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NOTES

Chapter I

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3. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law and the Old Testament', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds.), Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission (Stuttgart 1987), 284-307: 306.
4. Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore (Dublin 1847), 123-37; The Life of Columba by Adamnán (Dublin 1857),335, 340-1, 347-9.
5. Reeves, Adamnán, 334-69; Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum III.4 = Charles Plummer (ed.), Venerabilis Baedae opera historica (2 vols, Oxford 1896) i, 134; Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds.), Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English people (Oxford 1969), 222-5.
6. Reeves, Adamnán, 336 note g.
7. Todd, St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland (Dublin 1864), 1-189, especially 87-149; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 248.
8. St. Patrick, 27, 36-8, 41-4, 87-94.
9. The life of St. Patrick (London 1905), 166-70, 180-3, 243-4, 375-9; see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 239-42.
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16. Irish monasticism, 167-90; see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 232.

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18. Sources for the early history of Ireland: 1. ecclesiastical (New York 1929), 291-3, 324; 'St. Patrick and the Patrick legend', Thought 8 (1933-4), 5-34, 213-39: 27; see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 230-1.

19. Sources, 291-2; Thought 8 (1933-4), 215-17; see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 233.

20. Sources, 291-2, 329; Thought 8 (1933-4), 215-21.

21. 'Some problems', 230-1, 238 note 1, 243, 246, 249.

22. 'Patrick and his biographers, ancient and modern', Studia Hibernica 2 (1962), 7-173.

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29. Church, 134-274; see Binchy's review (above, note 26); on the manaig see further Hughes, 'The church and the world in early Christian Ireland', Irish Historical Studies 13 (1962), 99-116, especially 109-11.

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32. Church, 111-33; see idem, 50.

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Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 1 (1981), 1-20.

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Ireland', Peritia 3 (1984), 303-15: 308; 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland', in H.B.Clarke and Anngret Simms (eds.), The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe (Oxford 1985), 45-75: 52-5, 63-4, 66-8; Flanagan, 'The Christian impact on early Ireland: place-names evidence', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (eds.), Irland und Europa: die Kirche im Frühmittelalter (Stuttgart 1984), 25-51: 25-31, 43-7 (and see further Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 166; Damian Mc Manus, 'A chronology of the Latin loan-words in early Irish', Ériu 34 [1983], 21-71: 50, 63).

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44. 'Clerics as rulers: some implications of the terminology of ecclesiastical authority in early medieval Ireland', in N.P. Brooks (ed.), Latin and the vernacular languages in early medieval Britain (Leicester 1982), 81-97.

45. 'Some problems', 239-51.

46. Loc. cit., 234-9.

47. Loc. cit., 251-70, especially 261-5.

48. Loc. cit., 243-7, 251, 261-2.

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56. Loc. cit., especially 98, 100-2, 105-8; cf. 'Armagh and Rome in the seventh century', in Ní Chathain and Richter (eds.), Irland und Europa, 58-72: 68.

57. Loc. cit., 96, 99, 101, 102-3, 107-9.

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60. Op. cit., 5, 34-5.

61. Op. cit., 53-4.

62. Neither this term nor paruchia are indexed; references to familia in part 1 are at pages 2, 3, 5, 6, 18, 36, 42, 45-7, 50-5, 61, 64-6, 69, 70-4, 76-81, 83, 84, 87-

89, 91-4, 106, 113-15, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124-6.

63. Op. cit., 50, 64, 66, 78, 85, 89.

64. Op. cit., 42, 45, 59, 83, 117.

65. Op. cit., 18, 66, 89, 114.

66. Isle of the saints: monastic settlement and Christian community in early Ireland (London / New York 1990); cf. Sharpe's assessment of Ryan's book, 'Some problems', 232 note 7.

67. Isle of the saints, 141 note 126.

68. 'The cult of St. Patrick and the politics of Armagh in the seventh century', in J.-M. Picard (ed.), Ireland and northern France, AD 600-850 (Dublin 1991), 53-94; for his earlier comments on the subject see note 42 above.

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70. Loc. cit., 73-4, 80-1.

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78. 'The church and settlement', in Ní Chathán and Richter (eds.) Irland und Europa, 167-75.

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80. See below, note 94.

81. Sharpe, 'St. Patrick and the see of Armagh', CMCS 4 (1982), 33-59; Doherty, 'Cult of St. Patrick', 53-94; for Binchy's view see above, page 10.

82. Ryan, op. cit.; O'Dwyer, Céli Dé (Dublin 1981).

83. Sources, 247.

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100. See for examples 'Linguistic and historical value' (note 97 above), 211-13 [=89-91]; 'Bretha Nemed', Ériu 17 (1955), 4-6: 5; 'Ancient Irish law', The Irish Jurist 1 (1966), 84-92: 89-90; 'Irish history and Irish law: 1', Studia Hibernica 15 (1975), 7-36: 20-1.

101. I am indebted for helpful discussion of these matters to Liam Breatnach who is producing a catalogue of the

contents of CIH.

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107. J.G. O'Keeffe (ed.), 'The Rule of Patrick', Ériu 1 (1904), 216-24 (= Binchy, CIH, 2129.6-2130.37); Sharpe, 'Some problems', 252-4; Colmán Etchingham, 'The early Irish church: some observations on pastoral care and dues', Ériu 42 (1991), 99-118: 105-9); for promulgation of Cáin Phátraic/Lex Patricii see Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eds.) The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131) (Dublin 1983) - here and hereafter cited by year - 734, 737, 767, 783, 799, 806, 811, 818, 823, 825, 836, 842; for the relationship between the Cáin and the Ríagal see Kelly, Guide, 282, and cf. Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The guarantor list', 178 note 1.

108. Ir. Pen. (note 93 above); Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', Ériu 7 (1914), 121-93; Binchy in Bieler, Ir. Pen., 258-77; Kenney, Sources, 238-43; Hughes, Early christian Ireland, 82-9; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role' (note 75 above), 74 note 64.

109. For notice of these texts see conveniently Kenney, Sources, 315, 471-6; Hughes, Church, 148, 173-88; idem, Early christian Ireland, 90-4; O'Dwyer, Céli Dé, passim, especially 122-39.

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of Adamnán (London 1988); Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 209-86 (edition of the Middle Irish Life of Colum Cille) and op. cit., 151-202 (comment on both the above texts).

113. Editions used are Acta sanctorum Bollandorum... Februarii tomus i (Antwerp 1658), 118-34, 135-41 (for the Vita Prima and Cogitosus respectively, in the former case collated with Seán Connolly [ed.], Vita I S. Brigitae: a critical edition [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Ireland 1970]); Connolly and Picard (trans.), 'Cogitosus: Life of Saint Brigit', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 117 (1987), 5-27; Donncha Ó hAodha (ed.), Bethu Brigte (Dublin 1978); for comment see Sharpe, 'Vitae S Brigitae: the oldest texts', Peritia 1 (1982), 81-106; McCone, 'Brigit in the seventh century: a saint with three Lives?', Peritia 1, 107-45.

114. In W.W. Heist (ed.), Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae (Brussels 1965), 118-209/225; see Sharpe, Medieval Irish saints' Lives: an introduction to Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford 1991), 297-339.

115. Editions used are those of Whitley Stokes (ed.) Lives of the saints from the Book of Lismore (Oxford 1890); Plummer (ed.), Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae (2 vols., Oxford 1910); idem (ed.), Bethada náem nÉrenn (2 vols., Oxford 1922); Heist (above), as well as a few editions

of individual texts details of which are given where they are cited.

116. For examples see Kenney, Sources, 288-459; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 129-33; Sharpe, Saints' Lives, 8-38.

117. These are conveniently listed in Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 289-90.

118. Current views are summarized by David Dumville, 'Latin and Irish in the Annals of Ulster, AD 431-1050', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (eds.), Ireland in early medieval Europe (Cambridge 1982), 320-41: 322.

Chapter II

1. See above, pp. 14, 53-4.
2. Of the twenty-two chapters, sixteen cite non-native sources, one the Synodus Romana, one variant in a 'B' recension manuscript the Synodus Hibernensis and five simply Synodus.
3. Ir. Kan. (here and hereafter cited by book and chapter of Wasserschleben's text but with variants cited according to the pages and footnotes in which they appear), I.4-8,10-12,15,17-19.
4. Ir. Kan., I.8-10,13,14,16.
5. Ir. Kan., I.7,8,10,21.
6. Ir. Kan., I.8,9 (p.6 note r).
7. Ir. Kan., II.3, III.3, IV.3, V.2, VI.2, VII.3, XV.4, XLIII.2-4, XLIV.3.
8. Ir. Kan., VIII.5, XVIII.7, XXI.1-2 (see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish' [chapter I note 102], 398), XXI.27-9 (cf. I.16), XLI.1.
9. Ir. Kan., XLII.22, XLIV.8, XLVIII.5, LIX.3.
10. Ir. Kan., II.15, XLI.1, XLII.9, XLVIII.5.
11. Ir. Kan., XX.4 (p.61 note f).
12. In addition five of the thirty-nine chapters quote simply Synodus and one Patricius.
13. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.1-5,10,19,20,23-9; Davies, 'Clerics as

rulers' (chapter I note 44), 84-5; Sheehy, 'The Collectio' (chapter I note 85), 531; Ir. Kan., XXV.3-4 (De regno) exemplifies the application of the speculum principum to the secular ruler.

14. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.4,11,37.

15. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.6,8,9,12-18,20,21,27,31-3,39.

16. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.4,5,10,11,22,24,26,28,30,32-5.

17. Ir. Kan., II.11, XVII.7, XVIII.7, XXV.10, XLI.5, XLII.32, XLIV.20; on the basilica see further LIX.3 and Doherty, 'The basilica' (chapter I note 42), 313-4.

18. Ir. Kan., XLIII.6 (cf. p.179 note o); Hughes, Church, 158-60; Ó Corráin, 'Irish law and canon law' in Ní Chathain and Richter (eds.), Irland und Europa, 157-66: 161-4; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 396; dominatrix denotes a female head of a church in AU (chapter I note 107), 732, 743, 758, 771, 773, 780.

19. Ir. Kan., II.4,11,14,15,26; on the ministerium of priest and bishop see Corish, Christian mission (chapter I note 37), 35-6 note 9.

20. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.7,24,36 (title),37.

21. Ir. Kan., I.7, XXXVII.4,11,35,37,39, XLI.1-5.

22. Ir. Kan., XVIII.6,7, XXI.31, XXXVII.7,24,36,37, XXXIX.2,12.

23. Binchy, 'Some Celtic legal terms' Celtica 3 (1956), 221-31: 224; Hughes, Church, 126; Ó Corráin, 'Early

Irish churches' (chapter I note 38), 333; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 396; Davies, 'Clerics as rulers', 83-5; Sheehy, 'The Collectio', 531.

24. Thirteen of the sixteen chapters cite external sources, of which two additionally cite Patricius and Synodus and one variant the Synodus Romana, while Synodus Hibernensis, Patricius and Synodus are quoted by the three remaining chapters; princeps occurs at XXXIX.2,12.

25. Ir. Kan., XXXIX passim; cf. XLIII.4 (p.172 note d).

26. Ir. Kan., XI.2, XIII.8, XXVIII.10, XLVI.11, XLVII.8,16.

27. Ir. Kan., XVII.9, XVIII.3,6,7, XXXIV.3, XXXV.5, XLI.6-9, XLII.29.

28. See Hughes, Church, 139-40; Davies, 'Clerics as rulers', 87-90.

29. Ir. Kan., XLI.1, XLII.9.

30. Subjecti occurs at Ir. Kan., XXXVII.7,14,15,21,22,24, 31; subditi at XXXVII.5,22,33.

31. Ir. Kan., XXIV.1-4; cf. I.16 (p.10 note hh).

32. See above, chapter I p. 55 and note 94.

33. Bieler (ed.) Ir. Pen. (cited by page and paragraph), 54-8.1,4,5,9,23-7,30,37.

34. Binchy 'Patrick and his biographers', 45-9; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 236 note 4; Davies, 'Clerics as rulers', 83; Doherty, 'The basilica', 107-8; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 408 note.

35. Ir. Pen., 184.3, 186.8, 190.16,17, 190-2.18, 192.21.

36. For the dates of these texts see chapter I note 108.

37. Ir Pen., 76-8.12, 80-2.23, 96.A3,A5, 98.B1, 100-6.B4, 12,25,27,28, 112-14.12,2-5, 118-20.1,12,13, 122-4.11,14,17,19,22, 126.7, 128.18, 214.2,4, 226-30.1, 4,5, 234.1-3, 238.3.

38. Ir. Pen., 162.29, 170.1, 174.7,9,11, 230.5; on the meaning of cumal see conveniently Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach (Dublin 1941), 81-2.

39. Ir. Pen., 168.5.

40. Siegmund Hellmann (ed.), Pseudo-Cyprianus, De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 34/1 (Leipzig 1910), 53-6.

41. See chapter I pp. 59-60 and note 107; the other main recension is edited by E.J. Gwynn, Hermathena 44 (2nd. supplemental volume, 1927), 78-87, as the 'Rule of the Céli Dé' - pace Sharpe ('Some problems', 252 note 6), Hughes (Church, 140) as well as Gwynn (op. cit., xv) and Corish (Christian mission, 53) seem well aware of the true relationship between the two recensions; for another fragment see Stokes (ed.), Lismore Lives (chapter I note 115), 135, 359.

