

MARIANUS SCOTUS:

SCRIBE AND MONASTIC FOUNDER

The oldest written Gaelic in Scotland at the present day is preserved in a very fitting place, for it is in the Highlands and in the possession of Benedictine monks. It is to be found in the archives of St Benedict's Abbey at Fort Augustus, and consists of marginal notes in an autograph codex of Marianus Scotus, a Benedictine and the founder of the famous Schottenkloster in Central Europe, of which the monastery at Fort Augustus is a descendant. An account of the codex was published in Scotland almost a century ago in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, since these early volumes may not be easily accessible and since an important feature of the glosses was overlooked there, it will not be out of place to outline the story of how the manuscript came to Fort Augustus, and bring out the significance of the marginal notes.

The Marianus Scotus whom we are considering here is to be carefully distinguished from a contemporary bearing the same name and likewise an exile in South Germany. The pitfall of confusing the two is deadly, but there is little excuse now for its happening.<sup>2</sup> Both are noted for their writings; our Marianus is the scribe who penned the celebrated Vienna Codex, consisting of the Epistles of St Paul and a commentary, with a few Gaelic and Latin glosses. In a gloss on the colophon he gives his name: *muiredach trog macc robartaig*.<sup>3</sup> *Trog* is the modern *truagh*, and *Muiredach* is latinised as Marianus since Gaelic *muir* and Latin *mare* mean "sea," a typical example of the custom of adopting a Classical name.



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The name MacRobartaig shows that Marianus belonged to the family who were the hereditary custodians of the *Cathach* of St Columba,<sup>4</sup> a 6th century psalter said to have been penned by the saint himself. This was preserved in the monastery at Kells in Co. Meath, a great school of learning and art in the early middle ages and the home of the famous Book of Kells. Marianus' superb penmanship was in the tradition of Kells, and thus of Iona, for the two Columban monasteries were closely linked and tradition says that the Book of Kells was written in Iona.<sup>5</sup>

## I

Nevertheless, Marianus' importance as a monastic founder far outweighs his fame as a scribe, and it was as a Benedictine and not as a Columban monk that he found his niche in history. Like so many of his fellow-countrymen he went into voluntary exile in Central Europe, *peregrinans pro Christo*. He left Ireland in 1067, as we know from a manuscript which he wrote in 1074 with a gloss saying that it was the seventh year of his pilgrimage or exile.<sup>6</sup> Most of what we know about his career is told in the Life of Marianus, based on accounts of men who had known him and written by a monk at Ratisbon in the 12th century.<sup>7</sup> According to this, he received the Benedictine habit at the celebrated abbey of St Michael in Bamberg. About 1072 he set off for Rome with two companions but halted at Ratisbon on the Danube and in 1075-6 set up a monastery for his countrymen in the church of Weih-Sankt-Peter or S. Petri Consecrati, just outside the walls of the town.<sup>8</sup> The Life narrates how he came to settle here and how he spent his days and nights at his task as a scribe. He died not long after the summer of 1080<sup>9</sup> and was honoured as a saint.

Ratisbon (or Regensburg, to give its German name) was a focal point in these Irish migrations.<sup>10</sup> The early history of the monasteries that stemmed from Marianus' foundation is sufficiently well-known, at least in outline.<sup>11</sup> Weih-Sankt-Peter was soon too small, and a larger monastery dedicated to St James, the pilgrim apostle, was built, probably in 1110. Its Romanesque church, known to this day as the Schottenkirche, has the famous north door with the strange stone figures that have intrigued and puzzled artists and scholars ever since.<sup>12</sup> A most remarkable period of expansion followed, no fewer than seven other monasteries being founded in German-speaking territory in the forty years between 1130 and 1170: St James in Erfurt, Our Lady in Vienna, St James in Constance, St James in Würzburg, Holy Cross in Eichstätt, St Giles in Nuremberg and St Nicholas in Memmingen. Most, if not all, of these were of sufficient importance to be abbeyes, but Weih-Sankt-Peter remained a mere priory. In 1215 they were formed into a closely-knit congregation, the head being the abbot of St James in Ratisbon, who had certain rights of discipline and jurisdiction over all the monasteries. In 1232 the priory of Kelheim on the Danube was added, and there was also a house at Roscarberry in Co. Cork.<sup>13</sup>

Even though they were far from Ireland itself, this constituted the most important group of Irish Benedictine houses that was ever to be founded. No account of Irish monasticism is complete which does not include them. It was at this same time, too, that Benedictines were introduced into Scotland, the abbey of Dunfermline being founded not long after 1070 and raised to abbatial status in 1128.<sup>14</sup> The Celtic monastic rules were in retreat before the Rule of St Benedict, whose moderation and organising genius made him the father of western monasticism and made his Rule one of the greatest influences on medieval Christendom. Iona too was to become Benedictine.<sup>15</sup>

The Ratisbon congregation or group of monasteries declined greatly in the 15th century. Vienna and Nuremberg were handed over to German monks in 1418, and Würzburg suffered the same fate in 1497. Eichstätt, Memmingen and Kelheim ceased to be religious houses and were mere chaplaincies or properties. In the opening years of the 16th century the once flourishing congregation consisted of the three abbeys of St James at Ratisbon, Erfurt and Constance, and the priory of Weih-Sankt-Peter. That in itself would not have been too bad, but only St James' at Ratisbon had a community, and a mere handful at that. The abbot or prior was the only monk in each of the other three houses, and he was elected to his office by the monks of St James in Ratisbon from among their own number.

