Slieve Aughty : Terra Secreta

Some New Light On The Brendan Legend.

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Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie

1905

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Having lately had occasion to examine carefully the two collections of Latin Lives of Irish Saints contained in the Bodleian MSS. Rawlinson B 485 and 505, [1] I have come to some conclusions which I hope to lay before the readers of this Zeitschrift in a subsequent article.

On the present occasion I desire to direct their attention to the life of St. Brendan contained in these MSS. [2] which is of exceptional interest. It is a highly conflate structure and comprises elements which I have not found in any other Latin source ; and some which I have not found anywhere else.

The general scheme of the work is the conflation of a Vita Brendani (VB) with the Navigatio Brendani (NB). So far as this goes it is not peculiar. The same is true of the life printed by Cardinal Moran in his Acta Brendani (Dublin 1872) from the Codex Kilkenniensis ; [3] of the Life by Capgrave, [4] and (to some extent) of the first life of Brendan in Codex Salmanticensis. [5] But the recension of R differs, as we shall see, from all of these in important points.

It will be well to give an outline of the VB and NB respectively, so far as regards the wanderings of Brendan.

The VB [6] after giving an account of Brendan's birth, his education by S. Ita and S. Erc, and his early miracles, tells how on his Ordination as priest he was filled with the longing to go on pilgrimage, and prayed to God to show him some ' terra secreta' [7] to which he might retire. In answer to this prayer he is shown from the summit of Slieve Aughty [8] a distant Island, the attainment of which is promised to him. [9]

Accordingly he builds three skin covered coracles each holding thirty men, [10] and with these he sets forth. They wander about for five years, [11] seeing many Islands, but not the one which they sought. They are nearly engulfed by a Whirlpool, but Brendan calms it. [12] The devil alights upon the mast, and shows Brendan the entrance to hell. One of his disciples asks to be allowed to see it, and dies at the sight. Brendan revives him, ' non sine magno labore'. [13] They reach a shore on which they find a dead girl 100 feet long. Brendan raises her and baptises her, after which she dies again. [14] At length they reach a lofty island in which they see a church and hear singing. But they fall to find an entrance, and a tablet is let down to them which bids them return home. [15] They see a limpid stream, of which they desire to drink ; but Brendan shows them that it really issues from the Devil. [16] After five years' wandering they return ; [17] and Brendan Visits his former fosterers, SS. Erc and Ita. [18] The latter tells him that his failure is due to the fact that he had sought the sacred land in the skins of dead animals ; and bids him build a ship of boards. This he does. [19] His ' artifices et fabri' ask to go with him as a reward for their labours, which he grants ; also a ' preco' or ' crosan', making sixty in all. [20] After a visit to St. Enda in Aran, they come to an

island full of mice as large as cats. The ' preco' sacrifices himself, and receives heaven in return. [21] Their smith dies at sea. They reach a small island fell of pigmy-shaped demons. They anchor off it seven days, [22] and lose their anchor. Brendan blesses the hands of the priest who ministered to them, and he made an excellent anchor, though he had never done smith's work before. [23] They reach another island where they find a stone church and a very aged man praying in it. He warns them to fly from a monstrous cat living on the island. They embark, but the cat pursues them. At Brendan's prayer a beast arises from the deep and fights with the cat, and both sink. They return to the old man, who tells them that he was the last of twelve who had come from Ireland. He shows them how to find the land which they sought. receives the Eucharist from Brendan and dies. [24] They reach a lovely land where an old man bids them stop as they have reached their goal. [25] Brendan wishes to stay altogether, but he is bidden to return to Ireland and preach to the Irish. The aged man receives the Eucharist and dies. After two years' wandering they return. [26] Then follow in R various incidents of Brendan's life in Ireland and Britain up to the time of Brendan's death. These do not so much concern us, as they do not affect the question of the conflation of the Vita with the Navigatio ; and they are almost all to be found either in M, CS II, or Capgrave. [27]

I turn now to the NB. This need not detain us so long, partly because it is better known, owing to the publication of the text by Jubinal in 1836, by Schröder in 1871, and by Moran in 1872 ; partly because, though the travel incidents are more numerous, the general structure of the narrative is much simpler. The NB, without any reference to Brendan's earlier life, tells how he received a visit from Barrinthus (Barrfind) and heard from him the story of his visit to the land of promise with his disciple Mernoc. [28] Fired by this tale, Brendan resolves to imitate his example ; and fourteen of his monks, (to whom three are subsequently added), agree to accompany him. They make a skin covered coracle and set forth. They wander for seven years and meet with various adventures, always however returning to certain points at certain seasons of the ecclesiastical year, at Maundy Thursday to the Sheep Island, at Easter Eve to the Whale, at Easter Day to the Paradise of Birds, at Christmas to the Isle of the family of Ailbe. [29] At length they successfully reach their goal, and return to Ireland where Brendan relates their adventures to his other monks, and shortly afterwards dies.

Thus as far as regards the travels of Brendan the chief points of difference between the two narratives VB and NB are as follows :

In VB Brendan sets out in search of a distant island revealed to him in answer to his prayer for a ' terra secreta' to which he might retire.