42. Ríagal Phátraic (O'Keeffe's edition [chapter I note 107], cited by paragraph), 1-3, 6, 9, 10, 16; CIH (chapter I note 96, cited by page and line), 2129.6-9, 12-22, 24, 2129.37-2130.1, 2130.9-11, 16-18, 36-7; 'Rule

of the Céli Dé' (cited by paragraph), 57-60; O'Keeffe's readings are sometimes emended in line with those of CIH.

43. Ríagal Phátraic, 4, 5, 7-9, 12; CIH, 2129.27-37, 2130.1-11,23-8; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 57, 64, 65; see above, pp. 78, 85, 86, 87.

44. Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential' (chapter I note 108, cited by page and paragraph), 162-3.3, 170-1.17; Binchy in Bieler (ed.), Ir. Pen. (chapter I note 108), 269, 273; I depart somewhat from both as regards translation and I emend Gwynn's reading anmcarait 'confessor' in line with Binchy's translation and with the Latin exemplar at Ir. Pen., 230.5.

45. See chapter I note 105.

46. Meyer (ed.), Cáin Adamnáin (cited by paragraph), 28, 29; cf. 23.

47. Cáin Adamnáin, 34; Ir. Kan., XLVI.11; Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', 150-3.36; 'Monastery of Tallaght' (chapter I note 110, cited by paragraph), 14, 21, 50, 86; Poppe, 'Cáin Éimíne Báin' (chapter I note 105, cited by page and paragraph), 46.14; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'The laws of the Irish', 404-5; Etchingham, 'Pastoral care and dues' (chapter I note 107), 105.

48. Joseph O'Neill (ed.), 'The Rule of Ailbe of Emly', Ériu 3 (1907), 92-115 (cited by page and paragraph): 106-

7.41[a] and cf. 102-3.32, 106-7.45,46 (see Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source' [chapter I note 42], 318); Gwynn, 'Rule of Tallaght', Hermathena 44 (note 41 above, cited by paragraph), 37; for these texts in general see chapter I note 109.

49. Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach (cited by page and line), 7-8.185-8, 23-4.598-607; CIH, 563.28-564.1, 570.28-32; for the grades of kings see Críth Gablach, 104-5, and Kelly, 'An Old Irish text on court procedure', Peritia 5 (1986), 74-106: 89-90.

50. CIH, 31.6-8, 51.13-37; 348.24-9 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 [1927], 175-6.4, 179.4); 466.22-33, 472.6-13, 473.10-474.2; 594.27-31 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft im irischen Recht [Berlin 1928], 13-14.45); 1283.6-10, 1570.1-8; 2286.31, 2287.8-20, 2289.6-15 (ed. Binchy, 'Bretha Crólige', Ériu 12 [1934-8], 1-77: 6-13.2,4,5, 12); 2305.4-15 (ed. Binchy, 'Bretha Déin Chécht', Ériu 20 [1966], 1-66: 22.1,2); here and hereafter reference to CIH is confined to one recension of a given text - as the more important parallels are usually cross-referenced - unless required in a particular instance; texts of the critical editions are cited by page and paragraph.

51. CIH, 1594.37-1595.14, 1602.38-1603.2; see Eoin Mac Neill, 'Ancient Irish law: the law of status or franchise', RIA Proc. 36 C (1923), 265-316: 273.8,

275.18.

52. CIH, 588.1-589.32; Ir. Kan., I.11; see Mac Neill, 'Ancient Irish law', 311-14; Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers' (chapter I note 22), 63 note 166.

53. CIH, 4.33-5.25, 21.27-22.10; 352.10-12 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 (1927), 177.4, 181.4); see Binchy, 'The pseudo-historical prologue to the Senchas Már', Studia Celtica 10-11 (1975-6), 15-28; McCone, 'Dubthach Maccu Lugair' (chapter I note 102).

54. CIH, 1966.1-3,12-15; Kelly, 'Court procedure', 90; for confusion of terms for litigant and advocate see Binchy, 'Fechem, fethem, aigne', Celtica 11 (1976), 18-33.

55. CIH, 1965.30-1, 1968.17-18,31-3; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'The laws of the Irish', 386-7 note 3; Kelly, Guide, 55; on the royal judge Neil McLeod, 'Parallel and paradox', Studia Celtica 16-17 (1981-2), 25-72: 34-9; Sharpe, 'Dispute settlement in medieval Ireland: a preliminary inquiry' in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds.), The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe (Cambridge 1986), 169-89: 186-7 note 83; Kelly, 'Court procedure', 80-1, 85, 89-92; Marilyn Gerriets, 'The king as judge in early Ireland', Celtica 20 (1988), 1-24; for ollam see Binchy, 'The date and provenance of Uraicecht Becc', Ériu 18 (1958), 44-54: 50.

56. CIH, 24.11-25.5; 459.23-460.2 (ed. Binchy, 'Irish law

tracts re-edited 1: Coibnes Uisci Thairidne', Ériu 17 [1955], 52-85: 66-7.7, 80.7); Ir. Pen., 58.25.

57. CIH, 647.36-648.3; the parallel passage at 1603.5-9 - from which manuscript version the citation above at note 51 is drawn - is infected by a dittography which destroys the sense; see Mac Neill, 'Ancient Irish law', 275.19; Hughes, Church, 134-5; on comarbae see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 264.

58. CIH, 1617.33-1618.8, 2282.12-27, 2334.21-36 (reading based on collation of the three); Mac Neill, 'Ancient Irish law', 281.56; Hughes (Church, 80) reads this as a reference to the 'bishop of Emly or Cork'.

59. CIH, 2323.12-15; Mac Neill, 'Ancient Irish law', 276.28; 'Rule of Ailbe' (above note 48), 100.23, 106.42; CIH, 923.8-10; on secnap see Binchy, 'Some Celtic legal terms', Celtica 3 (1956), 221-31: 223-4; on rechtaire see Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland' in T.W. Moody (ed.), Nationality and the pursuit of national independence (Belfast 1978), 1-35: 28-9; on the date of the Old Irish glosses see chapter I note 99.

60. Cited at chapter I note 102; see earlier comments of Binchy, Ériu 17 (1955), 4-6 and 18 (1958), 45-8, 51-4; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 253 note 2.

61. Ériu 40 (1989) (cited by page and paragraph), 8-15.3,6, 9,13, 20-1.24; CIH, 2211.5-8,27, 2212.8-10,24-8,

2213.25-9,32-3 (the last excerpt is not included in Breatnach's edition and may be a later interpolation).

62. Ériu 40, 8-11.3,4, and see notes, 27-8.3; CIH, 2211.13-14,17-18; see above pp. 69, 72-4, 76.

63. Ériu 40, 18-19.23; CIH, 2213.21-3; Breatnach, 'Canon law and secular law' (chapter I note 87), 455; Hellmann, op. cit. (note 40 above), 53-4; cf. Aidan Breen, 'Some seventh-century Hiberno-Latin texts and their relationships', Peritia 3 (1984), 204-14: 211-12.

64. Ériu 40, 10-11.6 and see pp. 31-2; CIH, 2211.27-33; see above, p. 72.

65. Ériu 40, 16-17.21; CIH, 2213.5.

66. Ériu 40, 8-9.3; CIH, 2211.8-10, 2213.33-4 (see note 61 above); see Breatnach, 'Canon law and secular law', 445-7.

67. CIH, 23.12, 220.2; 351.25 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 (1927), 177.12, 181.12); 592.34-5 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 9.23,24); 1348.27-9; conversely see CIH, 245.2-3, 592.24 (Die Bürgschaft, 9.21); for parallels in the Collectio see note 27 above.

68. CIH, 1.1-2.34, 4.2-17; see Breatnach, Ériu 40 (1989), 31.6; Ó Corráin, 'The early Irish churches' (chapter I note 38), 339; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement' (chapter I note 78), 167.

69. CIH, 3.29-34, 1882.19-22.

70. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish',

384-6; McCone, 'Dán agus talann' (chapter I note 111), 32-42, 46-7; idem, 'Dubthach Maccu Lugair', 20-8; on the contents of the Senchas Már see chapter I note 97.

71. CIH, 523.5-8; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen 'Laws of the Irish', 406.

72. CIH, 525.21-6; on manchaine see CIH, 435.12, 436.9; 484.14-15, 486.32, 1785.11,15, 1788.2 (ed. Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht I: das Unfrei-Lehen', ZCP 14 (1923), 359.15, 364.24 and see 336); Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 107; Hughes, Church, 139; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source' (chapter I note 42), 315-18; 'Laws of the Irish', 406 and note 1; Kelly, Guide, 33.

73. CIH, 522.1-4, 530.1-3 (see 'Laws of the Irish', 409), 530.9,13,24, 536.23-4, 1821.20-3; see above, p. 72.

74. CIH, 898.8-12; Binchy, 'A text on the forms of distraint', Celtica 10 (1973), 72-86: 78-81.8.

75. CIH, 1269.8-9 (ed. R.M. Smith in J. Fraser, P. Grosjean and J.G. O'Keeffe, Irish Texts 4 (London 1934), 22-4: 23; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 386-7 note 3.

76. Bieler (ed.), Patrician texts (chapter I note 111, cited by page and line), 184.2-3, 186.8-14,18-21,26-31, 188.3-13,17-19,34,37-8; see above, pp. 92-3, 106-7.

77. Patrician texts, 124.2-3, 126.28-30, 128.10-15 (col. 3), 128.33-130.4 (col. 3), 132.13-15, 140.3-5,8-28,33-5, 144.27-9,33, 146.4-8,17-19, 148.4, 150.4-9, 154.13-14,

160.12-14,19-22; it is to be regretted that Bieler's index omits aeclessia (as noted by Sharpe, 'Some problems', 256 note 2) and includes less than half the instances of monachus.

78. Patrician texts, 166.5-14,31, 168.10,23, 170.12-13, 23-4,38-9, 172.2,27-32, 174.29, 176.4-6,9-19, 178.7, 10-11; see AU (chapter I note 107), 715.

79. For references to Patrick's episcopal status see Bethu Phátraic (chapter I note 111, cited by page and line), 4.75, 106.2222-3; for the date of the text see articles by Jackson and Mac Eoin cited in chapter I note 111.

80. Bethu Phátraic, 18.250, 19.288-9, 20.302-3, 21.324-5, 23.375, 29.489, 30.511, 37.629, 49.834, 52.912-13, 61.1107-12, 137.2711, 141-2.2809-31.

81. Bethu Phátraic, 51.888-9; AU 811, 812; references to muinter and bishops are in Bethu Phátraic passim; examples of 'monastic' terminology at 25-6.421-6, 45.724-30, 59.1086, 60.1094, 69.1247, 76.1403, 89.1681, 146.2928-32.

82. Bethu Phátraic, 29.470-5, 55.995-1001, 90.1704-10, 119.2302-3, 128.2529-32, 131.2605-6.

83. Foundation of churches is noticed passim; for conferring of orders see Bethu Phátraic, 57.1041, 70.1265, 95.1831-8, 96.1851-2, 99.1944-7, 111.2137-8, 114-6.2219-56, 123.2402.

84. AU, 610, 623, 661, 688, 715, 730, 750; Seán Mac Airt

(ed.), The Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin 1951, cited by year), 624, 687, 729; Meyer (ed.), Cáin Adamnáin, 28; Ryan, Irish monasticism, 170-2.

85. AU, 758, 768, 791, 794, 795, 806, 808, 809, 811, 812, 818, 826, 830, 831, 833, 834, 835, 836, 839, 845, 846, 848, 851, 852, 859, 874, 877, 879, 883, 888, 903, 915, 927, 936, 957, 965, 966, 973, 989, 993, 994, 998; ATig, 759;AI 834; W.M. Hennessy (ed.), Chronicon Scotorum (London 1866, cited by the corrected AU date, on which see Paul Walsh, 'The dating of the Irish annals', Irish Historical Studies 2 [1941], 355-75: 370-1), 852, 863, 895, 936; FAI, 279; Ó Fiaich, 'The church of Armagh under lay control', Seanchas Ardmhacha 5 (1969), 75-127: 77, 83.

86. AA SS Boll Feb i (chapter I note 113, cited by page and paragraph), 135 prol.2, 140.34, 141.38; transl. Seán Connolly and J.-M. Picard, 'Cogitosus: Life of St. Brigit', JRSAI 117 (1987), 5-27: 11-12, 25-6.

87. AA SS Boll Feb i, 121.26, 134.107; for the relationship between the early Brigidine texts see articles by McCone and Sharpe cited at chapter I note 113.

88. Ó hAodha (ed.), Bethu Brigte (chapter I note 113, cited by paragraph), 2, 11, 17, 19, 22, 24, 28-30, 38, 40, 41.

89. AU, 639, 696, 698, 709, 732, 743, 748, 752, 758, 773, 787, 797, 804, 805, 829, 831, 834, 855, 864, 865, 870, 875, 881, 885, 888, 916, 918, 950, 979; J. N. Radner

(ed.), Fragmentary Annals of Ireland (Dublin 1978, cited by entry number), 105; Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Annals of Tigernach', Revue Celtique 16-18 (1895-7: 17 [1896], 163-263, 337-53, for the period covered by this study, cited by the corrected AU date), 760, 981; John O'Donovan (ed.), The Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters (7 vols, Dublin 1856, cited by the corrected AU date), 823, 830, 840, 852, 886, 905, 922, 955, 967, 986; CS, 870, 931, 964; on the Leinster royals and Kildare see Doherty, 'The monastic town' (chapter I note 42), 62-3.

