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CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

The Celts: (pronounced either S or K): An ancient group of barbarian tribes living along the Rhine Valley and especially at a place called La Tène in Switzerland, as early as the late 5th century BC. (La Tène means "the shallows," so named from a lake in Switzerland where an important Celtic archaeological find was made). The Celts in the period from the third to the first century BC expanded from the European mainland and invaded the land we now know as Ireland, bringing with them a certain cultural unity: of art (non-representational and curvilinear), language (Gaelic), religion (Druidic), literature (bardic and poetic), and manner (warlike and clan-centered). They soon expanded over much of the British Isles (especially outside of England itself), and their name may be given to the Christian church and culture that flourished there from the 5th-7th centuries AD, i.e. following the "Romano-British" church and prior to the "Anglo-Saxon" church. It is noteworthy that these ancient pre-Christian Celts accorded to women a higher place than many other pre-Christian societies, allowing them rights of property and status as well as their own name even after marriage.

1. The Problem of St. Patrick and the Conversion of Ireland

A. Preliminary Observations:

1) Christians were in Ireland before St. Patrick, but we know very little about them. As reported in Bede I.13, Pope Celestine in 431 sent Palladius as a missionary "to the Irish believers in Christ."

2) Present state of scholarship does allow us to say there was one St. Patrick, whose life can be generally outlined as will follow, although even in the present century scholarship has ranged from holding that there were really two different such Patricks to holding that there was none at all! The main problem is that no contemporary writer mentions him, nor does Gildas or even Bede! Patrick's dates, however, are quite uncertain: LFF and this handout (JRW): c.390-c.461; Hymnal 1982: 372-466; Charles Thomas: c.415-c.492 !!

3) Sources: What we know of St Patrick comes from two Latin works attributed to him late in his life: 1) his Confession, a partial autobiography in which he tells us, among other things, of false accusations against himself including that he took rewards from converts in return for ordaining them; and 2) his Epistle, a letter directed against a native British Christian king, Coroticus, whose troops had reduced a group of Christian converts to captivity. The facts of his life and work have been greatly confused and embellished by later annalists and hagiographers, of which the earliest (Muirchu and Tirechan) come from the later 7th century. It is almost certain that he did not compose the hymn ascribed to him as St. Patrick's Breastplate, no. 370, which is popularly used at ordinations. Such extended prayers, however, litanized and arranged in hymnic fashion, were common in Celtic Christian spirituality and known as Lorica (= "breastplates").

B) Present State of Scholarship:

1) Early Years:

St. Patrick was born probably somewhere on the N.W. coast of Britain (probably near Carlisle) of a Christian family in the late 4th

century, perhaps c. 390. His grandfather (Potitus) had been a Christian priest and his father was a deacon. Calpornius, his father, was a Decurion, a rather important official in the late Roman imperial government of Britain, and it was not unusual for such state officials by that time to be in holy orders. One day when Patrick was about 16 he was captured by a band of Irish slave-raiders and carried off to Ireland where he was forced to serve as a slave-shepherd boy for some six years. Probably while he was in captivity, Rome itself fell to the Goths, more specifically to Alaric the Visigoth in 410, and Emperor Honorius told the people of Britain that they must henceforth look out for themselves and assume responsibility for their own defense. (No Roman coins have been found in Britain dating later than 407.) Hence, this period corresponds with the final decline of Roman rule in Britain and of Romano-British Christianity. Shortly after the age of 21, Patrick escaped back to Britain, was trained in a Christian and possibly ecclesiastical household, received holy orders as priest (presumably) and bishop, (he tells us, although there is no evidence of any "see"), probably made a brief trip to Brittany in north central France, and returned to Ireland about the year 432.

2) Return to Ireland:

Tradition holds that Patrick landed about 432 in a part of Ireland not far from his earlier captivity there, near the place now known as Downpatrick (dun = fortified hill, the stronghold of a local Irish king who welcomed Patrick. Cf. Maps & Charts). Patrick then began a process of missionary conversion throughout the country that continued throughout his life until his death probably in 461. He won to Christ in this way a great many of the nearly 200 Irish tribal kings, or Ri's each of whom ruled over his tribe or tuath as the descendant of the tribal god and dwelt in a large circular enclosure or stockade called a rath (a stone rath was a cashel) and took advice from the local priest-teachers called druids. There are many legends of his activities which, although only legends, may have some substratum of truth, especially as regards his conversion of the three major Irish High Kings (= Ard Ri) (Cf. maps & charts): 1) In the south at the Rock of Cashel, which became "St. Patrick's Rock" and is still cited today as a particular rock where he sat and taught. 2) In the west at Connacht, where he is said to have converted the High King's daughters by explaining the mystery of the Trinity with the use of the 3-leaf shamrock, and then to have climbed the tall conical mountain now known as Croagh Patrick, where he meditated in the wilderness for 40 days and where barefoot pilgrims still climb today. 3) In the north of Ireland, he is said to have confronted the High King of Tara by means of what is known as St. Patrick's fire. The story goes that the High King and his druids were holding their regular spring festival during which no other fires in the kingdom could be lit. But St. Patrick lit his own fire at that time on a hill to the north in order to celebrate the Christian feast of Easter, whereupon one of the druids is said to have warned the Ard-Ri of Tara that if this new fire was not put out then, it would never die out in all of Ireland. Spiritually, of course, St. Patrick's new fire, the Christian faith, has not died out, even though there is no evidence that this particular story is true; nor is there any evidence for the frequent assertion that this is the origin of the New Fire ceremony of the Paschal Candle of Easter. The High Kings of Tara, it may be

remarked, did not finally succumb to Christianity until some 100 years after Patrick's death i.e. c. 561. Also, still farther to the north, Patrick is said to have converted a petty king or Ri named Daire, whose royal rath at Ard-Macha (= the high place of the goddess Macha) soon became Patrick's major church, monastery, and cathedral which we today know as Armagh. For centuries there have been both an Anglican and a R.C. cathedral and see of Armagh, the Anglicans controlling the one located on the hilltop within the old rath of Daire, and both the Anglican and RC archbishops of Armagh dispute with the archbishops of Dublin for the primatial title of Ireland.

3) Further process of conversion under Patrick:

He made his appeal to the kings, and through them to their tribes. Also note his attitude of cultural adaptation toward pagan sites of worship: legends frequently say that Patrick overthrew them and set up Christian churches on the same spots, thus allowing Christian worship to continue at the same sacred places. The great stone pillars the druids had set up to mark their sacred places and groves now had crosses carved upon them. These would later be followed by the famous Celtic "High Crosses". Sacred wells and springs were now placed under the protection of Christian saints, and churches were erected in groves of oak trees that had been sacred to the druids. In all this, Patrick and his followers were both denying the power of the druids and at the same time baptising or christianizing their beliefs and customs. One example of this from about the time of Patrick or a bit later is St. Brigid: Brigid was a powerful Celtic goddess who was said to be the daughter of Dagda, chief of all the pagan gods, and her help was invoked to protect the flocks and herds; under Patrick and his followers she was given new identity as a Christian saint: Saint Brigid, and given a feast-day the same as her pagan counterpart, February 1, which is still kept as her day in Ireland. Her miracles increased rapidly, she was given a Christian biography, and she came to be invoked (and still is) all over Ireland for different needs. In a contracted form she is known as St. Bride; cf. St. Bride's church on Fleet Street in London.

C. Concluding Observations:

What little we know of Celtic Christianity in the time of St. Patrick, during the 5th and early 6th centuries, suggests that it was episcopal in structure, still Romano-British in character (but not "Roman Catholic"), organized somewhat on the basis of parishes, rather closely related to the continent, and for all these reasons exceedingly difficult to adapt to Celtic tribal society. By the later 6th century, however, for reasons that are not entirely clear, all this has changed, and the Celtic Christianity that succeeds the age of St. Patrick is rather thoroughly monastic in its organization, and also mystical, otherworldly, isolated from the continent, intensely ascetic and contemplative in character. Most of our evidence for this next period comes from the monasteries, and their writers are strangely silent about Patrick and his associates.

2. Major Characteristics of 6th-7th Century Celtic Christianity

These are grouped around six key terms for the period after St. Patrick:

A. Scholarship:

Celtic Christianity was not only a religion of deep piety. It was also closely linked to the written word and the ability to use ideas and concepts. Such knowledge formed the basis upon which the numinous was given human meaning and interpretation. For Celtic Christians there was no dichotomy that divorced the intellectual life from the spiritual, and for the Celtic monks the knowledge of the intellect was pursued for the sake of glorifying God.

