

# Scribal accretions in the Martyrology of Donegal (long recension)

## Zusammenfassung

*Der Text des sogenannten Martyrologiums von Donegal, herausgegeben von J. H. Todd und W. Reeves (1864), basiert auf einer von Eugene O'Curry in Dublin fertiggestellten Abschrift der Brüsseler Originalhandschrift, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/KBR Nr. 5095–96. Dieselbe wurde im Jahr 1630 von Michél Ó Cléirigh (Michael O'Clery) in Irland geschrieben und ist nachweislich im selben Jahr in Flandern/Löwen eingetroffen. Sie enthält eine grosse Anzahl von Anmerkungen und Ergänzungen in verschiedenen Händen, die dem kontinuierlichen Kalendartext hinzugefügt sind – und dazu noch eine lange Reihe von Notizen unterschiedlichen Inhalts auf Irisch und Latein auf Seiten zu Beginn und am Ende der Handschrift. Die dem Text beigefügten Anmerkungen werden in der Ausgabe von Todd & Reeves meist in Form von Fußnoten zum Haupttext angegeben, wobei die Schreiberhände meist mit der schlichten Bezeichnung 'a more recent hand' markiert sind. Die zusätzlichen Notizen vorne und hinten wurden als Anhang zur Einleitung der Ausgabe abgedruckt mit der Bemerkung, dass sie größtenteils von Ó Cléirigh selbst und zum Teil auch (was das Latein betrifft) von John Colgan geschrieben sind. Zur Zeit der Ausgabe konnten diese Zuschreibungen allerdings nicht mehr überprüft werden, da die Handschrift nach Brüssel zurückgekehrt war und den Herausgebern nicht mehr zur Verfügung stand: 'We have no longer access to the original MS.; and it has, therefore, been found impossible, with any certainty, to assign these notes to their respective authors' (1864: xxiv).*

*Mein Artikel hat es zum Ziel, die Paläographie der schriftlichen Zusätze in der Brüsseler Handschrift zu prüfen und sowohl der Identität der Schreiber als auch der Chronologie ihrer Einträge nachzugehen und diese zu bestimmen. Es werden aufgrund der ihnen zuzuschreibenden Schriftzüge insgesamt drei Kommentatoren unterschieden, d. h. Fr Hugh Ward (gest. 1635), Br Michél Ó Cléirigh (gest. 1643) und Fr John Colgan (gest. 1658). Die Anmerkungen von Ward lassen sich im Zeitraum zwischen 1630 und seinem Tod einordnen; die von Ó Cléirigh wurden nach dessen Rückkehr aus Irland nach Flandern (1637) eingetragen; und von den Anmerkungen, die von Colgan stammen, gibt es einige, die nachweislich vor der Rückkehr des Hauptschreibers in Löwen geschrieben wurden, sowie andere, die während der Zeit bis vor Colgans eigenem Hinscheiden eingetragen worden sein mögen.*

## 1

The Martyrology of Donegal is transmitted in two recensions. The earliest manuscript containing the first or so-called Short Recension is preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / KBR MS 4639. It was written at Donegal in 1628 by Br Michél Ó Cléirigh, as certified by a preface bearing his

signature (f. 3<sup>v</sup>), where a detailed record is given of how the work came to be compiled. This explains that the manuscript represents the completion of a joint project by Br Míchél and Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh, who worked from a draft first drawn up by the latter and following instructions from representatives of the Franciscan Order.<sup>1</sup> Both compilers are familiar as members of the group known as the Four Masters. The production's chief initiator, according to the preface, was Fr Hugh Ward OFM, whose name occurs in its Irish form, Aodh Buidhe Mac an Bhaird. The time at which the manuscript first arrived in Louvain can no longer be determined. An entry in an unidentified seventeenth-century Latin hand on the title page, now legible only with the aid of Todd's and Reeves's nineteenth-century transcript, seems to place it in Douai in 1629, possibly at the Irish College there, but the formula is somewhat ambiguously phrased: 'Martyrologium | Sancto[rum] Hiber[niae] | colleg[i]t et d[i]ge[s]sit | Mich[ael O']C[ler]y | Ord. [S. Francisci] | D[uaci] | in Fland[ri]a Ga[ll]ia[e] 16[2]9'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1629 Ó Cléirigh was of course in Ireland not in Flanders, and while the manuscript may have made its way there, the consideration that at least two known copies appearing to derive from it were made in Ireland indicates that it circulated there for some time after completion.<sup>3</sup> From a gathering inserted in the volume before binding which comprises of approbations supplied in Ireland at dates in November 1636 and February 1637 [New Style] it is likely that MS 4639 arrived in St Anthony's College in Louvain no earlier than 1637, and as Ó Cléirigh himself returned to Louvain from Ireland in that year it may have been brought there by him.<sup>4</sup>

The second or so-called Long Recension supplies the subject matter for the present paper. This has come down to us in a unique copy also in the Brussels collection, KBR MS 5095–96. Here too a definite timeline for completion is supplied in the form of a scribal colophon which, while it is without a signature, is unmistakably in the same hand responsible for writing the full calendar text inclusive of most (though not all) of a large quantity of material entered on the margins of its pages, as well as an index of names at the end, namely Míchél Ó Cléirigh.<sup>5</sup> Occurring at f. 100<sup>v</sup>, on the page before the index, and dated April 1630, the colophon certifies that the martyrology was begun and completed at the convent of the friars of Donegal [Fig. 1].

<sup>1</sup> Full text of preface (with translation) is given in Ó RIAIN 2006: 284–6; cf. BREATNACH 1996: 14–16.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Martyrology of the saints of Ireland: collected and arranged by Michael O'Clery of the Order of St Francis at Douai in French Flanders 1629'. Cited by TODD & REEVES 1864: xii; cf. Ó RIAIN 2006: 282.

<sup>3</sup> Copies in Dublin, NLI, MS G 27 (17th cent.), RIA MS 23 D 9 (no. 148) (18th cent.).

<sup>4</sup> On the time of his return to Louvain, see BREATNACH 1999: 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ó Cléirigh's scribal hand is documented by BREATNACH 2013: 133–62 (Chapter IV).

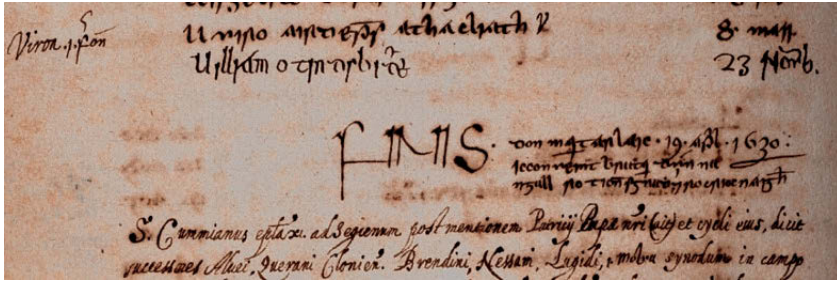


Figure 1: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 100<sup>v</sup> (section).<sup>6</sup>

It is generally acknowledged<sup>7</sup> that this unique copy of the Long Recension was dispatched to Louvain in the immediate aftermath of its completion. In all likelihood it is the same volume of which Fr Hugh Ward took delivery shortly before August of the same year (1630) causing him to write from Brussels in Spanish to Fr Luke Wadding OFM and to express his elation at the arrival of a consignment of books from Ireland. Among them singled out for special mention is ‘the martyrology which he [Fray Miguel] and others compiled’ (*el martyrologico que sacaron él y otros*), and which he says is the most rare and glorious and authentic of all one could have in this matter (*la cosa más rara y gloriosa y auténtica de quantas pude aver deste materia*). He goes on to express the hope of being able ‘to translate it into Latin, and to add, with a distinctive sign, the Irish saints of these countries’ (*espero trasladalla en Latín, y añadir con senal de diferencia los santos Irlandeses destos países*).<sup>8</sup>

The entire contents of MS 5095–96 were edited and published with accompanying translation in 1864 by James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves. The editors derived the text from an expert copy made by Eugene O’Curry while the original manuscript was on temporary loan in Dublin, and the translation was prepared by John O’Donovan before his death in 1861. The precise relationship between the Short Recension in KBR MS 4639 and the version edited remains to be assessed pending a full collation of the manuscripts. But a casual comparison shows that the basic list of saints’ names accommodated in each as well as the order in which their feast days are assigned in the calendar differ little. What is evident also is that the Long Recension supplies a great deal more information concerning many individuals listed than its counterpart, and includes much additional detailed reference to named sources drawn upon in the process of compilation. A useful survey of these sources was recently made available by Pádraig Ó Riain in his *Feastdays of the saints*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For all images, see ‘Acknowledgements’ at the end of this article.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. BREATNACH 2013: 4.