90. See chapter I note 112; for some examples of bishops and abbots see Andersons (eds.), Adomnán (cited by book and chapter), I.2,3,5,44,49,50, II.4,15, III.3,13,17.

91. Andersons (eds.), Adomnán, 'Prologue'.1,2, 'Second preface', I.1,8,17,20,30,31,35,36,41, II.1,18, III.4,23.

92. For these texts see chapter I note 112; Herbert and Ó Riain (eds.), Betha Adamnáin (cited by paragraph), 3, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15.

93. AU, 605, 623, 652, 657, 669, 679, 704, 707, 710, 712, 713, 716, 724, 739, 969; CS, 966, 980; AFM, 929, 939, 959; Bede, Hist. Ecc. (chapter I note 5, cited by book and chapter), III.3,5,17,21,25; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 58-9; and literature cited at 58 note 6; see also Bannerman, 'Notes on the Scottish entries in the early Irish annals', Scottish Gaelic Studies 11 (1968), 149-

70: 161-2.

94. AU, 707, 717, 722, 724, 754, 767, 772, 801, 814, 815, 829; ATig, 726; AFM, 759, 802; for the Iona core chronicle see John Bannerman, 'Notes'; Hughes, Early christian Ireland, 117-23; see chapter I, p.52.

95. AU, 849, 854, 865, 880, 891, 927, 938, 954, 959, 964, 978, 980, 989, 998; CS, 980, 986.

96. See chapter I note 114.

97. Heist, VSH (cited by page), 160-7; AU, 710, 788, 844, 892; AI, 747, 780, 809; AFM, 866, 948, 959.

98. Heist, VSH, 198-209; AFM, 861, 888, 890, 893, 955.

99. Heist, VSH, 131-45; AU, 609, 781; AFM, 795, 852, 860, 881, 927. Radner, FAI, no. 265.

100. Heist, VSH, 145-53; AI, 672; AU, 772, 845, 903; AFM, 868, 874, 895, 913, 924, 929, 942, 967, 972, 992.

101. Heist, VSH, 167-81; AU, 776, 788.

102. Heist, VSH, 182-98; AU, 619, 695, 782, 789, 813, 822, 845, 855, 859, 876, 928, 935, 968, 971; AFM, 836, 916.

103. Heist, VSH, 209-24; AU, 740, 778, 867, 887, 901, 954, 956, 976; AFM, 918, 965.

104. Heist, VSH, 118-131; F.J. Byrne, 'Derrynavlan: the historical context', JRSAI 110 (1980), 116-26: 119; McCone, 'An introduction to early Irish saints' Lives', Maynooth Review 11 (1984), 26-59: 50-3; Sharpe, 'Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi: Irish saints before St. Patrick', in Ó Corráin, Breatnach and McCone (eds.),

Sages, saints and storytellers: Celtic studies in honour of Professor James Carney (Maynooth 1989), 376-99: 390-7; AU, 661, 781, 881, 888, 890, 904, 913, 941; AI, 686, 708, 720, 760, 787, 819, 825, 848, 851, 858, 872, 882, 898, 914, 935, 942, 954, 957, 973, 980, 986, 989, 990, 995; ATig, 742, 980; AFM, 768, 852; Kathryn Grabowski and David Dumville, Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales (Woodbridge 1984), 1-103, especially 27-80, 93.

105. Plummer, VSH (chapter I note 115) i, 170-99; Sharpe, Medieval Irish saints' Lives (chapter I note 114), 385, and cf. idem, 'Hiberno-Latin laicus, Irish láech and the Devil's Men', Ériu 30 (1979), 75-92: 79 note 23, though the paper referred to there has not been located; AU, 700, 703, 718, 753, 757, 760, 763, 768, 774, 776, 781, 851, 856, 867, 912, 953, 959, 983; AI, 731, 760, 794, 814, 825, 894, 920, 938, 953, 958, 959, 961, 965, 983; ATig, 611, 635; CS, 863, 959; AFM, 881.

106. AU, 616, 639, 643, 654, 659, 668, 676, 678, 680, 692, 693, 707, 713, 718, 726, 732, 735, 736, 741, 751, 773; AI, 672, 684, 699, 700; ATig, 659.

107. Up to 750 abbas or ap alone is used of the rulers of Aghaboe, Aran, Ardbraccan, Bangor, Baslick, Birr, Clogher, Clones, Clonfad (Bar. Farbill, Co. Westmeath), Clonfert, Clonmacnoise, Dairinis, Dulane, Dunleer, Emly, Fore, Freshford, Hog Island (Shannon estuary),

Kilbrew, Kilskeer, Kilmore (Co. Armagh), Leighlin, Lismore, Lorrha, Louth, Mondrehid, Monasterboice, Mucker, Slane, Tehelly, Terryglass, Tuamgraney; the heads of most other churches are also so designated; princeps occurs at AU, 682, 718, 741, 742, 745, 757, 762.

108. AU, 787, 805, 823.

109. AU, 837, 862, 881.

110. Armagh, Clonard, Clonenagh (in the tenth century), Clonfert (with a break in the second half of the ninth), Clonmacnoise (in the later ninth and tenth centuries), Duleek, Finglas (in the later eighth and ninth centuries), Kildare, Louth, Lusk, Tallaght; less complete series of bishops are preserved for Birr, Cork, Dulane, Emly, Glendalough, Kilmore (Co. Armagh), Leighlin, Lismore, Seirkieran, Slane, Trim.

111. The absolute figures are: AD 801-70, 204 called abbas / ap and 44 others; AD 871-950, 152 called abbas / ap and 137 others; AD 951-1000, 64 called abbas / ap and 131 others.

112. Of 147 principes noted AD 682-1000, only 9 are not in AU.

113. Hughes, Early christian Ireland, 129.

114. AU, 851, 852, 854, 859, 874; CS, 895 (and see 852); instances in ninth-century entries in FAI are not included as its reliability as a guide to contemporary

usage is debatable.

115. 81% of tenth-century church heads in AI and 74% in AFM are called abb and it is certain that the latter often renders princeps of AU as abb: see Aubrey Gwynn, 'The first synod of Cashel', Irish Ecclesiastical Record 66 (1945), 81-92: 86-7.

116. Kenney, Sources, 12 note 17; Gwynn, 'First synod', 86, 89; Barry, 'The erenagh in the monastic Irish church', Ir. Ecc. Rec. 89 (1958), 424-32: 424, 426, 432; Hughes, Church, 210-26, especially 223.

117. Hughes, Early christian Ireland, 129-35; A.P. Smyth, 'The earliest Irish annals: their first contemporary entries and the earliest centres of recording', R.I.A. Proc. 72 C (1972), 1-48: 18-30, proposes an east midlands source, probably Clonard, for AU after the mid-eighth century; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals (Dublin 1975), 22, is disposed to consider both as ninth-century sources of AU.

118. For other early examples see Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 76 note 34.

119. Gwynn, 'First synod', 87-8; Barry, 'The erenagh', 425, 429-30, 432.

120. In absolute figures 79 of 312 references AD 801-1000.

121. Ériu 40, 12-13.10; CIH, 2212.11-12; see Breatnach, 'Canon law and secular law', 454-5.

Chapter III

1. See chapter I, pp.20-8, 29.
2. See chapter I, pp. 28-32; Sharpe, 'Churches and communities' (chapter I note 55), 98-108; cf. idem, 'Some problems', 244, 246-7, 264-5.
3. 'Some problems', 244-7.
4. Ir. Kan., I.8; Ir. Pen., 58.30; see chapter II, p. 85; for diocesis see Andersons (eds.), Adomnán, 278 note 2.
5. Ir. Kan., I.22 (and p.12 note yy).
6. Ir. Kan., XLII.19.
7. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.14; see chapter II, pp.73-4, 82-3.
8. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.20; see I.5.
9. Ir. Kan., XLII.21; 'Churches and communities', 84, 101, 103.
10. Ir. Pen., 58.34 and 240 note 10; on Bieler's suggestion of intrusion see Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 48; idem, 'St. Patrick's "First Synod"', Studia Hibernica 8 (1968), 49-59: 54-8.
11. Ir. Pen., 192.20 and 255 note 11; cf. 17, 92.50; Hughes, 'Synodus II S. Patricii', in J.J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann (eds.), Latin script and letters (Leiden 1976), 141-7: 142; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 251 note 2.
12. Ir. Kan., I.18, XLIII.2.

13. Ir. Kan., I.6, V.2.

14. Ir. Kan., XLIII.4; Ir. Pen., 58.24; Hughes, Church, 50.

15. Ir. Kan., I.6 (p.5 note i); Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law' (chapter I note 3), 306.

16. Ir. Kan., XXXIX.11, XLII.25; Ir. Pen., 54.1,3, 58.34; on the connotations of monachus in Book XXXIX see above chapter II, pp.77-8; for redemption of captives by bishop and princeps see I.8, XXXVII.15.

17. Ir. Pen., 58.27; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 243 note 2.

18. Ir. Pen., 54.3, 58.33; Bury, The Life of St. Patrick, 235; Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 48; Hughes, Church, 49.

19. Ir. Pen., 190.16.

20. Ir. Pen., 92.48, 116.33, 162.28, 164.4, 224.11(2), 230.6(4).

21. Ir. Pen., 78.12, 80.23, 82.24, 84.31, 98.B1, 190.15; Ir. Kan., XX.3.

22. Ir. Kan., XX.2; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role' (chapter I note 75), 65, 68, 72 note 50.

23. Ir. Kan., XX.3,4,6 and p.61 notes k, p; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 66 note 17.

24. Ir. Kan., XX.3,5 (and see p.61 note e), cf. I.10, X, XXXVII.18 (p.135 note n),35; Binchy, 'St. Patrick's "First Synod"', 57; Sharpe, 'Armagh and Rome' (chapter I note 56), 67.

25. Ir. Kan., I.5, X (p.27 note f), XIX, XXI.25 (p.71 note gg and cf. p. 69 note z).

26. Corish, Christian mission, (chapter I note 37), 29.

27. Sharpe, 'Armagh and Rome', 67-8.

28. Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 65-6, 71-2, 73, 76-7; see Sharpe, 'Some problems', 242-3.

29. See chapter I, pp. 53-4.

30. Ir. Pen., 162.29, 170.1, 174.7,9,11, 230.6(5); see above, chapter II pp.86-7, 99-100; Hughes, Church, 79, 130; Corish, Christian mission, 29; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 65.

31. Ir. Kan., XXV.10; cf. XVII.10, XXIX.6, XXXII.13, XLI.8,9, XLII.28, XLVIII.1,4,5; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 257-8, 258 note 1.

32. Ir. Kan., XXXII.20 (p.116 notes k, l); XLIII.5.

33. Ir. Kan., XXVIII, XXX.5, XLIV.2; Doherty, 'The monastic town' (chapter I note 42), 57-9; Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law' (above note 14), 299-303.

34. Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential' (chapter I note 108), 170-1.17; Ir. Pen., 273.17 and cf. 162.28, 230.6(4).

35. Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', 142-3.10, 166-7.2, 170-1.17; Ir. Pen., 263.10, 271.2, 273.17 and cf. 228.1(3).

36. Ríagal Phátraic, 1; CIH, 2129.6; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 60 (for these editions see chapter I notes 96, 107 and chapter II notes 41, 42); Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 107.

37. Ríagal Phátraic, 6, 13; CIH, 2129.37, 2130.28-9.

38. Ríagal Phátraic, 1, 5, 9; CIH, 2129.6,33,35, 2130.11; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 60-2, 65; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 69-73.

39. Cáin Domnaig (chapter I note 105), 162-3.1, 164-5.3, 168-9.7,8.

40. Cáin Adamnáin (chapter I note 105), 29, 37, 43, 44, 48, 53; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 50-1 and literature cited at 50 note 14; for the 'functionary orders' see Breatnach (ed.), Uraicecht na Ríar (Dublin 1987), 84 ; for aitire see conveniently Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach (chapter II notes 38, 49), 74-5.

41. Cáin Adamnáin, 29, 36, 40; Thurneysen, ZCP 18 (1930) (chapter I note 97), 383-7, 394-5; Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 20-1. 521-4 (= CIH, 569.15-17); Hughes, 'The church and the world' (chapter I note 29), 101; Mac Niocaill, 'Christian influences in early Irish law', in Ní Chathain and Richter (eds.), Irland und Europa (chapter I note 42), 151-6: 155-6; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 51, 65.

42. Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 72.

43. CIH, 1965.5,16-17,30-1, 1966.1-3,12-15, 1968.17-18,31-3; Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 23-4.598-607 (= CIH 570.28-32); see above chapter II, pp.94-5, 97 and notes 54, 55.

44. CIH, 1283.6-10.

45. CIH, 2305.6-8 (ed. Binchy, Ériu 20 [1966] [chapter II note 50, cited by page and paragraph], 22-3.2 and see 50-1.2); see Binchy, Críth Gablach, 104-5 and for the meaning of ollam see Binchy, 'Uraicecht Becc' (chapter II note 55), 48-51.