In NB he sets out in search of the ' terra repromissionis' of which he had been told by Barrinthus. [30]

In VB he sets out in the first instance with three skin-covered coracles and ninety companions, returning later to Ireland and starting afresh with a Single wooden boat and sixty companions.

In NB he sets out with a Single skin-covered coracle, and only seventeen companions.

In both narratives the wanderings cover a period of seven years. But in VB this period is divided into (a) a period of five years ending in failure owing to the character of the boats ; (b) a period of two years, ultimately crowned with success.

In NB the seven years are continuous.

We have now to see the different ways in which these two narratives have been conflated by the authorities which have combined them.

A. We have already seen the crude mechanical way in which this is done in CS I. This authority follows VB up to and including the building of the three coracles. Then it suddenly takes up the narrative of NB at the point where Brendan embarks in the Single coracle. Here the whole of the VB narrative is sacrificed except the introductory §§ 1—5 ; while the introductory part of NB containing the visit of Barrinthus and his narrative is sacrificed, the remainder being retained. [31]

B. In M the conflation is effected in the following way :
This authority follows the VB up to and including Brendan's Ordination as priest. [32] It then says that Brendan founded many monasteries and cells, adding however that the majority of these were not founded till after his return from his voyage in search of the land of promise. [33] It then inserts the text of the NB [34] after which it takes up the story of Brendan's foundations at Inis-da-Drommand and Clonfert, and so continues the story of VB up to Brendan's death and burial. [35] In other words, M retains the narrative of VB for Brendan's life before and after his voyage, merely substituting for the travel incidents of VB those of NB. In this way the inconsistencies of CS I and the still more serious inconsistencies of R are avoided, and the junction, is not unskilfully made. There remains however the inconsistency, which is common to M and R, that whereas the conclusion of NB implies that Brendan's death took place shortly after his return to Ireland, the incidents appended to it by M and R from VB imply a considerable period of activity subsequent to that return. Capgrave has avoided this.

C. And perhaps the most ingenious mode of combination is that adopted by Capgrave or the authority which he followed. Capgrave's narrative follows the VB up to and including Brendan's prayer for a ' terra secreta' to which he might retire. [36] It then makes the visit of Barrinthus the answer to this prayer, [37] and so leads into the narrative of the NB which is followed to the end, after which a few of the incidents of Brendan's later life are added from VB. [38] In this way also inconsistencies are avoided, except the not very salient one, that what Brendan obtained was not precisely what he had asked for.

D. But the account which involves the most serious inconsistency is that given or adopted by R. We ought however to he very grateful to this compiler, since, owing to his blindness to this inconsistency, he has preserved for us a nearly complete Version of VB, which so far has not been discovered in any Latin source (CS II being- considerably abridged), and only imperfectly in the Irish Life printed by Stokes.

R follows VB up to and including the vision of the distant Island from the mountain-top. [39] It then makes Brendan address his monks and say : ' my heart is fixed on seeking the land of promise, for this is the land of which Barrinchus (sic) spoke when he visited — we expect ' when he visited *me*' — but no, it runs : ' when he visited *St. Brendan*'. And so the text of the NB is introduced and continued to the end. [40] We have seen that near the end of the NB it is stated that Brendan on his return narrated to his other monks the adventures which he had had. R takes advantage of this to tack on here the remainder of VB; [41] including the travel portion of it, which CS I, M, and Capgrave have omitted. For a line or two he keeps up the device of making Brendan the narrator : ' quadam die apparuit *nobis* Sathanas' etc. [42] But, as in the case of the Barrinthus episode of the NB, he soon slips into the third person : ' cui Brendanus (dixit)', not ' cui ego dixi'.

This mode of conflation avoids, it is true, the inconsistency about the boats into which CS I has fallen ; [43] R also avoids mentioning in the portion taken from VB the number of Brendan's companions, while the inconsistency between what Brendan asked for, according to VB, and what, according to NB, he ultimately attained, is toned down by making him desire not a ' terra secreta', but, more vaguely, ' peregre proficisci'. [44] it involves however the most glaring inconsistency of all, viz. that after relating how Brendan had reached the land of promise in a skin covered coracle, the compiler goes on to tell how he failed for five years to find the blessed Island of his vision, because he sought it ' on the skins of dead animals'. Owing moreover to the fact that several of the travel incidents in VB are evidently only different versions of parallel incidents in NB there are obvious doublets in the narrative of R₃) This does not however amount to actual repetition or contradiction. [45]

While writing the above account of the new light thrown upon the Brendan legend by the R recension, I deliberately abstained from referring to Prof. Zimmer's interesting Essay on that Legend in the second of his ' Keltische Beiträge' printed in ' Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum' XXXIII, 129 ff., 257 ff. I had, of course, read that Essay ; but I wished as far as possible to work out my own results independently. After I had committed my own views to paper, I carefully re-read those parts of Zimmer's Essay which bear on the questions here discussed. This has enabled me both to strengthen my own argument in some respects, and also to mark clearly the points as to which I think Z.'s conclusions are modified by the new evidence here presented. [46]

1. I doubt Z.'s view (pp. 130, 292) that the scribe of Cod. Kilk. (= M), has simply inserted NB into a life of Brendan which contained no ocean-voyage ; the analogy of CS I and of R, combined with the existence of CS II (a life containing an ocean-voyage though of a different type from NB) makes it possible, if not probable that in M the later and more popular NB has been substituted for the ocean-voyage of VB. I do not of course deny the possibility and probability of the former existence of a life of Brendan containing no ocean-voyage. Such a life lies however far behind Cod. Kilk., behind even the Book of Leinster. We may if we like call the ocean-voyage of VB, with Zimmer, Imram Brendain, to distinguish it from NB. It would however be better to call it NB₁, and the ordinary Navigatio, NB₂ for the Irish version in the Book of Lismore is certainly not an original work as Z. seems to imply (pp. 320-1, 323) but is based on a Latin original. (See below.)

