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REICLÉS IN THE IRISH ANNALS TO AD 1200

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Reicles (masc., gen. sg. and nom. pl. *reiclesa;* also written *regles)* is variously defined. Originally, it meant '"an oratory or small church" built by an Irish saint for his own use; sometimes used to include the plot or enclosure about it'. Hence it came to mean '"a monastic cell", the hut occupied by an Irish monk in a coenobitic settlement, and in general an anchorite's cell Loosely used to include buildings and ground of a community ... '. 'Later used generally of a church connected with a monastery or of the monastery or abbey itself': here a few entries from AU are noted. It can also mean more broadly 'church or chapel in general'; and, perhaps through the influence of *reilec,* 'tomb'. A derivative *reiclesach,* 'recluse or religious coenobite', also occurs. *Reicles* is not found in Old Irish. And its etymology is doubtful: Stokes at different times suggested formations from Latin 'reclusum' i.e. a recluse's cell; and from 'ro – eccles' *(<ecclesia),* i.e. a large church. (DIL, *reicles, reiclesach).* O'Donovan had earlier suggested (note under AFM 1179) a derivation from Latin 'regularis ecclesia', indicating a church belonging to the regular, as opposed to the secular clergy. (It is perhaps worth noting in passing that the possibility of an Irish etymology has not apparently been canvassed.)

The term is thus, it seems, one of broad application, denoting actually or potentially a wide range of types of ecclesiastical (but generally monastic?) settlement or building, from the smallest to the largest: oratory – church, anchoritic – cenobitic cell, monastery – abbey. So it seemed worthwhile to see whether more specific investigation, concentrated in a particular area, might serve to define more closely its range of meanings-at least within the chosen area. To that end, I chose the annals-basically for three reasons: first, the main compilations are accessible in more or less reliable modern or at any rate nineteenth-century editions; second, they provide a chronological framework that is probably secure enough overall, even if particular entries or groups of entries can be problematic; and third, the nature of the annals and the material with which they are concerned would lead me to expect that, again generally, they are likely to reflect more closely everyday (colloquial) usage, where technical or apparently technical terms are concerned, than are possibly more contrived literary texts such as, for example, saints' lives, which might be consciously striving for literary effect and in the process using such terms much more loosely. I have examined, therefore, eight sets of annals for the period 800 to 1200 inclusive: AU, AT, AI, CS, AFM, ALC, MIA (fragment 1), and the annals in London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A. XXV (AB). (The sigla for annals and martyrologies are those at the beginning of this volume.)

It has to be admitted at the outset that evidence within the chosen date-range from the readily accessible Munster annals is practically non-existent. AI (see AI p vii–x; also Hughes 1972, 107–15, 135–37, 140–42, 146, 29798) does not use *reicles* in this period.

And, since the term is not listed in Mac Airt's indexes, it seems a reasonably safe inference that *reicles* does not form part of the vocabulary of AI generally. The only relevant entry (1165.1) in MIA Fragment 1 (see MIA, p viixiii), furthermore, may lend some strength to a suspicion that Munster annalists were not easily familiar with the term. The mention of *Dair Colaim Cille* ('Colum Cille's oak') and *Craobh Brighde* ('Brigit's tree') indicates, not alone that the source here is apparently not identical with that of the corresponding entries in AU and AFM (1166); but also that the phrase *guna tri teamplaibh,* 'with its three churches' – an absurdity in relation to mid twelfth-century Armagh as a whole – may originally have read *guna tri reiclesaibh* (cf. CS 1013) – the actual number, as it happens, of the attested *reiclesa* in Armagh at this time. If this were indeed the case, then the substitution of *tempul(l)* for *reicles* would be of a piece with the negative evidence of AI: *rigleas Poil,* as a place-name, could scarcely be avoided. The geographical distribution of *reicles* in the annals, 800 to 1200, is northern, western and midland, reflecting, it is likely, the probable origins and foci of primary interest of the main surviving annalistic compilations themselves. Negative evidence has its value: but annalistic evidence from Munster for the period in question seems not to be forthcoming.

Examination of the eight sets of annals, 800 to 1200, produces a fair body of material for discussion. It is, however, repetitive – referring, as it does, to a limited number of individual sites. Nevertheless, two main provisional conclusions seem possible on the basis of the available evidence.

1. Annalistic *reiclesa* are often, if not usually, small conventual churches in a larger ecclesiastical complex. Where the context provides sufficient detail, it is clear that the term does not denote the larger complex as a whole. Thus we find reference to the coarb *(comarba)* of the *reicles* of Brigit in Armagh (AU, AFM 1085); the stone church *(damhliac)* of the *reicles* of Peter and Paul in Armagh (AU, AFM 1126); the abbot *(abb)* of the *reicles* of Peter and Paul (in Armagh, clearly: AU, AFM 1175: Gilla Mochaidbeo is 'abb Mainistrech Petair *1* Poil i nArd Macha', AU 1174 and similarly AFM, ALC 1174 ('abbas manistrech Póil *1* Petair i nArd Macha', AB §360) – but 'ab reiglesa [Petair *1]* Póil', AT [I 174]: cf. 'reicles Phoil i nArd Macha' (AU, AFM 1177), 'Reicles Phoil' (AU, AFM 1195, ALC 1194), 'Reicles Poil 7 Petair' (AU, AFM 1196, ALC 1195), 'Mainistir Phoil *1* Phetair' (AU 1200, ALC, AFM 1199 – at Armagh presumably: cf. AU 1201.1, ALC 1201.1); the door or entrance of the refectory (' dorus proinntighi ') of the *Duibreicles* (*Colaim Cille i nDoire,* add. AFM) (AU, AFM 1192); the *reicles* of Peter and Paul at Armagh 'with its churches' ('reicles Poil 7 Petair ('i nArdmacha', add. AFM) cona themplaibh' – AU, AFM 1196, ALC 1195); the grant of a *reicles* to *celi De* at Clondalkin (AFM 1076); the lector *(fer leighinn)* of the *reicles* of Colum Cille in Armagh (AFM 1152). There are other entries, furthermore, that indicate that a *reicles* is or can be more than a church pure and simple: Armagh is burned in 1179 'na huile reiclesa 7 inna huile tempaill' (AU, ALC, AFM); compare the probably formulaic *iar coisecrad tempall 7 reilec* 'having consecrated churches and cemeteries', *iar n-denum mainistrech 7*