46. CIH, 922.35-6 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht [Berlin 1931, cited by paragraph], 14); 1618.5-8, 2282.25-7, 2334.34-6 (reading based on collation of the three); on the different grades of kings see conveniently Kelly, Guide, 17-18; on cumal see chapter II note 38; on the date of the Old Irish glosses see chapter I note 99.

47. CIH, 585.37-8, 588.1-12; Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 63 note 166.

48. CIH, 885.18-21; the textual emendations and translation are essentially those of Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law' (chapter I note 3), 300.

49. CIH, 648.4-24, 1432.6-8, 2101.41-2102.2; TCD MS H.5.30 (Eugene O'Curry's arrangement in alphabetical order of Mac Firbhisigh's legal glossary [1840], to which my attention was drawn by Liam Breatnach), fo.25 and cf. fo.26; Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law', 297-306.

50. CIH, 530.9-11,13-16, 620.34 (for which see Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 93 note 35), 904.12 (from which I take the reading ria for iar), 979.17; TCD MS H.5.30 fo.15, 17; Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 166; Mc Manus, 'Latin loanwords' (chapter I note 42,

above), 61 (note 118), 63, 66; see above chapter II pp.109-110; cf. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 409.

51. CIH, 1820.8-10; Breatnach (ed.), Uraicecht na Ríar, 84-5.

52. CIH, 1820.24-6, 1821.9-23.

53. CIH, 1820.16-23,26-7 (ed. Kuno Meyer, 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde IX', Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 21 [1919], 389); for the date of the poem I am indebted to Liam Breatnach, who adopts a somewhat different view of the distinction between érlam and andóit in the later commentary ('The first third of Bretha Nemed Toísech', Ériu 40 [1989], 26).

54. CIH, 2.4,7-8, 3.4-13, 904.26,34-5, 1818.13-28, 1965.14-15,37-40, 1966.27-8.

55. CIH, 219.16-19, 564.20-3 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 11.277-82).

56. CIH, 38.19-21, 206.27-207.4, 908.15-22 (cf. 40.2-9); Mc Manus 'Latin loanwords', 67 note 141.

57. CIH, 512.14-16 (ed. Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law [chapter I note 105, cited by paragraph], 20), 729.39-730.1, 1243.28-9,35-6, 1916.17-31.

58. Bieler (ed.), Patrician texts (chapter I note 111, cited by page and line), 184.1-2, 186.8,14,29-32, 188.1-5,17-18, 188.31-190.3; here and hereafter I do not

adhere strictly to Bieler's translation.

59. AA SS Boll Feb i (chapter I note 113, cited by page and paragraph), 135 prol.2, 141.37,38; transl. Connolly and Picard, JRSAI 117 (1987), 11-12, 25-6.

60. Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 49-52, 62-3 (but cf. Ériu 20 [1966], 51); Hughes, Church, 111-120; Sharpe, 'Palaeographical considerations in the study of the Patrician documents in the Book of Armagh', Scriptorium 36 (1982), 3-28: 15-27; idem, 'Armagh and Rome', passim; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 65-6, 71-3, 76-7.

61. Patrician texts, 98.5-11, 138.14-20, 164.31-166.4, 170.37-172.3.

62. Patrician texts, 184.24-8; Eoin Mac Neill, 'Dates of texts in the Book of Armagh relating to Saint Patrick', JRSAI 58 (1928), 85-101: 99-101; Binchy, 'Patrick and his biographers', 60-1; Hughes, Church, 86, 280; Breandán Ó Cíobháin, 'Deoise Ard Mhacha sa dara céad déag', Seanchas Ardmhacha 9 (1978), 51-69; Doherty, 'Cult of St. Patrick' (chapter I note 68), 66-8.

63. Ir. Kan., XLIV.2,3,5,8; CIH, 50.28; Mulchrone (ed.), Bethu Phátraic (chapter I note 111, cited by page and line), 139-40.2760-73; Hughes, Church, 148-9, 167; Doherty, 'The monastic town' (chapter I note 42), 56-9; Sharpe, 'Palaeographical considerations', 15-16; idem, 'Armagh and Rome', 72.

64. Patrician texts, 184.28-31, 188.5-10, 190.11-16 (translations are based on those of McCone, 'Brigit in the seventh century' [chapter I note 113], 107, 133-4; see also Sharpe, 'Some problems', 254-8).

65. See articles cited at chapter I note 113, as well as McCone, 'Bríd Chill Dara', Léachtaí Cholm Cille 12 (1982), 30-92 and Sharpe's comments in his review of Bethu Brigte, Éigse 17 (1979), 565-70, in 'Armagh and Rome', 63 note 29, and in 'Palaeographical considerations', 22-3; Ó hAodha (ed.), Bethu Brigte (chapter I note 113); Bethu Phátraic, 108.2052-67, 115.2231-3, 117.2273-4 (see comment of F.J. Byrne, 'A note on Trim and Sletty', Peritia 3 [1984], 316-19: 318-9); AA SS Boll Feb i, 125.53.

66. Patrician texts, 130.6-10, 136.11-12, 138.10-17,19, 142.3-7, 160.16-17,19-23,34-5, 162.23; Hughes, Church, 88; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 257; idem, 'Churches and communities', 93-5.

67. Patrician texts, 166.5-15 and Bieler's comments, 45, 235.

68. Patrician texts, 184.33-186.5 and see Bieler's note, 239; Hughes, Church, 113, 277, 280; Ir. Kan., I.8; Andersons (eds.), Adomnán, I.35 and p.278 note 2.

69. AA SS Boll Feb i, 119.7, 135 prol.2 (translation is that of McCone, 'Brigit in the seventh century', 111 and see 122 and also JRSAI 117 [1987], 11); Bethu Brigte (cited

by paragraph), 4 and see Ó hAodha's note, p.39.

70. Sharpe, 'Some problems', 244-7, 262, 268 and cf. his comment at 257-8; 'Churches and communities', 106-7.

71. Andersons (eds.), Adomnán, III.23; see above chapter II pp.123-4.

72. AU, 641, 691, 717, 749, 764, 776, 806, 817; ATig, 718; on the evidence of the Vita Columbae for other churches subject to Iona see Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 31-5.

73. Patrician texts, 188.31-5; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 244 note 4.

74. Patrician texts, 138.17-20; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 256-7; 'Churches and communities', 93-5.

75. Patrician texts, 142.5, 154.18, 158.16, 170.37-172.3; AA SS Boll Feb i, 122.29, 123-4.45,50, 134.107.

76. Patrician texts, 130.7-10, 136.10-12, 140.27-8, 142.6-7, 160.16-17,22-3, 162.22-3; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 246 and note 5.

77. Flanagan, 'Placenames evidence' (chapter I note 42), 25-34, 43-7; Doherty, 'Basilica' (chapter I note 42), 304-12; idem, 'Cult of St. Patrick', 61-5, 73, 75-81; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 254-8; idem, 'Churches and communities', 91-5.

78. Patrician texts, 172.23-32; Mac Neill, 'The earliest Lives of St. Patrick', JRSAI 58 (1928), 1-21: 3; Hughes, 'The church and the world', 101; idem, Church, 160;

Charles-Edwards and Kelly (eds.), Bechbretha (chapter I note 97), 159.

79. Patrician texts, 174.15-176.6, 178.7-11; see Byrne, 'Varia III', Ériu 33 (1982), 169; on Sletty see McCone, 'Brigit' (chapter I note 113), 143-4; Doherty, 'Cult of St. Patrick', 75-8.

80. Patrician texts, 186.7-17 and see Bieler's comments, 239; Hughes, Church, 111-12, 277; Davies, 'Clerics as rulers' (chapter I note 44), 86-7; Sharpe, 'Armagh and Rome', 60-1.

81. See chapter I note 114 and chapter II note 105.

82. Heist, VSH (cited by page and paragraph), 161.4,5,6, 165.12, 203.17.

83. Plummer, VSH i (cited by page and paragraph), 173.11, 174.13, 175.15, 176.16, 178.20, 181.32, 183.36, 185.40, 195.62; for the pre-eminence of Lismore see 170-1.3, 181.29, 186.42, 197.65.

84. Plummer, VSH i, 174.13; for the Old Irish gloss see CIH, 908.15-22.

85. Heist, VSH, 118.1, 121-2.14-17, 125.29; for comment see articles cited above, chapter II note 104; on the angel Victor see Patrician texts, 68.1-2, 72.1, 78.24, 116.15-21, 118.18, 124.26, 166.2-3.

86. Heist, VSH, 158.26, 207.29,30, 218.30.

87. Plummer, BNnÉ (chapter I note 115, cited by volume, page and paragraph), i, 304.15, ii, 295.15; Hurley, 'The

early church' (chapter I note 41), 323; Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 97-8, 106-7; see chapter I, p. 31 and note 58.

88. Hughes, 'The historical value of the Lives of Finnian of Clonard', English Historical Review 69 (1954), 353-72; idem, 'The cult of St. Finnian of Clonard from the eighth to the eleventh century', Irish Historical Studies 9 (1954), 13-27.

89. See AFM, s.a. 870 (and note), 898, 915, 967; FAI, no. 407 (and index, p.239).

90. See AU, 1018, 1070; Walsh, 'Meath in the Book of Rights' in Ryan (ed.), Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill (Dublin 1940), 508-21: 518; Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans (Dublin 1972), 19, 20; Byrne, Irish kings and high-kings (London 1973), 88; for clarification regarding Túatha Luigne I am indebted to Donnchadh Ó Corráin.

91. Mac Airt (ed.), AI, p.149 note; Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais - church and dynasty', Ériu 24 (1973), 52-63: 54 note 13.

92. See AU, 891, 919, 952 (and cf. AFM, s.a. 950), 980; AI, 923; ATig, 989.

93. See AFM, s.a. 922; Edmund Hogan, Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae (Dublin 1910), 467.

94. Ó Fiaich, 'Armagh under lay control' (chapter II note 85), 86.

95. Ní Dhonnchadha, 'Guarantor list' (chapter I note 105), 215.

96. AU, 956; AI, 974; CS, (s.a. 961) 963, (s.a. 996) 998; AFM, (s.a. 884) 887, (s.a. 948) 950, (s.a. 961) 963 x 2, (s.a. 979) 980.

97. See Katharine Simms, 'The origins of the diocese of Clogher', Clogher Record 10 (1980), 180-98.

98. Thurneysen, ZCP 18 (1930), 382-96; Félim Ó Briain, 'The hagiography of Leinster', in Ryan (ed.), Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill, 454-64: 457-8; Hughes, 'The church and the world', 101-4; idem, Church, 149-52, 167-9, 191-2, 197, 206; Doherty, 'The use of relics' (chapter I note 69), 96-7.

99. AU, 727, 730, 734, 743, 776, 784, 785, 790, 793, 794, 811, 818, 836; AI, 816; see previous note.

100. AU, 789, 809, 818, 829, 831, 832, 845, 846, 849, 878, 891; AI, 818, 845; CS, 818, 899, (s.a. 930) 931; ATig, 986.

101. AU, 744, 772, 775, 780, 788, 793, 814; AI, 784.

102. AU, 743, 748, 774, 812, 813, 826; AI, 810, 923; AFM, (s.a. 850) 852, (s.a. 920) 922; FAI, no. 365; see M.A. O'Brien (ed.), Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae (Dublin 1962), 105, 108; for general comment on Cáin Dar Í see Kelly, Guide, 275-6.

103. AU, 753, 757, 778; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 60-7.

104. Stokes and Strachan (eds.), Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus (2 vols., Cambridge 1901-3) ii, 306; Stokes (ed.), Félire Oengusso Céli Dé (2nd. ed. London 1905), 196 (September 23); on the date of the latter see most recently Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Tallaght martyrologies redated', CMCS 20 (1990), 21-38; AU, 734, 737; Thurneysen, ZCP 18 (1930), 387, 394-5; Hughes, 'The church and the world', 102-3; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 63-4.

105. AU, 783, 799, 806, 811, 823, 825, 836; AI, 842; Herbert, Iona, Kells and Derry, 66.

106. AU, 851, 859, 887, 913; CS, 893, (s.a. 906) 907, (s.a.920) 921; FAI, no.449; Thurneysen, ZCP 18 (1930), 395; Hughes, Church, 206.

107. AU, 947, 960, 993; AI, 973; ATig, 986; Aubrey Gwynn, 'Brian in Armagh, 1005', Seanchas Ardmhacha 9 (1978-9), 35-50.

108. Bethu Phátraic, 126-8.2490-2540; Thurneysen, ZCP 18 (1930), 391-2.

109. AU, 814, 888, 894, 922, 924, 929; AI, 929; AFM, s.a. 889, 922, 948.

110. Hughes, Church, 209-10; idem, Early Christian Ireland, 133-5; CIH, 1269.8-20 (= 687.23-6) (see chapter II note 75); AU, 894, 921, 922, 924; AI, 921; AFM, s.a. 889; see above, pp. 188-9.