2. The Omission of Z. to perceive that the Irish Life in the Book of Lismore is really im-perfect, and that the appending to it of the conclusion of the Fís Adamnain is purely mechanical, has misled him into thinking that the Irish Life represents a tradition according to which Brendan remained permanently in the Land of Promise. The analogy of CS II and R shows that this is absolutely unfounded. Consequently all the inferences which Z. draws from the supposed difference between the ' Imram' and the ' Nauigatio' *on this point*, fall to the ground (pp. 142, 311, 321).

This also does away with Z.'s assertion, that the Irish Life *substitutes* for M §§ 12—29 (p. 321), the Imram Brenaind, and knows nothing of Brendan's voyage to Britain. If the Irish life were complete, we should find that, like R and CS II, it brought Brendan back from the Land of Promise to Ireland, and then sent him to Britain etc.

3. But the most important point in which the evidence of R and CS I and II obliges me to differ from Z. is his assertion that no document containing a connected account of any ocean-voyage of Brendan existed even in Latin before the second half of the 11th Century (pp. 315,

318). The non-existence of the title ' Imram Brenanid' in the mediaeval catalogues of Irish Sagas is conclusive only as to the Irish version, and proves nothing as to the date of the Latin version. Z. is doubtless right in saying that the Irish version is not earlier than 1100 (pp. 315, 319, 323). But it seems to me clear that the Irish Version is based on the Latin version of the VB not vice versa. This appears, inter alia, from the way in which the description of hell and paradise are elaborated (LS 3625—3668, 3855—3875) ; and this Latin original is probably referred to in the words : ' amal atberat na scribinn', ' as writings affirm' (LS 3740), a passage to which Z. has called attention. Z. may also be right in saying that the NB is not earlier than 1050 (p. 320), But NB is certainly later than the voyage §§ of VB. This is proved by (a) the more developed character of the narrative, (b) by the way in which NB has ousted the travel §§ of VB, certainly in CS I, and probably in M. We must therefore place the composition of VB, i.e. a Latin life of Brendan containing a voyage narrative differing from NB, earlier than the composition of NB. Moreover the existence of this VB (i) in an abridged form in CS II, (ii) in a conflate form in R and CS I, (iii) and in an Irish form in LS, tends to throw the date of the unabridged, uncompounded, untranslated original some distance back. But more than this: in the Litany already cited three points occur connected with Brendan's Voyage : (a) the *twelve* pilgrims on the cat Island ; (b) the *sixty* companions of Brendan; (c) the *anchorite* in the Land of Promise. In all these three points the Litany agrees with VB against all other authorities. This does not prove, but it does I think, suggest, that these points already existed in a connected narrative ; and Z. would date the Litany early in the 10th cent. (p. 302),

Lastly the lives of Machutus published by MM. Plaine and de la Borderie [47] show that as early as the 9th Century some incidents of an ocean-quest by Brendan had been combined into a connected story ; the quest itself, the discovery of a dead giant, a wonderful fountain, the whale. [48]

It should however be borne in mind that when Zimmer wrote, neither the evidence of R, nor that of CS was available.

On the other hand he was thoroughly justified in the scepticism which he expressed (p. 298) as to the 9th Century date assigned by Hardy, and others who have copied Hardy, to the Vatican MS. of the NB, Palatin. 217. [49] My friend the Rev. H. M. Bannister was good enough to make a special examination of this MS. for my benefit when he was in Rome last year. He tells me that it cannot be earlier than the end of the 11th. Cent., and more probably belongs to the beginning of the 12th, as the script closely resembles that of an inserted letter, which, from its contents, cannot be earlier than IUI. This is a fact of some importance.

The relation of the Brendan legend to other elements in Irish literature lies outside the scope of this Essay ; nor have I anything to add to Zimmer's masterly analysis,

There is however another Bodleian MS. which is of some importance to students of the Brendan legend. This is Bodl. e Musaeo 3, a large folio MS. of about A. D. 1200 formerly belonging to the monastery of Valle Crucis in Wales. The bulk of the volume consists of commentaries on the prophets ; but the last two articles are a life of St. Bernard (mutilated at the beginning), and a so called ' Vita Brendani' [50] which contains a recension of the NB quite distinct from the ordinary text. The Prologue begins : ' Predecessorum Sacra facta nostrorum' ; the Life begins : ' Fuit igitur uir iste Brendanus in insula occidentali Hibernia nomine'. The contents are briefly as follows :

