Jonathan R. Hayes, Gonzaga University, undergraduate student, "After Aidan: Irish *Peregrini* and English Ethnogenesis from Aldhelm to Boniface"

Abstract: The last several decades have seen tremendous interest among Anglo-Saxonists in the points of contact and influence between Irish and Anglo-Saxon clergymen in the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet there has not been a comprehensive synthesis to capture this phenomenon. The present study seeks to consolidate and extend knowledge of Irish-English interactions from Aldhelm to the time of Boniface. Particular attention is given to the Irish practice of peregrinatio pro Christo as a nexus of English fascination. The lasting consequences of these contacts are evaluated, and it is proposed that the concept of the "Angli" as an ecclesiastical and transregional category was primarily the result of the internationalism engendered by the Irish peregrini.

After Aidan: Irish *Peregrini* and English Ethnogenesis from Aldhelm to Boniface

Jonathan R. Hayes

The last several decades have seen tremendous interest among Anglo-Saxonists in the points of contact and influence between Irish and Anglo-Saxon clergymen in the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet there has not been a comprehensive synthesis to capture this phenomenon. The present study seeks to consolidate and extend knowledge of Irish-English interactions from Aldhelm to the time of Boniface. Particular attention is given to the Irish practice of *peregrinatio pro Christo* as a nexus of English fascination. The lasting consequences of these contacts are evaluated, and it is proposed that the concept of the "Angli" as an ecclesiastical and transregional category was primarily the result of the mobility and internationalism engendered by Irish *peregrini*.

Gif witeðeow Engliscmon hine forstalie, ho hine mon 7 ne gylde his hlaforde.

"If an Englishman [living] in penal slavery absconds, he shall be hanged, and nothing shall be paid to his lord."[1]

This sentence from the twenty-fourth law of Ine of Wessex contains the very first vernacular occurrence of the word "Englishman." Under normal circumstances, the history of a word's first occurrence should yield a mildly insightful fact. Yet the occurrence of any ethnonym of the form *Englisc* in a late seventh century Saxon royal law code (in the kingdom farthest away from any Anglian power) does not offer the historian normal circumstances. This occurrence is a vexing problem. Why, when Ine's kingdom had expanded westward and came to require legal privileges dividing Saxons from Britons,[2] would the legal term for a Saxon be *Engliscmon* and not **Seaxiscmon*?

The question of how Anglian identity found adoption by Saxon rulers is certainly not new.[3] Yet it has never been framed in this form. At this early date amidst Christianization and the political consolidation of the heptarchy, what exactly did it take for a West Saxon king to refer not just to himself as king over Angles (as many later kings of Wessex would become wont to signal but which might hardly apply to Ine's kingdom), but rather to identify his very own countrymen as *Englisc*?

The present study proposes to find the answer to this among an unorthodox source: the Irish. By receiving a heightened ethnic awareness through contact with Irish missionaries and by studying in their monasteries abroad, Anglo-Saxon clergy may have developed a consolidated supraregional identity in response. To evaluate this hypothesis, it is necessary to thoroughly contextualize the networks of contact and cultural transmission from the Irish to the Angles and Saxons. Those studies that have directly addressed this question have been limited by focusing exclusively on Northumbria.[4] To compensate for this, and to evaluate broader trends, the present study will look to the wider Irish presence beyond Aidan's mission.[5]

While Irish contacts and influences were undoubtedly strongest from the see of Lindisfarne, networks of Irishmen moved about every Anglo-Saxon kingdom during the seventh century. Kathleen Hughes counts six named Irish bishops and abbots who operated south of the Humber in this period.[6] Martin Grimmer has linked this to the apex of Oswiu's hegemony and suggested that the Irish clergy consecrated at Lindisfarne and sent south of the Humber be viewed as facilitating a deliberate court policy.[7] At the same time, movements of Irishmen seem to have gone on independently of Northumbrian politics. Fursey's mission in East Anglia and Dagán's refusal to eat with the archbishop of Canterbury preceded Aidan's mission.[8] Additionally, Barbara Yorke has argued that the geographic convenience of Malmesbury's foundation for Irishmen navigating to southern Britain suggests that Maíldub's foundation should be viewed not as a distant fruit of Aidan's mission but "the end of a long tradition of links between Christian communities in western Britain and Ireland that stretched back to the fourth and fifth

centuries."[9] In any case, it is clear that Aidan participated in a missional milieu extending far beyond Northumbria.

