

Gillebert of Limerick as an Irish Saint: a case of mistaken identity

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A bishop named Gilbertus has been listed as an Irish saint by some seventeenth-century writers and later commentators. As he is linked to St Malachy, it would appear to refer to the first Bishop of Limerick. However, an examination of the relevant historical material relating to the lives of saints failed to find any evidence for this. The conclusion reached is that Gillebert of Limerick (c.1070-1145) has been confused with Gilbert of Sempringham (c.1085-1189), by the hagiographer Henry Fitzsimon, and this error has been copied and thus compounded by others.

While much has been written about Gillebert¹, first bishop of Limerick and papal legate to Ireland, very little is actually known of the man. He was all but ignored by the Irish chroniclers,² with only one source briefly referring to his death. We do know that he was appointed bishop sometime in or before 1107, but by whom and where he was consecrated is not clear,³ and that he died in 1145.⁴ In his early life, possibly when a monk in France, he was acquainted with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1109⁵ and who was canonized in 1494. Although not mentioned in the extant Irish annals, Gillebert is known, from the now lost *Book of Clonenagh*, cited by Geoffrey Keating, to have presided as papal legate over the Synod of Ráith Breasail⁶ and the synodal enactments, in which the two archbishoprics Cashel and Armagh were created and the

¹ This spelling is used in this article. In different sources his name has also been spelled Gillibert or Gilbert in English, Gillebertus or Gislebertus in Latin, Gilla, Gille, Gilli and Giolla Espaic in Irish, Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii (London, 1856) p. 208; Seán Duffy, 'Gilbert', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxii (Oxford, 2004) 158-159:158. He has also been called Gilli Brigte by Dáibhí Ó Crónín, 'Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169', Dáibhí Ó Crónín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, vol. i (Oxford, 2005) pp 371-404:403.

² All of the extant annals of Ireland omit him although the Synod of Ráith Breasail, which he convened, is mentioned by their compilers. Similarly, Father John Colgan, writing also in the seventeenth century, fails to make any mention of him, except in a footnote although all the other principal players in that movement are included. For whatever reason a bias against Gillebert by Irish annalists and transcribers seems apparent.

³ John Lucey, 'Gillebert of Limerick: the prelate's present to the primate of England', *NMAJ*, xlvii (2006) pp 5-14:10. Some writers have him as consecrated in Ireland, e.g. John Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol iv (Dublin, 1822) p. 23; Aubrey Gwynn, 'The diocese of Limerick in the twelfth century', *NMAJ*, v (1946-7) pp 35-48:37; Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland* (London, 1950) p. 39; Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period (1020-1170 A.D.)* (London, 1970) p. 9.

⁴ W. M. Hennessy (ed.), *Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the earliest times to A.D. 1135; with a supplement containing the events from 1141 to 1150* (London, 1866) p. 342.

⁵ It has been said that Gillebert had been a monk with Anselm at Rouen, e.g. Curtis *Ibid.*; Brian Ó Cuiv, 'Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (eds), *The Course of Irish History* (Cork, 1989) pp 107-122:118.

⁶ Keating gives the year of the synod as 1100, Patrick S. Dinneen (ed. & tr.), *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, D.D.*, vol. iii (London, 1908, reprinted 1987) p. 299, which appears to be a modern typographical error for 1110 but later dates have been cited, 1111, e.g. Jacanthea P. Santry, 'The Native Reform of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century: A Reconsideration' (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University College Cork, 1987) p. 168, and c.1118, e.g. Edward Rogan, *Synods and Catechesis in Ireland c. 445-1962* (Roma, 1987) p. 7.

diocesan boundaries delineated, are subscribed by him.⁷ He was among the leaders of the twelfth-century reform movement and had as his protégé and successor as apostolic legate St Malachy (Máel Máedoc Ua Morgair).⁸ Uniquely, he was also the only known theorist of reform in Ireland with his treatise *De Statu Ecclesiae* (Concerning Church Order).⁹