reicles ('having built monasteries and *reiclesa')* (AU, AFM 1173). (The variation between *reicles* and *mainister* in the case of the church of Peter and Paul at Armagh from the 1170s may reflect its status by that time as an Augustinian abbey – cf. Gwynn & Hadcock, 1970, 14652, 157: *reicles* again in 1204, AU, AFM (1203)). Moreover, besides the references to the *reiclesa* of Peter and Paul, Colum Cille and Brigit at Armagh and the *Duibreicles Coluim Cille* at Derry, we have mention of *Reicles Finghin* at Clonmacnoise (CS 1013); of *Reicles Suidhe Coluim Cille* at Kells (AFM 1148); of *Reicles an Dti Sinchell* at Glendalough (AFM 1163); and of *Reicles Ui Dunain* at Clonard? (AFM 1141) – all possibly conventual also. (If the 'cend in reclesa' mentioned in the *notitiae* in the Book of Kells c.113436 (see Herbert, 1988, 99100) was head of *Reicles Suidhe Coluim Cille,* then it may be relevant to note various references in the annals to the 'head *(ceann)* of *celi De'* at different places: e.g. Clonmacnoise (CS 1128, AT, AFM 1170, AFM 1200), Iona (AU 1164); and cf. AFM 1076. But I do not detect any significant correlation in the annals between *reiclesa* and *celi De').* I shall return to these *reiclesa* under an explicit invocation presently. It should be stressed again, I think, that the context of all these references is large ecclesiastical complexes.

2. The fact that many *reiclesa* are denoted by a specific invocation indicates, I suggest, a function as reliquary churches. Occasionally, additional evidence tends to support the suggestion.

(a) *Reicles Petair* 7 *Póil,* Armagh. There were relics *(reliquiae)* of Peter and Paul of some kind at Armagh in the second half of the seventh century (?), when they are mentioned by Tirechan (Bieler, 1979, 12223, 16061 and 4143). Their *commotatio* along with relics of Patrick occurs in 734 (AU 734.3; AT [733]: *com(m)otatio martirum,* 'the bringing on tour of the relics', Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill; 'the disinterment and enshrining of the relics', Stokes; 'the circuit of the relic-shrine', Ó Briain 1940, 457; cf. Reeves, 1857, 313 note c, 314 note m). Their presence *(honore ... martyrum Petri et Pauli-'martyrs',* Bieler) at Armagh is, furthermore, clearly implied by the *Liber angeli* (19) – a document which 'as it stands ... is hardly earlier than the eighth century' (and late in that century?), though it is probably based substantially on earlier materials (Bieler 1979, 18687, 54). (Note the death of Ceile Petair, abbot of Armagh, AU 758.2; and Lawlor & Best 1919, 321.) The shrine *(sgrin)* of Peter and Paul performed a miracle on St Patrick's altar at Armagh in 1033 (AU, ALC, AFM). Despite some variation in the title, I see no good reason to think that any church other than that of SS Peter and Paul at Armagh is intended by these annal entries: cf. Hogan 1910, 57980.

I wonder whether these relics of Peter and Paul – and possibly others – were received in Armagh in 64041? The list of the recipients of the letter (on the Easter controversy and a reported recrudescence of Pelagianism in Ireland) sent by the Roman church late in 640 to 'certain named bishops, priests, abbots and other learned men in Ireland' (Sheehy), is headed by the name *Tomianus,* i.e. Tómmene mac Rónain, bishop and abbot of Armagh

62361. The tone of those excerpts from the letter quoted by Bede (HE ii 19=Colgrave & Mynors, 1969, 198203) is severe: such relics might then have accompanied the copy of the letter sent to Tómmene as a kind of palliative; perhaps also to try to secure or strengthen the allegiance of a prominent leader of the Celtic party in the Irish church to the see of Rome and to Roman orthodoxy (see Sheehy 196265, i 34; Kenney 1929, 22123 §58). For the type of relics very likely in question here, see Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the martyrs,* §27 (Van Dam 1988, 4546, who notes (46, n 30) that the cult of Peter and Paul had appeared in Gaul by the late fourth century).

(b) (c) *Reicles Coluim Cille* and *Reicles Brigte,* Armagh. If my suggestion is correct that *reiclesa* are or can be reliquary churches (also), then Armagh must have had or acquired significant relics of these two saints by or during the eleventh century.

A note supplementary to Tirechan provides evidence that there was perhaps a 'martyrial' connection between Colum Cille and Patrick at an earlier date: 'Columb Cille, moved by the Holy Spirit, showed where Patrick's grave was and confirms this, that is, in Saulpatrick, in the church near the sea, where there is the coming together of the martyrs *(conductio martirum),* that is, of the bones of Columb Cille *(ossuum Coluimb Cillae)* from Britain and of all the saints of Ireland on the day of Judgement *(in die iudicii)'* (Bieler 1979, 16465). There is doubt about the authorship of this note. Bieler seems to distance himself somewhat from an attribution to Tirechan (1979, 4346, esp. 4445). In any case, it must have been in existence by or during the first decades of the ninth century, when Ferdomnach (who may or may not have been the actual author) transcribed it into the Book of Armagh (ibid. 23, 35; cf. Reeves 1857, 31214). If there is reference here to *primary* relics of Colum Cille at this time (second half of the eighth century?), it is to be noted: but the mention of the day of Judgement, implying the general resurrection of the dead, inclines me to believe that we have to do rather with a tradition that Colum Cille was *buried* at Saul – however and whenever precisely that tradition arose. Such a tradition might, on the other hand, reflect the local presence of primary relics.