<sup>8</sup> JENNINGS 1953: 388, no. 221; cf. BREATNACH 1999: 25–6.

<sup>9</sup> Ó RIAIN 2006: 302–8.

An important question arising from the differences adverted to between the recensions is whether the additional materials in Ó Cléirigh's hand present in the Long Recension were assembled and incorporated during the course of the two-year period that elapsed after the completion of MS 4639 in 1628, and before the dispatch of the Long Recension to Louvain in 1630, or alternatively came to be installed piecemeal in the manuscript over a longer period when the manuscript was already at Louvain.<sup>10</sup> Both alternatives have significantly contrary implications for the understanding not just of the history of the manuscript itself and the location of such sources as are cited at the time of writing, but also of the chronology of the hagiographical enterprise of which the book forms an important part, and of the nature of the activity of the principal personalities engaged in the project at St Anthony's College before and after 1630. In undertaking to address here the issues of when and where the multiple scribal accretions in the Long Recension were installed, I will begin by citing a short extract from the description of MS 5095–96 I have prepared as part of the draft catalogue of the Brussels collection.<sup>11</sup>

The main text (ff. 5<sup>r</sup>–100<sup>v</sup>) is in the hand of Br *Michél Ó Cléirigh*, whose signature, however, is not given in the colophon in his hand at f. 100<sup>v</sup>. This colophon (which may have been inserted retrospectively, to judge from the fact that it appears to be written between entries in hands other than the scribe's) states that the Martyrology was begun and completed at the Convent of the friars of Donegal in April 1630. This date seems likely to refer specifically to the completion of the actual calendar list of Irish saints, which is written throughout in brown ink. Extensive commentary, mainly supplying information on traditions relating to individual saints named in the original list, was inserted by the main scribe on most pages (excluding the index which begins on f. 66<sup>r</sup>), most often writing in a compressed hand and using a light black ink. These additions, all in the Irish language, typically begin adjacent to the entry and are carried over into the margins ... Examination of the association between this material and a quantity of other additions and marginalia occurring throughout the volume shows that portion at least if not all of the main scribe's additions were entered at a time following a revision of the calendar list mainly by two anonymous post-scribal annotators whose interventions are in both Irish and Latin.

To illustrate the layout, the example of f. 5<sup>r</sup> may be cited, where the note on the second entry (line 2) is carried into the right margin [Fig. 2]. There it is written in three lines inwards from the outer edge of the page and continued in the

<sup>10</sup> The former is the view taken by Ó RIAIN 2006: 282, 300, 302, 312; however, the same writer acknowledges that 'Ó Cléirigh himself may also have added to the text in Louvain' (see 310–11, following TODD & REEVES 1864: 22–3, n. 1).

<sup>11</sup> An interim draft of this catalogue is now available online at [isos.ie](http://isos.ie).



given to such factors as what is known of their various scholarly circumstances and spheres of interest. At this point two observations concerning the presentation of the manuscript text in the printed edition by TODD & REEVES (1864) should be mentioned. First is that the additional commentary of the main scribe (Míchél Ó Cléirigh) is not distinguished typographically or by other indication from the calendar text proper. Secondly, while the editors acknowledge that the manuscript was (in their words) ‘revised in several hands and probably also by Colgan himself’,<sup>12</sup> additions and annotations by hands other than that of Ó Cléirigh are usually set between square brackets and footnoted as being in what is simply referred to as ‘the more recent hand’. The only distinction made as between the writing of annotators is that Irish material written in gaelic script in the manuscript is usually printed in gaelic type, while material in Latin written in the roman alphabet is printed as italic, but when written in the Irish alphabet appears as roman. It follows that the present analysis must proceed from examination of what presents in the actual manuscript, not in the edition.<sup>13</sup>

## 2

Readers of my paper ‘An Irish Bollandus: Fr Hugh Ward and the Louvain hagiographical enterprise’ (1999) will be aware of the argument anticipated in the catalogue extract cited in the foregoing, that two principal anonymous annotators can be distinguished in MS 5095–96, to be identified as Fr Hugh Ward OFM and Fr John Colgan OFM, respectively. The former, whose role in directing the compilation of the martyrology has already been noted, died in Louvain on 8 November 1635, while Colgan, the famed editor of *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae* and *Triadis thaumaturgae ... acta* – published successively in 1645 and 1647 – and himself mentioned tentatively by the editors of *The Martyrology of Donegal* as one of the chief annotators of the manuscript, died in 1658 also at Louvain. Circumstantial and palaeographical evidence for these identifications is documented in the article referred to. The present inquiry by its nature requires special focus on the handwriting aspect, but the balance of attention will come down on the side of Ward rather than Colgan and for good reason. If Ward’s involvement with annotating the compilation can be validated palaeographically in accordance with the sequence I have postulated, then the objective of determining the time and place for the instalment of portion at least of the body of annotations in the source overall, scribal and post-scribal, will have been

<sup>12</sup> TODD & REEVES 1864: xxi.

<sup>13</sup> The practice of the editors can be illustrated by reference to a footnote at pp. 22–23 (mentioned above n. 8). Here material bracketed in the printed text and comprising of one portion set in gaelic type and another set in roman is attributed to ‘the more recent hand’ without distinction. No indication is given that the material consists in fact of two separate entries, that in roman having been added later than what precedes, and in the hand of a different scribe.

achieved, since his contribution cannot have extended beyond the year 1635, fully two years before Ó Cléirigh returned to Louvain from Ireland. Colgan on the other hand could theoretically have worked on the martyrology at any time during the twenty or so years after Ward's death.

Colgan's involvement must be considered briefly in the present context nonetheless, however, if only in order to address a difficulty often raised by commentators that concerns a perceived close similarity between the styles of writing we have from him and those attributable to Ward. I mention a plurality of styles intentionally, because as noted a moment ago contributions by both parties occur among these annotations in Latin as well as Irish, and a mixture of languages is registered also. There is no need to dwell here on the fact that in the study of Irish handwriting in the seventeenth century account must be taken of writing in both languages, and of the extent to which the development of the Irish cursive hand – which is observable mainly during the first half of the century and which is the idiom most practised by contemporaries of Ward and Colgan – was influenced by Latin writing, largely as a result of the interaction of Gaelic and Latin culture which flowered then as never before during the half a millennium that preceded.<sup>14</sup> When we speak of multiple styles, it is not only the twin handwriting cultures practised by these annotators that is at issue, however. Handwriting in both languages is a product of multiple factors, audience and materials included, and in the chaotic circumstances of the period to which our manuscript belongs it need not surprise us to be confronted by a proliferation of handwriting styles, formal and informal, large, standard and minute. In Colgan's case recognition of his handwriting is facilitated by the fact that materials in both Latin and Irish are available with his signature, the principal details concerning which are documented in the article 'An Irish Bollandus', and need not be rehearsed here.<sup>15</sup> Present purposes will be served by a small handful of samples of his hand in both languages.