Birth of B. He desires to see Paradise *and* Hell He. Visits Barrus (sic, not vice versa as in the ordinary NB). Chooses 14 brethren ; the 3 extra companions. They reach an Island, and find ' castellum quoddam circumuallatum muro cristallino'. The theft (but it is a ' ciphus aureus' that is stolen, not a ' frenum' as in the ordinary NB). The Sheep Island. The whale. The Paradise of Birds ; the tree was white, with red leaves sprinkled with white. Joy of the birds because this was the first time that God had sent any human being to them in their exile. The Wanderers mend their boat and put new skins over it (cf. S. 6, 19. 20). The island of the family of Ailbe. The coagulated sea. The sleep-inducing water. (The Order of these two incidents is reversed in the ordinary NB). Return to sheep island, to the whale, and to the Paradise of Birds. Fight between the two sea monsters etc. (The island with the three choirs is omitted, as also the island of grapes.) The gryphon conquered by a *dragon*. The mass on St. Peter's day. The column. The island of the infernal smiths. The mountain of smoke, loss of one of their comrades. They have a glimpse of Hell. [51] The Judas incident, which is very much elaborated ; he tells of the two hells, one hot, one cold ; he spends alternate days in them, with separate tortures for each day of the week. In the morning they find that one of their comrades is missing ; ' cuius absentiam ammirantes, duos amisisse recordantur ; sed quo istum tercium amiserunt, ignorant'. (The reason for this is, that, the island of the three choirs having been omitted, some other means had to be invented of getting rid of the third supernumerary.) Island of Paul the hermit. At length they reach the paradise which is surrounded by a wall of precious stones, but unsculptured. The gate was guarded by dragons, and a spear overhung it threatening death to all who attempted to enter. (This is a very interesting touch, and recalls many folk tales.) A beautiful youth brings them safely within. Description of the place. He leads them to the top of a mountain, and then bids them return, as they are not yet capable of comprehending more ; ' carnaliter enim nunc uenisti, sed spiritualiter cito uenies et iudicium hic expectabis'. With a fair wind they return to Ireland in three months ; and shortly afterwards Brendan ' ad paradisum spiritualiter regressus est'.

Now this recension (which I may call B) is of special interest as being the Latin original from which is derived the Anglo-Norman poem on Brendan published by Suchier in Böhmer's Romanische Studien, (1875), 1.555 ff., and in a more convenient form by Francisque Michel, 1878. This, according to Suchier, is the earliest version of the Brendan legend in any vernacular ; and as it was made for Alix of Louvain, the second wife of Henry I of England, its date must be about 1121. That it is a translation there can be no doubt. The poet says that he has the Story ' En lettre mis e en romanz' (l. 11). All the points peculiar to B are reproduced : the wish to see paradise and hell, (ll. 49, 50, 63) ; the visit to ' Barinz', (ll. 74, 75) ; the crystal wall, ' le mur' Qui tuz ert faiz de cristal dur, (ll.271, 272) ; the theft of a gold *cup*, ' un hanap d'or', (l. 315) ; the red and white tree, (ll. 490—493) ; the joy of the birds, (ll. 362, 363) ; the mending the boat, (ll. 597—599) ; the Omission of the Islands of the three choirs and of the grapes ; the separate tortures inflicted on Judas on each day of the week, (ll. 1354 ff.) ; the missing of one of their companions after the Judas incident, (ll. 1494—1498) ; the dragons and the sword guarding the entrance to the gate of paradise, (ll. 1706—1715); the command to return to Ireland because they were incapable of seeing more :

> O or venis ci carnalment,
> Tost revendras spiritalment ;
> Or ten reva, ci revendras,
> Le Juise ci atendras (ll. 1796 — 1799).

The discovery of the Latin original of this poem ' en romanz' shows that Suchier was wrong in ascribing the elaboration of the Judas incident, and the omission of the story of the three choirs to the Anglo-Norman poet, (u. s. p. 556, 558).

Suchier has however pointed out (ib. 557) that this Anglo-Norman poem is the source whence the Latin metrical life of Brendan printed by Ernst Martin in Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum XVI 289ff. (Neue Folge IV), and Moran, u. s. pp. 45—84, is mainly taken. In this too all the points peculiar to B are reproduced, (Moran, pp. 47, 48, 52, 56, 57, 58, 72—76, 82), though a biblical turn is given to the guarding sword, by bringing it into connexion with Gen. III. 24. The author himself indicates the principal source from which he borrowed :

' Hunc in modum transferens, ritlimo de Romano' (p. 46).

He had however also a copy of the ordinary NB, for he inserts the incident of the Island of three choirs which the B-version omits (pp. 65, 66). Moreover he himself comments on the divergence of the two recensions in this and other points. For after the story of the three choirs he adds :

Hec Romanus praeterit, inserit Latinus,
Quod uicissim disserunt, dissona plus minus,
Certent inde iudices, etc. (p. 66).

Moreover, in introducing that incident, he notes tliat it is au Insertion which he had been specially requested to make :

In latini texitur textus exemplari
Rem a piis rithmice petor haue effari (p. 64).

Yet he follows the B-version in making one of Brendan's companions disappear mysteriously after the Judas incident, and in stating that two had previously been lost (p. 76) although in his story (retaining the three choirs incident) three of Brendan's companions had already been got rid of (pp. 53, 66, 71), and there was no need to dispose of a fourtli. On the other hand the French Poem published by Jubinal is based on the ordinary NB, of which Jubinal's French Prose version is a pretty dose translation.