Tirechan himself shows some interest in Brigit (Bieler 1979, 13637). An appendix to the *Liber angeli* proper associates Patrick and Brigit more explicitly, if apparently from political as much as from religious motives: 'Between holy Patrick and Brigit, pillars (dignitaries) of the Irish, there existed so great a friendship of charity that they were of one heart and one mind. Christ worked many miracles through him and her. The holy man, then, said to the christian virgin: "O my Brigit, your *paruchia* will be deemed to be in your province in your dominion, but in the eastern and western part it will be in my domination"' (Bieler I979, 54, 19091). If this appendix is not to be dated with the text of the *Liber angeli* directly, the same general observation applies as was made in the case of supplementary note III.5 to Tirechan: it is likely to belong to the later eighth century, if not earlier.

At a considerably later date, two MSS of the *Irish Life of Colum Cille* reflect a

developed tradition that Patrick, Colum Cille and Brigit were buried under the one flagstone in Downpatrick (Herbert 1988, 242, 26465; cf. Anderson 1922, i 47). This tradition was considered of sufficient political importance in early Anglo-Norman times to elicit the discovery of the bodies of the three saints (in 1185) and the translation of their remains at the instance of John de Courcy. The event is mentioned briefly by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Expugnatio hibernica* (ii 35; Scott & Martin 1978, 23435 and 353, n 479); and described with more circumstantial detail in his *Topography of Ireland* (iii §14; O'Meara 1951, 8990).

(d) *Duibreicles Coluim Cille,* Derry: explicitly so, AU, ALC AFM 1173, 1175, AFM 1192. The church may have been in existence for some time before its first appearance in the annals in 1166: AU, reporting its burning along with the greater part of Derry in this year, comments *quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus* 'a thing unheard of from ancient times' – though it is not clear to me whether the comment refers to the burning of the *Duibreicles* in particular or of Derry in general. (The reference to the burning of Derry is also in Latin; whereas the burning of the *Duibreicles* is referred to in Irish.) Nevertheless, I doubt *(pace* O'Donovan and Reeves: see appendix) that this is the original monastic church of Derry – a building much more likely, it seems to me, to have stood at the site of Ua Brolchain's new church of 1164: cf. AU 1162, 1163, 1164. The specific invocation of Colum Cille indicates, I think, that this church housed a relic or relics traditionally associated with him. I wonder, however, whether the chief relic housed in the *Duibreicles* by the mid twelfth century was not *Soiscela Martain* ('the Gospel of Martin': see Reeves 1857, 32426). 'On a further occasion, he [Colum Cille] went from Derry to Martin's city of Tours, and brought back the Gospel which had been on Martin's breast in the grave for a hundred years, and he left it in Derry' *(Irish Life of Colum Cille* §35, edited and translated by Maire Herbert. Dr Herbert associates the writing of this Life with Derry and dates it to around the middle of the twelfth century: Herbert 1988, 188–93, 198–99, 231, 256.) Bannerman (1993, 40–41, 44–45) argues that *Soiscela Martain,* 'probably a version of Sulpicius Severus's *Life of Martin, Epistles* and *Dialogues',* represented the *insignia* validating the office of coarb of Colum Cille at Derry at this time (though he prefers Armagh as the probable location for the writing of the *Irish Life of Colum Cille).* This is also the view of Herbert (1988, 190–91). It should be pointed out, on the other hand, that the first appearance of the *Duibreicles* and *Soiscela Martain* in the same year is a coincidence, since they actually appear in different and unrelated contexts (AU 1166; cf. MIA 1165.2).

(e) *Reicles Suidhe Coluim Cille,* Kells. *Suide,* 'seat', can mean both 'seat' concretely and, by extension, 'seat', 'centre' of authority, etc.: *suide brithemon* glosses *tribunal; do shuidhe riogh,* 'thy royal seat' (i.e. palace); *suide thigernais* 'throne' (of Pilate); *suidhe thrócaire* (Ex 25:20=presumably *propitiatorium,* Vulg.) – see DIL, 2 *suide,* II(a). *Suide abbad (apad)* occurs several times in AI in the period 800 to 1200 (Clonfert 838, Emly 986.3, Armagh 1001.2, Emly 1052.5). (It is also not uncommon in place-names, both in Ireland and Scotland, sometimes associated with a saint's name and

denoting often enough a mountain or hill, cairn or seat-like boulder: Hogan 1910, 618–19; Watson 1926, 260–63.) Kells was, it seems, the usual seat of authority among the Columban churches from the first half of the tenth century until the mid twelfth (Herbert 1988, 78–108). I suspect, however, that we have to do here with some more palpable symbol of that paramount authority: an ancient abbatial chair or seat hallowed by association, historical or traditional, with Colum Cille and with Iona. It may, then, be worth observing in this connection that AT [1135] refers to the desecration of St Jarlath's *cathair* (translated 'throne' by Stokes). Possibly this also is a reference to a relic (at Tuam?). It has to be noticed, though, that Plummer (1910, i, p clxxv, n 10), noting (AT [l 134]=CS 1130) *Cathach Iarlaithe do sarughudh la Dal Cais* ('C.I. was desecrated by the Dalcassians', Stokes) and the consequent devastation of Thomond, reads *cathaigh* for *cathaire* in AT [l 135]: i.e. 'a battler', a relic taken into battle (so also Stokes, note on AT [1134]). See also DIL, 2 *cathach,* 'relic, reliquary, taken to battle to ensure victory', noting AT [1134] and CS 1130 as examples. (CS 1130 notices the devastation ofThomond *iar saruccadh cathaighe Iarlaithe,* 'after the profanation of the covenant of Iarlaith', Hennessy.) So this example is perhaps doubtful. With the naming of a church from a relic, on the other hand, cf. *Tempull Bernain Chiarain* at Clonmacnoise (AT [1077]: a bell – cf. CS 972, 1041, AT [1043], AFM 1043); *Teampoll na Sgrin* (MIA 1165.2: I cannot identify this church, but it was pretty clearly in the north of lreland – perhaps at or near Armagh).

