

Maughold of Man

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For some years now I have been studying the spread of the cult of St. Mochae, who is generally associated with the monastic site of Nendrum on Island Mahee in Strangford Lough, Co. Down.¹ Although Nendrum is regarded as a very important early Christian settlement,² its most famous saint, Mochae, has faded into obscurity and is hardly known today. However, he was once a saint of great stature and in the course of my research I have identified many cult sites throughout Ireland. In this paper I hope to argue that MacCuill/Maughold represents the presence of a cult of Mochae in the Isle of Man.

Before talking about Maughold, it is necessary to outline the theories of Professor Padraig Ó Riain on which my research was based. This outline will, of necessity, be brief but I hope not overly simplistic.

It is generally accepted nowadays that much of what has been handed down to us in manuscripts about the early centuries of Christianity is not a true and historical description of personages and events but was strongly influenced by political expediency. Annals were adjusted, spurious genealogies constructed, stories of heroes, saints and kings re-written or invented for the purpose of justifying the *status quo* at the time of writing.³ In spite of

1This is a revised version of a paper given at the Tenth Annual Conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, Douglas, 6–9 April 2001.

2A. Hamlin, 'The early church in Co. Down to the twelfth century', in *Down History and Society*, edited by L. Proudfoot (Dublin, 1977), pp. 47–71 (p. 54).

3J. V. Kelleher, 'Early history and pseudo-history', *Studia Hibernica*, 3 (1961), 113–15; P. Ó Riain, 'Sanctity and politics in Connacht c.1100AD: the case of St. Fursu', *Cambridge Medieval*

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this, however, Ó Riain argues that with detailed examination of the sources traces of an earlier oral tradition can still be found and an understanding of why the early scribes wrote what they did is more important than questioning the accuracy of what was written.⁴

Celtic Studies, 17 (1989), 1-14.

4P. Ó Riain, 'The composition of the Irish section of the Calendar of Saints', *Dinnseanchas*, 6 (1975), 77-92.

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Why, for instance, are there huge numbers of saints listed in the martyrologies? There are more than a hundred SS. Colmán, scores of SS. Mochua and Molaisse and dozens of Ciaráns, Finnians, Aedáns etc. Ó Riain points out that the notion that so many saints existed in a relatively small area, in a relatively short period of time 'flouts the most basic rules of common sense not to mention historical criticism'.⁵

Hypocorisms

The most crucial and complicating factor of early Irish hagiography is undoubtedly the use of hypocorisms, or pet names, for the early saints. How these names were formed is even today but vaguely understood. Some have only a very slight resemblance to the original name, *Dímmae* being a form of *Diarmait* for example. Others follow a pattern of sorts, being formed by prefixing a contraction of the original name with the honorific *mo* (my) or *do* (your)⁶—*Lugaid* becomes *Molua*, for instance, and *Laisrén* becomes *Molaisse* or *Dolaisse*. One example of the wide range of possible variations of a saint's name is given by Ó Riain in his study of the cult of St. Finnbarr whose name is recorded as *Finnbarr*; *Finnio*, *Finnian*, *Mo Fhinnu*, *Do Fhinnu*, *Finnu*, *Bairrfhinn*, *Bairre*, *Barra*, *Mo Bairre* and *To Bairre*. All these variations, Ó Riain argues, represent the spread of the cult of one original saint, Finnian of Movilla.⁷ Of particular relevance to this study are the variations of the name *Caelán*, a saint associated with the parish of Kilclief in Lecale, Co. Down. The name *Mochae* is formed by dropping the second syllable of the

5P. Ó Riain, 'Towards a methodology in Early Irish hagiography', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 146–59 (p. 152).

6R. Baumgarten (ed.), 'Old Irish personal names' by M. A. O'Brien, *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 216–36 (p. 220); P. Russell, 'Patterns in early Irish hagiography', A Talk given at the Celtic Conference in Cork in 1997.

7P. Ó Riain, 'St. Finbarr: a study in a cult', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 82 (1977), 63–81 (p. 73).