It does not however lie within my province to pursue the Brendan legend further into the vernaculars.

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[1] I call these two MSS. for shortness R1 and R2 respectively. The recension common to both I cite as R,.

[2] R1 fo. 72ff., R2 fo. 101c ff.

[3] See p. 10, note. (I cite this work as M.) The editor has detached the Navigatio from the Vita and printed it separately, pp. 85—131. Seeing that in the works of Schröder (Sanct Brandan, 1871, cited as S by pages and lines) and Jubinal (La legende Latine de S. Brandaines, Paris 1836), we have texts of the Navigatio in its uncompounded form, it would

have been more interesting for purposes of comparison, had the editor printed the text of Cod. Kilk. continuously. In NB the text of R is nearer to that of Jubinal than to S. Schröder's text seems to me inferior to Jubinal's.

[4] I cite this by the pages and lines of vol. I of Dr. Horstmann's new edition of Capgrave, Clarendon Press, 1901.

[5] Ed. de Smedt and de Backer, 1888 ; cited as CS. There are two lives of Brendan in CS cc. 113—154 and 759—772. I cite these (by their sections) as CS I and CS II respectively. Of the former the first four and a half sections are taken from NB. (At the bottom of c. 121there is a long lacuna in the text, extending from S 10, 35 to S 16, 27, Of this lacuna there seems to be no indication in the MS., if we may judge from the silence of the editors.) CS EL is an unconflated text of VB. It has however been a good deal abridged to make it more suitable for reading aloud (cf . § 17 : lectionalis modus multa cogit nos transilire).

[6] I have not yet discovered a text of VB in its unabridged and uncompounded form. For the determination of its contents we have : CS I, §§ 1—5 ; CS n (abridged recension) ; the elements (or most of them) in M., R., and Capgrave which cannot be traced to NB ; and the Irish Life printed by Stokes from the Book of Lismore (cited by the lines of Stokes' edition as LS). This is however incomplete, the latter part being taken, as Stokes has pointed out, from the Fís Adamnain. The part so taken does not however begin, as Stokes says, (p. 354:) with 1.3882, but in 1.3880 with the words ' ocus no æmdis', cf. Windisch, Texte, p. 193, 1. 10. It is plain that in LS these words do not cohere with the context, for they involve, *inter alia*, a transition from the preterite (ui ra laimset) to the secondary present (no æmdis). I cannot therefore agree with Zimmer (Z. f. d. A. XXXIII, 140), that this is a ' geschickter Übergangs-satz'. Z. has seen correctly the point of junction of the two narratives, but he has failed to see how the two narratives came to be conjoined ; and this failure vitiates, as we shall see, several of his arguments. The true explanation I suspect to be simply this : that in the ' Vorlage' of the Lismore scribe the Life of Brendan was followed by Fís Adamnain, but that owing to some mutilation the end of the former and the beginning of the latter were lost. The scribe however copied straight ahead without noticing the lacuna. (We have an exact parallel to this in the Omission of mediaeval and modern cataloguers to notice that owing to a similar mutilation of R1 there is at fo. 50 a sudden transition from the life of Fursa to that of Moling.) As far as it goes LS gives a recension of VB, though there are contaminations due to NB. (See below.)

[7] So CS I, § 4 ; Capgrave 138, 22 ; ' talam derrit' LS 3556.

[8] ' Mons Aitche' CS II, § 8 ; (mons quidam CS I, § 4) i sliabh ndaidche LS 3565 , which puzzles Stokes , pp. 351, 411. We have only to treat the *d* as assimilated to the *n* and super-fluous. Read : i sliab n-Aidche.

[9] In LS u. s. he is promised, not this island, but the ' tir tairngire', ' terra repromissionis'. This is a contamination with NB.

[10] CSI, §5 ; CSII, §9 ; LS 3573 ff. Not in M or R because, as we shall see, they have, prior to this point, made the transition to the text of NB. CS I makes the transition just here ; and it shows the crudeness of the conflation that immediately after the mention of the building of the three coracles it continues from NB : ' Tunc Brandanus suis precepit *nauem* intrare' ; and we never hear of the three coracles again. In LS the boats are mentioned in the plural at 3608 and 3619.

[11] CSII, §9, LS 3594 ; though the latter 3601 ff. inconsistently gives an account of how they celebrated Easter on the whale's back for *seven* successive years. This is a contamination with NB. (See below, p. 127 note 1.

[12] LS 3617 ff. (not in R).
[13] R₁ fo. 85d, R₂ fo. 112 a ; LS. 3625 ff.

[14] R₁ 86a, R₂ 112a ; LS 3678 ff. Zimmer (u. s. p. 142) points out that this seems to be a reminiscence of the part which Brendan plays in the Liban legend, LU. 40 a 30 ff.

[15] CS II, §9 ; R₁ 86b, R₂ 112b ; LS 3691 ff.

[16] ' Benedicentes uero aquas . . . alleluia dicentes . . . uiderunt dyabolum immundos liquores effundentem ut bibentes mortificaret ', R₁ 86b, R₂ 112b ; LS 3707 ff.

[17] So R, rightly ; LS 3717 (by contamination) says seven years.

[18] CS II, § 10 ; M § 12 ; R₁ 86c, R₂ 112b ; LS 3717 ff.