(f) *Reicles Finghin,* Clonmacnoise. AT [758] record the death in pilgrimage at Clonmacnoise of Gorman, coarb of Mochta of Louth and father of Torbach coarb of Patrick (t808: AU 808.1; see also Lawlor & Best 1919, 323), after he had lived for a *year for usci thibrat Fingen a Cluain maic Nois* 'on the water of Fingen's well in Clonmacnois'. AFM 753 note the death of Gorman, successor of Mochta of Louth and father of Torbach successor of Patrick, on pilgrimage at Clonmacnoise; his death on pilgrimage at Clonmacnoise is noted by AC 754. The entry is not in AU. What appears to be basically the same entry occurs in CS 615, where the death in pilgrimage at Clonmacnoise is noted of Gorman, ancestor of Conn na mBocht (tl060–AU 1060.4, CS 1057, ALC 1060, AFM 1059), after he had lived a year *for usce Tiprait Fingin* 'on the water of Tiprait Finghin', similarly in AFM 610, AC 617 (which allow him bread as well as the water of 'ffinyns well'). This is not in AU or AT; cf. Ryan 1973, 37–38 (containing some inaccuracies of detail). The eighth-century obit is presumably to be preferred, if these two sets of entries are in fact substantially identical; but clearly there has been confusion, at least in the matter of chronology.

There seems to have been some tradition, or at least assumption (noticed, for example, by Petrie 1845, 270; Ryan 1973, 59–60), that the saint in question is Finnian of Clonard. Professor Padraig Ó Riain, however, points out to me that the *–gh–* of Finghin makes this identification linguistically impossible. (Finnian is *Finden,* variants *Finnian, Finnia* in MartO, 12 December.) The only saint Finghin that I have noted is Fingin mac Odrain Febla (MartT, *5* February). Hogan (1910, 408) lists this entry under *Feball* or *Febail* from MartD and, comparing Flann Febla, apparently from the index to AU, speculates

that *Feba(i)l(l)* might be a place-name. The obit of Flann Febla, abbot of Armagh, is in AU 715.1 (cf. AT [715], AI 715), with the marginal addition in hand H^2 to the effect that he was son of Scannlan of the Ui Meith. The notes in the Book of Leinster version of the ancient list of the coarbs of Patrick give him as son of Scannlan, grandson of Fingen ('mac Scanlain hua Fingin', Lawlor & Best 1919, 321, 359). His genealogy is 'Fland Febla m. Scandlain m. Fingin m. Aeda Bennain m. Fiachach m. Muredaig Mer *(or Meith)* m. Imchada m. Colla Focri' (Ó Riain 1985, 11 §65; cf. 'Conla Fochrith a quo Hui Cremthainn Hui Meith ind Airthir' (O'Brien 1962, 139; cf. O'Brien 1962, 153, 414). Finghin of MartT, 5 February, may, then, be of the Ui Meith of Monaghan – Louth: there seems, in any case, to be nothing to connect him with Clonmacnoise.

I suggest that the Finghin of *Reicles Finghin* is possibly to be identified with Fingen *anchara di Mumain* 'anchorite from Mumu', who died at Clonmacnoise in 900 (AI; cf. AFM 895. I was alerted to this possibility by Ryan (1973, 59), who, however, did not himself make the connection explicitly). This man may have been of royal or noble stock: a branch of Eoganacht Caisil was Cenel Fingin, the descendants of Fingen mac Aedo Duib, king of Munster (†619, AT, AI). A later king of Munster of this line was the redoubtable Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, whose obit in AU (847.l; cf. CS 847, AFM 845, AI 847) describes him as 'optimus Scottorum ... scriba ancorita'. He seems to have been a man of opportunistic violence and ascetic religious temper – member or associate of the *celi* De-simultaneously (Hughes 1966, 182, 192–93, 212). Indeed, CS implies (846, 847) that Feidlimid died as a consequence of St Ciaran's vengeance upon him for his (second) devastation of Clonmacnoise in 844: AFM (844, 845) and AC (843, 844 (847)) are more explicit. (For the genealogy of Cenel Fingin see O'Brien 1962, 215–16; and cf. genealogical table 12 in Byrne 1973, 292–93). Was Finghin, in fact, a son or grandson of Feidlimid, inheriting his forebear's religiosity, but not his bellicosity; and perhaps trying to expiate in some measure ancestral sins by self-imposed exile in pilgrimage in a monastery that had suffered such brutality at Feidlimid's hands? Though they were not directly descended from this branch (O'Brien 1962, 216, 252, 362; Byrne 1973, 292–93), the postulated descent of Finghin from Cenel Fingin might then explain the MacCarthy interest in Teampall Finghin at a later date, as reflected by the *Registry of Clonmacnoise* (originally perhaps late twelfth or early thirteenth century: O'Donovan 1857, 444–45, 448, 450 n 5, esp. 457–58, 460 n 2; cf. Petrie 1845, 267–71, esp. 268–70). As the chief representatives of Eoganacht Caisil in the twelfth century, the MacCarthys might have inherited or claimed former interests of other branches of the kindred. Subsequently, as patrons of Teampall Finghin and clients of St Finghin, they adopted Finghin as a personal name themselves (Petrie 1845, 269–71). ('Fingen, son of Mac Carthaig, forsook the church for secular life against the advice of monks and clergy' in 1192–AI 1192.7; similarly MIA 1192.4 (Fingin Lici Lachtain). Mac Airt identifies him as Fingen Lice Lachtain m. Diarmata Cille Baduna m. Cormaic Muige Tamnach m. Muiredaig m. Carthaig: i.e. he is a grandson of Cormac, king of Munster, who died in 1138).