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radical name *Caelán* and prefixing *mo* as in the examples above. Another variation of the name is found in the Ards peninsula near Portaferry, *Cae*, anglicised *Cooey*, where the honorific *mo* is dropped, as in the example of MoFhinnu>Finnu above.

Another factor in the multiplication of saints was the propensity of scribes, in medieval times and later, to change a name to a more prestigious Latin-sounding name. Siadhal, for instance, became known as Sedulius, Fergal became Virgil and Mac Cuill became Machaldus, anglicised Maughold.⁸

Ó Riain argues that as the cult of a saint spread, even if the original name was retained the cult became localised, the saint became patron of the church or churches in the area,⁹ tradition linked his name with the topography of the district and he was given a local pedigree.¹⁰

Genealogies

The different genealogies written for a saint as his cult was localised was of great political significance, especially for the more important churches. It was the accepted practice in the Irish church that the family of the founder of a church had first claim to the succession. In other words, belonging to the founding saint's family was an unofficial title deed to the church and therefore to its land and revenues. The genealogies were almost invariably retrospective in character and were written to justify the claims of the present incumbent by recording that the founding saint had belonged to his family.¹¹

8A. Harvey, 'Some observations on Celtic-Latin name formation', in *Ildánoch, Ildíreach*, edited by J. Carey et al. (Andover, Mass., 1999), pp. 63–74.

9See Ó Riain, 'St. Finbarr: a study in a cult', p. 73, where he traces the spread of Finnian's cult from north-east Ulster by dedications of churches to the saint under various names.

10Ó Riain, 'The composition of the Irish section of the Calendar of Saints', pp. 81–83.

11P. Ó Riain, 'Irish saints' genealogies', *Nomina* 7 (1983), 23–29.

Martyrologies

Central to Ó Riain's methodology are the martyrologies or calendars of the saints which list the names of the saints who are venerated on each day of the year. The earliest of these martyrologies is the eighth-century Martyrology of Tallaght (*Féлиre Oengusso*), the Martyrology of Gorman compiled in the second half of the twelfth century and the Martyrology of Donegal written by the O Clerys in the seventeenth century. It is by looking closely at how these martyrologies were composed that some sense can be made of the apparently conflicting information we have about the saints. Besides the misinterpretation of hypocorisms and the Latinising of names, the Christian practice of celebrating a saint's feast day on the octave of his festival also added to the number of saints listed.

Another reason, crucial to Ó Riain's theories, was the common practice of scribes, when recording the festival of a saint to include other saints whom the scribe perceived as associated with him.¹²

Saints venerated in the same area, associated with neighbouring churches or having a demonstrable genealogical association often appear on the same or adjacent days. To quote Ó Riain, 'The composition of an Irish list of saints may have been based on ties of place, in the extended sense of "territory", or on ties of family in a sense of a demonstrable genealogical connection between the saint and another saint in the locality...'.¹³ Saints could also be included for the simple reason that they were mentioned in the Life of the saint proper to the festival.

Let us look first at the associations between Maughold and Mochae and then see if they are reflected in the martyrologies.

Not many miles by sea from the Isle of Man are three

12Ó Riain, 'The composition of the Irish section of the Calendar of Saints', pp. 77-92.

13*Ibid.*, p. 83.

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cult sites of Mochae: Nendrum with which he is primarily associated in the early manuscripts; Kilclief, where the church is recorded as having been dedicated to St. Caelán¹⁴ whose name is remembered in the place-name Loughkeelan and in the name of a well: Caelán's well. Interestingly, there is a local tradition that Bronach, the mother of Mochae, lived for some time in Kilclief and that Mochae was born there.¹⁵ Just across Strangford Lough from Kilclief is Templecooey, where the wells are still visited for cures and where a mass is still celebrated at the end of June. Considering that in early Christian times the sea was regarded as a highway rather than a barrier, and considering too the proximity of these sites to the Isle of Man, it would be more than likely that there would be a cult of Mochae on the island. That Maughold was understood to have Co. Down associations is reflected in the story of his conversion by Patrick which is set in the country of the Ulaid. Straightaway we have geographical connections.