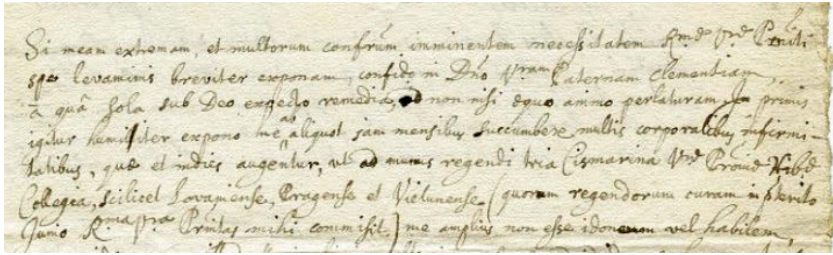
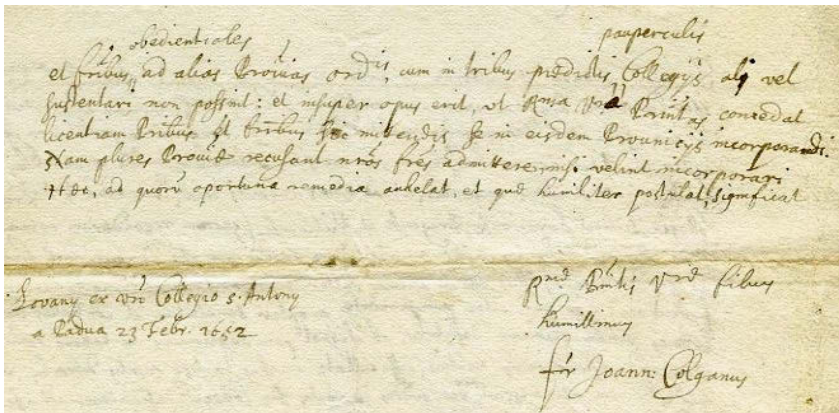
Dublin, UCD Archives, UCD-OFM MS C 12/2 is a letter addressed to Fr Peter Manero, O.F.M., Minister General of the Franciscan Order, dated 23 February 1652,<sup>16</sup> asking to be released from the burden of official duties on grounds of the writer's ill-health, and including details of the tribulations of old age that beset him [Fig. 3], adding further *ut integras noctes ducam insomnes* 'so that I spend entire nights without sleep'. The writer's signature is appended [Fig. 3A].

The Latin alphabet here is written in a plain measured italic style sloping moderately towards the right; the spacing is even, and letter-shapes are clear-cut (*a e r n m*). The shaft of *b h l* has a slender loop, and of long *s* and *f* (above) likewise; the top-stroke of *d* is drawn backwards in a wide arc descending at a distance of two to three letters preceding, and closes to a loop especially when joined to a following vowel; tall *t* is consistently used. Of descenders

<sup>14</sup> See BREATNACH 2015.

<sup>15</sup> BREATNACH 1999: 29; see also BREATNACH 2000: 431–3.

<sup>16</sup> JENNINGS 1968: 172–3, no. 229.

Figure 3: UCD-OFM MS C 12/2<sup>r</sup> (section).Figure 3A: UCD-OFM MS C 12/2<sup>v</sup> (section).

only the tail of *g*, long *l*, and *s* have a wide bulge. In case of *p q* the long stem is notable, but while the finishing stroke of *q* is drawn up straight and away from the stem (Fig. 3 l. 3 ‘æquo’), a form of *p* with a slender loop (Fig. 3 l. 2 ‘spe’, ‘exponam’) occurs beside a doublet in which the stem consists of a long single stroke crossed at the base by a short acute finial (Fig. 3A l. 3 ‘incorporandi’, l. 5 ‘oportuna’). Ligatures are absent (see the coupling of *st* in ‘sustentari’, Fig. 3A l. 2), as are abbreviations apart from the superscript oblique sinuous stroke used occasionally (Fig. 3 l. 1 ‘confratrum’). Diacritic accents are used, and also to be noted are the majuscules *C D H L N P S V*.

A unique signed example of Colgan’s Irish hand presents in UCD-OFM MS A 30 (6), a letter written from Mainz (*Moguntia*) on St Stephen’s Day, 1628 [Fig. 4]. It is addressed to Ward and the writer complains of his isolation from the work in hand at Louvain, while seeking instructions in the matter of assembling materials. The hand shows all the typical features of an informal seventeenth-century cursive; the upright duct is striking, however, being a reflex inherited from the book-hand. In its generally functional and somewhat artless appearance and in size this stands comparison with the Latin; indeed



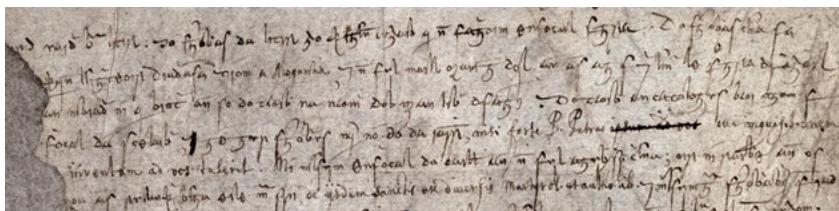


Figure 4: UCD-OFM MS A 30 (6) (section).

some phrases in Latin are included (Fig. 4 ll. 4, 5, 6), and while the alphabet is distinct (as exemplified by contrasting forms of *d b g l*), the writing blends unobtrusively nonetheless. In Irish the stems of *f*, *s* and the ampersand are vertical and long, but *f* and long *s* have the loop seen in the Latin hand; a characteristic feature is the small triangle form of *d* (Fig. 4 l. 1 ‘*da* (litir)’), although a sinuous horizontal topstroke also occurs (Fig. 4 l. 3 ‘*do*’). Later informal examples of the hand with mixed alphabets proliferate among the Franciscan manuscripts, important instances being (to name but two) MS UCD-OFM A 16 (*Genealogiae regum et sanctorum Hiberniae*), f. 11<sup>v</sup>, and RIA MS 23 P 6 (687) (*Annals of the Four Masters*) f. 2<sup>r</sup>.

In considering Ward’s hand the circumstances are less favourable than in Colgan’s case inasmuch as the only surviving documents with his signature appended are in Latin.<sup>17</sup> Hence it is necessary to examine first his Latin hand, and to proceed further to examples in which it may appear in conjunction with other writing in Irish or where both languages are mixed together. The Latin hand occurs frequently enough among correspondence issued in his capacity as Guardian of St Anthony’s College between the years 1626–9, preserved among the so-called C manuscripts of the Franciscan collection (now at UCD),<sup>18</sup> and the same occurs also in his letter in Spanish to Luke Wadding already mentioned.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the best known signed record is the letter he addressed to Jean Bolland dated 7 October 1634, now Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 141, p. 325, in which various hagiographical topics and some matters personal are discussed.<sup>20</sup>

A perusal of the opening paragraph [Fig. 5] shows a flowing italic hand, sloping emphatically to the right. Letter-forms are distinct and clearly legible. A characteristic feature is the flourish applied to looped descenders, particularly in case of the tail of *g* (drawn in a broad oval extending at a slant far below the line); the same flourish also affects *f*, *p*, *q*, and (long) *s* where the loop to the right of the stem is drawn more tightly and often includes a small bow at the

<sup>17</sup> One possible instance in Irish is mentioned below p. 49, but no text accompanies it.

<sup>18</sup> For printed items see JENNINGS 1968: 111–12, 115, nos. 107–9 (for which see further below), 119, 157.

<sup>19</sup> JENNINGS 1953: 386–8, no. 221.

<sup>20</sup> Text published by GROSJEAN 1963: 424–7.