111. AFM, s.a. 927; Meyer (ed.), Cáin Adomnáin, 48; AU, 1052, 1053, 1072, 1073, 1108, 1113.

Chapter IV

1. Sharpe, 'Some problems', 251-2; Corish, Christian mission, 32-41; cf. Ryan, Irish monasticism, 316-17; Hughes, Church, 140; Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches' (chapter I note 38), 334. The gist of the present chapter has appeared as an article entitled 'The early Irish church: some observations on pastoral care and dues' in Ériu 42 (1991), 99-118.
2. 'Some problems', 252-4, 258-60; cf. 'Churches and communities', 81-3, 99, 102.
3. See chapters II.1, III.1; for alms and donations see Ir. Kan., II.22,23,26, IV.2, XII.6,7, XIII, XVII, XVIII.6,7, XXV.4, XLII.2, XLIII.6, XLVII.15; for presence in church see I.9, II.25.
4. Ir. Kan., II.11,14,15,21, XXV.9, XXXI.4, XXXVII.9; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 395-6.
5. For transcripts of these texts I am indebted to the late Maurice Sheehy; see 'Laws of the Irish', 409 note 2.
6. Bieler, Ir. Pen., 166.1,3; De decimis parallels the ruling that payment should be made once only.
7. Ir. Pen., 166.2,3, 168.4,5; De decimis et primitivis et primogenitis confirms the levy of human firstlings in two statements, one of which precisely parallels Bieler's text; see 'Laws of the Irish', 411 note, 412.

8. Ir. Pen., 168.6,7.

9. Ir. Pen., 58.24,27,29, 92.47-50, 116.32,33, 128.19,20, 186.2, 192.19, 196.31, 224.11.

10. Ir. Pen., 74.(1), 104.19,20, 106.30, 128.5,6, 188.13, 192.22, 218.9(2), 222.8(1),9(1).

11. Ir. Pen., 56.12,13, 82.28, 86.35, 86-8.36, 90-2.46, 102-4.19,20, 108.4, 116.(II)22,(III)3, 118-20.4-8, 124.28, 164.3,4, 178.15, 184.2, 202.30, 220.4, 222.9, 228.2(1); see Sharpe, 'Laicus, láech' (chapter II note 105), 89.

12. CIH, 231.15-31; 350.26-7, 351. 8-19 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 [1927], 176, 180-1); 522.28-35; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 384-5.

13. CIH, 529.5-24, 532.1-12; see Charles-Edwards and Kelly (eds.), Bechbretha, 158-60; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 386, 408; Kelly, Guide, 122-3.

14. CIH, 531.3-36; see 'Laws of the Irish', 410-12.

15. CIH, 534.20-1; Mac Neill, 'The Vita Tripartita of St. Patrick', Ériu 11 (1932), 1-41: 19; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source' (chapter I note 42), 304-15; Davies, 'The Latin charter tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the early medieval period', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (eds.), Ireland in early medieval Europe: studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge 1982),

258-80: 267-74; Bieler (ed.), Patrician texts, 132.9-17, 134.13-35, 166.34-168.20, 172.11-14, 172.37-174.2, 176.31-4; AA SS Boll Feb i, 120.13, 134.107; cf. Plummer (ed.), VSH i, 89.7; ii, 21.58; idem (ed.), BNnÉ i, 40.78,79 (= ii, 39).

16. CIH, 24.11-12,16-21, 54.14,22-3, 224.10-12,19-22, 224.36-225.1, 245.19-27, 246.15; 459.23-4 (ed. Binchy, Ériu 17 [1955], 66-7.7); 913.34, 1247.20-1, 1248.7; Ir. Kan., XV.1,2,6-9.

17. CIH, 4.2-4; 591.9-31 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 6-7.1,5,6,8; transl. Robin Stacey, 'Berrad Airechta: an Old Irish tract on suretyship', in Charles-Edwards et al. [eds.] Lawyers and laymen [Cardiff 1986], 210-33: 210-11); 2211.11-12,27-8,34, 2212.20-1 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 8-15.3,6,7,12, and see his 'Canon law and secular law' [chapter I note 102], 445-7).

18. Ó hAodha (ed.), Bethu Brigte, 22, 25; Stokes (ed.), Lismore Lives (chapter I note 115), 133.4469-71; CIH, 524.22-5, 904.3, 1484.36; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 406-7.

19. CIH, 227.1-5.

20. Ir. Pen., 168.5; as Pádraig Ó Néill has pointed out to me, Bieler's rendition of (a)estas as 'harvest' is of course wrong, but while levies on livestock may have been taken at the beginning of summer, this cannot have been the case for charges on the produce of the soil;

see above, pp. 80, 86, 90, 92-3, 104-7, 112, 127, 129, 130.

21. Hughes, Church, 140; Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches', 334; Corish, Christian mission, 34; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 252-4, 258-60; idem, 'Churches and communities', 89, 99-102; cf. Ryan, Irish monasticism, 301 note.

22. Ríagal Phátraic, 1-4, 6; CIH, 2129.6-31, 2129.37-2130.1; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 58-60 (for these editions see chapter I note 107 and chapter II notes 41, 42).

23. Ríagal Phátraic, 5, 8, 9; CIH, 2129.32-7, 2130.7-11; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 57; Stokes (ed.), Lismore Lives (chapter I note 115), 135, 359.

24. Ríagal Phátraic, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13; CIH, 2129.32-7, 2130.1-6,9-16,23-31; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 57, 58; see Sharpe 'Churches and communities', 101, and cf. Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 76.

25. Ríagal Phátraic, 11; CIH, 2130.19-23; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 58; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 260 and cf. 252-3 258-9; see Dictionary of the Irish language (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1913-76), s.v. cenmothá.

26. Ríagal Phátraic, 12-14; CIH, 2130.23-33; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 58.

27. Ríagal Phátraic, 9, and see 7, 8; CIH, 2130.9-11, and 2130.1-8.

28. 'Churches and communities', 102.

29. I follow text and translation of Breatnach, 'The ecclesiastical element in the Old Irish legal tract Cáin Fuithirbe', Peritia 5 (1986), 36-52: 48-9 (= CIH, 771.38-772.3); for the goire of manaig see CIH, 433.25-6; 440.24-6 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 25.26); 530.25-6; 2213.5 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 16.21).

30. 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 54; 'Rule of Tallaght' (chapter I note 110, cited by paragraph), 84, and see pp. vii-xxii; 'Monastery of Tallaght' (chapter I note 110), pp. 120-4; see Hughes, Church, 181.

31. 'Rule of Tallaght', 37, 41, 45, 61, 65, 75, 79, 81, 106 (for parallels in the other recensions see pp. vii-xi); 'Monastery of Tallaght' (cited by paragraph), 66 and see 'Rule of Tallaght', p. xiii.

32. 'Monastery of Tallaght', 4, 11, 14, 21, 23, 35, 50, 57, 77; 'Rule of Tallaght', 28, 35, 51, 63, 74, 75, 105; Meyer (ed.), 'Incipit Regula Mochutu Raithni', Archiv für celtische Lexicographie 3 (1907), 312-20: 318 (trans. 'Mac Eclaise', Irish Ecclesiastical Record 27 [1910], 495-517: 502-5); see Hughes, Church, 182 note 6.

33. 'Monastery of Tallaght', 44, 71 (departing somewhat from Gwynn's translation); the preference for Mael Dithruib is based on the editors' comments at pp. 120-4 and at 'Rule of Tallaght', p. xii; Ir. Kan., XLIV.2; CIH, 1432.3-10; Ó Corráin, 'Irish vernacular law' (chapter I note 3), 296-9, 304-6; Doherty, 'The monastic

town', 55-60.

34. 'Monastery of Tallaght', 86, and see 'Rule of Tallaght', p. 109; Eochu Úa Tuathail died as abbas of Louth in 822 (AU).

35. 'Some problems', 251; 'Churches and communities', 83.

36. Heist, VSH, 219.31; Bieler (ed.), Ir. Pen., 86.35; Sharpe, 'Laicus, láech', 80, and passim; idem, 'Churches and communities', 82; McCone, 'Werewolves, cyclopes, díberga and fianna: juvenile delinquency in early Ireland', CMCS 12 (1986), 1-22.

37. Plummer, VSH i, 148.98; ii, 110-11.6,7.

38. Stokes, Lismore Lives, 121.4058-62; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 320; CIH, 522.6-7, 746.15-16; TCD MS H.5.30 (chapter III note 49), fol. 70; cf. Plummer, BNnÉ i, 40.78-81 (= ii, 39-40).

39. Plummer, BNnÉ i, 297.32 (= ii, 288).

40. CIH, 530.32-3; Hughes, 'The church and the world', 109; idem, Church, 140; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement' (chapter I note 78), 173; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 410 (but cf. Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches, 334); Bitel, Isle of the saints (chapter I note 66), 117.

41. CIH, 526.35-6, 530.25-6; cf. 54.15-16 (=1373.6-7), 220.5-9; 455.1-4 (ed. Charles-Edwards and Kelly, Bechbretha, 84-5.49, and see comment, 159); 592.32-6 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 9.23,24; transl.

Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 213); Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 173; idem, 'Pastoral role', 70.

42. CIH, 531.3-7, 1814.22-5; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 61; see Doherty, 'hagiography as a source', 304-7, 310, 313, 315-6; Ó Corráin, Breatnach, Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 411.

43. CIH, 531.20-4 and see 525.22, 525.32-526.1.

44. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 410, also 394-405; see his earlier comment in 'Early Irish churches', 335; Doherty, 'Monastic town', 57-9.

45. 'Early Irish churches', 334.

46. Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 82 and note 10; Charles-Edwards, 'Pastoral role', 76 note 74.

47. CIH, 231.15-17, 525.1, 526.20-1, 1592.31-9; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 408.

48. CIH, 39.30-2, 40.10-14; 591.9-14, 30-1 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 6-7.1,8); 1039.15 (=1282.1-2) (ed. Thurneysen, Cóic Conara Fugill [Berlin 1926], 21.16, 55.127, 78 note 59).

49. Hughes, Church, 168; Doherty, 'The use of relics' (chapter I note 69), 97; DIL, s.v. meinister.

50. Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 82; Ó Corráin has remarked that, judging by the saints' Lives, 'the ordinary layman was regarded as a sinner at best, beyond redemption at worst' ('Early Irish churches', 334).

Chapter V

1. Robert Atkinson (ed.), ALI vi, 552-3; John Strachan, 'An Old Irish metrical Rule', Ériu 1 (1904), 207; J.G. O'Keeffe, 'The Rule of Patrick', Ériu 1 (1904), 222-3, 224; Joseph O'Neill, 'The Rule of Ailbe of Emly', Ériu 3 (1907), 106-7, 113-4; Plummer, BNnÉ ii, 341; E.J. Gwynn, 'Rule of Tallaght' (chapter I note 110, cited by paragraph), 57, 64, 65 (note); Ryan, Irish monasticism, 316-17; Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish Law (chapter I note 105), 9; Corish, Christian mission, 44-5, 47, 49; Davies, 'Clerics as rulers' (chapter I note 44), 88; Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches', 333-4; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 396, 397, 405; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 259 (but see idem, 'Churches and communities'), 102.
2. Hughes, Church, 136-42; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source' (chapter I note 42), 313-21; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 405; Bitel, Saints (chapter I note 66), 116-22.
3. 'The church and settlement' (chapter I note 78), 171-5.
4. CIH, 220.1-9; 351.24-8 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 [1927] 177, 181); 522.1-4, 536.23-4; 593.35-8 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 11.37; transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen (Chapter IV note 17), 215.

5. CIH, 220.1-9; 592.22-5,32-6 (= Die Bürgschaft, 9.21,23,24 = Lawyers and laymen, 213).

6. Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 172; CIH, 592.22-5,32-6; see Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 59; for helpful discussion of this issue I am indebted to Fergus Kelly.

7. CIH, 46.37-47.3, 240.29-241.2; 502.29-504.6 (ed. Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 3.2); Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 172.

8. CIH, 1348.21-35; I follow the notes on the opening paragraph of the text as edited by Neil Mc Leod, 'The early Irish law of contract', PhD Thesis, UCG, 1985, for information about which I am indebted to Fergus Kelly; Liam Breatnach informs me that part of what has been taken to be Di Astud Chor may in fact belong to a different tract, Córus Iubaili.

9. See passages cited above at notes 4, 5 and 7; for some of these categories see Kelly, Guide, 68, 88, 91, 93, 97, 222-4.

10. See notes 4, 5 and 7 and additionally CIH, 440. 16-17 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 25-6.26); 795.14-24 (see Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 59 note 1); 1122.19-22 (ed. E.J. Gwynn, 'An Old Irish tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets', Ériu 13 (1940), 29.14-17; see Kelly, Guide, 170); for bothach see Thurneysen,

Irisches Recht, 82-3; Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 78; Kelly, Guide, 35.

11. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 40; Kelly, Guide, 170; I take mruigfer here not as the normal bóaire 'strong farmer' (Binchy [ed.], Críth Gablach, 77-8) but as the evidently inferior category so designated in Uraicecht Becc (CIH, 1609.21).

12. CIH, 132.21-33 (which reference I owe to Liam Breatnach); Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 78, 93, 105; idem, 'The original meaning of co nómad náu (nó) : linguists v. historians?', Celtica 16 (1984), 1-12; Kelly, Guide, 33-6; for senchléithe see also Thurneysen (ed.), Cóic Conara Fugill, 77, and Irisches Recht, 82-3.

13. CIH, 426.1-429.10 (= 247.28-249.3; ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 63.1, 64.3, 67.11, and see discussion, 69-83, and Kelly, Guide, 11, 34); 522.1-4, 593.35-8 (above, note 4); cf. CIH, 491.24-6 (ed. Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht 1', ZCP 14 [1923], 375.38).