The story of Mac Cuill

Muirchú maccu Macthéni's Life of St Patrick written towards the end of the seventh century contains the earliest version of the story of MacCuill.¹⁶ It was written in Latin but here I will give just a summary in translation.¹⁷

The introductory paragraph describes Mac Cuill:

There was a certain man in the country of the Ulaid in Patrick's time, Macuil moccu Greccae. This man was a very wicked and fierce tyrant— such that he was called 'Cyclops'. His thoughts were crooked; his words were

14*The Primatial Register of Primate Prene* (1440), p. 398. *The Primatial Register of Primate Mey* (1444–54), Lib.ii, p. 214.

These registers can be viewed on microfiche in the Public Records Office in Belfast.

15I. Magee, 'Where is St. Caylan's Well?', *Inverbrena* (1999), 33.

16*The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by W. Stokes (London, 1887), pp. 222–24.

17L. de Paor, *St. Patrick's World* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 189–90.

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immoderate; his deeds were evil; his spirit was bitter; his soul was wrathful; his body was oafish; his mind was cruel; his life was heathen; his conscience was vain. He was so far sunk in wickedness that one day as he sat in a wild mountainous place, *hinDruim moccu Echach*, where he daily excercised his tyranny....

The name 'Mac Cuill' itself would have suggested a wicked pagan to early Irish listeners or readers of the story as in mythology he is represented as a pagan God. O Rahilly equates him with Goll Mac Morna—the one-eyed¹⁸—which identification Muirchú seems to imply by describing Mac Cuill as 'Cyclops'.

The story goes on to tell how Macuil, seeing Patrick approach with the bright light of faith, tells his band of followers that, because Patrick leads his people astray with conjuring tricks, they are going to put him to the test and see if the God in whom Patrick believes has any power. He tells one of his followers to lie down under his cloak and pretend to be mortally ill. Calling Patrick, Macuil tells him that the man under the cloak is very ill and pleads with him to restore him to health. Patrick, of course, recognises that Macuil is trying to trick him and he says he is not surprised that the man is ill. When the cloak is lifted from the man he is found to be dead. Macuil admits then that Patrick is truly a holy man and he repents and is converted.

Patrick demands that Macuil, in reparation for his evil deeds, go out to sea chained to a coracle with no oars, trusting solely in God. Macuil goes to the sea south of Mag Inis (the modern day Lecale), sets off as instructed and lands safely in the Isle of Man where he is looked after by two holy men, Conindrius and Romulus. They become his spiritual fathers, and growing greatly in holiness, MacCuill becomes bishop when they die.

The place

18T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946; repr. Dublin, 1984), pp. 63 and 473.

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Hogan identifies *hinDruim maccu Echach* as Dromore, Co. Down,¹⁹ but in my opinion, Nendrum is a more likely identification. In the sources there is confusion as to whether the name Nendrum meant 'nine ridges' or 'one ridge', and in consequence there is a variety of spellings of the place-name including *Nóindrom*, *Oendruim*, *Aendruim*²⁰ and even *Indroym* in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*.²¹ In Stokes's edition of the story Mac Cuill is said to have been `...in montosso, aspero altoque sedens loco, *hinDruim moccu-Echach*,...' The italicisation of *hinDruim moccu-Echach* and the use of apostrophies could suggest that *hin* is part of the place-name rather than a preposition as Stokes and Hogan understood it. Considering the many variations in spelling of the name Nendrum and the likelihood of misinterpretation during transmission,²² I suggest that taking the place-name 'hinDruim moccu Echach' in the context of the rest of the story, Nendrum is its most likely location.

Hogan and Stokes may have been influenced in their identification by the fact that Dromore was in the territory of the Uí Echach Cobo,²³ but all three versions of the story state that the action took place in the territory of the Ulaid,²⁴ i.e Dál Fiatach. There was a population group in the Ards area called Uí Echach Arda, a branch of Dál Fiatach which could explain the epithet 'moccu Echach' in *hinDruim moccu Echach*.²⁵ Besides, Dromore is about

19 *Onomasticon Goidelicum*, edited by E. Hogan (Dublin, 1920), p. 367.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 555 and 559.