The reader may be pardoned for wondering what this has to do with the codex of Marianus Scotus. But it was precisely at this point that the event took place which linked Marianus with Fort Augustus. Things were not well in the Ratisbon community, nor were the affairs of the church in the town and diocese of Ratisbon any better. A dispute broke out between the abbot and his monks in 1514, and swiftly the Bishop and the town Senate, out of long-standing enmity, took opposing sides. Soon both Emperor and Pope were drawn into the dispute.<sup>15</sup> The outcome was most curious and, as far as we know, unexpected. Pope Leo X, on 31st July, 1515, issued a bull appointing as abbot John Thomson, a secular priest of the diocese of St Andrews, who was in the service of the cardinal protector of Scotland and thus residing in Rome. The reason for this, as we know from a letter of the Pope to the Senate in Ratisbon the following February, was that this monastery which "non nisi per Scotum natione gubernari et obtineri potest" was in the control of a certain "Walterus Knot qui Scotus non est"

(the Irish abbot) and so was to be given to "Joanni Thomson Scoto."<sup>17</sup> We do not know what had gone on behind the scenes, or rather, behind the welter of move and counter-move, appeal and counter-appeal, to produce this result, but it is legitimate to suppose that the Scotsmen who were traders and citizens in Ratisbon<sup>18</sup> had taken a hand in the affair. A confraternity of these Scotsmen had been established in the church of St James in 1500,<sup>19</sup> and the Scotsmen in Ratisbon were again to intervene in 1576 when the affairs of the abbey were once more in a critical state.<sup>20</sup>

The handful of Irish monks in 1515 were in no state to offer resistance. Bishop and Senate, however, each had their covetous eyes on the monastery, and it was not until 1520 that Thomson and his Scottish followers were in peaceful possession. And with possession of the abbey of St James came possession of Weih-Sankt-Peter and the abbeys in Erfurt and Constance. Two of these were demolished before many years had passed, but there was a second revival in the years after 1577 under Ninian Winzet, the uncompromising opponent of John Knox and confessor of Mary Queen of Scots, and in 1595 the abbey in Würzburg was given to the Scottish monks. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the three monasteries of Ratisbon, Erfurt and Würzburg remained in Scottish hands and were occupied by Scotsmen who had remained faithful to the pre-Reformation church. The story of their work in Germany and Scotland, and their efforts for the Jacobite cause, is well worth telling but is not within the scope of this article.

The question naturally arises: What are we to think of the reason adduced by Rome for making Thomson abbot, namely, that he was Scots and not Irish? We are at once in the controversy concerning the meaning of "Scotus" and "Scotia." Let us take Marianus himself first. Everything

that is known of the family of MacRobartaig connects it with N. Ireland; and the tradition at Ratisbon itself confirms this family background, for the 12th century life of Marianus, written by a monk there, declares that he was born in the northern parts of Ireland.<sup>21</sup> Nobody questions nowadays the Irish origin of Marianus and his companions and immediate successors. All successors of Marianus whose family background can be traced were likewise from Ireland.<sup>22</sup>

It is clear then that Marianus and his companions and immediate successors were of Irish origin, yet they were called, and called themselves, Scoti. No scholar nowadays disputes that Scotus, in the early middle ages, signified an Irishman; its most accurate translation would be Gael or Gaelic-speaker. The Gaels of Dalriada would thus be Scoti like their fellow-countrymen in Ireland. Scotus signified a native of the Gaelic-speaking area of Ireland and North Britain, and Scotia designated the area itself. Primarily the latter term would refer to Ireland and secondarily to the colony or extension of the fatherland — call it what one will — in North Britain. After the Norman Conquest, however, a change in meaning was apparent: the term for Ireland was Hibernia, and Scotia denoted North Britain.<sup>23</sup> The Dalriadic settlement from Ireland gave its name to what we now call Scotland. In Ireland the tradition remained that their land was the original Scotia, and one finds Ireland referred to as Scotia major, and Scotland as Scotia minor. For instance, in the early 14th century, the Irish princes in an appeal to the Pope wrote: "reges Minoris Scocie qui omnes de nostra Majori Scocia sanguinis originem sumpserunt, linguam nostram & condiciones quodammodo retinentes."<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless the monastery at Ratisbon and its daughter-houses continued to use the old name: they were the monasteria Scotorum, the Schottenklöster. The origin of the monks was shown by some such phrase as "Scoti seu Hiberni" in the documents. The 15th century names which have

survived from Ratisbon are Irish: Orygayn, Macknamyn, Oemaerkaechaen, O'Heda, Ottonal, Ottonochus, Ogeleuon, Okonokus, de Burgo;<sup>25</sup> yet they inhabited the monasteries whose very title declared that they belonged to the Scots. The Scotsmen in South Germany and the authorities in Rome must have been convinced that Irish monks had taken the place of the original and legitimate Scottish owners. There is no reason to doubt their good faith, yet the fact remains that the handing over of the abbey to John Thomson and his fellow-countrymen in 1515 and the following years was based on a completely wrong assumption.

Were there never Scots from Scotland in these monasteries before 1515? Framed like this, the question cannot be answered, for, although nobody from Scotland is recorded, we do not know the names of all the monks. But is it likely, or possible, that there were? The answer would seem to be that, as long as there was linguistic unity between Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, novices from any part of this territory would surely be acceptable. A note made in a manuscript of a work of the other Marianus is significant: "isi side cetna bliadain tanacsa a Albain in peregrinatione mea et scripsi hunc librum pro caritate tibi et Scotis omnibus, i.e. Hibernensibus qui sum ipse Hibernensis." (This is the same year that I came from Albain, on my pilgrimage, and I wrote this book out of affection for thee and all the Scoti, i.e. the Hibernians, being myself a Hibernian).<sup>26</sup> The phrase "tanacsa a Albain" (modern "thainig mi á Albain") must surely refer to the island of Britain.<sup>27</sup> Thus in 1072, the year referred to, one calling himself Scotus and Hibernensis went from present-day Scotland to Central Europe. Others could equally well have entered the monasteries which owed their foundation to our Marianus.