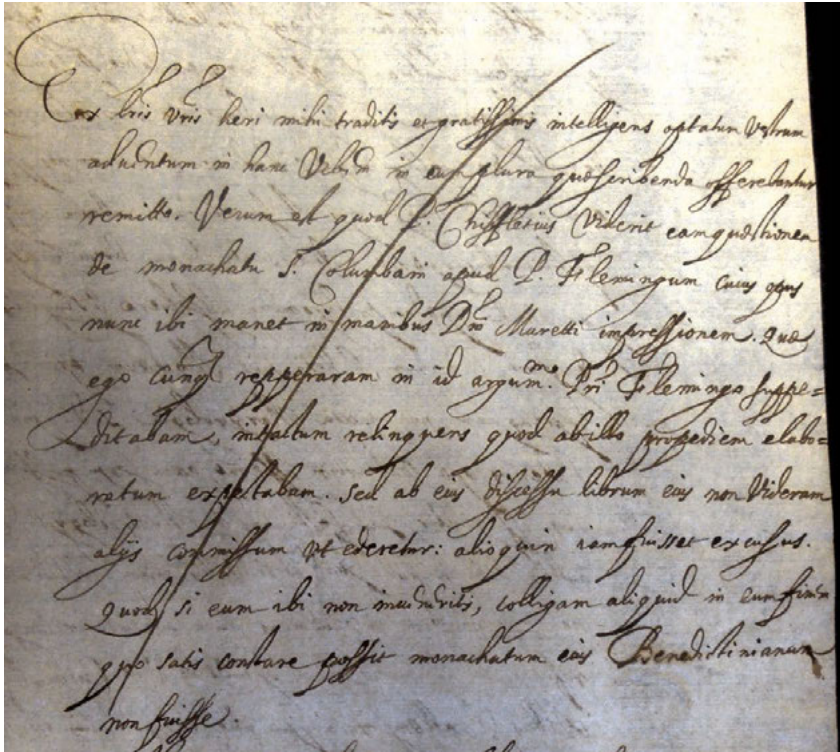


Figure 5: Brussels, Bibl. des Bollandistes, MS 141, p. 335 (section).

extremity. (In case of *p* the loop is drawn upwards and inwards to meet the stem under the lobe.) The letters *b d h l* have half-tall looped ascenders and limbs are small; *t* has a tall form but more often is of minim height. Ligature *st* (following *e*) has the form of two strokes thinly separated and converging at a point high above the line (Fig. 5 ll. 1 ‘vestrum’, 3 ‘quæstionem’). Other standard ligatures include *en* with raised *e* adjoining the consonant (Fig. 5 l. 2 ‘adventum’); the first vocalic element of *que* appears over the consonant as an almost prone lozenge (heart-shape) with the second element forming a crescent that tips against the extended finial-stroke of *q* (Fig. 5 l. 6). Abbreviation marks include superscript *m* with dot appended (Fig. 5 l. 6 ‘argumentum’) and the 8-form nota (Fig. 5 l. 1 ‘vestris’, l. 5 ‘Domini’). Various capitals occur (*C D E F H P V*). Notable unsigned examples in identical idiom to be registered are (1) Ward’s autograph eulogy of the Archduchess Isabella in UCD-OFM MS C 11,<sup>21</sup> and the following not previously identified, (2) a note abstracted from Jocelyn’s Life of Patrick in Brussels, in KBR MS 2324–40, f. 12<sup>r</sup>; (3) the opening page of

<sup>21</sup> JENNINGS 1968: 1114–15, no. 157.

the Latin translation of the Irish Life of Columba in UCD-OFM MS F 2B, f. 1 (with alterations and a long marginal entry in a hand clearly recognisable as Colgan's); (4) a brief extract from the *Chronica Slavorum* (*Annales Helmoldi*) in KBR MS 5100-04, f. 93<sup>v</sup>.

Turning now to trace Latin entries in our manuscript of the Martyrology of Donegal (MS 5095-96) for comparative purposes, a few occur among a long series of miscellaneous notes unrelated to the calendar proper found at the beginning and end of the manuscript. The subject-matter includes obits of contemporary personages (the latest being the Archduchess Isabella, d. 1 December 1633), hagiographical traditions, excerpts (including from the so-called Book of Mac Cárthaigh copied in 1633 in London, as well as some matter cited in English still remaining to be traced), and annalistic, topographical, and etymological annotations. The text of these notes, in a mixture of Latin and Irish, was published as an Appendix by Todd and Reeves, who describe them as being 'in O'Clery's handwriting', albeit with the caveat that 'those ... in Latin' were 'in another hand, supposed to be that of John Colgan'.<sup>22</sup> In 'An Irish Bollandus' I have presented what I hope is a convincing case, based on formal and content criteria, for considering the editors' two-fold attribution to be mistaken, and have proposed to see almost all of this material as a commonplace collection assembled piecemeal and installed by Ward.<sup>23</sup> The palaeographical aspect of this proposal bears a degree of repetition in the present context, inasmuch as what I hold to be a good illustration of the same Latin hand just considered occurs among the entries at f. 1<sup>r</sup>, a page of the manuscript which appeared as a tip-in plate with the article already mentioned<sup>24</sup> [Fig. 6].

The passage in question beginning *Apud Amazonas*, according to Todd, 'is taken from some mediaeval author', and 'was evidently made with reference to the question of the alleged longevity of some Irish saints'.<sup>25</sup> The character of the writing here conforms in all respects to that already described. When previously commenting on the page's contents, I drew attention to the fact that they include a faintly legible inscription not noted by the editors. Written upside down in brown ink at the foot of the page among a series of illegible scribbles in black ink are the words 'Aodh bui' in Irish script, and to the right of these after a space and written in Latin script the words 'Anno domini 163(1?)'.<sup>26</sup> This occurrence, which may or may not be a signature, I take as evidence to support the view that the manuscript had reached Hugh Ward (known in Irish as Aodh Buidhe as noted earlier) at the latest by 1631 in Louvain.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> TODD & REEVES 1864: xxiv.

<sup>23</sup> BREATNACH 1999: 28-30.

<sup>24</sup> BREATNACH 1999: between pp. 28-9.

<sup>25</sup> TODD & REEVES 1864: xxvi, n. 1.

<sup>26</sup> See BREATNACH 1999: 29-30. The anonymous reader suggests to me that the final digit which is partially obscured might be read as '0' (with right-hand side cropped).

<sup>27</sup> Among miscellaneous notes in the upper margin on the pages is the entry 'A.B.';