I am aware, of course, that this hypothesis means necessarily that the reference to Tiprait Finghin in a mid-eighth century context (let alone an early seventh-century one) is

anachronistic. But I do not think that a serious problem is thereby posed. I have already drawn attention to the fact that, if a single annal entry only is in question, the chronology is confused. And additional material interpolated retrospectively (often enough as originally marginal or interlinear commentary incorporated into the body of the text by later redactors; or perhaps as editorial commentary made while copying) is a not uncommon feature of individual annalistic entries. In the present case, the note that Gorman was father of Torbach coarb of Patrick (AT, AFM) cannot have been added before 808 at the earliest; and the broader genealogical information of CS 615, AFM 610 and AC 617 is unlikely to have been added before the second half of the eleventh century at the earliest. That the well was already a focus of religious interest and activity by the mid eighth century, on the other hand, need not, I think, be seriously doubted. It may not, however, have been under any particular invocation at this stage. In this connection it is perhaps worth noting the death in 876 (CS) of Bogan Tobair, *Eogan Topair,* 'Bogan of the Well', abbot of Clonmacnoise (also in AU 877.1, AI 876, AFM 874, without the epithet: cf. Ryan 1973, 45). *Tobar* by itself, without a qualifying element, seems to be rare as a place-name: cf. Hogan, 1910 639–41. In this view, then, the well came to be identified with a local cult of Finghin as a saint during the tenth century, perhaps after a church had been dedicated to *him – Reicles Finghin* or a predecessor. It would seem not unreasonable to suggest, further, that the well and any cell or oratory then associated with it was the location of Finghin' s own ascetic life.

Finghin's Well was still 'held in the greatest veneration' in Petrie's day; 'and the grave of St Finghin himself, situated beside the church, is still used as one of the principal penitential stations of this distinguished sanctuary' (Petrie 1845, 270). *Toberfineen* is shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey 6-inch map (King's Co. sheet 5, published 1838–40), situated, as O'Donovan says (AFM 610 note s), 'near the brink of the Shannon, by whose waters it is sometimes concealed in winter and spring'. It is a short distance NW of Templefineen or McCarthy's Ch(urch). I do not find this saint, whoever he may have been, in the later martyrologies (MartG, twelfth century; MartD, seventeenth century). His local cult seems, nevertheless, to have been a well- rooted one; and his traditional grave may reflect the former presence of primary relics within the church. It is pretty clear, at the least, that *Reicles Finghin* was a precursor of the Romanesque *Teampall Finghin,* the remains of which, with 'McCarthy's Tower', survive on the N side of the modern enclosure wall of Clonmacnoise (Leask 1955, 147–51; Macalister 1909, 145–50 and pl xxxv, xxxva; Champneys 1910, 208–11; Petrie 1845, 267–71). Petrie's reproduction (267) of Beranger's plan of 1779 shows walling enclosing the round tower to E and SE: if original, this might indicate that the complex here was more extensive historically, possibly including domestic accommodation to S of the church. The only entrance to the church was at the W end of the S wall of the nave (Leask 1955, fig 87; Macalister 1909, 146). For the tower, see further Petrie 1845, 416–17.

(g) *Reicles an Da Sinchell,* Glendalough. The cult of both Sinchells is attested by c.800, in both MartT and MartO. *Sinchelli abbatis Cilli Achid* ('of Cell Achaid'), MartT, 26

March (see also marginal notes, 102–03); *Sinchill Cilli Achid,* MartT, 25 June. *Feil in t-Shinchill shuthain/ Cille aidble Achid,* 'the feast of the perennial Sinchell of vast Cell Achid', MartO, 26 March. The scholia in MartO at this point, from the various MSS as cited by Stokes are: *Sinchell o Chill Achith i nUib Failge* 'Sinchell of Cell Achid in Offaly' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. B 505), *Sinchill .i. in tSen-Sinchell i nUib Failge i lLaignib* 'of Sinchell, i.e. of the Sinchell senior in Offaly in Leinster' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. *610), feil da Sinchell suthain* 'the feast of two perennial Sinchells' (Lebor Brecc, cited from Stokes 1880, p lxv). The other Sinchell is commemmorated in MartO, 25 June: *Feil Sinchill, feil Telli/ batir Brenn ardae,* 'Sinchell's feast, Telle's feast: were Erin's heights', with the scholia: *.i. Sinchill óic ó Chill Ached i ndh-Uaib Failge* 'i. e. of Sinchell junior of Cell Achid in Offaly' (Laud 610); *o Chill Achaid Sinchill i n-Uib Failge* 'of Cell Achid Sinchill in Offaly' (Lebor Brecc, cited from Stokes 1880, p cvii, which appears not to distinguish explicitly two saints of the name). Their church was Killeigh, Co *Offaly – Cell Achaid Drama Fota – of* which the elder Sinchell presumably was founder (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 182–83). Their respective genealogies are: SenShinchell m. Cenfhinnain m. Macha m. Cruaich m. Dulge m. Imchada m. Brolaig m. Lugdach m. Labrada m. Cormaic m. Con Corbb (Ó Riain 1985, 46 §282); Sinchell m. Corcain m. Eire m. Cruaich (ibid. §283; some MSS add 'm. Duilge m. Imchada' and any significant variants are cited by Ó Riain). So Glendalough had, I take it, acquired reputed relics of these two saints before 1163.

(In 983 occurs the death of Aed ua Mothrain, *comarba Da Sinchill,* 'successor of Da Sinchell' (AU 983.3, where the editors presumably take *Da–* as *Do–,* 'thy'); but *comharba da Sincheall,* 'successor of the two Sinchealls' (AFM 982). The death of Gilla Brighde Ua Dimusaigh, *comharba an da Sinchell,* 'successor of the two Sinchells', occurs in AFM 1163.)