A deed of 1422 refers to the Ratisbon community as "religiosorum Abbatis, Prioris, et Conventus Monasterii Scotorum et Ibernicorum de maiori Scotia, in Ratisbona."<sup>28</sup> The word "et" may be merely a clumsy alternative for "seu,"<sup>29</sup> but it suggests that both Scots and Irish were to be found there. There is also a manuscript chronicle of Würzburg, compiled by the Scots after 1595 but relying on earlier documents, which says that the two surviving monks in 1495 were Joannes Sancton and Joannes MacAllen.<sup>30</sup> Leaving aside the former, one can note that MacAllen is certainly a Scots name.<sup>31</sup> Can it also be Irish? In the 1422 document "maior Scotia" inhabited by Scots and Irish suggests "greater Scotland" in the sense of the whole Gaidhealtachd. This brings up a fascinating question: When did the Gaels of Scotland cease to think themselves as being of identical race with Irish Gaels? And when did they begin to think of themselves as Scotsmen? Was there a time when they considered themselves to be both or neither?

One must be careful not to read modern concepts into the past. Language and sentiment depend very much on ease of communication. A feudal system, with local rather than national loyalties, comes into being when central control and communication are weak, and a feudal system persisted in the Highlands until after 1745. Those Gaels to the south and those on the east of Druim Albainn would meet the English language<sup>32</sup> on descent to the plains and would be aware of Scotland; but those to the west of Druim Albainn, that is, on the western seaboard and in the islands, must have found it an easier proposition, on account both of language and ease of communication, to go by sea to Ireland than by land to the plains of Scotland. If one may judge from the relations between Irish priests and adherents of the pre-Reformation church in the Hebrides and West Highlands, this was the case in the 17th century. Almost all Irishmen outside the Pale and almost all Highlanders would be monoglot

Gaelic speakers. Most of the priests who worked in the Highlands in the 17th century were from Ireland. The Franciscans conducted their missionary work by sea from a base in Co. Antrim, and Scots flocked in astounding numbers to Antrim to be instructed or receive the sacrament of confirmation from the Bishop of Down and Connor.<sup>33</sup>

One can now visualise the relations between the monks in Ratisbon and Scots in the locality in the late 15th century. The vernacular of the monks was Gaelic; there is no hint of English in any document. The surnames that have survived in original documents were Irish, although there may have been an occasional Gael from Scotland. The language of the Scots citizens and traders was English, for their names do not suggest the Highlands, and it was naturally from the part of Scotland facing Europe that they chiefly came. Monks and traders would have conversed either in the language of the country, German, or the lingua franca of the educated, Latin.<sup>34</sup> The first Scots monks after 1515 likewise bore Lowland names. The Scottish monks who supplanted the Irish monks belonged to a different race and culture.

The controversies over the meaning of Scotus can be passed over quickly. The 16th century monks were doubtless in good faith, and there was nobody to impugn it. In the early 17th century controversy ran high between Scots and Irish on the point. There were attempts by the Irish to regain the Schottenkloster,<sup>35</sup> while Thomas Dempster claimed Marianus and his associates for Scotland,<sup>36</sup> and Camerarius even finds a background for him in Dunkeld.<sup>37</sup> It need hardly be said that few of Dempster's claims are taken seriously nowadays.<sup>38</sup> The 17th and 18th century monks of Ratisbon and Würzburg naturally took the Scottish side; copies of their works are to be found in various libraries and

archives.<sup>39</sup> When they wrote the history of their monasteries they claimed that they were the rightful heirs and that the Irish had come in as interlopers; the use they made of the documents in their archives makes the modern historian's blood run cold!<sup>40</sup> The most important of these manuscript histories of Ratisbon, the *Monasticon Scoticum* of Marianus Broekie,<sup>41</sup> has had a considerable influence on the writing of Scottish church history.

This version of history has been accepted by the two accounts best known in Scotland today of the Schottenklöster. The first is in Part III of Fischer's *The Scots in Germany*, where, apart from an admission that Marianus was from Ireland, the purely "Scottish" version is given. The second account is in an article, *Scottish Religious Houses Abroad*, in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1864, pp. 168-184; it is unsigned but is known to be by Bishop Forbes. The bishop used Irish as well as Scottish sources and tried to be judicious, but he gave away his position when he used such phrases as "the Scoto-German houses, now filled by Irishmen" (p. 178). One can therefore expect to find the "Scottish" version appearing in print from time to time.<sup>42</sup> The German historians on the whole have not adverted to the change in 1515; or if they have they have not attached much significance to the replacement of the natives of one island in the west by those of another island. It is therefore worth emphasizing that, apart from casual contacts as yet unknown to us, there was no connection between Scotland and the so-called monasteries of the Scots in Germany before the 16th century.