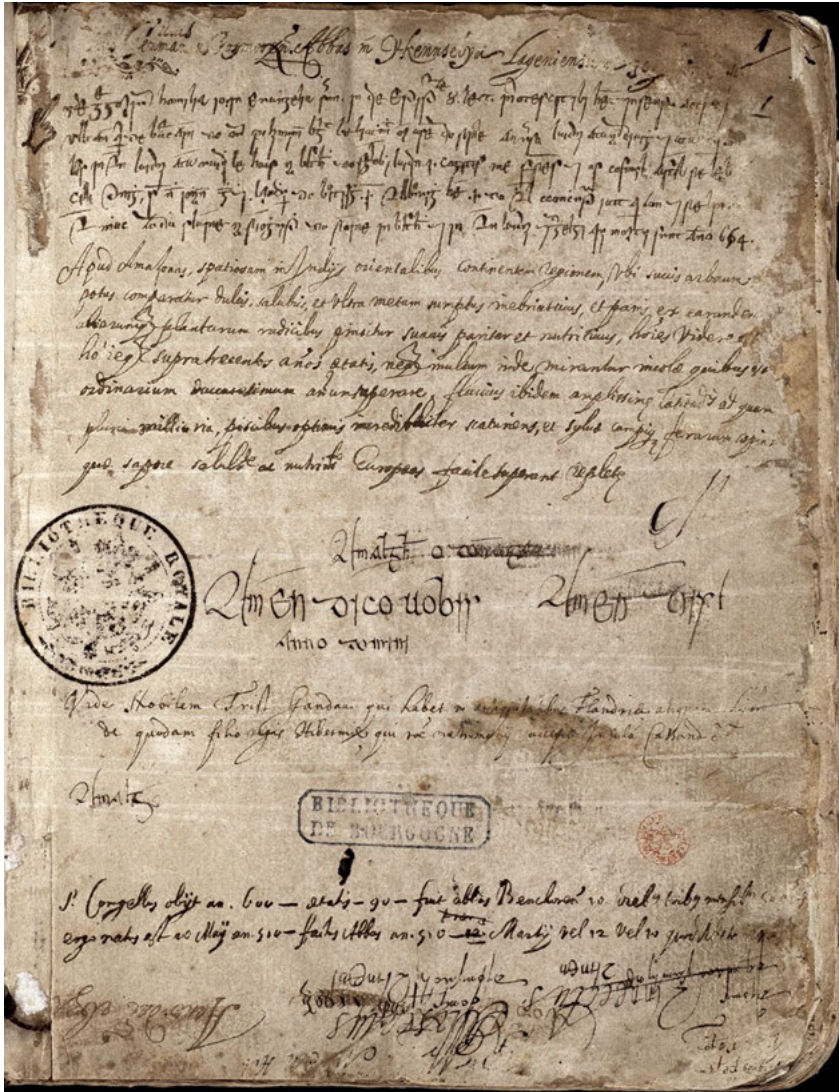


Figure 6: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Immediately above the Latin passage is a paragraph written in the Irish alphabet partly in Latin but mostly in Irish. [Fig. 6A]

The first line (*vide gregorium* etc.) consists of a grammatical observation on a form in the homily of the Epiphany by St Gregory, and the succeeding

as proposed in the online catalogue *ad loc.*, this may represent the name ‘A(odh) B(ui[dhe])’.

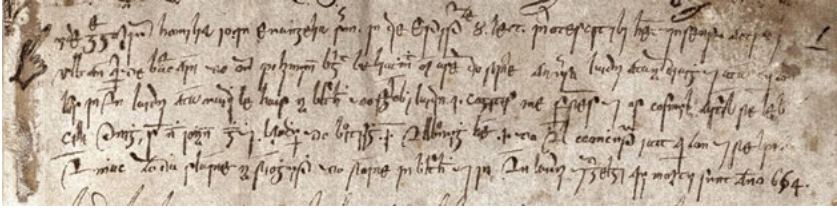


Figure 6A: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 1<sup>r</sup> (section).

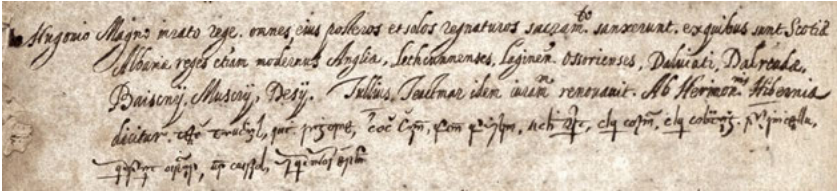


Figure 6B: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 104<sup>v</sup> (section).

lines written in Irish relate to traditions concerning St Ultán of Ard Breacáin to whom the early poem *Brigit bé biothmhaith* is attributed (see line 2). It could be argued that given the difference in appearance between the paragraphs they could be the work of different hands. However, that this view is mistaken is made manifest in the context of a further short paragraph towards the middle of the series of entries at f. 104<sup>v</sup> in the manuscript, for example. Here the Latin hand now familiar to us (beginning *Hugonio Magno* etc.) merges in the fourth line into an Irish hand (a list of names for Ireland beginning *teach Tuathuil, iath iughoine* etc.) [Fig. 6B]. This is unmistakably the same met with at f. 1<sup>r</sup>, albeit reduced in size. It and the Latin hand continue to alternate with each other in subsequent paragraphs to the end of the page. The fact that the size differs between the examples is significant, because the more minute the writing the greater the danger of missing the identity it shares with the larger version where the natural forms and features are more readily apparent.

The hand [Fig. 6A] belongs in the same overall script category as the Irish letter from Colgan – cursive (as opposed to the traditional book hand still in use in some quarters in the same period) and upright (especially when contrasted with the steep slope of the corresponding Latin writing), but clearly also scholarly (witness the extensive use of abbreviations and the peculiar character of some spellings (*p(h)* for *bh*, Fig. 6A l. 4 [‘.i. do *dhál*] *cconchupu[i]r*’, l. 5 ‘ríoghui<sup>ph</sup>’). An idiosyncratic flair attaches, as it seems, to the alternation of light and heavy pen-strokes, such as in the thick ‘2’-shaped spiritus asper (above *p* in line 1), the upper part of tall *e* (l. 3 ‘bethadh’), the right arm of the abbreviations for *n* (l. 1 ‘innotescit’), *ri* (l. 3 ‘sgríobh’), the lobe of *p* (l. 1 ‘epiph’, l. 4 [‘.i. do *dhál*] *cconchupu[i]r*), the open lobe rounding into a hairline that drops below the line in the bulging 2-shaped *da* abbreviation (l. 5 ‘*dá*’, ‘*dá(n)*’), not to mention

also the striking dot-onset of the long sinuous horizontal topstroke of *d* (l. 2 'dieigh', l. 5 'aodha'), ligature *di* (l. 1 'die'), and the angular variants seen in the *d*-topstroke in l. 2 ('do') and the topstroke of *d* in ll. 3, 4 ('laidni', 'laidin'). A sinuous line similar to that in *d* features also in the *m* stroke in l. 1 'gregorium', and it is of interest to observe a like feature in a note appended to one of the letters sent by Ward as Guardian concerning expenses for friars proposing to visit Ireland in September 1628: the names below to the left, 'coluim' (with sinuous *m*) and 'Antoine' may have been the candidates for the trip (UCD-OFM MS C 11/A/11) [Fig. 7].<sup>28</sup>

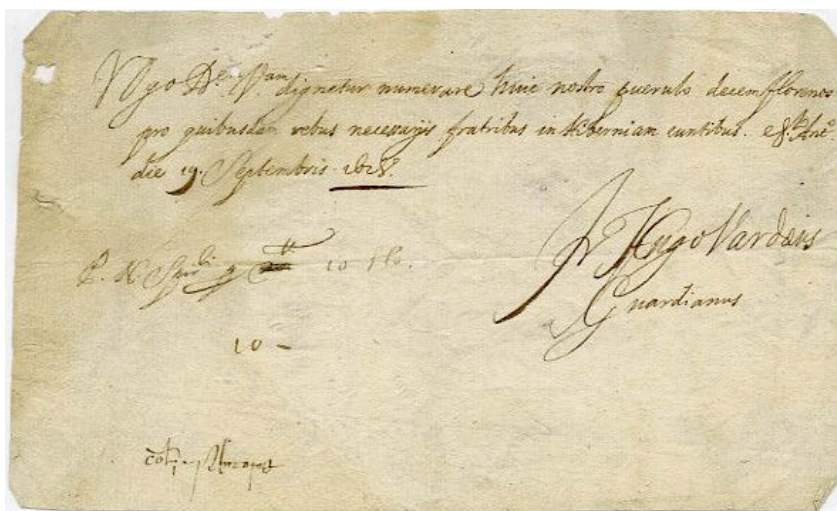


Figure 7: MS UCD-OFM C 11/A/11.