14. CIH, 426.21-3 (= 248.31-3), 427.32-3, 428.12-15,28-9, 429.9-10 (= Irisches Recht, 63.2, 65.6, 66-7.8,9,11 and see 70-9); cf. CIH, 215.38-216.2 (ed. Myles Dillon, 'The...law of inheritance with regard to women', Studies in early Irish law, 148-9), 432.6-7; for gelfine see Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, status and the origin of the hide', Past and Present 56 (1972), 3-33: 17-18, and Rolf

Baumgarten, 'The kindred metaphors in Bechbretha and Coibnes Uisci Thairidne', Peritia 4 (1985), 307-27: 325; for the base client's forfeiture of a third of compensation payments, perhaps including díre, see CIH, 778.20-1 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 4.85-6, and see 27, 86, 97); 1780.19-20,29 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 343-4.5, 393 and cf. ZCP 15 [1925], 238, and Irisches Recht, 78 note); Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship (Oxford 1970), 18-19; idem, 'Irish history and Irish law: 2', Studia Hibernica 16 (1976), 7-45: 23; Marilyn Gerriets, 'Economy and society: clientship according to the Irish laws' CMCS 6 (1983), 43-61: 50, 54-5; Kelly (Guide, 29) refers only to the lord's purchase of the client's honour-price, but cf. 126, on éraic.

15. CIH, 220.1-9, 592.32-6, 593.35-8 (above, notes 4 and 5); 32.4, 33.30-2, 35.19-20, 227.1-2; 443.10-11 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 34.36); 488.25-7,33-5, 491.32-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 369.30-1, 376.39); 781.28-31 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 11.277-82, and see 70); 2195.19-20 (ed. Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht III', ZCP 15 [1925], 331.23).

16. CIH, 489.8-9,16-18,25-7, 490.30-4, 491.12-15 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 370-1.32,33, 373-5.36,37); cf. CIH, 247.24-5; 442.22-5 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 33.35); 532.28-30, 534.10-21, 535.14-31; on fintiu see Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 238-9 note S

371.33, and Baumgarten, 'Kindred metaphors', 314-15, 319; see Kelly, Guide, 12-14, 100, 162.

17. CIH, 491.32-6 (= 1795.16-1796.24), 1794.2-5 (= 491.24-6) (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 375.38, 376.39); 46.37-47.3, 220.1-9, 240.29-241.2, 351.24-8, 502.29-504.6, 522.1-4, 536.23-4, 592.22-5,32-6, 593.35-8 (above, notes 4, 5, 7); on fuidri attached to a kin-group see Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 82 and Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, status', 9-10, 13-14, 20.

18. CIH, 443.29-32 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 35-6.38 and see his 'Nachträge zu Irisches Recht', ZCP 19 (1933), 346-51); 505.35-507.18, 512.22-31, 515.23-516.32 (ed. Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 18-27.5-8, 45-6.21,22, 57-62.29-31); 1348.30; Nancy Power, 'Classes of women described in the Senchas Már', in Studies in early Irish law, 81-108; Dillon, 'The...law of inheritance', ibid., 129-179; Binchy, 'Appendix: family membership of women', ibid., 180-6, and 'The legal capacity of women in regard to contracts', ibid., 207-34; Ó Corráin, 'Irish law and canon law' (chapter II note 18), 157-64; idem, 'Women in early Irish society', in Ó Corráin and Margaret Mac Curtain (eds.), Women in Irish society: the historical dimension (Dublin 1978), 1-13; idem, 'Marriage in early Ireland', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), Marriage in Ireland (Dublin 1985), 5-24; Kelly, Guide, 68,70, 75-7, 160-1.

19. CIH, 439.28-440.10 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 22-5.22-5, and see Kelly, Guide, 81); 17.16-17, 18.13, 26.7-8, 28.10-11, 29.1-2,10, 351.25-6, 521.20-1, 536.24, 592.23.

20. CIH, 45.17-38, 227.7-10; 777.20-36, 778.5-21 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 1-2.23-46, 3-4.63-86, and see 89-90); 2193.5-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 311.7, and see 312-4); see Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 83-7; Kelly, Guide, 82-3.

21. CIH, 433.25-6; 489.25-7 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 370-2.33, and see ZCP 15 [1925], 238-9 note S 371.33, 312-13); 534.26-535.24, 536.1-3,8-15; 593.26-34 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 11.36; Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 215); 779.7-8 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 5.125-7, and see 98); 1348.25-6; 2213.3-7 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 16-17.21); cf. CIH, 2246.3-5; Ir. Kan., XXXVI.7; Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, II.39; see Binchy, 'Some Celtic legal terms', (chapter II note 59), 228-31; Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, 'The sister's son in early Irish literature', Peritia 5 (1986), 128-60; Kelly Guide, 80-1, 93-4, 103, 224.

22. CIH, 1348.27-9; for the principle of tacit approval see 220.35; 492.33-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 378.41); 521.21.

23. Bieler (ed.), Ir. Pen., 190.17; Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential' (chapter I note 108), 154.6, 156.10 (= Ir.

Pen., 267); Meyer, 'Regula Mochutu', 320 (= IER 27 [1910], 506-7) (chapter IV note 32); Strachan, 'Metrical rule' (above, note 1), 199.20,21; Meyer (ed.), 'Regula Coluimb Cille', ZCP 3 (1901), 29.3 (= A.W. Haddan and William Stubbs [ed.], Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland ii [London 1873], 119); 'Monastery of Tallaght' (chapter I note 110, cited by paragraph), 3; cf. Ir. Kan., XXXIX.3,5,8 and CIH, 2211.29 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 10-11.6); for hagiographical examples see Ryan, Irish monasticism, 240-8 and Bitel, Saints, 100-4; for the significance of manach ríagalta see DIL s.v. ríagalta and Bitel, Saints, 116 note 1.

24. CIH, 1348.27-8,32-5; cf. 1358.10-23; see Hughes, Church, 136-7; Bitel, Saints, 117.

25. CIH, 45.28-9, 59.4-13, 117.30-2; 440.30-1 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 26.26), 455.11-25 (ed. Charles-Edwards and Kelly, Bechbretha, 171, 174), 503.10-16 (see Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 9), 531.30-3, 536.26, 746.15-16, 959.17-21 (= Bechbretha, 184), 1099.1-2, 1285.10-16, 1358.5-1359.25, 2112.14; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 405.

26. CIH, 522.1-4, 795.14-24, 1122.19-22 (see above, note 10); Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', 142.8 (= Ir. Pen., 263, and cf. 114.4,5); Hughes, Church, 138.

27. Ir. Kan., XVII.9, XXXIV.3, XXXV.5, XLI.6-10.

28. Ir. Kan., XLVIII.5; see above, chapter III pp. 173-5, 196-7, 224-6 and passages cited at note 31; Hughes, Church, 139.

29. Ir. Kan., XXXVII.15, XLI.1; CIH, 750.32-9; for the identity of subjecti and monachi see chapter II, p. 83.

30. Bitel, Saints, 85-114 (especially 85-9), 115-16; Ir. Kan., XVII.4, XXXVII.31; CIH, 488.33-5 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 369.31); AU, 760, 764, 775, 807; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 171-2, 174; Kelly, Guide, 14; see above, chapter III, pp. 191-4, 216-23.

31. CIH, 433.25-6; 440.24-6 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 25-6.26), 455.1-4 (ed. Charles-Edwards and Kelly, Bechbretha, 84-5.49 and see 159-60), 530.25-6, 772.1 (ed. Breatnach, Peritia 5 [1986], 48-9), 2213.5 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 16-17.21) and cf. CIH, 1528.18-20 (ed. Stokes, 'O'Davoren's Glossary', ACL 2 [1904], 470.1530); Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 173.

32. Hughes, Church, 136-7, 139; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 172, 175 note 42.

33. Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 84-6; Kelly, Guide, 8-9.

34. CIH, 440.16-26 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 25-6.26); for the meaning of ar see Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 68.34 note d; Baumgarten, 'Kindred metaphors', 319-20; on the 'acknowledged client' see

Irisches Recht, 19.19, 49.VIII.

35. On the third of díre owed by the fuidir of substance and possibly by the base client see note 14 above; on the categories of base client see CIH, 432.27-433.2, 434.13-16, 435.9-14,32-5; 488.1-3,13-14,17-18 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 367-8.28,29 and cf. 337); Irisches Recht, 26; Kelly, Guide, 32.

36. Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 84.

37. CIH, 240.29-241.2; cf. 440.16-27, 502.29-504.6 and see notes 7 and 34, above; see Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 79-80, and Studies in early Irish law, 5-6; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 172.

38. For the views of Charles-Edwards, Hughes, Doherty and Bitel see notes 2 and 3 above; for the client's exploitation of his share of kin land see CIH, 488.25-491.35 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 369-77.30-9); Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 97; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 48.

39. CIH, 426.5,21-2, 428.28,33 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 63.1,2, 66.9,10 and see 70, 75); Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, status', 12-13; on the meth of a client see CIH, 434.13,15,31, 435.10,14,32, 436.10; 481.29, 486.10,12,24, 487.4,488.3,13,17-18, 492.12, 496.32 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 348.8, 363-5.23-5, 367-8.27-9, 377.40, 386.51).

40. CIH, 38.21, 229.9-16, 240.33-4; see Thurneysen,

Irisches Recht, 79; Kelly, Guide, 19, 212 note 153; above, chapter III pp. 196-7.

41. CIH, 782.17 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 13.324, and see 33, 78, 93); 1879.39-1880.5 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 68-9, and see 81); Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans, 42; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, Ireland before the Vikings (Dublin 1972), 67-8; Kelly Guide, 33-4; for the fixed renders of céili see CIH, 479.23-485.30 (= 1779.32-1786.1, ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 341-62.3^{a}-21), 778.11-21,34-9, 779.15-17,29-30, 780.17-18, 781.21-2,40-1 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 3-4.71-84, 4-5.105-114, 6.138-40,159-60, 8.202-3, 11.265-7, 12.296-8), 920.6-921.36; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 49-53.

42. CIH, 64.8-9; 479.6-9 (ed. Vernam Hull, 'Bretha im Gatta', ZCP 25 (1956), 221-3.5), 2201.26-32 (ed. Thurneysen, Cóic Conara Fugill, 21.14, and ZCP 19 [1933], 170-1); cf. CIH, 54.31-8, 745.1; Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 74, and examples cited under aithech, 41; see Charles-Edwards, 'Note...on common farming' in Hughes, Early christian Ireland, 61-4, and idem, 'Review article: the Corpus iuris Hibernici', Studia Hibernica 20 (1980), 141-62: 148; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 314, 321; Kelly, Guide, 27 note 58; DIL, s.v. bachlach.

43. CIH, 585.17-19 (and cf. 584.27-9); 778.10-14,34-9, 779.12-24 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 3.71-6, 4-5.105-9,

5-6.132-40, and see 28, 68); Binchy, 'Ir. forggu (W. goreu?), dígu', Journal of Celtic Studies 1 (1949-50), 148-51: 148; DIL, s.v. díne, dínu; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 404-5; McCone, 'Dán agus talann', LCC 16 (1986), 45.

44. CIH, 2225.23; cf. 2224.6.

45. CIH, 486.24-5 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 364.24), 1770.28-1771.18 (ed. Thurneysen, 'Aus dem irischen Recht II', ZCP 15 [1925], 240-1.3, and see 241-4, 256-9); Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 107; Ó Corráin, Normans, 43, 204 note 10; Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 406; Mac Niocaill, Vikings, 60-1; Kelly, Guide, 32-3; Bitel, Saints, 117.

46. Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 75-6; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 49-53; Kelly, Guide, 29-32; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 173; CIH, 1358.37-8 (a reference I owe to Liam Breatnach); see above, chapter IV pp. 259-61, 265-6, 284.

47. Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 169-70, 174; Hughes, Church, 139; Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches', 334; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 313-4, 320; Bitel, Saints, 118-25, 128-44; Bieler (ed.), Patrician texts, 134.33-5, 140.22-6, 168.12-16, 172.33-5; see above, chapter III pp. 224-6, 241-51, and chapter IV pp. 266, 274, 278, 295-6.

48. See above, chapter II pp. 111-12 and note 72 and

additionally CIH, 1770.23-5 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 240.2); Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 174; Gerriets 'Clientship', 54.

49. Examples are collected from vernacular hagiography by Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 315-20; for Latin examples see Patrician texts, 134.22-35, 170.23-36; AA SS Boll Feb i, 123-4.45; Heist, VSH, 133.10, 137.32, 140-1.44, 179.42, 185.13, 194.45, 213.11, 219.31; Plummer, VSH i, 181.31, 183-4.37, 223-4.15, 267-8.23; ii, 9.17, 16.42, 61.3, 111-12.9; for annalistic references see AU, 688, 689, 705, 723, 731, 740, 744, 765, 768, 782, 783, 789, 826, 849, 861, 867, 869, 880, 885, 890, 903, 909, 912, 915, 917, 925, 933, 948, 949, 958, 975, 980; CIH, 589.7-17,28-32, and cf. 2211.30 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40, 10-11.6); see Bitel, Saints, 122.

50. CIH, 434.30, 531.20-4,30-3; 574.36-575.3 (printed by Meyer, 'Hinterlassenschaft eines Mönches', ZCP 6 [1908], 271), 778.20 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 4.84-5 and see 27, 96); Kelly, Guide, 30.