The Scots who took over the monastery of St James evidently appreciated the Marianus codex which they found there, for within four years of gaining final possession in 1520 they had it rebound in its present cover, oak backed by

white vellum. The inside cover bears a variety of scripts, and among them one can read: *Liber Monasterii divi Jacobi Scotorum Ratisponensis quem conventus fecit denuo ligari anno Domini 1524*. In the Swedish wars of the 1630s, the codex was either looted or pawned.<sup>43</sup> We know this since on the first page of the manuscript is written: *Ex libris Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum redemit ex alienis manibus post centum circiter annos Bernardus Baillie Abbas an. 1737*. The aftermath of the French Revolution put an end to these Scottish monasteries as it did to most religious houses in Germany and France. Würzburg was secularised in 1803 and Erfurt in 1819. Ratisbon, alone of all monasteries in Bavaria, was spared this fate but was forbidden to accept novices; when the ban was lifted it was in so weakened a state that it never recovered. It struggled on until it was suppressed in 1862; and the buildings were given to the Bishop of Ratisbon to be used as his diocesan seminary. The Scots abbey in Germany after eight centuries of chequered history had come to an ignominious end.

But monastic institutions are notoriously difficult to annihilate. There were two Scots monks in 1862, and one of them, Father Anselm Robertson, of Fochabers, did not take kindly to the efforts of the Bishop of Ratisbon to obtain the monastery for his seminary. When the blow finally fell, he returned to Scotland for good, and with him he brought what he could conveniently carry. Strictly speaking, nothing was his to bring as the compensation agreed on (which the monks did not receive) was to cover all the effects of the monastery and seminary. Nevertheless he made an excellent choice, and among the valuable manuscript volumes which he took with him was the codex of Marianus. Even before the suppression there had been talk of founding a monastery in Scotland, and Lord Lovat had offered the fort at Fort Augustus, which he used as a shooting lodge. Father Anselm gave the monastic habit to a novice to preserve the succession from Ratisbon, and when monastic life began in 1878 he took

up residence at Fort Augustus and brought his Ratisbon manuscripts with him. The unexplained disappearance of the Marianus codex has naturally led German scholars into thinking that it has been lost, a statement that I have more than once seen in print. Its existence has been unsuspected by most Celtic scholars: it is not listed in such collections as Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, nor is it mentioned by writers on Marianus who painstakingly follow each other in referring to manuscripts of his that have perished. But it holds pride of place in the monastic archives at Fort Augustus, for it is not only valuable in itself, but is a relic of one who can be described as the Abbey's first founder, and thus a link between the ancient monastery of Iona and present-day monasticism in the Highlands.

## II

To the best of my knowledge, only one other person besides Bishop Forbes has made known the results of his examination of the Fort Augustus codex. This was Dr Binchy, who examined it for his doctorate thesis at Munich University in 1924; the thesis is to be found, unprinted, in Munich University Library, where I was able to see it six years ago.<sup>44</sup> Dr Binchy printed two of the glosses in his article in *Studies* (p. 198), and Fr Gwynn printed four of them (*loc. cit.*, p. 8), taken from Dr Binchy's unpublished dissertation. Bishop Forbes' article, published ninety-eight years ago, has therefore remained the best available guide to the codex and its glosses.

The purpose of the present article is not to describe the codex in detail. Its object is much more limited: to give an improved text of the marginal notes or glosses, relate them to the notes in the Vienna codex and show that they

provide an accurate guide to the dating of the codex. It should be emphasized that Bishop Forbes' account contains much interesting information that I have not attempted to give here.

For the most part the glosses are invocations of saints; some are in Latin, and some in Gaelic. Forbes sent the Gaelic ones for translation to Bishop Reeves, who, finding three of the five to be invocations of Sts Gervase and Protase, commented that their feast must have some significance in the life of Marianus. Forbes published the Gaelic glosses with Reeves' comment, and followed them with the Latin ones. Thus they did not appear in the order in which they came in the codex, and in this way was obscured a most interesting feature of the glosses, namely that they provide an accurate chronological guide to the progress made by Marianus in writing the codex. This feature was further obscured by the inclusion of glosses penned by the scribe who completed the text left unfinished by Marianus and of notes which are either directions to the text or have no significance, being an imperfectly erased word or two. All of these are in Latin. In the following pages, therefore, I shall give only what are significant glosses written by Marianus himself, in the order in which they appear. Each will be followed by a translation and then by comments in brackets.

The codex consists of 141 parchment folios, about 10½ ins. by 8 ins., with fairly broad margins. The only decoration is the vermilion colouring of the initial letters and headings. The contents are eight ascetical treatises in Latin, which are listed by Bishop Forbes. The first six are in the hand of Marianus, and it is noteworthy that a gloss is to be found on each page where a treatise ends except in one case, the end of the third treatise on fol. 73r. On fol. 122r. Marianus has penned four lines of the seventh piece, which continues at once in the hand of one John, who follows the same custom of giving his name in glosses. These are listed by Forbes,

and only a translation of the final one will be given here: "30th March to-day, Thursday, in the year of the Lord 1083, almost the seventh of my exile, and the eighth of the inhabitation of this place by the Scoti, in the reign of Henry IV. May the soul of wretched John rest in the peace of God. Amen." This throws light on the foundation of the monastery and also affords a clue to Marianus' death. Why did he break off so abruptly, and why did someone else complete the volume in 1083? It certainly seems likely that he intended to continue his work but was prevented.