(h) *Reicles Ui Dunain,* Clonard (?), is problematical: neither its precise location, nor the significance of the name, is certain. It is the only *reicles* covered by the present exercise whose context is quite unknown: did it stand by itself, or (as seems to be usual with annalistic *reiclesa* in this period) as part of a larger ecclesiastical complex – in this case, Clonard?

Mael Muire Ua Dunain, bishop and reformer, one of the most important Irish churchmen of his day (Gwynn, 1992 116–25; Ó Corrain 1983, who doubts that he was ever papal legate), died in 1117 (AU, AT, AI, CS (1113), AB, AFM), on 24 December (AU, AFM), at Clonard (AT, CS). I do not, however, find any definite evidence for the subsequent cult of him (or of any other Ua Dunain) as a saint: the Mael Maire given under 24 December in MartG (cf. MartD, 24 December) is identified in a marginal note there (of John Colgan's, Stokes thought) as Marianus Scotus 'the Chronographer'. O'Donovan's suggestion, therefore, that the reference here is to a church erected by Mael Muire Ua Dunain (note under AFM 1141) may be correct, though the uncertainty as to its location must extend also to the identity of the founder or patron. A better-known contemporary instance of a church apparently being designated (at least popularly)

by the name of its founder is afforded by Tempal(l) Cormaic(c), 1134 (AT, CS (1130), AB, ALC (1135); cf. MIA, AFM): Cormac's Chapel at Cashel.

The Ui Dunain seem to have been a hereditary clerical family associated with the church of Tulen, that is, Dulane, Co Meath (Ó Corrain 1983, 50–52). The slight possibility remains, nevertheless, that the name Reicles Ui Dunain, taken together with the Mael Muire of 24 December in MartG and MartD, does in fact reflect dimly a cult, perhaps short-lived, of Mael Muire Ua Dunain as a saint.

The fact that there is a noticeable, though not dramatic, increase in internal (including occasional Scottish) pilgrimage during the second half of the tenth, the eleventh and twelfth centuries may add some weight to the suggestion that *reiclesa* functioned as reliquary churches. To demonstrate this increase briefly here, I have set out below the notices of internal pilgrimage entered in six sets of annals for the three centuries in question-tabulating only those entries that specify pilgrimage explicitly and name the place sought. Since my purpose is to show only the simple fact of numerical increase during this period, I have not thought it necessary to try to correlate entries from different sets of annals.

- *AU 900–1200.* 989.1 Armagh; 1004.1Armagh; 1030.7 Glendalough; 1037.1=Armagh; 1043.1 Armagh; 1063.1 Armagh; 1073.1 Armagh; 1103.8 Armagh (interlined); 1122.6 Derry *(disert);* 1123.3 Lismore. *[chasm* 1132–55] 1168 Cong; ?1173 Derry *(Duibreicles*); 1186 Mellifont; 1193 Mellifont; 1188 Iona; 1188 Derry
- *AT973–1178.* [979] Iona. *[chasm* 1003–17] 1037 Armagh; [1043] Armagh; [1127] Lismore; [1142] Killaloe; [1165] Killaloe; (1167] Clonmacnoise
- *AI 900–1200.* 1024.7 Scattery; 1026.4 Clonfert >Iona> Rome; 1028.2 Cork; 1029.8 Armagh; 1043.2 Armagh; 1092.8 Clonard; 1116.5 Lismore; 1126.6 Lismore *[chasms* 1131–1159, 1182–1189]
- *CS 900–1150.* 963 St Andrews; 974 Armagh; 986 Armagh; 978 Iona; 1035 Armagh; 1050 Clonard; (1092–) 1096 Aghaboe *[chasm* 1132–41]
- *ALC 1014–1200.* 1030 Glendalough; 1037 Armagh=l043 Armagh; 1118 Clonmacnoise; 1136 Lismore. *[chasm* 1139–70] ?1173 Derry *(Duibreicles);* 1183 Cong; 1185 Clonard; 1186 Mellifont=l193 Mellifont; 1188 Iona; 1188 Derry; 1193 Inchcleraun *(bis)*
- *AFM 900–1200.* 951 Glendalough; 974 Armagh=987 Armagh; 979 Iona; 1003 Armagh; ?1004 Armagh; 1030 Glendalough; 1037 Armagh=1043 Armagh; 1043 Armagh *(bis);* 1047 Iona; 1052 Clonard; 1056 Lismore; 1063 Armagh; 1070 Clonard; 1073 Clonmacnoise; 1122 Glendalough; 1123 Lismore; 1127 Lismore; 1138 Monaincha; 1150 Cong; 1151 Armagh; 1159 Killaloe; 1170 Tuam; ?1173 Derry *(Duibreicles)*; 1185 Clonard; 1188 Iona; 1188 Derry

The notable revival of Irish metalworking during, especially, the second half of the eleventh century and the twelfth, consists to a significant extent in shrines and reliquaries: see Henry

1970, 1–25 (historical background), 26–45 (physical background), 74–122 (detailed discussion) and 190–210 (conclusions). The annals note a few translations and/or enshrinements explicitly during the relevant period: the 'Canóin Phadraic' or Book of Armagh (CS 938, AFM 937); Colman mac Luachain (AU 1122.2, ALC 1122, AFM 1122); a fragment of the Cross enshrined by O'Connor at Roscommon (AT [1123]); bishop Maeinenn and Cummaine Foda at Clonfert (AFM 1162); Manchan of Maethail (Mohill, Co Leitrim, AFM 1166); Coman (AT [1170]), son of Faelchu *(mic Faolchon,* AFM 1170), i.e. Coman of Roscommon.

