Baptist Academy, championed a Calvinism which, while it insisted on predestination, stayed well clear of some of the more speculative questions beloved of stricter Calvinists.[32] In each of these instances, theological differences produced inevitable ecclesiastical polarization. Although Calvinists were a slightly rarer breed within the Church of England in Wales by this time,

some like Griffith Jones, Llanddowror, managed to combine a commitment to predestination with an outward-looking evangelistic impulse.[33]

In many ways Jones was the link between the older Anglican Calvinist tradition and the pared-down theology of evangelicalism. Jones combined a moderate Calvinism with the experiential spirituality of Lutheran Pietism.[34] Pietism's stress on the new birth and a religion of the heart tended to uncouple regeneration from baptism.[35] Preaching that brought people to the point of individual conversion was prioritized, and with it a whole raft of techniques, including community religious revivals, which presented many Reformed Protestants with new means through which to encourage a more serious and thoroughgoing Christian commitment.[36] It was a milieu that led the early Welsh Methodists to adopt a Calvinism that was both moderate and evangelical in its ethos, what Alan Sell has called a 'missionary-minded brand of Calvinism'.[37] Although they stressed the doctrine of eternal election unhesitatingly, they avoided a similar statement of God's active decree of eternal reprobation, preferring to stress the more Augustinian concept of preterition, that God passes by the non-elect, leaving them to reap the deserved consequences of their fallen human condition.[38] They tended to be less immediately concerned with questions relating to the extent of the Atonement, but very keen to emphasize humanity's responsibility to respond to the offer of the gospel. The early Methodist leaders were not theologically trained, at least in any formal sense. Both Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, and also George Whitefield in England, were primarily concerned with pioneer evangelism; while they were certainly well read theologically, their theological positions tended to be dictated by the magnitude of the evangelistic task which confronted them. Their evangelical Calvinism was moderate and sufficiently flexible for them to get on with the task of spreading the gospel. It was, therefore, deeply imbued with the Enlightenment traits of moderatism, pragmatism and experimentation.[39] They were evangelicals or Methodists first and foremost, Calvinists second.

The process by which the early Welsh Methodists reached this point, however, was not necessarily straightforward. Looking back on his early Methodist days, Howel Harris wrote that at the time of his conversion in 1735 he had been a 'strong Arminian', and that Arminianism had been 'in [his] head'.[40] At this formative stage in his spiritual pilgrimage he was reading William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729) and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (1610), both books that stressed the living of a godly life, and that led Harris into a period of introspection and ultimately frustration as the punishing demands of this literature were still to be tempered by the redeeming power of God's grace. It was a phase paralleled in the lives of the English Methodist leaders John Wesley and George Whitefield.[41] Harris's first experience of more serious theological reflection came under the supervision of his local Anglican incumbent, Pryce Davies, his earliest, though short-lived, advisor in spiritual matters. His recommendations included the standard works of contemporary Anglican spirituality: John Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), recommended reading for those considering Anglican ordination, Robert Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* (1704), and even the latitudinarian John Tillotson's

A Persuasive to Frequent Communion (1688), the last two having been recently translated into Welsh.[42] While giving him a solid introduction to the mores of the Anglican Church, they did little to lead him towards the stronger meat of Reformed theology. But within little more than a year, corresponding to his discovery of the writings of some of the English Puritans, he had begun denouncing the prevailing Arminianism that he feared 'will soon up and root all true religion out of the country'[43] and began moving in a very definite Calvinist direction.

Harris's immersion in Puritan writings seems to have been the result of the attentions of friendly Dissenting ministers in his native Breconshire. It may well have been that some of them had an ulterior motive for befriending him during the latter part of 1736, just as his exhorting ministry was beginning to gather momentum, in an effort to secure his obvious populist gifts for their own cause. Initially, they reasoned with him about divine sovereignty, often using the evidence of his own spiritual experience as leverage in their discussions. At first he was resistant to their arguments; in early March 1737 Harris 'angered the Dissenters, and had a hot dispute' with them when he argued passionately against the notion of predestination.[44] But, by the end of that same month, a new note had entered his diary and he confessed that he had come to see that there was 'such a thing' as Election after all.[45] In a more reflective account written some time later he identified the two factors that seem to have been critical in precipitating this shift. The first was the influence of the preaching of Thomas Lewis, a young Anglican curate at nearby Merthyr Cynog, who 'first enlightened [me] to see the doctrine of Free Grace',[46] the other was his reading of the New England Puritan Thomas Shepard's *The Sincere Convert* (1640), a new edition of the 1657 Welsh translation of which had recently been printed.[47] Harris's admission that Shepard's book 'was used to turn me from duties and frames, to depend only upon Christ'[48] seems on the surface a little at odds with Shepard's preparationist theology of conversion,[49] and so it may have been his stress on the rarity of genuine saving faith and the exclusivity of the elect that proved critical.

With the characteristic enthusiasm of a convert, Harris now eagerly embraced the strict Calvinist notion of double predestination, and began arguing passionately for the doctrine of God's active decree of reprobation alongside that of election. He records a debate with his fellow Methodists in Wales during 1739:

> discussing about election, [they were] very much against reprobation . . . Most of my dear friends … are of this opinion, but I wish they may not hearken a little more to reason than to the experience of the work of the Holy Spirit, and of the language of the two covenants in their hearts.[50]

Harris's adoption of this position at this point probably not only reflects the stricter strain of Calvinism that could be found among some of the more embattled dissenting groups in Wales at this stage,[51] as much as it does Harris's imbibing of Thomas Shepard, but also gives an indication of Harris's theological naivety and tendency to flit from one new theological discovery to another. Harris's shift to more moderate views took place over a slightly longer period of time, and

seems to have been the result of a combination of factors. His reading broadened out to include the works of many of the best-known and most widely read Puritan authors of his day.[52] At various points the names of Calvin, Bunyan, Flavel, Thomas Goodwin, Owen and Gurnall crop up in his diaries and letters.[53]

Yet if works by any one group tended to predominate it was those by Puritan authors, such as John Preston, Richard Baxter, James Ussher and John Howe, who had each tried, in various ways, to smooth off some of the rougher edges of reformed orthodoxy in the later seventeenth century. David Clarkson's *A Discourse on the Saving Grace of God* (1688), the recommendatory preface of which had been written by John Howe, was an 'extraordinary book' in Harris's eyes,[54] while reading James Ussher's sermons provoked the comment 'exactly like us did he preach'.[55] Even Shepard's *The Sincere Convert*, a book which Harris returned to again and again in these months, despite insisting on the small number of the elect, taught that God only actively predestined souls to salvation, rarely the opposite. But the book which Harris mentioned most frequently was Elisha Coles's *A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty* (1673). Regularly reprinted during the early eighteenth century, Coles's book was an exposition of the five points of Calvinism formulated at the Synod of Dordt in 1618. A primer in the basic tenets of moderate Calvinism, Coles taught the universality of the fall of mankind, only a positive election of grace, a limited atonement, the irresistibility of the grace of God and the certain perseverance of the saints.[56] Each point was supported with model answers to the common objections to each of the elements of the Calvinist system; it remained a favourite with Harris; he recommended it frequently, and repeatedly tried to get a new edition of the Welsh translation into print during the 1740s.[57]

Equally important to his settling on moderate Calvinist views was Harris's discovery of covenant theology at roughly the same time. The initial source was Vavasor Powell's *Christ and Moses Excellency* (1650), where he learned the idea of the two dispensations, that of Moses and the Law, and that of Christ and the gospel.[58] This discovery led him into the wider Puritan literature on covenantal theology, and he found John Cotton's *Treatise of the Covenant of Grace: as it is dispensed to the elect seed, effectually unto salvation* (1659) 'a book which the Lord of his free grace and mercy towards me put in my hand', leading him towards a settled confidence in the 'rightness of Jesus Xt'[59] as the means by which God's covenant with mankind had been ratified. Covenantal theology had been the Puritans' attempt to explain the relationship between divine sovereignty and human accountability. Articulated most clearly in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646) it carefully delineated the role of human accountability in the whole economy of salvation, and neatly side-stepped the more fatalistic implications of the same documents' sections on predestination.[60] It allowed Harris to stress election, God's part of the covenant, and mankind's responsibility to accept Christ, humanity's side of the bargain.

Critical in Harris's move away from stricter forms of Calvinism was the continuing influence and counsel of his friends among the Welsh Dissenters. The pre-eminent Baptist minister in south-east Wales at the beginning of Harris's ministry was probably Miles Harry; under strict examination before his ordination in 1729

Harry had revealed his preference for a moderate form of Calvinism, at the heart of which was his conviction that Christ should be offered indiscriminately to sinners by means of passionate and persuasive evangelistic preaching.[61] In 1739 Harry and Harris were conducting preaching tours together in south-east Wales,[62] and it seems inconceivable that Harry, through both discussion and the example of his own sermons, would not have encouraged Harris to consider more balanced and nuanced views about divine sovereignty and human responsibility. At the same time, Harris received a letter from the English revivalist, George Whitefield. Over the course of the previous three years or so, Whitefield had acquired something approaching celebrity status on account of his passionate preaching of the new birth, in London and Bristol.[63] His letter to Harris as he was returning from his first visit to the American colonies began a friendship that was to have wide-ranging ramifications: it began the process by which an identifiable Calvinistic Methodist movement came into existence. From this point onwards it becomes essential that the revivals led by Harris and Daniel Rowland in Wales and that led by Whitefield in England are considered together, as part of the same movement. What happened in one had knock-on effects and implications for what happened in the other: they evolved together.[64]

Unlike Harris, Whitefield does not seem to have struggled with the various strands of Reformed orthodoxy to quite the same extent, arriving at moderate opinions much more easily, even naturally. Some of his biographers have argued that Whitefield's Calvinism was something which he acquired only after the initial phase of his London ministry in the mid- and later 1730s, picked up when he encountered more confident Calvinists during his inter-colonial American preaching tours in 1739 and 1740.[65] This seems unlikely. As early as 1736 he recorded in his *Journal* how, shortly after his conversion, 'God was pleased to enlighten my soul, and bring me into the knowledge of his free grace, and the necessity of being justified in His sight by faith only',[66] and his early sermons contain sufficient evidence to suggest that he had more than a passing acquaintance with rudimentary Reformed theology.[67]

Despite claiming that 'I embrace the Calvinist scheme, not because Calvin but Jesus Christ has taught it to me',[68] a select band of Puritan writers were the main sources of his theology. Like Harris, during the early phase of his ministry he avidly read works of Puritan practical divinity, Richard Baxter's devotional works and Joseph Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted* (1671) being particularly influential. Of the other authors which he read, the names of John Flavel, John Howe, Thomas Boston and even Solomon Stoddard, moderate evangelical Calvinists to a man, occur with greatest regularity.[69] His indebtedness to the Puritans, and his role in reviving the Calvinist message in England, has led to his being called 'a Puritan *redivivus*'.[70] When Harris and Whitefield met for the first time in March 1739, there seems to have been a complete meeting of minds, despite Harris still being in the middle of his high Calvinist phase.[71] Harris had already been avidly reading Whitefield's *Journal* and the combination of a settled Calvinist theology and pioneering evangelistic preaching, which Harris now witnessed at first hand, seemed to give him the necessary final nudge towards moderate views. Indeed,

Whitefield invested considerable energy in shoring up Harris's embryonic commitment to Reformed theology in the months that followed their first meetings. Harris spent much of the summer of 1739 with Whitefield in London where he was plied with Reformed literature, complaining at one point that 'I read other books too much, and scripture too little. Though God has owned other Puritan books to me.'[72] In November, Whitefield was still working on Harris urging him to ensure that in his preaching he:

> Put them in mind of the freeness and eternity of God's electing love, and be instant with them to lay hold of the perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ by faith. Talk to them, oh, talk to them, even till midnight, of the riches of His all-sufficient grace … Press them to believe on Him immediately! … Speak every time, my dear brother, as if it was your last. Weep out if possible, every argument, and as it were, compel them to cry, 'Behold how he loveth us!'[73]

Yet there does seem to have been an alteration in the prominence Whitefield gave to his Calvinism following his return from the American colonies, fanning the flames of the Great Awakening during 1740 and early 1741. Writing to Harris from Philadelphia at the end of 1739, for example, Whitefield testified:

> Since I saw you, God has been pleased to enlighten me more in that comfortable doctrine of Election &c. At my return, I hope to be more explicit than I have been. God forbid, my dear brother, that we should shun to declare the whole counsel of God.[74]

Yet, Whitefield's Calvinistic views must have already been fairly prominent, as he had warned John Wesley, on the eve of his departure for the colonies, to avoid disputing about predestination in Bristol because 'it is noised abroad already that there is a division between you and me'.[75] But his concerns about the extent of Wesley's anti-Calvinism were not sufficient for him to nominate someone else to take care of his converts during his absence; it did not take long for Wesley to begin to take decisive action against Calvinism. Determined to 'drive John *Calvin* out of *Bristol*',[76] Wesley began to purge the Bristol Methodist society of those he suspected of holding predestinarian views. However, when he realized the full extent of these views within the society he was forced into taking a more public stance, expelling members at will and printing a provocative anti-Calvinist sermon which he had audaciously preached on one of the Calvinists' favourite texts, Romans 8.32, in Bristol in August 1740, even entitling it *Free Grace*.[77] Whitefield did not return to England until early 1741, by which time Wesley had wrested control of Bristol Methodism from him and set up his own headquarters at the Foundery in London. In his absence Howel Harris had been busy with his shuttle diplomacy trying to minimize the damage by working towards reconciliation with Wesley, but he had been unable to prevent him taking firm control of the English revival, steering it in a definite Arminian direction. In an attempt to win back control of the English movement Whitefield, following his return, struck out on

an ambitious new wave of itinerant open-air evangelism, preaching twice a day to 'great multitudes . . . explicitly on election',[78] but he quickly realized that a more concerted response to Wesley's views was required and so went into print with his *A Letter to the Rev Mr Wesley in answer to his sermon entitled 'Free Grace'* (1741), a move that made the division between those of Calvinist and those of Arminian views public, permanent and probably irreparable.

The publication is the clearest and most concise statement of the Calvinism adopted by the Calvinistic Methodists. In the heat of public controversy, Whitefield, while no great original thinker, showed himself an adept polemicist, stating precisely what he thought on the issues in question, and equally importantly distancing himself from some of the misrepresentations of his position made by John Wesley. Wesley had made the tactical error of assuming that all Calvinists held the strict Calvinist notion of double predestination; he failed to appreciate the variations that existed within the Reformed tradition by this point.[79] Wesley's most caustic comments were levelled against the idea of reprobation. Although he recognized that some of his opponents did not hold the infamous double-decree, in his analysis he effectively lumped single and double predestinarians together since, he argued, their theology

> comes in the end to the same thing ... By virtue of an eternal, unchangeable, irresistible decree of God, one part of mankind are infallibly saved, and the rest infallibly damned; it being impossible that any of the former should be damned, or that the latter should be saved.[80]

But for Wesley the most dangerous implication of a belief in predestination was that it bred a fatalistic theology that encouraged Antinomianism and made the need for the kind of impassioned evangelistic preaching, second nature to both him and Whitefield, seem entirely superfluous. The lack of nuance in Wesley's negotiation of the varieties of Reformed theology had first become a problem in the debacle over his expulsion of the Calvinist John Acourt from his society at the Foundery in London in July 1740. Under Harris's scrutiny, and his threat that if he excluded Acourt just because he believed in election then he would also have to exclude 'Bro Whit__d ... & myself',[81] Wesley was forced to backtrack, saying that it was the proselytizing zeal with which a court advocated the strict Calvinist doctrine of reprobation, rather than simply holding election, that was the reason for his expulsion.[82]

Whitefield's printed answer to Wesley started off on a confrontational note as he chided Wesley for his reliance on the use of a lot rather than 'a due exercise of religious prudence' to decide whether to preach and print his sermon or not.[83] Whitefield stated at the outset that he did not intend his *Letter* to be a defence of Calvinism per se; those who wanted a more in-depth treatment of the doctrines of grace were directed to John Edwards's *Veritas Redux* (1707), Elisha Coles's *Practical Discourse on Divine Sovereignty* (1673) and the Boston pastor William Cooper's *The Doctrine of Predestination unto Life, Explained and Vindicated* (1740),[84] each interesting choices on account of their more moderate formulations of the divine

decrees.[85] As if to back Wesley into a corner – he was an ordained minister of the Church of England after all – Whitefield stated that his belief in predestination was grounded firmly on the teachings of the Church of England; election and reprobation were, he said, 'the established doctrine of Scripture, and acknowledged as such in the 17th Article of the Church of England … yet Mr Wesley absolutely denies it'.[86] In other words, Whitefield was doing nothing more than remaining faithful to Anglican doctrine.

He then proceeded in the main body of his *Letter* to pick apart Wesley's misrepresentations of Calvinism, especially his assumption that all Calvinists held to a form of predestination that stressed the double decrees of election and reprobation equally. He wrote:

> But you knew that people (because Arminianism, of late, has so much abounded among us) were generally prejudiced against the doctrine of reprobation, and therefore thought if you kept up their dislike of that, you could overthrow the doctrine of election entirely. For, without doubt, the doctrine of election and reprobation must stand or fall together.[87]

Whitefield then went on to clarify precisely what he meant when he used the term reprobation:

> I frankly acknowledge, I believe the doctrine of reprobation, in this view, that God intends to give saving grace through Jesus Christ, only to a certain number, and that the rest of mankind, after the fall, being justly left of God to continue in sin, will at last suffer eternal death, which is its proper wages.[88]

This was a deliberate attempt on Whitefield's part to undermine the main thrust of Wesley's argument, distinguishing himself from the more fatalistic implications of some branches of strict Calvinism. In the remainder of the sermon Whitefield addressed five of Wesley's main objections to Calvinist theology. Preaching, Whitefield wrote, was not futile but the means which God had appointed to bring people to Christ; holiness of life was the believers' natural response to the electing love of God in Christ; election, in the third place, was the surest ground of the Christian's assurance of salvation; the imputation of Adam's sin was just and, finally, far from 'overthrow[ing] the whole Christian revelation', as Wesley claimed, 'we … receive [election] with joy, prize it highly, use it in faith and endeavour to spread it through all the world, in the full assurance, that wherever God sends it, sooner or later, it shall be savingly useful to all the elect within its call'.[89] Here then was no fatalistic strict Calvinism, but a moderate, flexible and coherent theological system that, far from dulling the evangelistic impulse of those who held it, actually enhanced and heightened it.

It was a position that had the full support of Howel Harris and the Welsh Methodists who never deviated in their support for Whitefield during the controversy. Once the turmoil following the formal split with Wesley had settled, Harris and Whitefield turned their attention to giving formal expression to the unity

that existed between their respective awakenings. They began to put in place a shared organizational structure, culminating in January 1743 with the holding of the first Joint Association of English and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism at which they made agreement with Calvinist theology a prerequisite for membership in their societies.[90] There now existed a network of self-consciously Calvinistic Methodist societies spanning England and Wales. It was a move that ensured that Methodism in Wales would be unequivocally Calvinist.

Yet despite thinking that Wesley and Whitefield preached 'two gospels, one sets all on God, ye other on men',[91] Howel Harris worked tirelessly behind the scenes trying to keep both parties talking to one another, clarifying some of the misrepresentations that both sides were making of each other, and arranging meetings at which differences could be frankly aired and friendly relations preserved. It may be that Harris was ideally suited to this role, at least in England. Among the Welsh Methodists he had a reputation for abrasiveness and dogmatism, but in England he had remained on good terms with both the Moravians and the Wesleyans; his reputation for having an irenic spirit opened doors which had often been slammed shut in the faces of some of his more belligerent Calvinist friends.[92] Almost immediately after the publication of Whitefield's *Letter*, Harris met with John Wesley, confessing that, despite everything, there was 'vast love' between them and genuine hope that the 'Ld [would] remove all mountains [between us]'.[93]

Harris worked hard at persuading Whitefield to moderate his opinion of the Wesley brothers[94] and, after an extended meeting with John Wesley in south Wales in March 1742, Harris drew up a discussion document which outlined those areas where there was unanimity between the Calvinists and Arminians, and those areas where disagreement and tensions remained.[95] The result of this diplomacy was a summit meeting attended by Whitefield, Wesley and Harris in London in February 1743; James Hutton, representing the Moravians, had pulled out at the last minute. For a moment it seemed as though something of the old camaraderie had returned and there was a genuine desire among all present to reach some kind of accommodation. Wesley frankly admitted that there were only three areas where they still disagreed with one another: unconditional election, irresistible grace and final perseverance. Despite these being fairly substantial points of difference, Herbert McGonigle has suggested that Wesley's apparent readiness to accept any form of predestination that did not imply a corresponding belief in an active decree of reprobation brought him to the 'very edge of Calvinism'.[96] In the end relatively little, beyond the restoration of cordial relations between Whitefield, Wesley and Harris, came of these discussions. They showed that despite a degree of willingness to compromise, there were by this time very substantial differences separating the Calvinists and the Wesleyans, so much so that their alternative theologies of grace now became deeply enshrined in the identities of the various branches of English Methodism.

Maintaining a moderate line within the Calvinistic Methodist movement itself was no easy task either. Calvinistic Methodism was notoriously fractious, and no sooner had Whitefield managed to regain a measure of control

over it, following the dispute with the Wesley brothers, than other groups began jostling for influence. The moderate Calvinist position was shored up through an ambitious publication programme as Whitefield and Harris recommended works by both contemporary and older authors in the pages of the newly relaunched magazine *The Weekly History*.[97] The writings of the New England theologian Jonathan Edwards[98] and the Scottish evangelicals, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, some of which were translated into Welsh,[99] were all warmly commended. However, it did not take long for dissatisfaction with the moderate Calvinism of Whitefield and Harris to erupt into open dispute as a young preacher named William Cudworth began to claim that not only was the real gospel not being preached at Whitefield's Tabernacle but also it hadn't been preached faithfully in London for well over a century![100] Cudworth was accused of propagating Antinomianism, a position that not only dispensed with the keeping of the law but also in its stress on double predestination and the eternal security of the believer bred the kind of fatalism and inertia from which Whitefield had already tried to distance himself in his controversy with Wesley. In the end Cudworth was forced out of the Tabernacle Society, taking with him a substantial group of followers with whom he established an Independent congregation in Spitalfields.[101] But there was also heated debate when others imbibed some elements of Richard Baxter's theology. While Howel Harris had certainly benefited from some of Baxter's devotional works, and found his views on predestination congenial, his settled opinion was that 'ye Baxterian theme we think not orthodox'.[102] There was a protracted discussion of Baxter's theology within the movement in the mid-1740s with papers being written outlining its merits and deficiencies,[103] but in the end Baxter's views were rejected because his views on the fulfilment of the Law of God in Christ and its inapplicability to Christians were thought to encourage practical Antinomianism.

In the hands of Whitefield and Harris the Reformed theology adopted by the Calvinistic Methodists in England and Wales was no introspective, backward-looking creed and bred neither evangelistic inertia nor Antinomian excess. While they consciously saw themselves as revivers of the theology and spirituality of the 'good old orthodox Reformers and Puritans',[104] in reality theirs was a highly selective appropriation and then adaptation of certain aspects of Puritan soteriology. Both Whitefield and Harris consciously positioned themselves between the strict Calvinism that had predominated among the English Puritans and that was still present in some dissenting circles and the more innovative evangelical Arminianism of the Wesley brothers. It was a position that owed much to the ethos of enlightened England.

When Iolo Morganwg, the cantankerous popularizer of all things druidic and one of the leading figures in the establishment of a Welsh association of Unitarian congregations in the early nineteenth century, complained that 'North Wales is now as Methodistical as South Wales, and South Wales as hell',[105] he revealed the extent to which Calvinistic Methodism had become a prominent feature of the Welsh religious landscape. With its network of small cell groups, which by the

end of the eighteenth century had mushroomed far beyond the 450 established by Howel Harris himself in the first years of the revival,[106] wave upon wave of religious revivals and successive generations of gifted and charismatic preachers, Calvinistic Methodism had extended well beyond its old heartlands in south and south-west Wales.[107] There had almost certainly been a great awakening.[108] By the time of Harris's death in 1773, and the deaths of his Methodist co-founders Daniel Rowland and William Williams in the early 1790s, a new generation had emerged under the leadership of Thomas Charles, who from his headquarters at Bala in north Wales led the Calvinistic Methodists, albeit with a heavy heart, out of the established Church and into the ranks of the Dissenters in 1811.[109]

By this time also the impulse of the evangelical revival had spilled over into the older Dissenting denominations, many of them experiencing their own religious awakenings which saw them engage in passionate evangelistic preaching and the closer nurture and discipleship of their converts and members. A warm evangelical spirituality, activistic and outward looking, became the norm in many of the older dissenting congregations.[110] It was a transformation underpinned by the kind of evangelical Calvinism that had been championed by Howel Harris at the dawn of the Methodist revival. By the end of the eighteenth century it had become the mainstream theological position held not only by the Calvinistic Methodists but also by most other Welsh Nonconformists.[111] The early decades of the nineteenth century saw the position challenged, especially among the Calvinistic Methodists, however, as various theological factions within the new denomination, both from the left and the right, suggested their own modifications and challenges to it. Ultimately, although not before protracted and often bitter theological debate, the theological writings of Thomas Jones, Denbigh, and then the leadership of John Elias, who had himself had his own battles with stricter expressions of the Reformed faith, ensured that a moderate evangelical Calvinism was enshrined within the confession of faith agreed upon officially by the Calvinistic Methodists in 1823.[112]

Through a process of appropriation and adaptation Welsh evangelicals engaged creatively with the Reformed tradition that had been built upon the original theological insights of John Calvin. While a Welsh Reformed tradition had certainly begun to take shape in the seventeenth century, it was not until the eighteenth century, when as Glanmor Williams has argued the Reformation finally came of age in Wales,[113] that a more sustained and even innovative engagement with the tradition took place. The moderate evangelical Calvinism, championed by the leaders of the evangelical revival, arrived at through a close reading of Puritan literature and involvement in a trans-national Calvinistic Methodist movement, became the dominant expression of the Reformed tradition in Wales. Despite being enshrined in the foundation documents of the Calvinistic Methodist denomination, the fortunes of Calvinism in Wales ebbed and flowed during the course of the nineteenth century; while it certainly had its able and highly articulate champions,[114] by the early twentieth century it had become a much scarcer commodity. When the Calvinistic Methodist denomination dropped Calvinism from its official title in 1928 there was little resistance.[115] But Calvinism was far

from being an entirely spent force, and there were still some, such as the influ-
ential evangelical leader Martyn Lloyd-Jones, keen to appropriate and breathe
new life into the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist theological tradition once again.[116]
The Welsh interaction with the theological legacy of John Calvin was long, rich,
controversial and sometimes polarizing, but throughout it was never less than a
highly creative and dynamic engagement.

12

Conclusion: Celtic Christianities in the Age of Reformations: Language, Community, Tradition and Belief[1]

Robert Armstrong

'Celtic' is an all too easily misunderstood term, 'Celtic Christianity' doubly so. Historians – and not only historians[2] – have become wary of attempts to overcome the limits either of time or of space in order to find common patterns of belief or tendencies in devotion which span the centuries and the very different societies of Gaelic Ireland or Scotland, of Wales, of Brittany or Cornwall or Man, and yet are something more than local expressions of a universal Christian faith. The once-fashionable notion of a 'Celtic Church' of, say, the fifth to seventh centuries, has fallen away, but the idea of a 'distinctive "Celtic" strain of Christianity', especially present in just such an early golden age, has recurrently called forth 'longing glances' in a centuries-long sequence of episodes of 'Celtic Christian revivalism', certainly up to the later twentieth century.[3] The editors and contributors to this volume may appear to have sought to have dodged an awkward issue by resorting to the plural term 'Celtic Christianities' to indicate the diversity of the experiences of the Celtic-language-speaking peoples of Britain and Ireland in an 'age of reformations' when their forms of faith could not but be shaped by time as well as place, by the seismic tremors which shook all of Western Christendom in the early modern era. But the 'Celtic' label persists. What do we mean by it?

Seeking solid ground in sometimes marshy 'Celtic' terrain, Donald Meek found a 'firm linguistic bedrock' formed from the language family currently represented by Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish and Breton.[4] This has, indeed, been the main principle behind the selection of subjects considered in the present volume, which looks at religion as practised among the main Celtic-language communities which shared an encounter not only with the English language but also with the precursors of the British state, namely, the Crown of England and the kingdom of Scotland.[5] Not that those discussed in this volume would probably have recognized their association. Wide travels and deep reading might, at the turn of the eighteenth century, have led Edward Lhuyd to a realization of an underlying connection between the Q-Celtic Goidelic of Gaelic and the P-Celtic Brythonic of Welsh and Cornish, the basis of most later classifications, but his insights were not readily adopted by his contemporaries.[6] And not surprisingly, for the 'fact is that the early medieval Irish and Welsh languages, though "Celtic" to the modern philologist, were mutually incomprehensible'; nor did their

medieval traditions suggest to the Welsh or the Irish any 'tradition of being Celts' nor any sense of common ethnic origins.[7]

And yet, even in the seventeenth century, some claims were being made towards shared forms of faith, and ones worth celebrating. Though the term was far from him, that mighty scholar, James Ussher, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, was pursuing a 'Celtic' past: when he sought 'a true discoverie … of that Religion which anciently was professed in this Kingdome' of Ireland his knowledge that the *Scoti* were the inhabitants of both modern-day Ireland and Scotland meant that, for him, as they were 'the same people' so the 'religion doubtlesse received by both, was the selfe same; and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the *Britons*',[8] from whom of course the Welsh claimed descent.[9] Ussher might stand for us as a signal representative of one of two influential, but strikingly different, readings of the Christian traditions to be found among Celtic-speaking peoples, the other epitomized in the 'hymns and incantations' collected in the Hebrides in the nineteenth century by Alexander Carmichael, and subsequently published in the six volumes of *Carmina Gadelica*.[10] All too aware of the wealth of the Gaelic oral tradition, Carmichael was clear in his mind as to the sequence of events which had threatened it – not least the 'intemperate zeal' of the 'Reformation movement' or the yet more forcible impact of more recent evangelicalism, where the people of Lewis – 'the most rigid Christians in the British Isles' – readily reported to him how '"the good men and the good ministers who arose did away with the songs and the stories, the music and the dancing, the sports and the games, that were perverting the minds and ruining the souls of the people"'.[11] Regardless of the debate over Carmicheal's work,[12] what is unquestioned is its widespread appeal and influence, in terms of 'Celtic' faith more generally, not least his emphasis on how his collections were 'the product of faraway thinking, come down on the long stream of time', and 'come down … not through the lettered few, but through the unlettered many' in spoken Gaelic,[13] among a people for whom religion 'pagan or Christian, or both combined, permeated everything'.[14]

Such a world was far removed from that of the scholarly Christendom of James Ussher. If, to paraphrase Donald Meek, readings of the Celtic past which draw exclusively upon work like Carmichael's focus on the poetry but forget the penitentials,[15] missing the manner in which even early Celtic Christianity was incorporated into the wider world of Latin Christendom, Ussher's arguments, in contrast, were crafted from Latin texts, whether generated in Ireland or, as he supposed, by Irish scholars on the Continent. They were framed around distinctly doctrinal questions, whether predestination or purgatory, sacraments or spiritual jurisdiction. It was a schedule as far removed from latter-day populist readings of 'Celtic' faith as might be imagined. Where Carmichael presented a conduit carrying a stream of popular spirituality Ussher offered a tunnel back to an age of pristine belief.[16] The Ussher approach was enduring and formidable, preceded and more extensively succeeded by scholars in Wales and Scotland (and England) as keen as those in Ireland to connect the beliefs of the ancients to their own preferences in dogma or church order.[17] Indeed both approaches retain a value beyond

the details collected, sifted or asserted by any individual, drawing attention to the need to attend both to perceived tradition and to received belief, to that which percolates from the past and that which permeates from the shared convictions of a wider Christendom, to the devotional but also the doctrinal. It is, indeed, one of the avowed aims of this volume to allow space for studies which address questions relevant to students of early modern religion more generally. Approaching Celtic Christianities in the age of reformations may usefully be done by looking at the nexus formed by belief and tradition, language and community. If language exists to be performed – proclaimed and preached, sung and recited, written and read and prayed – then such performance is responsive to the social order, the community, in which it is undertaken. Asking what, if anything beyond a philological connection, unites the insular Celtic languages, necessarily involves asking how comparable were the societies that nurtured them.