21 *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, edited by D. Murphy (1896), p. 73.

22 J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick: Apostle of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), p. 347.

23 F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London, 1973), p. 107; S. Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 31.

24 *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by Stokes, p. 286 'in regionibus Ulothorum', p. 220 'hitrib Ulad', p. 482 'incrlich Ulad'.

25 Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings*, p. 108; Hamlin, 'The early

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twenty-five miles away from the shores of Mag Inis and separated from it by the Dromara mountains. Given the immediacy of the departure of Mac Cuill by sea suggested by the phrases 'without delay' and 'on that day', it is most unlikely that Dromore is the place referred to in Muirchú's account.²⁶

If Nendrum is accepted as the place mentioned by Muirchú, then the story implies that, as well as Mochae, there was another saint associated with Nendrum who was converted and baptised by Patrick. In a shorter version of the story in the *Lebar Brecc*, Patrick is said to have met and converted Mac Cuill in Mag Inis,²⁷ and it was also in Mag Inis that Patrick is said to have met and converted Mochae of Nendrum.²⁸ An examination of the hagiographical record of Mac Cuill, scant and confused though it is, reveals some further interesting connections between him and Mochae.

Genealogies

Mac Cuill of Man is mentioned in one genealogy:

Dairi barrach m. Cathair as uada rochinsead na naim seo
.i. Tigernach Cluana hEois 7 Fiacc 7 Fiacra et Mac Tail Cilli
Cuilinn 7 Mac Cuill a Manainn 7 Fiachra Goll 7 Eimin a
ILeith.²⁹

(Daire Barrach son of Cathair from him descended these saints: Tigernach of Clones, Fiac and Fiachra, Mac Táil of Kilcullen Mac Cuill of Man, Fiachra Goll and Eimin of Leith.)

church in Co. Down to the twelfth century', p. 53.

26K. Muhr, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, vol. 6: *County Down, IV: North-West County Down / Iveagh* (Belfast, 1996), p. 108; *The Book of Armagh*, edited by J. Gwynn (Dublin and London, 1913), p. xxxii, identifies the location of the story of Mac Cuill as Nendrum.

27*The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by Stokes, p. 222.

28*Ibid.*, pp. 39–41.

29*Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited by P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985), p. 59, entry 387.

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Daire Barrach was eponymous founder of the Uí Bairrche, a once powerful Leinster tribe which had close associations with Ulster up to the early seventh century.³⁰ Another saint whom I have identified with Mochae is Caillin of Fenagh, Co. Leitrim, and in researching him I found that he had close associations with the Uí Bairrche. Another connection in this genealogy is the inclusion of Mac Táil of Kilcullen. He is recorded as a brother of Caelán of Kilclief in another genealogy.³¹

Curioser and curioser...the genealogy which makes Caelán and Mac Táil brothers claims that they were descended from the Eoganacht, a Munster tribe, which claimed kingship of Munster. Mochae's pedigree states that he is descended from Buan, ancestor of Dál mBuan, whose origin legend claims that they, too, were descended from Munster kings.³² (Origin legends appear to have been written to explain why lesser branches of a tribe could be found far away from the tribe's main sphere of influence).

In Muirchú's version of the MacCuill legend, Mac Cuill is referred to as *moccu Greccae*, also known as the Grecreige, whose origin legend also associates them with Munster kings.³³

We are not looking for 'facts' here, nor can we argue which genealogy of the different saints is 'true';³⁴ what we are looking for is perceived associations which could have

30M. Dobbs, 'The history of the descendants of Ir', *Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie*, 14 (1923), 45–143 (p. 55); O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, pp. 31–33.

31Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae, edited by Ó Riain, p. 40, entry 238.

32S. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892), II, 233–37; M. Dobbs, *Sidelights on the Táin* (Dundalk, 1917), pp. 24–30.

33Onomasticon Goidelicum, edited by Hogan, pp. 450 and 540; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings*, p. 67.

34Ó Riain, 'St. Finbarr: a study in a cult', p. 67: 'The saint's genealogy is a record of the area of his cult and not of his origins'.