Of the three remaining *reiclesa* it does not seem possible to say very much for certain. In the context of the burning of Roscommon in 1049 (AT, CS), the phrase *etir damliag 7 regles* could mean 'both (stone) church and monastery'; or *reicles* could be associated with *da(i)mliacc* as being an important church in its own right. *(CS – Ross Comain uile – may* have understood it in the former sense.) In the context of the burning of Cong (CS 1135) and of Mayo (AFM 1169), the possessive pronoun is used: *cu a recles* (Cong), *co na reccles* (Mayo) – 'with *its* reicles'. Here I am inclined to think that a special church is intended, rather than the monastery (as a whole); so that may more likely be the case in the Roscommon entry also. I suggest that at least some foundations, important but of lesser rank than great settlements such as Armagh, Derry, Kells, Clonmacnoise or Glendalough, may have contented themselves with one *reicles* that may have, perhaps inter alia, served as a general repository for relics (other than those of the patron?) that those churches had accumulated over time. Such relics could presumably have been either primary or secondary; and of native or foreign saints. Relics of foreign saints of various kinds may have been acquired increasingly by Irish churches during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; although, with regard to the named *reiclesa,* the postulated relics are either of native saints or have (probably) been in Ireland for long enough to be regarded as thoroughly 'naturalised' – those of Peter and Paul at Armagh, for instance. These 'anonymous' *reiclesa* need not, perhaps did not, house the accepted primary or validating relics of the patron saint, which were perhaps more likely accommodated in the principal church of the enclosure, or in a special church of their own.

DIL indicates that annalistic *reicles* is relatively late. While I am not qualified to enter into any discussion on the dating of early Irish texts, I think that the following observations may safely be made. Some major ecclesiastical complexes may have adopted an existing term, perhaps progressively, and given it the specialised application 'small conventual-reliquary church' that seems to be reflected (originally) by the annals that were being compiled in the same or similar ecclesiastical complexes. *Reicles* may hitherto have denoted smaller and functionally less specific settlements or structures, not necessarily associated with major centres, that were not of interest to the annalists. Annalistic *reicles,* on the other hand, occur within major ecclesiastical complexes almost without exception. So annalistic *reiclesa* may be not only late, but also narrowly specialised, comparatively speaking. That said, however, it can be argued that there is essential continuity of meaning, in the broad spectrum 'oratory, small church–monastic cell–

(monastic) church/(small) monastery', between earlier and later usage. So it may be not unreasonable to suggest that the additional reliquary function proposed here in the context of later usage may also be relevant with regard to earlier usage: in other words, that the connotation 'reliquary church', 'shrine' may be found retrospectively to be integral to at least some of the earlier occurrences of the term. This may be a line of enquiry worth pursuing: it seems clear enough, in any case, that analysis of the annalistic occurrences of *reicles* alone can only make a partial contribution to the study of the comprehensive significance of the term-leaving aside altogether the (still vexed?) question of its etymology.

APPENDIX
THE INDIVIDUAL ANNALISTIC ENTRIES

- 1011. Death of Dunadach of the *reicles* of Columcille in Armagh *(D. in Reiclesa Coluim Cille i nArd Macha).* AU 1011.1
- 1013. The great oak ofRegles Finghin at Clonmacnoise *(dair mar Reglesa Fingin hi cCluain muc Nois)* blown down. CS 1013.
- 1049. Roscommon burned, 'both Damhliag and Regles' *(Ros Coman do loscud etir damliag 7 regles ... ,* AT). AT 1049. CS 1047.
- 1076. (An armed intervention at Clondalkin in a disputed abbatial succession). 'It was on this occasion that a church, with its land, at Cluain Dolcain, was given to Culdees for ever' (*Conadh annsin do radad regles co na fherann i cCluain Dolcain do celibh de go brath...).* AFM 1076.
- 1085. Death of coarb of *reicles* of Brigit in Armagh *(comarba reclesa Brigte i nArd Macha,* AU). AU 1085.1. AFM 1085.
- 1126. Consecration of the stone church of the *reicles* of Paul and Peter *(damhliac reiglesa Poil 7 Pedair,* AU; similarly AFM) (at Armagh – i *nArd Macha,* AFM). AU 1126.11. AFM 1126.
- 1134. Death of Imhar Ua hAedhagain, 'by whom the church of Paul and Peter at Ard-Macha was erected' *(an fer las ro cumdaighed regles Poil ocus Petair i nArd Macha,* ALC; similarly AFM). ALC and AFM manage to imply here that imhar founded the *reicles.* But AU and AFM mention more specifically, under 1126, his foundation of the *damliacc* of the *reicles;* and their authority is probably to be preferred. The relics of Peter and Paul at Armagh may not have had their own church as early as 1033: cf. AU 1033.9; ALC 1033; AFM 1033. ALC 1134. AFM 1134.
- 1135. Cong burned, with its *reicles (Cunga do losccadh cu a recles).* CS [1131].
- 1138. Burial of bishop of Clogher in *reicles* of Peter and Paul at Armagh (*hi reccles Peattair 1 Poil i nArd Macha).* AFM 1138.
- 1141. Plundering of 'Regles Ui Dhunain' *(regles hUi Dhunain:* probably a church at Clonard built by bishop Mael Muire Ó Dunain, who died there in 1117 – 0'Donovan, note). AFM 1141.
- 1148. Death of priest of *Reicles Suidhe Coluim Cille* at Kells *(saccart reglesa Suidhe Coluim Chille hi cCenandus).* AFM 1148.