B. Monasticism:

The most outstanding feature of Celtic Christianity in this period is monasticism, organized around family tribes. Very much the spirit of the desert fathers, no central organization, no archbishops, no great urban sees, bishops often lived in monasteries but abbots were generally superior to bishops in jurisdiction. The word muinter could mean interchangeably a family or a monastery! Celtic bishops were thus monastic and not diocesan; cf. Bede III.4. At times the abbot of a tribal monastery was also a bishop, and such a monastic abbot-bishop was called a Coarb. Only four major Celtic monasteries were for women, the most famous being at Kildare (= "the church at the oak wood"), although (in contrast to pre-Christian Celtic norms) in Celtic Christianity the inheritance of land by women was severely restricted, they were often relegated to separate church entrances (the north entrance, as also at Chartres), and buried in separate graveyards. There were also married lay monks (manaig) who lived with their wives outside the monastic enclosure and farmed the monastery land. Celtic monasticism also had a keen missionary sense, going out primarily to found other monasteries on the Celtic model in Britain, Scotland, and the continent. Apparently not all Celtic monasticism was as ascetic as the surviving rules suggest, however, for recent excavation of the refuse pit of Iona has unearthed some 304 cattle joints that bore prime cuts of beef and haunches of venison, not all of which could have been consumed by the estimated guest-population.

C. Solitude:

This took at least five expressions: 1) Peregrinatio = wandering pilgrimage, without any fixed destination; withdrawal for a period of solitude. 2) Inis(h) = an island sanctuary; cf. Inisboffin, founded by Colman; Bede IV.4. 3) Culdees = groups of studious anchorites (from Céli Dé = "Clients or Companions of God"). The Rule of the Culdees (Hughes 188): "The kingdom of heaven is granted to him who directs studies, and to him who studies, and to him who supports the pupil who is studying." 4) Anmchara = "soul-friend", a spiritual companion (based upon an earlier pre-Christian Druidic tradition), who could be a layperson of either sex, to whom an anchorite or eremitical monk made his confession and received penance and spiritual direction. 5) Sexual Solitude in Marriage: There was no general rule of clerical celibacy in the 6th century Celtic canons, and the non-monastic clergy were allowed to live at home with their wives - whose heads were to be veiled whenever they went out! Married persons were to abstain from each other on Saturdays and Sundays, in the period between conception and birth, and during three 40-day periods of abstinence each year (the reason, given in a set of 6th century Celtic canons, being so that they might have more time

for prayer). About all this, Hughes (p. 54) remarks "With the prospect of such meager reward, it is hardly surprising that the devout in the next generation turned to the religious life."! [A 9th century MS. copy of an 8th century collection of canons on the qualities required of a bishop has vir unius uxoris (man of one wife) replaced by vir castus (a chaste man]!

D. Penance:

Private penance developed (still public on the continent at this time) in the late 6th and 7th centuries, largely under influence of Celtic monks in their missions to convert the half-civilized peoples of northern Europe. Confession and penance now more frequent, and now for minor sins as well as for major ones. Penances now graded in standard penitential books, of which the Celtic church produced many. Institution of private penance spreads from Ireland to continent under Celtic monastic influence.

E. Art and Artifacts:

Distinctive handwriting: Irish, or "Insular," half-unical majuscule or minuscule. Outstanding art of the 7th century includes the Book of Durrow, c.670 (with lion as symbolic of St. John), Lindisfarne Gospels, and the Athlone Crucifixion. Beautiful and distinctive illuminations from Celtic monastic scriptoria culminate in the Book of Kells, the most famous Celtic manuscript, dating from the mid-8th century and written in Insular majuscule, now in Trinity College, Dublin; contains four Gospels, a fragment of some Hebrew names, & the Eusebian canon-tables. Also noteworthy is the Hisperica Famina, 7th century advanced-Latin text from a Celtic monastic school, which reveals much about student life of that time. Outstanding art work culminates in the Ardagh Chalice of mid-8th century, and in the Derrynaflan or Tipperary Chalice, Paten and Strainer-ladle of the late 8th-early 9th century.