At the outset of the period covered by this volume, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Irish and Welsh were vibrant and expansive languages.[18] Scottish Gaelic had beaten a long retreat from its eleventh-century peak of geographical reach, into the east and south of Scotland, and of social influence, as the language of government and Court. But by the mid-fourteenth century the language had more or less dug in along the 'Highland Line', a line it would hold until perhaps the mid-eighteenth century, adding geographical to linguistic division, even as an increasing integration was underway of the mainland Highlands with the off-lying Isles.[19] These were languages set to work or put to play, by voice or by pen, to a wide variety of ends, sustaining learned professions as well as more humble entertainers. If harnessed to the aspirations of indigenous elites – and in the case of the two Gaeldoms making use of the shared 'high' language of classical common Gaelic[20] – this was more than a 'bardic' culture, even if the praise poetry of the professional, classical poets held most prestige (and has secured the highest survival rate); it stretched to history and to genealogy, and to medical lore. The production of devotional poetry was not the primary or professional purpose of Irish 'bardic' poets, but produce it they did,[21] for Christian forms, motifs and beliefs were centuries-old strands in the cultural weave of these societies. 'Celts' can no more be stereotyped as carrying some 'supposed … preference for oral rather than written transmission' of their cultures than they might be supposed to be more prone to panegyric verse than other aristocratic societies.[22] A growing literate lay patronage of Welsh devotional manuscript production has been detected in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[23] Religious life was not set in aspic. The plethora of lordships across Gaelic Ireland fostered the production of religious artefacts from illustrated manuscripts to saints' lives to reliquaries (or in the West Highlands of Scotland monumental sculpture), not only fused into the social and political realities of local conditions but also incorporating contemporary religious preferences popular across Latin Europe in the 'century of the passion'[24] of the 1400s every bit as much as the rood screens or stained glass or wall paintings in Welsh churches – or free verse *cwndidau* – discussed by Madelaine Gray. Sìm Innes offers a telling reminder that the European context of Gaelic piety must be understood 'not at the expense of the *Gaelic* context of Gaelic piety'; he deftly demonstrates the point in

his analysis of the blend of universally European with 'culturally specific' themes and motifs in Gaelic devotional poems, St Katherine of Alexandra or the 'salmon of knowledge'. Institutionally, too, it might be said that the Church was particular to its host society rather than peculiar in Western-European terms, adapting not rejecting such organizational norms as parishes, whether that be in Iain MacDonald's Gaelic Scotland or Raymond Gillespie's Gaelic Ireland.

But other features common to all three languages, and their primary sustaining communities, were to have significant effects in unravelling these tightly woven patterns: the fact that all existed within polities where the centre of political gravity would increasingly come to lie outside these language zones, and the fact that, while Celtic languages might be spoken within urban centres, none of the Celtic societies were fully participant in an urban culture. Sixteenth-century Carmarthen was the largest town in Wales, but its population is unlikely to have much exceeded 2,000, and the persistence of English-speaking there has been seen as not unrelated to its comparatively ready grasp of a state-sponsored Protestant Reformation.[25] The Celtic tongues were not the languages of counting houses nor of chancelleries nor of the courts of princes; increasingly they were not the languages of courts of law either. The arena of administration and law was one where European 'centralizing states' increasingly sought uniformity of language.[26] The English Crown moved to make English such a language in both Wales and Ireland.[27] If this undermined the dominance of Celtic vernaculars in so far as it further infiltrated English as a high-status language in the domains of law and governance, so increasing resort to English common law or lowland Scots law tugged at some of the strands of custom in the social fabric of the Celtic-language societies.[28] Likewise, increasing state efforts to integrate – or failing that to replace – the noble or landed elite of Gaelic and Welsh society saw a leaching away of those who sustained the old learned and literary orders.[29] Neither process was, of course, rapid but both proved inexorable with consequences for the kind of religious order which had been present in the early sixteenth century. Religious production would shape itself to new cultural norms, even as religious patronage would accommodate itself to the increasingly intrusive requirements of states and state-sponsored churches, or shape means to defy them.

As the surrounding social order was recast so other challenges were posed by tendencies towards religious reform first forged in the urban or courtly crucibles of Renaissance humanism. Reform, of whichever stripe in a newly divided Western Christendom, prescribed the printed page and the 'painful' (painstaking) pastor as sovereign remedies for ignorance, superstition and sin. As elsewhere in Europe, such agendas would necessarily require adjustments to the old symbiosis of Latin and vernacular learning, or the old synthesis of universal Church and local community. 'Belief' now faced the challenge not only from new doctrinal emphases but also from a newer emphasis on doctrine in the life of the believer, even as 'tradition' would face the challenge of contests to sift the past for what was of value in present circumstances, and to interpret history to defend Catholic and Protestant preferences. The challenge facing the competing confessions would be not only to capture traditional forms or ideas of faith but also to build a

community faith sufficiently sturdy to safeguard at least some of those values even as they were adapted and sometimes even transformed to meet new requirements.[30]

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's introduction sets out clearly the strikingly different responses in Ireland and Wales to a broadly similar form of faith pressed by the English Crown, but pressed in vastly different political contexts and at different speeds: tellingly, there is a falling away in Ireland, but not in Wales, of an early native conformist ministry, and a very different fate for the Welsh and Irish translations of the Bible and Protestant literature, both of which were proclaimed as reclamations of a golden Christian heritage. Katherine Olson's essay makes clear the gradual nature of changes in religious practice in Wales, carrying forward notions of sacred times or places, or lifecycle customs, acclimatizing the population to the state-sponsored reformation, presented by familiar people in well-worn settings. Familiar personnel can surely familiarize a population with changing practices. But if the Welsh were becoming conformists from the reign of Elizabeth, were they becoming Protestant? Routine criticisms, by what we might term more 'advanced' Protestants, of persistent 'superstition' or 'ignorance' perhaps tell less about *whether* Wales was incubating Protestants than about *what kind* of Protestants were being hatched. Routine denunciations, from the same quarters, targeted mere 'reading ministers' who did not preach, but maybe the reading counted rather a lot. Patrick Collinson once referred to the steady drip of Prayer Book worship ultimately washing into the consciousness of English parishioners.[31] Might not the same be true of the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Welsh, alongside liturgical reading of the Welsh Bible, or, indeed, the singing in Welsh of metrical psalms, Edmwnd Prys's version being included in prayer books from 1621? Reformers urged books, but books needed to be performed, and in the performance lay one of the means whereby the capture of the traditional religious order was accompanied by its subtle, slow transformation.[32] Lloyd Bowen has made the telling remark that 'access to the Bible [was] through the church' into the early seventeenth century at least. By mid-century the Welsh were reckoned 'proverbial' adherents of Prayer Book Protestantism denounced by reformist English Parliamentarians in the 1640s: those who had 'scarce had any more Reformation then the Common Prayer Book, a Masse-booke junior'.[33]

Historians of Wales regularly, and no doubt rightly, insist that the decision to place Welsh-language Scriptures at the heart of community worship was decisive for the future growth of a sturdy vernacular print tradition. Protestants in Ireland might have been slower off the mark in producing Scripture translations, slower still in securing an Irish-language liturgy, but when, at the start of the eighteenth century, an uncharacteristic flurry of activity saw 6,000 copies of the Prayer Book and catechism in Irish brought into print it was found that 4,000 of them 'mouldered' away in warehouses.[34] In Scotland, too, where a vernacular Gaelic New Testament was first printed in 1767, the 10,000 copies had still not all been distributed thirty years later.[35] The letter alone might not kill, but it needed voices to give it life. The argument has long since been advanced, especially by Jane Dawson, that the spread of Reformed Protestantism in Gaelic Scotland relied heavily upon such oral means of transmission as Bible reading (the minister

translating from the printed English text before him), preaching and catechizing – and psalm singing – in Gaelic, and Alexandra Walsham has suggested that Protestant usage of Cornish, orally and perhaps in manuscript, allowed for dissemination of Reformation ideas despite the lack of printed texts in the language.[36] If, as Dawson seems to suggest, the parish framework, though present, was less relevant to reformation success than ministerial adaptability to Highland geography or the support and constraint offered by close ties to clan elites, this fits well with Martin MacGregor's demonstration of the continuing power of patronage held by dominant kin, and the resulting stranglehold, in the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, on ecclesiastical resources sought for Kirk (and Crown) benefit. How readily kirk sessions (those local bodies of elders with the minister responsible not least for the enforcement of discipline among the flock) emerged in Gaelic parishes is, again, unclear; elsewhere in Scotland they played a key role in incorporating local elites as active participants in the reformed kirk and would endure the flux between episcopalian and Presbyterian arrangements at higher levels of church order.[37]

The parish system in Gaelic Ireland – as in Gaelic Scotland – was, unsurprisingly, enmeshed in wider economic and political patterns of landholding and lordship.[38] In Ulster such patterns were shaken up by war and plantation at the outset of the seventeenth century. In its wake, the comparative readiness with which parish financing was refloated, with the consequent attraction of a graduate ministry, in fact served to undermine further the likelihood of an inclusion of the Gaelic population within the Established, Protestant, Church of Ireland, that ministry being not only costly and educated but also English-speaking and alien.[39] Across Ireland the parish framework, and the associated buildings and funding, had fallen to the Established Protestant Church but even as it offered the basis for an alternative, catholic, geography of religion. The parish, it has been claimed, 'in contrast to its buildings and possessions, was virtually indestructible: its burial grounds, sites and boundaries were indelible in the landscape and embedded in local memory',[40] and available for capture. Much of the parish religion depicted by Raymond Gillespie could endure for Catholics, connected to local saints and pilgrimage sites and holy wells.[41] In the longer term, by the mid-eighteenth century parishes had become intimately bound to the custom of 'stations', of sacramental practice (confession and Mass) in private houses according to a regularized circuit pattern.[42] This is not to say that buildings did not matter: one of the most contested issues of the peace talks of the 1640s between representatives of the Catholic confederates and the Protestant monarch lay over possession of church buildings taken back into Catholic hands after the rising of 1641. But, perhaps speculatively, it might be asked whether the poverty and intermittent disorder which seem to have left the churches of late medieval Gaelic Ulster less kempt and its priests more dependent on informal support than elsewhere in Ireland might not have aided the transition to post-Reformation Catholicism.[43] By contrast a rather different retention was also present in Gaelic Ireland, if only temporarily: the stuttering process of monastic suppression and the earlier uniquely successful expansion of the stricter Observant mendicant presence in Gaelic zones meant that there was, for some crucial decades into the early seventeenth century,

a persistent presence of the familiar friars who were given time for a 'phased withdrawal' so as to 'marshal their … resources to forge a counter-reformation'. These were years when preaching could continue or novices be inducted. The well-known, and vital, rise of the continental training-grounds of Irish Catholicism was supplemented with the persistence of localized recruitment and burial sites.[44]

The Franciscan St Anthony's College, Louvain, was a forcing-house for Irish Catholic literary production, as Bernadette Cunningham's essay demonstrates – devotional, hagiographical, catechetical. Historians of varying parts of early modern Europe have made much of late of catechisms and catechesis, important not least as bridging the gap between the written (usually printed) and the oral, between the text supplied to the professional and applied to the mass of believers.[45] Of course, and increasingly, intended catechizers were not just clergymen but schoolmasters and heads of households. In Gaelic Scotland the employment of the catechist as an eighteenth-century agent of Protestantism and more particularly of the Established Church, testifies to the continuing importance of that mode of inculcating or deepening belief.[46] Of course, too, catechisms are much easier to study than catechesis, production rather than consumption, so to speak, and opinions have varied as to whether the whole process was as productive of religious knowledge as its promoters hoped.[47] Perhaps we should not overestimate their intentions. One Irish catechism offered the assurance that the 'ignorant … who had a barbarous upbringing and did not hear discussion of the articles of the faith often are not obliged under pain of their salvation to have knowledge of them all, but they are obliged to clearly believe the most important articles which they have most frequently heard discussion of'.[48] Salvador Ryan, indeed, has argued that such texts were 'aimed, in the short term, not so much at achieving a catechized laity as a sacramentalized one', that is, that a basic level of instruction would provide 'a gateway to Penance and the Eucharist'.[49] His wider argument is that thereby they were promoting a deepening of 'medieval piety', enhancing participation in the means of grace, making better use of traditional devotions to which 'catholic reformers' were themselves devoted. In his essay in the present volume, this dovetails with the presentation of the religious verse of the *BOCD* as being resonant with the same concerns as those of the Louvain Franciscans.

In the person of poet-turned-priest Giolla Brighde or Bonabhentura Ó hEódhusa OFM (author of the text quoted above) can be seen the two strands, the poetry and the catechism, entwined. Tellingly, though, he has been presented as having both blended bardic impulses with Counter-Reformation notions, a point to which we shall return, but also as engaged in a 'fundamental shift in Gaelic communicative practice', not merely in terms of turning to print to protect true faith from Protestant inroads but, in doing so, in a manner which hitched poetry as well as prose to the interests of clarity above artistry.[50] Of course, accessible religious prose in both Welsh and Irish predated the sixteenth century.[51] But it is hard not to detect a hastening of endeavour to communicate, to wider circles and with greater urgency, behind the recurring insistence on simplicity of style – like that of Robert Llwyd, 'contenting myself with such ordinary words as the commonalty

of the country are familiar with and understand' as he turned out an esteemed Welsh translation of the English Puritan classic *The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heaven* (1601).[52] Translations or new compositions did not need to be overtly works of controversy; few were. Of Anthony Gearnon's *Parrthas an Anma* (1645) it has been suggested that, 'quite free of the polemical bitterness' of other such texts, it gave more of the air of 'a manual of devotion for Irish Catholic gentlemen living in tranquillity'.[53] The segments recycled into manuscript circulation were those focused on 'everyday prayers and rituals'.[54] But the idea of deepening faith, whether that be by catechetical question-and-answer or the rendering routine of private devotions and inner reflection, would, if successful, not only produce more knowledgeable and pious Christians but also ones whose faith was, if imperceptibly, taking on the mingled tints of confessional identity and cultural affinity.

Nor should we underestimate the freight which such texts might carry into the world of vernacular learning and literature. In Gaelic Scotland the most notable may well have been the translation of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, undertaken by the Synod of Argyll in the 1650s. Though the initial effort at production of a Gaelic catechism, that of John Carswell (Eoin Carsuel) in 1567 (a modified version of Calvin's little catechism), seems to have had a successor in a translation of Calvin's Geneva catechism around 1630, the Westminster text was the one which the synod pressed upon its ministers, and which would be reprinted, on thirty or so occasions, into the next century.[55] In this instance it had been local initiative which had delivered a Westminster text to Gaeldom, harnessing the energies of its own ministers, a local initiative which would also deliver Gaelic metrical versions of the first fifty Psalms ('An Ceud Chaogad') and made progress towards translating the Old Testament. Most publication of Welsh-language books had been in London; indeed, more generally, the ability to harness sufficient support not only to move books to print but also to nudge legislation to sustain Welsh-language texts is a telling illustration of the power of momentum at the political centre to move matters at the peripheries of the state,[56] and of the greater leverage which Welsh-speaking Protestants achieved in this respect than their Gaelic co-religionists. The Argyll ministers might be native speakers (though not all were)[57] but that would not mean that they were, in any formal sense, Gaelic scholars. As with their Welsh counterparts, it is important to remember that while English (or Scots) might be encroaching into the realm of formal education, here priority was still retained by the classical tongues (Latin and Greek); vernacular education or learning must have persisted 'coterminously' with such more formal arrangements, as it had always done.[58] The Shorter Catechism had at least the potential to mediate not merely from print to oral but from 'high' theology to popular belief; here after all was a text suffused with conceptual richness. Its language has been reckoned more 'definitely Scottish Gaelic' and closer to the spoken language than earlier efforts, reliant on the Common Classical Gaelic into which the New Testament had been translated in Ireland (published in 1602). But no less an authority than Donald Meek has nonetheless pointed up not only 'the many residual Classical forms' in the Shorter Catechism but also a wider tendency towards a 'Protestant Gaelic', inclined towards a 'more elevated style' than contemporary spoken vernacular, to

an 'upper register' in preaching and print, which he takes to signal the fact that 'the Protestant church became, by default, the principal custodian of the type of Gaelic closest to that of the medieval world'.[59] The point is of some importance.

This is hardly the place to address an issue of such complexity or cultural consequence as the 'decline' of 'bardic' poetry, a shorthand for major literary shifts underway in the seventeenth century especially. But nor can it be wholly avoided. For while historians of Wales and the two Gaeldoms have all detected such tendencies as a falling away of the prestige of the learned orders, and most especially for elite ('bardic') poets, and accompanying changes in the nature of literary production (whether in quantity, style, form or adherence to conventional patterns and metres), they have also noted the rise not only of a wider range of non-professional litterateurs but also of a higher literary profile for clergymen. A clericalization of culture was underway. (Perhaps, in a long-term perspective, we might argue a re-clericalization of culture.) The ramifications are apparent at the very point where language would harness tradition and belief to mould itself to the changed contours of community, and to shape it in turn. It is true that the learned orders 'took a long time to die', in Scotland,[60] that 'the bardic corporate apparatus had been in protracted decline' in Ireland from 'at least the middle of Elizabeth's reign',[61] that the 'guild of professional poets continued to flourish outwardly' in Wales for a century after so-called union with England in 1536–43, producing thousands of poems in conventional manners, even as it was a 'tradition [that] was dying on its feet' in terms of the quality of its compositions.[62] The decline of elite patronage has been detected as a common element in this pattern, perhaps indeed the predominant one given the centrality of panegyric,[63] and one related, too, to the encroachment of English law in Wales and in Ireland which would reduce, first, the value set on knowledge of custom and, in time, a mastery of the genealogical lore necessary to facilitate transfers of property and power.[64] And given that indications exist that such learning – and entertainment – had a wider social diffusion it may be worth noting that, in Wales at least, the undermining of the more populist minstrel culture has been related not merely to official, state suspicion of their 'counter-culture' but also to changing popular tastes (from 'traditionalist poet-minstrels' to 'non-traditional musicians', playing to accompany dancing) or to the spread of a popular 'festive culture' to the towns, then the countryside.[65] In other words, an outer world, with its energetic states and cities, with their power to assimilate elites or propagate values, was increasingly intruding on and engaging with (though not overwhelming) Gaelic and Welsh societies.

The differing communities of 'Celtic' Britain and Ireland were edging, at differing speeds, to new cultural syntheses in which a Christian identity with its values and practices would continue to play a central, if modified, part. In each case it would involve an increased profile for more accessible and adaptable forms of literary expression; a greater share in cultural production by clergy or by 'amateurs', whether from the fringes of the social elite or the edges of a scribal order; in time, a newly expressed understanding of a community's political, religious and historical place in the world. Strikingly similar evaluations have been made by historians of Wales and of Ireland of how 'bardic' religious poetry, for all its

power to offer expression to devotional and moral sentiments, did not lend itself readily to religious controversy. It could be mobilized in defence of an indigenous Christian order – against the *ffydd Saeson* (Saxon faith) of the early Reformation, for example, with its assault on the visual coating of faith, on shrines and altars and vestments, proclaimed in the foreign English language – but it could be mobilized, too, to celebrate patrons of the new order, and even some of their accomplishments, notably William Morgan's translation of the Bible into Welsh.[66] That is to say, it was a tradition worth capturing, and some Protestant activists, in Wales, in Scotland and in Ireland were not slow to insist on the importance of the attempt. Capturing, but reorienting: the celebrated 'passage at arms' between the 'gentleman-cum-cleric' Edmwnd Prys and Wiliam Cynwal, 'a far from unworthy representative of old-style poetic learning', indicates that what Reformers hoped for was a move from praise poetry to the role of 'the poet of Christian learning and the printed book', an adaptation which offered few advantages to those steeped in their craft.[67]

The same notes were sounded by Carswell and by the Irish Protestant Gael – and Cambridge graduate – Seaán Ó Cearnaigh.[68] If in Ireland the Protestant attempt to harness Gaelic tradition failed miserably, a more general pattern was one which witnessed an eventual passing of the 'mantle of cultural leadership'. The phrase is that of Allan Macinnes, who places particular emphasis on the mid-seventeenth century, with the edging ahead of a vernacular poetry addressing a wider range of concerns, and principally in the hands not of the old learned families but of those on 'the fringes of the clan gentry'.[69] In Wales free-metre poetry was of course centuries old, but prestige grew, and it was, after all, 'far better adapted for religious teaching and far easier to remember', and far more open to a wider range of authors, most especially clerics and gentlemen.[70] Wales may not have had a learned 'caste' in quite the sense of Gaelic Ireland and Scotland,[71] but it had had its literary professionals; it was the clergy who now came forward as 'the only educated group in the country which had a professional and personal interest in using the Welsh language in the course of their calling and maintaining its honour'.[72] If, in Ireland, the gradual fading of the old hereditary learned families could mean the passing of some of them into the ranks of the Catholic clergy, the activities and energies of the gentleman-scholar and the 'amateur poets' meant innovation and redirection in scholarship and poetry even before mid-century.[73]

What, then, was this new synthesis? As Bernadette Cunningham's chapter so deftly demonstrates, the new scholarly community, drawn in part from hereditary learned families, was cultivating 'a particular sense of Ireland, its people, its language and its religion',[74] Catholicism, rooted in the past, sprouting in history, poetry and theology. If in some ways echoing processes that were catching hold in Europe more generally, of burrowing confessional allegiance deep in the national soil, the particular Celtic variations on the theme were distinctive. Glanmor Williams once reckoned upon a series of 'prevailing attitudes' among the pre-Norman Church in Wales: an 'unqualified pride' in an apostolic-era conversion; a sense of 'superiority' for the British over the Anglo-Saxon tradition; a celebration of a glorious past of indigenous saints, their deeds 'woven into the history,

folklore and legends' of the regions; an unshakeable conviction of 'orthodoxy and loyalty to the faith' over time despite heresy or persecution; a providential hope for a future 'sacred mission'.[75] They echo well assumptions articulated in the post-Reformation Welsh Church. Lloyd Bowen's splendid chapter shows the appropriation by competing religious groups of this kind of vision of Welsh Christian history. Perhaps particularly telling is the manner in which he has presented this as more than the articulate expression of a humanist-protestant elite but one which resonated with a widely diffused sense of the Welsh past. The scholarly credibility of even a James Ussher meant little if it could not carry such cultural credibility. Instead, it has been suggested, it was his Catholic rivals who managed a viable 'recasting of tradition', tellingly one which would enable 'Irish-speakers, irrespective of historical ethnicity and geographical location, to embrace a shared patriotic identity'.[76] That all of our Celtic societies had blurred edges almost goes without saying. But the idea that the centuries-old *Gael/Gall* divide in Ireland might always have been more of a 'state of mind'[77] than the more geographically apparent Scottish division may have provided the soil in which such an Irish-language, but above all Catholic, rather than ethnic, sense of Irishness would grow.[78]

By the middle years of the seventeenth century both the power of the Catholic definition of Irishness, and its limitations, were apparent. The confederate Catholic movement, which by 1642 had gained control of most of the island, was premised upon unity of religion over diversity of ancestry or 'all national distinctions'. If this was hardly so readily dissolved, the tensions within the confederate ranks cannot be neatly mapped on to old 'ethnic' divisions between old (Gaelic) Irish and old English (descended from the medieval colony), the two principal components of the Catholic population. It was, after all, also a movement requiring loyalty to the monarch, Charles I, whose government it had chosen to defy. Confederate protests of loyalty were no more jarring than that of dissident religious movements across Europe, but loyalty was enabled not just by venerable 'Old English' political principles, but by a reconceptualization of Gaelic allegiances by the heirs of Gaelic tradition.[79] By the 1640s, topical poetry in Irish, including clerical compositions, was a vehicle to articulate the perspectives of competing confederate factions.[80] For our purposes, it is the close weaving in of Catholicism with a 'national' cause that is crucial.

The more that the story of the 'age of reformations' is seen as that of the securing of confessionalized communities, the more it is important to understand how crucial it was to present culturally plausible forms of faith. The much-quoted comment of the pioneer Welsh Puritan, Walter Cradock, that the 'gospel is run over the mountains between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire as fire in the thatch'[81] epitomized the energetic endeavour to ignite Wales in the 1650s, but the Puritan cause soon spluttered. The battle for Welsh Christian tradition, for the later seventeenth century, was won by the Established Church. If the years 1680–1730 have been described as 'a golden age for the Welsh church', a 'distinctively Welsh body well attuned to the wider culture', an era when 'the story of high culture … is largely an account of the established clergy', and 'Welsh

literature … is dominated by a series of remarkable clerical writers',[82] so 'the period between 1662 and 1730, from the Restoration to the eve of the Methodist Revival', has been seen as the 'heyday' of *halsingod* 'frequently composed by clergymen and often sung in churches or at festivals, funerals and wakes'.[83] The older verses of Rees Prichard ('Vicar Prichard') which only reached print in 1659, long after his death, were readily recycled back into oral tradition. The biblical tales, Scripture instruction and 'homespun wisdom' went with some warnings against 'vestiges of Catholicism' such as the intercession of saints.[84]

At first glance, Gaelic Scotland appears to depart from the ready equation of religious affiliation with nationality or political attachment seen in Ireland[85] even though there, too, the wars of the 1640s had massively accelerated the process of involvement of the Gaelic population in contests for securing the national kingdom. (The same was true of Wales, though the conflicted polity in which the Welsh were participants was of course the civil war kingdom of England.) The fact that Gaelic Scotland would split so bloodily between supporters of the cause of the Covenant or of the Crown is illuminating in terms of the progress of religious change in the decades before 1638. Where not only clanship but lordship too had proven more enduring than in Gaelic Ireland (though hardly altogether absent there), so religion could fuse identity at a lower, more local level: the correlation of Catholicism with lands held by some of the branches of ClanDonald is telling.[86] The fact that the Scottish Covenanting cause was sprung from disruption within the national Protestant church (a fact with no real parallel in Ireland, despite intra-Catholic disputes, or Wales, where Puritanism was largely an outside force even in the 1640s) meant that local variations in the earlier reception of Protestantism could matter in determining how amenable a locality might be to the Presbyterian revolution, not least in the Northern Highlands.[87] It was the fact that Protestantism of a kind had permeated much of Gaelic-speaking Scotland, leaving behind ministers with what we might call cultural purchase in their communities, which also left them facing a range of pressures drawing them to alternative allegiances, with Royalists or with Covenanters; for many, local arrangements surely outweighed the niceties of ecclesiological commitment.[88] Dugald and Duncan Campbell, father and son, between them ministered in North Knapdale with barely a break from 1620 to 1711, the father serving as a chaplain to the covenanting forces and ending his life as a prebendary of the restored chapter of Argyll, the son briefly ousted by the episcopalians in 1662 but returning to Knapdale a decade later as an 'indulged minister'; both of them involved with the Argyll translation projects of the 1650s.[89] This longer-term tendency persisted into the later seventeenth century, the very shape of the Restoration's Established Church, Reformed in theology and worship, blending the Presbyterian building blocks of congregational sessions with an episcopal structure, possibly assisting the spread of a Gaelic Protestantism not too closely aligned with either side of a Presbyterian-Episcopalian divide of such fascination to later generations.