The ideology moving these Irishmen throughout the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (as well as the continent) was *peregrinatio pro Christo:* spiritual exile for the sake of Christ. This phenomenon has received profusely detailed scholarly attention.[10] The idea was that the Irish, being so close to the spiritual traditions of the Desert Fathers, desired their own form of eremitical lifestyle. Since Ireland's geography betrays a lack of deserts, these monks sought penitential outposts on the dozens of islands around the coast of Ireland as well as the many rocky landings at the center of lakes. By residing away from one's homeland, the monk submitted to a penitential condition in a hostile environment bereft of the kinship ties and legal protections of Irish clan society.[11] An even greater penance than exile away from kin was the experience of becoming an exile from the island of Ireland itself. This entailed the diaspora of Irish clergy abroad from about the seventh century onward.

The immediate effect of this diaspora among the Anglo-Saxons was the founding of monasteries. Although largely a Northumbrian phenomenon, Maíldub's site of Malmesbury proves that similar patterns unfolded as far south as Wessex. Claire Stancliffe rightly contrasts the pattern that missionaries associated with the Gregorian Mission, although monks, tended to establish diocesan structures whereas those of the Hiberno-Scottish Mission introduced enormous *monasteria* based on thoroughly Irish models.[12] Such institutions served as rural citadels at once containing contemplatives and clergy able to administer pastoral care to surrounding communities of lay tenants. Particularly important to this Irish model were the administration of penance to laypeople

and the unification of the office of abbot and bishop (or abbots otherwise estranged from their episcopal superiors). It often also meant the administration of these minsters from a mother monastery on the model especially of Iona. Such protocols must have fulfilled strong Northumbrian demands for a clerical presence in the countryside during the period of conversion. Moreover, it is clear that the *peregrinatio* ideology with its penitential emphasis and impetus towards monastic mobility colored the kinds of institutions that these missionaries erected.

Such establishments enabled widespread transmission of prestigious Irish ideas and practices amongst Anglo-Saxon clergymen. Irish ideas of penance, both towards laypeople and within the monastic community, appear to have garnered a special prestige. The extensive tradition of penitential texts within England illustrates that this originally Irish genre found widespread pastoral application.[13] The Irish practice of standing in cold water while praying also found continuous adaptation as a Northumbrian hagiographical trope.[14]

Numerous other Irish textual traditions passed along. This ranges from the popular "lorica" prayer form to Irish styles of manuscript decoration and even the insular paleographic scripts themselves, making it "extremely difficult or impossible to tell the difference between Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts on paleographic grounds alone."[15] Even the Old Irish language subsisted into tenth century Old English charms as a quasi-magical language unintelligible to those contemporaries but employed for its powerful connotations alone.[16] These charms are an admittedly late source, but such content can only be evaluated as vestiges of the seventh and eighth centuries when contact with Irish clergy was widely available. Even the existence of written vernacular

poetry in Old English is likely partially influenced by contact with the adjacent literary tradition in Old Irish.[17] Given how widespread we find such traces of Anglo-Saxon appreciation of Irish monasticism, it is perhaps unsurprising that even Bede himself, through gritted teeth at times in condemning Ionan Easter-reckoning, upheld a very favorable view of the Irish and even employed their computistical tracts in his own works.[18] Some of these transmissions undoubtedly occurred for pragmatic reasons, but most betray an enduring fascination in the Irish and their spiritual habits.

Such customs were not just encountered from Irishmen in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: the more enduring source is likely the heavy presence of Anglo-Saxon émigrés studying in Ireland's monasteries abroad. Ireland had become a veritable seminary for Anglo-Saxon monks by the latter seventh century. Bede noted the context for this phenomenon:

> "At this time there were many in England, both nobles and commons, who, in the days of Bishops Finan and Colman, had left their own country and retired to Ireland either for the sake of religious studies or to live a more ascetic life. In course of time some of these devoted themselves faithfully to the monastic life, while others preferred to travel round to the cells of various teachers and apply themselves to study. The Irish welcomed them all gladly, gave them their daily food, and also provided them with books to read and with instruction, without asking for any payment."[19]