Other Important Artifacts:

1) Ogham stones: a total of about 350 Ogham stones survive in southern Ireland and Wales, plus a few in Scotland and the Isle of Man. Ogham Script, the earliest Celtic alphabet, based upon a fourth-century classification of the Roman alphabet as used by grammarians of the late Roman empire and belonging to the period of overlap between paganism and Christianity, (current by c. 400 AD), consisted of 25 phonetic characters represented by rune-like strokes, either single or in groups of up to five, perpendicular to either side of a line or crossing the line either at right angles or obliquely. Avoiding the curves and loops inherent in both Roman capitals and Roman cursive scripts, it was adaptable to the earliest modes of incision or carving on stone, bone, or wood. (cf. illustration, below). Two theories of its origin: either from a secret finger language or from an ancient method of counting livestock on a tally-stick. Key to its composition was discovered in the 14th century book of Ballymote. The Ogham script was superseded by the Irish half-uncial script in the 7th century.

2) High Crosses: earliest are 7th century; made of sandstone, granite, or limestone; often used to mark spots for preaching and teaching in open air evangelism; had "rings of glory" to support the weight of their arms; often elaborate natural, scriptural and hagiographical scenes carved upon them. Erection of such crosses

continued throughout most of the medieval period in England.

3) Round Towers: Some 80-120 survive in Ireland alone, and there are a few others in Scotland. Built by monasteries as belfries and watch-towers for defense. Average c.70 to c.120 feet high, door set at some distance above ground and only reachable by a removeable ladder. Possibly of Carolingian origin.

F. Liturgy:

Celtic Liturgy is now extinct. Also, apart from Irish sources, information is generally lacking. There is only one major text, the Stowe Missal, as well as other fragments. Seven notable topics will be considered here: Easter, Tonsure, Baptism, Eucharist, Divine Office, Consecration of Churches, and Holy Orders:

1) Easter: For the particular Celtic method of computation of the date of Easter, discussed extensively in the Synod of Whitby in 664, see JRW Bede Commentary at III.25, as well as excerpt from Campbell appended thereunto and Mayr-Harting chap. 7.

2) Tonsure: We can not be sure about this, but there seem to have been three types: a) Celtic: also called the tonsure of St. John, consisted of shaving the front part of the head from a line over the top of the head from ear to ear and letting the rest of the hair grow long. b) Roman: so-called because advocated by the "Roman party" that opposed Celtic usage and because it was alleged to be traceable back to St. Peter himself. Consisted in shaving the top of the head only, leaving a circular ring of hair supposedly reminiscent of JC's crown of thorns. This type of tonsure was reputedly worn by Pope Gregory I and St. Augustine of Canterbury, who introduced it into England. c) Pauline: Total shaving of the head, allegedly traceable to St. Paul himself because of Acts 18:18. This type seems to have been common in the Eastern church, at least until the 7th century. Bede (IV.1) notes that when Theodore of Tarsus was chosen to become archbishop of Canterbury in 668, he had to wait four months for his hair to grow long enough to receive the circular Roman tonsure, because he had previously worn the total, eastern, Pauline tonsure.

3) Baptism: Evidence here is also unclear, but there seem to have been four Celtic peculiarities: a) a single immersion (not 3-fold and not aspersion); b) footwashing, at the same time; c) omission of chrism and/or "confirmation"; and d) apparently infants were not baptized, but only adults. Cf. Bede II.2.

4) Eucharist: To speak of "The Celtic Eucharist" is to speak only of a collection of local variations and not of a separate rite or uniform pattern. Major study, now quite dated, is F.E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church; see also A.A. King. The service was generally in Latin, although some rubrics and the sermons were in vernacular. Altars could be of wood or stone, liturgical combs survive from the 6th and seventh centuries, and some chalices were of glass while others were of metal with two handles (cf. Ardagh and Derrynaflan, 8th-9th century). Bishops wore crowns of some sort and carried bells that they rang to announce their approach (cf. "St.

Patrick's Bell," now in Dublin). Clergy generally carried little Gospel-books suspended in leather wallets around their necks, while monks generally carried the Blessed Sacrament in similar fashion! Major source for the Celtic Eucharist is the Stowe Missal, the oldest surviving Celtic sacramentary or Mass-book, later 8th century, probably written for the abbey of Tallacht near Dublin. The Stowe Missal (ed. G.F. Warner) consists of six sections, the first four in Latin (except rubrics) and the last two in vernacular: a) Extracts from John's Gospel, b) Ordinary and Canon of Mass, followed by a few special Masses, c) Order of Baptism, with communion of the newly baptized, d) Order for Visitation of the Sick, with Extreme Unction and Sick Communion, e) short treatise on the Mass, f) three short spells.