The final part of this paper will be devoted to choosing a small sample of entries in the hand described taken from approximately the first third of MS 5095–96, which were positioned in a manner that required Ó Cléirigh, when he came to make his own revisions, to avoid them. Beforehand it should be emphasised that, if sufficient time and space were available, a review of copious annotation in some other important contemporary manuscripts in the original Louvain collection (now distributed among libraries at three locations, Brussels, Dublin and Rome) would furnish much additional evidence, passed over here, to support the identification of Hugh Ward as the writer. However, one further telling item that has so far failed to draw attention may be referred to in passing. This is from the volume that contains Míchél Ó Cléirigh's original copy of the text we know as *Genealogiae regum et sanctorum Hiberniae*,

<sup>28</sup> The text of the item appears without the Irish names included in JENNINGS 1968: 84, no. 115.

delivered to St Anthony's College, Louvain, following its completion in November 1630 (UCD-OFM MS A 16).<sup>29</sup> Like MS 5095–96 this volume has extensive annotations throughout, in this instance attributable mainly to Colgan but in part also to Hugh Ward. Another point of similarity is that it opens with a leaf containing a series of closely written notes in Irish and Latin in the same mixture of scripts seen at the beginning and end of MS 5095–96. In the past these have been ascribed to Colgan,<sup>30</sup> but I am confident that the present analysis of the writing will bring acceptance for the contrary view, strongly supported by considerations of content and context, that the hand is Ward's. The entries comprise a variety of pertinent scriptural references and citations on the subject of pedigrees and genealogy, followed by some unrelated local records from the Low Countries with mention of the year 1634 (Ward died in 1635). Of special interest in view of Ward's role as the great initiator of the Louvain hagiographical enterprise is the indented two-line note in Irish entered near the top of the page (f. 1<sup>r</sup>), amounting to an editorial instruction, presumably made with a future printing of the compilation in mind [Fig. 8]. The note reads:

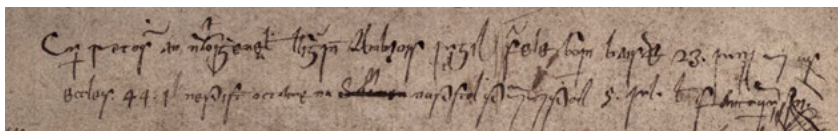


Figure 8: MS UCD-OFM A 16, f. [1<sup>r</sup>].

Cuir i dtosach an naoimhghenealaigh leighinn Ambrois i vigil fhéle eoin baidse 23. iunii 7 as | eccles. 44. i nepistil octaive na napstol pheadair 7 phóil 5. iul. no fan tuarui sin

‘Put at the beginning of the Genealogy of the Saints the reading of Ambrose on the Vigil of the Feast of John the Baptist, 23 June, and from Ecclesiasticus 44 in the epistle of the Octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 5 July, or thereabouts.’

The sense is that the text of the Genealogy of the Saints as provided should be preceded by successive readings that deal with the honour due to our ancestors and their pedigrees taken from (1) St Ambrose's Homily for the Vigil of the Feast of St John the Baptist (23 June) and (2) Sir. (Eclus.) 44:1 *Laudemus viros gloriosos* etc., referencing the epistle (not traced) of the Octave of the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul (5 July), respectively.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The manuscript can be viewed at [www.isos.ie](http://www.isos.ie).

<sup>30</sup> The catalogue description reads as follows: ‘f. i. Miscellaneous notes in Irish and Latin in Colgan's hand’ (DILLON *et al.* 1969: 33).

<sup>31</sup> A further important note in this hand appearing in the manuscript at the top of f. viii<sup>r</sup> has been variously misattributed in the past, as noted by BRETNACH 1999: 29

The first item in the sample I have chosen is from MS 5095–96, f. 8<sup>r</sup>, and is applied to the original calendar entry on Fursa (January 16, 4 lines). It comprises of two annotations in the right margin in black ink in Ward’s hand that are marked off from the main text by lines, viz. (lower entry) ‘duo sunt fursæi | in hagiogenesi’; (upper entry) ‘[?] loichionn fionlo[ga] | fergal galfer [Fig. 9].<sup>32</sup>

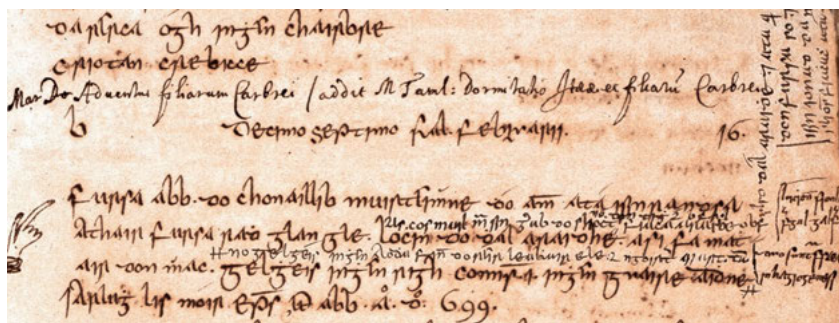


Figure 9: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 8<sup>r</sup> (section).

The lines are drawn to accommodate continuation of an interlinear addition in Ó Cléirigh’s hand entered later. This begins above the third line of the calendar entry that ends with the word ‘Aidhne’, itself followed by a subscript hache mark. This refers back to the added text, begun over the word ‘Gelgeis’ in the line above (‘no gelgéis’ etc.) and ending with a reference to the Martyrology of Tallaght (‘Mart. tam’). The added text continues above the preceding line thus: ‘As cosmail <sup>mur</sup> sin <sup>gurab</sup> do sliocht (no don tigh dá bfuil) Fiacha Araidhe o bf’ (words in parentheses are superscript), while following the eclipsis ‘bf’ the text is continued vertically upwards, completing the word ‘uiliid’ (i.e. ‘ó bhfuilid’), and carrying the sentence in three lines written outwards, marked off from what is below it in the margin. Incidentally Ward’s authorship of the note ‘duo sunt’ etc. is confirmed by its use of the term *hagiogenesis* which from other sources we know was his preferred designation of the genealogies of the kings and saints as transmitted in MS A 16, in contrast to Colgan who (as noted by the editors) uses the term ‘Sanctilogium genealogicum’ for this purpose.<sup>33</sup>

(reference to ‘f. ia’ is a slip); for a reproduction of the manuscript note see BREATNACH 2013: 5, fig. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Only the lower entry is noted by TODD & REEVES 1864: 18, n. 2. The import and readings of the upper entry are uncertain, but it appears to pick up on Fursa’s paternity mentioned in a verse cited in the original text (‘Lochin’). (The suggested expansion of the second element I owe to the anonymous reader.)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. TODD & REEVES 1864: 18, n. 2; the designation *hagiogenesis* recurs in annotations in MS 5095–96 at ff. 78<sup>r</sup>, 79<sup>v</sup>.



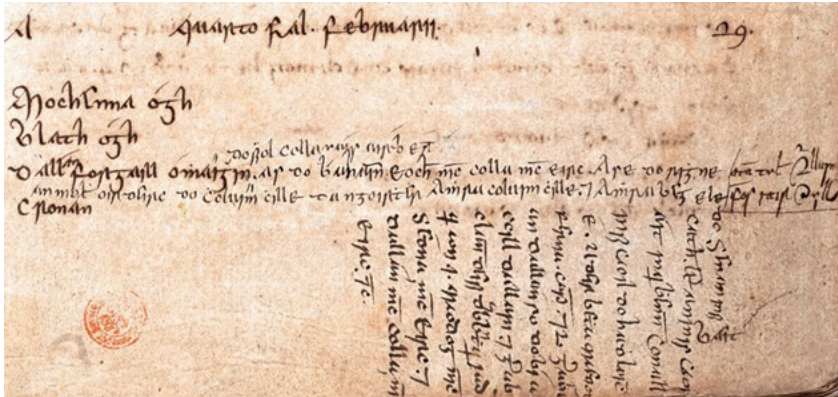


Figure 10: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 10<sup>r</sup> (section).