Although there are a limited number of officially canonized saints,¹⁰ there are very many that have been sanctified by tradition and appear in Irish or other calendars and martyrologies. In the most recent, and authoritative, study of Gillebert Dr John Fleming makes no mention of him as saint.¹¹ However, he is included among the list of Irish saints by some earlier writers. Fr Stephen White (1575-1647), the Jesuit professor who provided Archbishop James Ussher with material on Irish ecclesiastical history, in his propagandist work *Apologia pro Hibernia* (1615), gives the following saints 'S.S. Laurantius, Malachias, Celsus, Christianus, uterque Edanus [Aidan], Malchus, Neemias [Corcagiensis], Gelasius, Gillebertus, Catholicus, et alii'.¹² Three other seventeenth-century Irish writers have given his feast or festival day as celebrated on 4 February. For example in the *Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae*, attributed to Fr Henry Fitzsimon (1566-1643), the *Index Sanctorum Hiberniae* has the following entry: *Gilbertus ep'us. Floruit cum S. Malachia, sed Anglus fuit. 4 Febru.*¹³ Philip O'Sullivan Beare (c.1590-1660)¹⁴ in his *Historia Catholicae Iberniae Compendium*, printed at Lisbon in 1621, lists Gilbert along with Tarahata for 4 February¹⁵ and similarly Fr Francis Porter, who became professor of theology in the college of St Isidore at Rome, lists S. Gilbertus and S. Tarahata for 4 Februarius in his *Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniae*.¹⁶ O'Sullivan's *Catalogus aliquorum Sanctorum Iberniae*, which he says was based on Fitzsimon's list of 1611 printed in Rome,¹⁷ has the

⁷ Dinneen, *ibid.* The structural reform of the Irish Church, begun by Gillebert at the synod of Ráith Breasail, did not receive its seal of papal approval until a later synod held at Kells in 1152 (Martin Holland, 'The synod of Kells in MS BL., Add. 4783', *Peritia*, xix (2005) pp 164-7:164.

⁸ Máedoc O'Morgair who later took the name of Malachy (L. Malachias) was born at Armagh, in 1094 or 1095, and died at Clairvaux in 1148. He was canonized in 1190 by Pope Clement III thus becoming the first officially declared Irish saint, Robert T. Mayer (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: the life and death of Saint Malachy the Irishman* (Kalamazoo, 1978) p. 5.

⁹ John Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972, reprinted 1998) p. 10.

¹⁰ John Henning, 'Ireland's place in the tradition of the "Martyrologium Romanum"', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lviii (1967) pp 385-401:401, identifies thirty Irish saints with their feast days including two of Gillebert's contemporary bishops, viz. Celsus (1/4) and Malachias (3/11), listed in the *Martyrologium Romanum*.

¹¹ John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c.1070-1145), Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin, 2001).

¹² Matthæi Kelly (ed.), *Apologia pro Hibernia adversus Cambri Calumnias ...* (Dublinii, 1849) p. 54.

¹³ Paul Grosjean S.J., published the first modern edition of Fitzsimon's catalogue based on three manuscripts and gives the following entry: 'Gilbertus epis. 4. Feb. floruit cum S. Malachia: Legend. Angl. Capgr.' with this footnote: '(Legend. Angl.) Anglus A; (Legend. Angl. Capgr.) sed Anglus fuit C', P. Grosjean, 'Édition du *Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae* de Henri Fitzsimon', John Ryan (ed.), *Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill ...* (Dublin, 1940) pp 335-95:365. Pádraig Ó Riain re-examined the *Catalogus* based on the addition of two further manuscripts and gives the following: 'Gilbertus ep'us. Floruit cum S. Malachia, sed Anglus fuit. 4 Febru.', P. Ó Riain, 'The *Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae* sixty years on', Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas. Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000, reprinted 2001) pp 396-430:412. Although the last entry, i.e. the one in manuscript C, would indicate that this Gilbert, who flourished with St Malachy, was English or had also lived in England, it in fact, refers to Capgrave.