[19] ' Terram enira a Domino tibi osteusam non inuenies in pellibus mortuorum animalium, quia terra sancta est ualde, in qua sanguis humanus non est effusus', etc. He therefore goes to Connaught, ' quia ibi magis apta ligna esse pro hoc opere credidit', R₁ 86c, R₂ 112c ; LS 3725 ff.

[20] R₁ 86 c, R₂ 112 c : ' quidam preconis in populo gerens officium ... et totondit [Brendanus] eum . . . ut signum religionis in capite deferret' ; (this of the tonsure is peculiar to R) ; LS 3735 ff. Cf. CS II, § 10.

[21] R₁ R₂ u. s.; LS 3741 ff.

[22] Brendan says : ' mittite ancoram hic in mare, nemo enim ascendit in terram istam nisi is qui bella humana gerit, et sanguinem fundit', R₁ 86 d, R₂ 112 d. This island therefore is the very antithesis of the stainless island which they were seeking.

[23] R₁ 86d, R₂ 112 d ; LS 3760 ff. Note that though both texts speak of taking with him ' fabros et artifices', ' soera ocus gobhuinn' in the plural, it seems here to be implied that they had only one smith. This is probably truer to the original text of VB, in which I suspect that Brendan took with him a smith, a carpenter, and a ' preco', answering to the three additional monks in NB ; cf. S 6, 25—30. In the ' Imram curaig Ua Corra', the smith asks to be taken on the voyage in return for his labour in building the coracle, Rev. Celt. XIV, 38 ; cf. Zimmer, u. s. pp. 187, 200.

[24] R₁ 87 a, R₂ 113 a ; LS 3787 ff. This incident is in the Litany, LL. 373 c 60 ; and it should be noted that this agrees with VB against NB as to the number of Brendan's companions, ' trifichit fer'. Zimmer has pointed out (Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum XXXIII, 132-3) that this incident is a variant of the story in LL. 283 a 14 ff. ; and the connexion is seen very clearly in the R version. The monstrous cat had developed from ' unus catus nobis ualde amabilis', which the pilgrims had brought with them to the Island. This is clearly the ' cattine' of LL. 283 a 17. The pilgrims of the latter story however were only three ; the Litany agrees with VB in making them twelve. This is important.

[25] ' En cernitis terram bonam ualde et sanctam, et nullo humano sanguine pollutam, nee ad sepulturam alicuius hominis exaratam', R₁ 87b, R₂ 113 a ; a passage which should be connected with the words of St. Ita cited above ; cf. C. S. II, § 11 ; LS 3843 ff. Yet, rather inconsistently, the old man himself is buried there when he dies. Here, after a description of the land and of the old man, LS practically ends ; for we have seen that the remainder belongs to a different work. This old man, as Zimmer points out, u. s. p. 301 , is very different from the youth (' iuuenis') who welcomes the pilgrims to the Land of Promise in NB.

[26] R₁ 87c, R₂ 113b ; C. S. II, §12.

[27] Yet even in these cases R is often clearer and better than any of the other texts ; e.g. the penitential object of Brendan's voyage to Britain comes out much more clearly in R. Brendan on reaching Britain consults Gildas as to what his penance should be ; and the conflict with the lions (C. S. II, § 14) is the penance imposed on him by Gildas. After leaving Gildas, ' peruenit ad insulam Britannie nomine Auerech, et ibi fundauit ecclesiam proponens ibi manere usque in finem'. Here ' in rupe eminenti prope mare' he saw the two beasts fighting, one of which was saved by calling on Brigit. He goes to Ireland in order to enquire the reason. After this he returns to Britain, ' et fundauit ecclesiam nomine Beldach in regione cui nomen Heth. Uidit quoque ibi mirabilem uisionem quam fratribus non reuelauit nisi quod Britannia maximam heresim ante iudicium ultimum teneret'. In consequence of this he returns to Ireland. R₁ 88 d, R₂ 114 a. The order of events is much clearer here than in the other sources. There are also some incidents peculiar to R : a seven days' fast in which seven of Brendan's monks die, R₁ 87 d, R₂ 113 c. The fishermen of the River Fergus refuse him fish, and the fish desert the river, ib.; fifty royal towns are made desolate by his word, because they offended him, R₁ 88 a, R₂ 113 c ; Brendan tells how he left a bronze cup on the back of the whale, and found it again the next year, R₁ 90a, R₂ 115b. (I doubt if this really belongs to the text of VB ; it looks like an interpolation from NB ; cf. S. 20, 10—14; we have already seen reason to suspect that the mention of the whale in LS 3604 ff. is due to con-tamination with NB. If this surmise is correct, the whale disappears from VB altogether). In the curious story, given also by Capgrave (152, 31), of the man with two wives, R inserts the explanation, that this was ' secundum legem illius temporis', R₁ 90 b, R₂ 115 c ; the story how they sailed under an island supported by columns, (M §26) was told by Brendan to his disciples ' in desertis Gallie', R₁ 90c, R₂ 115c. This is interesting as extending Brendan's travels to Gaul, and might be cited in their favour by the adherents of the untenable theory that the Britannia to which Brendan voyaged was Britanny. The mutilated verses in LL. 366 lower margin, seem to take Brendan to Tabropane, Jordan, and Mount Zion. The latter part may be due to an interpretation of the phrase ' Land of Promise' in a biblical sense.