A second example is from f. 10<sup>r</sup> (lower third), with reference to an entry on Dallán Forgaill (January 29) [Fig. 10]. The marginal annotation in heavy ink in Ward's hand at the end of the page is a topographical one which reads 'atá tulach Dhallain | fós i ttir conuill'. It was written before the material in lighter ink (two lines) beginning with the words 'do shiol colla uáis airdrí érenn' (inserted above) was added to the original calendar entry. This added material is in Ó Cléirigh's hand and is entered in a manner so as to avoid the topographical note which is bordered off; the second line of the addition, ending 'da ngoirthear Amhra coluim chillle 7 Amhra beag ele', is continued in the lower margin with the words 'do Senan insi | cathaigh. [etc.]' written inwards over 13 short lines. Ward's interest in topography – the reference here being to a place name in his native Tír Conaill – is of course confirmed by our knowledge that he projected a volume entitled *De nomenclatura Hiberniae* which, though now lost, is listed in the later library inventories from St Anthony's.<sup>34</sup>

A next instance, also topographical, occurs at f. 19<sup>r</sup> (middle third) where reference is to Abbán of Magh Arnaidhe in Leinster (March 16) (right margin) [Fig. 11].

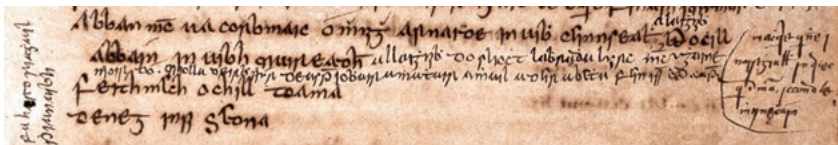


Figure 11: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 19<sup>r</sup> (section).

The annotation reads: 'machaire arnaidhe i | noirghiallaibh in diaec[esi] | ardmaccha, i ccondæ | mhueineacháin'. Again this is separated by a border from

<sup>34</sup> Cf. BREATNACH 1999: 24; for an account of these inventories see BREATNACH 2007.

a two-line expansion of the original text in Ó Cléirigh's hand making reference to a Life of Miolla and ending 'amhail a deir a betha fein isin ched *capitulum*'. That this expansion postdates the marginal entry can be seen from the fact that the final p of 'cap' (with a stroke above it) just avoids the dot-onset of the *d* ('ard') in Ward's note, while the line of separation misses the onset cutting through it.

A further case, occurring at f. 26<sup>r</sup> (upper third), takes the form of a full line entry added below the four calendar entries of the original text (April 30) [Fig. 12].

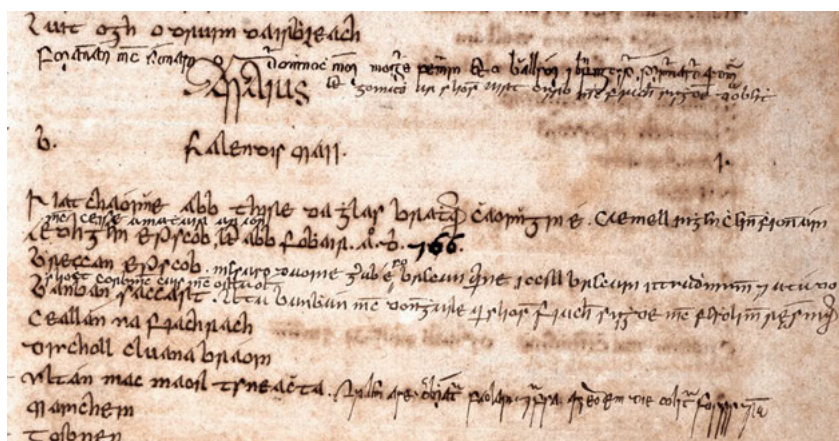


Figure 12: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 26<sup>r</sup> (section).

The writing of the saint's name 'Forannán mac Rónain' seems different from what follows it in the same line, 'o dhomhnoch mór moighe femhin & o bhallsór i bfranncuiph priomhaidh *ardmach*', but this arises merely from an effort by the scribe to emulate a more formal script for the name. What remains in the line is clearly Ward's standard Irish hand, and its significance here is that his entry is succeeded by a genealogical postscript later added in a line of its own in Ó Cléirigh's hand, '& gomadh ar sliocht airt cuirb mic fiachach suighde do beith'. Ward's contribution attests to his well documented interest in the traditions of Irish saints on the continent, as he refers to the cult of Forannán at *Bhallsór i bhFrangcoiph*, identified as 'Walsor, Walciodorium, or Wassor, on the Meuse, diocese of Liège'.<sup>35</sup> (To be noticed is the spelling *ph* for *bh*, adverted to earlier.) Incidentally, the same preoccupation with the cult of Irish saints abroad is seen further down on this page [Fig. 12] where Ward refers to Ultán (May 1), with the words '*Dar leam ase dearbhráthair Fælain 7 fursa qui eodem die colitur fossis et cetera*' – a reference to Fosses-la-ville (near Namur), Belgium.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> TODD & REEVES 1864: 115, n. 5.

<sup>36</sup> TODD & REEVES 1864: 116–17, n. 1. For notice of the cult of St Ultán at Fosses see Ó FIAICH 1986: 73–5.

To be mentioned as a penultimate illustration on this occasion are entries in the upper half of f. 31<sup>v</sup> (June 6) applying to the name ‘Medhran’ (l. 2) [Fig. 13].

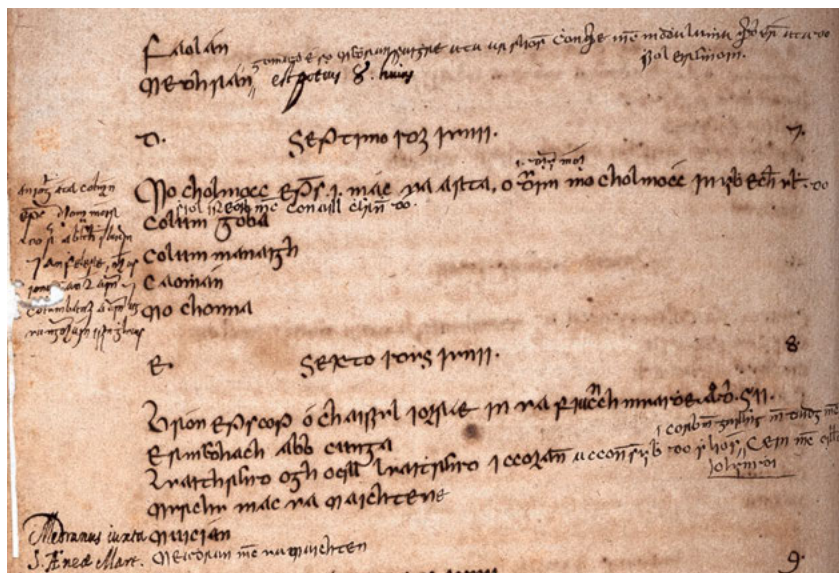


Figure 13: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 31<sup>v</sup> (section).