- 1152. Death of Fearghal Ua Fearcubhais, 'lector of Ard-Macha for a time, and of the church of Colum-Cille at Ard-Macha also' *(ferleighinn Arda Machafri re, 1 Recclesa Choluim Chille i nArd Macha bheós).* AFM 1152.
- 1163. Glendalough burned, 'together with Cro Chiarain and Cro Chaeimhghin, and the church of the two Sinchells' *(Gleann da locha do losccadh im Cró Chiarain, im Cró Chaoimhghin, 7 im reccles an da Sinchell).* This church was presumably in the close vicinity of St Kevin's and St Ciaran's (see O'Donovan's notes): otherwise, it would be tempting to identify it with the Augustinian St Saviour's Priory, also called *Regles* (1302–06: Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 177). AFM 1163.
- 1166. Extensive burning of Armagh, including 'all the Close with its churches – except the monastery of (SS] Paul and Peter and a few of the houses besides' *(in Raith uile co n-a templaibh,-cenmotha recles Poil 7 Petair 7 uaiti do taighibh archena,* AU). AU 1166. MIA 1165.l. AFM 1166.
- 1166. Most of Derry burned, including the *Duibreicles.* See Reeves 1857, 277–78. I doubt, however, his assertion, here and in note *1.* 408 (so also O'Donovan, note under 1173, below) that this was the original church of Derry, in contradistinction to the great church built by Ua Brolchain in 1164. AU 1166. AT [1166]. AFM 1166.
- 1169. Mayo burned, with its *reicles (Magh eó na Saxan co na reccles ... do loscadh).* AFM 1169.
- 1173. Death of bishop of Cenel nEogain (Derry and Raphoe, ALC, AFM) in the *Duibreicles* in Derry *(i n-dubreicles Coluim-cille in-Daire,* AU). AU 1173. ALC 1173. AFM 1173.
- 1174. Death of Gilla Mochaidbeo, abbot of the *monastery/reicles* of SS Peter and Paul in Armagh *(Gilla Mochaidbeo, abb Mainistrech Petair 7 Poil i nArd-Macha,* AU; *Gilla Mo Cathbeo, ab reiglesa [Petair 7J Poil,* AT; *Gilla Mocaibdheo, ab mainistrech Petair ocus Poil a nArd Macha,* ALC; *Gilla Mochabdeo abbas manistrech Poil 7 Petair in-Ard Macha,* AB; *Giollu Mochaidhbeo abb mainisdreach Pettair 7 Poil* i *nArd Macha,* AFM). AU 1174. AT [1174]. ALC 1174. AB §360 [1174]. AFM 1174.
- 1175. Death of Flaithbertach Ua Brolchain, coarb of Columcille, in the *Duibreicles* (i *n-dubrecles Coluim-cille,* AU). AU 1175. ALC 1175. AFM 1175.
- 1175. Death of the abbot of the *reicles* of SS Paul and Peter, subsequently coarb of Patrick *(abb reiclesa Poil 7 Petair 7 comarba Patraic iartain,* AU). AU 1175. AFM 1175.
- 1177. Death of Domnall Ua Flaithbertaigh in the *reicles* of Paul [and Peter?] in Armagh (i *reicles Phoil in-Ard-Macha,* AU). AU 1177. AFM 1177.
- 1179. Armagh extensively burned, including all its *reiclesa* and its churches, except *Reicles Brigte* and *Tempall na Ferta (na huile reiclesa 7 inna huile tempaill robatar ann, uile do loscadh, cenmotha reicles Brighti 7 tempoll na ferta,* AU). AU 1179. ALC 1179. AFM 1179.
- 1189. Armagh burned from the Crosses of Brigit to the *reicles* of Brigit, 'both Close and Third and church' *(Ard-Macha do loscadh o chrosa[ibh] Brighti co reicles Brighti, eter Raith 7 Trian 7 tempul,* AU). AU 1189. ALC 1189. AFM 1189.
- 1192. 'The door of the Refectory of the Penitentiary [of Daire] was made by Ua Cathain of the Craib and by the daughter of Ua Inneirghi' *(Dorus proinntighi in*

Duibreiclesa ic a denum la U[a} Catha[i]n na Croibhe 1 la ingin hUi Indeirghi, AU). AU 1192. AFM 1192 *(an Duibrecclesa Colaim Cille* i *nDoire).*

- 1195. 'Echmarcach Ua Cathain died in the Regular Canons' house of St Paul [in Ard Macha]. Conchobur Mac Fachtna died in the Penitentiary of Daire' *(Echmharcach hUa Catha[i}n do ec* i *Reicles Phoil. Conchobur Mag Fhachtna do ec i[n-dub-?J reicles Daire,* AU. *Eachmharcach Ua Cathain do ecc i reccles Poil. Conchobhar Mag Fhachtna do eccireccles Doire,* AFM. *Echmarcach. H Cathan do eg a recles Poil,* ALC, with Hennessy's note: 'Recles Poil. The abbey church of St Paul, at Derry'. This mistake presumably arises from some conflation of the two adjacent entries in AU and AFM (above). But Hennessy seems to have been followed by Hogan (1910, 580). *Reicles Poil* is presumably the *reicles* of Peter and Paul at Armagh, as indicated by Maccarthy. Maccarthy may also be correct in suggesting that the *Duibreicles* was intended by AU in the second entry, though AFM has the same reading here. *(la ... abad reiclesa Doire* occurs in AU 1204. Cf. AU 1213: a man killed *i n-dorus reiclesa Daire Coluim Cille.* In AU 1214 it is pretty clear from three separate entries that *Reicles Daire* and the *Duibreicles Coluim Cille* are distinct and that the *reicles* is probably the monastery as a whole). AU 1195. ALC 1194. AFM 1195.
- 1196. Burning of the *reicles* of Peter and Paul (at Armagh, AFM), with its churches, and a large part of the *Rath (Reicles Poil 7 Petair cona themplaibh* 7 *co mbloidh moir do'n Rathaidh do loscadh,* AU; *Reccles Poil 7 Petair i nArd Macha cona templaibh,* AFM; *Recles Pail ocus Petair, cona themplaib,* ALC).The plurality of churches is to be noted: an Augustinian church in addition to the *damliacc?* Cf. Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 157. AU 1196. ALC 1195. AFM 1196.
- 1200. Plundering of the monastery of Peter and Paul (at Armagh, presumably: *Mainistir Phoil* 7 *Phetair,* AU; similarly ALC, AFM). AU 1200. ALC 1199. AFM 1199.

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