A very plausible case has been made, though, that by century's end 'confessional nationalism within Scottish Gaeldom came to be rooted in nonjuring Episcopalianism', that strand of the national Church which rejected the

restoration of Presbyterianism as the established religion in 1690 and the depo-sition of the reigning monarch James VII and II.[90] If such a development is not unrelated to a perceived deepening of the impulse to emphasize patriotism as loyalty to the Crown, drawing upon the resources of Gaelic poetry,[91] it is, too, a reflection of the manner in which a Gaelic Protestantism had spread over recent decades. If it had 'made use of the rich medieval, religious heritage of Gaeldom to spread its gospel message' it had also followed Presbyterian precedent in drawing local elites into service as elders. That episcopalianism offered a 'religious com-plement to the hierarchical nature of clanship' as well as support for the house of Stuart was doubtless crucial in tipping many communities towards Jacobitism with a protestant-episcopalian hue.[92] The revolutionary events of 1688–90 were reckoned an assault on a moral order all the worse for wearing the mask of reli-gion: James was removed 'under the foolish cover of religion', the victim of 'That branch who do not submit to kings or bishops.'[93] The phrases come from poems from the *Fernaig manuscript*, an anthology of fifty-nine poems compiled in the closing years of the century by Duncan MacRae of Inverinate (Donnchadh nam Pìos).[94] The devotional poetry, it has been reckoned, gives no internal evidence of confessional commitment, as either Protestant or Catholic;[95] not so the Jacobite verses which close the second volume. 'It could, indeed, be argued that the most specifically "protestant" verse in the Fernaig ms is not theological or devotional at all, but political. It is certainly the liveliest.'[96]

Again, though, Gaelic Protestantism could prove sturdier and yet more bending than any merely partisan affiliation. In 1690 the Presbyterians had but a 'slender footing' across the Highlands and Islands, and in the bounds of the Synod of Argyll very few ministers could be induced to conform to the new order. With lim-ited resources, and facing localized hostility in places, episcopalian incumbents remained in place, though not all of them as out-and-out non-jurors, others nest-ling into various half-way houses between conformity and non-juring dissent.[97] That, plus the efforts of the new establishment to take seriously its mission to the Gaelic population, saw Presbyterianism, perhaps of not too narrow a form, spread itself across the early eighteenth century. By then it was the ministers of the now-presbyterian Established Church who would prove the great collectors, and thus preservers, of vernacular poetry.[98] Scotland may have witnessed a persistence of the hereditary learned classes, though the decline of the bardic schools in Ireland not only contributed to their demise but also to the growing apart of Irish and Scottish Gaeldom.[99] But the 'pronounced surge in antiquarian, collecting and publishing endeavours' in late seventeenth-century Scotland drew in ministers, schoolmasters and doctors as well as clan gentry; as a 'new historiography rose from the rubble of the learned tradition' so it proved, as with poetry, 'democratiz-ing, liberating and energizing'.[100]

Creativity had certainly been at work among those scholars who, across the seventeenth century, had sought to enlist the ancient Scottish Church as suitable ancestors for latter-day Presbyterians or Episcopalians. If anything, Presbyterians after 1690 gave yet more play to 'Culdeeism', a reading of the past wherein 'culdees' (derived from *céli dé*) were presented as upholding a native, collegiate,

proto-presbyterian church government uncontaminated by bishops.[101] One Ulster minister, in an unpublished history, sought to defend such a reading of the Scottish past yet blend it with an appropriation of such heroes of Irish Church history as 'our Patrick', 'the great Instrument whom God raised up to spread the Gospel in Ireland'.[102] As 'Culdeeism' in Scotland paralleled a political commitment to a 'Dalriadic past' and an 'ancient Fergusian constitution' as the Gaelic roots of the Scottish kingdom, in both instances it posed what Colin Kidd has called a 'Gaelic dilemma' when set alongside continuing 'anti-Gaelic legislation and policies in kirk and state'.[103] The various attempts of non-Celtic-speakers to appropriate a historic 'Celtic' church are riddled with such complexities: English churchmen who sought credibility for an Anglican present in a 'British' (that is, Welsh) past, or Protestants in Ireland who traced 'an indigenous and fully Hibernian pedigree for Protestantism … at the same time as the cultural elite of the Anglo-Irish community denigrated the contemporary Gaelic nation as barbaric and benighted'.[104] A telling contrast might be the persistence of the vision of a primeval Catholic Ireland articulated in Irish by Geoffrey Keating, still being copied into manuscripts into the nineteenth century. Not only was Keating's vision accorded esteem in its own right, but it has been persuasively argued that the yet more popular text 'Tuireamh na hÉireann' ('Ireland's dirge') of Séan Ó Conaill – shorter, in verse and in more contemporary language – which recycled Keating's reading of early times while carrying history forward to the recent part in a 'strongly anti-English and anti-Protestant' manner not only indicates a general 'popularization' of Irish literary culture in the early eighteenth century but also one which enabled the persistence of an integrated reading of the past to endure outside the ranks of scholars.[105]

The Scottish Established Church did at least show much more energy and initiative in moving ahead with efforts to reach their Gaelic-speaking population with the message of truth than their Irish counterparts, even if also seeking to wean Gaels to English through subsidized educational drives.[106] Its efforts included the employment of revenues from vacant parishes for 'educating and maintaining youths haveing ye Irish language at schools and colledges for ye work of ye ministrie',[107] the application of bursaries to Gaelic-speaking students, and, from 1725, the application of the annual Royal Bounty to 'itinerant preachers and catechists – pious, loyal to his majesty and skilled in the principles of divinity and popish controversy'.[108] But there was no drive, for the moment, to draw the population towards literacy in Gaelic. In Wales, too, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), founded in London in 1699, which poured out Welsh Bibles and books, also sponsored schools to teach English. Literacy in Welsh does seem to have been increasing, though it was only in the 1730s, with Griffith Jones's 'circulating schools' initiative, that a sustained large-scale effort to promote literacy in Welsh has been identified. It was a stirring decade, witnessing the onset of religious awakening, of the evangelical (or Methodist)[109] revival. Only David Ceri Jones's essay in the present collection addresses the dramatic changes which were to occur in each of the Celtic-speaking communities in the eighteenth century, and indeed on into the early nineteenth century. 'Revival' was

not a once-only event. A fresh and possibly greater 'outbreak' occurred in Wales in the 1760s, with one calculation suggesting 'at least fifteen national religious awakenings as well as countless other local revivals' in the century between 1762 and 1862.[110] Likewise the beginnings of a Scottish Highland revivalism have been detected in the 1720s and 1730s, and awakenings had, by the nineteenth century, 'become an integral part of a popular spiritual dynamism' in the Highlands and Islands.[111]

Clearly any account of 'Celtic' forms of Christian faith needs to take seriously the impact of evangelical movements in Wales and in Gaelic Scotland. Historians, as is their wont, have emphasized the continuities, the growth of religious knowledge that preceded the revival,[112] even as it in turn is reckoned to have boosted the 'growth in literacy and in a Bible-oriented culture'.[113] Jones's particular focus is on the sustained and fruitful engagement of Welsh Evangelicals with Reformed or Calvinist theology, often filtered through English Puritan writings. English Puritan texts were to appear in Gaelic translation, too, from mid-century, even if in 'a hybrid "Puritan-Westminster Gaelic" … not always easy to read or absorb'.[114] But for those involved in the Welsh awakening the experience could be one of a sharp departure from all that had gone before. Eryn White has suggested that a sense of emerging from a spiritually darkened era, as part of an international awakening, gave Methodists fewer grounds for an appeal to a specifically Welsh history, even to a setting aside of the long-cherished and much-contested celebration of the long Welsh Christian past.[115] Old and new means of communication – correspondence and printed news, sermons and prayer gatherings – caught Welsh developments up in a wider world of divine action and brought those great deeds elsewhere home to Wales. Above all there was a more intense participation in the religious life of the British Atlantic world.[116] An emergent 'Methodist view of history', as in the hands of William Williams of Pantycelyn, could at once see in recent events the fulfilled promise of the Reformation and paint a stark contrast with the immediately preceding, darkened days,[117] 'When Wales lay in some dark and deadly sleep … in the murky pitch-black night.'[118] Parallels are not hard to find in later Highland histories which reckoned the pre-evangelical era as one where 'the land was held in the deadening grip of the black frost of moderatism',[119] the label attached to the non-evangelical tendency dominant in the established Church. By the end of the nineteenth century, though, it had proven possible to fold both Reformation and revival eras back into a longer-term perspective as in the claim that 'from the days of Ninyas … A Free Church, comparatively evangelical and aggressive, existed in Scotland for a period of 700 years'; after the passing of that golden age even the Reformation had left 'large tracts of our country, once aglow with gospel life … practically heathen until the lost ground began to be reclaimed by the modern Free Church of Scotland'.[120]

Mention of the Free Church, created from the 1843 Disruption which tore apart the Established Church of Scotland is a reminder that the evangelical revivals, for all the insistent message on the need of the individual to respond to the message of grace, were formative of community in a new guise. Indeed, in many respects they proved formative of the dominant cultural community in both the Scottish

Gàidhealtachd and in Wales by the mid-nineteenth century. In Gaelic Scotland evangelical initiatives had broken loose of the Established Church and spawned self-selecting bands of Baptists or Congregationalists at the turn of the nineteenth century, but the Free Church, stronger in the Highlands and Islands than elsewhere, pulled whole communities out of the Established Church as a staunchly presbyterian and evangelical competitor.[121] Welsh evangelical 'spirituality was subjectively appropriated by the individual but communally strengthened and enriched by society meetings and hymn-singing'.[122] The ramifications have been tracked to the very language itself, to a fresh 'idiom of religious experience': not merely a 'pulpit language' which could translate to different parts of the country but also, it would seem, a language enhanced with a new vocabulary of introspection.[123] Of Williams Pantycelyn it has been said that his 'writing gave modern Welsh literature generally a new direction',[124] stretching as it did, in prose and in poetry, widely across subject and style. In that he epitomized, even as he himself drove forward, the upsurge in Welsh print: an estimated 2,500 books published in the eighteenth century, 10,000 publications in the nineteenth, as against 150 books in Irish.[125] Yet what he is most remembered for is, correctly, his outpouring of hymns – over a thousand – a reminder, if needed, that Methodism, and evangelicalism more generally, spread and entered the soul as spoken and heard even more than as read.

In Scotland it was the Psalms which were sung out line by line like hymns in Wales, though hymns seem also to have been sung, in Gaelic, in homes and in the smaller gatherings that typified revived religion there too.[126] For all the strand of 'cultural rejection' in Gaelic revivalism, such hymns have been taken to indicate a continuity with tradition, too, not only with age-old devotional verse but also with but 'secular' tunes or genres.[127] Dugald Buchanan's poetry has been compared, in its influence, to that of Pritchard – first printed in 1767 it had run to twenty editions by 1844 by one reckoning, on another to forty-two by 1900.[128] And here, once again, the text re-entered oral circulation, sung to traditional melodies.[129] A Scottish Gaelic New Testament had, after all, only been printed as late as 1767, a complete bible for the first time in 1801. The Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) had, like its London equivalent, sought to promote English through its schools, and though variation doubtless existed on the ground, and a grudging consent was given to the teaching of both 'Earse' (Gaelic) and English in 1766, it seems to have been the launching of Gaelic Schools Societies deliberately aimed at teaching pupils 'to read the Sacred Scriptures in their Native Tongue' which pushed the SSPCK to a more thoroughgoing attitude to Gaelic education.[130] Widespread literacy in Gaelic came later than in Welsh. An ongoing religious tradition could entwine older beliefs, notably in the second sight (or mutated into a more Christian foreknowledge), with newly witnessed miraculous events and an alternative sacred landscape of locations hallowed by the events of revival or disruption.[131]

In Ireland the recognition of a Catholic sacred landscape, from holy wells to penal-era Mass rocks, often endured across the great transition from a country predominantly Irish-speaking to one where English had become the principal

vernacular. What has been termed Ireland's 'devotional revolution', an upsurge in piety and devotional practice in the decades after the Great Famine, has not been associated with the Irish language in anything like the same manner as Welsh or Scottish revivalism and its offshoots in Welsh Nonconformity or the Free Church, though one might suggest certain common traits of religious modernization in all cases – a greater regularity of religious practice, encouragement of a more fulsome personal devotional life lived in accord with socially approved moral norms, even an upswing in the physical infrastructure of powerful religious bodies denied, or free of, official state backing. Quite the reverse, indeed, for religious change in nineteenth-century Catholic Ireland has been judged as 'very much an anglicizing and romanizing process'.[132] The verdict is that of Niall Ó Ciosáin, one of the few scholars to have attempted a genuinely comparative study of developments across the Celtic language-speaking societies in terms of print, not least of religious texts.[133] Assessing patterns of publication in which production, with the sole exception of Irish, peaked in the later nineteenth century, he comes back to the observation that with Welsh, Breton and Scots Gaelic 'vernacular printing was supported by powerful churches that sponsored language as part of a broader politic-cultural position' without parallel in Ireland.[134] By now, of course, Catholic Ireland was also set within a new internationalism. Sustenance in the past had come from Rome or Paris, Louvain or Prague; its relative importance was diminishing even as foundation stones were laid, in 1858, for cathedrals dedicated to St Patrick in both Melbourne and New York.

There have been no shortage of nineteenth- or twentieth-century Christians keen to claim or reclaim a heritage of 'Celtic' Christianity. The dominant religious tendencies in Ireland or Scotland or Wales by 1850 were far removed from those of 1500, let alone those of a millennium earlier. Most of the essays in this book, including this one, have focused on those dominant religious traditions: not much space has been made for, say, Welsh Catholics like Morys Clynnog or Irish Protestant Gaels like Uilliam Ó Domhnaill. Yet it was from the remaining pockets of Hebridean Catholicism that Carmichael drew most of his orally preserved prayers and from within an Anglicized Protestant Church of Ireland that Ussher crafted a history which would serve his co-religionists for centuries. Even so, most attention has been given to those forms of faith capacious enough as dwelling places for whole communities. However important language might be as a marker it was no impassable barrier to the flow of ideas or of expression, theological or musical or visual, no more than changing belief ever fully blocked off access to the riches of past tradition. What the essays in this collection have demonstrated are how broadly similar forms of faith present in 1500 would develop and change in succeeding generations. They are offered to all those whose interest in the past may lie with any of the 'Celtic Christianities' or with the 'age of Reformations'.

Notes

Introduction

1. John Morrill, 'The Fashioning of Britain', in Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485–1725* (Harlow, 1995).
2. Felicity Heal, 'Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005).
3. J. A. Watt, 'The Church and the Two Nations in Late Medieval Armagh', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, Studies in Church History 25 (1989).
4. The first volume of proceedings has been published as Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland c.1570–c.1700* (Manchester, 2013).
5. Kenneth Nicholls, 'Celtic Contrasts: Ireland and Scotland', *History Ireland* 7.3 (autumn 1999); Nicholls, 'Worlds Apart? The Ellis Two-nation Theory on Late Medieval Ireland', *History Ireland* 7.2 (summer 1999).
6. Patrick Corish, 'The Cromwellian Regime, 1650–60', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland,* III*: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691* (Oxford, 1976).
7. See e.g. Brian Mac Cuarta, *Catholic Revival in the North of Ireland 1603–41* (Dublin, 2007); for Scotland see Jane Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994).
8. Note for instance John Roche's rather patronizing description of the Gaelic bishops, all of whom were seminary-trained on the Continent, who were appointed to Gaelic sees during the 1620s, in P. Corish (ed.), 'Two Reports on the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 22 (1959), p. 146; for Scotland see Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 233.
9. Steven Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450–1650', *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1999).
10. The emphasis on the differences between the Scottish and Irish portions of the Gaelic world has tended to be most marked in Scotland: see in particular Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Scottish Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004).
11. Marc Caball, 'Bardic Poetry & the Analysis of Gaelic Mentalities', *History Ireland* 2.2 (summer 1994), p. 46.
12. Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619–46* (Dublin, 1964).
13. See for example Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993); Bodo Nischan, 'Confessionalism and Absolutism: The Case of Brandenburg', in Pettegree, Duke and Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe*.
14. Peter Schimert, 'Péter Pázmány and the Reconstitution of the Catholic Aristocracy in Habsburg Hungary, 1600–1650' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1989); David P. Daniel, 'Calvinism in Hungary: The Theological and Ecclesiastical Transition to the Reformed Faith', in Pettegree, Duke and Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe*.
15. See for instance Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists 1600–70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin, 2008); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'The Consolidation of Irish Catholicism within a Hostile Imperial Framework: A Comparative Study of Early Modern Hungary and Ireland', in Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of Religion* (Basingstoke, 2008); Pettegree, Duke and Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe*.

16. James Kirk, 'John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll', *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 281–3.
17. James Kirk, 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation', *Patterns of Reform*, p. 307.
18. Ibid., p. 314.
19. Ibid., pp. 322–3.
20. James Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567–1625', *Patterns of Reform*, p. 458.
21. Ibid., p. 487.
22. Ibid., p. 471.
23. See the article by Martin MacGregor in the current volume.
24. Kirk, 'Highlands at the Reformation', pp. 301–2.
25. Donald Meek, 'The Gaelic Bible', in D. F. Wright (ed.), *The Bible in Scottish Life* (Edinburgh, 1988).
26. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 249.
27. John Carswell, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order*, ed. R. L. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 179–80.
28. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 237.
29. See the essay by Martin MacGregor in the current volume; Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 247.
30. R. Scott Spurlock, 'The Laity and the Structure of the Catholic Church in Early Modern Scotland', in Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin, *Insular Christianity*.
31. Karl Bottigheimer and Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'The Irish Reformation in European Perspective', *Archive for Reformation History* 89 (1998).
32. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 236.
33. Mac Cuarta, *Catholic Revival*, pp. 37–70.
34. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd', p. 237.
35. See the essays by Bernadette Cunningham and Salvador Ryan in the current volume; see also Marc Caball, 'Articulating Irish Identity in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe: The Case of Giolla Bríghde Ó hEódhusa (c.1570–1614), *Archivium Hibernicum* 62 (2009); Salvador Ryan, 'A Slighted Source: Rehabilitating Irish Bardic Religious Poetry in Historical Discourse', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004); Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar: na Stíobhartaigh agus an tAos Léinn 1603–1788* (Baile Átha Cliath [Dublin], 1996); Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The Gaelic Reaction to the Reformation', in Ellis and Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union*; Nollaig Ó Muraáile, *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College Louvain* (Dublin, 2008).
36. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'An Alternative Establishment: The Evolution of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy, 1600–1649', in Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity*.
37. Mac Cuarta, *Catholic Revival*, p. 44.
38. D. F. Cregan, 'The Social and Cultural Background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618–60', in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979).
39. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Collegium S. Antonii Lovanii, quod Collegium est unicum remedium ad conservandam Provinciam', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 248–9; see also the essays by Bernadette Cunningham and Salvador Ryan in the current volume.
40. Jane Dawson, 'Anglo-Scottish Protestant Culture and Integration in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Ellis and Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union*, p. 93.
41. Alan Ford, 'Who Went to Trinity? The Early Students of Dublin University', in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin, 1998).
42. 1 Cor. 14.19; see E. Shuckburgh, *Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore: With a Selection of His Letters and an Unpublished Treatise* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 40–2.
43. Kirk, 'Jacobean Church in the Highlands', p. 487.

44. David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515–1642: The Rise and Fall of Butler Feudal Power* (Dublin, 2003); significant branches of the O'Brien family, faction- ally linked to the Butlers, including the holders of the earldom, did conform to the Established Church, but this served rather to isolate them from the wider clan than to serve as the bridgehead to more conversions.
45. Patrick Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey* (Dublin, 1985), p. 57.
46. Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447–1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London, 1998), pp. 196–7.
47. Carswell, *Foirm*, p. 13; see also the essay by Raymond Gillespie in the current volume.
48. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645–49* (Oxford, 2002), p. 57.
49. In this regard see the essay by Iain MacDonald in the current volume.
50. Brendan Bradshaw has previously argued that the role of the Observants was a criti- cal distinction between the Tudor reformations in Ireland and Wales: see Brendan Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in England and Wales', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998), esp. pp. 44–6, 72–83.
51. Patrick Corish, *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dublin, 1981), p. 21.
52. Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, 'Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali' 140, ff.69r–77r; Brendan Jennings, 'Miscellaneous Documents II 1625–40', *Archivium Hibernicum* 14 (1949), no. 9.
53. Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, 'Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali' 140, ff.351r–352v.
54. Peter R. Roberts, 'The Union with England and the Identity of Anglican Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 22 (1972), p. 62.
55. Ibid., p. 49.
56. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The Political and Religious Thought of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005); see also Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, pp. 1–66.
57. Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997); Brendan Bradshaw, 'Revisionism and the Irish Reformation: A Rejoinder', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (2000).
58. Glanmor Williams, 'Some Protestant Views of the Early British Church', *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967); Peter R. Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', in Roberts and Bradshaw (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity*.
59. Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642* (Oxford, 1993), p. 476.
60. Roberts, 'Union with England', p. 69.
61. Philip Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560–1714', in Ellis and Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union*.
62. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, passim.
63. Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642* (Cardiff, 1987), p. 328.
64. TNA, SP/63/182/47.
65. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation,* p. 478.
66. See the essay by Martin MacGregor in this volume.
67. *Leabhar na nurnaighteadh gcomhcoidchiond agus mheinisdraldachdha na sacrameinteacbh, maille le gnathaighthibh agus le hordaighehibh oile, do réir eaglaise na Sagsan. Ata so ar na chur a gclo a Mbaile atha Cliath, a dtigh Sheon Francke alias Francton, Priontóir an Ríog an Eirin* (Dublin, 1608).
68. Heal, 'Mediating the Word', p. 280.

1 The Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation

1. Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 26. The 'Highland–Lowland' approach is followed in James Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567–1625', in Inverness Field Club, *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1986), pp. 25–6, and in Ian B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 147–9, 152–3, although the latter is more constructive.
2. Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Where and How Was Gaelic Written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 24 (2008); Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004); Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (eds), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009). Some of the issues were touched upon briefly in Martin MacGregor, 'Church and Culture in the Late Medieval Highlands', in James Kirk (ed.), *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1998) pp. 4–5.
3. James Kirk, 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation', *Northern Scotland* 7 (1986), pp. 2–3; MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 20.
4. James V, *The Letters of James V*, eds Robert Kerr Hannay and Denys Hay (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 162.
5. James V, *Letters of James V*, p. 364.
6. Ibid. For the political context, see Alison Cathcart, 'James V, King of Scotland – and Ireland?', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600* (Dublin, 2007).
7. Mark Dilworth, 'Iona Abbey and the Reformation', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12 (1971–6), p. 89.
8. D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray (eds), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638,* Scottish Record Society, new series, 25 (Edinburgh, 2003).
9. For more on this see Iain G. MacDonald, 'The Attack on Bishop George Lauder of Argyll in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*', *IR* 61.2 (2010).
10. Watt and Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, p. 269; Dilworth, 'Iona Abbey', pp. 81–2, 89; University of Glasgow, Scottish History, Ross Fund collection of material from the Vatican Archives relating to Scotland, *Registra Supplicationum*, 2664, fol. 155v; 2667, fols 299r, 299v. For Iona's extensive properties, see Janet C. MacDonald, 'Iona's Local Associations in Argyll and the Isles, c1203–c1575' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010).
11. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 138–9, 151.
12. For a rudimentary map of early fifteenth-century parishes see Alexander Grant, 'Franchises North of the Border: Baronies and Regalities in Medieval Scotland', in Michael Prestwich (ed.), *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 162–3. My thanks to Janet MacDonald for this reference.
13. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 4.
14. Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Annat in Scotland and the Origins of the Parish', *IR* 46 (1995), pp. 103–5; P. J. Duffy, 'The Shape of the Parish', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2006).
15. Bishop Brown of Dunkeld (1483–1515) founded the new parish church of Dowally to cater for the burgeoning Gaelic populations in the parishes of Little Dunkeld and Caputh: Robert Kerr Hannay (ed.), *Rentale Dunkeldense*, Scottish History Society, second series, 10 (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 313.
16. Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society 93 (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. ii–iii; A. D. M. Barrell, 'The Church in the West Highlands in the Late Middle Ages', *IR* 54.1 (2003), pp. 33–4.
17. Nicholas Orme, 'The Other Parish Churches: Chapels in Late Medieval England', in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (eds), *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2006).

18. James Kirk, Roland J. Tanner and Annie I. Dunlop (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447–1471* (Edinburgh, 1997), no. 1127; Charles Fraser-MacKintosh, *Invernessiana: contributions toward a history of the town and parish of Inverness from 1160 to 1599* (Inverness, 1875), pp. 80–1, 122; G. W. S. Barrow, 'Badenoch and Strathspey, 1130–1312, 2: The Church', *Northern Scotland* 9 (1989), pp. 9–10; HMC, *Seventh Report* (London, 1879) p. 710.

19. *CPL*, 17, part 1, no. 188.

20. Kirk, Tanner and Dunlop (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1447–1471*, nos 1095, 1106, 1205.

21. See the entries for Dull, Logierait and Comrie in *Corpus*.

22. Iain G. MacDonald, *Clergy and Clansmen: The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 259–64.

23. Ibid.; David H. Caldwell, *Islay: The Land of the Lordship* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 74; Rachel Butter, 'The Lost Churches of Glassary Parish', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 40 (2010); A. D. Lacaille, 'Notes on a Loch Lomondside Parish, *IR* 16 (1965), p. 151.

24. For example, *RCAHMS Argyll*, 1, pp. 22–4; 5, pp. 34, 195.

25. John Major, *A History of Greater Britain*, ed. Archibald Constable, Scottish History Society 10 (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 30.

26. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 5. Maybole (erected 1384) and Kilmun (1441) are the only Gaelic examples. Maybole was, however, the first collegiate church to be founded according to the formula which became normative in Scotland. Helen Brown, 'Secular Colleges in Late Medieval Scotland', in Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (eds), *The Late Medieval English College and Its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 49.

27. K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977). Bannerman's specific examples are referenced in MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', pp. 18–19, and note 82.

28. Brown, 'Secular Colleges', pp. 51–2, 54, 55. It is also worth bearing in mind the non-religious connotations of both these phenomena. Most Scottish collegiate churches were founded in the Lothians by men who shared political and social affinity with the earls of Douglas, the most powerful magnates in Scotland. Similarly, sculpture was chiefly confined to those western regions of the Gàidhealtachd that were either controlled by or aligned with the Clann Domhnaill lordship of the Isles. These were overt and self-conscious manifestations of aspiration and association with the two leading magnatial lineages in fifteenth-century Scotland.

29. David H. Caldwell, Fiona M. McGibbon, Suzanne Miller and Nigel A. Ruckley, 'The Image of a Celtic Society: Medieval West Highland Sculpture', in Pamela O'Neill (ed.), *Celts in Legend and Reality: Papers from the Sixth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies, University of Sydney, July 2007* (Sydney, 2010). My thanks to David Caldwell for allowing me to view this in advance of publication.

30. Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, p. 32.

31. Ibid., pp. 157–8.

32. Caldwell et al., 'Image of a Celtic Society'.

33. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', pp. 6, 7, n. 23.

34. Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480–1560*, ed. Elizabeth Ewan (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 22, 90; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 319, 325. See also Andrew Breeze, 'The Virgin's Rosary and St Michael's Scales', *Studia Celtica* 24–5 (1989–90).

35. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 306–8.

36. Sir William Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1883), 3, p. 111; Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, p. 29.

37. Julian M. Luxford, 'The Collegiate Church as Mausoleum', in Burgess and Heale (eds), *Late Medieval English College*, pp. 115 n. 15, 118. Interments are routinely recorded in Walter MacFarlane, *Genealogical Collections concerning Families in Scotland,* ed. Arthur

Mitchell, Scottish History Society 33–4, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1900), 1, pp. 61–5, 192–231; W. MacKay (ed.), *Chronicles of the Frasers: The Wardlaw Manuscript, 916–1674*, Scottish History Society, first series, 47 (Edinburgh, 1905), pp. 93–146.

38. The Frasers are the exception among this group. However, Seumas Grannd (d.1553) was apparently the first Grannd chief buried at Duthil parish church, their traditional burial place: Fraser, *Chiefs of Grant*, 1, p. 122.

39. Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, p. 128.

40. R. W. Munro (ed.), *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans, 1549* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 63; *RCAHMS Argyll*, 4, pp. 250–1; Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, p. 78.

41. Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, p. 21; Martin MacGregor, 'The View from Fortingall: The Worlds of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 22 (2006), pp. 60–1, 62. Donald Gregory, 'A short obituary relating to the Highlands', *Archaeologia Scotica* 3 (1831), p. 318, argued that the chronicle was sourced from early ecclesiastical records which existed in 'several, if not all' of the parishes in Argyll and Dunkeld.

42. MacKay (ed.), *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 3; Martin MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 208–9.

43. Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, p. 4.

44. Cosmo Innes (ed.), *The Black Book of Taymouth: with other papers from the Breadalbane charter room*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1855), pp. 109–48.

45. Sìm R. Innes, '*Is eagal liom lá na harga*: Devotion to the Virgin in the Later Medieval *Gàidhealtachd*', in Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (eds), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010).

46. William J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 60–5, 196–203, 298. Interestingly, the obit (19 July 1518) of this individual is also listed in the chronicle of Fortingall. My thanks to Martin MacGregor for these references.

47. For Ireland, see articles by Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, 'Religious Orders', and Elizabeth Malcolm, 'Medicine', in Seán Duffy (ed.) *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (Abingdon, 2005). For Gaelic Scotland, see P. G. B. McNeill and H. L. MacQueen (eds), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 342–5. A hospital for the poor on Lismore is also recorded in February 1420 and a monastic infirmary in Iona Abbey doubtless catered for pilgrims as well as aged monks: E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418–1422*, Scottish History Society, third series, 23 (Edinburgh, 1934), p. 175; *RCAHMS Argyll*, 4, pp. 131–2. My thanks to Janet MacDonald for this latter reference.

48. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 153; Ronald Black (ed.), *An Lasair: An Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh, 2001) p. xxxii.

49. Lindsay and Cameron (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1418–1422*, pp. 173, 175, 188, 267–8, 268–9, 271–2, 275–6; Annie I. Dunlop (ed.), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423–1428*, Scottish History Society, third series, 48 (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 7–8, 182, 199; Annie I. Dunlop and Ian B. Cowan (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428–1432*, Scottish History Society, fourth series, 7 (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 182; Annie I. Dunlop, David MacLauchlan and Ian B. Cowan (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433–1447* (Glasgow, 1983), nos 796, 828.

50. For English examples of parochial hospitality, see *CPL*, 6, p. 212; 11, pp. 317, 618. For canon law, see Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 84–5.

51. Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978); Catherine Marie O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin, 2004).

52. For more on this issue see below, and n. 69.

53. See e.g. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, pp. 14–21, 66–81.

54. Hannay (ed.), *Rentale Dunkeldense*, p. 328; MacKay (ed.), *Chronicles of the Frasers*, p. 121.

55. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 190–1; Kirk, Tanner and Dunlop (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1447–1471*, nos 1104, 1106.

56. See 'Preliminary matter' in Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historiae* (1575 version), ed. and trans. Dana F. Sutton, The Philological Museum, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/boece> (accessed 14 February 2011), p. 11; *RCAHMS Argyll*, 1, p. 22; Henry A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin, 2010), p. 19. For further detailed comment, see the 'introduction' and 'overview of evidence' in *Corpus*.

57. James V, *Letters of James V*, pp. 345–6; Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 65, 120; *RCAHMS Argyll*, 1, p. 134; 2, pp. 23, 25; 4, pp. 22, 24–5; 5, pp. 32, 34, 234; 7, p. 12; Innes (ed.), *Black Book of Taymouth*, p. 17. See entries for the churches of Blair, Dowally and Caputh in *Corpus*. See also Jefferies, *Irish Church*, pp. 15–22; Euan Cameron, 'Introduction', in Euan Cameron (ed.), *The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2006) p. 6.

58. Jefferies, *Irish Church*, p. 34, argues this for Ireland.

59. For MacDomhnaill, Caimbeul, Mac an Tòisich and MacLachlainn chiefs, see above; J. Munro and R. W. Munro (eds), *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*, Scottish History Society, fourth series, 22 (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 40–1; Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450–1560* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 148–9; Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250–1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 118–20, 132 and n. 76. Clann Donnchaidh (the Robertsons) were also developing closer ties with the Blackfriars of Perth: Robert Milne (ed.), *The Blackfriars of Perth: the chartulary and papers of their house* (Edinburgh, 1893) pp. 85–8, 95–7, 104–5.

60. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion*, Appendix 3.

61. Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976) p. 137; Richard Copsey, OCarm., 'Foundation Dates of Scottish Carmelite Houses', *IR* 49.1 (1998), conjectures 1480x1492, but the appearance of a 'Proc[ura]tor of Kyngussy' on 18 November 1475 suggests an earlier date for its foundation, perhaps shortly after the succession of George, Second Earl of Huntly, in July 1470: NAS, Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie, GD124/1/114, no. 2. Carmelite procurators mediated between benefactors and friaries. Several are listed in P. J. Anderson (ed.), *Aberdeen Friars: Red, Black, White, Grey: Preliminary Calendar of Illustrative Documents* (Aberdeen, 1909).

62. Hannay (ed.), *Rentale Dunkeldense*, p. 304.

63. R. K. Hannay (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554* (Edinburgh, 1932), p. 131.

64. William M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (eds), *Annála Uladh/Annals of Ulster*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887–1901), 3, pp. 476–7; Wilson McLeod, 'The Rhetorical Geography of the Late Medieval Irish Chronicles', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 40 (2000). A couple of Irish mendicants won benefices in Argyll and the Hebrides. Mìcheal, 'provincial of the Friars Minor in Ireland, was transferred from the archbishopric of Cashel to the see of Sodor in 1387; 'Odo Olorchan [Aodh Ó Lorcáin], brother of the order of Mendicants' from Clonfert diocese was rector of Eilean Munde in the 1460s. Examples were not confined to the western seaboard: payments made to friars from Ireland were registered in early sixteenth-century royal accounts, while the Franciscan 'Donatus Makdunlawe' [Dúnán MacDhuinnshlèibhe?] from Cloyne diocese was prebendary of Rathven in Aberdeen diocese sometime before 1487: Cathcart, 'James V, King of Scotland – and Ireland?', p. 136; Charles Burns, 'Papal Letters of Clement VII of Avignon (1378–1394) relating to Ireland and England', *Collectanea Hibernica* 24 (1982), pp. 30, 41; Kirk, Tanner and Dunlop (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1447–1471*, nos 1277, 1288; *CPL*, xii, p. 385; J. Kirk, R. J. Tanner and A. MacQuarrie (eds), 'Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1472–1492' (unpublished edition, University of Glasgow, 1997), no. 1399.

65. Alec Ryrie, 'Reform without Frontiers in the Last Years of Catholic Scotland', *English Historical Review* 119 (2004), p. 45.

66. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, p. 94; MacDonald, 'Iona', p. 85.

67. Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship, 1451–1609* (Leiden, 2006) pp. 143–4; Boardman, *Campbells*, p. 324.

68. J. Stuart et al. (eds), *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878–1908), 12, pp. 703–4.

69. M. Livingstone et al. (eds), *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum,* 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1908–1982), 1, no. 1797. In 1501 the rector and patron of Glassary parish church also complained of 'wild men' who unjustly oppressed the parishioners through the customary exaction of sorning: *CPL*, 17, part 1, no. 493; Boardman, *Campbells*, pp. 324–5.

70. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, pp. 134–9, 285; Munro and Munro (eds), *Acts of the Lords of the Isles,* appendix D, table 2, nos 6, 7.

71. Lindsay and Cameron (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1423–1428*, p. 199; J. R. N. MacPhail (ed.), *Highland Papers*, Scottish History Society, second series, 5, 12, 20; 3rd series, 22, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1914–34), 4, pp. 162–3; W. H. Bliss (ed.), *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope* (London, 1896), p. 200. Richard Oram and W. Paul Adderley, 'Lordship and Environmental Change in Central Highland Scotland, c.1300–c.1400', *Journal of the North Atlantic* 1 (2008), argue that exactions in Badenoch were driven by climatic changes.

72. MacDonald, 'Iona', pp. 96, 218–19; *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Iona Club (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 4.

73. Iain Gerard MacDonald, 'The Secular Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Argyll from circa 1189 to circa 1560' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008), pp. 95–118, 118–21; MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 23; Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 122, 145; Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968).

74. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 85, 87, 93–5; Livingstone et al. (eds), *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vols 1–4; Watt and Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, passim.

75. Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431–1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1985), pp. 293, 297, 299; MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 171–2.

76. Macfarlane, *Elphinstone*, p. 233; David McRoberts and Alexander Boyle, 'A Hebridean Cisiojanus', *IR* 21 (1970).

77. Iain G. MacDonald, '"That uncouth dialect": English-speaking Clergy in Late Medieval Gaelic Scotland' (forthcoming).

78. See above.

79. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 3; Barrell, 'West Highlands', pp. 39–40; MacDonald, *Clergy and Clansmen*, pp. 256–8.

80. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 19.

81. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 157–63; Barrell, 'West Highlands', pp. 41–2; Dunlop, MacLauchlan and Cowan (eds), *Calendar of Scottish Supplications … 1433–1447*, no. 261.

82. For Scottish instances see *CPL*, 16, nos 517, 904. For Irish, see *CPL*, 15–19, indexed under 'benefices'.

83. Barrell, 'West Highlands', p. 41.

84. Katharine Simms, 'Frontiers in the Irish Church – Regional and Cultural', in T. B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katherine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995), p. 181.

85. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 163–4; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, pp. 198–211, esp. 206–7; Thomas Watson-Graham, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Scotland during the Pontificate of Paul III' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1992), pp. 169, 171–2, 172–3, 197–8, 301–9.

86. W. D. H. Sellar, 'Marriage, Divorce and Concubinage in Gaelic Scotland', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 51 (1978–80).

87. Michelle Armstrong-Partida, 'Priestly Marriage: The Tradition of Clerical Concubinage in the Spanish Church', *Viator* 40.2 (2009); Kirsi Salonen, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala, 1448–1527* (Saarijärvi, 2001), pp. 200–3.

88. Canice Mooney OFM, *The Church in Gaelic Ireland: 13th to 15th Centuries*, A History of Irish Catholicism 2.5 (Dublin, 1969), p. 59; Steer and Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 101, 108; Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494–1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 40–2.
89. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 150; Jefferies, *Irish Church*, p. 29.
90. Hannay (ed.), *Rentale Dunkeldense*, p. 324.
91. *CPL*, 11, pp. 671–2; 13, pp. 66–7, 711.
92. James V, *Letters of James V*, p. 209.
93. Ibid. In another letter, however, James claimed the rochet was 'the sign of episcopal office which is most regarded all over Scotland'.
94. Monro, *Monro's Western Isles*, pp. 78, 87.
95. Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), *Irish Franciscan Missions to Scotland, 1619–1646: Documents from Roman Archives* (Dublin, 1964), pp. 63–4; Alasdair Roberts, 'Roman Catholicism in the Highlands', in Kirk (ed.), *Church in the Highlands*, p. 67; Norman Tanner, *The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval England and Western Europe* (London, 2009), pp. 193–4.
96. Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000) pp. 161–76, esp. p. 163.
97. Thomas Owen Clancy, 'The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile Saint: Paradigms and Problems in Studies of Insular Saints' Cults', and Rachel Butter, 'St Munnu in Ireland and Scotland: An Exploration of His Cult', in Boardman and Williamson (eds), *Cult of Saints*; Stephen Boardman, 'The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court', in Broun and MacGregor (eds), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall*.
98. Meek, *Quest*, pp. 71, 163. For more, see Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart (ed.), *The Life and Legacy of Alexander Carmichael* (Port of Ness, 2008) pp. 82–95; *The Carmichael Watson Project*, <http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk/?lang=eng> (accessed 16 March 2011).
99. Diarmuid O'Laoghaire, 'Prayers and Hymns in the Vernacular', in James P. Mackey (ed.), *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 1989); Michael D. Bailey, 'Concern over Superstition in Late Medieval Europe', in S. A. Smith and Alan Knight (eds), *The Religion of Fools? Superstition Past and Present*, Past and Present Supplement 3 (Oxford, 2008).
100. Tanner, *Ages of Faith*, pp. 195–6.
101. My thanks to Janet MacDonald and Martin MacGregor for their criticisms and comments on this article. All errors are my own.

2   Traditional Religion in Sixteenth-Century Gaelic Ireland

1. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England* c. *1400–*c. *1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 1.
2. W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (eds), *Annála Uladh: Annals of Ulster*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887–1901), 3, p. 497.
3. TCD, MS 1440.
4. Paul Walsh, *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1933), pp. 158–9, 160.
5. Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), p. 26.
6. James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 32–42, 58–63.
7. Katharine Simms, 'Frontiers in the Irish Church: Regional and Cultural', in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995).
8. Gillespie, *Devoted People*, pp. 27–8.
9. Ibid., pp. 12–13.

10. Walsh, *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts,* pp. 158–9, 160.

11. Henry Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518–1558* (Dublin, 1997).

12. A. F. O'D Alexander (ed.), 'The O'Kane Papers', *Analecta Hibernica* 12 (1943), pp. 102, 104.

13. For clerical incomes see Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, pp. 70–3.

14. Ibid., pp. 73–6.

15. For an optimistic view see ibid., pp. 79–80.

16. Edmund Campion, *Two bokes of the histories of Ireland,* ed. A. F. Vossen (Assen, 1963), p. 19.

17. Henry Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I* (London, 1890), p. 367.

18. Canice Mooney, 'Topographical Fragments from the Franciscan Library', *Celtica* 1 (1950); TCD MS 6404, f. 99.

19. For a case-study on parochial origins see Patrick Nugent, 'The Dynamics of Parish Formation in High Medieval and Late Medieval Clare', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2006).

20. Gearóid Mac Niocaill (ed.), 'Disiecta membra', *Eigse* 8 (1955–7).

21. Salvador Ryan, 'Fixing the Eschatological Scale: Judgement of the Soul in Late Medieval and Early Modern Irish Tradition', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds), *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul,* Studies in Church History 45 (Woodbridge, 2009).

22. Salvador Ryan, 'Popular Religion in Gaelic Ireland, 1445–1645', 2 vols (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2002), 1, pp. 295–31.

23. Campion, *Two bokes*, pp. 23–4.

24. Colman Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534* (Dublin, 2002).

25. Ibid., pp. 130–55; Colman Ó Clabaigh, 'Preaching in Late Medieval Ireland: The Franciscan Contribution', in Alan Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Preaching in Ireland, 700–1700* (Dublin, 2001); Colman Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland 1224–1540* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 285–317.

26. *State papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols (London, 1830–52), 3, p. 141.

27. Brian Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 2 vols (Dublin, 2001–3), 1, pp. 77–87; S. H. O'Grady and Robin Flower (eds), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library*, 3 vols (London, 1926–53, repr. Dublin, 1992), 2, pp. 470–505.

28. Maire Herbert, 'Medieval Collections of Ecclesiastical and Devotional Material', in Bernadette Cunningham and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (eds), *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin 2009).

29. Salvador Ryan, 'Window on Late Medieval Devotional Practice: Maire Ní Mháille's "Book of piety" and the World behind the Texts', in Rachel Moss, Colman Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

30. Salvador Ryan, 'Wiley Women of God in Breifne's Late Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Collections', in Brendan Scott (ed.), *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan* (Dublin, 2005).

31. Campion, *Two bokes*, p. 50.

32. For discussion of the text and its sources see Raymond Gillespie, 'A Missing Dublin Saint', in Mary Davies, Una MacConville and Gabriel Cooney (eds), *A Grand Gallimaufry* (Dublin, 2010).

33. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 252–5.

34. John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiae seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae* (Louvain, 1645), sig B1v.

35. Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Irish Saints' Cults and Ecclesiastical Families', in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002).

36. Paul Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* (Dublin, 1947), pp. 119–20; Carolus Plummer, *Miscellanea hagiographica Hibernica* (Brussels, 1925), pp. 100, 126.

37. Evelyn Hardy, *Survivors of the Armada* (London, 1966), p. 94.

38. For details see A. T. Lucas, 'The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 116 (1986).

39. Andrew O'Kelleher and Gertrude Schoepperle (eds), *Betha Colaim Chille* (Illinois, 1918, repr. Dublin, 1994) § 178, pp. 182–5.

40. Denis Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1896), pp. 95–6. Salavador Ryan has suggested to me that the inspiration for these sentiments may be Matt. 5.18 in which Christ declares that no letter or stroke of a letter will pass from the Law.

41. For this generally see Raymond Gillespie, 'Devotional Landscapes in Early Modern Ireland', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds), *God's Bounty? The Church and the Natural World*, Studies in Church History 46 (Woodbridge, 2010), and Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011), esp. ch. 1.

42. Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Betha Farrannáin', in O. J Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts: vol. 3* (Dublin, 1910).

43. Alexander (ed.), 'The O'Kane papers', p. 93; Peter O'Dwyer, *Mary: A History of Devotion in Ireland* (Dublin, 1988).

44. Joseph Szövérffy, 'Manus O'Donnell and Irish Folk Tradition', *Éigse* 8 (1955–7); Charles Plummer (ed.), *Bethada Náem nÉrenn*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), 1, p. 184; 2, p. 185.

45. Raymond Gillespie, 'Saints and Manuscripts in Sixteenth-Century Breifne', *Breifne* 11 (2008), and, for reliquaries, Raymond Gillespie, 'Relics, Reliquaries and Hagiographies in South Ulster 1450–1550', in Moss, Ó Clabaigh and Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion*.

46. K. W. Nicholls (ed.), 'The Register of Clogher', *Clogher Record* 7.3 (1971–2).

47. Aubrey Gwynn, *The Medieval Province of Armagh, 1470–1545* (Dundalk, 1946), pp. 180–3.

48. W. W. Heist (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 343–6.

49. Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Codex Salmanticensis: A Provenance *inter Anglos* or *inter Hibernos*', in Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (eds), *'A Miracle of Learning': Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning* (Aldershot, 1998).

50. [Jocelin of Furness], *The Life and Acts of St Patrick*, ed. Edmund Swift (Dublin, 1809), pp. 193–4.

51. James Carney (ed.), 'A maccucáin, sruith in tíag', *Celtica* 15 (1983).

52. O'Kelleher and Schoepperle (eds), *Betha Colaim Chille*, pp. 148–51; S. H. O'Grady (ed.), *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892), 1, pp. 30–1; 2, pp. 30–1; Plummer (ed.), *Bethada Náem nErenn*, 1, p. 266; 2, p. 258.

53. W. M. Hennessy and D. H. Kelly (ed.), *The Book of Fenagh, in Irish and English* (Dublin, 1875, repr. Dublin, 1939), pp. 392–3, 414–15.

54. Katharine Simms, 'The Donegal Poems in the Book of Fenagh', *Ériu* 58 (2008).

55. Raymond Gillespie, 'The Making of O'Rourke, 1536', in Scott (ed.), *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan*.

56. Paul Walsh (ed.), *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (Dublin, 1920), p. xlvi.

57. Salvador Ryan, '"Reign of Blood": Aspects of Devotion to the Wounds of Christ in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland', in Joost Augusteijn and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish History: A Research Yearbook* (Dublin, 2002).

3   'The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time'

1. As well as expressing my gratitude to Robert Armstrong, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and the other participants in the Dublin symposium, I am grateful to the British Academy for funding the work on probate records discussed below.

2. Glanmor Williams, 'Wales and the Reformation', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1966), repr. in Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967).

3. O. M. Edwards, *Wales* (London, 1907), p. 347.

4. See e.g. Glanmor Williams, 'Richard Davies, Bishop of St David's, 1561–81', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1948); Williams, 'The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in Wales and the Marches, 1559–60', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 2.5 (1950); Williams, 'The Protestant Experiment in the Diocese of St David's, 1534–55', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 15.3 (May 1953) and 16.1 (Nov. 1954); 'The Reformation in Sixteenth-century Caernarvonshire', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 27 (1966); all repr. in Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*.

5. For a full bibliography see Huw Walters, 'A Lifetime of Writing: A Bibliography of Glanmor Williams', in Geraint H. Jenkins and Gareth Elwyn Jones (eds), *Degrees of Influence: A Memorial Volume for Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 2008).

6. See e.g. Ciaran Brady, 'Comparable Histories?: Tudor Reform in Wales and Ireland', in S. G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London and New York, 1995), and Philip Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560–1714', in Ellis and Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union*, esp. pp. 121–4; Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Tudor Reformation in Wales and Ireland: The Origins of the British Problem', in Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, *The British Problem c.1534–1707* (Basingstoke, 1996); Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Wales and Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998).

7. Alec Ryrie, 'Counting Sheep, Counting Shepherds: The Problem of Allegiance in the English Reformation', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002).

8. Patrick Collinson, 'England', in Robert Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 88.

9. Where not referenced individually, the churches mentioned below will be found in the relevant volumes of the Pevsner Architectural Guides, *The Buildings of Wales*, published first by Penguin and University of Wales Press and latterly by Yale University Press.

10. John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London and Cardiff, 1995), p. 43.

11. Madeleine Gray, '"The Heavens and All the Powers Therein": The Iconography of the Font of All Saints, Gresford, in Its Political Context', in Harriet Sonne de Torrens and Michael Torrens (eds), *The Visual Culture of Baptism in the Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2013).

12. For details see Mostyn Lewis, *Stained Glass in North Wales up to 1850* (Altrincham, 1970).

13. For a discussion of these texts and the wider issues around the use of text in medieval wall paintings, see Madeleine Gray, 'Images of Words: Iconographies of Text and the Construction of Sacred Space in Medieval Church Wall Painting', in Joseph Sterret and Peter Thomas (eds), *Sacred Text – Sacred Space* (Leiden, 2011).

14. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales and the Dean and Chapter of Brecon Cathedral, *The Cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, Brecon: An Architectural Study* (Brecon, 1994), pp. 14–16.

15. I am grateful to Christine James for these references and for a great deal of information on the poetry to the Llangynwyd rood. See her '"Y Grog Ddoluriog Loywrym": Golwg ar y Canu i Grog Llangynwyd', *Llên Cymru* 29 (2006): the quotation from Gwilym Tew is at p. 103 and that from Tomas ab Ieuan ap Rhys at p. 107. See also Madeleine Gray, 'Good Thief, Bad Thief: Some Thoughts on the Medieval Cross Slabs of South Wales', *Welsh Annual of Religious History* 7–8 (2012–13), pp. 24–38.

16. Gwenan Jones, 'A Study of Three Welsh Religious Plays: Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota … for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy, 1918' (Bala, 1939).

17. Poem by Sir Gruffydd Fain in G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (London, 1912), pp. 557–8; cf. Fred H. Crossley, 'Screens, Lofts and Stalls Situated in Wales and Monmouthshire, 2 (II) Caernarvonshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 98 (1944),

p. 93, quoting Harold Hughes and Herbert L. North, *The Old Churches of Snowdonia* (Bangor, 1924), p. 236.

18. Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 191–3.
19. D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, 3 vols (Oswestry, 1908–13), 3, p. 97.
20. Thomas, *Diocese of St Asaph*, 3, p. 178.
21. Henry Lewis, 'Darn o'r Ffestival', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1923–4: Supplementary Volume* (1925), p. 60.
22. Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 18–20.
23. For discussion of the iconography of these two representations in their Welsh context see Madeleine Gray, *Images of Piety*, BAR British series 316 (Oxford, 2000), pp. 42–4
24. Enid Roberts, 'Y Crist o Fostyn', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1965); Gray, *Images of Piety*, p. 56.
25. NLW, MS SA/M/21, p. 22, transcribed in Thomas, *Diocese of St Asaph*, 3, pp. 247–8.
26. Rick Turner, personal communication.
27. Madeleine Gray, 'Penrhys: The Archaeology of a Pilgrimage', *Morgannwg* 40 (1996); A. Cynfael Lake (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 2004), 2, p. 503 (no. 102).
28. See e.g. Stephen Lander, 'Church Courts and the Reformation in the Diocese of Chichester, 1500–58', in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987); John A. F. Thompson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society*, *1485–1529* (London, 1993), pp. 46–60.
29. Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 1976), pp. 309–10; T. J. Prichard, 'The Church in Medieval Senghenydd', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 1 (1984).
30. Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, p. 320.
31. Madeleine Gray, 'The Cloister and the Hearth: Anthony Kitchin and Hugh Jones, Two Reformation Bishops of Llandaff', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 3 (1995), esp. p. 25.
32. TNA, PROB 11/29/270.
33. See, e.g., TNA, PROB 11/16/141, 24/209.
34. TNA, E301/74.
35. TNA, E301/76.
36. Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, pp. 331–3.
37. The word could roughly be translated as 'carol' but derives from the Latin *conductus*, the music sung while the priest was proceeding to the altar: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, s.n. 'cwndid' (1, p. 643).
38. Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, p. 419.
39. Prichard, 'Church in Medieval Senghenydd'.
40. B. F. Roberts, 'Pymtheg Gweddi San Ffraid a'r Pardwn', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 16 (1954–6).
41. For a general discussion of the evidence see Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, pp. 290–7.
42. TNA, E301/74 (for south Wales); E301/76 (for north Wales); DL38/7 (Duchy of Lancaster).
43. TNA, E178/3503.
44. John Roberts, 'An Investigation of Medieval Hospitals in England, Scotland and Wales 1066–1560' (PhD thesis, University of Wales, 2008), pp. 162–8, 172–7.
45. Sir John Wyn, *The History of the Gwydir Family and Memoirs*, ed. J. Gwynfor Jones (Llandysul, 1990), pp. 52, 159–60.
46. John Morgan Williams and Eurys I. Rowlands (eds), *Gwaith Rhys Brydydd a Rhisiart ap Rhys* (Cardiff, 1976), p. 51 (no. 29).
47. Roberta Gilchrist and Marilyn Oliva, *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia: History and Archaeology c.1100–1540*, Studies in East Anglian History 1 (Norwich, 1993); Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Religious Life* (London and New York, 1995), p. 14.

48. T. W. Pritchard, *St Winefride, Her Holy Well, and the Jesuit Mission, c.650–1930* (Wrexham, 2009), pp. 81–2.

49. Madeleine Gray and John Morgan-Guy, 'A Better and Frugal Life: Llanllugan and the Cistercian Women's Houses in Wales', in Madeleine Gray and P. Webster (eds), *Cistercians in Wales and the West*, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* special number 154 (2005).

50. Madeleine Gray, 'Settlement and Land Use in the Man-moel District of Gwent: The Monastic Evidence', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 14 (1998); Gray, 'Henry, Earl of Pembroke's Survey of the Manor of Mynyddislwyn in 1570', *National Library of Wales Journal* 30 (1997–8).

51. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 8.

52. David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 396.

53. A. N. Galpern, 'The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth-century Champagne', in C. Trinkaus with H. O. Oberman (eds), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), p. 149.

54. Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Death, Church and Family in England between the Late Fifteenth and the Early Eighteenth Centuries', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London, 1989), p. 36; for further studies see Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London, 1984), and Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford, 1998), though for the debate over the extent and intensity over the late medieval obsession with death see Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003), p. 103.

55. TNA, PROB 11/29/122.

56. TNA, PROB 11/30/259.

57. TNA, PROB 11/23/72, 113

58. TNA, PROB 11/15 /255; PROB 11/19 /118.

59. Rhianydd Biebrach, 'Monuments and Commemoration in the Diocese of Llandaff c.1200–c.1540' (PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2010), pp. 217–87.

60. Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge, 2006), esp. pp. 95–9, 130–48. I am grateful to Alexandra Walsham for this reference and for a very useful discussion of Lutton's findings at the Dublin symposium.

61. For detailed studies of these two memorials see Madeleine Gray, 'The Brass of Richard and Joan Foxwist at Llanbeblig: Death, Commemoration and the Reformation in Wales', *Transactions of the Caernarfonshire Historical Society* 72 (2011); Gray, 'The brass of Richard and Elizabeth Bulkeley in Beaumaris: Some New Light on the Reformation in Wales?', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society* (2010).

62. Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 132.

63. Lake (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, 1, pp. 38–42 (no. 4).

64. Ryrie, 'Counting Sheep', p. 103.

65. For a fuller discussion of these issues see Madeleine Gray, 'Reforming Memory: Commemoration of the Dead in Sixteenth-Century Wales', *Welsh History Review* 26.2 (2012).

66. Gray, 'Cloister and the Hearth'.

67. Williams, 'Protestant Experiment'; Williams, 'Barlow, William (*d.* 1568)', *Oxford DNB*.

68. Madeleine Gray, 'The Diocese of St Asaph in 1563', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 1 (1993), esp. pp. 2–3; Gray, 'The Diocese of Llandaff in 1563', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 2 (1994), esp. p. 57.

69. Glanmor Williams, 'Wales and the Reign of Queen Mary', *Welsh History Review* 10 (1980–1).

70. See Chapter 7 below.

71. Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, p. 129.

72. P. R. Roberts, 'The "Act of Union" in Welsh History', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1972–3); Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales, c 1415–1642* (Oxford and Cardiff, 1987), pp. 263–6.

73. J. S. Brewer et al. (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, (23 vols in 38, (London, 1862–1932), 10, p. 453.

74. For a brief overview of the family, see the entry under Price of Rhiwlas in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s3-PRIC-RHI-1475.html> (accessed 21 May 2014), and, for more detail, Enid Roberts, 'Teulu Plas Iolyn', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 13 (1964); J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Gentry in Action: The Plas Iolyn Experience, c 1500–1600', *Conflict, Continuity and Change in Wales, c 1500–1600: Essays and Studies* (Aberystwyth, 1999). For the pedigree see J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families …* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 204

75. For a biography see Williams, *Welsh Church*, pp. 323–7.

76. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s3-PRYS-ELI-1512.html> (accessed 21 May 2014); Peter R. Roberts, 'Price , Ellis [y Doctor Coch] (*c*.1505–1594)', in *Oxford DNB*. J. G. Jones prefers the interpretation that Price was called 'Y Doctor Coch' because of his pride in his red doctoral robes.

77. Wyn, *History of the Gwydir Family*, pp. 52, 159–60.

78. TNA, PROB 11/25/198; Jones, 'Gentry in Action', pp. 45-6.

4 Gaelic Christianity?

1. John MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and Its Historical Background', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50 (1976–8), p. 457. See in general Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).

2. Sarah Elizabeth Thomas, 'From Rome to "the ends of the habitable world": The Provision of Clergy and Church Buildings in the Hebrides, 1266 to 1472' (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2008); Iain Gerard MacDonald, 'The Secular Church and the Clergy in the Diocese of Argyll from circa 1189 to 1560' (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2008); Janet C. MacDonald, 'Iona's Local Associations in Argyll and the Isles, c. 1203–c. 1575' (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2010). See also Martin MacGregor, 'Church and Culture in the Late Medieval Highlands', in James Kirk (ed.), *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1998); A. D. M. Barrell, 'The Church in the West Highlands in the Late Middle Ages', *IR* 54 (2003).

3. Donald E. Meek, 'The Reformation and Gaelic Culture: Perspectives on Patronage, Language and Literature in John Carswell's Translation of "The Book of Common Order"', in Kirk, *Church in the Highlands*; Jane E. A. Dawson, ' "The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk": St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation', in James Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400–1643*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 8 (Oxford, 1991), pp. 415–16, and n. 10; Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Clan, Kin and Kirk: The Campbells and the Scottish Reformation', in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree and Henk van Nierop (eds), *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot, 1999); Jane Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002).

4. James Kirk, 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation', *Northern Scotland* 7 (1986); Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567–1625', in The Inverness Field Club (ed.), *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1986), pp. 24–5; Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994). For sceptical comment on the validity of this revisionism with particular regard to Argyll and the Isles, see Allan. I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), p. 77.

5. Ronald Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus A' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989).

6. Steven G. Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450–1650', *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1999); Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Career of Randal Macdonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609–1683* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 7.

7. Pía Dewar, 'Kingship Imagery in Classical Gaelic Panegyric for Scottish Chiefs', in Wilson McLeod, James E. Fraser and Anja Gunderloch (eds), *Cànan & Cultar/Language and Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 3* (Edinburgh, 2006); Martin MacGregor, 'Warfare in Gaelic Scotland in the Later Middle Ages', in Edward. M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang and Matthew J. Strickland (eds), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2012); Martin MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland: The Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire', in Micheál Ó Siochrú and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (eds), *The Plantation of Ulster: Ideology and Practice* (Manchester, 2012).

8. On Iona in the later Middle Ages see K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977); Mark Dilworth, 'Iona Abbey and the Reformation', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12 (1971); Alan Macquarrie, 'Kings, Lords and Abbots: Power and Patronage at the Medieval Monastery of Iona', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 54 (1984–6).

9. T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London, 1969), p. 25.

10. For recent discussions of the Statutes of Iona, see Julian Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context', *Scottish Historical Review* 72 (1998); Martin MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context', *IR* 57 (2006); Alison Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: The Archipelagic Context', *Journal of British Studies* 49 (2010).

11. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland'.

12. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 13–16.

13. Thomas, 'From Rome to "the ends of the habitable world"', pp. 1–5.

14. Tim Thornton, 'Scotland and the Isle of Man, *c*. 1400–1625: Noble Power and Royal Presumption in the Northern Irish Sea Province', *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998).

15. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 208 and n. 9. On Snizort, see Sarah Thomas, 'Rival Bishops, Rival Cathedrals: The Election of Cormac, Archdeacon of Sodor, as Bishop in 1331', *IR* 60 (2009).

16. Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', pp. 26–7; MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 62.

17. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 202, 206–7; John Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in J. M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), pp. 215–16.

18. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 20; Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', pp. 24–31; MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona', pp. 152–3. The present article revises in part my earlier views on the relationship between regular and secular church in Argyll and the Isles.

19. *Argyll Transcripts* made by 10th Duke of Argyll, held in Scottish History Subject Area, University of Glasgow, 1 April.

20. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 111–12.

21. J. R. N. MacPhail (ed.), *Highland Papers*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1914–34), 4, pp. 185–7.

22. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 45; MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 70.

23. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 133–6.

24. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 22, 38–9.

25. Ibid., p. 45.

26. Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', p. 30.

27. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 55–8; Iain G. MacDonald, 'The Attack on Bishop George Lauder of Argyll in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*', *IR* 61 (2010), pp. 111–13.

28. Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', pp. 31–2; MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 71.

29. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 71.