¹⁴ Philip O'Sullivan Beare, after completing his studies at Compostella, wrote many compositions among the first of which was *Compendious History of Catholic Ireland* in Latin printed in four tomes at Lisbon in 1621, Patrick Lynch, *Hibernia Sancta; or Lives of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 1817) p. 25.

¹⁵ Matthæus Kelly (ed.), *D. Philippo O'Sullivan Bearo, Ibero, Historia Catholicae Iberniae Compendium* (Dublinii, 1850) p. 49.

¹⁶ Francisco Portero, *Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Regni Hiberniae* (Romæ 1690) p. 133.

¹⁷ Romæ 9 Aprilis anno. 1611 Henricus Ftzsimon Societatis Jesu.

following: *Gilbertus Epis, 4 Feb. floruit cum S. Malachia, Anglus Capgravius*. This would indicate that the source of the information was Fr John Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae* the first collection of English saints' lives¹⁸ published in the sixteenth century. Although he does not refer to his Gilbert as bishop of Limerick, it would seem, *prima facie*, that Fitzsimon confused our Gillebert with Gilbert of Sempringham and that O'Sullivan Beare copied this error. For in the *Nova Legenda Angliae* only one St. Gilbert, *De sancto Gilberto confessore*, is listed.¹⁹ In this work Capgrave outlines this Gilbert's life and how on his journey to France he became familiar with Malachy archbishop of Ireland and Bernard abbot of Clairvaux:

*Data est aut 7 iniuncta btó gilbertó a papa eugenio custodia gregis fui 7 beatis malachie hiberniési archiepo et bernardo clareuallési abbati in illo itinere adeo familiaris effect est vt ipó solo pñte per oconé eo^m cuidá egroto fert sanitas collata.*²⁰

In the Middle English version, known as the *Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande*, also printed in 1516, the following clearly shows the entry to be the founder of the Gilbertines:

De sancto Gilberto confessore

Seynt Gylbert was born at Sempyngham.....And so he went into Fraunce, and there he toke degre of mayster. And when he came agayne into Englande he began the ordre of Sempyngham of men and women.....And in that journey he was made famylyer with Seynt Malachye, Busshoppe of Irelande, and with Seynt Bernarde.....And in the year of our Lorde God a thousand a hundred four score and ix., the day before the nonas of February...he went to our Lorde.²¹

Thus, this Gilbert who was born c.1085 and whose feast day is 4 February (the same date as that given by some for the 'Irish' Gilbert), died in 1189 when more than 100 years of age²² and was canonized in 1202: '*Translatio et canonization Sancti Gilberti de Sempyngham*'.²³ Yet both O'Sullivan Beare and Fitzsimon indicate that their Gilbert is a bishop, Ep'us and Epis respectively, whereas Gilbert of Sempringham was never elevated to the episcopate. That Capgrave mentions his being familiar with Malachy may have led to him being confused with Gillebert by Fitzsimon.²⁴

¹⁸ Although Capgrave (1393-1464), an Augustinian friar, did write many original works, including the *Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham*, as well as theological treatises he merely edited and rearranged the work known as *Nova Legenda Angliae* originally compiled, in Latin, by John of Tynemouth a Benedictine who was born c.1290, E.M.T., 'Capgrave, John (1393-1464)' *Dictionary of National Biography*, compact ed., vol. i (Oxford, 1975) p. 308.

¹⁹ [John Capgrave], *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Londonias 1516), ff clvi-clviii. I am grateful to Muriel McCarthy, Keeper Marsh's Library, for permission to consult this anonymous work consisting of the *Sanctilogium Anglie* of John of Tynemouth as rearranged by John Capgrave.

²⁰ Note that in this sixteenth-century printing, the acute diacritic over some consonants signifies that an 's' follows! It is also interesting to note that the same has been used over vowels to indicate that an 'n' follows, e.g. Henry Fitz Simon, *The Justification and Composition of the Devine Service of the Masse* (n.p. 1611) p. 366.