[28] R has the parallel form Ternoc ; S and Codex Kilkenuiensis give Mernocat, with an additional suffix. I do not know whether he can be identified with any of the numerous Eruans, Ernins, Mernocs, Ternocs, or Momernocs of the Irish Calendars. He had a monastery in an island ' iuxta montem lapidis'. This is a translation of Sliab Liac, i. e. Slieve League in Co. Donegal. Barrfind's name is preserved in Kilbarron, N. of Ballyshannon. Further north is a place called S. Ernan's. The island therefore must be sought in The Bay of Donegal.

[29] Deus proposuit [disposuit R, predestinauit M] uobis quatuor loca per quatuor tempora usque dum finiantur septem anni peregrinationis uestre', etc. S. 21, 2-4.

[30] In an Irish Life of Brendan in the Brussels MS. 5100—4, p. 13 his voyage is occasioned by the sight of a wonderful flower from the Land of Promise ; see Stokes' edition of Gorman's Martyrology, pp. ix, x.

[31] We have seen, above, p. 125, note 1 that tliere is a considerable lacuna in the text of NB in CS I ; but this is probably accidental, not intentional.

[32] M §§ 1-11.

[33] M § 11; cf. Zimmer, u. s. p. 293.

[34] Moran states, p. 10, that the text of NB in Cod. Kilk. is ' imperfect' ; but he does not tell us in what respects it is so.

[35] M §§ 12—29.

[36] 138, 22—26.

[37] Ib. 27 ff. One of the MSS. of the Irish Life seems to have taken a Step in this direction, the visit of Barrinthus following the prayer for the ' talam derrit', see LS p. 851.

[38] 152, 20—153, 37.

[39] ' Mons longe a mari positus', R_1 74 d, R_2 103 b. It is characteristic of R to omit names of places and persons.

[40] Hence, after Barrinthus' departure has been mentioned, Brendan addresses his monks annonncing his intention of seeking the promised land, S. 5, 26 ff., although in R he had already done so.

[41] This device was probably suggested to the compilator by VB itself, as he had it, in which three or four of the travel-incidents, instead of being given in their proper place in the travel narrative, are (for the sake of variety, or because , as Zimmer has suggested, u. s. pp. 294—5, they are later additions), narrated subsequently by Brendan to some of his disciples ; M §§ 25, 26 ; Capgrave, 152, 31 ff. ; 153, 4 ff. ; cf. R_1 90, R_2 115. Brendan also appears as narrator of his own adventures in the story already cited from LL. 283a which ends : conid hé Brenaind adfét in scél sin, i.e. it was B. himself who told the story. R makes one substantial Omission in the narrative of the NB, viz. the episode of Judas Iscariot, S. 29, 30—31, 33 ; the reason being that this incident occurs (in a much less developed form) in the VB narrative, M § 25. Conversely Capgrave omits the latter, and retains the former. M retains both.

[42] R_1 85d, R_2 112a.

[43] Because R deserts the text of VB just before the building of the three coracles is mentioned. To this extent the text of VB is imperfect in R. If the Story of the whirlpool belongs to VB, this also is omitted in R.

[44] This phrase occurs also in CS II § 8, and therefore it probably belongs to the original text of VB. Capgrave speaks both of ' peregrinandi uoluntas', and also of the prayer for a ' terra secreta'. R and CS II omit the latter, though CS had no special motive (as R may have had) for doing so. It may have been already omitted in their common source.

[45] Compare CS II, § 9 ; LS 3691 ff. ; R$_1$ 86b, R$_2$ 112b ; (the lofty island, VB) with S. 6, 35 — 7, 32 = R$_1$ 76b, R$_2$ 104b (NB).

LS 3707 ff. ; R$_1$ R$_2$ u. s. (the diabolic stream VB) with S. 18, 31 — 19, 5 = R$_1$ 80c, R$_2$ 107 d (NB).
LS 3732 ff.; R$_1$ 86c, R$_2$ 102c ; (the additional companions, VB) with S. 6, 25—31: = R$_1$ 76b, R$_2$ 104 b (NB).
LS 3774 ff. ; R$_1$ 86d, R$_2$ 112d ; (isle of pigmy demons VB.) with S. 28, 1 to 29, 9 = R$_1$ 83d, R$_2$ 109b ; (isle of Smiths NB).
LS 3787 ff. ; R$_1$ 87a, R$_2$ 113a ; (conflict between the monster cat and the marine beast, VB) with S. 21, 24 — 22,7 = R$_1$ 81d, R$_2$ 108d (NB).
R$_1$ 90 a, R$_2$ 115 a (bronze cup left on whale's back, VB) with S. 20, 10 to 14 = R$_1$ 81a, R$_2$ 108b (NB).
Capgrave 152, 31 ff.; R$_1$ 90b, R$_2$ 115c (old man on island to whom Brendan administers the Eucharist, VB) with S. 31, 34 — 34, 17 = R$_1$ 84c, R$_2$ 110 d (NB).
M § 26 ; R$_1$ 90c, R$_2$ 112c (Island supported on four columns, VB) with S. 27, 3—35 = R$_1$ 83c, R$_2$ 110a (NB).