30. Ibid., pp. 27–9.

31. Ibid., pp. 43, 55, 57.

32. Ibid., pp. 52–3, 70–1.

33. Kirk, 'Jacobean Church in the Highlands', pp. 45–7.

34. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona', pp. 146–7, 152–4.
35. Ibid., pp. 163–70; Macinnes, *Clanship*, p. 80.
36. Kirk, 'Jacobean Church in the Highlands', p. 43, cf. p. 46.
37. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 116, 208, 211–12; Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', pp. 25, 27.
38. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 68.
39. Iain MacDonald, *Clerics and Clansmen: The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2013), p. 94.
40. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 67–8.
41. Ibid., pp. 44, 61.
42. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 117.
43. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 43–7. Major secular powers such as the Campbells and the MacDonalds could potentially exploit their financial advantage over the bishops of Argyll or the Isles in their ability to bear the costs of expensive litigation at the papal curia: ibid., p. 72.
44. MacGregor, 'Church and Culture', p. 19.
45. Ibid., p. 18.
46. Ibid., pp. 18–19.
47. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 100–2, 106–12, 209.
48. Ibid., pp. 115–18.
49. Ibid., p. 117.
50. Macinnes, *Clanship*, p. 79.
51. Ibid.
52. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 117–18; Kirk, 'Jacobean Church in the Highlands', p. 38; James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 296–7.
53. Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 106–9.
54. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', p. 61.
55. Barrell, 'Church in the West Highlands', pp. 2, 30; Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 121.
56. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 50–69, 79; MacDonald, 'The Attack on Bishop George Lauder'.
57. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 292–3.
58. R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 8–9, 178.
59. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 301–4.
60. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, pp. 18–19; English translation in Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 303.
61. For discussions of Carswell and his book, see Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 280–304; Meek, 'Reformation and Gaelic Culture'; Martin MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Literature, Lordship and Liminality', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts and Interpretation* 7.1 (2012).
62. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona'.
63. Ibid., pp. 156–7.
64. Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, gen. ed. D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen/Edinburgh, 1987–98) 4, eds and trans David J. Corner, A. B. Scott, William W. Scott, and D. E. R. Watt, pp. 326–9.
65. William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh 1998); Roger A. Mason, 'Civil Society and the Celts: Hector Boece, George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Past', in Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (eds), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh, 2002); Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, c 1600–c 1800* (Cambridge, 1999).
66. Martin MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later Middle Ages', in Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (eds), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, the Great Ill-will of the Lowlander? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009), p. 36.

67. James Moir (ed.), *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae* (Aberdeen, 1894), p. 99.

68. James V, *Letters of James V*, ed. Robert Kerr Hannay and Denys Hay (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 162.

69. R. W. Munro (ed.), *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans 1549* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 63.

70. Ibid., pp. 62–3.

71. Steve Boardman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in Seán Duffy and Susan Foran (eds), *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500* (Dublin, 2013). My thanks to Dr Boardman for access to this paper prior to publication. For the view that Monro's account is coloured by 'self-conscious anti-quarian reporting', see Edward J. Cowan, 'The Discovery of the Gàidhealtachd in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 60 (1997–8), pp. 269–70.

72. Richard Sharpe, 'Roderick MacLean's *Life* of St. Columba in Latin Verse (1549)', *IR* 42 (1991), p. 119.

73. Ibid., 112.

74. Ibid., 119.

75. The Iona Club (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 23–32; Cowan, 'Discovery of the Gàidhealtachd', pp. 268–9.

76. Marcus Merriman, 'Elder, John (*fl.* 1533–1565)', in *Oxford DNB*.

77. Roger A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 243–8, 252.

78. Iona Club (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 25.

79. Ibid., pp. 26–7.

80. Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, pp. 128–30; Mason, 'Civil Society and the Celts', pp. 117–18.

81. MacPhail (ed.), *Highland Papers*, 3, p. 302.

82. MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity', p. 34.

83. J. L. Campbell, 'The Letter Sent by Iain Muideartach, Twelfth Chief of Clanranald, to Pope Urban VIII, in 1626', *IR* 4 (1953), p. 116.

84. MacDonald, 'Secular Church', pp. 93–5; Thomas, 'From Rome to "the ends of the habit-able world"', p. 56.

85. Thomas, 'From Rome to "the ends of the habitable world"'.

86. Monro (ed.), *Monro's Western Isles*, p. 70.

87. W. J. Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 90–1. A near-contemporary mock-elegy castigates its subject on precisely these grounds (pp. 134–9).

88. My thanks to the scholars upon whose original labours this survey depends; to Dr Iain MacDonald for commenting on a draft text, and to the editors for their assistance and generosity.

5 Antiquities Cornu-Brittanick

1. I am grateful to Julia Crick, Jo Esra, Richard Maber, Matthew Spriggs and those who attended seminars in Cambridge, Exeter and London for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

2. Thomas Taylor, *The Celtic Christianity of Cornwall: Divers Sketches and Studies* (London, 1916).

3. Henry Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language Chiefly in Its Latest Stages. With Some Accounts of Its History and Literature* (London, 1904); Jenner, 'Cornwall a Celtic Nation', *Celtic Review* 1 (1904–5).

4. See esp. John Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (London, 1879); Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom* (London, 1888).

5. See Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (1986); Terrence Brown (ed.), *Celticism* (Amsterdam, 1996); Ian Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999), ch. 4; Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000), ch. 3.

6. Esther de Waal, *A World Made Whole: The Rediscovery of the Celtic Tradition* (London, 1991); Ian Bradley, *The Celtic Way* (London, 1993); Philip Sheldrake, *Living between Worlds: Place and Journey in Celtic Spirituality* (London, 1995); Timothy Joyce, *Celtic Christianity: A Sacred Tradition, a Vision of Hope* (New York, 1998); Andy Philips, *Lan Kernow: A Theology of Place for Cornwall* (Portreath, 2006).

7. Bradley, *Celtic Christianity,* p. vii; Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity,* pp. 36, 4, 33, 121, 215 and *passim.*

8. Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36 (1998); Kathleen Hughes, 'The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1 (1981); Wendy Davies, 'The Myth of the Celtic Church', in Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West: Recent Work in Early Christian Archaeology, History and Place-Names* (Oxford, 1992).

9. See, among others, James P. Mackey (ed.), *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 1995); Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales: The Origins of the Welsh Spiritual Tradition* (Cardiff, 1996); Mark Atherton (ed.), *Celts and Christians: New Approaches to the Religious Traditions of Britain and Ireland* (Cardiff, 2002).

10. Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1999).

11. Mark Stoyle, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), Introduction, esp. p. 6, and p. 182; A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society* (London, 1941).

12. Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, 'Beyond Empire II: Christianities of the Celtic Peoples', in Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities c. 600–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 92, 106; and Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons* (Oxford, 2012). For an earlier overview, with different emphases, see Charles Thomas, *Celtic Britain* (London, 1986).

13. John Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster? Local Cults in Anglo-Saxon England', in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), p. 486; Sam Turner, *Making a Christian Landscape: The Countryside in Early Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex* (Exeter, 2006), esp. ch. 8.

14. Turner, *Making a Christian Landscape*, p. 156.

15. O. J. Padel, 'Local Saints and Place Names in Cornwall', in Thacker and Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints*; see also Padel, 'Asser's *Parochia* of Exeter', in Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell (eds), *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards* (Woodbridge, 2011).

16. See O. J. Padel, 'Oral and Literary Culture in Medieval Cornwall', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), esp. pp. 97–8. See also P. Berresford Ellis, *The Cornish Language and Its Literature* (London, 1974), ch. 2. For the late medieval efflorescence of saint's cults, see Joanna Mattingly, 'Pre-Reformation Saints' Cults in Cornwall, with Particular Reference to the St Neot's Windows', in Jane Cartwright (ed), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff, 2003). Suggestions that this revival included a medieval Cornish translation of the Bible, however, have been convincingly rejected: Malte Tschirschky, 'The Medieval "Cornish Bible"', *Cornish Studies* 11 (2003); Matthew Spriggs, 'Additional Thoughts on the Medieval "Cornish Bible"', *Cornish Studies* 14 (2006).

17. See Nicholas Orme, *Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity 500–1560* (London, 2007), ch. 6 and *passim.*

18. Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989). Nicholas Orme, 'Popular Religion and the Reformation in England: A View from Cornwall', in James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (eds),

Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West (Cambridge, 2004), emphasizes the resilience of traditional religion long after the advent of Protestantism.

19. Albert Peel (ed.), *The Seconde Parte of a Register Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr Williams' Library, London*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 89, 98–110.

20. Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry before the Civil War* (Exeter, 1996), ch. 2.

21. HMC, *Salisbury MSS, Part X* (London, 1904), pp. 450–1; HMC, Salisbury MSS, *Part XI* (Dublin, 1906), p. 26.

22. John Vicars, *The Burning Bush Not Consumed: England's Parliamentarie Chronicle* (London, 1646), p. 9; Roger Williams, *The hireling ministry none of Christs, or a discourse touching the propagating of the Gospel of Christ Jesus* (London, 1652), p. 13. See also Christopher Hill, 'Puritans and "the Dark Corners of the Land"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 13 (1963); Stoyle, *West Britons,* pp. 81–2.

23. Andrew Boorde, *The first boke of the introduction of knowledge* (London, 1555 edn; first publ. 1542), sig. B2v. On the history of the language, see Jenner, *Handbook*, ch. 1; Ellis, *Cornish Language;* Philip Payton, 'Cornish', in Glanville Price (ed.), *Languages in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2000).

24. John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars. A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London, 1728), p. 21; Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London, 1602), fo. 56r.

25. I owe this point to Jo Esra.

26. John Doddridge, *The history of the ancient and moderne estate of the principality of Wales, dutchy of Cornwall, and earldome of Chester* (London, 1630), p. 78; John Ray, quoted in Jenner, *Handbook,* p. 16. For an overview of the retreat of Cornish, see Matthew Spriggs, 'Where Cornish Was Spoken and When: A Provisional Synthesis', *Cornish Studies* 11 (2003).

27. Felicity Heal, 'Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005).

28. See among others, Jenner, *Handbook,* p. 12; Ellis, *Cornish Language*, pp. 57, 66; Brian Murdoch, *Cornish Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 15; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 66–7.

29. *A copye of a letter containing certayne newes, and the articles or requestes of the Devonshyre and Cornyshe rebelles* (London, 1549), sigs B6r–7r; Nicholas Pocock (ed.), *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*, Camden Society, New Series 37 (London, 1884), p. 171. See also Spriggs, 'Medieval "Cornish Bible"', pp. 49–50.

30. Scawen's treatise on 'The Causes of the Cornish Speech's Decay' is in the Cornwall Record Office, Truro, MS F2/39. It is transcribed in BL, MS Add. 33, 420, quotation at fos 123v–124r. It is printed, with minor variations, in Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall, Founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr Hals and Mr Tonkin*, 4 vols (London, 1838), 4, pp. 215–17. See also Edmund Gibson, *Camden's Britannia* (London, 1695), p. 18.

31. Stoyle, *West Britons,* pp. 45–9.

32. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 1. For the similar but different case of the decline of Gaelic, see Bernadette Cunningham, 'Loss and Gain: Attitudes towards the English Language in Early Modern Ireland', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland 1550–1700: Colonization and Its Consequences* (Dublin, 2011).

33. Scawen, 'Causes', in Gilbert, *Parochial History,* 4, pp. 211, 214.

34. BL, Egerton MS 2350, fo. 54r.

35. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall,* fo. 56r.

36. Heal, 'Mediating the Word', p. 280.

37. Jane Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994).

38. William Hals, *The Compleat History of Cornwal, General and Parochial* (Truro, 1750), pp. 131, 133.
39. Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. ch. 2.
40. Murdoch, *Cornish Literature,* ch. 4.
41. John Davies, *Llyfr y resolusion* (n.p., 1632) (STC 19390). This was probably a translation of Edmund Bunny's Protestant edition of Persons's book.
42. Gilbert, *Parochial History,* 4, p. 218. Jenner, *Handbook,* p. 17, surmises that this was a Catholic primer, but the word matins was used to refer to the Anglican service of morning prayer from the 1550s (see *OED*).
43. Gibson, *Camden's Britannia,* p. 18; Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica, giving some account … of the languages, histories and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain* (Oxford, 1707), p. 253. For Lhuyd's notes on various Cornish parishes, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D997.
44. Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall*, 7 vols (Falmouth, 1803–6); facsimile (3 vols, Dorking, 1978), 5, pp. 16–18. All references refer to the original volumes. See also the discussion in Ellis, *Cornish Language*, ch. 5.
45. O. J. Padel (ed.), *The Cornish Writings of the Boson Family* (Redruth, 1975), pp. 35–7; Gilbert, *Parochial History,* 4, p. 218. See Matthew Spriggs, 'William Scawen (1600–1689): A Neglected Cornish Patriot and Father of the Cornish Language Revival', *Cornish Studies* 13 (2005).
46. See Padel, 'Oral and Literary Culture', and Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*, for surveys of the surviving material. For similar antiquarian impulses in Ireland, see Cunningham, 'Loss and Gain', esp. pp. 178–81.
47. For printings of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, see Gibson, *Camden's Britannia,* pp. 18–19; Polwhele, *History of Cornwall,* 5, p. 18, and 3, pp. 25–7. Other transcriptions can be found among Boson's material: Padel (ed.), *Cornish Writings,* pp. 41, 55, and in the Gwavas MS (BL, Additional MS 28,554), esp. fos 50r, 96v, 99v–105v, 115r–116v, 117r–v, 125r, 126r–127r, 109v, 141r, 143r–v, 161r. The translation of Psalm 100 is fo. 138r. It is possible that some such translations were commissioned by antiquaries themselves: Gwavas recorded that one specimen of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments was translated by John Keigwin 'at my request': (fo. 109). A copy of John David Rhys's Welsh grammar and prosodic textbook, *Cambrybrytannicæ Cymræve Linguæ institutiones et rudimenta* (London, 1592), in the Routh Library, Durham, contains manuscript additions, including Cornish versions of the Lord's Prayer and Apostle's Creed in Cornish, in the hand of Thomas Wilkins, dating from the mid-seventeenth century. See R. G. Maber, 'MS Additions to a Sixteenth-CenturyWelsh Grammar', *Durham University Journal* 72 (1980). I am grateful to the author for sending me a copy of this article.
48. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannia.*
49. John Whitaker, *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed*, 2 vols (London, 1804), 2, p. 37; Polwhele, *History of Cornwall*, 5, p. 4.
50. Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984); Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003), p. 194.
51. See Glanmor Williams, 'Some Protestant Views of Early British Church History', *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967); Richard Davies, 'Address to the Welsh People', prefacing the Welsh New Testament of 1567; Albert Owen Evans, *A Memorandum on the Legality of the Welsh Bible and the Welsh Version of the Book of Common Prayer* (Cardiff, 1925), Appendix III; Roger A. Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review* 76 (1997); and Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History and Politics in Early Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford, 2007), ch. 6. On Wales, see also Jason Nice, *Sacred History and National Identity: Comparisons between Early Modern Wales and Brittany* (London, 2009), esp. ch. 4.

52. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall,* fos 81r–v. The anglophile Carew, though, was no Puritan: he disapproved of presbyterian critics of the episcopal hierarchy, insisted that if the bishops had held fast to their 'first institution' this would have served 'to close up their mouths, who would thrust upon us their often varying discipline', and thought it could not 'do much amisse' to review the 'originall beauty' of the medieval Church of Rome.

53. BL, MS Additional 33, 420, fos 108r–125v, at 111v–116r. See the discussion in Stoyle, *West Britons,* ch. 7. He uses the phase 'primordial British Eden' at p. 147.

54. William Stukeley, *Stonehenge. A temple restor'd to the British druids* (1740), quotation at p. 2.

55. Polwhele, *History of Cornwall*, 2, pp. 98–9, 131.

56. William Borlase, *Observations on the Antiquities Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1754; rev. edn 1769), chs 3, 4, 11 are on stone monuments, logan stones and rock basins respectively.

57. Stukeley is quoted in P. A. S. Pool's introduction to the facsimile of the 1769 edn (East Ardsley, 1973), p. xi.

58. P. A. S. Pool, *William Borlase* (Truro, 1986), pp. 132, 134.

59. Stoyle, *West Britons,* pp. 150, 156. Cf. Spriggs, 'William Scawen', pp. 113–14.

60. CUL, Additional MS 3041, fos 361r, 5r–v. The entries relating to Devon and Cornish saints have been edited by Nicholas Orme (ed.), *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon,* Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series 35 (Exeter, 1992). On Roscarrock (*c*.1548–1633/4), see the *ODNB* entry by Nicholas Orme.

61. Orme (ed.), *Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints,* p. 19.

62. CUL, Additional MS 3041, fo. 312v.

63. Ibid., fo. 131v. This text is also referred to in a letter of 1607 from Roscarrock to William Camden: BL Cotton MS Julius C. V, fo. 77r.

64. As emphasized by Orme (ed.), *Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints,* p. 17.

65. Serenus Cressy, *The Church History of Brittany, from the Beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest* (Rouen, 1668); Richard Challoner, *Britannia Sancta: Or, the lives of the most celebrated British, English, Scottish, and Irish Saints* (London, 1745), sig. ē3r. John Wilson's *English martyrologe conteyning a summary of the lives of the glorious and renowned saintes of the three kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (St Omer, 1608) is in the same vein. See Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008), ch. 4. Jason Nice reaches somewhat similar conclusions in his *Sacred History and National Identity,* ch. 3.

66. Ellis, *Cornish Language*, pp. 70–2; Andrew Breeze, 'Welsh and Cornish at Valladolid, 1591–1600', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 37 (1990).

67. BL, Additional MS 46,397. Ellis, *Cornish Language*, pp. 64–5; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature,* pp. 129–30. See also D. H. Frost, 'Glasney's Parish Clergy and the Tregear Manuscript', *Cornish Studies* 15 (2007). Despite Tregear's conservatism, he continued as vicar of St Allen until 1583.

68. Raymond Gillespie and Bernadette Cunningham, '"The Most Adaptable of Saints": The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 49 (1995); Alexandra Walsham, 'Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in Early Modern Wales', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005).

69. Elizabeth Tingle, 'The Sacred Space of Julien Maunoir: The Re-Christianising of the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Brittany', in Coster and Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space*; Nice, *Sacred History and National Identity,* ch. 5.

70. BL, Egerton MS 2657, fo. 164r

71. Orme (ed.), *Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints*, p. 166.

72. See Jesse Harasta, 'Arise St Piran: The Cult of the Saints and the Redefining of Cornwall', *Cornish Studies* 17 (2009).

73. Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England 1559–1642* (New York and London, 2004), ch. 6 *passim,* and p. 172.

74. This Oscott College MS is printed in John Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*, First Series (London, 1872), p. 137. It seems once to have been in the possession of the antiquary Thomas Tonkin, whose forbear had married Tregian's sister: p. 64.

75. See Sheldrake, *Living between Worlds*; Mary Low, *Celtic Christianity and Nature: Early Irish and Hebridean Traditions* (Belfast, 1996).

76. Joanna Mattingly, 'A Well without Water? The Rise and Fall of the Holy Well at Chapel Porth, St Agnes', *Journal of the St Agnes Museum Trust* 14 (1998), p. 8.

77. CUL, Additional MS 3041, fos 131r, 202v–203v, 262r, 298v, 308r, 314r, 327v.

78. John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543,* ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906–10), 1, pp. 175, 190, 208.

79. CUL, Additional MS 3041, fos 262r, 323v.

80. BL, Egerton MS 2657, fos 28v and 179r.

81. John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica or A Miscellany of British Antiquities* (Sherborne, Dorset, 1980), p. 846.

82. Thomas Fuller, *The history of the worthies of England* (1662), 1st pagination, p. 197.

83. Gilbert, *Parochial History,* 5, p. 215. Note the rival account by Robert Heath, an army officer who had been garrisoned in the Scillies, *A natural and historical account of the islands of Scilly* (London, 1750), p. 409, who said that Shrubsall had pushed it to one side accidentally 'going thither to satisfy his Curiosity'. For other accounts, see Borlase, *Observations*, p. 171; Polwhele, *History of Cornwall*, 1, pp. 131–2. For accounts of it prior to the 1640s, see Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, fo. 151v; William Camden, *Britain* (London, 1610), p. 188; Norden, *Topographical and Historical Description,* p. 38.

84. Stoyle, *West Britons,* p. 182.

85. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, 130r; CUL, Additional MS 3041, 312v.

86. M. Quiller-Couch and L. Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* (London, 1894), p. 2; M. A. Courtenay, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore* (Penzance, 1890), p. 56.

87. Mattingly, 'Well without Water', p. 9; Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England, or The Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall* (London, 1916 edn; first publ. 1865; rev. and expanded 1881), p. 275.

88. Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 147–8.

89. Hals, *Compleat History*, p. 131, and see also p. 59.

90. Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, fo. 129v; Norden, *Topographical and Historical Description,* p. 60.

91. Camden, *Britain,* p. 192.

92. Fuller, *Worthies,* 1st pagination, p. 196; Hals, *Compleat History,* p. 49; Polwhele, *History of Cornwall,* 1, p. 144; Gibson, *Camden's Britannia,* p. 23; Borlase, *Observations*, p. 188; Heath, *Natural and historical account,* pp. 412–13.

93. On hurling, see Sally L. Joyce and Evelyn S. Newlyn (eds), *Records of Early English Drama: Cornwall* (Toronto, 1999), pp. 564–71.

94. BL, Egerton MS 2657, fo. 38r; see also William Borlase, *The Natural History of Cornwall* (Oxford, 1758), p. 31. See also Thomas Fuller, *Church History* (1662), p. 196; Gibson, *Camden's Britannia,* p. 22; Padel (ed.), *Cornish Writings,* p. 11.

95. Francis Coventry, *Paralipomena philosophica de mundo peripatetico* (Antwerp, 1652), pp. 68–9; Joseph Hall, *The great mysterie of godliness* (1652), bk 1, pp. 169–70. See also Fuller, *Worthies,* 1st pagination, p. 196; Gibson, *Camden's Britannia*, pp. 21–2.

96. Norden, *Topographical and Historical Description,* p. 28.

97. William Bottrell, *Stories and Folklore of West Cornwall*, 3rd series (Penzance, 1880), p. 116.

98. BL, Egerton MS 2657, fo. 44r.

99. Borlase, *Observations*, pp. 168–9; BL, Egerton MS 2657, fo. 11r.

100. Bottrell, *Stories and Folklore,* pp. 119–20. See also Hunt, *Popular Romances,* p. 176. On the archaeology of this site, see Ann Preston Jones, 'The Men an Tol Reconsidered', *Cornish Archaeology* 32 (1993).

101. Bottrell, *Stories and Folklore,* p. 121.

102. See the comments of William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance, 1870), p. iv.

103. Polwhele, *History of Cornwall,* 5, p. 8.

104. Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells*; John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1901); W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Fairy Faith in Cornwall: Theories and Genuine Accounts of the Faery Folk by the Cornish People* (Oxford, 1911), p. 163.

105. See, among others, Di Francis, *Cornish Legends and Folklore* (St Ives, 1977); Kelvin I. Jones, *Folklore and Witchcraft of Devon and Cornwall* (Penzance, 1997); Cheryl Straffon, *Fentynyow Kernow: In Search of Cornwall's Holy Wells* (Penzance, 1998).

106. William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1989).

107. Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity,* p. 236.

6 'Slow and Cold in the True Service of God'

1. Robinson to Privy Council, 24 May 1570: TNA, SP12/69/14.

2. Nicholas Canny, 'Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Responses to Centralisation, c. 1530–c. 1640', in Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London, 1995), p. 161.

3. Brendan Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Wales and Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity* (Cambridge, 1998).

4. Cf. Katharine Olson and Huw Pryce, 'The Reluctant Medievalist?', in G. H. Jenkins and G. E. Jones (eds), *Degrees of Influence: A Memorial Volume for Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 2008).

5. Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 396.

6. Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation, and Reformation: Wales c. 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1987), p. 327.

7. E.g., John Gwynfor Jones, *Aspects of Religious Life in Wales, c. 1536–1660* (Aberystwyth, 2003); Jones, *Cymru a'r Tuduriaid: Cyfraith a Threfn Weinyddol, Crefydd a Chymdeithas, 1534–1603* (Aberystwyth, 1993); Jones, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536–1640: Images of Status, Honour, and Authority* (Cardiff, 1998); D. Aneurin Thomas, *The Welsh Elizabethan Martyrs* (Cardiff, 1961); Richard Suggett, *A History of Witchcraft and Magic in Wales* (Stroud, 2008).

8. Alec Ryrie, 'Britain and Ireland', in Alec Ryrie (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformations* (Basingstoke, 2006), p. 135.

9. Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 11.

10. Cf. Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300–1540* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 206–8.

11. Bishop Barlow to Cromwell, in Thomas Wright (ed.), *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, Camden Series 26 (London, 1843; repr. New York, 1968), pp. 183–4.

12. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation,* ch. 2.

13. John Leland, *The itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1906), pp. 41–52.

14. The importance of the Welsh gentry and their role in ensuring the success of the Reformation in Wales is forcefully developed in Bradshaw, 'English Reformation and Identity Formation in Ireland and Wales'.

15. NLW, SA 1569/R2, 1r–2v; cf. Madeleine Gray, 'The Diocese of St Asaph in 1563', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 1 (1993).

16. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 196.

17. Madeleine Gray, *Images of Piety: The Iconography of Traditional Religion in Late Medieval Wales*, BAR British Series 136 (Oxford, 2002), p. 75.

18. NLW, Llanstephan MS 117D, f. 43.
19. Richard Davies, *A Funerall Sermon Preached … at the burial of The Right Honourable Walter Earle of Essex …* (London, 1577), D.ii–D.iii; David Matthew, 'Some Elizabethan Documents', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 6.1 (Nov. 1931), pp. 77–8.
20. Gray, *Images of Piety,* pp. 75–6, 82. This paragraph summarises a few of the pre-Reformation survivals that Gray and others have identified. See her excellent *Images of Piety* for a much fuller discussion of survivals.
21. BL, Harleian MS 420, f.111b.
22. Ibid., f.116b.
23. 'Awdl foliant i Harri'r Wythfed', in A. C. Lake (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 2004), 2, pp. 481–4.
24. D. J. Bowen, 'Detholiad o englynion hiraeth am yr hen ffydd', *Efrydiau Catholig* 61 (1954), p. 11.
25. NLW, Llanstephan 117D. Cf. Katharine K. Olson, '"*Y Ganrif Fawr?*': Lay Piety, Literature, and Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wales', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds), *Studies in Church History* 48: *The Church and Literature* (Woodbridge, 2012); Olson, 'Politics, Religion, and the Parish in Tudor England and Wales: A View from the Marches of Wales', *Recusant History* 31.4 (2011).
26. NLW, Mostyn MS 131, f.152; Bowen, 'Detholiad o englynion hiraeth am yr hen ffydd', p. 7.
27. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 196.
28. Cf. ibid., pp. 196–8, for a discussion of Marian deprivations.
29. Ibid., p. 205.
30. BL, Harleian MS 420, f.153a.
31. J. Fisher, 'Wales in the Time of Queen Elizabeth: "De Presenti Statu Totius Walliae"', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th series, 15.3 (July 1915), p. 241.
32. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation,* p. 391.
33. Cf. Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1999).
34. Justin McCann and Hugh Connolly (eds), *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker*, Catholic Record Society 33 (London, 1933), p. 16. For more on religious identity, parental religious affiliations and autobiography, cf. Lucy Underwood, 'Youth, Religious Identity, and Autobiography at the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592, 1685', *Historical Journal* 55.2 (2012). On Welsh Catholic identity abroad, see e.g. Jason Nice, 'Being "British" in Rome: The Welsh at the English College, 1578–1584', *Catholic Historical Review* 92.1 (2006); Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 80–117.
35. TNA, SP12/118/10.
36. BL, Harleian MS 280, ff.162v–164.
37. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 374.
38. Ibid., p. 375.
39. Raymond Gillespie, 'Reframing the Reformation', *Irish Historical Studies* 36.144 (Nov. 2009), p. 599; cf. Gillespie , *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997); Gillespie, 'Godly Order: Enforcing Peace in the Irish Reformation', in Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550–1700* (Aldershot, 2006).
40. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 273.
41. R. G. Gruffydd, *Argraffwyr Cyntaf Cymru* (Cardiff, 1972), p. 9.
42. E.g. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, ch. 10.
43. TNA, SP12/66/26, fo.85r. The spelling of this and other quotations taken from original sources has been modernized.
44. 7 October 1567: Matthew, 'Some Elizabethan Documents', p. 78.
45. *Y Drych Kristnogawl*, ed. Geraint Bowen (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 4–5.
46. NLW, Great Sessions Records, Wales 4, 6/2/24.
47. West Glamorgan Archive Service (WGAS), B/S Corp D/2. I am currently preparing an edition of this for the South Wales Record Society.

48. NLW, Great Sessions Records, Wales 4, 5/4/7–10.
49. BL, Harleian MS 6998, fol. 3r–3v.
50. Peter Roberts, *Y Cwtta Cyfarwydd: the Chronicle written by the famous Clarke, Peter Roberts, Notary Public, for the Years 1607–1646*, ed. D. R. Thomas (London, 1960), p. 43.
51. Cf. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven, 2005); Judith Jones (ed.), *Monmouthshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1560–1601* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 15–16, 213–14.
52. NLW, SA 1585/R4, 411r.
53. Gillespie, 'Godly Order', pp. 184–201. For funeral customs in Ireland see also Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (Basingstoke, 2002); Colm Lennon, 'Mass in the Manor House: The Counter-Reformation in Dublin, 1560–1630', in James Kelly and Daire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000).
54. Peter Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c.1570–1700', in Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (eds), *Getting Along?: Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 70, 72.
55. Robert Gwyn, *Gwssanaeth y Gŵr Newydd (1580)*, ed. Geraint Bowen (Cardiff, 1970), pp. 30, 36.
56. Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford, 2011).
57. Michael R. Lewis, 'The Pilgrimage to St Michael's Mount: Catholic Continuity in Wales', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 8 (1991).
58. Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*, p. 249.
59. TNA, SP 12/224/74, fo.l08v.
60. Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher (eds), *Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (London, 1907–13), 1, p. 216.
61. Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1954).
62. NLW, Great Sessions Records, Wales 4, 6/2/24.
63. G. Hartwell Jones, 'Celtic Britain and the Pilgrimage Movement', *Y Cymmrodor* 23 (1912), p. 406.
64. Gray, *Images of Piety*, p. 75.
65. 'Antiquitates Parochiales no. VIII', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1848), p. 59.
66. G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: The Social Scene* (Cardiff, 1962), pp. 62–3.
67. Suggett, *Witchcraft and Magic in Wales*, p. 29. Cf. Ronald Hutton, 'Witch-Hunting in Celtic Societies', *Past and Present* 212 (2011), pp. 43–71.
68. Ibid., pp. 55–6, 61, 137.
69. Ibid., tables 3 and 4.
70. 'Robert Parry's Diary', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th series, 15 (1915), p. 126.
71. Cf. Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999); Murray Chapman (ed.), *Montgomeryshire Court of Great Sessions Gaol Files, 1571–1580* (Aberystwyth, 2008), pp. 603–4.
72. Chris Grooms, *The Giants of Wales* (Lampeter, 1993), p. 299.
73. Suggett, *Witchcraft and Magic in Wales*, p. 141.
74. Melville Richards, 'The Supernatural in Welsh Place-Names', in Geraint Jenkins (ed.), *Studies in Folk Life* (London, 1969).
75. D. Densil Morgan, 'Calvinism in Wales, c.1590–1909', *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 4 (2009).