The glosses afford an insight into the liturgical life of the monks. Most of the saints mentioned are in the Roman calendar; there are the two Scoti, Columba and Kilian; and, surprisingly if the monks were not Benedictine<sup>44a</sup>, a feast of St Benedict. Marianus constantly begs God for forgiveness and mercy; the adjective *miser*, used so often in the glosses along with *miserere* and *diartroge* by this monk who signed himself as *Muiredach brog*, would perhaps be better translated as "in need of mercy" instead of "wretched." This use of *miser* and calling on the divine mercy was common with the Scoti.<sup>45</sup>

The text and Latin glosses are in continental minuscule, but the Gaelic notes are in insular script, with no aspiration marked unless otherwise stated. Apart from two colophons, the notes are in the bottom margin and well separated from the text. They are likewise in black ink apart from the exceptions noted. Contractions in the original are given in full but capitals and punctuation have not been added. Not all words are easy to read, and I should like to express my appreciation of the courtesy and the help given me by the staff of the Manuscripts Department of the National Library. They provided facilities for reading the faded portions under an ultra-violet lamp and supplied photographs of the less legible glosses taken with techniques which brought out the faded writing.

The following are the glosses. Bishop Forbes' article is referred to as *PSAS*.

fol. 1r.

vii(?) id.. iunii hodie anno domini mlxxx  
Seventh day before the ides of June today in the year of the Lord 1080. (This note is omitted by *PSAS*, being invisible except under the lamp and not very legible except in the photographs. The date given above is 7th June but the number of strokes after the initial *v* is not clear; it could therefore be *viii* or (less likely) *vi*, which would be 6th or 8th June respectively).

fol. 4r.

feil colaim chille innocht for mairt anno domini  
mlxxx a impede im dilgud diartroge  
The feast of Columelle tonight on Tuesday in the year of the Lord 1080. His intercession for forgiveness with regard to our wretchedness. (Omitted by *PSAS*, being illegible except under the lamp. St Columba's feast is on 9th June. This is the only Gaelic gloss in which *h* is written).

fol. 11r.

sancte barnaba apostole pro misero mariano intercede  
St Barnabas the Apostle, intercede for wretched  
Marianus. (St Barnabas' feast is 11th June. This note is in red, the colour of the headings and initials of the text).

fol. 23r.

sancte vite pro misero mariano intercede  
St Vitus, intercede for wretched Marianus. (St  
Vitus' feast is 15th June. Other examples of double  
for single *s* will be found).

fol. 41r.

impede geruassi 7 protassi asafeil innoct feria vi  
anno domini lxxx for dia im dilgud diartroge

The intercession of Gervase and Protase on their feast tonight, Friday, in the year of the Lord '80, to God for forgiveness with regard to our wretchedness (The feast of Sts Gervase and Protase is on 19th June. The day and year, written above *innoc* in the codex, are omitted in *PSAS*, which ascribes this gloss to fol. 48).

fol. 48v.

impede geruasi 7 protasi asafeil indiu for dia im dilgud dun (?)

The intercession of Gervase and Protase on their feast today to God for forgiveness to us. (The last word, very faint, was omitted by *PSAS* and is given as *diartroge* by Binchy (*Studies*, p. 198), but it seems too short for this. *PSAS* ascribes this note to fol. 41).

fol. 56r.

sit nomen domini benedictum ex hoc nunc 7 usque in saeculum. a quo est omne datum optimum 7 omne donum perfectum. domine miserere miseri scriptoris. suis fratribus peregrinis. hec dicta scribentis causa tui amoris.

May the Lord's name be blessed henceforth and for ever. From him is every excellent gift and every perfect gift. Lord, have mercy on the wretched writer, who writes these passages for his brethren in exile for the sake of thy love. (This is a sort of colophon since a treatise ends at the foot of this page. The first part is a composite quotation from the Psalms and the Epistle of St James).

fol. 59r.

per intercessionem sanctorum martyrum tuorum iohannis 7 pauli domine miserere miseri mariani

Through the intercession of thy holy martyrs John and Paul, Lord, have mercy on wretched Marianus. (*PSAS* here repeats the Gaelic gloss from fol. 48v.

Nothing is legible except under the lamp, and nothing is clear after *tuorum* except in the photographs. The feast of Sts John & Paul is 26th June. Only the first three letters of *johannis* are written in the note).

fol. 65r.

vigilia feli petair ocus poil innoc for domnuc anno domini mxxxx an impede for dia im dilgud diartroge

The vigil of the feast of Peter and Paul tonight on Sunday, in the year of the Lord 1080. Their intercession to God for forgiveness with regard to our wretchedness. (The feast of Sts Peter and Paul is 29th June. There are marks, apparently denoting aspiration, above the *p* of *poil*, and the *c* in *innoc* and *domnuc*. *PSAS* omits the year, which is written above for *domnuc*).

fol. 68r.

kal iuil innoc for cetain

The kalends of July tonight, on Wednesday. (*PSAS* gives this as Latin, as the last words are illegible except under the lamp. The kalends were on the 1st of the month).

fol. 84r.

sancte martine 7 udalrice indulgentiam nobis miseris adquire

Sts Martin and Udalricus, obtain forgiveness for us who are wretched. (The Acta Sanctorum give St Udalricus and the Translation of St Martin on 4th July. In the text the initial letter of *udalricus* is unusual, resembling *o* with *u* on top; it may be a correction. The note is in red).

fol. 96v.

sancte kiliane pro misero mariano intercede  
St Kilian, intercede for wretched Marianus. (St Kilian's feast is given in the Acta Sanctorum as 8th July. The gloss is in red).

fol. 106v.

translatio sancti benedicti est hac sabbati nocte anno domini mlxxx mariani miseri domine miserere

The Translation of St Benedict is on this Saturday night in the year of the Lord 1080. Lord, have mercy on wretched Marianus. (This feast, kept on 11th July, commemorates the taking of St Benedict's body from Monte Cassino to Fleury on the Loire. Presumably it was only kept by those who believed the transfer took place. Controversy over the matter was aroused after the last war as the bombing of Monte Cassino revealed a tomb with a body, said to be St Benedict's, while a body is also venerated at Fleury. The Translation is still observed by French Benedictines, but others take up a neutral position by keeping what they term the Solemnity of St Benedict on this day).

fol. 122r.

sit nomen domini benedictum a quo est omne datum optimum / omne donum perfectum. domine miserere miseri scriptoris. qui hec scripsit suis fratribus peregrinis.

