

ing the choice of the chapter. For all these reasons I conclude that in applying the term "Primate" to the Archbishop the Pope did not follow the tenor of any document, as DeBurgo would have us believe.

But, on the other hand, was primatial jurisdiction ever given to or exercised by any Archbishop of Ireland? There need be no hesitation in saying that St. Patrick received, substantially if not formally, primatial jurisdiction. How could we imagine him fit for the conversion of a country, to all intents and purposes pagan, and regulating a newly-constituted hierarchy, without primatial jurisdiction? If such jurisdiction be lawfully exercised in confirming Bishops, in adjusting differences, in convoking a national council, in watching over the observance of discipline in all parts of the kingdom, in being competent to give dismissory letters—then surely did St. Patrick exercise it (*Vet. et Nov. Disciplin.* pars i. lib. i. c. xxxii. 111). Such power may have been personal to St. Patrick, and ended with his life. Some such arrangement may have been made as with St. Augustine by St. Gregory the Great in these words: "Usum tibi pallii concedimus, ita ut per loca singula duodecim Episcopos ordines, qui tue ditioni subiaceant. . . . Si post obitum tuum vero, inter Londoniæ et Eboracæ civitatis Episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus" (1. vii. epist. xv.).

To suppose that any arrangement such as that between the Archbishop of York and Canterbury took place in reference to Armagh and some other Irish see is quite conjectura, or that the primatial dignity was annexed to St. Patrick rather than to the see of Armagh. On the contrary, a canon in the old book of Armagh ordained that "only such difficult cases should be brought before the Apostolic See, the chair of Peter, as did not admit of a satisfactory solution from the see of Armagh or its wise counsellors." Beyond doubt such a canon implies supremacy not only of honour but of power.

And furthermore, the language of councils is borne out by the testimony of the Bishops and doctors of the Church. Fiech, Bishop of Slotty, called Armagh

"the see of the kingdom." In the sixth century St. Evin styled it the fixed metropolis of Ireland, and attributed supremacy to it. Nor did the canons of councils nor the decisions of doctors remain unacted upon. The Archbishop of Armagh challenged and exercised primatial jurisdiction under adverse circumstances. Ireland had been split into many petty kingdoms whose several rulers were very jealous of their independence, and naturally opposed to the exercise of any authority amongst them by the subject of any other toprarch. Nothing, then, but a general acquiescence in the primatial powers in Armagh could have warranted its Archbishop to visit judicially the other provinces. Yet such was the case.

In 810 Nund visited Connaught; in 835 Diarmuid visited it to confirm the people in the teaching of St. Patrick; 1068 Melisa visited Munster; Domhnal, with consent of the Irish clergy, "imposed fasts on the entire kingdom, which preserved the people from impending calamities." In 1106 St. Celsus visited Munster, presided in 1111 at the celebrated synod at Usneach attended by fifty Bishops and many thousand ecclesiastics; and in 1116 visited Connaught. And in the middle of the twelfth century St. Bernard (*Vita S. Malach.* chap. ix.) calls Armagh the first see, and adds that there was another metropolitan see which Archbishop Celsus lately constituted, but subject to the first see and to its Archbishop as to its primate (*tanquam primati*). The word *tanquam* is used here as in such matter to express not likeness to, but the reality of, primacy. So, when St. Gregory gave primacy to Theodore, he used the same form: "Quem (Theodorum) prefecit Romanus Pontifex universis Angliæ Episcopis, tanquam Primati" (1. v. c. xii. de rebus Anglicis. Wm. of Newbridge.) At the time in which St. Bernard wrote there were only two archbishoprics, those of Armagh and Cashel; yet the latter was subject to the former. Even after the four archbishoprics were honoured with the pallia in 1152, Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, exercised primatial jurisdiction. Several times he visited, as ordinary, the different provinces of the kingdom, and presided at a synod held, 1163,