In the first of these the name itself is followed in Ward’s Latin hand by the words ‘est potius 8. huius’, indicating that the saint belongs in the calendar for the eighth of the month. Above this Ó Cléirigh later inserted the genealogical detail (presumably by way of justification of the original entry) ‘gomadh é so Meadhran saighre ...’. Further down the page, writing again in Latin and following his own instruction, Ward gives in the margin ‘Medranus iuxta | S. Aeneæ Mart.’; and Ó Cléirigh duly adds this individual to the calendar text with the detail ‘mac ua maichten’. Ward’s reference here is one of many in his hand to the Calendar of Óengus (*Féilire Óengusso*, often cited, see below). At the time of writing he may have been using the vellum copy that had formerly belonged in the library of the Donegal friary (now UCD-OFM MS A 7), where Meadhrán is given for June 8.<sup>37</sup>

The remaining interventions on this page occur in the space separating those in Latin. They are in Ward’s distinctive Irish hand and are applied to the one-

<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the copy of the *Féilire* Ó Cléirigh made, which is now part of KBR MS 5100–04, also came into Ward’s purview, as shown by the fact that there are some learned annotations in that copy from his hand (cf. BREATNACH 2013: 145). However, the genealogical appendix Ó Cléirigh supplies in entering the second Meadhrán was available in A 7 (f. 35<sup>r</sup>).

line calendar entry concerning Mo cholmocc (June 7). The first is a gloss above the place name ‘druim’ (‘.i. druim mór’), which is then expanded in an adjoining marginal note identifying the saint as Colmán, bishop of Dromore (‘aniogh atá colmán | epscop droma móir ...’, seven short lines).<sup>38</sup> As before, an interlinear genealogical addition made to the original text by Ó Cléirigh (‘do | shíol íreóil ...’) may be taken as postdating both gloss and marginal.

The final annotation by Ward to be registered here is entered at f. 41<sup>v</sup> (bottom half) adjacent to the calendar entry for ‘Molacca mac Cairthind’ (August 13) [Fig. 14],<sup>39</sup> and shows him using a mixture of languages and scripts.

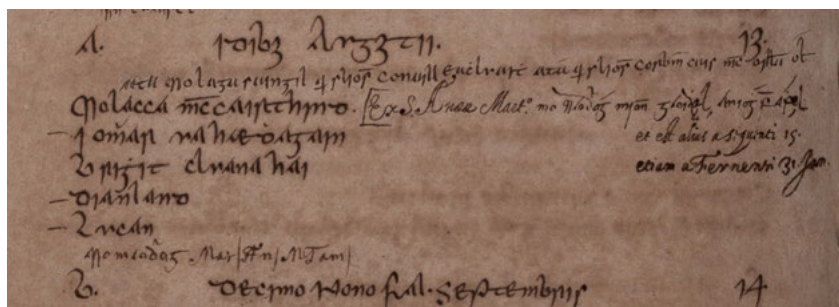


Figure 14: KBR MS 5095–96, f. 41<sup>v</sup> (section).

Ward’s hand wrote the first two lines (the second being shorter and set closer to the margin), while a third line, which is aligned with the second and expressly continues it, is, however, in a different ink and by a different hand. The separation of the entire note from the calendar text is marked by a square bracket. Above the actual calendar entry and extending upwards at a slant to avoid the mixed-script annotation below it is a single line supplement in Ó Cléirigh’s hand concerning the genealogy of St Molaga: ‘ata Molaga saingil ar sliocht conaill eachluaith ... óluim’. It is evident that Ó Cléirigh inserted the open bracket preceding Ward’s note so as to separate his addition from it. Other confirmation is in the writing of ‘eachluaith’ which is raised to avoid the tall Æ of the pre-existing annotation. The full marginal inscription (three lines) reads as follows (Latin script underlined, abbreviations expanded in *italic*):

[Ex S. Ænææ Mart. mo Mædhóg mionn gaidheal, aniogh féin a fhéil |  
et est alius a sequenti 15. |  
etiam a Fernensi 31. Jan.<sup>40</sup>

The first line mentions a saint from the corresponding date in the Calendar of Óengus, citing actual wording from that source, viz. *moMáedóc mind nGóidel*

<sup>38</sup> See TODD & REEVES 1864: 148 (with n. 2).

<sup>39</sup> The editors’ account of the position, sequencing, and hands involved in the various annotations for this date is flawed (TODD & REEVES 1864: 218, n. 2).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Todd & Reeves, *Martyrology of Donegal*, 218 (‘féin’ misread as ‘for’).

‘my Maedóc, diadem of the Gaels’.<sup>41</sup> The editors of *The Martyrology of Donegal* identified the import of the second line-phrase as being that the Mo Maodhóg in question (i.e. ‘my little *Aodh*’) is to be distinguished from another *Aodh* remembered later, on the fifteenth of the month (i.e. ‘Aedh, epscop, .i. epscop Mac Cairthinn ó Clochar’, August 15). Apart from being further evidence that Ó Cléirigh’s genealogical supplementaries were inserted after Ward had worked on the manuscript (1635 being the upper limit for that activity), and that they belong accordingly in the period between the former’s return to Louvain and the year of his death (1637–43), the annotation discussed here has further significance given the status it remains to assign to the addition made in the third line. This I identify as being in Fr John Colgan’s Latin hand (see Figs 3, 3A); his note is to the effect that Mo Maodhóg is also (*etiam*) to be differentiated from ‘Maodhócc, epscop Ferna’ commemorated at January 31. Moreover, it will be observed that a little further down the page the last of the saints named for this date (‘Lucan’) is followed by a late insertion also in a mixed hand comprising of the name mentioned by Ward and followed by references to the martyrologies of Gorman, Óengus, and Tallaght respectively (Latin hand), viz. ‘Mo maodhog Mar | Æn | MTam |’. From what has been said of his handwriting in both languages already I am satisfied to identify the writing in this case also as Colgan’s.<sup>42</sup> The fact that he and not Ó Cléirigh implemented Ward’s suggestion that Mo Maodhóg belongs in the list – a procedure which contrasts with that followed above at f. 31<sup>v</sup> where Ó Cléirigh duly installed it – implies that Colgan’s entry came prior to Ó Cléirigh’s revision in this instance. Moreover, it reflects a sequence that is borne out by multiple similarly made additions at numerous locations elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g. f. 26<sup>v</sup> (May 4: ll. 1, 2), f. 31<sup>r</sup> (June 3: ll. 3, 6); f. 33<sup>v</sup> (June 17: l. 9); f. 36<sup>v</sup> (July 8: ll. 3, 4 right margins); f. 40<sup>r</sup> (August 1: l. 12).

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The case-studies in the foregoing have been chosen to demonstrate the physical aspect of a sequential process of accretion. The instalment by Fr Hugh Ward of copious annotations in both Irish and Latin in the manuscript of the Martyrology after its delivery to St Anthony’s College in 1630 came to be followed later by the entry of a large quantity of extensive vernacular interventions by Ó Cléirigh himself, consisting of additions to the original text in the main. These latter can only have been written after the original scribe’s return to the Low Countries from Ireland in 1637, fully two years after Fr Ward’s death in 1635. A further series of annotations in a third hand, namely those by Fr John Colgan, came to be entered partly contemporaneously with Ó Cléirigh’s supplements and partly later (Colgan’s death occurred in 1658). Without entering

<sup>41</sup> STOKES 1905: 176, Aug. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Note the identical formation of the letters *d g* in A 30 (6) [Fig. 4] above, for example.

into the substance of what is at issue in any one of the individual accretions, my purpose has been on this occasion to draw attention to MS 5095–96 as constituting a forum of scrutiny, evaluation, and continuous debate among the scholarly community of St Anthony’s College concerning Ó Cléirigh’s production. It is to be hoped that the recognition of such interaction may open up a new pathway for cultural historians towards a fuller understanding of the intellectual motivation, mission and achievement of the great hagiographical enterprise pursued by the Irish Franciscans of St Anthony’s College, Louvain/Leuven, during the first half of the seventeenth century.

### Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to the following institutions for permission to print the images. Those from MS 5095–96, now digitised as part of the Irish Script on Screen project of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and accessible at isos.ie, are reproduced by kind permission of the KBR (Figs 1, 2, 6, 6A, 6B, 9–14). Those from UCD-OFM MSS A 16 and A 30 are reproduced from isos.ie by kind permission of the UCD-OFM Partnership (Figs 4, 8) and those from UCD-OFM MSS C 12 (Figs 3, 3A) and C 11 (Fig. 7) are published by kind permission of the UCD-OFM Partnership. The image from Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 141 (Fig. 5), is published by kind permission of the Société des Bollandistes. All images are reduced from natural size.

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