May the name of the Lord be blessed, from whom is every excellent gift and every perfect gift. Lord, have mercy on the wretched writer, who has written this for his brethren in exile. (This is a colophon at the end of a treatise. Marianus apparently wrote this colophon in red, added the following note in the bottom margin in the same ink, then later wrote four more lines of text).

fol. 122r.

tertio idus iulii indui for huan anno domini mlxxx Third day before the ides of July today on Monday in the year of the Lord 1080. (This date is the 13th of July. *PSAS* does not make it clear that is a separate gloss from the preceding, and translates it differently in two places. In one it is given as *Tertia Iulii*, 3rd July,

which was not a Monday. The original has: *tert(io) id(us) iulii*. This form of dating with the numeral in the ablative is the one found in the martyrologies).

A portion of the calendar for the year 1080 can now be constructed and will make the dating even clearer. The thirteen dates mentioned in the text in chronological order are marked with an asterisk, and the six with the day of the week added are in heavy type. It will be seen that all correspond.

	June		July	
Su.	*7	14 21	*28	5 12
M.	8	*15 22	29	6 *13
Tu.	*9	16 23	30	7
W.	10	17 24	*1	*8
Th.	*11	18 25	2	9
F.	12	**19	*26	3 10
Sa.	13	20 27	*4	*11

The notes thus amount to a sort of diary of the scribe's progress. He worked for longer hours at some periods than at others; sometimes he worked during the night and recorded the fact with the expression easily recognisable as the present-day *an nocht*. On the feast of Sts Gervase & Protase he spent night and day at his self-imposed task for his brethren in exile. It must be almost unique to have an ancient manuscript so meticulously dated; and the modern reader will forgive himself a thrill of awe as he looks at the notes, written nine centuries ago in the two languages which brought civilisation to Central Europe, and revealing the simple piety of Marianus at his lonely work.

## NOTE:

I have not seen the Vienna codex but the descriptions of it in print enable one to see the striking resemblances with the Fort Augustus codex. It too is written in continental minuscule but with the glosses in insular script.<sup>46</sup> The text of the glosses is very similar: precise dating and appeals for forgiveness for *Marianus miser* or *Muirédach trag*. Reeves prints five glosses, of which the following are extracts in translation:

fol. 10

Gaelic: Easter Saturday tonight, 10th before the kalends of April (i.e., 23rd March), 1079.

fol. 17

Latin: Ascension today, 6th before the nones of May (i.e., 2nd May).

fol. 87

Gaelic: Feast of Comgall today, on Friday.

fol. 141

Gaelic: Feast of Brendan tonight, on Thursday. colophon

Latin: 16th before the kalends of June (i.e., 17th May) today, Friday, A.D. 1079.

The Easter Saturday referred to is the day before Easter Sunday, usually termed Holy Saturday. Ascension Thursday, forty days later, is then 2nd May. For St Comgall's feast, Reeves gives 10th June, which is surely wrong as it breaks the chronological sequence. He gives alternative Brendans, whose feasts fall on 9th and 16th May, both of which fit as each would fall on Thursday. Finally, 17th May is indeed a Friday. Zeuss (*2nd ed.*, p. xviii), followed by O'Donovan (p. 22), gives the date in the first gloss wrongly as the kalends, which throws the reckoning out.

It seems unlikely that Marianus, who shows himself to be so meticulous in the Fort Augustus codex, should have been inaccurate in these notes; therefore, granted that Comgall is the correct reading, a saint of that name whose feast falls on 3rd or 10th May should be looked for. The Acta Sanctorum give St Comgall of Bangor on 10th May and Brendan is thus St Brendan of Clonfert, given on 16th May. Comparison with the Fort Augustus codex also suggests that examination under the ultra-violet lamp might be fruitful.

FORT AUGUSTUS ABBEY

MARK DILWORTH

## NOTES

1. Bishop Forbes: Account of a manuscript of the 11th century by Marianus of Ratishon, in Vol. 6 (1866), pp. 34-40.
2. Most authors dealing with Irish monks on the Continent (e.g. Zeuss, Wattenbach, Reeves, Zimmer, Gougaud, Kenney, Hennig) distinguish between the two and sometimes correct examples of confusion. The two have separate articles side by side in the Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 36, p. 160, and the Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York, 1907-14), Vol. 9, p. 662.
3. The glosses in this codex are given in a paper by Dr Reeves on Marianus Scotus of Ratishon (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 7 (1857-61), pp. 290-301). The final gloss was also deciphered, at a later date but independently, by W. Wattenbach: Un autographe de Marianus Scotus (Revue Celtique, Vol. 1 (1870-2), pp. 262-4). Zeuss gives some of them in his Grammatica Celtica (1853), p. xxiv (2nd edition, p. xviii), but see p. 144 below for a correction. They are repeated by J. O'Donovan in the Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 7 (1859), p. 22, while the final one is reproduced in other authors, with or without the Gaelic name of Marianus deciphered by Reeves and Wattenbach.
4. Reeves, pp. 300-1; A. Gwynn: Some notes on the history of Irish and Scottish Benedictine monasteries in Germany (Innes Review, Vol. 5), p. 8; J. Healy: The School of Kells (Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 8, pp. 615-6).
5. Healy, p. 615; M. & L. de Paor: Early Christian Ireland (London, 1958), pp. 111, 127, 166; E. C. Treuholme: The Story of Iona (Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 32, 67.
6. J. F. Kenney: The Sources for the early history of Ireland (New York, 1929), Vol. 1, p. 617. Reference to the year of their *peregrinatio* was a habit of others besides Marianus: cf. below, pp. 131, 138.