²¹ Manfred Görlach (ed.), *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande ed. From Pynson's printed edition, 1516* (Heidelberg, 1994) pp 105-106.

²² Yet his death is given by another source as occurring about the year 1150 (A Catholicke Priest [I.W. Priest], *The English Martyrologe* (n.p., 1608) p. 33). The title page of this work has no publisher or place of publication but bears the words *Permissu Superiorum*.

²³ William Stubbs (ed.), *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry* (London, 1873) p. 196.

²⁴ Gilbert of Sempringham met with St Malachy and St Bernard while in France, Richard Challoner, *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i (London, 1745) p. 105.

In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, Gilbert of Sempringham's citation is given, under 4 Februarii, as follows: *Sempringhamiae, in Anglia, sancti Gilberti, Presbyteri et Confessoris, qui Ordinis Sempringhamiensis fuit Institutor*.²⁵ There is no mention of Gillebert who was a bishop in Ireland but his contemporary Malachy is listed, as Malachias, under 3 Novembris. In fact only one saint is listed under Gilbert. Gilbert of Sempringham had become acquainted with St. Bernard and St. Malachy when he visited Clairvaux.²⁶ Gillebert of Limerick is mentioned twice by St Bernard in his *Vita S. Malachiae*²⁷ and this could have led to the confusion between the two men. It appears that Fitzsimon confounded that which had been written by St. Bernard with what Capgrave wrote when including Gilbert among the Irish saints and that this has been copied, and thus compounded, by some other later writers.

Gillebert is mentioned, as Gillibert, in passing in the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* under Sancto Malachia as a bishop but not as a saint.²⁸ Neither is he listed in the *Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniae* although his contemporary bishops Malachiae (†1148) and Celsi (†1129), with respective feast days of 3 November and 6 April, are included.²⁹ Both of these as well as another of Gillebert's contemporaries Giolla mac Liag, or Gelasius (†1174),³⁰ with feast day of 27 March, feature in miscellaneous hagiographies of Irish saints.³¹ No Gilbert, or variants of the name, is listed in the comprehensive *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* which covered manuscript holdings in the Royal Brussels, Marsh's, Trinity College and Rawlinson libraries.³²

As well as what Fitzsimon, O'Sullivan Beare, Porter and White wrote there appear to be no other early references to him as saint. For example, the Rev John Colgan, also writing in the seventeenth century, lists two saints, Cuanna and Modanus, for 4 February³³ with no mention of Gillebert as an Irish saint.³⁴ Gillebert is given as a saint by some later writers, however, who are probably copying what has gone before in the seventeenth century, e.g. O'Hanlon,³⁵ Holweck³⁶ and Ryan D'Arcy³⁷ with the first named being cited as source by the other two writers. Rev John O'Hanlon, in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, has this Irish bishop under what he calls the 'Reputed Festival of St. Gille, or Gillibert'.³⁸ After a persuasive lengthy piece he concludes that this feast of 4 February, in

²⁵ The *Martyrologium Romanum* first appeared at Rome in 1583. It was translated into English in 1627 wherein Gilbert of Sempringham's citation for the fourth day of February is merely given as 'The same day of S. Gilbert Confessour', *The Roman Martyrologe: set forth by the command of Pope Gregory XIII, and reviewed by the authority of Urban VII: translated out of the Latin into English by G.K. of the Society of Jesus* (S. Omers, 1627) p. 39.

²⁶ Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir, *The Book of St Gilbert* (Oxford, 1987) p. 45.

²⁷ Robert T. Mayer (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: the life and death of Saint Malachy the Irishman* (Kalamazoo, 1978) pp 39, 52.

²⁸ Caroli De Smedt et Josephi De Backer (eds), *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi* (Edinburgi et Londini, 1888) p. 578.