[46] But, on the whole, Zimmer is right in saying that the amount of matter common to the two narratives is 'auffallend gering', Z. f. d. A. XXXIII, 141. (at p. 10) For the convenience of students of the Brendan legend it may be well here to give an account of some other MSS. which I have examined. The folowing all contain the ordinary text of the NB as given by Schröder, though of course with varieties of readings.

(1) Land Mise. 410, f. 40 b, saec. XII. The commencement up to the end of the visit of Barrinthus, S. 5, 25, is treated as an introduction ; and there is a new ' incipit' before S. 5, 26.

(2) Land Mise. 237, f. 229, saec. XIII (lacuna of 3 ff. between f. 231 and f. 232.

(3) Land Mise. 173, f. 109, saec. XV. This has some very quaint little pictures drawn on the margins.

(4) Land Mise. 44, f. 27 vo. The bulk of the text is in a 13th cent. band but the latter part from S. 30, 12 ' locum istum' etc., is in a 15th cent. band. On the margins are illustrations, evidently copied from No. 3 ; from which the latter part of the text was also probably taken.

(5) Land Mise. 315, f. 165 vo., saec. XV. Omits the parentage and birth place of Brendan at the beginning.

(All these five MSS. belonged to the Carthusians of Mainz. Colgan, AA. SS. p. 721 quotes a life of Brendan from Cod. MS. Carthusiae Moguine.)

(6) Coll. Line. Oxon. 27, f. 186 vo., saec. XI— XII. It also has illustrations, but quite distinct from Nos. 3 and 4. At the end are the satirical verses cited by Hardy, Catalogue I, 162, deriding the NB as not merely absurd, but heretical.

[47] Deux Vies inédites de S. Malo. Reunes 1884.

[48] Vita Prima, §§ XVI, XVII— XIX, XXII— XXV, XXVI. These incidents recur in the second life, which however differs from the first just as VB differs from NB, viz. by making the Wanderers return to their home in the middle of their wanderings : ' cum iam prolixi temporis nauigio lassati quam querehant insulam nen inuenirent, peragratis Orchadibus ceterisque aquilonensibus insulis, ad patriara redeunt', § VII. The ' patria' however is Wales, not Ireland ; Brendan heing represented as abbot of Nantearvan, and Machutus as his pupil. Moreover in these lives the quest is finally unsuccessful. From the Machutus Legend his name has been introduced into some MSS. of the NB, among the companions of Brendan, see Moran, p. 89 ; Jubinal, p. 5. The following interesting piece of evidence on the Brendan Legend was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. T. A. Archer. Rodulfus Glaber, who finished his Histories between 1016 and 1049, in Book II, ch. 2, after telling of the appearance of a whale off Berneval (dép. Seine Inférieure), coutinues thus : Legitur in gestis . . . Bendani [sic] orientalium . . . Angloruni [!] quoniam isdem nir Dei . . . cum pluribus monachis per . . . insulas per aliquod temporis spatium heremiticam uitam [ducens], hanc . . . quondam obuiam haberet beluam. Nam cum remigando . . . circumiret insulas, superueniente noctis crepusculo, cerneus procul uelut maritimam iusulam, ad quam . . . diuertens cum omnibus qui secum erant . . . Exeuntes de scafis conscendentesque turgentem belue dorsum, unius tantum modo noctis ibidem hospicio potituri. Cumque . . . fratres . . . indulsissent membra quieti , solus . . . Bendanus . . . explorabat cautius uim uentorum et siderum cursus ; qui . . . repente intellexit quoniam illud promuntorium ... ad orientalem illos eueheret plagam. Luce . . . reddita, . . . collegas exortans . . . Deo [inquit] . . . referamus gratias, qui . . . nobis . . . preparauit uehiculum non egens humano remigio' . . . Huius modi ergo per spacia plurimorum dierum usi euectione, . . . tandem peruen[erunt] ad insulam . . . speciosissimam. Illius quoque arborum habitudo atque auium dissimilitudinem gerit uniuersorum. Egressus . . . uir sanctus . . . repperit etiam ibi monachorum uel potius anacoritarum collectas . . . multiplices . A quibus . . . suscepti plurimis diebus ibidem commaneutes, . . . postmodumque ad natiuum reuertentes sohim, uniuersa que compererant . . . narrauerunt' (ed. Prow, pp. 27, 28). Here the whale is used not merely as a resting place but as a ship by the Wanderers ; while the Paradise of Birds and the Isle of the Family of Ailbe are fused into one. The curious mistake of making Brendan an East Anglian is probably due to a confusion with Fursa, who of course, was connected with East Anglia. M. Blochet ((Sources Orieutales de la Divine Comédie, § IV), traces the story of the fish-island through Sindbad's Yoyage in the 1001 Nights back to pre-christian Persian sources. These are regions into which I cannot follow him. It is however interesting to note that this incident is almost the only one in the NB to which Zimmer could find no analogue in other Irish sources, secular or ecclesiastical, u. s. p. 177. (For the reference to Blochet I am also indebted to Mr. Archer.)

[49] Not Regin. Christin, as Hardy, Cat. I, 159.

[50] This begins at p. 213.

[51] Cf. VB ; LS 3625 ff. ; R$_1$ 85d, R$_2$ 112a.