7. Edited by the Bollandists in *Acta Sanctorum*, 9th February (Tomus 5, pp. 361 ff. in the Paris 1864 reprint). The MS used was defective, according to D. A. Binchy: *The Irish Benedictine Congregation in medieval Germany* (Studies, Vol. 48 (Dublin, 1929), p. 197). On the other hand the commentary of the Bollandist editors is still useful although originally published in 1637.
8. Dr Binchy (loc. cit., p. 198-200) considers that the Benedictine rule was not observed by the first Irish monks at Weib-Sankt-Peter but was introduced soon after, when St James' was built in Rathfarnham. Even if this is so, Marianus is still the founder of the Benedictine Schottenkloster. See also below, p. 138. A survey of exclusively Irish monasteries from the 7th century on is given by J. P. Fuhrmann: *Irish medieval monasteries on the Continent* (Washington, 1927), a work which has not received the attention it deserves from Irish scholars. According to this writer, the Irish monasteries observed the B-medietine rule from a very early date.
9. 1088 is given as date of death by some writers, but without citing any authority. The only evidence would seem to be the Fort Augustus codex, in which Marianus' hand ends abruptly and which was completed by another hand in 1083 (see below, p. 138).
10. J. Hennig: *Irish monastic activities in Eastern Europe* (Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Vol. 65 (1945), pp. 394-400); Kenney, nos. 320, 332, 444, 445, 619.
11. To the works already mentioned can be added: Wattenbach (ed. Reeves): *The Irish monasteries in Germany* (Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 7, pp. 227-47 and 285 ff.); Margaret Stokes: *Early Christian art in Ireland* (London, 1887), pp. 41 ff.; H. Zimmer: *The Irish element in medieval culture* (New York, 1891), pp. 89-112; F. O'Brien: *The expansion of Irish Christianity to 1200* (Irish Historical Studies, Vol. 3, pp. 241-66 and Vol. 4, pp. 131-63); L. Gougand: *Gaelic pioneers of Christianity* (Dublin, 1929), pp. 88-92. The authors mentioned so far, with the exception of Dr Binchy, treat of these foundations in the setting of the movements of Irish monks across Europe.
12. For an account of the church, with an excellent bibliography and many pictures and plans, see *Kunstdenkmäler der Oberpfalz*, ed. F. Mader (Munich, 1933), Vol. 22, II, pp. 297-331. A recent work attempts to relate it to Scottish monuments: J. S. Richardson: *The mediaeval stone carver in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 10 and Plate 15, but there are several errors of detail (see also note 42). An Irish point of view is given by C. McNeill: *The affinities of Irish romanesque architecture* (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. 42 (1952), pp. 140-7).
13. For the status and subsequent decline of these houses see Binchy, pp. 194-210; Gwynn, pp. 14-19; G. A. Reuz: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei S. Jakob* (Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Cistercienser-Orden, Band 16 (1886), pp. 64-84, and also subsequent issues which contain a calendar of the relevant documents); M. Dilworth: *The Schottenkloster at the Reformation*, in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 241-4.
14. D. E. Easson: *Medieval religious houses: Scotland* (London, 1957), p. 51; G. W. S. Barrow: *From Queen Margaret to David I: Benedictines & Tironians* (Innes Review, Vol. 11 (1960), pp. 22-29).
15. Easson p. 52; Treuholme, pp. 79-82.

16. There is a detailed account of the affair in K. T. Gemeiner: *Regensburger Chronik*, Band 4 (Regensburg, 1824), 1514-20. This work takes the form of a year-to-year chronicle.
17. Attested copy in Munich Hauptstaatsarchiv, K.Lit. St Jakob Regensburg, nr. 1, fol. 8. It is printed in Gemeiner, p. 295. For John Thomson, see M. Dilworth: *Two necrologies of Scottish Benedictine abbays in Germany* (Innes Review, Vol. 9), p. 179.
18. T. A. Fischer: *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902), Part I; idem: *The Scots in E. & W. Prussia* (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 234-7; L. Hammermayer: *Deutsche Schottenkloster, schottische Reformation, etc.* (Zeitschrift für bayerische Landeskunde, Band 26, pp. 169-76).
19. Dilworth: *Necrologies*, pp. 178, 180.
20. Hammermayer, pp. 197, 233-4.
21. *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 368; Gwynn, pp. 8-9.
22. Gwynn, pp. 9-11; Binchy, p. 200.
23. For a summary of the change, see Gwynn, pp. 11-13.
24. Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, ed. Hearne (1722), Vol. 3, p. 926.
25. Found respectively in Renz, Vol. 16, pp. 428, 636, 638 and Vol. 17, pp. 81, 82, 267; Gwynn, p. 17. They have been mutilated in some cases by German scribes; the last is Hiberno-Norman.
26. Zeuss (2nd ed.) p. xx; O'Donovan, p. 24. The writer is not Marianus; there are two hands in the manuscript.
27. See, for instance, A. MacBain's *Gaelic Etymological Dictionary* (2nd ed. Stirling, 1913), p. 393.
28. Attested copy in Munich Hauptstaatsarchiv, K.Lit. St Jakob Regensburg, nr. 1, fol. 23. A later hand has scored out the words "et Ibernorum de maiori Scotia."
29. As is contended by some Irish scholars. See Wattenbach (Reeves), UJA, Vol. 7, p. 246.
30. Würzburg University Library, M.ch.q.56, fol. 27. These two names head the list of those monks of Würzburg judged to be Scots by Fischer (The Scots in Germany, pp. 302-4). The list has been edited by me for a forthcoming issue of *The Innes Review*.
31. G. F. Black: *The surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 451. The fact that Sancton is found as a by-form of the Scots name Swinton (ibid. p. 759) is surely of no relevance.
32. "English" is used as a convenient term for the Lowland language.
33. C. Giblin: *The Irish Franciscan mission to Scotland 1619-47* (Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee, Dublin, 1957), pp. 15-24. A book with an almost identical title by Fr. Giblin (Dublin, 1964) appeared too late to be used for the present article. It is surely no coincidence that the Franciscan base, Bunamary, was the burial-place of the Macdonalds of Antrim. The Macdonald chieftains in Ireland recruited their armed men in Scotland and seemed equally at home in Ireland and Scotland. (See Clan Donald, Vol. 2, chaps. 12, 13, 15; Chiefs of the Antrim MacDonnells prior to Sorley Boy (i.e., Buidhe), *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 7, pp. 247-259).