51. Meyer, 'Regula Mochutu', ACL 3 (1905-7), 314.27; idem, 'Ord prainni 7 prainntighi inn so sis', ZCP 13 (1921), 27.2, and cf. 28.12 (= IER 27 [1910], 510, 512-13); Ir. Pen., 114.3; cf. Plummer, BNnÉ i, 172.17 (= ii, 166); see also Ir. Pen., 102-4.19, 112-13.2; Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', 138-43.1,4,6,7, 154-5.1,5, 162-3.3, 172-3.1 (= Ir. Pen., 261-3, 265-6, 269, 274); Meyer,

'Regula Coluimb Chille', ZCP 3 (1901), 29-30.16,17,26 (= Haddan and Stubbs, Councils ii, 120-1); 'Monastery of Tallaght', 55, 69, 77.

52. Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, I.29; Heist, VSH, 144.64, 182-3.4,5, 217-18.26, and cf. 215-16.20,21; Plummer, VSH ii, 112.10; Stokes (ed.), Lismore Lives, 26-7.882-911, 76.2552-60 (= Heist, VSH, 97.6).

53. Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, I.3; Heist, VSH, 406.13; Plummer, VSH i, 77.7, 235.4; ii, 177.26.

54. Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, I.37; Heist, VSH, 139-40.41, 158.24, 170.10, 242.31; Plummer, VSH i, 209.25, 213-14.31 (= R.A.S. Macalister, The Latin and Irish Lives of St. Ciarán [London 1921], 180.18, and Lismore Lives, 131.4402-18), 238.8; ii, 201.25, 204.29; Lismore Lives, 31.1055, 32.1064-9, 126.4220, 128.4322; Mulchrone (ed.), Bethu Phátraic, 140.2788-9; 'Monastery of Tallaght', 68.

55. For examples see Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, III.23; Heist, VSH, 135.22, 211.5, 243.35; Plummer, VSH i, 90.10, 179.27; ii, 10.21, 81-2.14, 132-3.9, 205.15, 255.10; AA SS Boll Feb i, 124.50, 125-6.55; 140.34 (transl. Connolly and Picard, JRSAI 117 (1987), 24-5.31); John Colgan (ed.), Acta sanctorum Hiberniae (Louvain 1658), 138^{a}.39; Lismore Lives, 27.912-16, 59-60.1958-93, 124-5.4161-4215 (= Macalister, Ciarán, 174.6), 139.4679-87; Stokes (ed.), 'The Life of Féchín of Fore', Revue Celtique 12 (1891), 320-53: 348.42;

Plummer, BNnÉ i, 26-7.8-9 (= ii, 25-6).

56. Heist, VSH, 75.47; Lismore Lives, 126.4220-46; Doherty's account of this anecdote is somewhat misleading ('Hagiography as a source', 320); Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 169, 174.

57. Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, I.3,37, II.28, III.23, cited by Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 169 note 14; Gwynn, 'An Irish penitential', 154-7.6,10, and cf. 158-9.20, 168-9.14, 172-3.3 (= Ir. Pen., 267-8, 273, 274); Meyer, 'Regula Mochutu', 320.89 (= IER 27 [1910], 506); CIH, 589.7-8; Hughes, Church, 138; CIH, 2211.29, 2213.5 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 10-11.6, 16-17.21); 'Monastery of Tallaght', 4, 77, 86, and see above, chapter IV pp. 283-9.

58. Bitel, Saints, 121, 128, 133-6; Plummer, VSH i, 178.20, 188.46; cf. Heist, VSH, 147.4.

59. Ir. Kan., XLIV.2 (cf. chapter IV pp. 287-8 and note 33); Bitel, Saints, 141; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 170, 171.

60. Patrician texts, 170.26-8; Mulchrone (ed.), Bethu Phátraic, 48.792-4, 51.880-2; Heist, VSH, 147.7; CIH, 528.5-6; Bitel, Saints, 119, 129; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 170, 173; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 313-14.

61. On doermanaig see CIH, 522.6-7, 531.30-3, 746.15-16, 1818.32 (and cf. 22.33); TCD MS H.5.30 (chapter III note

49), fo. 38, 61, 62, 70; see Thurneysen, ZCP 15 (1925), 322-3, and Irisches Recht, 76-7; Kelly, Guide, 34-5, 217-9.

62. Heist, VSH, 128.42, 139-40.41, 158.25, 178.37, 205.25, 212.9, 219.32; Plummer, VSH i, 206-7.19,20 (= Macalister, Ciarán, 174, Lismore Lives, 127.4267-77); ii, 267.15; AA SS Boll Feb i, 127.65, 129.74,75; Lismore Lives, 121.4058-62; Stokes, 'Life of Féchín', 330-5.21,24, 352-3.48; Plummer, BNnÉ i, 40.78-81 (= ii, 39-40); see Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 320.

63. CIH, 428.10-11 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 65.7, 76-7).

64. Lismore Lives, 121.4058-62; for communal refection in hagiography see Andersons (ed.), Adomnán, II.13; Heist, VSH, 180.46, 218.28, 406.13; Plummer, VSH i, 94-5.25; ii, 13.28, 14-15.33, 62.5, 254.4, 257.16; Plummer, BNnÉ i, 28-9.11, 39.25 (= ii, 27-8, 38-9); Ó hAodha (ed.), Bethu Brigte, 44.

65. Ryan, Irish monasticism, 316; Hughes, Church, 137, 140, 142; Ó Corráin, 'Early Irish churches', 334, and 'Laws of the Irish', 397; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 318-19; Sharpe, 'Some problems', 259; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 170, 171, 173-4; for base clients and fuidri see Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 78, 93, 96; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 43-4, 50; Kelly, Guide, 29; CIH, 428.12-15,28-9 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht,

65-6.7-9, and see 75, 77-8).

66. Ir. Kan., XVII.4, XLII.9; CIH, 41.3,11-15, 2213.5 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 16-17.21); Lismore Lives, 142.4785-6; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 173-4; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 318.

67. CIH, 54.15-16, 1373.6-7 (for is di ruidilsib see Charles-Edwards and Kelly [eds.], Bechbretha, 66-7.27); Plummer, BNnÉ i, 309.32 (= ii, 300); Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 319; see chapter IV pp. 266-9.

68. Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 170, 171, 173-4; for the base client's land see note 38, above and additionally Charles-Edwards, 'Críth Gablach and the law of status', Peritia 5 (1986), 53-73; CIH, 45.17-38; 778.35-6 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 4-5.105-8); 2193.5-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 311.7); for the ócaire see Mac Niocaill, Vikings, 67; Kelly, Guide, 10.

69. CIH, 428.12 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 65-6.7,8 and see 75); 217.22, 912.38-40 (ed. Dillon, Studies in early Irish law, 155-9); 921.32-4.

70. CIH, 428.12-15,28-9, 429.9-10 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 66-7.8,9,11, and see 75), 495.7-502.4 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 383-93.48-61); Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 78, 93; Mac Niocaill, Vikings, 61-3; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 58; Kelly, Guide, 31-2, 34.

71. CIH, 46.37-47.18, 1818.13-16 and cf. 904.6; 2290.10-11,17-18 (ed. Binchy, Ériu 12 [1938], 14.16); TCD MS H.5.30, fo. 70; Ir. Kan., XXXIX.10,11,12, XLII.29, Ir. Pen, 58.34, 192.21; see above, chapter IV p. 274.

72. CIH, 22.23-4, 23.10-12,18-25; see 205.22-213.37 (= 907.36-910.34); 499.25 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 390.57); 1486.17-18 (= 'O'Davoren's Glossary' [note 31 above], 284.542); Ir. Kan., XLIV, especially 5 and 8; Doherty, 'The monastic town', 57-9; A.D.S. Mac Donald, 'Notes on terminology in the Annals of Ulster, 650-1050', Peritia 1 (1982), 329-33: 330-2; DIL, s.v. airglan(ad), ar-glana, dliged; Binchy, 'Distraint in Irish law', Celtica 10 (1973), 22-71: 30, 37; Charles-Edwards, 'Boundaries in Irish law', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), Medieval settlement (London 1976), 83-7; Sharpe, 'Dispute settlement in medieval Ireland: a preliminary enquiry', in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds.), The settlement of disputes in early medieval Europe (Cambridge 1986), 169-89: 181; Kelly, Guide, 186-9, 280 no. 68.

73. CIH, 433.17,25-7, 520.28,31-2, 521.13-14; DIL s.v. gáeth.

74. CIH, 918.12-16 (in translating I silently emend the case and number of tuathmanach, firmanach and nemid to agree with what appear to be plural verbal forms); Plummer, BNnÉ i, 121.59 (= ii, 117-18); Gwynn, 'An Irish

penitential', 150-1.15 (= Ir. Pen., 261); Stokes (ed.), Félire Óengusso[2], 4.11-12; on nemed see Charles-Edwards and Kelly (eds.), Bechbretha, 107-9; Kelly, Guide, 9-10, 162.

75. CIH, 1904.19,22-4; Ir. Kan., XXXVII.37.

76. CIH, 1247.20-3 (where mainche is effectively synonymous with manchaine rather than denoting the manaig collectively; I take herisi to be the poorly attested form éraise - DIL, s.v. éraise, érassaigidir, érassaigthe, mainche), 1314.2-4, and cf. 1374.22-8 (for which reference I am indebted to Liam Breatnach); Ir. Pen., 196.28 and see note, 255.

77. 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 65; cf. Ir. Kan., XXXIX.13 and see Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 316-17; for supplementary fiefs and secondary wives see CIH, 432.27-433.2, 434.13-16, 435.9-14,32-5; 440.16-18 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 25-6.26); 488.1-3,13-14,17-18 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 367-8.28-9); 513.7-8,14-15 (ed. Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 49.23); Kelly, Guide, 32, 70-1.

Chapter VI

1. See chapter V note 16 and pp. 312-14; Dillon, Studies in early Irish law (chapter V note 14), 133-4; CIH, 429.25-430.17 (see Baumgarten, 'Kindred metaphors', 309-13); 1034.3-11 (ed. Thurneysen, Cóic Conara Fugill, 42.64,65); cf. Ir. Kan., XXXII.9.
2. Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 170, 171; Heist, VSH, 185.13 and cf. 161.5, 205.25; Plummer, VSH i, 181.31 and cf. 184.37, 221.9 and ii, 112.9,11, 114.13; see also Patrician texts, 134.26-8, 168.12-16; AA SS Boll Feb i, 123-4.45; Colgan, ASH, 135[a].19; Plummer, BNnÉ i, 32.49, 35.59, 38.73, 40.79, 42.86, 169.6 (= ii, 31-2, 34, 37-8, 39, 41, 163); Lismore Lives, 70.2350-71.2365, 124.4176-7, 125.4187-9, 126.4232-4.
3. CIH, 248.14-15 (= 426.4; ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 63.1).
4. Ir. Kan., XVIII.6,7, XLI.6, and cf. XVIII.3; see above, pp. 360-1, 366-7, and cf. Patrician texts, 188.11-13, for legitimation of transfer of allegiance to Armagh by the monachus of another abbas.
5. CIH, 132.39-133.9, 225.27-9, 1818.13-18; TCD MS H.5.30 (chapter III note 49), fo. 90 and cf. fo. 32.
6. CIH, 574.36-575.3 (= ZCP 6 [1908] [chapter V note 50], 271); for 'ounce' and 'scruple' see DIL s.v. screpul,

ungae; Kelly, Guide, 114.

7. CIH, 984.26-7 (for the identification of the tract I am indebted to Liam Breatnach); cf. CIH, 4.1, 399.15-16, 984.18, 1818.16-24, 1820.3-7, 1883.3; J.G. O'Keeffe (ed.), 'Mac Dá Cherda and Cummaine Foda', Ériu 5 (1911), 18-44: 24-5; Paul Walsh (ed.), 'A poem on Ireland', Ériu 7 (1916), 64-74: 68; DIL s.v. cennaithe; Neil Mc Leod, 'Interpreting early Irish law: status and currency (part 2)', ZCP 42 (1987), 41-115: 90, remarks that a prime milking cow was equal in value to an ounce of silver.

8. For Ríagal Phátraic see chapter IV note 23; TCD MS H.5.30, fo. 31; Marc Bloch, Feudal society (trans. L.A. Manyon, 2 vols., 2nd. edn., London 1962) i, 206; Benjamin Thorpe, Ancient laws and institutes of England (London 1840), 413, 467; J.W. Thompson, Economic and social history of the middle ages 300-1300 (New York 1928) ii, 619; cf. Richard Caulfield and John O'Riordan (eds.), 'The pipe roll of Cloyne', Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society 19 (1913), 166-7.

9. Ir. Kan., XVII.9, XLI.7-9; CIH, 442.21-5 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 32-3.34-5), 488.33-5 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 369.31), 534.21, 1348.27-9.

10. CIH, 225.14-17 (= 1061.15-17); I take what seem the best readings from both versions; the 'church of life' assumes in beathaig be read as genitive in bethad, whereas dative ina bethaid / i mbethaid would give

'while living'; for dergmír see DIL s.v. derg (compounds).

11. CIH, 225.21-9, 913.35-7.

12. CIH, 531.3-6,20-1, 904.14-17; Ir. Kan., XXXI.18, XXXII.3; for the human tithe see chapter IV, pp. 266, 288-9, 294-5.

13. CIH, 746.15-16, 1814.22-5 and cf. 531.29; TCD MS H.5.30, fo. 78; 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 61; see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 411 note 1; see above, chapter V pp. 316-17, 351-3.