7 Gaelic Religious Poetry in Scotland

1. I would like to thank Dr Julia Kühns for her suggestions, any remaining errors are my own.
2. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1939–40), 1, pp. 357–8; 2, p. 223. The poem is 'Réadla na Cruinne Caitir Fhíona' and will be referred to again below. I am currently working on an expanded edition of this poem from all of the manuscript sources which includes the missing stanzas not edited by McKenna.

3. Steven G. Ellis, 'The Limits of Power: The English Crown and the British Isles', in Patrick Collinson (ed.), *The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 2002), p. 50; Katharine Simms, 'The Norman Invasion and the Gaelic Recovery', in R. F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), p. 76.
4. James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland* (London, 1998), p. 88; T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War* (Manchester, 1994), p. 2. This episode was brought to my attention by Katharine Simms in her John V. Kelleher Lecture, 'The Barefoot Kings: Literary Models and Reality in Later Medieval Ireland', given at Harvard University in October 2010.
5. James Carney, 'Literature in Irish, 1169–1534', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, 2: *Medieval Ireland 1169–1536* (Oxford, 1993), p. 693.
6. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War*, p. 2; Martin MacGregor, 'Church and Culture in the Late Medieval Highlands', in James Kirk (ed.), *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1999). See also Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968).
7. For comment on the use of the written standard in Scotland see Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Where and How Was Gaelic Written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 24 (2008).
8. Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 55–107.
9. Frank O'Connor, *The Backward Look: A Survey of Irish Literature* (London, 1967), p. 71.
10. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Manus "The Magnificent": O'Donnell as Renaissance Prince', in Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), p. 25. See also Donald E. Meek, 'The Scots-Gaelic Scribes of Late Medieval Perthshire: An Overview of the Orthography and Contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller (eds), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1989), p. 400.
11. Brian Ó Cuív, 'Irish Language and Literature, 1691–1845', in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds), *A New History of Ireland,* 4: *Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691–1800* (Oxford, 1986).
12. See for instance Simms, 'Norman Invasion', p. 85.
13. Salvador Ryan, 'A Slighted Source: Rehabilitating Irish Bardic Religious Poetry in Historical Discourse', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004).
14. Salvador Ryan, 'Windows on Late Medieval Devotional Practice: Máire Ní Mháille's "Book of Piety" (1513) and the World Behind the Texts', in Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 7. The manuscript has been digitized and is now available online as part of the Irish Script On Screen (ISOS) site <http://www.isos.dias.ie/> (accessed 9 April 2014). The section of the manuscript compiled for Máire is referred to as 'an leabar día a*cht*' on folio 71 r (or p. 135 of the MS as it appears on ISOS) which forms a part of 'Craobhsgaoileadh Chlainne Suibhne' ('The Ramifications of Clann Suibhne'). Paul Walsh edited and translated this text and emended 'leabar día a*cht*' to 'leabar día*d*acht', giving 'book of piety' in the translation: Walsh (ed.), *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (Dublin, 1920), pp. 66–9. I have adopted Walsh's emendation here.
15. Ryan, 'Windows on Late Medieval Devotional Practice', p. 2.
16. Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 115–18.
17. See Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the* Vita Adae et Evae (Oxford, 2009), pp. 44–74. For an English translation of the *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* text (although collated with other versions) see Máire Herbert and Martin McNamara (eds), *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation* (London, 1989), pp. 8–11. For an edition and translation of the version of *Pennaid Adaim* found in Edinburgh NLS Adv. MS 72.1.40 see Alan O. Anderson, 'Pennaid Adaim', *Revue Celtique* 24 (1903).
18. Ann Dooley, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', in Zbigniew Izydorczyk (ed.), *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 158 (Tempe, Arizona, 1997).

19. Dooley, 'Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', p. 374.
20. The manuscript has been digitized and is now available online as part of the ISOS site. It is accompanied by a detailed catalogue of the MS by Ronald Black.
21. John Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands', in Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (eds), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 214.
22. McLeod, *Divided Gaels*.
23. See Ronald I. M. Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland/Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989).
24. T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Indexes to the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4 (1934–5), p. 32.
25. Dòmhnall Eachann Meek, 'Gàidhlig is Gaylick anns na Meadhon Aoisean', in Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland*, pp 131–2.
26. Martin MacGregor, 'The View from Fortingall: The Worlds of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 22 (2006).
27. For more on this orthography see Meek, 'Scots-Gaelic Scribes'.
28. ISOS.
29. <http://bardic.celt.dias.ie> (accessed 4 July 2014).
30. McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, p. 97.
31. Donald E. Meek, 'The Gaelic Ballads of Medieval Scotland', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 55 (1986–8), p. 51. See also Donald E. Meek, 'Development and Degeneration in Gaelic Ballad Texts', *Béaloideas* 54/55 (1986/7); Donald E. Meek, '*Duanaire Finn* and Gaelic Scotland', in John Carey (ed.), *Duanaire Finn: Reassessments* (Dublin, 2003).
32. *Duanaire Finn* is Dublin, University College Dublin, MS A 20 (b) and has also been digitized by the ISOS project. For editions and translations see Eoin MacNeill and Gerard Murphy (eds), *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the Lays of Fionn*, 3 vols (London, 1908–53). For recent comment see Carey (ed.), *Duanaire Finn: Reassessments*.
33. Meek, 'Gaelic Ballads', pp. 63–4.
34. Ibid., p. 64.
35. This manuscript is kept at Clonalis House in Co. Roscommon but has also been digitized by the ISOS project. See Douglas Hyde, 'The Book of the O'Conor Don', *Ériu* 8 (1916); Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin, 2010). See also Salvador Ryan's essay in the present volume.
36. Indeed there are further shared items between the *Book of O'Conor Don* (BOCD) and the *Book of the Dean* which are of a non-religious nature, such as: 'Dorn idir dán is dásacht' ('A fist is all that stands between learning and madness') (*BOCD*, p. 323); 'A Chláirseach Chnuic Í Chosgair ('O harp of Cnoc Í Chosgair') (*BOCD*, p. 14r17); 'Cia do ghéabhainn go Gráinne' ('Whom can I get to send to Gráinne') (*BOCD*, pp. 23 and 367). For discussions of the religious material in the *BOCD* see Salvador Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith: The Religious Poems in the Book of the O'Conor Don', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, and Ryan's essay in this volume.
37. I have not provided information on sources for editions and translations of each of the poems in the tables as that information is available online in both Black's catalogue on ISOS and Simms's *Bardic Poetry Database*.
38. For another use of the term 'golden oldies' see Katharine Simms, 'The Selection of Poems for Inclusion in the Book of the O'Conor Don', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, p. 34.
39. William Gillies, 'A Death-Bed Poem Ascribed to Muireadhach Albanach', *Celtica* 21 (1990).
40. See Katharine Simms, 'Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh and the Classical Revolution', in Ian Brown, Thomas Clancy, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, 1: *From Columba to the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).
41. Gillies, 'Death-Bed Poem', p. 159.
42. The stray quatrain begins 'Seacht bhfichid míle fá sheacht' ('Seven times seven-score miles') and for an edition and translation see William Gillies, 'A Religious Poem Ascribed to Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh', *Studia Celtica* 14/15 (1979/80), p. 82.

43. This is not to say that there is no Scottish material at all in the *BOCD*, just no Scottish material also in the *Book of the Dean*. In fact there are a number of Scottish religious poems in the *BOCD*. For some discussion see Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish, c.1550–1690: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Battle of the Boyne', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O' Leary (eds), *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, 1: *To 1890* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 217.
44. O'Rahilly, 'Indexes', p. 32.
45. MacGregor, 'View from Fortingall', pp. 54–5.
46. Marc Caball, 'Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite in Early Modern Ireland', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 160.
47. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919), p. x. The poem is 'Meinic do beirear bean ghaoil' ('Often one weds a kinswoman').
48. See Joseph Falaky Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 214.
49. Lambert McKenna, *Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, and the Religious Poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (Dublin, 1922), pp. xv–xvi; McKenna (ed.), *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn*, p. ix.
50. Ryan, 'Slighted Source'.
51. Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith', p. 63.
52. For a fuller summary of this poem see Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith', pp. 74–5.
53. Sìm R. Innes, '*Is Eagal Liom Lá na hAgra*: Devotion to the Virgin in the Later Medieval *Gàidhealtachd*', in Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (eds), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 132–5.
54. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath [Dublin], 1938), pp. 86–90; for a translation of the poem see Lambert McKenna, 'The Signs of the Judgment', *Irish Monthly* 55 (1927). These two verses were edited from manuscript sources other than the *Book of the Dean*. The two verses are not very different in the *Book of the Dean*.
55. Innes, '*Is Eagal Liom Lá na hAgra*', pp. 125–41. For more on this topic see Sìm R. Innes, 'Cràbhachd do Mhoire Òigh air a' Ghàidhealtachd sna meadhan-aoisean anmoch, le aire shònraichte do Leabhar Deadhan Lios Mòir' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2010).
56. MacGregor, 'View from Fortingall', p. 73.
57. See, for instance, Simon Taylor, 'Seventh-century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-Names', in Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (eds), *Spes Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1999); as noted above, Gillies's edition and translation of this poem will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Scottish Gaelic Studies*.
58. There is, however, also a fragment on p. 250 of the manuscript that O'Rahilly, 'Indexes', p. 54, tells us is 'on St Patrick'.

8   Penance and the Privateer

1. Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'Irish Literature in Spanish Flanders', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe: Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800* (Dublin, 2010), p. 353.
2. Salvador Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith: The Religious Poems in the Book of the O'Conor Don', in Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin, 2010).
3. Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'An Introduction to the Book of the O'Conor Don', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*.
4. Ó hUiginn, 'Irish Literature', p. 354. For an outline of his life and career see Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'Captain Somhairle and His Books Revisited', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, pp. 90–100. For the wider story of the MacDonnells on the Continent

see Hector MacDonnell, *The Wild Geese of the Antrim MacDonnells* (Dublin, 1996); MacDonnell, 'Responses of the MacDonnell Clan to Change in Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin, 2003).

5. Benjamin J. Hazard, '"New Troy": The Irish at Oostende in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, pp. 179, 177.

6. Ruairí Ó hUiginn, '*Duanaire Finn*: Patron and Text', in John Carey (ed.), *Duanaire Finn: Reassessments* (Dublin, 2003).

7. Ó hUiginn, 'Irish Literature', pp 355–6; see also Donald Meek, '*Duanaire Finn* and Gaelic Scotland', in Carey (ed.), *Duanaire Finn*.

8. Ó hUiginn, 'Captain Somhairle', p. 89. For further details or to view this manuscript see ISOS.

9. It would be impossible in such a short survey to satisfactorily discuss the *BOCD* corpus of religious poetry as a whole. A cursory examination of the religious material across the collection, in addition to a table charting each of the poems, their principal themes, ascriptions and probable dates can be found in Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith'.

10. For further details and to view the manuscript see ISOS.

11. Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith'. Some thirty poems of Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird are to be found in the *BOCD*.

12. Katharine Simms, in her discussion of the secular poems in the *BOCD* and their arrangement, has found something similar, remarking that 'there is scarcely a poem in the Book whose positioning has not been carefully planned': Katharine Simms, 'The Selection of Poems for Inclusion in the Book of the O'Conor Don', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, p. 42.

13. Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Two Nugent Manuscripts: The Nugent Duanaire and Queen Elizabeth's Primer', *Ríocht na Midhe* 23 (2012), p. 125.

14. Ibid.

15. Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith', pp. 81–7.

16. <http:/bardic.celt.dias.ie> (accessed 10 April 2014).

17. Simms, 'Selection of Poems', pp. 34–5.

18. Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'The Iconography of Exile: Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird in Louvain', in Liam Breatnach, Caoimhín Breatnach and Meidhbhín Ní Urdail (eds), *Léann Lámhscríbhinní Lobháin: The Louvain Manuscript Heritage*, Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies, Publications 1 (Dublin, 2007); Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The Book of the O'Conor Don and the Manuscripts of St Anthony's College, Louvain', in Ó Macháin (ed.), *Book of the O'Conor Don*, p. 120.

19. Mary Ann Lyons, 'St Anthony's College: Louvain and the Irish Franciscan College Network', in Edel Bhreatnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009), p. 34. Ó hUiginn, 'Captain Somhairle', p. 96.

20. Ó hUiginn, 'Captain Somhairle', p. 96.

21. Ó hUiginn, '*Duanaire Finn*: Patron and Text', p. 96.

22. Breatnach, 'The Book of the O'Conor Don and the Manuscripts of St Anthony's College, Louvain', p. 104.

23. Salvador Ryan, 'A Slighted Source: Rehabilitating Irish Bardic Religious Poetry', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004), p. 75.

24. Aodh Mac Aingil, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*, ed. Cainneach Ó Maonaigh (Dublin, 1952), p. 5 (my translation). It should be noted that this was a common trope in catechetical works of this period.

25. Geoffrey Keating, *The history of Ireland from the earliest period to the English invasion. By Geoffrey Keating. Tr. from the original Gaelic and copiously annotated by John O'Mahony* (New York, 1866), p. lv.

26. See especially Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), p. 127, n.17.

27. *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh,* ed. Lambert McKenna (Dublin and London, 1919), poem 52, stanza 11.

28. Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts – from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2008), p. 72.

29. For its Irish manifestation see Salvador Ryan, 'Reign of Blood: Aspects of Devotion to the Five Wounds of Christ in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland', in Joost Augusteijn and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish History: A Research Yearbook* (Dublin, 2002).

30. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána: A Miscellany of Irish Bardic Poetry, Historical and Religious, including the Historical Poems of the Duanaire in the Yellow Book of Lecan*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1940), 2, poem 96.

31. *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*, poem 51, stanza 7. In a much later manuscript, from which this edition is taken, the ascription is to Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh.

32. For a wide-ranging discussion of tears in the Middle Ages see Elina Gertsman (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (London and New York, 2012). Many of the contributions in this volume are relevant to our current concerns.

33. The encouragement of tears as a concomitant of contrition had a long history. The fourth-century bishop, Ambrose of Milan, stated that Christ the physician, when treating us in confession, 'orders therapeutic baths through our outpouring of tears'. Such passages were routinely included in medieval manuals of penance as, for instance, in Walter Cantilupe's *Summula* for the diocese of Exeter, issued in 1240. See John Shinners and William J. Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), pp. 170–85.

34. Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49 (2010), p. 242.

35. Lynch A. Blanchfield, 'Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages', in Gertsman (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages*, p. xxiii. In the *BOCD* poem 'Mairg nach diongnadh dán do Dhia' by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird and most likely composed at the Irish Franciscan house of St Anthony in Louvain, the poet claims Peter as his example in all things and laments those who do not follow him. In the context of a Reformation Europe that was sliding into large-scale war along political and religious lines (the Thirty Years War), might this verse carry additional confessional meanings? Lambert McKenna (ed.), 'The Duty of Praising God', *Irish Monthly* 56 (1928), p. 383.

36. Mac Aingil, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe,* p. 7.

37. The *BOCD* poem 'Beag nach tainig mo thearma' by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn is similar in sentiment and also refers to the example of Mary Magdalene's contrition.

38. For further discussion of other religious poems shared between *BOCD* and the *Book of the Dean* see Sìm Innes's chapter in this volume.

39. Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, ed. Fearghal Mac Raghnaill (Dublin, 1976), p. 84.

40. The scholarly literature on penance in early modern Europe is vast. Some notable works include: John Bossy, 'The History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 25 (1975); T. N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ, 1977); Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York, 1990); W. David Myers, *"Poor sinning folk": Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany* (Ithaca, 1996); Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer (eds), *Penitence in the Age of the Reformations* (Aldershot, 2000); Patrick J. O'Banion, *The Sacrament of Penance and Religious Life in Golden Age Spain* (University Park, PA, 2012).

41. See Salvador Ryan, 'Windows on Late Medieval Devotional Practice', in Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

42. Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534: From Reform to Reformation* (Dublin, 2002), p. 152.

43. Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe, *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, ed. N. J. A. Williams (Dublin, 1980), poem 22, stanzas 18, 20 and 21.

44. Ibid., stanza 28.

45. For the wider context see Anne T. Thayer, 'Judge and Doctor: Images of the Confessor in Printed Model Sermon Collections, 1450–1520', in Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer (eds), *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot, 2000). For examples of Ambrose of Milan's use of this image and its appearance in a medieval manual of penance see Shinners and Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, pp. 170–85. In an Irish context see Wendy Davies, 'The Place of Healing in Early-Irish Society', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989).

46. See especially Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, Word and God in Early Irish Writings* (London, 2000).

47. Damian McManus and Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 26–7.

48. Ibid., p. 186. See also the *BOCD* poem 'Éisd rem fhaoisidin a Íosa'. Outside the *BOCD* collection the dual appearance of the seven deadly sins and eight carnal sins is found in a late sixteenth-century poem by Gofraidh, son of Briain Mac an Bhaird, entitled 'A Dhé Athar t'fhaire rum'. Here these are described as fearsome hounds. McKenna (ed.) *Aithdioghluim Dána*, 1, pp. 195–8. Another example of a late sixteenth-century/early seventeenth-century poem which refers to the eight carnal sins is Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh's 'Éisd rem chulpa a Mhic Mhuire' (stanza 16): *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn*, poem 39.

49. McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *Bardic Miscellany*, p. 187.

50. Antoin Gearnon, *Parrthas an Anma*, ed. Anselm Ó Fachtna (Dublin, 1953), p. 110.

51. Ó hEoghusa, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, p. 94.

52. McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *Bardic Miscellany*, pp. 352–3.

53. Ryan, 'Florilegium of Faith', p. 68.

54. Ibid.

55. McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *Bardic Miscellany*, p. 247.

56. Mac Aingil, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*, p. 21.

57. Ibid., pp. 80–6.

58. Ibid., p. 61.

59. Ibid., p. 61. Such an approach to confession during the late medieval period is well documented: see John Bossy, 'The Social History of Confession in the Age of Reformation', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 25 (1975).

60. Mac Aingil, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*, p. 61.

61. Ibid., p. 80 (my translation).

62. Benjamin J. Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maoilchonaire, c.1560–1629* (Dublin, 2010), p. 12.

63. Ibid. p. 9.

64. Tomás Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an scoil Gaeilge i Lobháin*, 2nd edn (Baile Átha Cliath, 1985), p. 49.

65. Íde Ní Uallacháin, 'An cnuasach exempla Gaeilge i G 867 i Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann' (MA thesis, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1992), p. 30.

66. Geoffrey Keating, *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis: The Three Shafts of Death*, ed. Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1931), p. 303. A version of this story also appears in the fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum* and also in John Mirk's *Festial*: see Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 232, n.2960.

67. Salvador Ryan, 'Popular Religion in Gaelic Ireland, 1445–1645', 2 vols (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2002), 2, p. 252.

68. Robin Flower (ed.), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1926), 2, pp. 27–32.

69. For these and further examples see Salvador Ryan, '"Wily women of God" in Breifne's Late Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Collections', in Brendan Scott (ed.), *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan* (Dublin, 2009).

70. Katharine K. Olson, '"Y Ganrif Fawr?" Piety, Literature and Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wales', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds), *The Church and Literature*, Studies in Church History 48 (Woodbridge, 2012).

71. For this point see Salvador Ryan, '"New wine in old bottles": Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660* (Dublin, 2007).

9   The Battle of Britain

1. Brinley Roberts, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 20 (1976); J. B. Smith, *The Sense of History in Medieval Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1989); Ieuan M. Williams, 'Ysgolheictod Hanesyddol yr Unfed Ganrif ar Bymtheg', *Llên Cymru* 2 (1952–3); A. H. O. Jarman, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: Sieffre o Fynwy* (Cardiff, 1966), esp. pp. 96–111; G. M. Griffiths, 'John Lewis of Llynwene's Defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "*Historia*"', *National Library of Wales Journal* 7 (1951–2).

2. Exceptions include Glanmor Williams, 'Some Protestant Views of the Early British Church', *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967); Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 8, 14–19; Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004).

3. For this see Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997).

4. G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: The Social Scene* (Cardiff, 1964), p. 221; J. M. Cleary, 'Dr Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects', *Recusant History* 8 (1965), p. 305.

5. Peter Roberts, 'The Union with England and the Identity of "Anglican" Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 22 (1972).

6. Richard Davies, *A Funerall Sermon … at the Buriall of … Walter Earle of Essex* (London, 1577), sigs Dii–Diii.

7. David Matthew (ed.), 'Some Elizabethan Documents', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 6 (1953).

8. Matthew (ed.), 'Some Elizabethan Documents', 77; Glanmor Williams (ed.), *Glamorgan County History,* 4: *Early Modern Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 218–19.

9. Welsh scholars argued well into the eighteenth century that the Welsh language was closely affiliated with Hebrew, and that it had 'received no alteration at Babel': Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 69.

10. Benedict Scott Robinson, '"Darke Speech": Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998); Kidd, *British Identities*, pp. 99–122; Felicity Heal, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', and John Spurr, '"A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops": The Church, History and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism', both in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.2 (2005); Felicity Heal, 'What Can King Lucius Do for You? The Reformation and the Early British Church', *English Historical Review* 120 (2005); Alan MacColl, 'The Construction of England as a Protestant "British" Nation in the Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly* 18 (2004); David Weil Baker, 'The Historical Faith of William Tyndale: Non-Salvic Reading of Scripture at the Outset of the English Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 (2009).

11. Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Subversion of Robert Parsons* (London, 1606), sig. A2.

12. R. Brinley Jones, 'Salesbury, William (*b*. before 1520, *d*. *c*.1580)', *Oxford DNB*.

13. Important discussions of Salesbury include Glanmor Williams, 'The Achievement of William Salesbury', *Welsh Reformation Essays*, and R. Brinley Jones, *William Salesbury* (Cardiff, 1994).

14. William Salesbury, *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembro Ygyd* (London, 1547), translation in J. G. Jones (ed.), *Wales and the Tudor State* (Cardiff, 1989).

15. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 283.

16. Jones, *William Salesbury*, p. 21.

17. On this see Glanmor Williams, 'Prophecy, Poetry and Politics in Medieval and Tudor Wales', *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979); Rees R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 158–73.

18. Cf. William Salesbury, *A Briefe and Playne Introduction, Teachyng How to Pronounce the Letters of the British Tong* (London, 1550), sig. E.iii r–v.

19. Huw Pryce, 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *English Historical Review* 116 (2001). See also Humphrey Lhuyd's comment that 'the Welshmen themselves doo not understand what these words "Wales" and "Welsh" doo signifie, nor know anie other name of their countrie of themselves but *Cambry*, nor of their language but *Cambraec*': [David Powel], *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (London, 1584). p. 4.

20. J. G. Jones (ed.), *Wales and the Tudor State* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 238, 239.

21. BL, Harleian MS 420, fo. 90. Ferrar was appealing to a local tradition as well as the broader British History here. Geoffrey of Monmouth placed Merlin's birth near the town, and its Welsh form, *Caerfyrddin* was interpreted as 'Merlin's Castle': A. H. O. Jarman, 'The Legend of Merlin and Its Associations with Carmarthen', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 22 (1986).

22. HMC, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most hon. the marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols (London, 1883–1976), 10, p. 369.

23. John Foxe, *Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* (London, 1571), sig. ¶iir.

24. Matthew Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Priuilegiis Ecclesiae Cantuariensis* (London, 1572); Robinson, '"Darke Speech"'.

25. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 114A, p. 493.

26. [Richard Davies and William Salesbury,] *Testament Newydd ein Arglwydd Iesv Christ* (London, 1567), sig. aiii, translation in Albert Owen Evans, *A Memorandum on the Legality of the Welsh Bible* (Cardiff, 1925), p. 84.

27. Roberts, 'Identity of "Anglican" Wales', p. 67 and nn.52–3.

28. Evans, *Memorandum*, p. 86.

29. Richard Koebner, '"The Imperial Crown of this Realm": Henry VIII, Constantine the Great and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 26 (1953); Antonia Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 121–2.

30. Evans, *Memorandum*, p. 88.

31. Ibid., pp. 90–3.

32. Ibid., pp. 98, 103.

33. Garfield H. Hughes (ed.), *Ragymadroddion, 1547–1659* (Cardiff, 1951), p. 92.

34. [Charles Edwards], *Dad Seiniad Meibion y Daran Sef Ail-Printiad o Lyfr Escob Juel a Elwir Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr: ac o Epistol yr Escob Dafies at y Cembru* (Oxford, 1671); Eluned Rees, *Libri Walliae*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 1987), 1, p. 196.

35. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, pp. 216ff.

36. Evans, *Memorandum*, pp. 128–36.

37. John Jewel, *The Works of John Jewel*, ed. J. Ayre, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1845–50), 4, p. 777.

38. Maurice Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine* (London, 1587), sig. B1v.

39. Kyffin, *Blessednes of Brytaine*, sig. B4.

40. L. J. Hopkins and T. C. Evans (eds), *Hen Gwndidau, Carolau a Chywyddau* (Bangor, 1910), pp. 187–8.

41. R. G. Gruffydd, *'Y Beibl a Droes i'w Bobl Draw'* (London, 1988), p. 51.

42. William Warner, *A Continuance of Albion's England* (London, 1606), pp. 382–7.

43. TNA, SP12/75/55, 58.

44. Anthony Martin, 'The End of History: Thomas Norton's "V Periodes" and the Pattern of English Protestant Historiography', in Christopher Highley and John N. King (eds), *John Foxe and His World* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2002), p. 38.

45. Benedict Scott Robinson, 'John Foxe and the Anglo-Saxons', in Highley and King (eds), *John Foxe and His World*, pp. 54–72, 77; Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, pp. 39–40; Kidd, *British Identities*, *passim*.

46. Isaac Basire, *The Ancient Liberty of the Brittanick Church* (London, 1661), p. 25; Kidd, *British Identities*, pp. 120–1.

47. Martin, 'End of History', p. 48.

48. Arthur Kelton, *A Chronicle with a Genealogie Declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are Lineallye Dyscended from Brute* (London, 1547), sig. biiii; Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, pp. 34–6.

49. Kidd, *British Identities*, pp. 103, 120–1.

50. Cleary, 'Dr Morys Clynnog's Invasion Projects', p. 309.

51. Quoted in Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 253.

52. William Cardinal Allen, *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, ed. T. F. Knox (London, 1882), p. 82.

53. Paul Bryant-Quinn, '"To Preserve Our Language": Gruffydd Roberts and Morys Clynnog', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 8 (2000), p. 22.

54. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 270.

55. Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating* (Dublin, 2000), ch. 6; Cunningham, 'Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of the Past: The Case of Geoffrey Keating', *Irish Historical Studies* 25 (1986).

56. Geraint Bowen, *Welsh Recusant Writings* (Cardiff, 1999), p. 36.

57. Geraint Bowen (ed.), *Y Drych Kristnogawl: Llawysgrif Caerdydd 3.240* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 1–12.

58. TNA, SP15/8/127, discussed and translated in Peter Roberts, 'Wales and the British Inheritance', in Bradshaw and Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity*, pp. 34–5; Owen, *Elizabethan Wales*, p. 218; R. G. Gruffydd, 'Awdl Wrthryfelgar gan Edward Dafydd', *Llên Cymru* 5 (1959), and 8 (1964); T. W. Hancock, 'A Strange Welsh Manuscript', *Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, second series, 6 (1899–1900).

59. This paragraph draws heavily on Jason A. Nice, 'Being "British" in Rome: The Welsh at the English College', *Catholic Historical Review* 92 (2006), and Geraint Bowen, 'Apêl at y Pab Ynghylch Dilysrwydd Historia Regnum, Sieffre o Fynwy', *National Library of Wales Journal* 15 (1967–8).

60. Robert Parsons, *The Memoirs of Father Robert Parsons*, ed. J. H. Pollen (London, 1906), p. 86.

61. For more on Penry, see Glanmor Williams, 'John Penry: Marprelate and Patriot?', *Welsh History Review* 3 (1966–7); D. J. McGinn, *John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy* (London, 1966); John Gwynfor Jones, 'John Penry: Government, Order and the "Perishing Souls" of Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1993); Claire Cross, 'Penry, John (1562/3–1593)', *Oxford DNB*.

62. John Penry, *A Treatise Containing the Aequity of an Humble Supplication … in the Behalfe of the Countrey of Wales* (Oxford, 1587), pp. 41–2.

63. William Erbery, *Apocrypha* (London, 1652), p. 2, bound with *The Bishop of London* (London, 1653). Bishop Ferrar had also described the Welsh as more gentle than the English in his Carmarthen sermon of 1550, connecting their lengthy pedigree with innate qualities of gentlemanliness.

64. Erbery, *Apocrypha*, pp. 4–8.

65. Katherine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford, 1979); Richard Bauckman, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Appleford, 1978); Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Vision from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto, 1978).

66. Morgan Llwyd, 'The Book of the Three Birds', trans. L. J. Parry, in *Cofnodion a Chyfansoddiadau Buddugol Eisteddfod Llandudno, 1896* (Liverpool, 1898), p. 213; E. Lewis Evans, *Morgan Llwyd: Ymchwil i Rai o'r Prif Ddylanwaday a Fu Arno* (Liverpool, 1931), pp. 13–16.

67. Llwyd, 'Book of the Three Birds', p. 213.

68. Spurr, 'A Special Kindness for Dead Bishops', p. 324, n.53. For developments in religious historiography in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Justin Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (Cambridge, 1992); Kidd, *British Identities*, pp. 99–122.

69. Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730* (Cardiff, 1978), p. 219.

70. Quoted in Paul O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales, 1840–80', in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and Social Domains in the Nineteenth Century, 1801–1911* (Cardiff, 2000), p. 546.

10   Catholic Intellectual Culture in Early Modern Ireland

1. Jocelinus, *The Life of the Glorious Bishop S. Patricke, 1625*, ed. BB [Robert Rochford], English Recusant literature 210 (London, 1974), 'Epistle dedicatory', p. iii (recté iv).

2. Jocelinus, *Life of the Glorious Bishop S Patricke*, pp. xv–xvi.

3. Jocelinus, *Life of the Glorious Bishop S. Patricke*, 'Advertisements to the reader', p. xviii.

4. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson B 514; University College Dublin, UCD-OFM, MS A 8. Edited and translated from Rawlinson B 514 in *Betha Colaim Chille: Life of Columcille*, ed. Andrew O'Kelleher and Gertrude Schoepperle (Urbana, 1918).

5. Brian Lacey, 'Introduction', in Manus O'Donnell, *The Life of Colum Cille*, ed. Brian Lacey (Dublin, 1998), p. 14.

6. *The Book of Fenagh in Irish and English, originally compiled by St Caillín*, ed. W. M. Hennessy and D. H. Kelly (Dublin, 1875).

7. Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Culture and Ideology of Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain, 1607–1650', in Ciarán Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the Historian*, Historical Studies 17 (Dublin, 1991), pp. 11–30, 222–7; Mícheál Mac Craith, '"Beathaíonn na Bráithre na Briathra": The Louvain Achievement', *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 21.2–22.1 (2007–8).

8. Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar: na Protastúin agus Prós na Gaeilge, 1567–1724* (Dublin, 1986).

9. Brendan Jennings, *Michael O Cleirigh, Chief of the Four Masters and His Associates* (Dublin, 1936).

10. *Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols (London, 1871; repr. Dublin, 1939), 2, p. 189; *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols (Dublin, 1851; repr. New York, 1966), 4, pp. 1194–5.

11. R. J. Hunter, 'The End of O'Donnell Power', in William Nolan, Liam Ronayne and Mairead Dunlevy (eds), *Donegal: History and Society* (Dublin, 1995); Darren McGettigan, *Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Nine Years War* (Dublin, 2005); David Finnegan, Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Marie Claire Peters (eds), *Flight of the Earls*: *Imeacht na nIarlaí* (Derry, 2010).

12. On the inevitability of the decline of the professional class in the face of significant political and legal change from the late sixteenth century, see Marc Caball, 'Irish Gaelic Responses to Early Modern Conquest and Colonization', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin, 1999), esp. pp. 70–82.

13. On the more gradual nature of political change and its impact on patronage in north Munster, see Bernadette Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540-1640, Provincial Politics and Society Transformed* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 36-7.

14. [Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh] *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill: The Life of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill*, ed. Paul Walsh (2 vols, London, 1948–57). On date of composition, see Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The *Beatha* in the Context of the Literature of the Renaissance' in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell. Historical and Literary Contexts* (London, 2002), pp. 45–6.

15. Darren McGettigan, 'Ó Cléirigh (O'Clery), Lughaidh', in *DIB*.
16. Hiram Morgan, 'The Real Red Hugh', in Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, p. 35.
17. [Ó Cléirigh], *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, 1, p. 233, cited by Mac Craith, '*Beatha* in the Context of the Literature of the Renaissance', pp. 51–2.
18. Mac Craith, '*Beatha* in the Context of the Literature of the Renaissance', p. 53.
19. [Ó Cléirigh], *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, 1, p. 123.
20. Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards (Iomarbhágh na bhfileadh) and Its Place in Irish Political and Literary History* (London, 1994).
21. Marc Caball, 'The Literature of Late Medieval Ireland, 1200–1600: From the Normans to the Tudors, Part 1: Poetry', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (eds), *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature,* 1: *To 1890* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. pp. 81–5; Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The Chief's Poet', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 83 C (1983).
22. Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, 'Ó hEódhasa, Giolla Brighde (Bonaventura, Bonaventure O'Hussey (O'Hosey)', in *DIB*.
23. Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, ed. Fearghal Mac Raghnaill (Dublin, 1976); Thomas Wall, 'The Catechism in Irish: Bonaventure O'Hussey, OFM', *Irish Eccesiastical Record*, fifth series, 59 (1942); Salvador Ryan, 'A Wooden Key to Open Heaven's Door: Lessons in Practical Catholicism from St Anthony's College, Louvain', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009).
24. Dermot McGuinne, *Irish Type Design* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 23–6.
25. The verse sections of Ó hEoghusa's catechism are reprinted, with translations, in Cuthbert Mhág Craith (ed.), *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1967–80).
26. Salvador Ryan, 'Bonaventura Ó hEoghusa's *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe* (1611/1614): A Reassessment of Its Audience and Use', *Archivium Hibernicum* 58 (2004).
27. *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, ed. Mac Raghnaill, p. 95, cited and translated from the Latin in Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish, c.1550–1690: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Battle of the Boyne', in Kelleher and O'Leary (eds), *Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, 1: *To 1890*, p. 198; see also Brendan Jennings (ed.), *Louvain Papers, 1606–1827* (Dublin, 1968), pp. 40–1, for correspondence of the Archbishop of Malines and the Archdukes on the matter.
28. *Tiomna Nuadh ar dTighearna agus ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd*, trans. Uilliam Ó Domhnuill [William Daniel] (Dublin, 1602); *Leabhar na nUrnaightheadh gComhchoidchiond agus Mheinisdraldachda na Sacrameinteadh* (Dublin, 1608); Seaán Ó Cearnaigh, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma*, ed. Brian Ó Cuív (Dublin, 1994).
29. Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), 'Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire's Catechism of Christian Doctrine', *Celtica* 1.2 (1950).
30. Ó hEoghusa, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, p. 18.
31. Cathaldus Giblin, 'The Contribution of Irish Franciscans on the Continent in the Seventeenth Century', in Michael Maher (ed.), *Irish Spirituality* (Dublin, 1981); Cunningham, 'Culture and Ideology of Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain', pp. 11–30.
32. Mícheál Mac Craith, '"Collegium S. Antonii Lovanii, quod Collegium est unicum remedium ad conservandam Provinciam" (Donnchadh Ó Maonaigh, 1617–18)', in Bhreathnach et al. (eds), *Irish Franciscans*; Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534* (Dublin, 2002), p. 144.
33. Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish', pp. 197–8, 219.
34. Mhág Craith (ed.), *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr*, 1, pp. 151–3; Marc Caball, 'Faith, Culture and Sovereignty: Irish Nationality and Its Development, 1556–1625', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and History: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998).
35. Cited by Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The Gaelic Reaction to the Reformation', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London, 1995); John O'Donovan (ed.), 'The Irish Correspondence of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 5 (1858–9).

36. John J. Silke, 'Primate Lombard and James I', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 22 (1955), p. 128; Cunningham, 'Culture and Ideology of Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain'; Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 105–16.

37. John J. Silke, 'The Irish Peter Lombard', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 64 (1975); Thomas O'Connor, 'An Argument for European Intervention in Early Modern Ireland: Peter Lombard's Commentarius', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish Migration to Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin, 2003); Clare Carroll, 'Irish and Spanish Cultural and Political Relations in the Work of O'Sullivan Beare', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland 1541–1641* (Dublin, 1999).

38. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British* (Oxford, 2001), p. 422; Hiram Morgan, 'O'Sullivan Beare, Philip', in *DIB*; Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Lombard, Peter', in *DIB*.

39. Aodh Mac Aingil, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*, ed. Cainneach Ó Maonaigh (Dublin, 1952) (original edition published Louvain, 1618).

40. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The Political and Religious Thought of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).

41. Geoffrey Keating, *Eochair-sgiath an Aifrinn … an Explanatory Defence of the Mass*, ed. Patrick O'Brien (Dublin, 1898), pp. 16–19; Bernadette Cunningham, 'Geoffrey Keating's *Eochair sgiath an Aifrinn* and the Catholic Reformation in Ireland', in W. J. Shiels and Diana Wood (eds), *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, Studies in Church History 25 (Oxford, 1989).

42. Cunningham, *World of Geoffrey Keating*, pp. 35–6.

43. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Conry, Florence', in *DIB*; Mac Craith, 'Political and Religious Thought of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell'; Benjamin Hazard, *Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c.1560–1629* (Dublin, 2009). For perceptions of the phenomenon of persecution in Irish Catholic writing, see Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Persecution in Seventeenth-century Irish', *Éigse* 22 (1987).

44. John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiae seu Hiberniae Sanctorum Insulae* (Louvain, 1645, reprint with introduction by Brendan Jennings, Dublin, 1948); John Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae, seu divorum Patricii, Columbae, et Brigidae … acta* (Louvain, 1647, reprint with an introduction by Pádraig Ó Riain, Dublin, 1997); Canice Mooney, 'Father John Colgan, OFM, His Work and Times and Literary Milieu', in Terence O'Donnell (ed.), *Father John Colgan, OFM, 1592–1658* (Dublin, 1959); Ludwig Bieler, 'John Colgan as Editor', *Franciscan Studies* 8.1 (1948); Ludwig Bieler, '*Trias Thaumaturga*, 1647', in O'Donnell (ed.), *Father John Colgan, OFM*.

45. Thomas Dempster, *Scotorum Scriptorium Nomenclatura* (Bologna, 1619), later issued in a revised edition under a different title as *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scottorum* (Bologna, 1627); for the historiographical context, see Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 29–33.

46. Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985); Paul Walsh (ed.), *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae, by the Four Masters, Edited from the Manuscript of Michél Ó Cléirigh* (Dublin, 1916); Samantha Meigs, *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400–1690* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 28–40.

47. Meigs, *Reformations in Ireland*, pp. 121–2.

48. Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 66–73; Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Louvain Achievement, II : Hagiography', in Bhreathnach et al. (eds), *Irish Franciscans*.

49. Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 126–8.

50. Ó hEoghusa, *Teagusc Críosdaidhe*, p. 18.

51. William Thirry, *Discursus Panegyrici de Nominibus, Tribulationibus et Miraculis S Patritii Ibernorum Apostoli …* (Douai, 1617); Marc Caball, 'Providence and Exile in Early

Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* 29 (1994–5), pp. 174–88; Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'The "most adaptable of saints": The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 49 (1995), pp. 82–104; Peter Lombard, *De Regno Hiberniae Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius* (Louvain, 1632), ed. P. F. Moran (Dublin, 1868), p. 71.

52. Jocelinus, *The life of the glorious bishop S. Patricke*, epistle dedicatory, p. xii.

53. Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p. 71.

54. James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves (eds), *The Martyrology of Donegal: A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), p. 29.

55. Todd (ed.), *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 29; for this life of Colum Cille, see *Betha Colaim Chille*, ed. Kelleher and Schoepperle.

56. For discussion of the context, see Raymond Gillespie, 'Devotional Landscapes: God, Saints and the Natural World in Early Modern Ireland', in P. Clarke and T. Claydon (eds), *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World,* Studies in Church History 46 (Woodbridge, 2010).

57. Bernadette Cunningham, 'Politics and Power in Sixteenth-Century Connacht', *Irish Arts Review* (winter 2004).

58. *Annals of Loch Cé*; for discussion of Brian Mac Diarmada's chronicle, see Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, *Stories from Gaelic Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 155–78.

59. RIA, MS C iii 1; *Annála Connacht*, ed. A. Martin Freeman (Dublin, 1944; repr. Dublin, 1970), s.a. 1482.

60. Cunningham, *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 215–43.

61. Brendan Jennings (ed.), 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus de provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934); Brendan Jennings (ed.), 'Brevis synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum', *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934), edited from a manuscript in St Isidore's College, Rome. The author's name is variously translated as O'Mahony and Matthews; Joseph Moloney (ed.), 'Brussels MS 3410: A Chronological List of the Foundations of the Irish Franciscan Province', *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934).

62. Cunningham, *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 218–29.

63. Edel Bhreathnach, 'The Seanchas Tradition in Late Medieval Ireland', in E. Bhreathnach and B. Cunningham (eds), *Writing Irish History: The Four Masters and Their World* (Dublin, 2007); Bernadette Cunningham, 'Writing the Annals of the Four Masters', in Bhreathnach and Cunningham (eds), *Writing Irish History*.

64. Geoffrey Keating, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland*, ed. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, 4 vols (London, 1902–14), 1, p. 5.

65. Geoffrey Keating, *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis: The Three Shafts of Death*, ed. Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1931); Tadhg Ó Dúshláine, *An Eoraip agus litríocht na Gaeilge, 1600–1650* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1987), pp. 50–60; Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Sources of *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis*: Another French Sermon', *Éigse* 31 (1999).

66. Cunningham, *World of Geoffrey Keating*, pp. 47–58.

67. *Magnum speculum exemplorum* (Douai, 1603); Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, 'Scéalta ón Magnum Speculum Exemplorum', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, fifth series, 99.3 (1963); Bernadette Cunningham, '"Zeal for God and for souls": Counter-Reformation Preaching in Early Seventeenth-century Ireland', in Alan Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Irish Preaching (700–1700)* (Dublin, 2001).

68. Cunningham, '"Zeal for God and for Souls"', pp. 123–4; Mac Aingil, *Scáthan Shacramuinte na haithridhe*, pp. 94–104.

69. Ó Dúshlaine, *An Éoraip agus Litríocht na Gaeilge*, pp. 85–96.

70. Keating, *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis*, lines 5046–76.

71. For an eyewitness account, see C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (eds), *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1611–1614* (London, 1877), pp. 429–31.

72. Salvador Ryan, '"New wine in old bottles": Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance,* c. *1540–1660* (Dublin, 2007).

73. Ó hEoghusa, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, p. 32, cited in translation in Ryan, '"New wine in old bottles"', p. 126.

11 Calvinistic Methodism and the Reformed Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Wales

1. Bobi Jones, *Llên Cymru a Chrefydd: Diben a Llenor* (Swansea, 1977), p. 176.
2. John Emyr, *Bobi Jones* (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 102–6.
3. Neil Evans, '"When men and mountains meet": Historians' Explanations of the History of Wales', *Welsh History Review* 22.2 (Dec. 2004).
4. Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 401–2.
5. See W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992); Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge, 2006).
6. Susan O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755', *American Historical Review* 91 (1986).
7. Richard A. Muller, 'Reflections on Persistent Whiggism and Its Antidotes in the Study of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Intellectual History', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey and Brad S. Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, IN, 2009), p. 148.
8. This was a point recognized by Pennar Davies in reference to the Welsh Puritan tradition. See Pennar Davies, 'Episodes in the History of Brecknockshire Dissent', *Brycheiniog* 3 (1957), p. 23.
9. For introductions to English and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, see David Ceri Jones, Boyd Stanley Schlenther and Eryn M. White, *The Elect Methodists: Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735–1811* (Cardiff, 2012). For the specific Welsh context, see Derec Llwyd Morgan, *The Great Awakening in Wales* (Peterborough, 1988); David Ceri Jones, *'A Glorious Work in the World': Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735–50* (Cardiff, 2004).
10. Glanmor Williams, *Reformation Views of Church History* (London, 1970), pp. 63–4.
11. T. Beze and A. Faius, *Propositions and Principles of Divinitie*, trans. John Penry (London, 1591); John Penry, *Three Treatises concerning Wales*, ed. David Williams (Cardiff, 1960), p. x.
12. J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Bayly, Lewys (c.1575–1631)', in *Oxford DNB*.
13. R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff, 2004), p. 19.
14. J. Gwynfor Jones, *Aspects of Religious Life in Wales, c.1536–1660: Leadership, Opinion and the Local Community* (Aberystwyth, 2003), p. 6.
15. Christopher Hill, 'Puritans and the "dark corners of the Land"', *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1974).
16. Richard Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (New York, 2003), pp. 12–13.
17. R. Tudur Jones, *Vavasor Powell* (Swansea, 1971), pp. 53, 83, 94.
18. D. Densil Morgan, 'Calvinism in Wales: c. 1590–1909', *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 4 (2009), pp. 26–7.
19. For the development of the Reformed tradition, see Muller, *After Calvin*.
20. See e.g. Ernestine van der Wall, 'The Dutch Enlightenment and the Distant Calvin', in Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (eds), *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 203–4.
21. Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640* (Oxford, 1982).
22. Muller, *After Calvin*, p. 6.
23. Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford, 2008); Dewey D. Wallace Jr, *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence and Transformation* (New York, 2011).

24. David P. Field, *Rigide Calvinisme in a Softer Dresse: The Moderate Presbyterianism of John Howe, 1630–1705* (Edinburgh, 2004).
25. Alan C. Clifford, *Atonement and Justification: English Evangelical Theology 1640–1790: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1990); Jonathan D. Moore, *English Hypothetical Universalism: John Preston and the Softening of Reformed Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2007).
26. Alan Sell, *The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism and Salvation* (Worthing, 1982), pp. 30–58.
27. Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730* (Cardiff, 1978).
28. James Davies, *Catechism o'r Scrythur Yn Nhrefn Gŵyr y Gymmanfa* (London, 1717).
29. Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, pp. 104–5.
30. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire*, 2: *From the Act of Union (1536) to 1900* (Cardiff, 1939), pp. 165–70.
31. Eifion Evans, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 38.
32. T. M. Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists* (Swansea, 1977), pp. 69–71; Roger Hayden, *Continuity and Change: Evangelical Calvinism among Eighteenth-Century Baptist Ministers Trained at Bristol Academy, 1690–1791* (Milton under Wychwood, 2006), pp. 40–1.
33. Jones's theology has not been explored in any depth. For some inklings into his stance on some issues, see Eifion Evans, 'Spirituality before the Great Awakening: The Personal Devotion of Griffith Jones, Llanddowror', *Fire in the Thatch: The True Nature of Religious Revival* (Bryntirion, 1996).
34. Eifion Evans, 'Pietism and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism', *Cylchgrawn Hanes: Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales* 25 (2001), pp. 9, 11.
35. See F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, 1971), p. 17.
36. W. R. Ward, 'Was There a Methodist Evangelistic Strategy?', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation, 1500–1800* (London, 1998).
37. Sell, *Great Debate*, p. 59.
38. Mathijis Lamberigts, 'Predestination', in Allen D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), p. 678; Peter J. Thuesen, *Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine* (New York, 2009), pp. 20–2.
39. James E. Bradley, 'The Changing Shape of Religious Ideas in Enlightened England', in Chapman, Coffey and Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way*, p. 180. For a fuller exploration of the impact of the Enlightenment on early evangelicalism, see David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the Present Day* (London, 1989), pp. 63–5; Bebbington, 'Revival and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England', in Edith Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (eds), *Modern Christian Revivals* (Chicago, IL, 1993).
40. See Geraint Tudur, *Howell Harris: From Conversion to Separation, 1735–1750* (Cardiff, 2000), p. 38.
41. John H. Tyson, 'John Wesley's Conversion at Aldersgate', in Kenneth J. Collins and John H. Tyson (eds), *Conversion in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville, TN, 2001); Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the 18th Century Revival*, 2 vols (London, 1970–80), 1, pp. 72–7.
42. Robert Nelson, *Cydymaith i Ddyddiau Gwylion ac Ymprydiau Eglwys Loegr*, trans. Thomas Williams (London, 1712); John Tillotson, *Annogaeth i Gymmuno yn Fynych, yn y Sacrament Sanctaidd o Swpper yr Arglwydd*, trans. George Lewis (London, 1704). Eifion Evans, 'Howel Harris and the Printed Page', *Cylchgrawn Hanes* 23 (1999), pp. 36–7.
43. Tom Beynon, 'Howell Harris' Visits to Kidwelly and District', *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes Eglwys Methodistiaid Calfinaidd Cymru* 24.1 (Mar. 1939), p. 53.
44. NLW, Calvinist Methodist Archive (CMA), Howel Harris Diary 22, 1 March 1737.
45. Quoted in Tudur, *Howell Harris*, p. 39.
46. Evans, *Daniel Rowland*, p. 61.
47. Thomas Shepard, *Y Cywyr Ddychwelwr*, ed. William Greenhill (Carmarthen, 1727).
48. See Eifion Evans, *Howell Harris: Evangelist, 1714–1773* (Cardiff, 1974), p. 16.

49. For the early evangelical reaction against preparationism, see David Laurence, 'Jonathan Edwards, Solomon Stoddard, and the Preparationist Model of Conversion', *Harvard Theological Review* 72.3–4 (July–Oct. 1979).

50. Tom Beynon, *Howell Harris' Visits to Pembrokeshire (1739–1752)* (Aberystwyth, 1966), p. 20.

51. Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 438–9.

52. For the Puritan authors read by evangelicals in mid-eighteenth century see Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, '"The Spirit of the Old Writers": The Great Awakening and the Persistence of Puritan Piety', in Francis J. Bremer (ed.), *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993); Susan O'Brien, 'Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism', in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond* (New York, 1994).

53. Thomas William to Howel Harris, 10 August 1749 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 1877); Howel Harris to Mr M. P., 21 November 1738 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 129); Henry Davies to Howel Harris, 11 October 1744 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 1243); Edmund Jones to Howel Harris, 7 August 1741 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 362); Richard Lloyd to Howel Harris, 16 May 1747 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 1653).

54. Beynon, *Howell Harris's Visits to Pembrokeshire*, p. 326.

55. Ibid., p. 329.

56. Coles's book was not, therefore, a work of high or strict Calvinism as has been often claimed: Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 187.

57. Unfortunately, his pleas went largely unheard until 1760: *Traethawd defnyddiol am benarglwyddiaeth Duw a'i gyfiawnder: o waith Eliseus Cole yn Saesneg: wedi ei gyfiaethu i'r Cymr'aeg er lles i'r Cymru* (Bristol, 1760).

58. Evans, 'Howell Harris and the Printed Page' pp. 38–9; Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, p. 39.

59. Quoted in Evans, 'Howel Harris and the Printed Page', pp. 39–40.

60. Thuesen, *Predestination*, pp. 55–7.

61. Hayden, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 96–7.

62. Bassett, *Welsh Baptists*, pp. 67–8.

63. See Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, 1, chs 5 and 6.

64. This is the approach taken in Jones, Schlenther and White, *Elect Methodists*.

65. See, for example, Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1991), p. 95.

66. George Whitefield, *A Short Account of God's dealings with George Whitefield from his Infancy to the Time of his entering into Holy Orders* (London, 1740), p. 56.

67. Even his most popular, and oft-repeated sermon on the new birth, betrays his commitment to stressing the initiative taken by God in the process of regeneration. See George Whitefield, *The Nature and Necessity of our New Birth in Christ Jesus, in Order to Salvation* (London, 1737).

68. George Whitefield to Revered Dr C__, in Boston, 24 September 1742, *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield*, ed. John Gillies, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1771–2), 1, p. 442.

69. Michael A. G. Haykin, *The Revived Puritan: The Spirituality of George Whitefield* (Dundas, Ontario, 2000), pp. 71–5; for the theologies and influence of some of these authors, see Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism*, chs 4 and 5.

70. Boyd Stanley Schlenther, 'Whitefield, George (1714–1770)', in *Oxford DNB*.

71. George Whitefield to Howel Harris, 20 December 1738, in *A Brief Account of the Life of Howell Harris* (Trevecka, 1791), pp. 110–11; Howel Harris to George Whitefield, 8 January 1739 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 136).

72. Quoted in Evans, 'Howel Harris and the Printed Page', p. 41.

73. George Whitefield to Howel Harris, 10 November 1739, *Works*, 1, p. 87.

74. Ibid.
75. George Whitefield to John Wesley, 25 June 1739, in John Wesley, *Works of John Wesley, vol. 25: Letters I, 1721–1739*, ed. Frank Baker (Oxford, 1980), p. 662.
76. George Whitefield to John Wesley, 25 August 1740, *Works of George Whitefield*, 1, p. 205.
77. John Wesley, *Free Grace. A Sermon Preach'd at Bristol* (Bristol, 1739).
78. George Whitefield to Howel Harris, 5 April 1741 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 3332).
79. Herbert Boyd McGonigle, *Sufficient Saving Grace: John Wesley's Evangelical Arminianism* (Carlisle, 2001), pp. 81–4.
80. John Wesley, *Works of John Wesley, 3: Sermons III, 71–117*, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville, TN, 1986), p. 547.
81. Howel Harris to John Wesley, 6 July 1740 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 260).
82. John Wesley to Howel Harris, 29 Jul 1740, *Works of John Wesley, 26: Letters II, 1740–1755*, ed. Frank Baker (Oxford, 1982), p. 22.
83. George Whitefield, *A Letter to the Rev Mr John Wesley in answer to his sermon entitled 'Free Grace'* (London, 1741), p. 7.
84. Ibid., pp. 6, 24.
85. For Edwards's influence in the early eighteenth century see Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism*, ch. 6.
86. Whitefield, *Letter to the Rev Mr John Wesley in answer to his sermon entitled 'Free Grace'*, p. 10.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. These five points are dealt with in ibid., pp. 10ff.
90. Jones, *'Glorious Work in the World'*, pp. 214–17.
91. Quoted in Tom Beynon (ed.), 'Extracts from the Diaries of Howell Harris', *Bathafarn: The Journal of the Historical Society of the Methodist Church in Wales* 4 (1949), p. 54.
92. Harris's contrasting role within English Methodism is explored more fully in David Ceri Jones, '"The Lord did give me a particular honour to make [me] a peacemaker": Howel Harris, John Wesley and Methodist Infighting, 1739–50', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 85.2–3 (summer and autumn, 2003).
93. NLW, CMA, Howel Harris' Diary, 77 (30 August 1741).
94. See, for example, Howel Harris to George Whitefield, 1 October 1741 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 388); Howel Harris to George Whitefield, 11 September 1742 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 638).
95. Beynon (ed.), 'Extracts from the Diaries of Howell Harris', *Bathafarn* 6 (1951), pp. 54–7.
96. McGonigle, *Sufficient Saving Grace*, pp. 153–69.
97. Susan Durden, 'A Study of the First Evangelical Magazines, 1740–1748', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27.3 (July 1976).
98. See e.g. John Lewis (ed.), *The Weekly History* (Saturday 10 April 1742), p. 4.
99. Ralph Erskine, *Traethawd am Farw I'r Ddeddf a Byw I Dduw* (Briste, 1743); Ebenezer Erskine and Ralph Erskine, *Crist ym Mreichiau'r Credadyn* (Caerfyrddin, 1744).
100. Elizabeth Paul to Howel Harris, 11 March 1745 (NLW, CMA, Trevecka Letter 1427).
101. J. C. Whitebrook, 'Wesley and William Cudworth', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 12 (1919).
102. Howel Harris to James Erskine, 19 February 1745 (NLW CMA Trevecka Letter 1295).
103. Thomas Meyler to Howel Harris, 13 March 1745 (NLW CMA Trevecka Letter 1301).
104. Howel Harris to James Erskine, 19 February 1745 (NLW CMA Trevecka Letter 1295).
105. Quoted in Prys Morgan, 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period', in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Trevor O. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 93.
106. Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642–1780* (Oxford, 1987), p. 355.
107. For this growth, see Jones, Schlenther and White, *Elect Methodists*, chs 6 and 9.
108. Morgan, *Great Awakening in Wales*; David Ceri Jones, '"A Glorious Morn?": Methodism and the Rise of Evangelicalism in Wales, 1735–62', in Mark Smith (ed.), *British*

Evangelical Identities, Past and Present, Volume 1: Aspects of the History and Sociology of Evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland (Milton Keynes, 2008).

109. Glanmor Williams, William Jacob, Nigel Yates and Francis Knight, *The Welsh Church: From Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603–1920* (Cardiff, 2007), ch. 8.

110. Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales*, chs 8 and 9; D. Densil Morgan, '"Smoke, Fire and Light": Baptists and the Revitalisation of Welsh Dissent', *Baptist Quarterly* 32 (1988); D. Densil Morgan, 'Christmas Evans (1766–1838) and the Birth of Nonconformist Wales', *Wales and the Word: Historical Perspectives on Welsh Identity and Religion* (Cardiff, 2008).

111. Morgan, 'Calvinism in Wales', pp. 28–9.

112. David Ceri Jones, '"Some of the most illustrious beauties of the Reformation": John Elias and the Battle for Moderate Calvinism in Early Nineteenth-century Welsh Methodism', *Reinventing the Reformation: in the Nineteenth Century: A Cultural History*, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 90.1 (spring 2014), pp. 113–34.

113. Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 30.

114. See e.g. D. Densil Morgan, 'Lewis Edwards (1808–87)', *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 3 (2008).

115. D. Densil Morgan, *The Span of the Cross: Christian Religion and Society in Wales, 1914–2000* (Cardiff, 1999), pp. 108–10.

116. D. M. Lloyd-Jones, 'William Williams and Welsh Calvinistic Methodism', *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors* (Edinburgh, 1987); D. Densil Morgan, 'D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones and the Reformed Tradition: A Study in Theological Background', *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 6 (2011).

12   Conclusion

1. I am extremely grateful to Lloyd Bowen, Graeme Murdock and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin for their careful reading of this essay. I have tried to take account of the valuable comments and suggestions made, and of course all remaining shortcomings are my own.

2. The most sustained and effective critique of late-twentieth-century appropriations of 'Celtic Christianity' is that of a distinguished Celticist: Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).

3. Ian Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999), quoted at p. viii: Bradley suggests six such revivals, beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries.

4. Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity*, p. 8. Cf. p. 212: 'the connecting thread across the ages, if there is any, is likely to be the actual existence of a Celtic language, since Celtic languages … are perhaps the one continuous feature of Celtic cultures that we can trace with some certainly from the early period to the later'.

5. This volume focuses principally on the three main Celtic-language communities, the speakers of Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, though Cornwell is the subject of Alexandra Walsham's wide-ranging essay. Cornish had, by 1600, already retreated to the western fringes of Cornwall, and by then 'there existed virtually no religious or secular literature nor any standard literary tradition' in the language; further retreat followed over the period covered in this volume. By contrast, Manx (unfortunately not discussed here) appears to have been widely spoken into the eighteenth century, which witnessed a series of translations into that language of religious texts, the Bible and Book of Common Prayer still being published in Manx into the nineteenth century: Brynley F. Roberts, 'The Celtic Languages of Britain', in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 417. To have moved outside the insular kingdoms to give proper treatment to the Breton population would have extended the range of the volume too far and it was, regrettably, decided not to do so.

6. Of course, not only were Scottish and Irish Gaelic known to be one language but also the connection between Cornish and Welsh was widely recognized. For Lhuyd see

Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 196–7. Kidd demonstrates the range of uses to which 'Celtic' could be put in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, sometimes embracing a much wider range of ethnic groups than currently understood and sometimes effectively excluding the Gaels.

7. Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 4–5 (in the latter case quoting Francis John Byrne).

8. James Ussher, *A discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish and British* (London, 1631), 'Epistle dedicatorie'.

9. For Ussher see Alan Ford, *James Ussher* (Oxford, 2007), esp. chs 6 and 9.

10. The first two volumes were edited by Carmichael himself. They have been described as the 'most important components, indeed the foundational units, in the making of modern "Celtic Christianity"' (Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity*, p. 60); rightly so in the light of the multiple reprints and selections from the work.

11. Alexander Carmichael's 'Introduction' to the first volume, conveniently found in the one-volume edition published under the title *Charms of the Gaels: Hymns and Incantations/Ortha nan Gàidheal: urnan agus ubagan* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 24, 25, 27.

12. For a valuable discussion see the 'Preface' to the 1992 edition by John MacInnes, reprinted in *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: Selected Essays of John MacInnes*, ed. Michael Newton (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 477–91.

13. Carmichael, 'Introduction', p. 30.

14. Ibid., p. 29.

15. Cf. Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity*, pp. 10–11. Penitentials were handbooks cataloguing sins and appropriate penances, some of the most notable early medieval examples having an insular (Irish or British) Christian origin.

16. I owe the tunnel image to Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity*.

17. Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, chs 5–7.

18. For a consideration of both the geographical extension of spoken Welsh and the expanding 'domains' of written language in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as well as a valuable assessment of the subsequent fate of the language to the eighteenth century, see Richard Suggett and Eryn White, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1800* (Manchester, 2002).