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been reflected in the martyrologies. So far we have topographical associations between Mac Cuill and Mochae—Nendrum and Mag Inis, and now an intertwining of genealogical connection.

Martyrologies

According to Ó Riain's theories these associations should be reflected in the martyrologies, and, looking at the saints listed on and around the two festivals of Mac Cuill, a pattern of interconnection between them does arise.

There were two days on the Manx Calendar dedicated to Maughold. Kermode states that his primary feast was on July 31,³⁵ and Kneen records another feast *Laa'l Maghald geuree* on November 15.³⁶

Looking first at the saints listed for days around July 30, included are:

July 29 Caelán of Inis Cealtra, Lough Derg, Co. Clare
—Alias Caelán/Mochae³⁷

Bite of Inch—Downpatrick—geographically close to Kilclief and recorded as being of Dál mBuain descent as is Mochae³⁸

July 30 German associated with the Isle of Man (Kirk German)

Mac Cuill

July 31 Mac Táil—recorded as brother of Caelán of Kilclief/Mochae.

Colmán mac Dáirine; Fallamain; Papán; Iarnóc; Natál—these five are recorded as sons of Nadfraich from whom Caelán of

35P. M. C. Kermode, *A List of Manx Antiquities* (Douglas, 1930), p. 49.

36J. J. Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man With their Origin and History*, 2 vols (Douglas, 1925–27), I, 273.

37Ó Riain, 'The composition of the Irish section of the Calendar of Saints', 79.

38*Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited by Ó Riain, p. 26, entry 152.

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Kilclief and Mac Táil of Kilcullen are also said to be descended.³⁹

Saints listed around the winter feast of Mac Cuill include:

November 12 Manchéin—recorded in one genealogy as uterine brother of Mochae⁴⁰

Lonán—associated with the Isle of Man (Kirk Lonan) and also said to be one of the sons of Dubthach Ua Lugair⁴¹ and therefore genealogically associated with another alias of Mochae—Caillin of Fenagh.

November 13 Barrfind—alias Finian of Moville associated in his *Life* with Mochae⁴² and also geographically associated.

Caillin of Fenagh—alias Mochae.

November 14 Machud/Mochutu alias Mochuda of Lismore has close connections with another alias of Mochae, Colmán mac Luacháin of Westmeath, he is said to have been Colmán's tutor and mentor. Colmán mac Luacháin is also associated with the church at Kilworth which is only a few miles from Mochuda's main church, Lismore.⁴³

Sons of Dubthach—again genealogically associated with Caillin of Fenagh/Mochae.

November 15 Manx winter festival of Mac Cuill.

November 16 Coelán's sons—a simple name association.

Curcach Greccraige—genealogical association with Mac Cuill, also said to have

39B. Adams, 'Antiquarian notes on the parishes of Santry and Cloghran', *Journal of the Royal and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 4 (1979), 492–93.

40Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae, edited by Ó Riain, p. 175, entry 722.92.

41Ibid., p. 117, entry 670.72.

42J. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum* (Louvain, 1645), p. 438.

43K. Meyer, *Betha Cholmáin maic Luacháin* (1911), pp. 18–19.

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been of the Greccraige.

Mochonna—recorded as patron saint of St.

Patrick's Isle off the coast of Man.⁴⁴

November 17 Cellán—possible hypocorism for Caelán.

Duicuill—also known as Dichú.⁴⁵ Most likely a doublet for Dichú of Saul—geographically associated with Caelán of Kilclief.

Buaidbeó—who has a Dál nAraide pedigree⁴⁶ and is therefore genealogically associated with Mochae, who is said to have been of Dál mBuain, a subsept of Dál nAraide.

Conindrius—one of the saints who befriended Mac Cuill when he was washed up on the Isle of Man.

November 18 Mac Eirc—recorded as another uterine brother of Mochae.⁴⁷

Romanus—Colgan claims that Romanus is another name for Romulus, companion bishop of Conindrius.⁴⁸

Ronán—associated with the Isle of Man (Kirk Marown).

Mo Conóc—another form of Mochonna of the 15th.