This traffic had not slowed down by Bede's day. Mayo was often the primary destination of such young monks, being established explicitly to house Anglo-Saxon students and enduring for this purpose until the Viking Age.[20] Moreover, the Northumbrian clergy

were not the only reservoir being tapped. Two of the six letters surviving from Aldhelm amount to complaints against the popularity of Irish schooling amongst West Saxon students. In one of these, he demanded why it was that Ireland, "whither assemble the thronging students by the fleet-load," has remained the highest prize for studying the scriptures even after archbishop Theodore's creation of a robust school at Canterbury.[21] Significant for this exodus of monks out of Wessex was the career of bishop Agilbert, who had been "a long time in Ireland studying the scriptures" and likely encouraged many others to do the same.[22] All evidence points towards detractors like Aldhelm being in the minority.

What attracted the Anglo-Saxons to Ireland was not just pristine biblical education (estimated for the late seventh century to be "at least a generation advanced over the English in most educational areas"[23]). There was, as Bede indicated, also a desire to grow in the ascetic life which Ireland could uniquely promote. This manifested as what could only be described as a multigenerational enrapturing by the Anglo-Saxon religious over the Irish articulation of *peregrinatio*. It was a highly prestigious activity. On at least three occasions Bede introduces figures by their *peregrinus*-status and their venerable learning in the same breath, as if the one trait entailed the other.[24] This ideal did mutate, however, when passing from Irish into Anglo-Saxon hands. Whereas in Ireland one could become a *peregrinus* simply by leaving one's *túath*, to the Anglo-Saxons it entailed leaving the island of Britain: either for Ireland, the continent, or even pilgrimage to Rome.[25] For this reason, it also tended to correlate with a more evangelistic telos. In this, it combined with the Irish form to amount to a uniquely insular missiological outlook with dynamic success: in stark contrast to the older Roman

complacence with barbarians existing beyond the imperial *limes* practiced on the continent in this period.[26]

A paragon Anglo-Saxon *peregrinus* was Egbert of Ripon. Identified by Bede as having "long lived in exile in Ireland for the sake of Christ [*in Hibernia diutius exuluerat pro Christo*]."[27] Egbert became the primary engine of the Anglo-Saxon mission to the continent for an entire generation. While studying in Ireland at Rath Melsigi, Egbert became afflicted with the plague of 664 and vowed to remain a lifelong *peregrinus* if God granted his recovery. Connection to Egbert many times produced a straight line to the mission field in Frisia, and by the end of his life Egbert could boast of commissioning an impressive pedigree of continental missionaries: Wihtberht, Swithberht, the Two Hewalds, and Willibrord himself.[28]

Modern scholars have not been explicit as to whether the Anglo-Saxon species of *peregrinatio* might have included one's temporary education in Ireland or if it required a lifelong vocational intent. Certainly, Bede's treatment of Egbert produces this challenge, for Bede contrasted how "while Chad returned to his native land, Egbert remained there until the end of his life, an exile for the Lord's sake [*peregrinus pro Domino*]."[29] Yet a close reading of Bede's text elsewhere provides the solution. When speaking of the stories that bishop Acca used to tell, Bede says that he "related how, while he was still a priest, and living a pilgrim's life in Ireland out of love for his eternal fatherland, the fame of Oswald's sanctity had spread far and wide in that island too."[30] What this entails is that Bede considered Acca's temporary study in Ireland a valid *peregrinatio*. There is every reason to infer that all young Anglo-Saxon monks off studying the scriptures in Ireland's monasteries would have viewed their time with the same spiritual import, and

this must have contributed to the perennial attraction to the prospect of such education (much to Aldhelm's chagrin).

Even more significant than Egbert's *peregrinatio* was that of Boniface. His most recent biographer has demonstrated that Boniface's names for his work as a missionary reveal a bifurcation relative to his audience. Such terminology was in flux in an age when Medieval Latin lacked any word for "missionary." When writing to papal or otherwise foreign recipients, Boniface could equate his work with preaching: *predicatio* or *ministerium*. Otherwise, "*peregrinatio, peregrinus,* and *peregrinari* appear only in letters written by Anglo-Saxons, and overwhelmingly when both sender and recipient were Anglo-Saxon (sixteen or nineteen occurrences)."[31] The profundity of this result cannot be understated. Not only does it demonstrate that the Northumbrian fascination in *peregrinatio* represented by Bede and Egbert had also reached Wessex by this generation, but it entails that the language and ideology of *peregrinatio* was a self-consciously Anglo-Saxon concept garnering attention and veneration from clergy all over England. Apparently, it was also central to Boniface's conception of his calling. When Boniface proclaimed himself an *exul Germanicus*,[32] we should translate this in two senses: an "exile in *Germania*" (in contrast to his West Saxon peers studying in Ireland) and a "Germanic exile" (in contrast to the original Irish *peregrini* themselves).