34. Fr. Gwynn (p. 14) thought it not improbable that some of these Scots were accepted as monks, but this is to ignore the barriers of race and language. There is no trace of infiltration by Lowland Scots among the Irish monks.
35. Dilworth: *Necrologies*, p. 198.
36. *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, Liber 12 (1627). (Vol. 2, p. \*447 in Bannatyne Club reprint, Edinburgh, 1829).
37. David Cameronius (i.e., Chambers): *De Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina, pietate, etc.* (Paris, 1631), p. 162 (Lib. III, sub 4 Julii).
38. See, for instance, P. Grosjean: *Appendice sur quelques pièces, imprimées et manuscrites, de la controverse entre Ecosais et Irlandais au début du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle (Anacleta Bollandiana, Vol. 81 (1963), pp. 436-446)*. For an adverse judgement on the Irish disputants see O'Brain, *loc.cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 253.
39. Dilworth: *Necrologies*, pp. 187, 198. There is also a draft of one such work in Cathedral House, Oban.
40. See note 28 for an example.
41. Preserved in the Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh: a transcript of a part is at Fort Augustus. Brockie is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, while the best account of him is by Dr Ludwig Hammermayer, a Bavarian scholar who has added greatly to our knowledge of the Schottenkloster in recent years: *Marianus Brockie und Oliver Legipont (Studien und Mitteilungen des Benediktiner-Ordens, Vol. 71 (1961), pp. 70-121)*. Incidentally, Brockie knew the *Marianus* codex and cited it when dealing with the early days of the Ratisbon monks.
42. A case in point is the work mentioned in note 12, where the monks of Ratisbon are said to have gone to Scotland to collect money from King David for their church, and to have returned with monks of Dunfermline. This is found in Fischer (p. 140), who gives Brockie as his source. See Gwynn, p. 19 for the authentic text.
43. The monks were expelled in 1633, and the books and archives taken elsewhere (A. Brackmann: *Germania Pontificia*, Vol. 1 (1911), p. 291).
44. **Press mark U 1924 — 8180.**
- 44a. Since the above was written, my attention has been drawn to the entries concerning St Benedict in *Missale Drummondense: The Ancient Irish Missal . . . etc.*, ed. G. H. Forbes (Burntisland and Edinburgh, 1882). The calendar has both the feast of St Benedict on 21st March, with a eulogy of the saint, and the translation to Fleury on 11th July. Perhaps one should not make too much of the rivalry between Benedictine and Celtic monks.
45. Wattenbach (*Rev. Celt.* I), p. 264.
46. Zimmer, p. 120; F. Henry & G. L. March-Michel: *A Century of Irish Illumination, 1070-1170 (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 62), pp. 124-6.*

## SAINTS AND THEIR SHRINES

Skene (*Picts and Scots*, p.cii) says that when Church historians commence their narrative by stating that the period of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland is uncertain and its early history involved in obscurity, they express an opinion about as completely opposite to the real facts of the case as can well be imagined. He then goes on to deal with Níman who, he says, was the first apostle of the Strathclyde Britons, his church being built at Whitthorn in 397, as compared with the Angles of Northumbria who were converted to Christianity by Paulinus in 625. "The 'Northern Picts' were," says Skene, "converted by St Columba who came from Ireland in 563, the Scots who had landed in Argyll in 498 being already Christians."

Following Skene, others have pictured Scotland and Ireland divided into ecclesiastical parishes and bishoprics with an organised Christian clergy at work among a grateful people, a people so grateful indeed, that they named many parts of their countries after those preachers and teachers. Unfortunately, however, pagans did for a time overwhelm all this but in due time it was restored and all went well after the reforms of the 12th century. Some might regard it as unseemly to point to the actual results of Christian teaching and preaching in India and Africa for some centuries now, to ask just how far are those lands really Christian, and then to compare these results with Ireland and Scotland of old.

In any event, to support the idyllic picture of early Christian Scotland and Ireland, use is made of the many *Vitae Sanctorum*, some written many years, if not many centuries, after the death of the persons whose lives are described. These *Vitae* are in many cases full of what seem