14. See above, note 1.

15. CIH, 1247.20-3; see above, chapter V pp. 366-7.

16. Mac Neill, Early Irish laws and institutions (Dublin 1935), 118-29; Binchy (ed.), Críth Gablach, 96-8; Mac Niocaill, Vikings, 59-66; Ó Corráin, Normans, 43-4; Byrne, Irish kings, 31; Gerriets, 'Clientship', 53-4; Kelly, Guide, 29-32; Charles-Edwards, 'Law of status' (chapter V note 68), 70; Stacey in Lawyers and laymen (chapter IV note 17), 230 notes 36, 43.

17. CIH, 1788.1-2 (= 486.31-2; see Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 364.24 and ZCP 15 [1925], 374-5); Gerriets ('Clientship', 53, 57) seems unaware of his revised opinion; see also CIH, 25.28-9, 26.7-8,19-20, 389.9-390.4, 433.10-15, 434.28-32; 486.24-5 (= ZCP 14, 364.24 and cf. ZCP 16 [1927], 209), 921.38-40; Kelly, Guide, 29, 30; Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement',

173.

18. CIH, 225.30-4, 226.5-9,13-16 (= 1061.18-29), 399.20-1; see 745.36-746.5 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 375-6), 778.20 (ed. Binchy, Críth Gablach, 4.85-6, and 27 note), 913.37-8; see Thurneysen, ZCP 14 (1923), 343, and Irisches Recht, 78; Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship, 18-19, and 'Irish history and Irish law II', 23; Kelly, Guide, 126.

19. CIH, 487.4-7,16-19 (= 1788.26-7,34, 1789.1,4-7,23,33,35, 1790.1-2), 488.25-494.34, 1792.38-1793.10 (= 490.16-26, ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 365-7.25-7, 369-83.30-47, and corrections in ZCP 15 [1925], 238-9 note 1 and 374-6, and in ZCP 16 [1927], 209-10); Gerriets, 'Clientship', 56 note 55; Kelly, Guide, 157.

20. CIH, 235.1-3,11-12; 499.25-9, 500.15-16, 501.12-16 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 390-2.57,60), 729.5-8,30-8, 1238.1,14,22,27; see Gerriets, 'Clientship', 58; Kelly, Guide, 29, and 270 no. 21.

21. CIH, 206.27-8, 207.1-4,13-14,16-19, 908.23-5 (for helpful discussion of this and the following texts I am indebted to Liam Breatnach); see Meyer, 'Sanas Cormaic in YBL', in J.G. O'Keeffe et al. (eds.), Anecdota from Irish manuscripts iv (Halle / Dublin 1912), 55 no. 683; cf. Gerriets, 'The king as judge in early Ireland', Celtica 20 (1988), 29-52: 49.

22. CIH, 246.20-6 (= 424.26-7), 423.16-18,23, 424.21-2 (=

245.19-20,26-7, 246.15-16); see 594.16-18 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 13.42, transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 216); 746.6-11; 1780.19-20,29 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 343.5), 1780.32-1781.14.

23. CIH, 223.25,35-6, 731.8-18, 738.18-25 (cf. 1815.12-20), 745.36-746.11 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 375-6), 922.5-8; for the identification of Dliged Raith Fine (CIH, 919.25-922.11) I am indebted to Liam Breatnach.

24. CIH, 53.28, 54.13-14,21-2, 231.7-10, 352.26-31, 353.22-3 (see 881.28-30); 573.33-5 (printed Meyer, 'Allerlei Rechtssprüche aus H.3.18', ZCP 12 [1918], 363-4), 594.4-7 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 12.39, transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 216), 746.17-36, 1374.32-1375.1, 1376.29-38 (see 460.3-31, ed. Binchy, 'Coibnes Uisci Thairidne', 68-9.9); see Plummer, 'Notes on some passages in the Brehon laws IV', Ériu 10 (1926-8), 122-3; Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, status', 18; Ir. Kan., XXXVI De jubileo, especially 7; DIL s.v. iubaile; see above, chapter V pp. 330-1.

25. See above, chapter V pp. 305, 307, 318, 320; however, Charles-Edwards ('Kinship, status', 9-10, 20-1) and Mc Leod ('Status and currency [part 2]', 77) hold that by the period of the classical tracts the creation of new categories of freemen below the bóaire 'strong farmer' eroded the link between property and free status.

26. CIH, 223.22-5 (= 1060.5-10), 223.33-4 (for congelt see

Binchy [ed.], Críth Gablach, 27 note, and for aititiu see Kelly, Guide, 109 note 68, 153 note 225, 159 note 10), 593.32-4 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 11.36; transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 215, 230 note 36), 729.30-730.3.

27. CIH, 2212.16-17 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 12-13.11, and see 34-5 note); TCD MS H.5.30, fo. 45-6 (I take andoid as genitive of andud in the sense 'beginning', DIL s.v.); see CIH, 460.8-31, 594.4-7, 1376.29-38 (see note 24 above).

28. CIH, 746.17-36, a passage drawn to my attention by Liam Breatnach; Ir. Kan., XXXVI.7, and see XXXII.24.

29. CIH, 591.3-7; the text in CIH, 589.33-591.7 is printed by Meyer in ZCP 12 (1918), 364-5; I am indebted to Liam Breatnach for discussion of this passage.

30. CIH, 244.23-5, 245.1-3 (= 423.1-2, acephalous; I adopt what seem the best readings from both variants - marbdílse of the latter may be read with manach as preposed genitive plural, or one might prefer independent dative singular marbdílsi, without affecting the general sense), 1931.33-40 (see Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 405); DIL s.v. ordd; on written evidence see CIH, 231.7-10; 596.29-31 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 21.62, transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 221), 751.1-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 [1927], 196), 1570.1-7; Ir. Kan., XXXII.24, XXXIII.4,

XXXIV.6, XXXVI.8, XLII.8; Ir. Pen., 196.30; Mac Niocaill, 'Admissable and inadmissable evidence in early Irish law', The Irish Jurist 4 (1969), 332-4; Binchy, 'Irish history and Irish law I', 30-1; Davies, 'Latin charter tradition' (chapter IV note 15), 268.

31. CIH, 917.4-8; heptasyllabic metre with trisyllabic line endings is attested as early as the seventh century (Gerard Murphy, Early Irish metrics [Dublin 1961], 18-19); see DIL s.v. immord.

32. Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht: Wanderungen religiöser Ideen durch die Rechte der östlichen und westlichen Welt (Berlin 1956), 168-95, especially 168, 173-4, 187-95; the phenomenon is discussed briefly by Mac Niocaill, 'Christian influences in early Irish law', in Irland und Europa (chapter I note 42), 151-6: 153-4.

33. Ir. Kan., XXXII.13,14,22 (and p. 117 note m) and cf. XLVIII.2,3; Bruck, Erbrecht, 178-83, 186-7.

34. CIH, 442.21-3 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 32-3.34,35), 532.1-30, 533.17-20, 534.20-1 and cf. 534.10,13; Bruck, Erbrecht, 172-5.

35. CIH, 104.39-105.5, 127.12-31; 443.3-9, 1916.17-35 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 56-9.XI) and cf. 442.27-8; Bruck, Erbrecht, 176-7, 180, 183-6.

36. CIH, 2213.3-4 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 16-17.21, 38 note); see 142.34-41, 227.1-2, 231.11-12, 738.22-5; 746.1-3 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 15 [1925], 375-6), 746.9-

10, 910.27-8, 912.9-13, 915.5-8; 1780.29-1781.14 (see ZCP 14 [1923], 344-5), 1815.12-20.

37. Ir. Kan., XXXII.13 (and p. 113 note b), XLVIII.1 and cf. XXXII.22; CIH, 1916.17-35; Bruck, Erbrecht, 177, 179-80; on those who were not subjects of a lord see CIH, 496.28-9 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 14 [1923], 386.51) and Gerriets, 'Clientship', 56.

38. See above, chapter III pp. 173-4 and note 31, 196-7, 224-6, and chapter V pp. 318-9; Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship' (chapter II note 59), 24-5; Doherty, 'Hagiography as a source', 310-11.

39. CIH, 220.33-5, 411.25-8, 913.15.

40. CIH, 245.20,24-5 (= 423.17-18,21-2), 729.30-8.

41. CIH, 247.28, 248.12-15,26-7,31-3, 426.1-6,21-3 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 63.1,2, and see 69, 70-1, 77-8, and above, chapter V p. 308), 441.6-7,10-11,33-4, 442.4-5,8-9 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 27-8.28-32); see chapter V note 14.

42. CIH, 245.11 (= 423.8), 729.39-730.3, 904.14-17; Ir. Kan., XXXII.20 (p. 116 note k and see above, chapter III pp. 174-5); TCD MS H.5.30, fo. 45-6.

43. Ir. Kan., XXXII.22, XLI.10 (and p. 161 note w), and cf. II.14; Bruck, Erbrecht, 182.

44. CIH, 455.1-4,11-26, 924.22-4 (ed. Charles-Edwards and Kelly, Bechbretha, 84-5.49 and see 158-61; I modify their translation in line with Breatnach 'Canon law and

secular law', 447), 532.28-30, 533.17-20, 534.20-1, and cf. 59.4-13.

45. CIH, 532.1-30, 533.17-18, 534.13; Patrician texts, 174.3-5; see chapter IV note 23; Charles-Edwards and Kelly (eds.), Bechbretha, 160.

46. CIH, 1192.5-16; Alan Ward, 'Varia II: "will" and "testament" in Irish', Ériu 24 (1973), 183-5 (a reference I owe to Liam Breatnach; I follow Ward's normalized text and translation for the Irish; the Latin I reproduce as printed in CIH).

47. Plummer, 'Notes on some passages in the Brehon laws' (II), Ériu 9 (1921-3), 31-42: 31; Ward, '"Will" and "testament"', 183; Charles-Edwards and Kelly (eds.), Bechbretha, 159; Kelly, Guide, 122-3; but cf. Ó Corráin, Breatnach and Breen, 'Laws of the Irish', 408.

48. See previous note; a distinction between audacht and imnae is implied but not elucidated at CIH, 529.24, 1248.7; for timnae fri héc see CIH, 596.29-31 (ed. Thurneysen, Die Bürgschaft, 21.62, transl. Stacey, Lawyers and laymen, 221), 751.1-6 (ed. Thurneysen, ZCP 16 [1927], 196); compare the connotations of timnae at CIH, 217.11 (ed. Dillon, Studies in early Irish law, 151-2), 340.34 (ed. McCone, 'Dubthach Maccu Lugair' [chapter I note 102], 7[iv], 29[iv]), 2129.6 (ed. O'Keeffe, Ériu 1 [1904], 218, 221; 'Rule of the Céli

Dé', 60, and cf. 64, 65); See DIL s.v. timnae.

49. 'Rule of the Céli Dé', 57; Lismore Lives, 135.4531, 359; CIH, 1818.16-18; see above, chapter III pp. 191-6, 221-4.

50. CIH, 1250.1-6; the insertion of trian n- is suggested to me by Liam Breatnach; for lords of primary and subsidiary base clientship, see chapter V note 77.

51. CIH, 2.34-3.13; 2212.13-15 (ed. Breatnach, Ériu 40 [1989], 12-13.10, and see 34).

52. CIH, 1237.16-18, 1238.1,15,22,27; see DIL s.v. 1. ail, 1. noes, and for a different use of the latter see CIH, 341.5 (ed. McCone, 'Dubthach Maccu Lugair', 7[viii], 29[viii], 32[viii]); for the fosterer's gift see Studies in early Irish law, 10, 190.

53. CIH, 443.8-9 (ed. Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 56.XIa), 532.20,24,28-30, 533.17-20, 534.10-15, 1238.3-4,12; Ir. Kan., XXXII.22 (and p.117 note m); Bruck, Erbrecht, 175-6, 182-3.

54. CIH, 1237.20-1,24-5, 1238.1-13; for the third of honour-price in other glosses and commentaries see 133.4-5; 443.3-9 (cf. 104.39-105.5, 1916.17-35, and see Thurneysen, Irisches Recht, 56-9); 503.11-14 (ed. Thurneysen, Studies in early Irish law, 9), 1592.36; see Bruck, Erbrecht, 176-8.

55. See Bruck, Erbrecht, 172-3, 176-8, 180, 182, 183-4; for the banchomarbae see the material cited at chapter V note 18.

Chapter VII

1. Chapter I pp. 2-15.
2. Chapter I pp. 20-32.
3. Chapter II pp. 68-84.
4. Chapter II pp. 84-115.
5. Chapter II pp. 115-40.
6. Chapter III pp. 146-200.
7. Chapter III pp. 200-35.
8. Chapter III pp. 235-51.
9. Chapter IV pp. 258-70.
10. Chapter IV pp. 270-93.
11. Chapter IV pp. 293-300.
12. Chapter V pp. 303-27.
13. Chapter V pp. 328-53.
14. Chapter V pp. 353-69.
15. Chapter VI pp. 370-403.
16. Chapter VI pp. 403-428.
17. Chapter I pp. 18, 32-41, and see Sharpe, 'Churches and communities', 86.
18. Chapter I pp. 30, 49-50.

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