Unusual points in the Ordinary and Canon of the Celtic Eucharist:

(1) In the Pro-Anaphora, between Epistle and Gospel, there is a Litany of the Saints, including both apostles, martyrs, and confessors of universal observance as well as 26 local Irish saints.

(2) There is a multiplicity of Collects, a feature coming perhaps from Milan or southern Gaul.

(3) There was a practice of preparing the chalice before the Eucharist began and covering the chalice and host with two veils, all discussed in part (e) above, the treatise towards the end of the Stowe Missal. The outer veil was apparently lifted at the Gospel, in anticipation of the proclamation of Christ's Good News, and then the second veil was uncovered at the Offertory as symbolic of the full revelation seen at Christ's birth.

(4) After the words of institution in the (Gregorian, i.e. Roman) canon, comes the Memento of the Departed, accomplished by a reading of the Dyptychs (possibly eastern influence): a list of some 100 OT, NT, post-Biblical, and especially Irish saints, including Augustine's first three successors at Canterbury (Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus; cf. Bede I.29). Dix points out that nearly all these 100 died before 739, and that the existence of this feature may reflect Spanish influence.

(5) The Confraction of the Host, which was a large, circular, stamped piece of unleavened bread. This practice is mainly known from Iona, where the celebrant might be joined by another priest in the breaking (although, if a bishop, the celebrant broke alone). Complex symbolism: Depending upon the season or day of the liturgical year, the Host was broken into any one of seven different numbers of pieces, each numeration having a special mystical or spiritual meaning; cf. Stowe Missal, pp. 41-42. These numerical divisions for the Celtic Host were as follows: 5 parts for ordinary days, 7 for feasts of confessors and virgins, 8 for martyrs, 9 for Sundays, 11 for apostles, 12 for the Circumcision and Holy Thursday, and 13 for Low Sunday and Ascension. Then on the three major festivals of Easter, Christmas, and Whitsunday, the Host was broken into 65 pieces, the sum total of all the other fractions (count them, above!), supposedly symbolizing that in Christ there is represented the totality of all the various saints, martyrs, virgins, apostles, etc., whose feasts were in their turn represented by the smaller fractions. These 65 pieces were then arranged on the paten in the shape of a cross within a wheel.

(6) In Pontifical Masses, an Episcopal Blessing was pronounced after the consecration and confraction, and before the commixture and

communion. Possibly from Eastern practice, this was also a feature of Anglo-Saxon liturgy; it remained in the Sarum Missal up to the 1549 BCP.

(7) Women wore veils at the reception of Holy Communion (Eastern influence, possibly).

(8) Eulogiae, or Blessings, probably derived from Eastern and Gallican practice: an ordinary loaf of bread was blessed at the conclusion of the liturgy, cut up with a special knife, and distributed to the congregation. This practice was continued in Sarum use.

NB Not all of these features, of course, would be found in every Celtic eucharist, for there was no one uniform Celtic rite.

5) Divine Office: Canonical hours of the day and night varied in number and length at different monasteries and in different periods. Two major sources are the Bangor Antiphonary of the later 7th century and the Regula monachorum (Monastic Rule) of St. Columbanus. The latter gives a very detailed description of how the office was celebrated, and especially of the particular Celtic tradition known as the Laus Perennis (= "perpetual praise" or perpetual psalmody). The provisions for the psalms to be recited at the last and longest night office, that of mattins, which was sung around midnight or in the very early morning, are expressive of this custom of laus perennis: On Friday and Saturday nights, ushering in Saturday and Sunday, from 1 November to 25 March, 75 psalms and 25 antiphons, arranged in groups of 3 plus 1, were sung each night. Then, to account for the shortening nights, beginning on 25 March and lasting until 25 June, three psalms and one antiphon were removed each week, until there were only 36 psalms and 12 antiphons remaining. Then, when the nights began to lengthen after 25 June, the process was reversed so that the full complement of psalms and antiphons was reached again by November 1. Also practiced every evening of the year in certain large Celtic monasteries in Wales, the Laus Perennis was also known at Constantinople in the 5th century, as well as in Gaul, and has certain obvious affinities with the perpetual prayer of the Desert Fathers.