²⁹ *Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublini, 1767) pp 47, 103. Herein Celsus [Cellach] and Malachiae [Malachy] are both listed as Episcopi Armacani [Bishops of Armagh].

³⁰ Gelasius succeeded Malachy to the see of Armagh in 1137, Ambrose Coleman (ed.), *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh by James Stuart* (Dublin, 1900) p. 71.

³¹ Carolus Plummer (ed.), *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica* (Bruxelles, 1925).

³² Carolus Plummer, *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (Oxonii, 1910).

³³ Ioannem Colganum, *Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiae seu Hiberniae* (Lovanii, 1645) Tomus Primus, pp 249-53.

³⁴ Colgan, *ibid.*, p. 563 only mentions Gillebert, as Gilla-Espuic, in passing in a footnote to St Beoadh or Beoadus quoting Keating's reference to his presiding at a synod in 1110.

³⁵ John O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. ii (Dublin & London, 1875) pp 322-7.

³⁶ F.G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (St. Louis & London, 1924) p. 435.

³⁷ Mary Ryan D'Arcy, *The Saints of Ireland* (Cork, 1985) p. 173.

³⁸ O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. ii, p. 322.

our Irish Calendars, appears assignable to either Gillibert, Bishop of Limerick, or Giolla Aedha O'Muidhin, Bishop of Cork, who died in 1172.³⁹ What O'Hanlon wrote was summarized by the Right Rev Frederick Holweck, who assigns this date to only Gilbert (Gillibert, Gille) but follows the former in giving his death as occurring in 1140 and feast day on 4 Feb.⁴⁰ This earlier date for his death is cited by O'Hanlon on the authority of Sir James Ware,⁴¹ but is in conflict with the later year of 1145 recorded for his obit in the *Chronicon Scottorum*.⁴² Similarly, Ryan D'Arcy gives 4 February as his day and his death as 1140 but she styles him Gillebert.⁴³

We do find that a Gillebert is listed among the saints in the *Martyrology of Donegal*⁴⁴ and in the *Martyrology of Gorman* where the variant spelling of Gillibert is given.⁴⁵ However, this finding turns out to be a false dawn for present purposes! Both of these calendars can be attributed to the same author: Maolmuiré (or Marianus) O'Gormáin, abbot of Cnoc-na-napstol near Louth, who compiled the work, which commemorates the saints of Ireland and those of the universal church, in the times of Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, or about 1167-1174 some twenty to thirty years after the death of our Gillebert. In the manuscript of the first mentioned work, the entry is merely 'Gillebert' under June 24. However, above the entry, in a more recent hand, is written 'Mar Sed Agilbertus secundum Mart. Rom' which as James Henthorn Todd, one of the modern joint editors points out signifies that the St Gillebert mentioned here by Marianus O'Gormáin is to be identified with Agilbert who is commemorated on this day in the Roman Martyrology. Obviously, the later annotation is post 1583 when the *Martyrologium Romanum* first appeared (See *supra*). In the other manuscript work, also under Iunius 24/June 24, the entry is 'Gillebert co nglaine', over which is written, in an Italian hand 'Agilbert', and which the editor Whitley Stokes has translated as 'Agilbertus with purity' but in the Corrigenda this is corrected to read Gilbertus.⁴⁶ Below this is 'Agoard cen fuba' which is translated as 'Agoard without hewing' while above is 'John Baptists noble nativity' also in Gaelic. The explanation of Agilbertus or Aglibertus is plausible as he is commemorated in the *Martyrologium Romanum* along with Agoardus on 24 June.⁴⁷ We find

³⁹ Ibid. p. 327.

⁴⁰ Holweck, *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, p. 435.

⁴¹ Walter Harris (ed.), *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland* (2 vols, Dublin, 1764) vol. i, p. 504.

⁴² *Chronicon Scottorum*, p. 342.

⁴³ Ryan D'Arcy, *Saints of Ireland*, p. 173.