19. The process is considered in Jane Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998); Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004), ch. 1. McLeod, indeed, suggests that the Western Isles were 'the political and cultural centre of Scottish Gaeldom' into the early modern period (p. 38). Of course there were no neat linguistic divides in any of the three countries, and the bilingualism of particular social groups or localities should not be forgotten. Spoken Gaelic persisted in some places south and east of the Highland line, notably in Galloway.

20. McLeod (*Divided Gaels*, pp. 6–7, 220–1) argues that 'across the range of cultural activity … Ireland was systematically dominant' but that the shared culture of the learned classes may have been less apparent at the level of 'folk traditions', indeed that division as well as unity within Gaeldom was 'fundamental'.

21. A careful teasing out of these issues can be found in Marc Caball, 'Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite in Early Modern Ireland', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).

22. Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36 (1998), p. 9; Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 7–8.

23. Katherine K. Olson, '"*Y ganrif fawr*"? Piety, Literature and Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wales', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds), *Studies in Church History*, 48: *The Church and Literature* (Woodbridge, 2012).

24. For examples of such production see the essays in Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), notably those by Salvador Ryan, Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie. The quotation is from Colum Hourihane's 'Foreword', p. xvii.

25. Glanmor Williams, 'Carmarthen and the Reformation 1536–1558', *The Welsh and Their Religion: Historical Essays* (Cardiff, 1991). The same might be said of bilingual Inverness, 'aggressively Protestant' in 1559: John MacInnes, 'The Christian Church', *The Hub of the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 158.

26. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 73–6.

27. Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Erin M. White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', in Jenkins (ed.), *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 62, 69.

28. Again the different situations in the three nations must be emphasized. In Gaelic Scotland, it has been argued, clanship and chieftainship meshed with the feudal constraints of Scots law – with land secured by charter or lease – and the privileges of noble rank – with titles which conferred status as Scots lords – in a manner which exceeded the integration of Gaelic Ireland into the English lordship: Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), pp. 5–6.

29. This is a theme common to discussions of Ireland and Wales, less so to Gaelic Scotland, but see the further discussion below.

30. An emphasis on the need to incorporate confessional impulses into communal awareness is present in Brendan Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Wales and Ireland' in Bradshaw and Roberts, *British Consciousness*, a signal contribution to any consideration of the questions raised in this chapter, and across the volume as a whole.

31. Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion', in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke, 1984), p. 179.

32. Eryn M. White, *The Welsh Bible* (Stroud, 2007), emphasizes the fact that the 1563 legislation not only required translations but also their public use, taking them beyond the 'literate few' (p. 25); after all, only something like 3,500 Welsh Bibles had been printed before about 1640, and a small, accessible edition only emerged in 1630 (p. 16).

33. Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales c.1603–1642* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 211, 234, quoting *Mercurius Britannicus* for March 1645.

34. Toby Barnard, 'Protestants and the Irish Language, c.1675–1725', *Irish Protestant Ascents and Descents, 1641–1770* (Dublin, 2002), p. 192.

35. Victor Edward Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 88.

36. Jane Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 238–42; Alexandra Walsham's chapter above. As across Scotland as a whole, the earlier post-Reformation decades saw the Highland parishes heavily reliant upon 'readers', in some cases present in greater numbers than preaching ministers, whose responsibilities might extend from the reading of Scripture, prayers or psalms to catechesis; if little has been unearthed regarding their activities in Gaelic Scotland, the availability of such liturgical and catechetical resources as those provided by Eoin Carsuell/John Carswell were potentially of great importance.

37. Certainly no kirk session records are known to survive from sixteenth-century Gaelic-speaking parishes (Michael F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 32–3) though this is of course no evidence that sessions did not exist. For comments on Carsuel's modifications of the *Book of Common Order* in matters of church governance see James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 302–4.

38. In an extremely valuable exercise in comparing the parishes of England – itself the usual point of comparison for the other insular nations – with a wider Western Christendom

in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Beat Kümin notes that 'the most cursory of glances … reveals a complex combination of similarities and differences between the English and Continental contexts. The same, however, could be said for any other national Church.' The English, though, was characterized by an extremely healthy survival of parish-level records: Beat Kümin, 'The English Parish in a European Perspective', in Katherine French, Gary Gibbs and Beat Kümin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400–1600* (Manchester, 1997), p. 15.

39. Tellingly, of course, one of the key figures in MacGregor's account, Andrew Knox, was subsequently to serve in Ulster, in the Diocese of Raphoe. For post-plantation Ulster see Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590–1641*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1997), esp. ch. 7.

40. P. J. Duffy, 'The Shape of the Parish' in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 61. Indeed Duffy notes (p. 37) that the continued collection of dues within the old parochial framework by the Established Church contributed to its persistence in the consciousness of Catholics.

41. Elsewhere he refers to the 'holy well ritual' as 'the primary bonding force within the world of traditional Catholicism': Raymond Gillespie, 'Catholic Religious Cultures in the Diocese of Dublin, 1614–97', in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), p. 131.

42. Duffy, 'Shape of the Parish', p. 36, reckons this 'helped to consolidate the coherence of parish identity'. It has been argued that, by 1800, this was a practice 'vital to sustaining Catholic religious practice', given the economic and demographic challenges to pastoral provision, even as it also 'had the effect of further rooting religious practice in the home rather than the church': Emmet Larkin, 'Before the Devotional Revolution' in James H. Murphy (ed.), *Evangelicals and Catholics in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 16, 30.

43. I have drawn upon Henry A. Jefferies, 'Parishes and Pastoral Care in the Early Tudor Era', in FitzPatrick and Gillespie, *Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland*, pp. 223–7, for a sense of the greater poverty in Gaelic Ireland, including less evidence for a revival of church-building in Anglo-Ireland, and lower incomes, but the speculative conclusion is not one advanced by Dr Jefferies.

44. Colm Lennon, 'The Dissolution to the Foundation of St Anthony's College, Louvain, 1534–1607', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009), p. 11. Lennon gives the striking instance of Nugent-patronized Multyfarnham (Co. Westmeath) as persisting, across the sixteenth century, as a site of 'festivals', a 'place of learning' and a necropolis (p. 8).

45. Very helpful studies of catechisms and of processes of religious change more generally, are found in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta and Graeme Murdock (eds), *Confessional Identity in East-central Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), especially the editors' chapter 'Religious Reform, Printed Nooks and Confessional Identity'.

46. Sponsored alongside itinerant preachers or 'missionaries', Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London, 1988), pp. 140–5.

47. Crăciun, Ghitta and Murdock, 'Religious Reform, Printed Books and Confessional Identity', pp. 12–14, 28–9.

48. Salvador Ryan's translation of the 1611 catechism of Bonaventura/Bonabhentura Ó hEódhusa/Ó hEoghusa, in Ryan, '"New wine in old bottles": Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660* (Dublin, 2007), p. 126.

49. Ibid., pp. 128–9.

50. Marc Caball, 'Articulating Irish Identity in Early Seventeenth-century Europe: The Case of Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa (*c.*1570–1614)', *Archivium Hibernicum* lxii (2009), p. 280. For a range of similar aspirations towards simplicity of language see Salvador Ryan, 'A Wooden Key to Open Heaven's Door: Lessons in Practical Catholicism from

St Anthony's College, Louvain', in Bhreathnach, MacMahon and McCafferty, *Irish Franciscans*, pp. 221-3.

51. See e.g. Kaarinia Hollo, 'The Literature of Later Medieval Ireland, 1200–1600: From the Normans to the Tudors. Part II: Prose', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (eds), *The Cambridge History of Irish literature,* 1: *To 1890* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 128.

52. Translated in Glanmor Williams, 'Religion and Welsh Literature in the Age of the Reformation', *Welsh and Their Religion*, p. 160. Llwyd was the translator of two works by the English Puritan Arthur Dent, the quotation coming from his *Llwybr hyffordd yn cyfarwyddo yr anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd* of 1630.

53. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish c. 1550–1690: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Battle of the Boyne', in Kelleher and O'Leary, *Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, 1: *To 1890*, p. 202.

54. Ryan, 'Wooden Key to Open Heaven's Door', p. 232. This return of printed text to manuscript was true more generally of the Irish Catholic texts.

55. R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh: The Gaelic Version of John Calvin's 'Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis': A Facsimile Reprint Including the Prefixed Poems and the Shorter Catechism of 1659*, Scottish Gaelic Texts 7 (Edinburgh, 1962), pp. xxxiii–xxxv. Donald Meek, 'The Pulpit and the Pen: Clergy, Orality and Print in the Scottish Gaelic World', in Fox and Woolf (eds), *Spoken Word*, p. 91, for the reprints, which he considers made the catechism 'part of the oral culture of the Highlands and Islands'. Thomson noted that there is only one known copy of the Gaelic Geneva catechism of 1630 (Thomson (ed.), *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, pp. xi, xiv).

56. I owe this phrase, and the point more generally, to Lloyd Bowen.

57. The synod commended the 'syllabication' of his assigned portion of the Psalms by David Simpson, not a native speaker: Thomson (ed.), *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh,* p. xxxviii.

58. W. P. Griffith, 'Humanist Learning, Education and the Welsh Language 1536–1660', in Jenkins (ed.), *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 304, 309–10.

59. Donald Meek, 'The Reformation and Gaelic Culture: Perspectives on Patronage, Language and Literature in John Carswell's Translation of "The Book of Common Order"', in James Kirk (ed.), *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 59–60; Meek, 'Pulpit and the Pen', pp. 90–1.

60. Martin MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland', in Fox and Woolf (eds), *Spoken Word*, p. 220, considering the period from *c*.1600 to *c*.1750.

61. Caball, 'Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite', p. 162 – though he notes the significance of the collapse of the Gaelic polity in Ulster in the opening decade of the seventeenth century.

62. R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'The Welsh Language in Scholarship and Culture 1536–1660', in Jenkins (ed.), *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 348, 351. Cf. J. Gwynfor Jones on these years (to 1642) who sees output as 'prolific' but with a 'marked decline in the quality of compositions': 'The Welsh Language in Local Government: Justices of the Peace and the Courts of Quarter Sessions *c*.1536–1800', in Jenkins (ed.), *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 195.

63. Again, divergence within as well as between the three nations is significant. For example, in Wales emphasis has not only been placed upon the Anglicization of the local elite (not only in terms of language but of participation in English legal or political norms) but also on economic changes which reduced the status of the smaller 'housekeeping gentry' and produced greater distance between the new grandees and traditional and Welsh-language culture: Jenkins, Suggett and White, 'Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', p. 80; Jones, 'Welsh Language in Local Government', pp. 197–9.

64. Suggett and White, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity', p. 63. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Cultural Frontiers and the Circulation of Manuscripts in Ireland, 1625–1725', in James Kelly and Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (eds), *Irish and English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic and Cultural Frontier, 1600–1900* (Dublin, 2012),

p. 64, also note in passing the demise of a 'lineage-based society' and with it the prestige of learning in genealogy and history; MacGregor likewise notes the 'demise of the pursuit of history and genealogy by the learned professional classes', paralleling 'the emergence of vernacular from the shadow of classical verse': 'Genealogical Histories', p. 220.

65. Richard Suggett, 'Vagabonds and Minstrels in Sixteenth-Century Wales', in Fox and Woolf (eds), *Spoken Word*, pp. 150–1, 160–2.

66. Williams, 'Religion and Welsh Literature', pp. 142–3, 151; Williams, 'Bishop William Morgan and the First Welsh Bible', *Welsh and Their Religion,* pp. 195, 197, 200, 222–5; Caball, 'Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite', pp. 159, 162–3.

67. Williams, 'Religion and Welsh Literature', p. 163; Gruffydd, 'Welsh Language in Scholarship and Culture', p. 347.

68. For Carswell, see Meek, 'Reformation and Gaelic Culture', pp. 47–51; for Ó Cearnaigh, the author of the first printed book in Irish, see Marc Caball, 'Gaelic and Protestant: A Case Study in Early Modern Self-fashioning, 1567–1608', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 110 (2010). The whole question of Protestant failure in Gaelic Ireland is too extensive to consider here, but see Caball's article, Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's Introduction (above) and, more generally, Ford, *Reformation*.

69. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce*, p. 89.

70. Williams, 'Religion and Welsh Literature', p. 164; Gruffydd, 'Welsh Language in Scholarship and Culture', pp. 352–3.

71. Griffith, 'Humanist Learning, Education and the Welsh Language', p. 308.

72. Glanmor Williams, 'Unity of Religion or Unity of Language? Protestants and Catholics and the Welsh Language 1536–1660', in Jenkins (ed.), *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 230: the gentry and lawyers were becoming Anglicized and bards 'fast losing credit. It was the clerics who largely took their place.'

73. Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish', p. 220.

74. See above.

75. Glanmor Williams, 'Medieval Wales and the Reformation', in James P. Mackey (ed.), *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 216.

76. Caball, 'Articulating Irish Identity', pp. 272–3.

77. McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, p. 38.

78. For the greater 'credibility' of Catholic claims upon the ancient Irish Church, and for their promulgation in the context of 'native cultural revival' see Bradshaw, 'English Reformation and Identity Formation', pp. 105–9.

79. Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'James Our True King: The Ideology of Irish Royalism in the Seventeenth Century', in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds), *Political Thought in Ireland since the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1993).

80. Michelle O Riordan, 'Political Poems in the Mid-seventeenth-century Crisis', in Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641–1660* (Cambridge, 1995).

81. Quoted in Glanmor Williams, 'Fire on Cambria's Altar: The Welsh and Their Religion', *Welsh and Their Religion*, p. 47.

82. Philip Jenkins, 'Church, Nation and Language: The Welsh Church, 1660–1800', in Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660–1800* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 266, 273, 274.

83. White, *Welsh Bible*, p. 56.

84. White, *Welsh Bible*, pp. 50–1. Prichard died in 1644. His poems were printed in fourteen editions by 1730, or fifty editions by 1820.

85. A point raised, along with much else of interest, in Terence McCaughey, 'Bards, Beasts and Men', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* (Maynooth, 1989), pp. 107–8.

86. Fiona A. Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1560–1760* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 57–61, 94–6, 172–6.

87. For a survey of allegiance in that region see E. M. Furgol, 'The Northern Highland Covenanter Clans, 1639–1651', *Northern History* 7 (1987).

88. For examples of Protestant clergy associated with royalist activities see Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, pp. 104–11.

89. Dugald, the father, briefly ministered at Kilmallie (1658–61), Duncan at Glenorchy (before 1662, and again *c.*1688–90): Alexander Fraser, *North Knapdale in the XVII and XVIIIth Centuries* (Oban, 1964), pp. 107–33.

90. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce*, p. 176.

91. MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland', p. 217: MacGregor refers to the impulse to redirect loyalty to the Crown in the aftermath of the covenanting upheavals, and notes the deployment of the 'literary topos' of *rìoghalachd*, 'rehearsing loyalty to the true line of the kings of Scots'.

92. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce*, p. 176. Macinnes reckons that the vast majority, perhaps three-quarters, of 'Jacobite activists' in the various risings were episcopalian Protestants.

93. Translated in Damnhait Ní Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric and Terminology in the Political Poems of the Fernaig MS (1688–1693)', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19 (1999), pp. 119–20.

94. Derick S. Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 65, 71–2: the collection, surviving in two notebooks, was begun 1688, and the last date to appear is 1693.

95. John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Religious Poetry, 1650–1850', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 10.1 (1948), pp. 34–7.

96. Terence P. McCaughey, 'Protestantism and Scottish Highland Culture', in Mackey (ed.), *Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, p. 185.

97. William Ferguson, 'The Problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the 18th Century', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 17.1 (1969), provides a valuable account of the process in the area of the synods of Argyll and Glenelg. The 1690s had witnessed, eventually, accommodations at national level which allowed episcopalian parish ministers to remain in place, acknowledging William (III and) II as king but not being required to take part in Presbyterian structures. Numbers of ministers in the *Gàidhealtachd* seem to have availed themselves of such options: MacInnes, 'Christian Church', pp. 159–64; Douglas Anstell, *The People of the Great Faith: The Highland Church 1690–1900* (Stornoway, 1998), p. 11.

98. John MacInnes, 'The Scottish Gaelic Language', *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, pp. 107–8.

99. McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, pp. 213–14, 219.

100. MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland', pp. 199, 220. MacGregor's primary interest here is in the composition of genealogical histories, written in English, mainly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and mostly produced by members of ruling families but also including ministers and doctors.

101. Kidd, *British Identities*, pp. 119–20, 128–9, 137.

102. Andrew Stewart's 'A short account of the church of Christ in Ireland' is forthcoming in an edition prepared by Patrick Walsh, Scott Spurlock, Andrew Holmes and the present author.

103. Kidd, *British Identities*, p. 127. Kidd notes that 'the fundamental commitment was to the Dalriadic past as the basis of institutional continuity – not as an ethnic history of the Scottish people *per se* … the rationale behind the Dalriadic identity was not primarily ethnic' (p. 141).

104. Ibid., p. 181.

105. Vincent Morley, 'The Popular Influence of *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century', in Kelly and Mac Murchaidh (eds), *Irish and English*, pp. 110–15.

106. Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, pp. 10–30.

107. Quoted Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, p. 26.

108. Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, pp. 26, 32, 33 (quoted). Apparent in the 1640s, such initiatives were relaunched in the 1690s by the reinstated Presbyterian establishment: Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, pp. 10–11.

109. The term needs to be handled with particular care. Welsh 'Calvinistic Methodism' remained within the pale of the Established Church, however awkwardly at times, until 1811; as the name suggests this, the dominant strand, was not Wesleyan, a tendency which gained less purchase in Wales, especially in Welsh-speaking communities. The revival, of course, stirred many within the other, older, dissenting denominations as well as within the Established Church.

110. David Ceri Jones, '"A glorious morn"? Methodism and the Rise of Evangelicalism in Wales, 1735–62', in Mark A. Smith (ed.), *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present*, 1: *Aspects of the History and Sociology of Evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland* (Milton Keynes, 2008), pp. 110, 111, in the latter case citing D. Geraint Jones.

111. Donald E. Meek, 'Gaelic Bible, Revival and Mission: The Spiritual Rebirth of the Nineteenth-Century Highlands', in Kirk, *Church in the Highlands*, pp. 115–16.

112. Jenkins, 'Church, Nation and Language', p. 266, even suggests that 'the best evidence for the vigour of the [established] church was the evangelical revival itself'.

113. White, *Welsh Bible*, p. 89.

114. Meek, 'Pulpit and the Pen', p. 92.

115. Eryn M. White, 'The Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival and Welsh Identity', in Smith (ed.), *British Evangelical Identities*, pp. 91, 94–5.

116. Susan O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735–1755', *American Historical Review* 91.4 (1986); Jones, '"A glorious morn?"', pp. 103–5, 113.

117. Jones, '"A glorious morn"?', pp. 101–2; White, 'Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Revival and Welsh Identity', pp. 94–5: White argues that the fact that 'Calvinistic Methodism was the first version of the Protestant faith which was intrinsically Welsh and was not imposed from outside' meant that it 'did not need to strive to convince people of its Welsh credentials'.

118. Translated in Williams, 'Fire on Cambria's Altar', p. 51.

119. Quoted in Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, p. 47.

120. Nigel McNeill, *The Literature of the Highlands* (Inverness, 1892), p. 72, quoted in Bradley, *Celtic Christianity*, p. 144.

121. Meek, 'Gaelic Bible, Revival and Mission', p. 139, who reckons that it 'could indeed be argued that … the Disruption of 1843 brought some degree of stabilisation to a highly demotic form of evangelicalism, which in some parts had become a populist movement outwith formal Presbyterianism'. For a useful popular account of the spread of the Free Church in the region see Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, chs 5–6.

122. R. Tudur Jones, 'The Evangelical Revival in Wales: A Study in Spirituality', in Mackey (ed.), *Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, p. 265.

123. Suggett and White, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity', pp. 75–6, including the suggestion that the eighteenth century saw the appearance of words with the prefix *hunan-* ('self-') in religious works.

124. Derec Llwyd Morgan, 'Williams, William (1717–1791)', in *Oxford DNB*.

125. Figures given in Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Print and Irish, 1570–1900: An Exception among the Celtic Languages?', *Radharc* 5–7 (2004–6), pp. 92–3. Philip Henry Jones reckons 'it is possible that some ten thousand Welsh-language items were published in Wales itself between 1801 and 1900' (and more, if individual printings of the likes of ballads are included): Jones, 'Printing and Publishing in the Welsh Language 1800–1914', in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains 1801–1911* (Cardiff, 2000), p. 320.

126. Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, pp. 116–17.

127. Meek, 'Gaelic Bible', pp. 142, 141; MacInnes, 'Gaelic Religious Poetry, 1650–1850'.

128. Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, p. 116; Ó Ciosáin, 'Print and Irish', p. 98.

129. John MacInnes, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Nineteenth Century', *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal*, p. 365.

130. Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, pp. 68–9, 113–15; Withers, *Gaelic Scotland*, p. 145, quoting from the 1811 report of the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools. Similar societies were set up in Glasgow, Inverness and Dundee. Some Highland parishes also had parochial schools.
131. For brief comments see Anstell, *People of the Great Faith*, pp. 134–6; Meek, 'Gaelic Bible', p. 144; John MacInnes, 'The Church and Traditional Belief in Gaelic Society', in Lizanne Henderson (ed.), *Fantastical Imaginations: The Supernatural in Scottish History and Culture* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 193–4.
132. Niall Ó Ciosáin, 'Pious Miscellanies and Spiritual Songs: Devotional Publishing and Reading in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, 1760–1900', in Kelly and Mac Murchaidh (eds), *Irish and English*, p. 282.
133. Ó Ciosáin, 'Print and Irish', significantly also includes Breton in its discussion, important in offering a Catholic comparison for Ireland.
134. Ó Ciosáin, 'Print and Irish', p. 102. He notes also the role of individual priests as poets or patrons in the eighteenth century but no role played by priests in nineteenth-century publications comparable to that of clergy in Wales, Scotland or Brittany (pp. 102–3).

Select Bibliography

Bannerman, John, 'Literacy in the Highlands', in Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (eds), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983).

Barrell, A. D. M., 'The Church in the West Highlands in the Late Middle Ages', *IR* 54.1 (2003).

Bhreathnach, Edel, MacMahon, Joseph, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009).

Black, Ronald, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus A' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989).

Bottigheimer, Karl, and Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'The Irish Reformation in European Perspective', *Archive for Reformation History* 89 (1998).

Bowen, Geraint, *Welsh Recusant Writings* (Cardiff, 1999).

Bradley, Ian, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999).

Bradshaw, Brendan, 'The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Wales and Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998).

Broun, Dauvit, and MacGregor, Martin (eds), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009).

Caball, Marc, 'Articulating Irish Identity in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe: The Case of Giolla Bríghde Ó hEódhusa (c.1570–1614), *Archivium Hibernicum* 62 (2009).

Caball, Marc, 'Gaelic and Protestant: A Case Study in Early Modern Self-fashioning, 1567–1608', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 110 (2010).

Caball, Marc, 'Religion, Culture and the Bardic Elite in Early Modern Ireland', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).

[Carswell, John], *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order*, ed. R. L. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1970).

Cowan, Edward J., 'The Discovery of the Gàidhealtachd in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 60 (1997–8).

Cunningham, Bernadette, 'The Culture and Ideology of Irish Franciscan Historians at Louvain, 1607–1650', in Ciarán Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the Historian,* Historical Studies 17 (Dublin, 1991).

Cunningham, Bernadette, *The World of Geoffrey Keating* (Dublin, 2000).

Cunningham, Bernadette, and Gillespie, Raymond, 'The "most adaptable of saints": The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 49 (1995).

Dawson, Jane, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994).

Dawson, Jane, 'Clan, Kin and Kirk: The Campbells and the Scottish Reformation', in N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree and Henk van Nierop (eds), *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot, 1999).

Dawson, Jane, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the Emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998).

Durkacz, Victor Edward, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages* (Edinburgh, 1983).

Ellis, Steven G., 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450–1650', *Irish Historical Studies* 31 (1999).

FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

Ford, Alan *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590–1641*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1997).

Giblin, Cathaldus (ed.), *Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619–46* (Dublin, 1964).

Gillespie, Raymond, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997).

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Devotional Landscapes in Early Modern Ireland', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds), *God's Bounty? The Church and the Natural World*, Studies in Church History 46 (Woodbridge, 2010).

Gillies, William, 'The Book of the Dean of Lismore: The Literary Perspective', in Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derick McClure (eds), *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013).

Gray, Madeleine, *Images of Piety: The Iconography of Traditional Religion in Late Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 2002).

Gray, Madeleine, 'Reforming Memory: Commemoration of the Dead in Sixteenth-century Wales', *Welsh History Review* 26.2 (2012).

Heal, Felicity, 'Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005).

Hughes, Kathleen, 'The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1 (1981).

Innes, Sìm R., '*Is eagal liom lá na harga*: Devotion to the Virgin in the Later Medieval *Gàidhealtachd*', in Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (eds), *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2010).

Jefferies, Henry, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518–1558* (Dublin, 1997).

Jenkins, Geraint H., *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660–1730* (Cardiff, 1978).

Jenkins, Geraint H. (ed.), *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1997).

Jenkins, Philip, 'The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560–1714', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London, 1995).

Jenkins, Philip, 'Church, Nation and Language: The Welsh Church, 1660–1800', in Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660–1800* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Jones, David Ceri, '"A glorious morn"? Methodism and the Rise of Evangelicalism in Wales, 1735–62', in Mark A. Smith (ed.), *British Evangelical Identities Past and Present*, 1: *Aspects of the History and Sociology of Evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland* (Milton Keynes, 2008).

Jones, David Ceri, *'A Glorious Work in the World': Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735–50* (Cardiff, 2004).

Jones, David Ceri, Schlenther, Boyd Stanley, and White, Eryn M., *The Elect Methodists: Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735–1811* (Cardiff, 2012).

Jones, J. Gwynfor, *Aspects of Religious Life in Wales, c. 1536–1660* (Aberystwyth, 2003).

Kelly, James, and Mac Murchaidh, Ciarán (eds), *Irish and English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic and Cultural Frontier, 1600–1900* (Dublin, 2012).

Kidd, Colin, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1999).

Kirk, James (ed.), *The Church in the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1998).

Kirk, James, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989).

MacCoinnich, Aonghas, 'Where and How Was Gaelic Written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 24 (2008).

Mac Craith, Mícheál, 'The Gaelic Reaction to the Reformation', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London, 1995).

Mac Craith, Mícheál, 'The Political and Religious Thought of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).

Mac Cuarta, Brian, *Catholic Revival in the North of Ireland 1603–41* (Dublin, 2007).

Macdonald, Fiona A., *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1560–1760* (Edinburgh, 2006).

MacDonald, Iain G., *Clergy and Clansmen: The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2013).

MacGregor, Martin, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context', *IR* 57 (2006).

MacGregor, Martin, 'The View from Fortingall: The Worlds of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 22 (2006).

Macinnes, Allan. I., *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996).

MacInnes, John, *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: Selected Essays of John MacInnes*, ed. Michael Newton (Edinburgh, 2006).

Mackey, James P. (ed.), *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 1989).

McLeod, Wilson, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004).

McManus, Damian, and Ó Raghallaigh, Eoghan (eds), *A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries* (Dublin, 2010).

Meek, Donald E., 'The Gaelic Bible', in D. F. Wright (ed.), *The Bible in Scottish Life* (Edinburgh, 1988).

Meek, Donald E., *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2000).

Meek, Donald E., 'The Scots-Gaelic Scribes of Late Medieval Perthshire: An Overview of the Orthography and Contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller (eds), *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1989).

Morgan, D. Densil, 'Calvinism in Wales: c. 1590–1909', *Welsh Journal of Religious History* 4 (2009).

Moss, Rachel, Ó Clabaigh, Colmán, and Ryan, Salvador (eds), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

Nice, Jason A., 'Being "British" in Rome: The Welsh at the English College', *Catholic Historical Review* 92 (2006).

Ó Ciosáin, Niall, 'Print and Irish, 1570–1900: An Exception among the Celtic Languages?', *Radharc* 5–7 (2004–6).

Ó Clabaigh, Colman, 'Preaching in Late Medieval Ireland: The Franciscan Contribution', in Alan Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Preaching in Ireland, 700–1700* (Dublin, 2001).

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645–49* (Oxford, 2002).

Olson, Katharine K., '"*Y Ganrif Fawr?*": Lay Piety, Literature, and Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Wales', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds), *Studies in Church History*, 48: *The Church and Literature* (Woodbridge, 2012).

Ó Macháin, Pádraig (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dublin, 2010).

Orme, Nicholas, *Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity 500–1560* (London, 2007).

Orme, Nicholas, 'Popular Religion and the Reformation in England: A View from Cornwall', in James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (eds), *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West* (Cambridge, 2004).

Orme, Nicholas, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, 2000).

Padel, O. J., 'Oral and Literary Culture in Medieval Cornwall', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005).

Roberts, Peter, 'The Union with England and the Identity of "Anglican" Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 22 (1972).

Ryan, Salvador, 'Fixing the Eschatological Scale: Judgement of the Soul in Late Medieval and Early Modern Irish Tradition', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds), *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, Studies in Church History 45 (Woodbridge, 2009).

Ryan, Salvador, '"New wine in old bottles": Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland', in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c.1540–1660* (Dublin, 2007).

Ryan, Salvador 'A Slighted Source: Rehabilitating Irish Bardic Religious Poetry in Historical Discourse', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 48 (2004).

Sharpe, Richard, 'Roderick MacLean's *Life* of St. Columba in Latin Verse (1549)', *IR* 42 (1991).

Simms, Katharine, 'Frontiers in the Irish Church – Regional and Cultural', in T. B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katherine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995).

Sims-Williams, Patrick, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36 (1998).

Sims-Williams, Patrick, 'The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (1986).

Stiùbhart, Domhnall Uilleam (ed.), *The Life and Legacy of Alexander Carmichael* (Port of Ness, 2008).

Suggett, Richard, *A History of Witchcraft and Magic in Wales* (Stroud, 2008).

Suggett, Richard, and White, Eryn, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1800* (Manchester, 2002).

Thomson, Derick S. (ed.), *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford, 1983).

Thomson, Derick S., 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968).

Walsham, Alexandra, 'Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in Early Modern Wales', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005).

Walsham, Alexandra, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).

Watson, W. J., *Scottish Verse from the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1937).

White, Eryn M., *The Welsh Bible* (Stroud, 2007).

Williams, Glanmor, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979).

Williams, Glanmor, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997).

Williams, Glanmor, *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff, 1967).

Williams, Glanmor, Jacob, William, Yates, Nigel, and Knight, Francis, *The Welsh Church: From Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603–1920* (Cardiff, 2007).

Williams, Nicholas, *I bprionta i leabhar: na Protastúin agus pros na Gaeilge, 1567–1724* (Dublin, 1986).

Withers, Charles W. J., *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London, 1988).

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* refer to figures and tables.