I mentioned earlier that Irish names were Latinised in medieval times and later, and I would suggest that it is very likely that Conindrius and Romanus/Romulus are examples of such Latinisation and represent the Irish names Rónán and Mochonna.

44Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, II, 361.

45*The Martyrology of Donegal*, edited by J. H. Todd and W. Reeves (Dublin, 1864), p. 312.

46*Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited by Ó Riain, p. 104, entry 662.208; p. 17, entry 100.

47*Ibid.*, p. 175, entry 722.92.

48J. Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae seu divisorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae* (Louvain, 1645), p. 50, note 63.

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In such a short article I realise that I expect the reader to take much on trust, not having the space to go into detail about the associations of the saints listed. However, I would argue that even this short summary of interconnections between these saints reflects the associations between Mac Cuill and Mochae of Nendrum recorded in other sources.

The story of Mac Cuill in context

Taken at face value, the story of Mac Cuill's conversion would appear to be just another legend illustrating St. Patrick's power and holiness. However, I think it is necessary to look at the story in the context in which it was written. Muirchú, in writing his life of Patrick in the seventh century, was primarily concerned with promoting Armagh's claim to be Patrick's primary church and therefore the supreme church in Ireland. Much has been written about how the Armagh propagandists set about re-writing history to justify their claim that Patrick's primary church was Armagh and that, as he had single-handedly converted the whole of Ireland, every church in the country owed allegiance to Armagh. The strong tradition that Patrick had a great fondness for Saul and Mag Inis, and that he was buried in Downpatrick, gave them particular trouble, as a saint's place of burial was recognised as the place of his resurrection and therefore his primary church. Richard Sharpe illustrates to what lengths Muirchú and Tirechán were willing to go to offset this tradition, and to a great extent they were successful, but they did face some stiff opposition.⁴⁹

Downpatrick does not appear to have been an important church until the mid-eighth century, but Nendrum, on the other hand, would appear to have been

49R. Sharpe, 'St. Patrick and the See of Armagh', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 4 (1982), 33–59; D. Dumville, *St. Patrick AD 493–AD 1993* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 183–89; D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400 AD–1200 AD* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 159–61.

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at the height of its fame in the seventh century.⁵⁰ As an important monastery in east Down, I would suggest that Nendrum was not easily convinced by Armagh's claim to primacy, and that the legend of Mac Cuill is an allegory implying tension between the two churches. Because of the importance of the founder of a church in the early Irish monastic system, the name of the church and the name of the founder became almost synonymous—Patrick with Armagh, Ciarán with Clonmacnoise, Comgall with Bangor, etc.

Muirchú would have known that his listeners would identify Nendrum with Mochae and was able therefore to emphasise the wickedness of Nendrum's defiance by giving the leader of the band of evil men the name of a pagan god, Mac Cuill. The story would have been understood as describing how the wicked Mac Cuill (Nendrum) defied the bright and holy Patrick (Armagh), but was soon converted and submitted to Patrick's (Armagh's) authority.

The other story of Mochae in *The Tripartite Life* could be taken as a corollary of the Mac Cuill legend, a reaffirmation of Armagh's authority over Nendrum. In this story, Mochae is introduced as a tender youth who is taught, baptised, ordained and made a bishop by Patrick, and who paid tribute to Patrick every year.⁵¹ This would imply that Mochae (Nendrum) was from the very beginning under the influence of Patrick (Armagh).

That there was strong rivalry between Nendrum and Armagh appears to be borne out by local tradition in the area around Nendrum. This tradition asserts that Mochae was in Nendrum before the coming of Patrick and that he refused to pay Patrick respect by visiting him at Armagh.

In conclusion, I would suggest that all the intertwining

⁵⁰Sharpe, 'St. Patrick and the See of Armagh', 43–44; K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), p. 227.

⁵¹P. Ó Riain, *The Making of a Saint: Finbarr of Cork 600 AD—1200 AD* (London, 1997), p. 102.

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associations between MacCuill and Mochae in a variety of sources indicate that it is more than likely that Mac Cuill of Man represents the presence of the cult of Mochae of Nendrum in the Isle of Man.

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Map 1