⁴⁴ J. H. Todd and William Reeves (eds), *The Martyrology of Donegal. A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864) p. 179. Brother Michael O'Clery finished compiling his *Féilire na naomh nÉirennach*, or *Calendar of the saints of Ireland*, in 1630 at the home of the Franciscan friars in Donegal and hence the work is generally known as the *Martyrology of Donegal*, James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929, reprinted Dublin, 1997) pp 42, 485.

⁴⁵ Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Húi Gormáin: the Martyrology of Gorman* (London, 1895) p. 122.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 409.

⁴⁷ *Roman Martyrologe*, p. 196. The year of the martyrdom of Agoard and Aglibert/Agilbert, in 'the territory of Paris', *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the use of the Chirche of Salisbury* (London, 1526) f. 1rr, is given by Fr Laurence Suhr (1522-1578), in his collection of the lives of the saints in which 'Glibertus seu Aglibertus' are the alternative name, gives it as occurring in the year 70, Laurentius Surius, *De Probatiss Sanctorum Vitis*, vol. iii (Coloniae, 1570-75, reprinted 1618) p. 326. See also *Acta Sanctorum*, pp 814-17 for an account of Agoard and Agilbert. There was an Agilbert (d. c.685), also a Frenchman, educated in Ireland and afterwards a bishop in Paris in the meanwhile having lived among the Westsaxons in England where he was received by King Chenwald, Raphael Holinshed, *The First Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* vol. ii, (London, 1577) p. 619, whose feast day is commemorated on 11 October. Similarly, L. Tachet De Barneval, *Histoire Légendaire De L'Irlande* (Paris, 1856) p. 275) quoting the Venerable Bede says that the latter Agilbert, Bishop of Paris and one of France's greatest prelates, was a pupil of the Irish and had spent many years among them in the study of the Holy Scriptures in the seventh century. There is no Agilbert listed in the ninth-century compilation known as *The Martyrology of Tallaght* under 24 June, Richard Irvine Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor (eds), *The Martyrology of Tallaght* (London, 1931) p. 52, which only contains Irish saints.

in an earlier martyrology of the sixteenth century that these two martyrs are commemorated on 24 June as 'Saynt Gylbert' and 'Saynt Agobard'.⁴⁸

Henry Fitzsimon could not have had this St Gillebert/Gilbert, from the martyrologies of Donegal and Gorman, in mind as the feast day (24 June) is not the one given by him (4 February). Fitzsimon, or Fitz Simon, would appear not to have been *au fait* with Gillebert of Limerick for in his own discourse on the Mass he makes no mention of the latter's liturgical work although he cites numerous other authorities.⁴⁹ From a review of the different text notes of the manuscript entries for the Irish saint Gilbertus, attributed to Fitzsimon, it is apparent that the source of the information in his *Catalogus* was the work compiled by John Capgrave and known as *Nova Legenda Angliae*. An examination of the latter work identifies an Englishman as the only saint mentioned with the name Gilbert. The hagiographer Henry Fitzsimon thus appears to have in some way perceived this man to be synonymous with Gillebert an Irish bishop mentioned by St Bernard in his life of Malachy. That the feast day of 4 February for the two men should be the same would also seem to be a remarkable concurrence.

From the foregoing, it would appear that there is no evidence to suppose that any bishop with the name Gilbert, Gille, Gillebert, or Gillibert, who flourished with Malachy, was ever included among the Irish saints. Therefore, it must be concluded that Fitzsimon confused Gillebert of Limerick with Gilbert of Sempringham and that this error was followed by some later writers with regard to his sainthood. Clearly then a case of mistaken identity.

⁴⁸ *Martiloge in Englysshe*. In the same work under 4 February 'Gylbert a cōfessour' is listed in reference to Gilbert of Sempringham.

⁴⁹ Henry Fitz Simon, *The Justification and Exposition of the Devine Sacrifice of the Masse* (n.p., 1611). The title page of this work has neither publisher nor place of publication but bears the words *Permissu Superiorum*.