6) Consecration of Churches: The Celtic church retained the earlier patristic custom of naming churches and monasteries after their living founders (e.g., San Clemente in Rome was the house of a family and person named Clement; it was not "named" after an earlier "saint" by that name), rather than, as was the custom throughout the rest of Christendom by this time, after earlier departed saints. Later, as the Anglo-Saxon and developing Roman influence was felt more strongly upon Celtic practices, some Celtic church names were changed. (E.g., Abp Theodore changed the name of the church at Lindisfarne to commemorate St. Peter four years after it was built; cf Bede III.25). In other cases, both the Celtic and the later names were retained, resulting in many churches with double dedications. The architecture of many Celtic churches included a diaconicon and a prothesis flanking the chancel on north and south, possibly from Byzantine influence. Another noteworthy point about Celtic custom in Church consecrations is the tradition of purifying the site of a monastery or church by a period of prayer and fasting at the place, as told by Bede III.23. For example, in 659 Bishop Cedd was given a grant of land by King Ethelwold on which to build a monastery, and the place, called Lastingham, was purified by Cedd by a period of prayer and fasting over the entire season of Lent.

7) Holy Orders: Consecrations of Celtic bishops were regularly done by only one bishop, in contrast to the general practice of the church elsewhere of three by this time (cf. Bede I.27, Q/a 6), and as late as the 11th century archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm were both complaining to Irish kings about the continuation of this practice. Also, in the ordination of priests, the anointing of hands is mentioned by Gildas as being done in the Celtic church as early as the 6th century, although it did not come for some 200 years later in the west generally. (No Celtic liturgical text, however, as early as Gildas, confirms this or even mentions it.)

3. The Demise of the Celtic Church

Perhaps the most noteworthy transition figure is St. Columba (= Columcille), the most outstanding Celtic missionary, born c. 521, converted the northern Picts in Scotland, founded the monastic community of Iona in 563 off the west coast of Scotland, becoming its first abbot (and is even said to have encountered and subdued the Loch Ness monster, speaking to it forcefully in the name of Christ after it tried to swallow one of his followers!). In 574 Aidan became a member of Columba's community at Iona, and after a long stay there set out in 634 to evangelize Northumbria, becoming bishop of Lindisfarne or Holy Island (d. 651), with which are also associated Sts. Chad and Cuthbert (both in the seventh century: Chad died as bishop of Lichfield in 672 and Cuthbert as bishop of Lindisfarne in 687). Columba's death in 597 came in the same year as the arrival of St. Augustine at Canterbury, sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great. The Roman form of Christianity now met the Celtic head-on, and at the Synod of Whitby in 664 (Bede III.25) the triumph of Roman over Celtic was sealed by the decision of King Oswy of Northumbria and the English church was formally united. Was the decision of Whitby a mistake, a sell-out to size and organization, over the things of the Spirit? Moorman (p. 21): "Either the English Church was to be brought into line with Western Christendom, or it was to struggle on in its independence. Had the Synod of Whitby chosen the latter course nothing but stagnation could have ensued. But by choosing in favour of Rome, the Church in England brought herself in touch with the blood-stream of the Catholic Church and could henceforth play her full part in the life of Christendom." Meissner: "The Celtic Church possessed undoubted zeal, enthusiasm, and learning, but in the sense of order and authority it was deficient. The latter qualities were the special legacy left by the representatives of the Roman Church." It is held by some that the high crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle were erected in the eighth century to commemorate the decision of Whitby.

Debate at Whitby had been between Colman, bishop and abbot of Lindisfarne, representing the Celtic tradition, and Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon and later archbishop of York. After Whitby, Colman and many followers now gradually make their way from Lindisfarne first to Iona and then on to Inishboffin off the west coast of Ireland (Bede IV.4; map), as Celtic peculiarities and particularities gradually recede. Bede himself says very little of the conversion of Wales or Ireland, and nothing of St. Patrick or Armagh, his major theme being the gradual triumph and spread of Roman Christianity in England. The outlying regions were generally the last to accept to accept the Roman ways, and

the Celtic traditions in north Ireland, Wales, Devon, and Cornwall did not finally meet their demise until about the 10th century -- all of which is a fascinating subject for research. Celtic influence continued beyond Whitby on the continent, moreover, in the areas of monastic life, handwriting, and private penance.

For Anglo-Saxon invasions that follow, see Moorman pp. 8-9, Hollister pp. 15-16, and separate handout on the Anglo-Saxon Church.