Anglo-Saxons were widely fascinated in this idea not simply as Christians. They also shared with the Irish the poetic imagination capable of projecting onto the originally secular notion of exile a poignant and spiritual misery. The Old English word *wræc*, simultaneously meaning "exile" and "misery," could not illustrate this better. More significantly, the elegiac genre in Old English betrays a poetic consciousness transfixed

with the figure of the kinless wanderer. Scholars since Dorothy Whitelock have widely interpreted *The Seafarer* especially as an attempt to merge the ideas of sailing, elegiac exile, and Christian *peregrinatio*.[33] To a people deeply experienced with the familial disruption that an exilic or even seafaring life can bring, it makes sense for a spiritual ideal predicated on redeeming this experience to find mass appeal.

Having circumscribed the phenomenon of Anglo-Saxon *peregrinatio*, we may finally turn again to the problem of English ethnogenesis. Locating the origins of the Latin ethnonym *Angli* or *gens Anglorum* is not controversial. Gregory the Great's letters preserved by Bede mark the first author in an Anglo-Saxon context to generalize the term over all Germanic inhabitants of Britain.[34] The issue at hand is how this term ultimately won over the other major ethnic identifier of *Saxones*: both in establishing a consensus of identity among churchmen by the early eighth century as well as major headway towards secular identification as attested by the law code of Ine. After all, Gregory was mistaken in believing that all peoples missionized by Augustine were *Angli*. The natural development would be for this mistake to find eventual correction. This requires positing an explanation capable of explaining two facts: why the new transregional ethnicity came into demand among secular and ecclesiastical elites in this period, and why the decision fell on Gregory's *Angli* rather than Gildas' *Saxones*.

One untried solution is to locate the impetus for these developments in the transference of *peregrinatio* from the Irish to the Anglo-Saxons. This ideology clearly inspired unprecedented mobility (according to Bede: by both "nobles and commons"). The Anglo-Saxon variety particularly required exile from the entire island of Britain, thus enabling the need for a new identity transcending the kingdoms of the heptarchy to

emerge. It was an enterprise in which Angle and Saxon mixed, particularly within the monasteries of Ireland. Finally, it was at the center of Anglo-Saxon fascination in the prestigious Irish *gens*. The Irish in this period certainly "took the unity of their law and language for granted,"[35] and the panoply of Late Antique texts unifying them under the title *Scotti* likely contributed to that fast amalgamation. It is entirely plausible, then, for Anglo-Saxon *peregrini* to have sought to emulate the unity of the *gens Scottorum* both consciously and unconsciously. This would explain too why it was the *Angli* that did win out: the Irish presence in Northumbria (the largest Anglian kingdom) was always strongest.

This hypothesis cannot be proven with certainty. It does, however, thoroughly explain the facts at hand. It would be conservative to say that if there were multiple factors driving these elites around the prestigious title of *Angli*, the factor of *peregrinatio* at least created a significant contribution. If identifying with the new ethnonym meant aligning oneself with the cutting-edge international education network forged through primarily Irish and Anglian cooperation, it is now intelligible why even Ine and his counselors would desire to say they were ruling over *Engliscmonas*. After all, as head of the church in Wessex, any king would rather keep up with the changing winds than be left behind by rulers efficiently mediating the new clerical internationalism to their subjects. Such explanation magnifies the political ramifications of Christian mission in this period. It also extends the legacy of those Irish exiles following after Aidan.

Bibliography

Abrams, Lesley. "Germanic Christianities." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100*, edited by Julia M. H. Smith and Thomas F. X. Noble, 3:107–29. Cambridge History of Christianity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Arnold, Angenendt. "Die Irische *Peregrinatio* Und Ihre Auswirkungen Auf Dem Kontinent Vor Dem Jahre 800." In *Die Iren Und Europa Im Früheren Mittelalter*, edited by Löwe Heinz, 1:52–79. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982.

Attenborough, F. L. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Bede. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Edited by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Boniface and Lul. *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*. Edited by Michael Tangl. Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955.

Brown, Peter. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*. 10th edition. Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

Charles-Edwards, T. M. *Early Christian Ireland*. Illustrated edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

———. "The Social Background of Irish *Peregrinatio*." *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43–59.

Clay, J. H. *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721-54*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Cross, J. E. "The Influence of Irish Texts and Traditions on the 'Old English Martyrology.'" *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 81C (1981): 173–92.

Dempsey, G. T. "Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Irish." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 99C, no. 1 (1999): 1–22.

Flechner, Roy, and Sven Meeder. *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*. 1st ed. 2017 edition. New York; London: Red Globe Press, 2016.

Foot, Sarah. "The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 25–49.

Frantzen, Allen J. "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England." *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (September 1982): 23–56.

Grimmer, Martin. "Britons in Early Wessex: The Evidence of the Law Code of Ine." In *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by Nick Higham, 102–14. Boydell & Brewer, 2007.

———. "Columban Christian Influence in Northumbria, before and after Whitby." *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 4 (January 2008): 99–123.

Henry, Patrick Leo. *The Early English and Celtic Lyric*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1966.

Howlett, David. "A Possible Date for Aldhelm's 'Letter to Heahfrith.'" *Archivium Latinitatis Medn Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 54 (1996): 99–103.

———. "Aldhelm and Irish Learning." *Bulletin de Cange* 52 (1994): 50–75.

Hughes, Kathleen. "Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age." In *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary*

Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock, edited by Kathleen Hughes and Peter Clemoes, 49–68. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Ireland, Colin. "Penance and Prayer in Water: An Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography." *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (1997): 51–66.

Ireland, Colin A. "Some Analogues to the O.E. 'Seafarer' in Hiberno-Latin Sources." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 92, no. 1 (1991): 1–14.

Johnston, Elva. "Exiles from the Edge? The Irish Contexts of *Peregrinatio*." In *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, edited by Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder, 38–52. London: Palgrave, 2016.

Jolly, Karen Louise. *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context*. Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Jones, Miriam Adan. "A Chosen Missionary People? Willibrord, Boniface, and the Election of the *Angli*." *Medieval Worlds* 3 (2016): 98–115.

Lapidge, Michael, and Michael Herren, trans. *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979.

McCann, Sarah. "*Plures de Scottorum Regione*: Bede, Ireland, and the Irish." *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 8 (2015): 20–38.

Meroney, Howard. "Irish in the Old English Charms." *Speculum* 20, no. 2 (April 1945): 172–82.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí. "The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus." *Peritia* 2 (1983): 229–47.

Picard, Jean-Michel. "Bede and Irish Scholarship: Scientific Treatises and Grammars." *Ériu* 54 (January 2004): 139–47.

Sobecki, Sebastian I. "The Interpretation of The Seafarer—a Re-Examination of the Pilgrimage Theory." *Neophilologus* 92, no. 1 (January 2008): 127–39.

Stancliffe, Clare. "Red, White and Blue Martyrdom." In *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick, and David N. Dumville, 21–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

———. "The Irish Tradition in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby." In *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives*, edited by Richard Gameson, 19–42. Leiden, Boston: Brepols, 2017.

Talbot, C. H. *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany. Being the Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin, Together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and a Selection from the Correspondence of St. Boniface*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1954.

Thom, Catherine. "The Ascetical Theology and Praxis of Sixth to Eighth Century Irish Monasticism as a Radical Response to the *Evangelium*." Thesis, ACU Research Bank, 2002.

Whitelock, Dorothy. *The Interpretation of The Seafarer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Wright, Charles D. "The Irish Tradition." In *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, 345–74. Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2017.

Yorke, Barbara. "Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections." In *Aldhelm and Sherborne. Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, edited by Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks, 164–80. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010.

———. "The Insular Background to Boniface's Continental Career." In *Bonifatius - Leben Und Nachwirken: Die Gestaltung Des Christlichen Europa Im Frühmittelalter*, edited by Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut, and Lutz von Padberg, 23–38. Mainz: Gessellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengischechte, 2007.

Notes

[1] F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 44–45.

[2] Martin Grimmer, "Britons in Early Wessex: The Evidence of the Law Code of Ine," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 102–14.

[3] The landmark study is Sarah Foot, "The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 25–49.

[4] Martin Grimmer, "Columban Christian Influence in Northumbria, before and after Whitby," Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 4 (January 2008): 99–123; Clare Stancliffe, "The Irish Tradition in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby," in *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives*, ed. Richard Gameson (Leiden, Boston: Brepols, 2017), 19–42.

[5] For a review of Aidan's mission, see Grimmer, "Columban Christian Influence," 101–8.

[6] Kathleen Hughes, "Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age," in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Kathleen Hughes and Peter Clemoes (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 49–51.

[7] Grimmer, "Columban Christian Influence," 109.

[8] Ibid., 109–10.

[9] Barbara Yorke, "The Insular Background to Boniface's Continental Career," in *Bonifatius - Leben Und Nachwirken: Die Gestaltung Des Christlichen Europa Im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Franz J. Felten, Jörg Jarnut, and Lutz von Padberg (Mainz: Gessellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengischechte, 2007), 166, 179.

[10] To date, the major studies are T. M. Charles-Edwards, "The Social Background of Irish *Peregrinatio*," *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43–59; Angenendt Arnold, "Die Irische *Peregrinatio* Und Ihre Auswirkungen Auf Dem Kontinent Vor Dem Jahre 800," in *Die Iren Und Europa Im Früheren Mittelalter*, ed. Löwe Heinz, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 52–79; Clare Stancliffe, "Red, White and Blue Martyrdom," in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamund McKitterick, and David N. Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21–46; Catherine Thom, "The Ascetical Theology and Praxis of Sixth to Eighth Century Irish Monasticism as a Radical Response to the *Evangelium*" (Thesis, ACU Research Bank, 2002); Elva Johnston, "Exiles from the Edge? The Irish Contexts of *Peregrinatio*," in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (London: Palgrave, 2016), 38–52.

[11] This is particularly discussed in Charles-Edwards, "The Social Background." See also Johnston, "Exiles from the Edge?"

[12] Stancliffe, "The Irish Tradition in Northumbria," 24–26.

[13] Allen J. Frantzen, "The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (September 1982): 23–56.

[14] Colin Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water: An Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (1997): 51–66.

[15] Charles D. Wright, "The Irish Tradition," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2017), 347–53.

[16] For this particular interpretation, see Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 194. For the textual representation of Old Irish in these charms, see Howard Meroney, "Irish in the Old English Charms," *Speculum* 20, no. 2 (April 1945): 172–82.

[17] Lesley Abrams, "Germanic Christianities," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith and Thomas F. X. Noble, vol. 3, Cambridge History of Christianity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 124.

[18] For Bede's use of Irish computus, see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus," *Peritia* 2 (1983): 229–47; Jean-Michel Picard, "Bede and Irish Scholarship: Scientific Treatises and Grammars," *Ériu* 54 (January 2004): 139–47. For Bede's perceptions of the Irish, see Sarah McCann, "*Plures de Scottorum Regione*: Bede, Ireland, and the Irish," *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 8 (2015): 20–38.

[19] Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 313. Henceforward *HE*, all Bede citations are from this edition.

[20] Grimmer, "Columban Christian Influence," 121–22.

[21] Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979), 163.

[22] *HE* III.7; Barbara Yorke, "Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections," in *Aldhelm and Sherborne. Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, ed. Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 172–73.

[23] Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm*, 146.

[24] The three cases are Egbert, Fursa, and Wihtberht. See *HE* III.4, III.19, and V.9 respectively.

[25] Stancliffe, "The Irish Tradition in Northumbria," 30.

[26] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 414–15.

[27] *HE* III.4.

[28] *HE* V.9-11.

[29] *HE* IV.3.

[30] *HE* III.13.

[31] J. H. Clay, *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721-54* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 242.

[32] Boniface and Lul, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), 54.

[33] Dorothy Whitelock, *The Interpretation of The Seafarer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950); Patrick Leo Henry, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966); Colin A. Ireland, "Some Analogues to the O.E. 'Seafarer' in Hiberno-Latin Sources," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 92, no. 1 (1991): 1–14. Recently this interpretation has been challenged in Sebastian I. Sobecki, "The Interpretation of The Seafarer—a Re-Examination of the Pilgrimage Theory," *Neophilologus* 92, no. 1 (January 2008): 127–39.

[34] Foot, "The Making of *Angelcynn*," 42–43.

[35] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 351.